INDUSTRIAL AID CENTRE*

Address:
Room 312, Trevor Building, Voortrekker Street, Vereeniging 1930

Phone:
(016) 22 1700

Vice-Chairman:
B.M. Sechaba

General Secretary:
Esau Ralitsela

Membership and Constituency:
Has a membership of people who cannot join trade unions.

Aims and Objectives:
Helps Industrial and domestic workers with their problems.
Helps people who have influx control problems draft their affidavits.
Helps to initiate community projects.
Educates workers about their rights by running seminars.

Facilities and Resources:
Library: Yes, small library with diverse material relating to trade unionism and labour legislation.
Training Materials: Prepares educational materials on matters of interest to workers and carries out research on agreed matters of interest to workers.

Current Progamme:
Educating workers about their rights by running seminars.

TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1988

APRIL — MAY

P/D 19/9/88 (327)

New meetings clamp

CAPE TOWN — The government has prohibited meetings propagating school boycotts and illegal strikes, as well as all open air meetings except sports meetings and funerals for a year.

The prohibition was announced in the latest Government Gazette by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The prohibition comes into effect today and will be in force until March 31 1989.

Open air gatherings permitted during this time will be bona fide sports meetings and gatherings in cemeteries for the purpose of funerals only.

However, the minister has empowered magistrates to consider exceptions to the prohibition.— Sapa

Mandela's law degree

Cape Times 11/4/88

PRETORIA. — Jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to complete his LLB degree from the University of South Africa this year, Unisa law Professor Marinus Wiechers said here.

Mr Mandela, a practising lawyer before he was jailed for life on sabotage charges in the Rivonia Trial in 1964, will be awarded the degree baccalaureus legum (Llb) by Unisa, Prof Wiechers said.

Prof Wiechers praised the former Robben Island prisoner, who is now being held in Pollsmoor Prison, for being a conscientious student.

"He took some of my courses and he was a conscientious and an excellent student."

The LLB degree will allow Mr Mandela access to the higher legal bar and to practise as an advocate.

The dean of Unisa's Law Faculty, Professor W J Hosten, said Mr Mandela's assignments would be kept by the department and not be placed in the library. This was normal practice with LLB assignments.

Prof Wiechers said Mr Mandela needed to complete a few ancillary subjects, including languages, to qualify for the degree.

Asked whether Mr Mandela would be allowed to attend his graduation ceremony, a Prisons Service spokesman in Pretoria said: "Prisoners are not allowed to attend graduation ceremonies."

Unisa is a tele-tuition university but presents graduation ceremonies. It mails degrees to graduates unable to attend.

Pretoria-based Unisa, South Africa's largest university, is solely a correspondence college.

Mr Mandela, who studied for several other courses from his Cape Town jail cell, began the law programme after the Prisons Service softened earlier policy barring political prisoners from studying law.

"For quite some time political prisoners were not allowed to do law courses," Prof Wiechers said.

"He (Mandela) took all sorts of other courses, but a couple of years ago that policy was changed." — UPI and Sapa

Appeal against UCT fails

CAPE Times 1/4/88

By RONNIE MORRIS
Supreme Court Reporter

AN application in the Supreme Court for leave to appeal against the setting aside of subsidy conditions imposed on South African universities last year was dismissed with costs yesterday.

Meanwhile, in an unexpected turn yesterday morning, counsel for the ministers, Mr J H Combrinck SC, said the application for leave to appeal against the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was being withdrawn.

Last month a full Bench comprising Mr Justice C T Howie, Mr Justice H C Conradie and Mr Justice H C Nel declared the conditions invalid.

Delivering a unanimous judgment yesterday, Mr Justice Howie said there was no reasonable prospect that an appeal would succeed.

Ultra vires

In the application, the ministers of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives and the Miniter of National Education said that in reaching the finding last month the court had erred both in fact and in law in finding the conditions ultra vires.

Counsel for the ministers gave no reason for the withdrawal of the application against UWC but not against UCT.

Mr Justice Howie, Mr Justice Conradie and Mr Justice Nel presided. Mr Combrinck, asssisted by Mr C B Prest and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the ministers. Mr Gys Hofmeyr SC, asssisted by Mr Jeremy Gauntlett, instructed by Ms A Durbach of Bernadt, Vukic and Potash, appeared for UCT. Mr Gauntlett, instructed by E Moosa and Associates, also appeared for UWC.

CHALLENGING VLOK

Cosatu's challenge to the State President's recent Public Safety Act restrictions on trade union "political" activity, is expected to be heard in the Cape Supreme Court in about two months' time.

The union federation is challenging the State of Emergency itself, as well as the enabling clause 6(A) of the Act, in terms of which the State President surrenders to the Minister of Law and Order the absolute discretion to restrict any organisation from doing any acts.

Cosatu's lawyers will argue that the emergency regulations are so important that parliament only gave the power to make them to the President. Therefore, delegating that power to the minister is improper and unlawful. Furthermore, no guidelines are laid down for the exercising of that power. Clause 6(A) is being challenged on the basis that the power given to the minister makes so fundamental an inroad into citizens' ordinary rights that it could never have been contemplated by parliament. Thus, it will be contended, they are grossly unreasonable and the President could not have applied his mind properly to them.

The case will also raise specific aspects of the restrictions on Cosatu, like the prohibition on commemorating deaths. What happens, for instance, when Cosatu wishes to mark the deaths of members in a mine blast, which raises questions of mine safety? The regulations also forbid commemoration of important events in the history of an organisation. May Day, for example, is celebrated by certain unlawful political organisations, but is also an important symbol to the trade union movement.

Star 21/4/88

Clergymen lead protest march

DURBAN — Nearly 1 000 people, led by clergymen carrying crosses, marched silently through downtown Durban at dawn yesterday to protest against the Government's crackdown on anti-apartheid groups.

In a separate development, police headquarters reported that a white constable was fatally stabbed overnight by a group of blacks, while on a foot patrol in Pinetown West, on the outskirts of Durban. No details about the attack were released.

Accompanying the ministers at the head of the protest march were 19 people wearing gags to symbolise the recent bans, which have shut down the newspaper *New Nation* and barred 17 major anti-apartheid groups from functioning.

"Many voices which stand for justice are being silenced in our country and we commit ourselves to ensure that those voices may be heard once again," said Ms Miriam Cele, of the Dependents' Conference, which assists the families of detainees.

Among those addressing the protesters at church services before and after the march was Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front.

Restriction order

The UDF, South Africa's largest anti-apartheid coalition, was one of the groups banned from all activity in February, and Mr Gumede was issued an individual restriction order limiting his political activities.

Other speakers at the services included Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and the Rev Stanley Mogoba, general secretary of the Methodist Church.

Coetsee imposes meeting clamp

CAPE TOWN — The government has prohibited meetings in favour of school boycotts and illegal strikes, as well as many open-air meetings, for a year. Star 2/4/88

The prohibition was announced in the latest Government Gazette by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The prohibition came into effect yesterday and will be in force until March 31 1989.

The only open-air gatherings permitted during this time will be sports meetings and gatherings in cemeteries for funerals.

The Minister has empowered magistrates to consider exceptions. — Sapa.

(327)

Home loan

Transkei burial for slain ANC man

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A member of the African National Congress who was shot dead in his Maseru hospital bed last month is to be buried in Transkei today.

Mr Mazizi Attwell Maqekeza is to be buried under strict police restrictions at his home in Mpozolo Location in the Willowvale district.

The funeral has been restricted in terms of the Transkei's emergency regulations.

Flags, banners, placards, pamphlets or posters have been banned and the service must be conducted by an ordained minister.

An unknown gunman killed Mr Maqekeza in his bed in the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital, Maseru, on March 15 where he was recuperating under armed guard from a bullet injury received in an earlier incident.

Mr Maqekeza had been wounded by Lesotho police on February 25. A friend, Mr Thandwefika Radebe, also a Transkeian, was killed in the incident and a third man escaped uninjured.

Relatives claimed that police had been on a mission to eliminate ANC members but Lesotho police said the three men had attacked the police.

Top UDF member in court

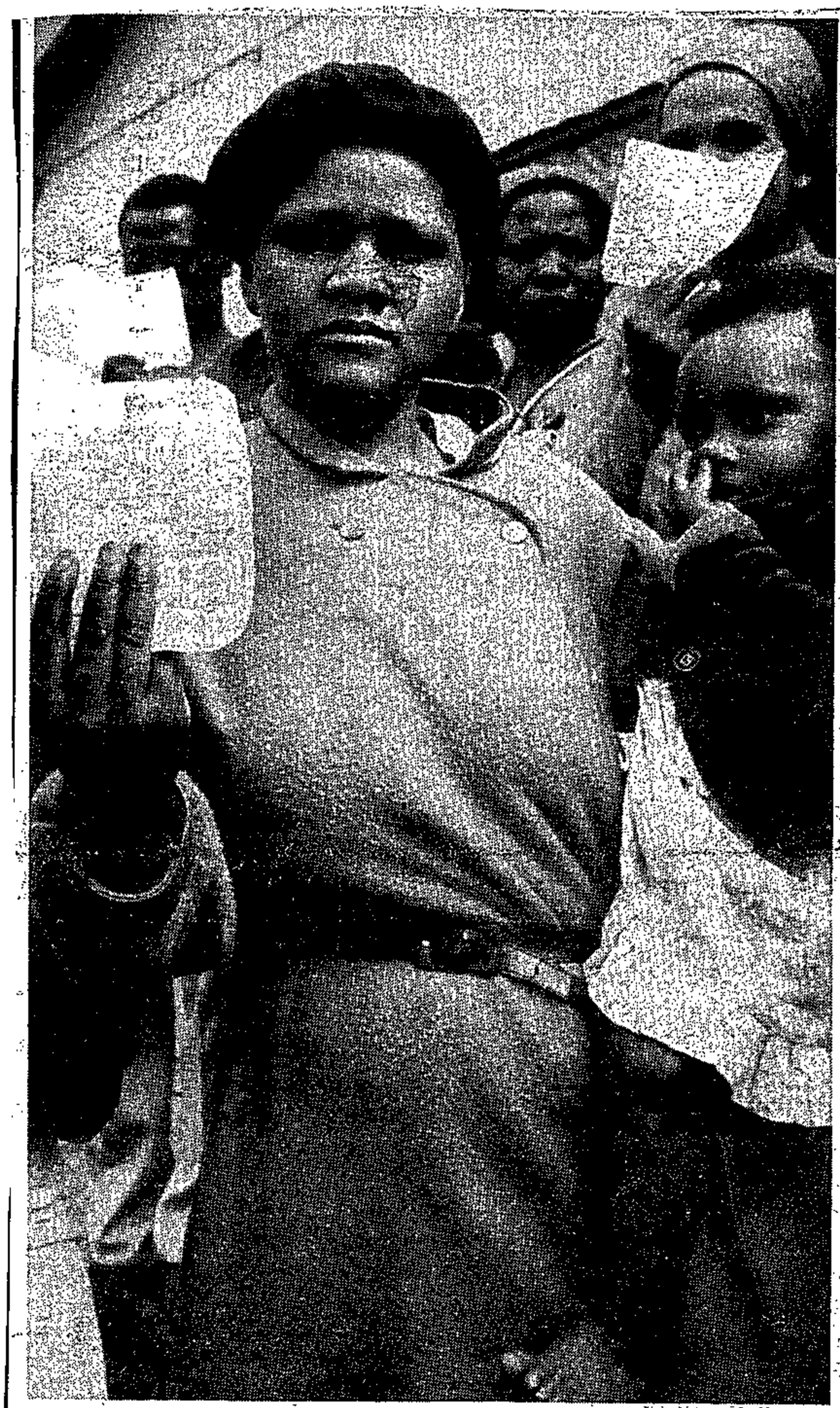
STAR 6/4/88

CAPE TOWN — United Democratic Front executive member Mr Willie Hofmeyr appeared briefly in the Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the contravention of a restriction order.

Mr Hofmeyr (33) of Jarvis Street, Cape Town, was not formally charged.

He was not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

The hearing was postponed to June 21 and Mr Hofmeyr was released on R200 bail. — Sapa.



Mrs Portia Mabuyani and her baby, Andisa, 2

Hostel raid anger

A STELLENBOSCH mother this week told how her two-year-old daughter fainted in police cells after about 450 people were held in a dawn raid.

The raid on the Khaya Mandi hostels, conducted by the police and the "Dad's Army" of the SADF, has angered the township's residents.

• **Full report — Page 3**

7-13/4/88 SOUTH

327

whole page

327

South

7-13/4/88

The Sowetan newspaper takes this opportunity to place its support squarely behind SOUTH newspaper and its journalists who face the prospect of imminent closure by the government.

SOUTH is the second newspaper after New Nation which may be closed for three months by a government that has become desperate in its attempt to muzzle and finally control the press.

We protest strongly against this action, for an attack on one newspaper is not only an attack on all other papers, but diminishes the civil liberties of all the people of the country.

There is no doubt that after the second warning to SOUTH every other news media in the country, which fights for the right of freedom-loving people to get information on the country's events, is under serious threat.

2000

Paper gets second notice from Govt

Sowetan 7/4/86

327

A CAPE Town-based community newspaper, *South*, may be facing a three-month ban after it received a second notice from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, this week.

South is the second newspaper in South Africa to receive such a warning after the closure of the Roman Catholic Church weekly publication, *New Nation*, whose editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been in detention for more than 470 days.

The threat comes after the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, warned that more publications were being investigated.

Editor

The editor of *South*, Mr Rashid Seria, said they received a second notice from the Minister on Tuesday morning. This followed a gazetted warning to the newspaper in December last year.

"We see this as an orchestrated attempt by the State to silence all dissenting voices. Our second warning follows the three-month ban imposed on *New Nation* and the restriction of several community organisations and individuals.

"Knowing full well that we may be banned, we pledge ourselves to continue to report the news faithfully and responsibly. As a newspaper which believes the people have a right to know we can do no other."

He said the newspaper was consulting with its lawyers and would decide on how to further respond to the Minister.

Assault

The president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, Mrs Sandra Nagfaal, yesterday said: "We believe that the assault on *South* is an assault on press freedom."

She called on all people committed to the liberation of the country to stand by *South* in its hour of crisis.

The *Sowetan* has strongly protested against the action and said: "An attack on one newspaper is not only an attack on all other papers, but diminishes the civil liberties of all the people of the country."

Ble
Virginia
selected
Joh
A new ge
For
smoking

N

THE MEDIA WORKER'S ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, AN AFFILIATE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, PLEDGES THE SUPPORT OF ALL ITS MEMBERS AND WORKERS IN THE MEDIA INDUSTRY TO SOUTH IN YOUR HOUR OF CRISIS.

WE BELIEVE THE ASSAULT ON SOUTH IS AN ASSAULT ON PRESS FREEDOM. WE BELIEVE AN ASSAULT ON PRESS FREEDOM IS AN ASSAULT ON THE DIGNITY OF MAN — WHATEVER LITTLE OF IT IS STILL LEFT IN THIS COUNTRY.

MWASA CALLS ON ALL COMMITTED TO THE LIBERATION OF OUR LAND, ON ALL WHO BELIEVE IN THE INDIVISIBILITY OF FREEDOM TO LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED IN AN EFFORT TO STOP THE GOVERNMENT FROM SILENCING THE VOICES OF THE OPPRESSED.

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF MWASA

STOFFEL BOTHA'S CLAIM THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THE GOVERNMENT WANTING TO CONTROL WHAT PEOPLE MAY KNOW IS ONCE MORE REVERSED BY HIS LATEST THREAT TO SOUTH.

THE FAILURE OF THE STATE TO CHARGE OR RELEASE OUR EDITOR ZWELAKHE SISULU WHO HAS BEEN IN DETENTION FOR MORE THAN 15 MONTHS ALSO DISPROVES THE GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM TO DEMOCRATIC RULE.

WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE REFUSAL OF NEWSPAPERS LIKE SOUTH AND NEW NATION TO BE PART OF A SILENT CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE SUFFERING CAUSED BY APARTHEID AMONG THE VOTELESS MAJORITY, IS THE CAUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION AGAINST US.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PAINFUL SILENCE ENFORCED ON THE COUNTRY'S VOTELESS MAJORITY WILL NEVER SOLVE THE PRESENT CRISIS FACING THE GOVERNMENT.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS PUBLISHING COMPANY AND NEW NATION STAFF COMMEND THE RELENTLESS EFFORT AND COURAGE OF SOUTH TOWARDS BUILDING A NEW SOUTH AFRICA.

New Nation

7-8/13/4/80

south NEWS

Bid to ban SOUTH

THE Government has warned SOUTH that it is considering taking action in terms of the Emergency Regulations against the paper for publishing subversive statements.

In a letter hand-delivered to our offices last Thursday, the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, accused SOUTH of promoting the "public image or esteem of inter alia the ANC and the PAC which are unlawful organisations in terms of the regulations".

This warning follows the gazetting of SOUTH'S first warning in December last year.

The regulations, as amended in August 28 last year, allows the Minister to take "action" against any newspaper if in "his opinion" it contravenes the regulations.

Lawyers acting for SOUTH have two weeks to make representations to the Minister. At the end of that period the Minister may gazette the warning.

This will allow the Minister the option of either closing SOUTH for three months, or subjecting the newspaper to pre-publication censorship.

The second warning to SOUTH follows the three-month banning imposed on New Nation last month.

In last week's letter the Minister said he had studied three editions of SOUTH, 3-9 March 1988,10-16 March 1988 and 17-23 March 1988.

The following is an annexure to his letter.

(a) The article by the editor of SOUTH under the heading "Why the UDF can't be banned" in the issue of 3-9 March 1988 promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation to wit the ANC by giving positive publicity to this unlawful organisation.

(b) The same article ("Why the UDF can't be banned") promotes or fans revolution or uprisings in the Republic by publicising the legitimatisation of the use of violence.

(c) On the same page in the same issue 3-9 March 1988 the advert by the Cape Teachers' Professional Association stirs up or foments feelings of hatred or hostility in members of the public towards a security force by creating the impression that "there is no end to the brutality being meted out to children", that indiscriminate "shooting" of people is a normal activity of the police force and that police action in the course of their duty is condemnable.

Stoffel Botha

(d) The statement under the heading "Defiant spirit will not be curbed" in the issue 10-16 March 1988 promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation in so far as the ANC, also a self-confessed revolutionary organisation, is allowed to use your publication for its own propagandistic statement.

(e) The report under the heading "Lift the curbs — clergy petition Vlok" in the issue 17-23 March 1988 promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation by depicting imprisoned leaders of the unlawful revolutionary ANC in a positive light inter alia by comparing them with Jesus Christ.

(f) The report under the heading "Govt 'threat to safety'" in the same issue 17-23 March 1988 further promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation to wit the ANC by projecting this revolutionary organisation in a positive light.

(g) The article "Double date with sorrow", in the issue 17-23 March 1988 promotes the public image or esteem of unlawful organisations to wit the ANC and PAC by creating the impression that the people (as opposed to a faction) of Sharpeville and sister townships still regard these unlawful organisations as "their voices".

(h) This same article ("Double date with sorrow") stirs up or foments feelings of hatred or hostility in members of the public towards the security forces by putting the security forces only in a negative historical perspective.

(i) The advert by the United Women's Congress (p.5) in the same issue 17-23 March 1988 brings into disrepute the existing judicial order which is a mainstay of the public order, by attempting to create the impression that the woman to be hanged was injustly (sic) sentenced to death merely because of her political opposition to the Government and not because of the fact that she was convicted and sentenced to death by an independant court of law for having participated in a violent capital offence.

(j) Similarly the article under the heading "Over 40 on death row for political reasons" in the same issue 17-23 March 1988 brings into disrepute the existing judicial order which is a mainstay of the public order, by inter alia claiming that "(T)o remain silent make each of us a party to each judicial killing".

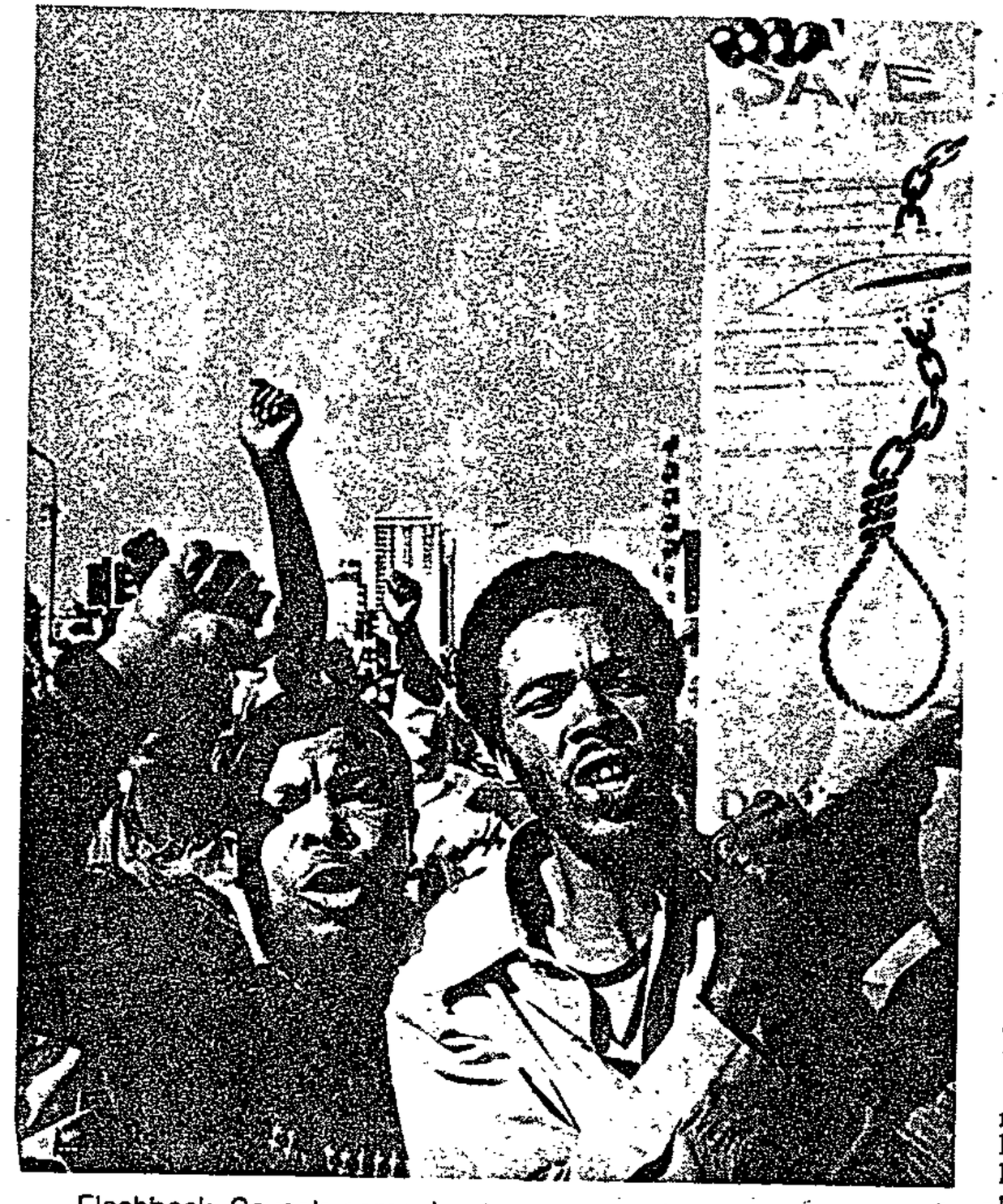
(k) The report under the heading "Govt is putting violence on agenda" in the issue 17-23 March 1988 promotes or fans revolution or uprisings in the Republic by publicising legitimatising comment on the use of violence.

(l) The letter under the heading "Liberals at the forefront" in the issue 17-23 March 1988 promotes the public image or esteem of unlawful organisations to wit the ANC and PAC by giving positive publicity to these unlawful organisations.

(m) The article under the heading "Who's who' changed her life" further promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation to wit the ANC by giving positive publicity to leaders (symbols) of this organisation.

The Minister's letter ends with a special note: "The reports in the issues referred to above are also subject to being considered conjointly by me and with due regard being had to the cumulative effect thereof, in the process of ascertaining that they constitute a systematic or repeated publishing of matter or a systematic or repeated publishing of matter in a way which has or is calculated to have the effect contemplated by paragraph (a) of regulation 7A(1) and whether the said effect such systematic or repeated publishing has or is calculated to have, is causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or is causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency as contemplated by regulation 7A(3).

Sayco 'will not die'



Flashback. Sayco's campaign to save people on Death Row

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG - South African Youth Congress (Sayco), restricted with 17 other organisations in February, is adamant that even "at this dark hour" it will continue to grow from strength to strength.

"The history of Sayco will not end with the ban by P W Botha and his government. It is an ongoing process with an assurance of victory in the end," a top official of the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress (Notyco) said this week.

The official, who did not want to be identified, emerged from hiding after several months to give an interview to SOUTH.

Notyco, with more than 200 000 members, is probably the biggest of Sayco's ten affiliates.

Sayco celebrated its first anniversary on March 28.

"We feel Sayco should not disband, and it should continue with its work no matter what happens," the official said.

"Sayco cannot be silenced and its activities cannot be determined by apartheid legality. We will challenge these bannings legally and through mass action.

"For example, Cosatu said they would take action if their special congress is banned by the authorities. We will join them."

Sayco, which had more than half a million members when it was launched in secrecy in Cape Town last year, now claims to have more than a million members.

It's other nine regions are Southern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, South and Western Cape.

"We cannot be destroyed, we will resist, survive," the Notyco official said.

"We have called our membership to be more vigilant than ever before and to sharpen themselves for future battles.

"We have called on them to consciously build leadership and organisation in spite of detentions and assassinations.

"We are confident we will be able to build Sayco into a stronger and more popular organisation. We will survive and emerge victorious," he said.

Sayco was born in a period when more than 25 000 people were detained without trial during the first State of Emergency.

"Our preparation, our birth and our growth are taking place under extremely difficult conditions and very hostile to our objectives.

"But we managed to keep ourselves together," the spokesperson said.

He cited the "Save The Patriots" campaign launched in August last year as "one of our most important achievements".

Positive response

"Both the international and South African communities responded positively to our calls.

"We believe the stay of execution given to the Sharpeville Six was a direct result of the impact of our campaign."

He said the youth in South Africa continued to call on the international community to do more to save the lives of the more than 40 on Death Row.

Sayco took part in the May 5 and 6 stayaways last year protesting against the whites only election.

Young pioneers

"The action was a resounding success. It demonstrated the illegitimacy of the apartheid government and forged greater unity among the oppressed," the spokesperson said.

Sayco participated in campaigns for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the guaranteed safe return of exiles and the Living Wage Campaign of Cosatu.

The organisation has established what has become known as the young pioneers. This is a detachment of Sayco catering for the needs of people aged from six to 15.

"These people are already our members in many ways. Some of them have been detained and are still detained under Emergency regulations."

He said the UDF in Pietermaritzburg was presently enjoying overwhelming support.

"Inkatha has shown its true colours, it has aligned itself with the coloniser."

He said Sayco had been bruised by the recent clampdown but was not completely down.

"Our vice-president, Mzimasi Mancotywa of Port Elizabeth was detained in July last year. Recently two of our national executive members and five Southern Transvaal executive members were detained in Johannesburg."

Peter Mokaba

He said the detention of Sayco

will not die'

327

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG - South African Youth Congress (Sayco), restricted with 17 other organisations in February, is adamant that even "at this dark hour" it will continue to grow from strength to strength.

"The history of Sayco will not end with the ban by P W Botha and his government. It is an ongoing process with an assurance of victory in the end," a top official of the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress (Notyco) said this week.

The official, who did not want to be identified, emerged from hiding after several months to give an interview to SOUTH.

Notyco, with more than 200 000 members, is probably the biggest of Sayco's ten affiliates.

Sayco celebrated its first anniversary on March 28.

"We feel Sayco should not disband, and it should continue with its work no matter what happens," the official said.

"Sayco cannot be silenced and its activities cannot be determined by apartheid legality. We will challenge these bannings legally and through mass action.

"For example, Cosatu said they would take action if their special congress is banned by the authorities. We will join them."

Sayco, which had more than half a million members when it was launched in secrecy in Cape Town last year, now claims to have more than a million members.

It's other nine regions are Southern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, South and Western Cape.

"We cannot be destroyed, we will resist, survive," the Notyco official said.

"We have called our membership to be more vigilant than ever before and to sharpen themselves for future battles.

"We have called on them to consciously build leadership and organisation in spite of detentions and assassinations.

"We are confident we will be able to build Sayco into a stronger and more popular organisation. We will survive and emerge victorious," he said.

Sayco was born in a period when more than 25 000 people were detained without trial during the first State of Emergency.

"Our preparation, our birth and our growth are taking place under extremely difficult conditions and very hostile to our objectives.

"But we managed to keep ourselves together," the spokesperson said.

He cited the "Save The Patriots" campaign launched in August last year as "one of our most important achievements".

Positive response

"Both the international and South African communities responded positively to our calls.

"We believe the stay of execution given to the Sharpeville Six was a direct result of the impact of our campaign."

He said the youth in South Africa continued to call on the international community to do more to save the lives of the more than 40 on Death Row.

Sayco took part in the May 5 and 6 stayaways last year protesting against the whites only election.

Young pioneers

"The action was a resounding success. It demonstrated the illegitimacy of the apartheid government and forged greater unity among the oppressed," the spokesperson said.

Sayco participated in campaigns for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the guaranteed safe return of exiles and the Living Wage Campaign of Cosatu.

The organisation has established what has become known as the young pioneers. This is a detachment of Sayco catering for the needs of people aged from six to 15.

"These people are already our members in many ways. Some of them have been detained and are still detained under Emergency regulations."

He said the UDF in Pietermaritzburg was presently enjoying overwhelming support.

"Inkatha has shown its true colours, it has aligned itself with the coloniser."

He said Sayco had been bruised by the recent clampdown but was not completely down.

"Our vice-president, Mzimasi Mancotywa of Port Elizabeth was detained in July last year. Recently two of our national executive members and five Southern Transvaal executive members were detained in Johannesburg."

Peter Mokaba

He said the detention of Sayco president Peter Mokaba on Sharpeville Day was the climax of a year of repression.

Mokaba, 26, has been in and out of detention cells and prisons over the last 11 years. He was tried, convicted and served part of a sentence for undergoing guerilla training. He is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"His detention is a severe setback for the organisation. However, our masses are an inexhaustible source of leadership. They continue to produce men and women who dare to lead the fight."

During its first year, Sayco sent some of its leaders to Europe to rally support. They travelled to eight countries.

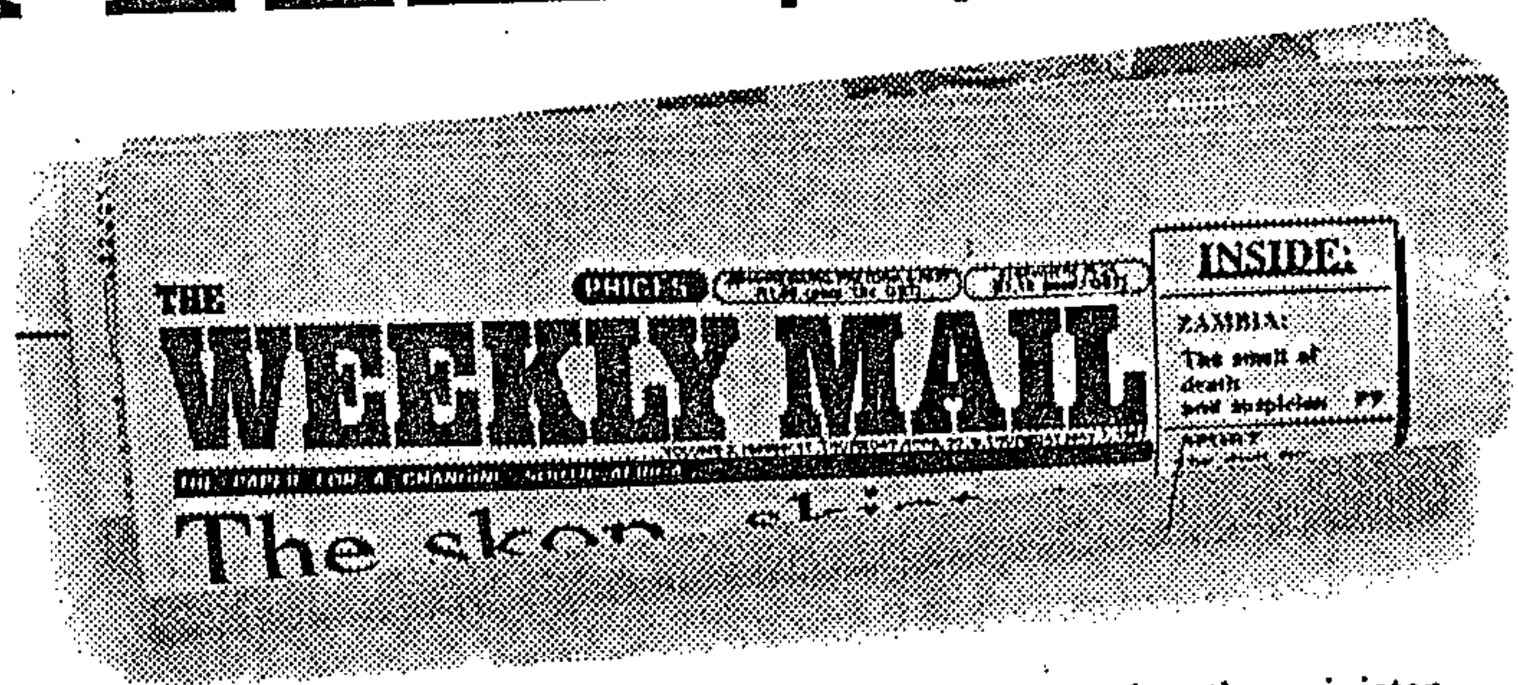
Sayco has also established contacts with anti-apartheid movements in Southern Africa. These include Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

The Minister of Home Affairs gazettes a 'warning' against Weekly Mail and prompts a public outcry ...

327

W/Mail

SAVE THE WAIL


THE
WEEKLY MAIL
INSIDE:
ZAMBIA:

OUR enemies consider us one of the country's noisier newspapers. So do our friends.

For three years we've failed to keep our mouths shut. Despite various requests.

This week the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, warned us, in a special edition of the Government Gazette, that our wailing threatens public safety.

We deny the charge. Our newspaper kicks at consciences and tears down barriers. It does not throw bombs.

In recent months, the minister has suspended one newspaper and lined up six more before the guillotine. He closed the first paper, *New Nation*, with minimal public outcry.

The process of closing newspapers is so lengthy, so tortuous, so little-understood, that public interest dies long before the climax of the wearying process of death by a thousand pin-pricks.

Which is why we appeal to our readers:

DON'T LET US GO QUIETLY!

Carry on reading us. Carry on subscribing. Make a fuss.

WAIL, DAMMIT!

Save SOUTH

1-13/4/88

(327)

By THE EDITOR

A CONSPIRACY of silence engineered and directed by the Nationalist government is slowly but surely gaining hold in our country.

SOUTH has refused to compromise the truth. But to the apartheid regime telling the truth is a crime. Especially if it involves exposing the evils of apartheid exploitation and brutal repression.

And for this reason we may soon be banned, becoming the second paper after New Nation to be shut down.

Last week we received from Home Affairs minister Stoffel Botha a final warning threatening closure of the paper. Botha claims we have systematically and repeatedly published material which promotes the banned African National Congress, legitimises violence, stirs up hatred against security force members, and brings the judicial order into disrepute.

Victims of apratheid

We reject these allegations. We know that nothing is further from the truth. Through its policy of illegalising normal and accepted practices, the Pretoria government is now preparing a case to shut another newspaper.

It is not SOUTH but the government's apartheid policies which have not only legitimised but also led to violence becoming a daily feature of life in our country.

It is the hundreds of thousands of people at events like funerals of victims of apartheid, who have through songs, flags, banners, and T-shirts, reduced the banning of the ANC to a de jure rather than a de facto measure. And this is something the all-powerful Nationalist government cannot accept.

With the latest restrictions placed on 18 organisations and unwarranted attacks on the church and its leaders, the government is in fact provoking a shift to violence by shutting avenues of non-violent protest.

And it is the unsavoury task of defending apartheid that has stirred up hatred towards the security forces.

The banning of the New Nation and the impending closure of SOUTH and the swiftness with which the gentle executioner Stoffel Botha has acted is designed to instill terror in the minds of newspaper proprietors and editors.

Now it is left to be seen how many proprietors, editors or journalists, or foreign correspondents for that matter, will raise their voices in protest or remain silent and be guilty of being a party to this conspiracy of silence.

Let us recall the words of Pastor Pieter Niemoller describing how the Nazis gained power:

"I stayed silent - and when (at last) they came for me, there was no one left to protest".

• See pages 2 & 7

Your move, Stoffel

The trustees of SOUTH, at a special meeting called to consider the latest warning of the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, reaffirmed their response to the first warning against the newspaper, issued in December last year.

At that time the trustees said in an open letter to Botha:

"It is true that your government is a white minority government which does not represent the majority in South Africa. It is true that South Africa is a racist oppressive society that needs to be fundamentally changed. It is true that our people are engaged in a struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity. It is true that the ANC is a force to be reckoned with.

"These are basic truths, Mr Minister, that SOUTH did not create, but that SOUTH must report to be true to itself."

The chairperson of SOUTH's trustees, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, said this week: "We can do no other than reaffirm this stance.

"This newspaper has an obligation to report the news of the day in a responsible manner. The editorial staff has done this with restraint and courage. We pledge our support to the Editor and his staff and again stress the need for SOUTH to address the political issues of our time fearlessly and without allowing itself to be intimidated by a Minister who is determined to silence all media that refuses to submit to his dictates.

SOUTH can do no other than inform its readers of the news which the government is determined to suppress."

Villa-Vicencio said Botha had already acted against the New Nation and there was "little doubt" that sooner or later he would act in a similar way against SOUTH.

"This newspaper will not, however, do his work for him.

"SOUTH will continue to report what the oppressed people have a right to know. It will not censor or restrain itself beyond what is already imposed on it by law. The initiative is now with the Minister," he said.

Some of the Kaya Mandi women charged with trespassing

Dawn raid shocks residents

By AYESHA ISMAIL

A TWO-YEAR-OLD girl passed out from hunger in the Stellenbosch police cells after her mother was arrested with about 450 other people in a pre-dawn raid in Kaya Mandi township.

The mother, Mrs Portia Mabuyani, 23, said they were held for 16 hours on March 26 after they were rounded up by police, the SADF and its civil force (Dad's Army) for alleged trespassing.

The cells were packed with women and children. "Babies could be heard crying of hunger and thirst. We offered to buy food for the babies but were not allowed.

She said she was asleep on the morning of the raid when she heard kicking on the door.

The raid started at about 3am and the residents were held until 8pm. They paid admission of guilt fines of R30, although some residents claimed they had to pay R50.

The aim of the operation was apparently to arrest people who did not have rent permits to live in men's hostels.

According to residents the operation was carried out by uniformed police, the army, municipal police called "greenflies", and members of the Civil Force (Dad's Army).

They said "Dad's Army" members formed a ring around the single men's quarters while the police and army carried out the search with dogs.

Mr Mtshutshisi Lambiso, a construction worker said each man slept on a single bed for which he paid R9.06 a month.

"We do not see why our wives should pay to sleep on our beds when we are already paying.

Lambiso said there were over 200 single beds in the hostel and the Town Committee was making a fortune every month.

The women of Kaya Mandi said they would continue staying with their husbands and would not leave.

The secretary of the Town Committee, Mr Tokkie Human, said the hostels were severely overcrowded. He said the Town Committee paid hundreds of thousands of rands annually to provide water, electricity and a sewerage system to people who were not paying rent.

Human said he did not ask the people to leave the area as he was aware there was a housing problem.

"All we asked was for people to pay their rent. We had no option but to take the necessary steps. We have a sewerage blockage almost every day because of overcrowding."

He said he was not implementing a new form of influx control.

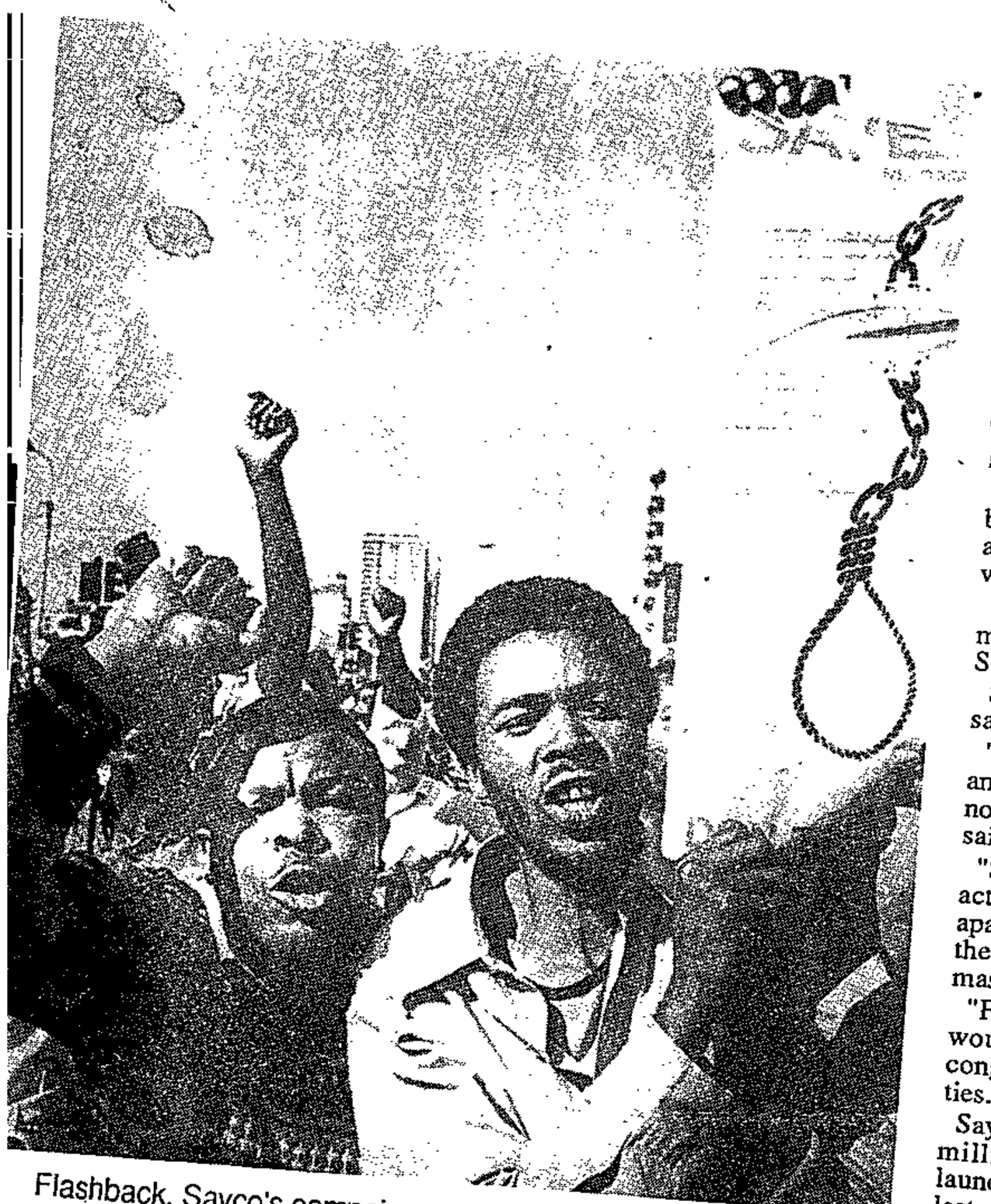
"People came to Kaya Mandi from the Transkei and Ciskei. We also had many people coming here from Crossroads during the unrest between the 'witdoeke' and the 'comrades'."

SOUTH telexed the headquarters of the South African Police and SA Defence Force in Pretoria for comment, but no reply had been received at the time of going to press.

3

South 7-13/4/88

Sayco 'will not die'



Flashback. Sayco's campaign to save people on Death Row

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG - South African Youth Congress (Sayco), restricted with 17 other organisations in February, is adamant that even "at this dark hour" it will continue to grow from strength to strength.

"The history of Sayco will not end with the ban by P W Botha and his government. It is an ongoing process with an assurance of victory in the end," a top official of the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress (Notyco) said this week.

The official, who did not want to be identified, emerged from hiding after several months to give an interview to SOUTH.

Notyco, with more than 200 000 members, is probably the biggest of Sayco's ten affiliates.

Sayco celebrated its first anniversary on March 28.

"We feel Sayco should not disband, and it should continue with its work no matter what happens," the official said.

"Sayco cannot be silenced and its activities cannot be determined by apartheid legality. We will challenge these bannings legally and through mass action.

"For example, Cosatu said they would take action if their special congress is banned by the authorities. We will join them."

Sayco, which had more than half a million members when it was launched in secrecy in Cape Town last year, now claims to have more than a million members.

It's other nine regions are Southern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, South and Western Cape.

"We cannot be destroyed, we will resist, survive," the Notyco official said.

"We have called our membership to be more vigilant than ever before and to sharpen themselves for future battles.

"We have called on them to consciously build leadership and organisation in spite of detentions and assassinations.

"We are confident we will be able to build Sayco into a stronger and more popular organisation. We will survive and emerge victorious," he said.

Sayco was born in a period when more than 25 000 people were detained without trial during the first State of Emergency.

"Our preparation, our birth and our growth are taking place under extremely difficult conditions and very hostile to our objectives.

"But we managed to keep ourselves together," the spokesperson said.

He cited the "Save The Patriots" campaign launched in August last year as "one of our most important achievements".

Positive response

"Both the international and South African communities responded positively to our calls.

"We believe the stay of execution given to the Sharpeville Six was a direct result of the impact of our campaign."

He said the youth in South Africa continued to call on the international community to do more to save the lives of the more than 40 on Death Row.

Sayco took part in the May 5 and 6 stayaways last year protesting against the whites only election.

Young pioneers

"The action was a resounding success. It demonstrated the illegitimacy of the apartheid government and forged greater unity among the oppressed," the spokesperson said.

Sayco participated in campaigns for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the guaranteed safe return of exiles and the Living Wage Campaign of Cosatu.

The organisation has established what has become known as the young pioneers. This is a detachment of Sayco catering for the needs of people aged from six to 15.

"These people are already our members in many ways. Some of them have been detained and are still detained under Emergency regulations."

He said the UDF in Pietermaritzburg was presently enjoying overwhelming support.

"Inkatha has shown its true colours, it has aligned itself with the coloniser."

He said Sayco had been bruised by the recent clampdown but was not completely down.

"Our vice-president, Mzimasi Mancotywa of Port Elizabeth was detained in July last year. Recently two of our national executive members and five Southern Transvaal ex-

ecutive members were detained in Johannesburg."

Peter Mokaba

He said the detention of Sayco president Peter Mokaba on Sharpeville Day was the climax of a year of repression.

Mokaba, 26, has been in and out of detention cells and prisons over the last 11 years. He was tried, convicted and served part of a sentence for undergoing guerilla training. He is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"His detention is a severe setback for the organisation. However, our masses are an inexhaustible source of leadership. They continue to produce men and women who dare to lead the fight."

During its first year, Sayco sent some of its leaders to Europe to rally support. They travelled to eight countries.

Sayco has also established contacts with anti-apartheid movements in Southern Africa. These include Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

Questions in the House

105 deaths in police custody

A total of 105 people died in police custody last year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday in written reply to a question from Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton).

From a practical point of view and because it was not in the interests of the relatives of the people, he was not prepared to give their names.

Fifty of them had commited suicide, 36 died as a result of natural causes, 11 from assaults by fellow prisoners and eight as a result of gunshot wounds sustained when attempting to escape from custody.

They had been held on a variety of charges, ranging from murder to drunken driving. In none of the 41 cases in which inquests had been completed had the presiding officers laid blame on the police. Inquests into the remaining 64 had not been completed.

STAR 8/4/88

84 detainees hospitalised

A total of 84 juveniles held under the emergency regulations had been admitted to hospital between January 1 1987 and February 11 this year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in written reply to Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point).

They comprised 22 people aged 20, 25 aged 19, 19 aged 18, 13 aged 17, 12 aged 16, two aged 15 and one aged 14. They had been sent for treatment for a number of reasons, including chest pains, sore knees, pubic pains, epigastric pains, abscesses and warts.

49 meetings prohibited

A total of 49 meetings throughout the country had been prohibited in terms of the emergency regulations between June 12 1986 and February 22 this year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in written reply to Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point).

W/mail
8-14/8/88

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, last week released the names of a further 127 detainees who have been held under the Emergency regulations for 30 days or longer. This brings the official count of Emergency detainees held for 30 days or more since June 11 last year (when the Emergency was reimposed) to 2 789.

The government's figure for those held for 30 days or longer under the Emergency regulations since June 12 1986 (when the Emergency was declared) is 17 723. Vlok said he would not supply information on the number of people detained for up to 30 days under the Emergency regulations because he did not consider it "in the public interest" to do so. Independent estimates put the total since June 12 1986 at over 30 000.

BANNINGS

According to the last Detainees' Parents Support Committee report before the organisation was banned under the Emergency regulations, the following state actions relating to the banning and restriction of persons, organisations and gatherings occured during 1987:

- At least three people were listed during last year — Tom Sebina (ANC official in exile), Jansie Lourens (ANC member listed on her release from prison) and Patricia Hanekom (ANC member listed on her release from prison and deported to Zimbabwe);
- 45 people are known to have been restricted from entering specific areas. In May 42 End Conscription Campaign members were barred from entering a Grahamstown township under the Black (Urban) Areas Consolidation Act. In October UDF president Albertina Sisulu was prohibited from entering Kangwane and in December two Alexandra activists were banned under the Emergency regulations from entering KwaNdebele;
- 69 people are known to have been restricted under the Emergency regulations between June 12 1986 and June 11 1987, but the real figure could be over 200. About half of these people received restriction orders on release from detention. According to the UDF in October 1986 more than 100 people had received restriction orders on their release from detention. Since June 12 1987 at least 29 people, most of them UDF activists, have received restriction orders;
- The Ciskei Supreme Court upheld the ban on the South African Allied Workers Union. This year 18 organisations were effectively "banned" under the Emergency regulations;
- On April 1 1987 the Minister of Justice ordered the extension of the ban on all outdoor meetings (except funerals and sport gatherings). The ban was renewed on April 1 this year. The ban includes all indoor gatherings which advocate work stoppages, stayaways or educational boycotts;
- A Cosatu "Living Wage" rally was banned by the Minister of Law and Order in March 1987, and several May 1 Cosatu meetings were banned. Cosatu was effectively banned under the Emergency regulations from participating in any political activities;
- Two meetings scheduled for Wits University campus, one in May against the whites-only election and a cultural day in November, were banned by the Johannesburg Chief Magistrate;
- A welcoming rally, to have been held in Athlone, Cape Town, On December 13 for released ANC leader Govan Mbeki was banned by the Wynberg Chief Magistrate;
- Two cultural-musical events were banned by the Johannesburg Chief Magistrate in December, one organised by the Soweto UDF Area Committee and the other by Azapo;
- The Transkei Commissioner of Police banned meetings in Transkei from September 24 to September 30 1987;
- The police banned gatherings in six Western Cape areas during March and April last year.

NEW ORDERS

According to the last DPSC report before the organisation's "banning", 34 orders were promulgated under the Emergency regulations last year.

Of these orders, 23 concerned funerals, affecting 67 townships and areas in the East Rand, Soweto, Natal, the Eastern Province, West Rand and Natal. Three of the orders related to the publication of advertisments concerning banned organisations. One of the orders banned all meetings to discuss "People's Education". Three meetings were banned, two of them rallies for Govan Mbeki, and in April 1987 campaigns for the release of detainees were banned.

Regulation 5 was used once, allowing police to enter, search and seize anything on the premises of Khotso House. Regulation 6, relating to the media, was used once to allow the South African Police to confiscate all pamphlets relatilng to the UDF's "People's Christmas Against the Emergency".

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

JOSEPH NTULIZWE NDULI, 48, ANC member, was abducted from Swaziland on March 26 1976 and in 1977 was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment.

Nduli grew up near Stanger, Natal. After working as a herdboy he attended school for just over a year and in 1955 worked as a gardener in Durban, and later as a domestic servant, restaurant worker and hospital watchman. In 1960 he joined the Hospital Workers' Union and became active in South African Congress of Trade Unions. The following year he joined the ANC and then Umkhonto weSizwe. He was arrested for sabotage but was released six months later on bail. In May 1963 he jumped bail and went for military training in Algeria and the Soviet Union, where he became a detachment commander. After spending two years in Zambia he participated in the ANC's 1967 Wankie campaign.

He later received political asylum in Swaziland but was declared a prohibited immigrant in 1972, and went underground, returning to South Africa before before moving to Maputo in 1975, and later to Tanzania and the German Democratic Republic where he received further military training. He was abducted in Swaziland, tried in Pietermaritzburg and sentenced to 18 years on Robben Island. He has since passed matric. Nduli is married with two children.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:

Malibongwe no 1 1987 (ANC women's section, London); Mandela Speaks (ANC, London); 1956 — 1986 Women on the March for Freedom (ANC women's section, London); Cadre, Build the Underground Voice (not stated); Cadre — Voice of the Underground (not stated); Resister No 53 Oct/Nov 1987 (COSAWR, London)

Curbs on hospital shooting funeral

TRANSKEI police imposed strict conditions on the burial this week of an African National Congress guerrilla shot dead last month in a Maseru hospital bed.

Mazizi Attwell Maqekeza was to be buried yesterday at his home in Mpozolo Location in the Willowvale district.

In terms of Transkei's State of Emergency regulations, the use of flags, banners, placards, pamphlets or posters was banned, and the service had to take place between 10 am and 2 pm.

The service had to be conducted by an ordained minister, who was prohibited from attacking or defending "any political principle".

An unknown gunman killed Maqekeza in his bed in the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital in Maseru on March 15, while he was recuperating from a bullet injury sustained in an earlier incident. Maqekeza had been wounded by Lesotho police on February 25.

Maqekeza was being treated under armed guard when he was killed.

elnews 8-14/4/88

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer | *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 275 | PRETORIA, 9 MEI/MAY 1988 | No. 11305

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 954 **9 Mei 1988**

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE REGULASIES AFGEKONDIG KRAGTENS DIE WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

Ek, Jan Christoffel Greyling Botha, Minister van Binnelandse Sake, reik hierby kragtens regulasie 7A (3) (b) van die Regulasies afgekondig by Proklamasie R. 97 van 1987, soos gewysig deur Proklamasies R. 123 van 1987 en R. 7 van 1988, die bevel uit in die Bylae uiteengesit.

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister van Binnelandse Sake.

BYLAE

Die voortbrenging of publikasie, gedurende die tydperk vanaf die datum van afkondiging van hierdie bevel tot en met 10 Junie 1988, van enige verdere uitgawe van die periodieke publikasie ***South*** word hierby geheel en al verbied.

836—A

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 954 **9 May 1988**

ORDER UNDER THE REGULATIONS PUBLISHED UNDER THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

I, Jan Christoffel Greyling Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, hereby issue under regulation 7A (3) (b) of the Regulations published by Proclamation R. 97 of 1987, as amended by Proclamations R. 123 of 1987 and R. 7 of 1988, the order set out in the Schedule.

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister of Home Affairs.

327

SCHEDULE

The production or publication, during the period from the date of publishing of this order up to and including 10 June 1988, of any further issue of the periodical ***South*** is hereby totally prohibited.

11305—1

that the Provincial Administration would spend R28 million in the next financial year. "The seashore is owned by the State, but we be operati and more remote," he said.

SAP bars at ANC funeral

Cape Times 8/4/88

EAST LONDON. — An African National Congress guerilla who was killed in his hospital bed in Lesotho last month by an unknown gunman was buried in the Transkei yesterday under heavy police guard and stringent funeral restrictions.

Up to 3 000 people attempted to attend the Transkei funeral for Mr Mazizi Attwell Maqekeza, but most were turned away or delayed for long periods at roadblocks, journalists at the Mpozolo township outside Willovale reported.

About 300 heavily armed policemen manned the roadblocks and followed the funeral procession, reporters said. Cars, individuals and the hearse were all searched by police, witnesses said. Many people said they were told they weren't suitably dressed for the funeral and were turned away.

Some had to produce identification and police listed car registration numbers and confiscated a camera, reporters said. — Sapa-AP

SA protest note

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has sent a protest note to Botswana's Department of External Affairs expressing dismay at the "unprovoked aggression" against SA citizens

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said he had protested about the treatment of Mr S C Meyer and Mr H C Coetzee.

sports
n TV

Reporter

sport promises two foreign
The World Cruiserweight
rrow morning (M Net) and
ational steeplechase this

tart at 6am tomorrow, fea-
d and Carlo de Leon tele-
llite from Las Vegas.

asts can watch the Grand
sport this afternoon.

ngs today include high-
y cricket match between
land (12.30pm — 1pm), the
Off-Road championships
rens Western Transvaal at

Family in mourning

Cape Times 9/4/88

JOHANNESBURG. — A Soweto family only heard yesterday that their son was one of the four people killed in the SADF's raid into Botswana last week, the Sowetan reported yesterday.

The Molefe family of Meadowlands was thrown into mourning by newspaper and radio reports that their son Solomon, 36, who disappeared at the height of the 1976 Soweto unrest, was one of those killed in the raid on a Gaborone house.

Police have identified Mr Solomon Molefe as a commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing, in Botswana.

The three women who died with him in the raid have been identified as Miss Martha Madisa, unemployed, Miss Thadi Seokanio, a teacher, and Mrs Masego Ikgopoleng, a bookstore employee.

The Botswana government had identified the dead man as Mr Charles Mokoena, a South African refugee who came to the country in 1979.

Mrs Rosina Molefe, 57, had just arrived back home from a visit to Robben Island to see her other son, Sonnyboy Moses, who is serving a 19-year sentence following the marathon Maritzburg treason trial in 1979, when she heard the news.

Intelligence sources in Pretoria said Mr Molefe had masterminded 47 attacks in South Africa. They said he had survived several previous attempts on his life. — Sapa

HOW Marjorie Brooks is able to generate so

UCA lauds New Nation ban

Sowetan 12/4/88

327

Sowetan Reporter

UNITED Christian Action, a church organisation co-founded by the controversial Bishop Isaac Mokoena, has welcomed the three-month ban imposed on the New Nation, a Johannesburg weekly newspaper published by the Catholic Bishops Conference.

In a letter written to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, the UCA said it welcomed the ban as the *New Nation* was one of the "most scandalous manifestations of liberation theology in our country."

The UCA said the newspaper promoted a value system diametrically opposed to Christian standards and beliefs.

"The *New Nation* is not and never was a mouthpiece for black Christians in South Africa. There is ample evidence that the authors of this publication subscribed to the teaching of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung which have caused havoc and misery in many parts of this tragic continent," the letter said.

The organisation claimed in its newsletter, *Ucanews*, that the Government banned the *New Nation* after it was pressurised by "Christian quarters from abroad and throughout South Africa."

Bishop Mokoena sparked controversy in 1984 when he claimed that he had more than four million Christian followers in the country. He has not yet proved this membership.

3 magazines banned

(327)

P/D 13/4/85

DURBAN — The magazine Scope has been banned for the second time this year and its editor, Mr Christopher Backeberg, intends lodging an appeal against the order.

The Government Gazette also declared two other magazines undesirable — the April 4 edition of Stag and the April-May edition of Gazelle. — DDC

Anger over warning to SOUTH

MINISTER Stoffel Botha's second warning to SOUTH — which could result in a three-month banning — has evoked outrage from several organisations.

A spokesperson for the Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu) said the organisation viewed with "profound concern and anger" the attack on the alternative press as a whole and on New Nation and SOUTH in particular.

"The only possible positive aspect of this brutal attack is that it demonstrates to the rest of the world emphatically that the Government's claim to be a torch-bearer of democracy in Africa is a pack of shameless lies," he said.

Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, said the Government's action against the media meant that new ways of communication and mobilisation would have to be explored.

Oppressed

"By closing down newspapers such as SOUTH that freely report the feelings of the oppressed as well as the extent and nature of the repressive measures taken by agents of the State, this minority government is ensuring that whites will become even less well-informed about the realities of South Africa and less responsive to demands for real change," said Van Eck.

The national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, said the State of Emergency regulations which empowered Minister Stoffel Botha to take drastic action against the press were more likely to stir up anger and resentment than to contribute to an orderly and peaceful society.

Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary for the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azaco), said the organisation deplored the increasingly repressive measures adopted by the Government against the press.

Anger over warning to SOUTH

MINISTER Stoffel Botha's second warning to SOUTH — which could result in a three-month banning — has evoked outrage from several organisations.

A spokesperson for the Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu) said the organisation viewed with "profound concern and anger" the attack on the alternative press as a whole and on New Nation and SOUTH in particular.

"The only possible positive aspect of this brutal attack is that it demonstrates to the rest of the world emphatically that the Government's claim to be a torch-bearer of democracy in Africa is a pack of shameless lies," he said.

Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, said the Government's action against the media meant that new ways of communication and mobilisation would have to be explored.

Oppressed

"By closing down newspapers such as SOUTH that freely report the feelings of the oppressed as well as the extent and nature of the repressive measures taken by agents of the State, this minority government is ensuring that whites will become even less well-informed about the realities of South Africa and less responsive to demands for real change," said Van Eck.

The national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, said the State of Emergency regulations which empowered Minister Stoffel Botha to take drastic action against the press were more likely to stir up anger and resentment than to contribute to an orderly and peaceful society.

Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary for the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azaco), said the organisation deplored the increasingly repressive measures adopted by the Government against the press.

'Government promoting ANC'

THE Government was promoting the image of the African National Congress (ANC) by refusing to unban the organisation and thereby test its credibility and support in free and fair elections.

This was said by Grassroots Publications in its representations in response to a warning from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The newspaper received its warning on March 22 and was given two weeks to make representations to the Minister.

In a letter to Grassroots Publications, the publishers of the non-profit community newspaper, the Minister accused the paper of promoting revolution, stirring up feelings of hatred towards the security forces and promoting the public image of an unlawful organisation.

In its representations, Grassroots denied the newspaper was promoting the image of the ANC.

They claimed the Government was, in fact, doing so by refusing to unban the organisation. Unbanning the ANC would test the organisation's credibility in free and fair elections. The publishers also claimed the Government's failure to negotiate with the ANC was also promoting the image of the banned organisation.

It was our considered view that peace in South Africa depended on the government being prepared to unban and negotiate with the ANC.

The Grassroots staff at their office this week

"This is not projecting the organisation in a favourable light — it is stating a reality we believe the far-sighted among the present government acknowledges."

Grassroots believed the "arbitrariness" of the media regulations was aimed not at the security of South Africa, but at the security of the "privileged minority".

Insofar as security force action was concerned, the newspaper submitted that the security forces had been the "authors of their own unpopularity".

"Grassroots merely reflects, mirrors and reports the factual situation and that factual situation is that the majority of citizens are without a meaningful say in the running of their lives," the publishers said in their submissions to the Minister.

SOUTH fights back

SOUTH this week hit back at the Government's attempt to shut the paper in terms of the Emergency Regulations.

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha stepped down from his initial refusal to extend SOUTH's 14-day representation period.

SOUTH, under threat of closure after having received its final warning, requested the extension on the grounds that its representation period included the six-day Easter holiday period.

The Minister's letter advising SOUTH of its final warning was hand-delivered on Thursday March 31, on the eve of the Easter long weekend.

Editor Mr Rashid Seria said the newspaper applied to Botha for an extention as the holidays effectively halved the time given to the newspaper to make its representations. This request was refused.

SOUTH's legal representatives then advised the Minister that an urgent interdict would be brought in the Supreme Court for that decision to be reviewed. The Minister then extended the period to Monday April 18.

The newspaper would make its representations and then seek a court relief against the closure of the paper subject to it getting a favourable legal opinion.

"We have a commitment to other newspapers under threat and to the ideal that we all cherish — that there should be a free flow of information in this country."

SOUTH would be working closely with The Weekly Mail and the New Nation in encouraging foreign governments to pressure the government to "allow some common sense to prevail", said Seria.

Representatives from the three newspapers had already met with diplomats from nine countries at a special meeting in Pretoria last week.

Each newspaper would be undertaking personal campaigns to popularise at all levels of society the threat to the alternative press.

SOUTH would also be liaising with the Cape Town based community newspaper, Grassroots, which had been served with its first

Another plan being mooted, he said, was that of a major press conference to be held in Cape Town later this month at which an appeal

JEWS FOR JUSTICE

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS is a fundamental right in any

GRASSROOTS

Grassroots Educare Trust believes children & their parents must be free to speak, see &

AND JESUS SAID:

IF THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG IN WHAT I SAID, POINT IT OUT; BUT IF THERE IS NO OFFENCE IN IT, WHY DO YOU STRIKE ME?

- JOHN 18;23

HANDS OFF THE PRESS.

Commission for Justice & Peace, Catholic Diocese of Cape Town.

THE UCT NUSAS SRC VARSITY NEWSPAPER

THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF UCT VIEW WITH CONCERN THE SECOND WARNING OF CLOSURE ISSUED TO SOUTH.
THE SRC AS SOUTH SHAREHOLDERS AND VARSITY (NEWSPAPER) AS PART OF THE PROGRESSIVE PRESS ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMPORTANT ROLE THAT SOUTH PLAYS IN REPORTING ON & EXPOSING THE REALITIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY.
AS SUCH, WE CONDEMN THIS RENEWED ATTACK ON OUR ALTERNATIVE PRESS & EXTEND OUR SUPPORT TO SOUTH.

THE BLACK SASH

Supports SOUTH newspaper and has the greatest admiration for their integrity in telling the real story.
The freedom of the press is essential in a democratic land.

IDASA

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa

SUPPORTS SOUTH

We condemn any attempt to silence the voice of the alternative press.
Our country is in desperate need of a free press that can expose the excesses of this government & debate the ways in which we can move towards democracy.
Without a free press, the truth becomes something that is formulated by shady information & disinformation departments & the future looks evermore dark.

UWC SRC

WE TAKE NOTE OF THE BANNING OF NEW NATION & THE LATEST THREAT BY THE STATE TO BAN SOUTH, GRASSROOTS & SAAMSTAAN. THIS IS PART OF THEIR BROADER STRATEGY TO SILENCE THE DEMOCRATIC VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES. BANNING NEWSPAPERS WHO INFORM PEOPLE ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE COUNTRY WILL NOT SILENCE THE VOICE OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. WE WILL FIND ALTERNATIVE WAYS AND MEANS TO KEEP OUR PEOPLE INFORMED.
LONG LIVE SOUTH, NEW NATION, GRASSROOTS & SAAMSTAAN!

grassroots

COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER

GRASSROOTS, SAAMSTAAN, WORK IN PROGRESS, WEEKLY MAIL, SOWETAN & SOUTH ARE SET TO SUFFER THE SAME FATE AS NEW NATION.
THE CLAMPDOWN AGAINST THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS IS PART OF AN OVERALL ATTEMPT TO CRUSH ALL DEMOCATIC FORCES IN THE COUNTRY & ENTRENCH RACIST MINORITY RULE.
AN ATTACK ON PRESS FREEDOM IS AN ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY.

GRASSROOTS SUPPORTS THE TRUTH!
WE SUPPORT SOUTH!

AS THE GOVENMENT'S SWORD IS AGAIN POISED TO SMITE THE PEN,
THE EDITOR AND STAFF OF THE INDICATOR PLEDGE THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE COURAGEOUS STAFFERS OF SOUTH, NEW NATION AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS WHICH ARE IN THE FOREFRONT OF EXPOSING THE NAT'S AND THEIR APOLOGISTS' CONSPIRACY OF DECEPTION.

THE INDICATOR
'THE PEOPLE'S PLATFORM'

WE WILL ONLY HAVE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS ONCE A TRULY NON - RACIAL DEMOCRACY IS ESTABLISHED IN SOUTH AFRICA.

UNTIL THEN, WE SUPPORT THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO EXPOSE: FORCED REMOVALS, DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL, BANNING, THE DESTRUCTION OF PEOPLE'S HOMES, POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, DISEASE, MALNUTRITION, THE TRICAMERAL FRAUD, THE DESTABILISATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE HORRIFIC PRISON SENTENCES IMPOSED ON YOUTHS IN POLITICAL MATTERS & ALL THE HORRORS ASSOCIATED WITH & PERPETRATED BY THE APARTHEID STATE.

HANDS OFF SOUTH

ISSUED BY THE WYNBERG CRISIS COMMITTEE.

(ii) In the Ministers official capacity to official institutions, private organisations and persons having close ties with the Ministry of Agriculture and from whom Christmas cards were received.

(iii) R993,04

(iv) the Government Printer

(2) No, officially by post.

Own Affairs:

Primary/high schools: teachers resigned

55. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(a) How many male teachers attached to (i) primary and (ii) high schools resigned from teaching in 1987 and (b) what percentage do these resignations represent of the total number of male teachers attached to (i) primary and (ii) high schools in each province in that year?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a)	(i)	(ii)	(b) (i)	(ii)
Cape	38	72	1,7%	2,1%
Natal	22	112	4,05%	10,50%
OFS	4	24	0,6%	2,6%
Transvaal	113	220	3,4%	4,63%

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

State Security Council: staff establishment

*1. Mr C W EGLIN asked the State President:

Whether he will furnish information on the staff establishment of the State Security Council; if not, why not; if so, what was the (a) actual and (b) authorized staff establishment of the State Security Council as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

Yes, the permanent members of the State Security Council are specified in section 4 of the Security Intelligence and State Security Council Act, No 64 of 1972 and from time to time other members are co-opted by me as the need arises.

(a) and (b)

Posts within the Secretariate of the State Security Council are filled by members seconded from various State Departments. At this stage 80 posts have been filled and the intention is not to fill many more.

Meeting at Standerton: military transport

*2. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he made use of military transport to attend a meeting at Standerton on 25 February 1988; if so, (a) what form of transport was used, (b) what was the total cost involved and (c) what persons accompanied him on this occasion;

(2) whether the meeting concerned was a political meeting; if so, (a) of which political party and (b) by virtue of what authority may he make use of military transport for purposes of this nature?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

Mr Speaker, with your permission, I would like to give a comprehensive reply whhich I hope will settle the matter.

(1) and (2):

Since the thirties it has been customary that Heads of State and Government and members of their families use official road or air transport on all occasions where transport is required by the Head of State.

The White Train, which was specifically reserved for the use of the Head of State, has been discontinued for quite some time. Since I became Prime Minister in 1978 the cumulative savings on running and capital expenses in this regard amounted to approximately R2 million.

After accepting the office of State President, I also returned the specially-equipped Boeing 737 fitted out for the use of the Head of State to the SA Transport Services. The cost involved in the use of this aeroplane amounted to more than R700 000 per annum.

As my predecessors, and in accordance with the above-mentioned convention, I use official road transport and air transport of the SA Air Force for all journeys I have to undertake. In view of ensuring the safety of the Head of State and his wife, the security forces require that this procedure be followed. The provision of helicopters and planes by the SA Air Force for this purpose also takes place as far as possible within the normal training programmes of the Air Force.

It has also always been customary for the Head of State, within reasonable limits and within his discretion, to decide which members of his family, ministers, security guards and personnel accompany him on journeys.

I have no intention of changing this practice. I am convinced that the majority of the public is in favour thereof that the Head of State is transported in a presentable and safe manner at all times, as is indeed customary in all civilised countries.

Closure of teachers' colleges: deputation to State President

*3. Mr A GERBER asked the State President:†

(1) Whether a formal or an informal deputation approached him in or about September 1987 in connection with the possible

Emergency places Govt beyond law

PARLIAMENT has placed so much power in the hands of the Government that the State's actions now fell outside the control of an independent judiciary, according to Mr Geoff Budlender, director of the Legal Resources Centre, Johannesburg.

Speaking at the "Laws against the trade unions and organisations" conference at the University of Cape Town last week, Budlender said arbitrary power was legal, but fundamentally lawless.

"The growth of the State's lawlessness is a prospect which should fill any lawyer with anxiety. If one of the State's concerns is to shut out legal control, one of the methods chosen may be to inhibit or prevent access to funds for legal services."

In the area of security there had been a deliberate and sustained attempt to remove all effective control through the legal process over the activities of the security forces. An indemnity clause had been written into the Emergency Regulations to prevent or inhibit legal proceedings against the State.

Unlawfully

By this the State "effectively says that it anticipates that its officials are going to act unlawfully, but it cannot or will not do anything to prevent this. State officials must therefore be given a free hand.

The right of detainees to have access to their lawyers was excluded.

If you say to a detainee: "You may only see your lawyer with my permission", you are effectively saying "you may only have access to the courts with my permission".

According to Budlender, the Emergency had brought about a far-reaching delegation of rule-making powers to officials, who exercise a subjective discretion in determining what rules they make.

"The most obvious is the State President's power to make regulations. Just as the State President has become a legislator, so in turn the Commissioner of Police, each of the Divisional Commissioners of Police, and the Commissioner of each of the 'self-governing states' has become a legislator."

The KwaNdebele Commissioner of Police had, for example, made it a serious criminal offence to use public transport without paying, to "play, loiter or aimlessly remain on any public road", and to deliver any goods inside KwaNdebele without his written authorisation.

The censorship provisions of August 28 last year conferred on the Minister of Home Affairs the power to suspend a newspaper for three months or subject it to prior censorship, if he was "of the opinion" that it had continued to publish material which "in his opinion" was calculated to have certain results.

"How the publisher is to know in advance what will lead the minister to this double-barrelled subjective opinion is a mystery to me. All the minister is required to do is to list items which have led him to give a warning, and an 'indication why such item is being taken into account'. Beyond this, he is expressly not required to give any grounds for his action."

Emergency

There had been numerous legal challenges to the Emergency powers, some of them successful in cutting back certain regulations and orders, and securing the release of detainees.

"There can be little doubt the exercise of the Emergency powers has been restrained by the knowledge that these powers are likely to be challenged in the courts."

But the Emergency Regulations were now tighter, more all-encompassing, and more punitive and had become virtually a permanent fact of life. Efforts by the courts to continue to exercise legal restraints over these powers have been "all but ended".

The Acting Chief Justice had declared that although the State President's exercise of his powers was in principle subject to judicial review, the power of review would be seldom, if ever, exercised.

"In effect, the courts has declared a policy of abstentionism. The unarticulated premise seems to be a "hands-off" approach to issues which are regarded as security matters. In this way, the Emergency has substantially been placed beyond legal control, or beyond the law.

"That may be an unduly harsh conclusion, but I don't think it is. I do not for a moment doubt that there remains very important work for lawyers to do. But we must admit that the core of the system has been placed beyond the control of the legal process."

Budlender said it was paradoxical that as legal control had gradually been intoduced into "urban black" law, it was been excluded from the security area.

"What is even more worrying is that the range of what is officially regarded as the "security" area is growing all the time."

The Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill was the most recent example of the security issue "engulfing an area previously controlled by law".

The Government wanted to prevent money from coming into the country for purposes which it did not approve. The Registrar of Restricted Organisations and Persons would decide on a case-by-case basis whether money was "good" or "bad".

If the Minister of Justice was "satisfied" an organisation received overseas money and engaged in political activity he could without prior notice and without any hearing declare that organisation to be restricted, and the Registrar may then direct it to hand over any money in its possession.

Criminal

Proposed amendments to the regulations would make it a criminal offence for any person to receive any donation or gift, whether of money or property, from any other person, unless a fund-raising permit had been obtained.

"In other words it becomes a criminal offence to receive a birthday present. If you commit this offence, you are liable to a fine of not exceeding R20 000 or imprisonment not exceeding 10 years, or to both such fine or imprisonment."

Budlender felt the extraordinarily wide proposals were intended in this catch-all form because it was too

the conduct they wanted to prevent.

"There will obviously have to be selective prosecution, as there will barely be any person in the country, man, woman, or child, who does not commit the offence at some stage during any year."

In effect, the legislature will declare that everyone regularly commits a criminal offence, and the executive will decide whom to prosecute.

"This makes the courts simply instruments of executive will. One must conclude that charitable activity also potentially falls within the security net, and must therefore be treated as a security matter."

What were regarded as "security areas", and therefore not subject to legal control, were likely to grow. Black education was already to some extent such an area and special Emergency Regulations had been made to deal with it. Others areas might follow.

Lawlessness

The growth of the security area and of lawlessness had depressing conclusions for our society at large. If the State was perceived to exercise its powers through force rather than law, the subjects of that force were likely to believe it could only be met by force.

"Once people are in this mode of action, it is difficult to turn around. The recent brutal and senseless "undertaker" killings in Soweto are example of this. When people are completely alienated from the processes of social control, they tend to exercise their own control, which is likely to be at least as arbitrary and brutal as anything they have experienced."

The prospect was grim because it foreshadowed the state of mind which would be held by large numbers of people, particularly young people, as our society struggled to transform itself, and also when that transformation was complete.

That was another reason why lawyers continued to have an important role to play.

"That role is to keep alive the notion of government under law, and of law as an effective restraint on power.

At this time of the year, let us remember Siphiwo

CAPE TIMES 15/4/88 327

From DI BISHOP (Kenilworth):

SIPHIWO MTIMKULU is one of the outstanding young student leaders our country has produced. Siphiwo is energetic, committed, intelligent, thoughtful, clear-minded and dedicated to a future South Africa in which white and black will share freely in the wealth of our country and all that it offers.

Siphiwo (a beautiful Xhosa name meaning "gift") is the son of Sipho and Joyce Mtimkulu — loving parents who struggled against enormous odds to raise their only son in a deprived Port Elizabeth township where they managed to keep him at school into his matric year. Siphiwo's leadership qualities were recognized by his friends who soon saw him into a leadership role in the now-banned Congress of SA Students.

It is my privilege to know Siphiwo and his family. His contribution to making South Africa a better place in which to live is one of the signs of hope in what one feels to be such an intensely

Di Bishop

hopeless situation as the repression takes hold.

I feel a sense of overwhelming sadness — for Sipho and Joyce — and for all peace-loving South Africans as we enter this week. On April 14 it was six years since Siphiwo disappeared from Port Elizabeth without trace with a friend, Topsy Madaka.

Six months before they disappeared, Siphiwo was released from five months of detention in solitary confinement. He was hospitalized two days later during which time his broken body was found to have been poisoned by rare thallium poisoning. After several months of skilled and gentle medical care, he started to recover. But at the time of his disappearance, his long-term prognosis was unknown and he still walked with great difficulty.

In May, it will be three years since PEBCO leaders Messrs Hashe, Galela and Godolozi disappeared without trace — also in Port Elizabeth.

Just returned from the Eastern Cape, a friend phoned today to say that she had gone to visit family and friends in and around Port Elizabeth and Queenstown during her vacation. What she found was "empty houses, children alone at home, husbands and wives alone" — hundreds of people in detention.

During this week may we be reminded of all those who suffer because they stand up for the truth; and may we be mindful of Siphiwo, wherever he is ...

From the Bible

When I lie down, I go to sleep in peace; you alone, O Lord, keep me perfectly safe.

(Psalms 4:8)

'Five-day-old baby denied water'

Security forces accused of terror raid on township

(327) 15/4/88 Star

Political Staff

The Government lost all moral right to conscript young men into the Defence Force when it used them to "terrorise defenceless men, women and babies" as happened last month in the Stellenbosch township of Kaya Mandi, said **Claremont independent MP Mr Jan van Eck.**

Mr Jan van Eck ... tells Parliament of terror raid.

POLICE FORCE

During the Budget debate in the House of Assembly yesterday — and to shouts of "here we go again" — Mr van Eck told the story he had pieced together of the March 26 Kaya Mandi raid by members of the police force and the SADF.

"Yes, here we go again," said Mr van Eck. "If you turn South Africa into a police state you can't expect everyone to keep quiet about it."

Mr van Eck told the Assembly that in the early hours of Saturday March 26 a security force contingent surrounded Kaya Mandi in what was later described as a "crime raid".

"Without warning, heavily armed police, commandos, with dogs barged into the hostels and started a bed-to-bed search demanding from occupants the so-called bed cards to prove that they had paid their monthly bed rental of R9,06 per single bed," said Mr van Eck.

TOILET WATER

More than 300 women and 142 men without such cards were arrested and jailed.

The women in "flimsy night wear" were not allowed to put on warmer clothing and a number of babies, including one just five days old, were jailed with their mothers until late the next afternoon. They were given no food or water for the whole period.

"When the mother of the five-day-old baby asked for water for her thirsty baby she was told to drink the toilet water. Two babies fainted as a result of this treatment."

Mr Frik van Deventer, National Party MP for Durbanville, accused Mr van Eck of abusing the privilege of Parliament to attack the security forces with "untested stories".

Had Mr van Eck approached the police and the Minister involved, he asked. The police had acted because there were reports of up to 10 women a night being raped in the hostel.

Mr van Eck said it appeared the real reason for the raid was the bed fee, which was collected by the "so-called mayor of Kaya Mandi", one Mr Mytatase, who had frequently been accused of corruption.

The mayor was demanding an extra R9.06 from the men who chose to share these single beds with women.

"One can only guess how many young men have been pushed to the point where they decide that the present system is so unjust that it is justified to take up arms against it," said Mr van Eck.

W/Mail 21/4/88 (327)

Descom's funding charges dropped

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

THE state has withdrawn charges against three officials of the Detainees' Support Committee in Pietermaritzburg, after charging them under the Fund Raising Act.

The matter seemed likely to be a test case for the many other organisations under intense scrutiny by the police for alleged contraventions of the Act.

Natal University's Colin Gardner, professor of English, was the first accused in the case, along with Gay Spiller and university librarian Christopher Merrett, all alleged to be Descom office bearers.

The case against Spiller — who no longer lives in the city — was withdrawn after two appearances, but the other two appeared in court a third time in connection with the charges.

Six charges, relating to a total of about R30 000, were involved in the case which began on March 1. The charges included two transfers of funds from the Johannesburg DPSC and one amount from the Rockerfeller Institute. The money was used to support detainees and their families.

Gardner said the Descom legal team believed the issues at stake in the case were significant and so it was decided to defend the case even though an offer was made to allow a small fine to be paid on admission of guilt.

W/Mail 15-21/4/88

327

Winnie Mandela congratulates veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph on the occasion of her 83rd birthday

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

(b) 8 October 1987;

(4) yes,

(a) the Paarl Teachers' College will be used by the South African Police, the Paarl Technical College and the Paarl Commercial High School,

(b) with effect from 1990;

(5) no.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Sandton: additional post offices/postal services

130. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Communications:

Whether it is the intention to provide any additional (a) post offices and (b) postal services in the Sandton area in 1988; if so, (i) where, (ii) what services, and (iii) when, in each case?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

(a) No;

(b) yes;

(i) Gallo Manor;

(ii) and (iii) the installation of 800 additional private boxes at the existing mail collection unit before the end of March 1988 (see note 1).

The following additional services are planned for the Sandton area for completion later than 1988;

(i) The erection of a mail collection unit consisting of 1 500 private boxes in Linbro Park by August 1989 (see note 1).

(ii) The construction of a new departmental post office in Wendywood to replace the existing hired premises in the course of 1989. The proposed new office will provide 2 000 private boxes.

(iii) The establishment of a post office in Morningside (see note 2).

NOTES:

(1) In a written reply furnished on 26 February 1987 to question No 347, it was envisaged that the service at Gallo Manor would be provided towards the middle of 1987 and that at Linbro Park during the second half of 1987. The work involved in the provision of these services has unfortunately been unavoidably delayed.

(2) The target date of the second half of 1987 envisaged in the reply to the question referred to above for the establishment of a post office in Morningside could unfortunately not be met as hired accommodation at an economic rental is not available. It is not proposed to erect a departmental building for this purpose as early as possible.

Special crime prevention unit in Sandton: arrests

136. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many arrests in respect of each specified type of suspected offence were effected in 1987 by the special crime prevention unit stationed in Sandton?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Immigration Act	916
Drinking in the Public	261
Trespass	201
Possession of dagga	92
Housebreaking with the intent to steal and theft	68
Theft of motor vehicles	33
Dealing in dagga	19
Possession of suspected stolen property	16
Theft	11
Possession of prohibited concoctions	5
Possession of dangerous weapons	4
Gambling	3
Robbery	3
Theft out of motor vehicles	2
Illegal possession of arms and ammunition	3
Fraud	1
Dealing in liquor without a licence	1
Rape	1
Assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm	1
Escaping from custody	1
TOTAL	1 642

Sandton/Bramley/Wynberg/Alexandra/Lombardy East police stations: patrol vehicles stationed

137. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many serviceable patrol vehicles (a) with and (b) without radio equipment installed are stationed on a daily basis at the (i) Sandton, (ii) Bramley, (iii) Wynberg/Alexandra and (iv) Lombardy East police stations?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

	(a)	(b)
(i)	4	—
(ii)	3	—
(iii)	5	—
(iv)	3	2

Sandton: detainees

141. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any persons detained in terms of security legislation or emergency regulations had been held at the Sandton police station from 12 June 1986; if so, (a) how many, (b) what specified facilities exist at this police station for holding such persons and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) to (c)

I refer the honourable member to my reply to oral question 2 of 17 February 1987 (Hansard Col 70 to 81) and written question 84 of 20 February 1987 (Hansard Col 186) which I still regard as sufficient.

Internal Security Act: contraventions of section 46

142. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any persons were (a) charged with and (b) convicted of contravening section 46 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, in 1987; if so, (i) how many, and (ii) how many of these persons were under the age of 18 years, in each case?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

Section 46 of the Internal Security Act, 1982, does not create an offence. Offences which relate to section 46 are contained in section 57 of the Act. Comprehensive statistics are not readily available in the Department. However, steps are being taken to make such statistics available in the future.

Trespass: convictions

349. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

How many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Indians and (d) Blacks were convicted of trespass in 1987 in (i) each of the main urban centres and (ii) the Republic?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

In an effort to be of assistance to the Honourable Member the following information in respect of the Republic for the period 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987 was obtained from the Central Statistical Services:

Race	Prosecutions	Convictions
Whites	12	11
Coloureds	74	46
Indians	8	6
Blacks	179	137

Sporting facilities: amount spent

400. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Education:

What was the total amount spent by his Department on the provision of sporting facilities in South Africa in the 1986-87 financial year?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

A total amount of R1 253 700 was made available during the 1986/87 financial year by the Department of National Education for the provision of sporting facilities in South Africa.

White citizens in RSA

474. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) What was the total number of White South African citizens resident in the Republic as at 31 December 1987;

(2) (a) how many White persons resident in the Republic as at that date had not taken out South African citizenship and (b)(i) what were their countries of origin and (ii) how many of them came from each such country?

(b) 29 February 1988.

(2) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(3) No, the town has not yet been registered.

Death sentences of six persons from Sharpeville: representations for commutation

*28. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether any representations have been received for the commutation of the death sentences of six persons from Sharpeville, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) from whom, (b) with what result and (c) what are the names of these persons;

(2) whether any decision has been taken in this regard; if so, what is the decision; if not, why not;

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

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) (a), (b) and (c) Yes. Representations have been received from various persons and organizations for the commutation of the death sentence of the persons whose names have been furnished by the hon member. It is not feasible to furnish the names of all the persons who made representations in a reply of this nature.

(2) Yes. No grounds could be found to commute the sentences imposed by the court and confirmed by the Appellate Division.

(3) No. A statement is not necessary.

Emergency regulations: orders restricting access to KTC

*29. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any orders have been issued in terms of the emergency regulations in connection with restricted access to the KTC squatter camp; if so, (a) by whom, (b) in terms of what regulations, (c) why and (d) what is the purport of these orders;

(2) whether he has received any representations for the (a) repeal and (b) amendment of these orders; if so, (i) from whom and (ii) what was (aa) the nature of the representations and (bb) his response thereto;

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

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The Divisional Commissioner, Western Province.

(b) In terms of regulation 7 of the Regulations promulgated in Proclamation R96 of 11 June 1987 by virtue of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953).

(c) Because it is in the interest of the residents of the area and to maintain law and order.

(d) I refer the hon member to Government Notice 411 in *Government Gazette* 11168 dated 1 March 1988.

(2) (a) No.

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

(b) No, but the Divisional Commissioner, Western Province Division received representations.

(i) The Legal Resources Centre and a small group of residents from the KTC squatter camp.

(ii) (aa) That similar orders are not in force in respect of other residential areas.

(bb) A delegation was interviewed on 7 March 1988. Their representations were given a hearing and consdiered, but turned down. It was pointed out to them that the situation in the KTC squatter camp and the surrounding areas changes continually. Therefore, measures such as these are reconsidered on a daily basis and adjusted should circumstances so require.

(3) Yes.

Measures of this nature are always introduced with a view to

— facilitating the maintenance of law and order;

— ensuring the safety of the residents of an area and

— promoting the termination of the state of emergency.

In this instance, measures were implemented in the interests of the safety and at the request of the majority of the residents of the KTC squatter camp. Since then the situation in this residential area has to a large extent stabilized. A visible tranquillity, with which we are pleased, prevails.

However, it is noteworthy that a very small group of radical residents are not in favour of stability and peace; likewise, the organisations and/or the individuals who represent the interests of these residents with loud acclamation. Protective measures such as these are labelled as oppressive and unnecessary.

Therefore I wish to emphasise today that these radicals and their representatives do not act or remonstrate on behalf of the greater majority of the community. On the contrary, their actions promote only their own selfish political and personal interests.

Own Affairs:

Teachers: election agents for political candidates

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) Whether it is permissible in the Transvaal, Cape, Free State and Natal Provincial Education Departments, respectively, for teachers to (a) act as election agents for candidates of political parties and (b) distribute party-political information during school hours on school premises; if so, (i) with effect from what date and (ii) subject to what conditions;

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

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) (a) Although this is not prohibited by ordinance I am not in favour of such a practice;

(b) no,

(i) and (ii) fall away;

(2) no.

Rationalization of teachers' colleges: recommendations by Cape Education Department

*2. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

Whether the Cape Education Department was requested by his Department to make recommendations in connection with the rationalization of teachers' colleges in the Cape Province; if not, why not; if so, what (a) recommendations in connection with the teachers' colleges at (i) Paarl and (ii) Wellington and (b) other recommendations were made?

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) and (b)

The Cape Education Department is part of my Department and as such responsible for administering the policy of the Department of Education and Culture in the Cape. The rationalization of institutions in the Cape is therefore undertaken on the basis of inputs received from the Cape Education Department as well as on other related considerations. It is not normal practice to make known the recommendations that are considered in the process of decision-making.

Levies by own affairs departments for services: investigation

*3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of the Budget and Welfare:

(1) Whether a committee is investigating the introduction of levies to be imposed by own affairs departments for the use of certain services; if so, (a) under which Department does this committee fall, (b) (i) on what dates has this committee met and (ii) who are the members thereof and (c) what services are involved;

(2) whether this committee has made any recommendations on the introduction of such levies; if not, why not; if so, what levies have been (a) recommended and (b) introduced;

In any event, the substance of the hon member's question includes a great variety of crimes under different headings.

In order to compile this information, it will be necessary to check the crime records of police stations country-wide. This would be a voluminous and time-consuming task which could not be economically justified. Therefore, I am not prepared to furnish this information.

National servicemen accused of certain acts against detainee

*21. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether, with reference to the reply of the Minister of Law and Order to Question No 18, standing over, on 6 October 1987, any of the six persons accused in connection with the alleged commission of certain acts against the detainee referred to in the reply to Question No 21 on 25 Aguust 1987, were national servicemen; if so, how many;

(2) whether it is the policy of the South African Defence Force to use national servicemen to interrogate civilians; if not, what is the policy in this regard?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No.

(2) Yes, if they possess the necessary training and qualifications.

Blacks in Cape Peninsula: scheme dealing with housing/recreation/educational needs

*22. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether his Department has a plan or town planning scheme dealing with the present and future housing, recreational and educational needs of Blacks living in the Cape Peninsula; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether this plan or scheme makes provision for (a) the upgrading of Old Crossroads, KTC and other squatter areas within the Nyanga East area and (b) additional areas for those who cannot be accommodated in the above existing squatter areas; if not, why not; if so, when is it anticipated that the implementation of this plan or scheme will be (i) commenced and (ii) completed;

(3) whether those concerned have been consulted and advised concerning details of this plan or scheme; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) with what result;

(4) whether details of this plan or scheme have been made available to the public; if not, why not; if so, when;

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

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) and (b) Yes.

(i) The implementation of the plan has already started.

(ii) Approximately 1992.

(3) Yes.

(a) On an ongoing basis.

(b) With positive reaction and co-operation.

(4) No, all the people concerned have been consulted before declaring the development areas.

(5) No.

Corruption in Transkei: SAP commercial branch involved in investigations

*23. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the commercial branch of the South African Police are involved in the investigations of the commission of inquiry into allegations of corruption in Transkei; if so, what is the nature of this involvement;

(2) whether he will furnish information on whether investigations into possible (a) exchange control and (b) other criminal contraventions are taking place in this connection; if not, why not; if so, what progress has been made in this regard;

(3) whether the possible involvement of certain persons, whose names have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, is one of the matters being investigated; if so, what are the names of these persons;

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

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes. Two officers of the commercial branch are assisting with the collection of evidence for the commission of inquiry, at the request of the Transkeian Government.

(2) to (4) Because Transkei is an independent state and the commission of inquiry was appointed by that government, I do not consider it advisable to furnish any information which has come to the fore as a result of the activities of the commission. Should the findings of the commission reveal that any offence was committed in the Republic, it will be forwarded and dealt with through the usual diplomatic channels.

Information prejudicial to security of RSA passed to certain person

*24. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether he will give the House the assurance that no information prejudicial to the security of the Republic was passed to a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) on what basis is he giving this assurnace and (b) what is the name of this person?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

Yes

(a) On the basis that there had at no stage been contact between the SA Defence Force and this person.

(b) The name supplied by the hon member.

Activities of certain person: investigations

*25. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether he and/or any section of his Department (a) is investigating and/or (b) has been informed of any investigations into the activities of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why are no such investigations being conducted in his Department; if so, what (i) is the nature and (ii) are the results of these investigations;

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

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) No.

(b) No.

No information has been received by the Department calling for such an investigation.

(2) No.

KwaZulu: political party financed/sponsored

*26. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

Whether any political party in KwaZulu was financed or sponsored by the Bureau for Information at any stage; if so, (a) why, (b) when, (c) to what extent and (d) what is the name of (i) this party and (ii) the leader of this party?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

No.

(a) (b) and (c) Fall away.

(d) (i) and (ii) Fall away.

Jamestown: houses sold to Blacks

*27. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether any houses in Jamestown have been sold to Black persons in terms of the 99-year leasehold system; if so, (a) how many and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) whether the area in question has been registered as a Black township; if so, (a) when and (b) what is the name of this township;

(3) whether the title deeds to the properties so sold have been issued; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

(1) Yes.

(a) 7

closure of the teachers' colleges in Paarl or Wellington; if so, (a) who were the members of the deputation, (b) on whose behalf did they come to see him and (c) what was their request to him;

(2) whether as a result he was directly or indirectly involved in the decision to close the Paarl Teachers' College;

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

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) to (3):

I was approached in this regard, but I indicated that the matter is an own affair in terms of the Constitution Act and that I could consequently only act on the advice of the Ministers' Council concerned.

Bureau for State Security/State Security Council: sponsoring of certain party

*4. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the State President:

Whether the Bureau for State Security or the State Security Council sponsored a certain party, the name of which has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) why, (b) when, (c) to what extent and (d) what is the name of this party?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(a), (b), (c) and (d)

I refer the hon member to the replies to questions on the same matter as answered by the then Prime Minister in Parliament on 6 and 9 August 1974.

I abide by the answers then supplied and have no reason to deviate from them now.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, is he aware that during the course of last month, by means of a letter to the *Financial Mail*, Chief Buthelezi made the categorical statement that the Shaka Spear Party in opposition to him was sponsored by the then Bureau for State Security through their employee Francois Fouché?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of the statement, and in any case if the hon member has any information, he may get into touch with me on it and I shall have it investigated. That is my reply to him.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: I have just given the hon the State President the information.

The STATE PRESIDENT: I cannot reply in regard to what other people say; I can only provide the hon member with the facts available to me as Head of State.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 8 March 1988:

Financing of cultural institutions: changes

*31. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether any changes are to be effected by his Department in respect of the financing of cultural institutions falling under its control; if not, why not; if so, (a) what changes are envisaged in this regard and (b) when will they be effected;

(2) whether any such institutions have made representations to his Department for additional funds for the 1988-89 tax year; if so, what is the nature of these representations;

(3) whether his Department has initiated budget-saving measures in respect of these cultural institutions; if so, what financial restrictions have been applied;

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

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY (for the Minister of National Education):

Answers are given regarding cultural institutions that are administered in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act (Act 29 of 1969).

(1) Yes.

(a) Refinement of the existing subsidy formulae.

(b) Negotiations are at present in progress with a view to implementing these changes as soon as possible.

(2) Yes. Additional funds have been requested in respect of current expenditure and the acquisition of fixed assets.

(3) Yes. It is intended not to fund the approved formula in full. Nor has it been possible to do so for some years.

(4) No.

New Questions:

Males/females awaiting execution

*1. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

How many (a) males and (b) females of each race group were awaiting execution in the Republic as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

On 14 March 1988 six Black men and one Black woman were awaiting execution while the cases of the rest were still in various stages of the post sentence process, the largest group being involved in appeals.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know how many people have thus far been pardoned this year.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the answer is five persons.

Offences against security of State: life sentences

*2. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

(a) How many persons are at present serving life sentences for offences against the security of the State and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) 21

(b) 31 December 1987.

Persons under 18 years awaiting trial

*3. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

How many persons under the age of 18 years were held awaiting trial in prisons on 31 December 1987?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

582

[Remainder of reply laid upon the Table with leave of House]:

Section 29 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959) stipulates *inter alia* that a person under the age of eighteen years who is accused of having committed an offence shall, before his conviction, not be detained in a prison unless his detention is necessary and no suitable place of detention mentioned in the Child Care Act is available for his detention. In deciding as to the suitability of the place of detention, the nature of the offence with which a person is charged is taken into account, as well as age, sex, character, etc.

A juvenile who is detained in terms of this section shall not be permitted to associate with a person over the age of twenty-one years who is in custody, provided that he may be permitted to associate with such a person in custody who has been charged jointly with him, if the head of the prison is of the opinion that such association will not be detrimental to him. An awaiting trial woman under the age of eighteen years is placed in the care of a woman.

All persons awaiting trial or sentence are segregated from sentenced and other categories of unsentenced prisoners as far as possible and association between prisoners awaiting trial or sentence are restricted to a minimum in order to prevent collusion or conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice.

The honourable member is also referred to the press statements of Mr F W De Klerk, Minister of National Education and Mr S J de Beer, Deputy-Minister of Education of 15 August 1987 and 14 March 1988 respectively.

Release of Mr Govan Mbeki from jail: international press conference

*4. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

Whether the Bureau for Information arranged an international press conference for Mr Govan Mbeki upon his release from jail; if so, (a) at what total cost to the State and (b) on whose authority?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

Yes, to ensure orderly coverage of this sensitive and newsworthy event.

(a) No special costs were incurred.

The short, troubled life of SOUTH

Stoffel Botha's first-birthday present for the Cape Town weekly South has been an execution notice. GAYE DAVIS reports on the second newspaper in a month to face suspension

SOUTH may be doomed, but its staff is determined to go down fighting. The independent Western Cape weekly is next in line for the executioner's axe of Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha.

One small battle has already been won. The newspaper's second warning about "systematically and repeatedly" publishing "subversive propaganda" came just before the Easter weekend, lopping a week off the fortnight allowed to prepare written representations.

A request for an extension was first refused, then granted, after *South's* attorneys threatened to seek relief in the courts.

South will now submit its representations on Monday and simultaneously apply to the Cape Supreme Court for an interdict restraining the minister from acting against it.

Editor Rashid Seria is under no illusion as to the seriousness of the state's intentions; the three-month closure of the *New Nation* has left little room for optimism.

"But we're not just going to succumb," he told the *Weekly Mail*. "We're going to fight. We owe it to our sponsors (European church organisations who provided the bulk of *South's* capital), we owe it to our readers, the other newspapers under threat and, above all, to the political ideals we cherish. We're going to make it as difficult as possible to close us down."

Technically, Botha could gazette a warning against *South* within days of receiving the newspaper's representations, enabling him to impose a three-month suspension or pre-publication censorship.

Seria isn't expecting any men from the ministry wielding blue pencils: "At a meeting Botha had with editors soon after the media regulations were introduced last August, he made it clear he wasn't considering in-house censors as an option."

Launched just over a year ago "to fill a media vacuum in a situation where many of the established newspapers have largely abdicated their social responsibility in favour of profits", *South's* short life has not been trouble-free. In 1987 two editions were banned by the Publications Control Board. Appeals against both bannings were upheld.

Started under a State of Emergency, operating with a small, relatively inexperienced staff and limited resources — reporters must use taxis, buses or their own cars to cover stories — *South* also proved vulnerable to other slings and arrows.

Sales, now at "just under 10 000", failed to reach targeted levels, affecting advertising content and thus income.

A survey revealed readership resistance to a "political" newspaper — at odds with the initial belief that a market was waiting to be tapped among an increasingly politicised working class community.

When the content mix was adjusted, criticism came from other quarters that the newspaper was not being political enough.

There were internal problems, exacerbated by staffers having to work virtual seven-day weeks for little pay. Pressures of news gathering and production meant little time for dialogue and resentments festered.

In his annual report, Seria cited as a priority for 1988 an "intensive process of evaluation" involving staff and shareholders but also trade unions and community organisations, so the paper could fix on an identity allowing it to get across its political message and also sell copies.

All these difficulties have been eclipsed by the threat of imminent closure. After losing R420 000 during its first year, *South* is in poor financial shape to withstand a three-month lay-off.

"It would be very difficult to survive — but we would continue with our journalist-training programme, and plan to launch a news agency."

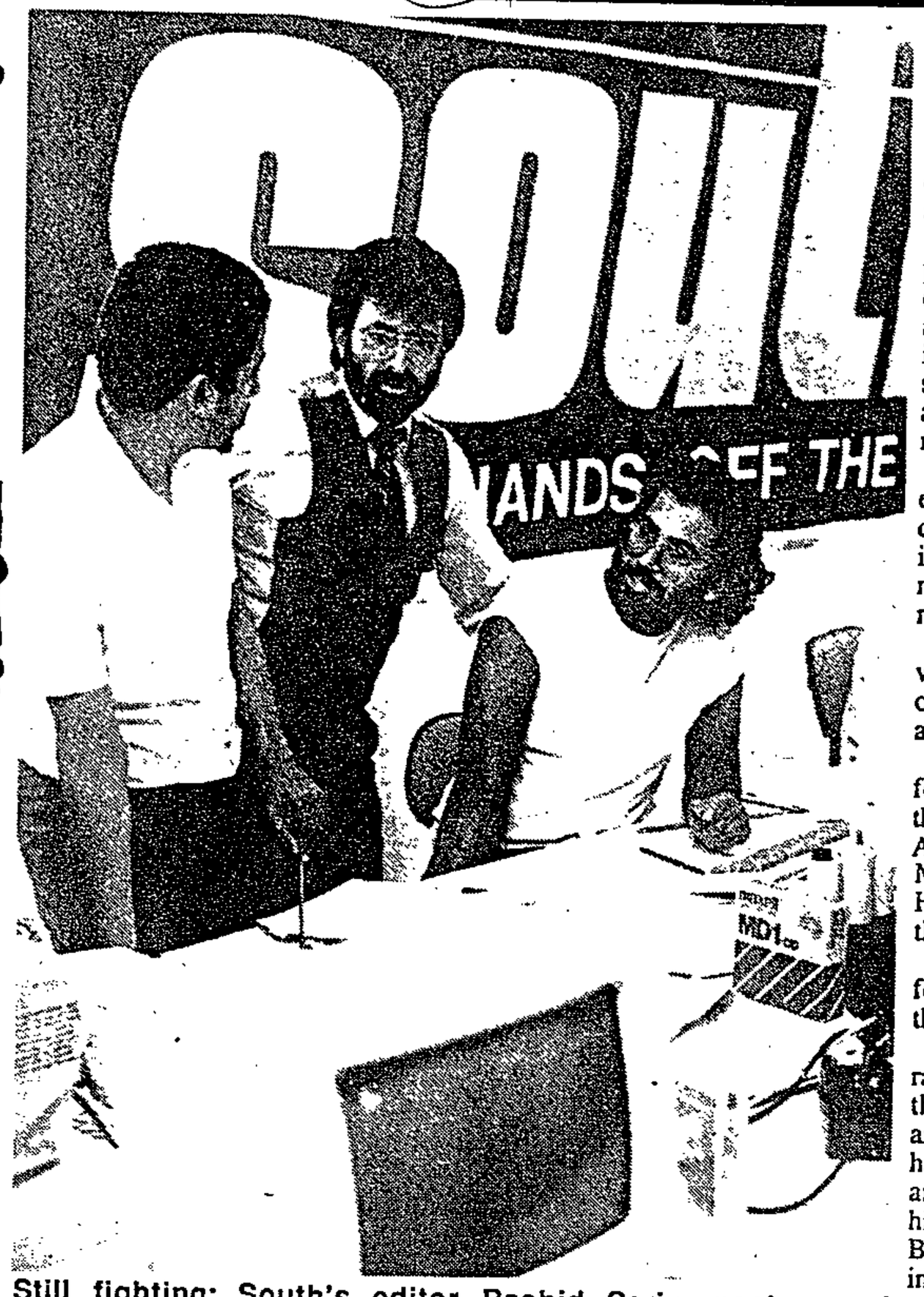
Seria, 38, a former joint-treasurer for the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, got his training on Argus Company newspapers. as did Moegsien Williams and Nazeem Howa, who shared the job of getting the newspaper off the ground.

A trust was created and a company formed, South Press Services, with the trust the major shareholder.

South has carried lively debate on a range of political issues, focused on the plight of unorganised workers and isolated rural communities and has also embarrassed Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok by proving him wrong after he denied two young Bonteheuwel detainees were 14, as initially reported by the newspaper.

Botha, he says, is "very shrewd — going for the small newspapers on the periphery hoping that he'll terrify the mainstream press to the extent that they'll be too scared to say anything.

"But we're not going to be party to our own demise. We're not going to try and toe any line the government draws. The axe will still fall, whatever we do."



Still fighting: South's editor Rashid Seria, centre, and production editor Nazeem Howa, right, with acting news editor Ryland Fisher Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

APARTHEID BAROMETER

SADF DEATHS IN ANGOLA

The South African Defence Force announced the deaths during the past two weeks of two of its men in the operational area. This brings to 53 the number of SADF/South West Africa Territory Force members the Defence Force says have died in Angola over the past six months. The two who were killed were Mirage pilot Major Willie van Coppenhagen and Second Lieutenant Jacobus Diederichs. At least one SADF airman is still officially missing.

The 53 SADF members are believed to include 39 conscripts, 10 Permanent Force members and four SWATF soldiers. All 49 South Africans were white. The SADF has not announced the deaths of any black troops. A recent report in the *Independent* said a black South African soldier had been burnt by a phospherous bomb at Cuito Cuanavale, but no mention of this has been made in SADF reports.

The Angolan government said last week it had the identity document of Presidential Regiment soldier Sean Collins, and was earlier said to have the bodies and identity documents of two SADF soldiers, national serviceman Melvin Reeneke and 32 Battalion member JR Mananal. The SADF has not confirmed these claims. According to figures released by the Angolan government about 400 South African and South West African troops have died in Angola over the last six months.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

A total of 959 religious objectors to military service were granted community service by the Board for Religious Objection between mid-1984 and the end of last year, according to statistics quoted in the latest issue of *Die Hervormer*, the monthly journal of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk.

These objectors, who are "sentenced" to up to six years non-military service with a government department, came from the following churches: Jehovah's Witness (787); Plymouth Brethren (70); Anglican (57); Methodist (46); Roman Catholic (30); Full Gospel (16); Presbytarian (14); Ned Geref Churches (12); Congregationalists (10) and Lutheran (four).

HANGINGS

A total of at least 1 852 people were hanged in South Africa between 1970 and March 1988 (1 330 since 1978) — 1775 at Pretoria Central Prison and at least 77 in the "independent homelands". The Pretoria Central figures over the past 18 years are as follows: 1969/70 — 80; 1970/1 — 80; 1971/2 — 56; 1972/3 — 55; 1973/4 — 43; 1974/5 — 57; 1975/6 — 61; 1976/7 — 90; 1978 — 132; 1979 — 133; 1980 — 130; 1981 — 96; 1982 — 99; 1983 — 90; 1984 — 115; 1985 — 137; 1986 — 121; 1987 — 164; Jan — March 1988 — 36.

Between 1910 and 1947 the annual average number of hangings was 21. Between 1949 and 1968 this rose to 76; between 1969 and 1987 the average was 96 (rising to 122 between 1978 and 1987).

Of the 36 hanged in the first three months of this year 33 are believed to have been black. Of those hanged last year 155 were black and nine white.

At least five of those hanged this year were political activists, and over the last 15 months 10 "political" convicts have been hanged. At present, 48 people are known to be on death row for politically-related crimes.

Between 1977 and 1987 at least 77 people were hanged in the "independent homelands" — 48 in Transkei, 14 in Bophuthatswana (since 1978), 10 in Venda (since 1980) and five in Ciskei (since 1984).

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

CARL NIEHAUS, 28, ANC member, was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act on August 23 1983. On November 24 1983 he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for high treason.

Niehaus, who grew up in Zeerust and Krugersdorp, began studying theology at the Rand Afrikaans University in 1978. In 1980 he was suspended for putting up political posters on campus, and thereafter studied at Wits University. He then became active in Christian anti-apartheid circles after leaving the Nederduitse Geref Kerk and joining an NGK (Africa) congregation in Alexandra.

He joined the ANC in 1981 and was involved with producing ANC pamphlets, helping people leave the country and collecting information for the ANC.

Niehaus is currently completing an honours degree in theology at Unisa. He married Jansie Laurens while both were in Pretoria Central Prison.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:

Cape Youth Congress, Southern Suburbs Region — Save Our Comrades on Death Row (Cayco); Swapo of Namibia Nachrichten-Rundbrief 1987 (Swapo of Namibia, Bonn); three issues of Swapo Information Bulletin — July, August and September 1987 (Swapo Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda); five issues of The Combatant — vol 8 no 12 July 1987, vol 8 no 11 June 1987, vol 8 no 10 May 197, vol 8 no 1 August 1986 and vol no 6 January 1987 (Plan Commissariat, Lubango); Swapo — 20 Years of Armed Struggle to Free Namibia — poster (not stated); New Africa News no 64 July/August 1987 (New Africa News Collective, Australia); Tenderness of Blood (Mandla Langa); Zuidelijk Afrika Nieuws no 146 Augustus 1987 (Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland, Amsterdam); Asia and Africa Toda no 5 (71) September/October 1987 (VO Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow); What You Can Do To Undermine Apartheid (Peoples' Congress of Azania).

Banned for distribution and importation:

Stop Aids — keyring; Aids emergency, break it — keyring; Sex Guide to Better Screwing — cassette (not stated); Boy Wants a Master — cassette (not stated); 1986-1987 Adult Goods, Sex Aids, Novelities, Lingerie, Games etc — catalogue (Man's advisor — AF Products Inc Hillbrow); A Different Love (Clay Larkin); Karl Marx — Great Lives (Wayland Publishers); Desires Within Young Girls — film; Love Play French Style — film.

Hundreds thrown into jail after raid — MP

327

D/D 15/4/88

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hundreds of Stellenbosch hostel dwellers were dragged from their beds during an early morning raid by heavily armed soldiers last month and "thrown into jail".

This was stated by the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, during the Budget debate in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said the group had been denied food or water for 15 hours while in jail.

When Nationalist MPs questioned the veracity of his account, Mr Van Eck challenged them to accompany him to Kaya Mandi township to meet the inhabitants and see the "shocking conditions" at the hostels.

Mr Van Eck said the statement by the SAP that the raid — during which more than 300 women and 142 men were arrested — was an "anti-crime drive" had to be rejected "with contempt".

A large contingent of police, police reservists and "Dad's Army" members of the SADF with dogs "barged into" the hostels in the early morning on March 26, and started a bed-to-bed search demanding from occupants their bed rental cards.

Those without cards or who could not produce them at that moment were "unceremoniously arrested and thrown into jail", he said.

Although some women were dressed in "flimsy nightwear", they were not allowed to put on warmer clothing.

MR VAN ECK

Once in prison, requests that they be allowed to buy food with the money they had on them, were refused.

Mr Van Eck said "two very serious consequences" flowed from the incident.

"Firstly, if the government uses members of the SADF, and especially members of the so-called Dad's Army, for this kind of operation, then it loses whatever moral right it may have had to force anyone to do military service.

"Anyone who refuses to serve in a defence force that is used to terrorise defenceless men, women and babies should be commended, not punished.

"Secondly, by acting against the people of Kaya Mandi in the way the security forces did, the defence force was legitimising the use of violence by the victims of this kind of action.

"When I visited Kaya Mandi last Saturday the hatred and anger caused by this raid was still visible on the faces of many.

"One can only guess how many young men have been pushed to the point where they decided that the present system is so unjust that they are justified in taking up arms against it."

Speaking after Mr Van Eck, Mr Frik van Deventer, (NP Durbanville), said no effort had been made to obtain the other side of the story.

"No, instead he (Mr Van Eck) misuses the privilege of this House to bring discredit to the security forces of South Africa. This is the grossest form of provocation."

MEETING STOPPED

Sowetan 18/4/88

(327)

POLICE stopped an education seminar and declared it illegal at the weekend because of the organising committee's association with the now banned National Education Crisis Committee, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat said.

Dr Asvat said the seminar was organised by the People's Education Committee abd was to be held over two days. He said the meeting was disrupted by police at its opening on Saturday.

A spokesman for the police directorate in Pretoria yesterday said he had no idea about the incident.

Policeman denies knowing of order halting KTC action

CAPE TOWN — A senior police officer told the Cape TownSupreme Court yesterday that he had not been told that an interdict restraining the police, the South African Defence Force and the Witdoek vigilantes from attacking the KTC squatter camp had been granted.

This was said by Lieutenant-Colonel William Oosthuizen in the R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when vigilantes destroyed most of KTC.

CRIME PREVENTION

Colonel Oosthuizen of Wynberg CID said he had gone to KTC to prevent crime and also to arrest people in possession of unlicensed firearms.

He had heard rumours that KTC was to be attacked because inhabitants of Old Crossroads had been murdered.

Colonel Oosthuizen said he and his team had been in the vicinity of KTC on all three days of the fighting, and his orders were to identify and arrest people who possessed unlicensed firearms.

Should a team member come across someone who was in the process of using a firearm, he was to "eliminate" the person.

Because of persistent rumours, which he wanted to quash, that police were assisting the Witdoeke, he had asked a police liaison officer, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, to present him with a list of local and foreign journalists who wanted to go into the area with the police.

Asked if he knew that Major Dolf Odendaal had ordered that journalists were to stop photographing, Colonel Oosthuizen said if that was the case he would have contradicted the order because he had assured journalists they could photograph anything.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

STAR 19/4/88

Law Minister to oppose challenge on restrictions

19/4/88

The Minister of Law and Order has indicated that he will oppose court applications by the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other organisations challenging the restrictions imposed on their work by the Government on February 24.

A Johanesburg attorney representing Cosatu and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said he had been advised that their applications would be opposed by the Minister.

The applicants, four of the 18 organisations restricted in terms of the emergency regulations in February, filed papers in the Cape Town Supreme Court several weeks ago.

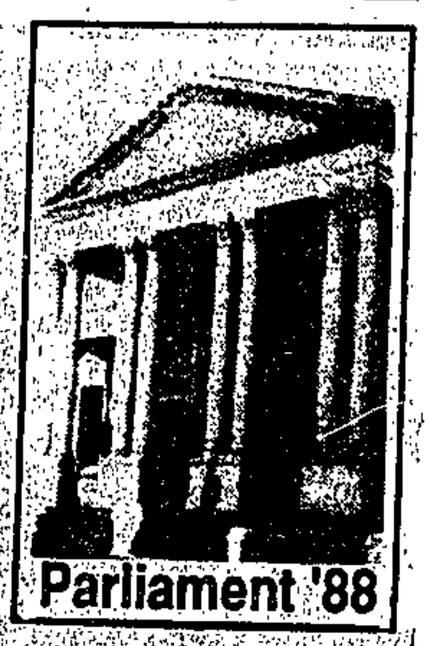
The UDF, DPSC and the Release Mandela Committee are among 17 organisations which have been prevented from carrying out any activities whatsoever, while Cosatu has been forbidden from pursuing a range of campaigns and protests.

The four applications, filed separately, will be argued simultaneously.

The applicants will submit that the emergency measure imposed is too vague to be valid in law and that it makes such fundamental inroads on the rights of ordinary people that Parliament could never have contemplated the enabling law would be use in this manner.

The applicants have not requested the court to treat their application as a matter of urgency.

19/4/88 (327) STAR



Parliament '88

301 reports 'potentially subversive'

Political Correspondent

Government press monitors last year identified 301 newspaper reports with a potentially subversive content, according to the 1987 annual report of the Department of Home Affairs tabled in Parliament yesterday.

"Reports that simply amount to criticism of the Government and of Government institutions are not branded potentially subversive for this reason alone," the report said.

It added there had been a marked reduction in the nature and scope of reporting that promoted or had the potential to promote a revolutionary climate, particularly as regards the commercial media.

CITY/NATIONAL

Idasa, ECC part of ANC plan — Malan

Political Staff

ORGANISATIONS such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, the Five Freedoms Forum and the End Conscription Campaign should be seen as part of an ANC/SACP strategy to divide whites, said Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, last night.

The surprise attack on Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Idasa came in a copy of a speech that General Malan was to deliver at the Kimberley Afrikaanse Sakekamer.

The allegations were dismissed by Dr Slabbert today.

Dealing with the "ANC/SACP tactics" for this year General Malan said the organisations were trying to show a falsely moderate face.

The object was to divide the Government's powerbase as well as to lobby support in the West. But, he said its objectives remained the same.

Extremists

He said President Botha had set the country on the road to a post-apartheid South Africa in which "group" and "own affairs" and civilised values would be protected.

The revolutionaries and extremists were now attempting to destroy a structured and orderly post-apartheid South Africa for their own ends.

General Malan gave a summary of what he saw as the targets of the ANC/SACP alliance. These included: Division in white ranks; getting so-called white "democrats" on their side. He cited organisations such as Idasa, Five Freedoms Forum, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and the End Conscription Campaign;

The "dropping" of immediate nationalisation of banks and mines to have a meaningful influence on elements in the private sector; the creation of a reasonable and moderate image that would enable it to be accepted as an alternative government; and to create the image that South Africa was unreasonable, the cause of the violence and was always the bad guy.

Slabbert's reply

Dr Slabbert said today he rejected with contempt the insinuation "that we are some kind of pawn in the grand ANC design.

"We have never made any secret of the fact that we want to promote dialogue across the political spectrum and would be quite happy for General Malan himself to participate in any of our workshops.

"He epitomises the Governmemt that talks about negotiation and then destroys all channels that could make it possible."

appear to be unproductive.

ARGUS 19/4/88

327

Police occupy centre to prevent meeting

Education Reporter

TEACHERS, pupils and parents were turned away from the Samaj Centre in Rylands when police occupied the building and prevented a Western Cape Teachers Union meeting from taking place.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Attie Laubscher confirmed today that police occupied the building last night "to prevent the meeting from being held".

The meeting had been called to protest against the "education crisis in the Western Cape" and to express solidarity with detained Manenberg teachers and pupils.

Cops 'unable to prevent fighting'

CAPE TIMES 20/4/89

327

Supreme Court Reporter

A SENIOR police officer told the Supreme Court yesterday that there were not enough police present to stop fighting which broke out in KTC between residents and the witdoek vigilantes in June 1986.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Oosthuizen was being cross-examined in the R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families.

Responding to Mr H P Viljoen, SC, Lt-Col Oosthuizen conceded that he had seen large numbers of witdoeke move into KTC in the presence of one Casspir.

Even if there had been 10 Casspirs present, he said, police would not have been able to prevent 800 witdoeke from entering KTC.

Police numbers were sufficient if they wanted to shoot to kill, but there were not enough police to try to arrest the witdoeke.

He had seen police use teargas to disperse the vigilantes.

Asked if he would have given an order to shoot if residents of Rondebosch had been attacked and arson committed, Lt-Col Oosthuizen said he would have ordered his men to shoot if he could not do anything else.

He agreed that he felt less responsible towards KTC residents than those of Rondebosch which was a white area. Greater material damage would be caused to Rondebosch, said.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr Viljoen, with Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar, and instructed by the legal Resources Centre, appeared for the residents. Mr C D Griesel SC and Mr L Visser SC, with Mr C Y Louw and F D J Brand and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.

Botha threatens Namibian weekly

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK. — P W Botha's veiled threat against the progressive media in Namibia could have dire consequences for a local English-language weekly newspaper, The Namibian.

Following talks with the interim government cabinet in Windhoek on April 8, the State President announced that the South African-appointed Administrator-General would be given authority to take "appropriate steps" against media in the territory which promoted "subversion and terrorism".

This is widely believed to be an indirect reference to The Namibian, which for almost three years has been consistently documenting atrocities against the civilian population of Northern Namibia.

The newspaper, which in 1985 was required to lodge a registration deposit of R20 000 in terms of the Internal Security Act, maintains a firm editorial policy favouring the immediate implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 of 1978.

Ceasefire

The resolution provides for the holding of free and fair elections under UN supervision in Namibia and a ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo.

All other newspapers in the territory were required to pay a R10 deposit fee, and in 1986 the Namibian contested its exorbitant registration fee in the Supreme Court.

The judge ruled in favour of the newspaper, and the cabinet was ordered to repay the amount with interest.

Editor of the Namibian, Gwen Lister, feels sure the State President's words were aimed at her newspaper.

"Never, since we first hit the streets, have the police, army or interim government taken us to court for publishing incorrect information. I know they wouldn't hesitate to do so if we published untruths, so what has prevented them? If they try to ban us, we will fight to the bitter end," she said.

Call to help save papers

Sowetan 21/4/88

327

PROMINENT anti-apartheid activists yesterday appealed for international support in a campaign to save newspapers threatened with closure by the Government.

"The pursuit of truth is being repressed," said the Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at a news conference held in support of South Africa's so-called "alternative Press."

The weekly, *New Nation*, has been closed by the Government for 12 weeks, and at least seven other publications have been threatened with similar action for publishing "subversive propaganda."

"If the alternative Press disappears, millions of people will have no way of making known their feelings," said Boesak.

Threat

"No one is allowed to say that this Government has no right to exist. No one is allowed to say that millions of South Africans would like to have a democratic, non-racial society," he said. "Making the truth known is a crime."

The directors of *South*, a Cape Town community newspaper under threat of closure, defended their commitment to publishing "basic truths" which might anger the Government.

They said *South* had a duty to convey black opposition to the Government.

In a letter to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who oversees the censorship regulations, the directors said: "If reporting these truths is offending you, then surely the problem lies not with the facts but with those who cannot stomach the truth."—Sapa-AP.

Nactu to ignore request

Sowetan 21/4/88

327

THE National Council of Trade Unions has decided to ignore a request from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to submit its publications to the department.

The council had received three warnings to submit its publications and had taken legal advice, it said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

No warnings about the content of the official newsletter, *Izwilethu*, had been received. However, Nactu said: "That *Izwilethu* is targetted is clear. Just as Cosatu has been targetted under the emergency regulations.

"State strategy is now clearly to attack the federation on different issues, sow suspicion and mistrust among our members and disunite our members by engaging them in separate strategies," the statement said.

Nactu strategy should be to unite opposition: "*South, Weekly Mail, New Nation* cannot fight on their own, just as Nactu and Cosatu cannot fight on their own," the statement said. — Sapa.

The Rev Lionel Louw, the Weekly Mail's Clive Cope, Mrs Farieda Omar, Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, Dr Allan Boesak, Grassroots' Veliswa Mhlauli and the New Nation's Gabu Tugwana at the press conference

'Act decisively to save alternative press'

REPRESENTATIVES of nine foreign governments this week heard Dr Allan Boesak appeal to the world to take decisive action to help save alternative newspapers facing closure.

Speaking at a press conference at St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, Boesak said pursuing the truth and making the truth known had become a crime in South Africa.

Boesak told diplomats from the United States, Britain, Canada, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, Austria and Portugal that protests at ambassadorial level were not sufficient "to bring Pretoria to its senses".

Several individuals and organisations have undersigned the appeal to the world.

Present at the conference were S A Council on Sport president Frank van der Horst, W P Council of Churches' chairperson Lionel Louw, New Nation's acting editor Gabu Tugwana, Weekly Mail's managing director Clive Cope, SOUTH's editor Rashid Seria, Grassroots' staffer Veliswa Mhlauli, and Out of Step's publicity secretary David Green.

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo said: "We need to enter into a debate about our country as equal partners."

South (327) 21-27/4/88

Cape Times 21/4/88 327

Top cop sorry for anti-LRC statement

BRIGADIER Ronnie van der Westhuizen, former Western Cape Divisional Commissioner of Police, has apologized for statements he made last year about the Legal Resources Centre.

In a statement received by the Cape Times yesterday, he said he regretted an error he had made, and added that he had not intended to question the integrity or motives of the LRC.

On August 7 last year, Brigadier Van der Westhuizen was trying to defuse a protest by some 4 000 women at the Nyanga offices of the Office for Community Services.

Court battles

He told a Cape Times journalist on the scene that Mr Prince Gobingca — a former vigilante from Crossroads who had had a fall-out with Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana — had "run to the LRC ... to get an interdict".

People were angry that the money they had for housing had to be used in court battles, he added, according to the report.

In his subsequent statement, the brigadier said it had been pointed out to him that the LRC had never acted on behalf of Mr Gobingca.

"I accept this to be the position and regret the error," he said.

He said it had not been his intention to question the integrity or motives of the LRC.

Widespread protests planned for Holland

JOHANNESBURG. — Nearly 100 000 people will stream from all over Holland to Amsterdam for a mass rally on June 11 in support of the fight for justice in South Africa.

Trade union federations and major church bodies will be involved, and even the ruling Christian Democratic Party has pledged support for the mass demonstration.

A top African National Congress (ANC) official will address the rally, organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands (AABN) and the Holland Committee on Southern Africa.

These two organisations have been largely responsible for putting South Africa on the political agenda in the Netherlands.

Both organisations are based in Amsterdam and are working hard to educate Dutch citizens about apartheid.

Protesters protesting in Amsterdam

'Evil system'

AABN administrative secretary Bing Muller told SOUTH: "We are leading the Dutch people to a more progressive stand towards South Africa. We are attacking the Dutch government for dragging its feet in the fight against apartheid."

AABN, which was formed in 1971, "aims at fighting racial and other discrimination the world over and the system of apartheid in South Africa in particular".

Another function of the AABN was to make the people in the Netherlands aware of the "evil system of apartheid."

The AABN was fighting to isolate South Africa completely on all levels, Muller said.

During the 1970s the AABN mobilised cultural organisations and artist unions to campaign against the cultural agreement between Holland and South Africa. The treaty was abolished.

The AABN fought for the recognition of the ANC by the Dutch government, and it strongly supported the founding of an ANC office in Amsterdam, to be started soon, Muller said.

Conny Braam, AABN president, said although the Dutch government claimed to be anti-apartheid, it did not prohibit Dutch firms from investing in or trading with South Africa.

She said products of multinational companies like SA Phillips and Shell were used by the South African Defence Force and police.

"The AABN has for many years campaigned against this form of economic collaboration," Braam said.

The Holland Committee on Southern Africa was established in 1961 as a solidarity organisation to help those fighting for independence in former colonies.

In 1973 it started the campaign against Shell Oil Company. It is now doing support work for the ANC and the South West African Peoples' Organisation (Swapo).

It succeeded in pressuring the Dutch governmemt to donate funds yearly to the ANC and Swapo.

It provides agricultural equipment to Swapo and ANC camps and is vigorously campaigning for economic sanctions against South Africa.

Pressure from the committee led to the Dutch parliament adopting an oil embargo resolution against South Africa in 1980. The government has however not yet implemented this decision.

The committee has also campaigned against banks selling Krugerrands. The committee runs an information service on current events in South Africa.

Izwilethu warned to submit copies

Sowetan

21-27/4/88

THE National Confederation of Trade Unions has been warned for the third time to deposit copies of their publication Izwilethu.

The Nactu central committee has decided to ignore the warnings until they had been advised by their lawyers.

They said the State's stategy against Nactu was clear.

"They aim to attack the Federation and to sow suspicion and mistrust among members."

The State also planned to cause disunity in the organisation by engaging members in different startegies, the committee said.

(327)

Trade union defies Government order to hand over paper

By DICK USHER, Labour Reporter

THE second largest trade union federation in South Africa is heading for a confrontation with the Government by defying demands for it to deposit its published material with the Department of Home Affairs.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), which has about 500 000 members, said yesterday it had had three warnings about depositing its material with the department in terms of emergency regulations.

The federation publishes Izwilethu, a monthly newsletter.

A statement from Nactu said it was clear that Izwilethu was "targetted" just as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the largest union grouping, had been targetted.

Cosatu, the largest union federation, was banned from "political" activities in February. At the same time 17 community organisations were restricted.

REQUEST IGNORED

"The Nactu central committee has decided to ignore the request from the Minister and has taken legal advice. No warnings over the content of Izwilethu has been received yet," the statement said.

Calling for "all forces, all tendencies to be united in the fight", Nactu said that South, the Weekly Mail and New Nation could not fight on their own.

New Nation, published in Johannesburg by the Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company, has been suspended for three months.

South is expecting similar action soon. Weekly Mail and the Argus company newspaper Sowetan have had letters from the Minister warning that they might be listed in the Government Gazette.

Three publications had warnings issued in the Gazette this month. They are the Cape Town-based Grassroots, Saamstaan which is published in Oudtshoorn, and the End Conscription Campaign's Out of Step.

SECURITY THREAT

A warning in the Gazette that a publication's material contains a threat to the security of the public or the maintenance of public order or causes a delay in the termination of the state of emergency is the second stage towards a publication being suspended or required to submit to pre-publication censorship.

The first step is a warning that listing is being considered and at the final stage the Minister may suspend publication for up to three months.

State strategy was now clear, Nactu said. It was to attack the federation on different issues, sow suspicion and mistrust among members and disunite members by engaging them in separate strategies.

(327) South 21-27/4/88

Giving birthday presents could become an offence

The Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, recently published, is a "political challenge to the people of South Africa and their organisations", says JOHN MURPHY, director of the University of the Western Cape's Community Law Centre. He explains the ramifications of this controversial Bill, which will mean, if it goes through in its present form, that the exchange of birthday presents could constitute a criminal offence.

SINCE the Government despatched inspectors appointed under the Fundraising Act to investigate the affairs of a number of organisations there has been growing concern about its intentions in relation to foreign funding.

The State President's finger-wagging warning that he was going to take steps against people receiving foreign funds "to undermine South Africa" seems to have become a reality with the recent tabling of the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

In its broad thrust, the Bill has four major objectives.

The first is to empower the Minister of Justice with wide subjective powers to declare organisations or persons who receive foreign funding and whom he deems to pursue and oppose any political aim or object, to be "restricted organisations".

Once restricted the organisation or person is obliged to transfer all receipts from foreign sources to an official known as the Registrar of Restricted Organisations. Failure to comply is punishable by a fine of up to R20 000, or twice the amount of money involved, whichever is the greater, or 10 years imprisonment, or both.

Once the money is delivered to the Registrar, the organisation or person is given the opportunity to convince the Registrar that the money will not be used for a political aim or object.

If successful, the money will be returned to the organisation. If not, it will either be returned to the foreign source or will be disposed of in any manner determined by the Minister of Justice after consultation with the Minister of Health.

The second objective of the Bill amounts to a complete blanket prohibition on the receipt of foreign funds by organisations and persons where such funds are intended to be used to further or oppose any political aim or object.

The creation of this new offence in Clause 2 is the Bill's most alarming aspect.

It needs to be stressed that this offence can be committed by ANY person or organisation who brings in money to pursue or oppose a political aim or object. It is not necessary that the organisation or person is declared restricted or affected.

The point is that the Government is seeking to empower the prosecuting authorities in the widest possible manner to ensure easy convictions of persons and organisations against whom they intend to act.

As if this were not enough, Clause 14 of the Bill creates a presumption to lighten the burden of the prosecution in proving the purpose for which the foreign money is to be used.

Once it is shown that the organisation or person pursues a political aim or object and that money has been received from abroad, it is presumed that the money is to be used for political purposes, until the organisation or person proves the contrary.

In other words, at this point the organisation or person is presumed guilty until it proves itself innocent.

The third prong in the proposed attack upon the finances of progressive organisations is to be found in the suggested amendments to the Fundraising Act found in clauses 26 - 32 of the Bill.

These amendments aim to tighten up control where funds are being collected for non-political purposes such as educational, spiritual, religious, social and health-care related projects.

The object seems to be to ensure that funds collected by non-political organisations are done so under State scrutiny and only with the authority of the Director of Fundraising.

The penalties for failure to do so have increased to R20 000 fine or 10 years imprisonment, or both.

The State hopes to close the existing loopholes by redefining the two key concepts of "collect" and "contribution".

Effectively a "contribution" means a donation - a gratuitous grant. "Collect" is to be redefined to mean to receive or acquire in any way (and includes a request) from ANY PERSON.

Under the existing legislation the concept of "collection" is limited to receipts from or requests directed to the public at large.

If the Bill goes through in its present form, it will mean, by reason of the redefinition of "collect" and "contribution", that we shall soon face the prospect in South Africa where the receipt of a birthday present or Christmas present can constitute a criminal offence.

Indeed, to ask one's loved ones for a present (in the mere asking) is equally a crime punishable by a fine of up to R20 000, 10 years imprisonment or both.

By the same token, your loved ones' acceptance of a present from yourself may render them liable to imprisonment unless he or she has a fundraising number!

Particularly wotrying is the proposed removal of the exemption presently enjoyed by the universities and churches to collect donations from abroad without permission from the Director of Fundraising.

If the universities and churches wish to continue to raise money overseas legally, for whatever purpose, they will need the Director's permission.

He, in turn, has the power to stipulate conditions and to limit the purposes for which the funds can be collected and used. Failure to obtain permission renders the persons collecting the money liable to prosecution.

Finally, by introducing a new offence the Bill tries to criminalize the various schemes and contractual arrangements which organisations have employed to avoid the legislation. Again, the penalties are severe.

The fourth important prong of the attack is the proposed amendment of the Affected Organizations Act to close loopholes, to provide for the declaration of "affected persons" and to transfer the executive powers under the Act from the State President to the Minister of Justice.

Most significant is the extension of the Act to provide for the declaration of an individual to be an "affected person".

The difference between being a restricted organisation or person and an affected organisation or person is that the latter is totally prohibited from receiving funds from abroad whereas the former will still be allowed to receive funds, but they will have to be transferred to the Registrar and the organisation will have to prove that it does not intend to use them to pursue or oppose a political aim or object.

If it can do so, the funds will be handed back.

The Bill, like other statutory intruments recently published, joins the ranks of the instances of the repressive apparatuses. Although contained in legal instruments, it is in truth a political challenge to the people of South Africa and their organisations.

It aims to control their finances and ultimately perhaps to cut off resources.

How that challenge is met cannot be left to the lawyers. The task is enormous, and it is essentially the task of the organisations and their representatives.

South 21-27/4/88

327

Threats not an isolated action

WHILE one can report encouraging solidarity from the international community following the suspension of the New Nation and similar threats faced by other newspapers like SOUTH, Weekly Mail and Grassroots there is still a lot to be done at home, according to Gabu Tugwana, New Nation's acting editor.

"It should be understood that the threats against newspapers is not just an isolated action. It is an attack on our organs; our mouthpieces; our voices; our right to speak and to be heard.

"And the closure of these newspapers does not end there. Those who saw the newspapers serving the black masses in Transvaal in the last two weeks would understand what I'm talking about. They took the achievements of the black press ten years back by writing about muti and tokoloshe stories. That's what this censorship aims to achieve.

"Having said all this. Perhaps we should suggest what people can do to save their newspapers. Journalist colleagues should raise the issue of the suspension and overall effect of this action at their work-places, trade unions, church people, organisations and people in general should let their feelings known to Home Affairs minister Stoffel Botha."

Truth must be heard

The democratic movement and all peace-loving people throughout the world should rally in support of the alternative media to enable the voice of truth to be heard, said Mr Abdullah Omar This is the full text of his speech, read on his behalf at a press conference this week.

"WE condemn in the very strongest terms the high-handed and arrogant action against the alternative media.

It is a legalised act of violence which we entirely reject as a blatant interference and suppression of the right of freedom of the press.

It is not only an attack on the alternative media but is part of a major onslaught being perpetrated against the democratic movement in South Africa.

It is part of the whole State of Emergency onslaught against the democratic struggle.

From what we see around us and from what is happening all over our country, it is quite clear that the millions of South Africa's masses are sick and tired of this oppressive regime and they have begun to participate in the democratic movement to bring about change.

The alternative media has attempted in some small way to tell the world what is happening in our country.

This news must now be suppressed. The world must not know what is happening in our land. One area in South Africa must not know what is happening in another. The regime is attempting to impose a blanket of silence over every single township and every single activity of our people.

The world must know that even though the press may be silenced and suppressed, the democratic struggle in South Africa will go on.

Without the eye of an independent press and media generally, the security forces in South Africa will be totally unrestrained. The price we will pay will be so much the higher.

Peace-loving

It is imperative that the whole democratic movement, and indeed all freedom and peace-loving people throughout the world, should rally in support of our media so as to enable the voice of truth to be heard — not only in every part of this land but all over the world.

Regrettably the official media and the commercial media will not fulfil this role.

To the oppressed people and democratic forces in this country we say the onus rests on you to deliver the apartheid regime into the dustbins of history and to bring about a free and non-racial South Africa. This will be the only guarantee for a free press in South Africa."

SOUTH editor Rashid Seria addressing the press conference. Seated alongside from left are the Rev Lionel Louw, WPCC chairperson, Clive Cope, Weekly Mail, and Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, South trustee

Silence tantamount to acceptance

WITH a mere stroke of the pen and the publication of several words in a government notice, the Minister of Home Affairs might within hours ban our paper for three months, SOUTH editor Rashid Seria said this week.

Speaking at a press conference to launch an international appeal to save the alternative press, Seria said: "At about 4pm on Monday we submitted to the Minister's office representations on why our paper should not be shut down for three months.

"We believe our legal team has motivated a strong case but we have very little faith in our representations succeeding. We believe our paper will be shut — and, thereafter, in quick succession, action will be taken against Grassroots, Saamstaan, Out of Step — all of which have received formal warnings.

"We would like to believe differently — but the fact is that the axe is out — in fact, the axe has been out since August 28, 1987 when the most recent press curbs were promulgated.

"Our concern is now for all the other newspapers in this country which have had the courage and social conviction to speak out against apartheid, injustice and exploitation.

"Just as Hitler manipulated the media to cover up the horrific details of the holocaust, so too the government in this country is suppressing news to hide the evils of apartheid and brutal repression.

"Hence, we found a situation in Nazi Germany where the newspapers and foreign media were aware of the horrors of the holocaust, but did not truthfully inform the world because of threats.

"In South Africa today we find a situation where the mainstream foreign and local media are being intimidated by closure of papers and the withholding of work permits.

"If we compromise the truth in favour of survival, history may pass the same dreadful judgment on us as it did on the media in Nazi Germany.

"The closure of any paper, or any attempt to stifle the free flow of information affects each and every one of us.

"If we remain silent, our silence will be tantamount to acceptance" Seria said.

Police search Community House offices

22/4/88 327

Staff Reporter

POLICE today searched Community House in Salt River, which houses the offices of several organisations, including the Western Province Council of Churches, United Democratic Front, Relief Centre, Western Cape Students' Congress and End Conscription Campaign.

A large contingent of police were stationed at the gates and inside the building and people were prevented from entering offices on the first and second floors which were being searched.

In another part of the building the South African Railways and Harbours Workers' Union held a memorial service for workers who died during the railway strike last year.

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, police liaison officer, could not give reasons for the police presence.

ıge 3 of Tonight.

Workers vow to fight bans

Sowetan 22/4/88

327

THE 31 000-strong Construction and Allied Workers' Union resolved at its national congress in Bloemfontein to fight against restrictions imposed on 17 political organisations, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions, writes SY MAKARINGE.

The four-day congress, held at Molemela Hotel in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, was attended by about 150 delegates from throughout the country. It was addressed by Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu and Mr James Motlatsi, president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The union also resolved to adopt the Freedom Charter as its guiding document.

Other resolutions taken at the congress are:

- To fight against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill; and
- To revive Cosatu's "living wage campaign."

Mr David Ngcobo, who was re-elected president of the union, told the meeting that construction workers have come of age. He said they would "seize the time" to strongly fight employers in the construction industry.

Other executive members elected at the congress are Mr Simon Majola (first vice-president), Mr Mululeki Mali (second vice-president), Mr Lawrence Maduna (general secretary), Mr Desmond Mahasha (assistant general secretary), Mr Fred Gona (treasurer), Mr Tshinyalane Mulonde (national organiser) and Mr Dumisani Ntuli (education officer).

Sowetan 22/4/88

RESTRICTIONS ON ANC MAN'S BURIAL

327

By JOE MDHLELA

THE Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police in the East Rand this week placed restrictions on the funeral service of the African National Congress activist allegedly shot dead by the security forces last month.

The service takes place at the Roman Catholic Church in Katlehong tomorrow.

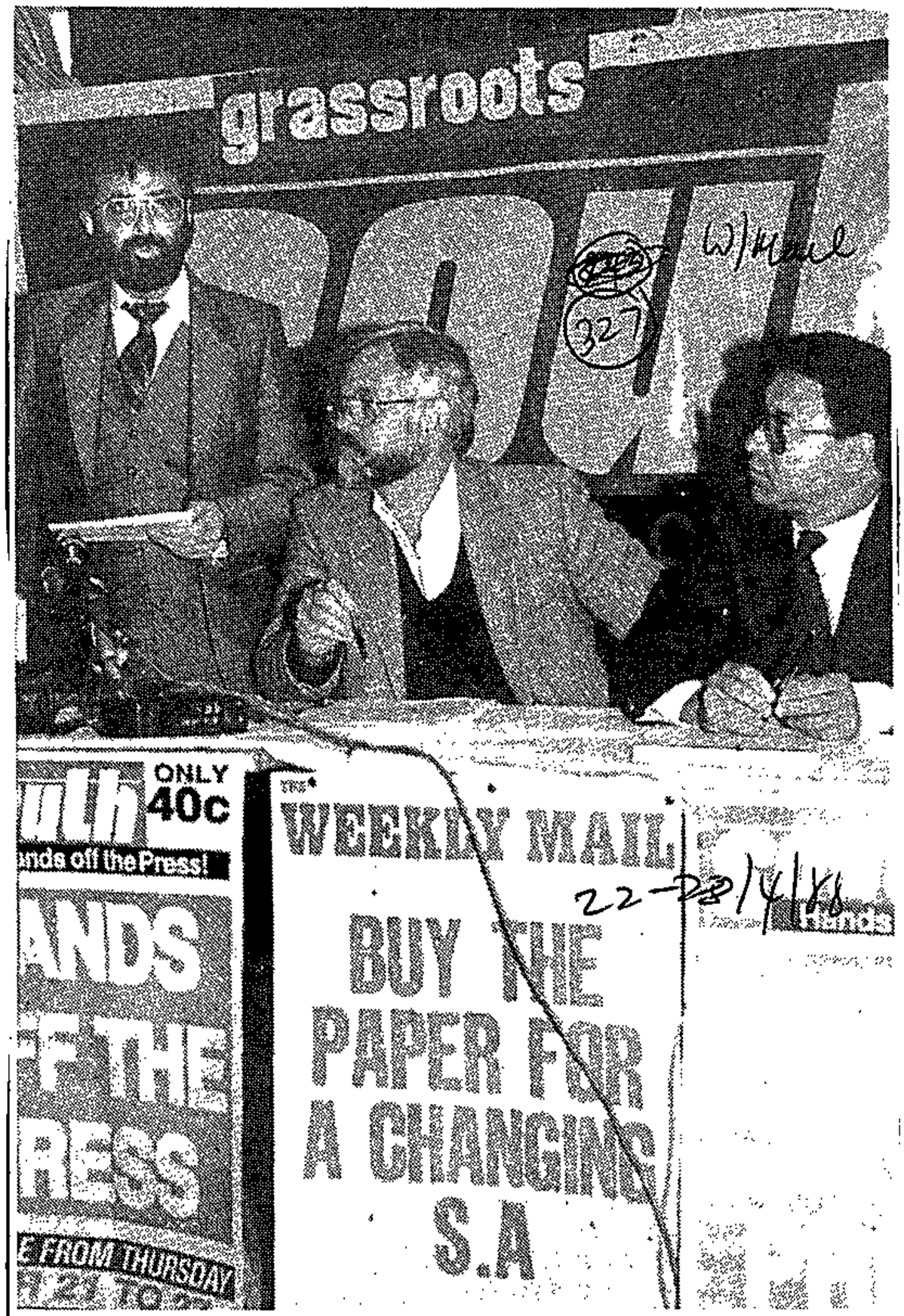
Mr Vuyisile Bixa (23) of Credi Section was killed near Thabazimbi on March 25. He was shot with two other insurgents.

A sister of the dead man, Miss Ntsiki Bixa, yesterday said the funeral service has been restricted to no more than 200 people attending and that the service which should be conducted by an ordained priest priest should commence at 7am and be over by 10am.

Other restrictions, said Miss Bixa, include the ban on political slogans; that the coffin be transported from the church to the cemetery by a mechanical vehicle; and that the shortest route between the church and the cemetery be used.

The liaison officer of the SAP in the East Rand, Lieutenant Willie Meyer, confirmed yesterday that restrictions have been placed on the funeral service.

SMILE and the whole world smiles with you. And no one can resist joining Vangile Radebe when she flashes a footing smile. The 18-year-old Senaoane, Soweto, lass says she loves swimming and music. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU



DR Allan Boesak, right, joined Cape Town newspaper *South's* editor Rashid Seria, left, and the head of the *South* press trust, Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio, at a press conference this week to call for foreign pressure against the banning of *New Nation* and possible action against *South* and other newspapers.

Boesak, a trustee of *South,* told representatives of nine foreign governments protests at ambassadorial level were not enough "to bring Pretoria to its senses". Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha this week acknowledged receipt of *South's* representations against imminent suspension.

Meanwhile, the End Conscription Campaign last Friday became the first political organisation to be hit by the media restrictions. Botha gazetted a warning against the Cape Town ECC publication *Out of Step* last Friday, along with similar warnings against Cape community newspapers *Grassroots* and *Saamstaan.*

Park on Tuesday night reaped such a high dividend.

ANC funeral is restricted

Star 22/4/88

Police have imposed restrictions on the funeral of an African National Congress insurgent, Mr Vuyisile Bixa, who was killed in a shoot-out with the South African Defence Force on March 25.

Mr Bixa (23) is due to be buried in Katlehong near Germiston tomorrow.

The East Rand Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier J P Olivier, ordered that the funeral take place between 7 am and 10 am and the ceremony must be conducted indoors.

He also ordered that political speeches and the singing of political songs by mourners were prohibited; the coffin is to be transported to the ceremony by vehicle on the shortest route to the Roman Catholic church from where the funeral is to be held; not more than 200 mourners may attend and no flags, pamphlets or posters should be displayed.

Brigadier Olivier said the funeral should be conducted by an ordained minister and the procession is to move by car from Mr Bixa's house at 8 Credi Section to the church in Nthlapo Section. No photographs or videos will be permitted.

Mr Bixa was killed near Thabazimbi with two other insurgents.

'Right-wing' head is backed

Star 22/4/88

Staff Reporter

Parents at Pretoria's Hoerskool H F Verwoerd — whose headmaster is facing a disciplinary hearing — decided last night to consider taking legal action against the Transvaal Education Department (TED).

About 300 parents and teachers attended a protest meeting at the school in support of the headmaster, Mr Johan van Niekerk. He appeared at a disciplinary hearing in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court this week on charges arising from a speech given by a former church minister to a Standard Nine youth-preparedness class last year.

Speakers at the meeting claimed Mr van Niekerk was being used by the education department to show what would happen to anyone who allowed "right-wing politicking in schools".

Several parents told how their children were asked questions by TED inspectors about their parents' political views after the "right-wing" lecture by the Reverend G A Cruywagen to a class in the presence of Mr van Niekerk.

Samcor strike enters 8th day

Star 22/4/88

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

About 3 000 workers at the Samcor motor plant are on strike for the eighth day today as their union leader arrived in Pretoria in response to their request for "an explanation" of a deal struck over the distribution of share dividends.

A Samcor spokesman confirmed that workers were again on strike today, but refused to comment further. Production at the plant is at a standstill.

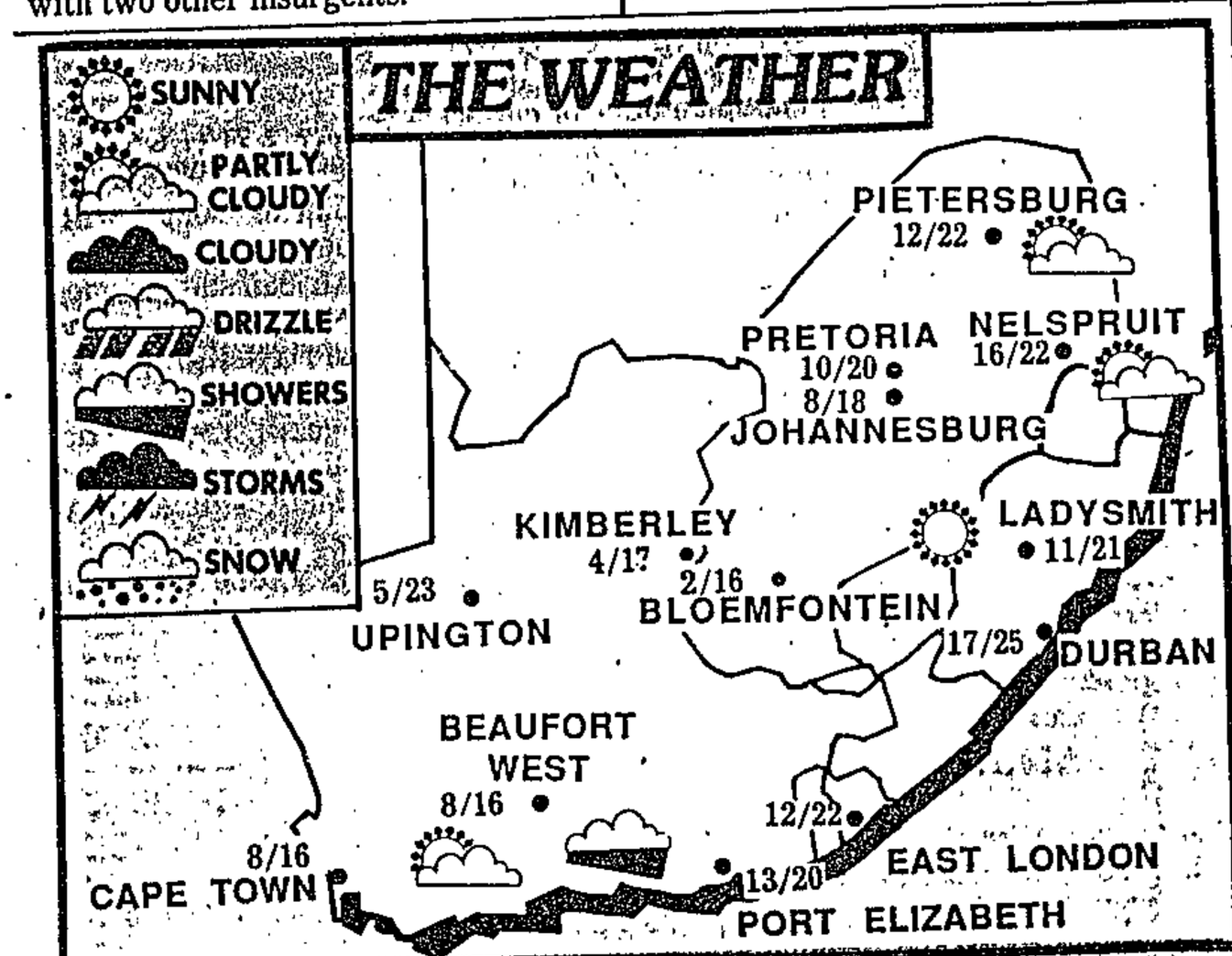
Mr Fred Sauls, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), travelled to Pretoria from union headquarters in Port Elizabeth yesterday in an attempt to defuse the strike. He is expected to meet workers today.

The strike centres on the apparent dissatisfaction of workers over an agreement signed by Numsa last week in which the dividends from shares bequeathed to the workers by the disinvesting Ford Motor Company last year would be channelled into a community development trust.

Numsa rejected having the shares go to the workers as this would weaken the union.

Workers at Chrysler Park said yesterday they had told union officials to send Mr Sauls a telex requesting him to "explain the agreement he signed with management without our knowledge".

Numsa officials insist, that they signed the agreement with the support of members.



TRANSVAAL — Fine and mild.
JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL — Today: 8 am 10 deg C; yesterday: max 21 deg C; min 7 deg C; rainfall — mm; so far this month 24,9 mm; so far this year 390,2 mm; average rainfall for April over 92 years 54 mm; average annual rainfall 769 mm.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 274 PRETORIA, 22 APRIL 1988 No. 11276

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 831 **22 April 1988**

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE REGULASIES UITGEVAARDIG KRAGTENS DIE WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 7 (1) van die Regulasies kragtens die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), afgekondig by Proklamasie R. 96 van 11 Junie 1987, soos gewysig by Proklamasie R. 106 van 26 Junie 1987 en Proklamasie R. 23 van 24 Februarie 1988, reik ek, Jacobus Petrus Olivier, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Oos-Rand, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. P. OLIVIER,
Afdelingskommissaris: Oos-Rand.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsregulasies 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) (i) die woongebied bekend as Wattville in die landdrosdistrik van Benoni en wat in Goewermentskennisgewing 1500 van 16 Julie 1946, soos gewysig, afgebaken en omskryf is;

(ii) die woongebied Daveyton in die landdrosdistrik van Benoni en wat in Goewermentskennisgewing 1550 van 30 Julie 1954, soos gewysig, afgebaken en omskryf is;

(b) (i) die woongebied Katlehong in die landdrosdistrik van Alberton en wat in Goewermentskennisgewing 2671 van 31 Desember 1954, afgebaken en omskryf is;

(ii) die woongebied Thokoza in die landdrosdistrik van Alberton en wat in Goewermentskennisgewing 511 van 10 April 1955, afgebaken en omskryf is;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

(327)

No. 831 **22 April 1988**

ORDERS UNDER THE REGULATIONS MADE UNDER THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 7 (1) of the Regulations published under the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), by Proclamation R. 96 of 11 June 1987, as amended by Proclamation R. 106 of 26 June 1987 and Proclamation R. 23 of 24 February 1988, I, Jacobus Petrus OLIVIER, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the East Rand Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. P. OLIVIER,
Divisional Commissioner: East Rand.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Regulations has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Vuyisile Antony BIXA, means any gathering associated with such a burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with such a burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) (i) the township known as Wattville in the Magisterial District of Benoni as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1500 of 16 July 1946, as amended;

(ii) the township Daveyton in the Magisterial District of Benoni as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1550 of 30 July 1954, as amended;

(b) (i) the township Katlehong in the Magisterial District of Alberton as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2671 of 31 December 1954;

(ii) the township Thokoza in the Magisterial District of Alberton as demarcated and described in Government Notice 511 of 10 April 1955;

ARGUS 22/4/88 (327)

The reasons for Stellenbosch raid

IN response to a letter to you from Mrs A Gagiano (The Argus, April 5), I would like to offer the following comment.

The population of Kaya Mandi has grown since 1984 when it was 4 500 to 10 088 in November 1987. This figure has risen since then.

Various requests were received from the permanent residents of the hostel, where only unmarried men were housed, for action to be taken against undesirable people.

The following complaints were raised by the residents.

- The incidence of murder, robbery, assault and rape.
- Illegal dealing in liquor and drugs.
- Illegal possession of firearms and dangerous weapons.
- The dealining in stolen property was often raised. This property was sold in neighbouring states.
- Prostitution.
- Groups and members of factions from surrounding areas seeking a safe port and setting up movements in the hostels.
- Paying tenants in hostels rebelling against the nightly businesses of dealers and prostitutes.
- Incidents had come up of guns being offered in exchange for drink and drugs.
- On January 10 a municipal policeman was seriously wounded when shot with a 9mm calibre gun while he was investigating a charge of illegal dealing in firearms.

During the crime prevention operation the following arrests were made.

For trespass, 142 black men, 301 black women and six coloured women, a total of 449; one man for possession of an unlicenced firearm; one woman for possession of possible stolen property; one white man was arrested after four warrants had been issued for his arrest in connection with four charges of drunken driving.

Possession was taken of the following exhibits.

One 6,35mm Berretta pistol with six rounds; two hi-fi loudspeakers, an amplifier, a hot brush and an electric drill; 449 bottles of beer; 133 litres of wine; nine bottles of gin; five bottles of brandy; two bottles of whisky; one bottle of vodka.

Of those arrested, 437 paid admissions of guilt namely 131 men, 300 black women and six coloured women. On March 28, 11 men and a woman appeared in the Magistrate's Court in Stellenbosch on a charge of trespass. The case against one of the men was withdrawn while the others were found guilty.

During the operation, pamphlets in both official languages as well as Xhosa, were handed to the residents to explain the aim of the operation and to apologise for any possible inconvenience the law abiding residents might have.

It is a pity that the writer became emotionally involved in a police action that was aimed at criminals and crime and was to the benefit of the residents of Kaya Mandi and the general public.

No charges against the police were laid by any of those arrested or residents of Kaya Mandi. Everyone was treated humanely and with the neccessary respect.

(Captain) G M H BOONZAAIER
(For Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Boland)

Paarl

APARTHEID BAROMETER

327

DETENTION OF WOMEN

A total of 67 women were detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act (which provides for detention for interrogation) in 1987, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament.

Eighteen women were being held under section 29 on Febuary 11 1988, the most recent date for which figures were available.

POLITICAL TRIALS

According to the last Detainees Parents' Support Committee report before the organisation was banned, 36 people faced charges of treason in four trials during 1987. By the end of the year none of these trials had been completed and no-one was acquitted during the year. Four people spent most of 1987 awaiting the commencement of their trial and these had not yet started by the beginning of 1988.

A total of 133 political trials under the Internal Security Act and other Acts were completed during 1987, according to DPSC records. These trials involved 792 people of whom 563 were acquitted or had charges against them dropped. A further four people were convicted for refusing to testify as state witnesses. The DPSC's breakdown of these trials was as follows:

Terrorism (number of trials — 26; number of persons charged — 120; number acquitted or withdrawn); harbouring "terrorists" (2; 6; 3); membership/furthering the aims of banned organisations (28; 126; 62); subversion (3; 16; 15); sedition (5; 58; 50); intimidation (7; 53; 21); incitement (2; 162; 162); contravention of Internal Security Act (7; 22; 21); contravention of Emergency regulations (7; 22; 21); sabotage (5; 23; 19); possession of firearms/explosives (11; 16; 7); possession of banned articles (19; 22; 13); attending unlawful gatherings (14; 204; 155); picketing without permission (1; 18; 0); contravention of Protection of Information Act (1; 1; 0); contravention of Police Act (6; 10; 6); contravention of Prisons Act (1; 1; 0); failure to report for military camp (1; 1; 0); unlawfully publishing picture of Nelson Mandela (1; 2; 2).

In these trials nine people were charged with refusing to testify in two trials while four were charged with perjury in four trials and all four were acquitted.

The DPSC also monitored politically-related "criminal" trials, but said as these trials were not easily defined the following figures were not comprehensive:

Murder/attempted murder (27 trials; 172 people charged; 71 acquitted); arson (6; 15; 8); malicious damage to property (4; 345; 337); assault (4; 11; 10).

The above trials do not include public violence cases which have involved several thousand accused.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said in parliament that 308 people were serving sentences for crimes against the security of the state as on December 31 1987. This figure included 282 blacks (Africans), 11 "coloureds", 10 whites and five Indians.

He said there were 278 prisoners in the maximum-security prison on Robben Island and 296 in medium-security prisons as on Febuary 29 this year.

DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY

At least 105 people died while in custody at various police stations around the country last year, Vlok told parliament. He said that of this number 50 "committed suicide", 36 died of "natural causes"; 11 died as the result of "assaults by fellow prisoners" and eight died as a result of being shot "while trying to escape".

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:
Scope April 8 1988 (Republication Press, Johannesburg); Scope April 22 1988 (Republication Press, Johannesburg).

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

MARTIN WITTENBERG, 26, United Democratic Front Natal Midlands secretary, was detained under the Emergency regulations on Febuary 10 this year.

Wittenberg first became politically active as a student at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) seven years ago. Between 1982 and 1984 he served as projects officer and vice-president of the Pietermaritzburg SRC. He also played a prominant role in Nusas during this period.

In 1985 he was elected to the UDF Natal Midlands executive and at the time of his detention was serving as joint-secretary. He was also a member of the Pietermartizburg Democratic Association.

He was detained under the Emergency regulations for two weeks in December last year and issued with a restriction order on his release. His detention occurred while he was playing a central role in the negotiations between Inkatha and the UDF. He is one of two Emergency detainees known to be held in solitary confinement.

Wittenburg was completing a masters degree in politics at Maritzburg University at the time of his detention.

Restrictions on Bixa funeral

PRETORIA. — The Government Gazette released here yesterday has placed wide-ranging restrictions on residents of almost all East Rand townships for attendance at the funeral of Mr Vuyisile Antony Bixa, who is to be buried today.

Mr Bixa was shot dead recently in a clash with security forces in the Thabazimbi district.

The ban covers Wattville, Daveyton, Katlehong, Thokoza, Kempton Park, Kwathema, Springs, Balfour, Botleng, Delmas, Ratanda, Heidelberg, Vosloosrus, Boksburg, Tsakane and Brakpan. — Sapa

Man held in police raid on Community House

327

ARG TIMES 23/8/88

A MAN was detained and documents were seized when police yesterday raided Community House in Salt River.

This was confirmed last night by a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Major William Warrington, who said police had been "searching" for the man.

About 20 policemen in the courtyard of Community House — which houses organizations including the Western Province Council of Churches and the UDF — barred journalists from attending a memorial South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union-organized service commemorating the deaths of six striking railway workers in the Transvaal a year ago.

The Rev Lionel Louw, former chairman of the WPCC, said a single warrant had been issued to cover the raids.

Police yesterday prohibited the publication of photographs of the raid in terms of the state of emergency media curbs.

Star 23/4/88 (32.7)

Scope and condom keyring banned

CAPE TOWN — The April 22 issue of *Scope* magazine (Vol 23 No 9) has been banned from distribution, the Directorate of Publications announced yesterday.

A seven-single record, "Gimme Hope Jo'Anna" on one side with "Say Hello to Fidel" on the flip side, produced by Eddy Grant, and a keyring containing a condom with the words: "In case of Aids break glass," were also banned.

A Publications Committee has ruled that *Africa Events* Vol 4 No 2 February 1988, produced by Dar es Salaam Ltd, London, was not undesirable provided it was confined and made available in the normal manner in legal deposit and university libraries only.

Stern Heft Nr 10 3 Marz 1988 by Gruner and Jahr AG and Co, Hamburg, was declared not undesirable provided it was not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

Of 17 films submitted for examination, six were unconditionally and 11 conditionally approved.

From today it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications/objects (name of author/producer in brackets):

"Flesh: Fotos von Phil Flasche" (GMP Publishers, London).

Lui No 3 (Press-Office et Editions des Savanes).

Four T-shirts with the wording: "Quick tell another lie"; "Never mind the ocks here's my sex pistol;" "Stop crying Mary you can be next", and "F..K off I'm not in the mood," (producers not stated).

"Too drunk to f..k" — T-shirt (Loud Products, London).

"Collectors Art, No 11641" by Uwe Ommer — poster (Netherlands).

Apartheid, Imperialism and African Freedom (William J Pomeroy).

Swapo News and Views April/June 1987 (Swapo Foreign Mission in Zimbabwe, Cranborne).

Emergency medical kits for Swapo — pamphlet (P and P NSC Health Collective, London).

African Concord 10 December 1987 No 170 (Concord Press of Nigeria Ltd, London).

Smash apartheid: Workers to Power — pamphlet (not stated).

For news of Southern Africa — pamphlet (New Worker, London).

Decision to ban South is deferred

CAPE TOWN — *South*, the Cape Town-based community newspaper, was told this week week that the deadline to consider whether or not it should be banned had been extended.

Lawyers representing the paper received a letter from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, advising that the paper had a further 14 days to make additional representations, the owners of the paper said in a statement today.

The new deadline is May 4. After this date, the Minister can summarily shut the paper down for three months or appoint a censor. — Sapa.

Cape Times 23/4/88

Breytenbach: Raids 'justified'

PRETORIA. — The government reserved the right to eliminate perpetrators of violence who were given haven in other countries — and these countries should note that the SADF would carry out this charge to the letter, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr W N Breytenbach, said yesterday.

At an air force passing-out parade, he said that a recent newspaper report alleged that the SADF had crossed the border in this type of operation at least nine times since 1981.

The newspaper however neglected to report how many terrorist incidents had taken place inside the country since 1980.

The same newspaper that was so concerned over the safety of terrorists in other countries made no mention of the safety of South African citizens and their right to be protected.

"I want to say to the editor of that newspaper that in the past six years there have been 350 terrorist incidents in South Africa. Many people have been killed, maimed and injured.

"When the SADF's cross-border operations are seen in this light, it is clear that the SADF implements the greatest self-control and that these operations were justified." — Sapa

Alleged members of PAC not in court

Sowetan 25/4/86

327

By MANDLA NDLAZI

THREE alleged members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress and its military, wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army did not appear in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court on Thursday as scheduled because the Attorney-General had not issued a certificate on whether they should be granted bail.

The senior public prosecutor, Mr A R van Wyk, said this from his Johannesburg office.

The three men are Mr Jackie Seroke (28) of Tembisa township on the East Rand, Mr Mandla Cele (34) of KwaMashu, Durban, and Mr Patrick Khomongwe (24) of Mdantsane, East London.

They are facing charges of terrorism, belonging to a banned organisation and four alternative counts of possessing explosives, pistols ammunition and PAC publications.

The State alleges Mr Seroke left South Africa for Botswana on September 8 last year with Mr Percy Ntsala and returned with 12 handgrenades, five Scorpion machine pistols, 11 magazines and a quantity of 7,65 rounds of ammunition.

Mr Cele and Mr Khomongwe are alleged to have received military training in Lesotho or Tanzania, Lybia and Zimbabwe.

Bid to save 'alternative' press

Star 25/4/88

(327)

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — As the noose tightens around the alternative press, the "commercial media" was given the Government's seal of approval last week.

There has been a "marked reduction" in reporting that could promote a revolutionary climate, especally in the "commercial media", according to the Department of Home Affairs.

But Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio, chairman of the trustees of *South*, one of the alternative newspapers under threat of closure, had a grim warning for what he called the "establishment press".

The world trend when governments changed had been that the alternative press became the establishment press and vice versa. That process of transition was under way in South Africa, he warned.

He made this prophecy while launching a campaign to save the alternative press in South Africa, which is under assault by the Government's new media regulations.

EXPECTS TO BE SUSPENDED

In terms of these regulations, *New Nation* has already been suspended for three months.

South, a Cape-based newspaper, has had all the statutory warnings and expects to be suspended, although last week it was given a further 14 days to make representations.

Other publications that have received warnings are *Weekly Mail*, the *Sowetan*, *Grassroots* of Cape Town, *Saamstaan* of Outdshoorn and the End Conscription Campaign's *Out of Step*.

Dr Allan Boesak, speaking as a trustee of *South*, said whatever action the State took against the alternative press "we will do whatever it takes to make sure our people will be able to express themselves".

POWERFUL IMPACT OVERSEAS

The newly launched campaign to protect the alternative press has had little coverage in South Africa, but will have a powerful impact abroad.

There was a strong diplomatic presence at the launch of the campaign and the foreign media also took it up.

Any closures of alternative newspapers is likely to increase the powerful effect the recent crackdown on 18 organisations has had on stiffening the sanctions campaign against South Africa.

"The axe is out for *South* and the other alternative media," *South* editor Mr Rashid Seria told a press conference at the launching of an international Hands Off The Press campaign in Cape Town last week.

"The Government is suppressing news to hide the evils of apartheid," Mr Seria said.

Horror of the emergency

Sowetan 25/4/88 (327)

FOCUS

Families tell their stories

THE horrors of the state of emergency as it affects children were recounted at a commission of inquiry conducted by the Free the Children Alliance held at the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend.

The effects of ongoing and almost constant violence on family life in the townships around Maritzburg were also brought home to the 400 people who attended the day-long event on Saturday.

Speakers included a doctor and a social worker, who recounted horrific stories of injuries sustained through violence in the townships.

Mrs Margaret O'Neil, a lecturer in the social welfare department at Wits, said she knew of a 12-year-old schoolboy who was allegedly shot dead by security forces at a Soweto school.

She also told of a teenage girl who had been necklaced and her brother allegedly shot dead a day later by security forces.

Mrs O'Neil also told of a family that had moved to one of the homelands with no prospects of work or income but they had moved from Soweto in fear as their house had been badly damaged by petrol bombs on three occasions.

A person distributing United Democratic Front pamphlets had his hand shot off, she said.

Mrs O'Neil said the detention of children had played havoc with family life as their parents had worked hard to try to give their children a start in life by giving them an education and were "sorely disappointed at what the Bantu Education authorities passed off as knowledge."

Upset

She said the parents were upset that their children had actively worked to change the system when they felt they (the parents) should have done so.

Mrs O'Neil said mothers were more likely to become involved in political activity than fathers. The men, she said, were concerned about repercussions, especially if they worked for the municipality or the Government.

A doctor who worked for the emergency health team of the Health Workers Association and cannot be named for ethical reasons told the commission of a 10-year-old boy he had treated as he was scared of the repercussions of going to a hospital or clinic.

"He had 50, 60 or even 70 buckshot wounds in his body and we had to patch him up as best we could," he said.

The doctor said children were scared to go to hospitals or clinics for treatment as there was a likelihood they could then be picked up by the security forces.

A 15-year-old in Sebokeng spent three days trying to get some sort of medical attention for a bullet wound in the hand. By the time the doctor saw him the wound had turned septic after the boy and his girlfriend tried to remove the bullet with a penknife, the doctor said.

Unrest

The doctor said unrest victims had difficulty getting treatment as when there was trouble in the townships there was usually a security force presence at hospitals and workers from clinics were evacuated very early.

During times of unrest there were security force Casspirs outside the casualty section of Baragwanath Hospital and some of the clinics in the township, he said.

Treatment from private clinics was also almost impossible as these institutions had been established for profit and usually demanded a cash deposit of between R200 and R300 before they would even consider looking at a patient.

Buckshot

Ambulances often came too late or not at all in certain townships.

He spoke of eyes being lost as a result of buckshot and rubber bullets, adding that there was one case in which a child lost a kidney after being hit just above the organ with a rubber bullet.

Mr Peter Kerchoff, a worker for the Pietermaritzburg agency for Christian Awareness, said more than 600 people had died in the violence in that area in the past 16 months.

"The situation in Pietermaritzburg is not black on black violence. That is too simplistic."

He agreed with figures given by a previous speaker, Mr Peter Harris, a Johannesburg lawyer, adding that he did not know of any "witdoeke" or vigilantes or Inkatha members in detention in the Maritzburg area.

Vigilantes

Mr Harris had also linked pro-apartheid vigilantes to the death squad in Argentina.

Earlier, a member of the commission, Mrs Priscilla MacKay, asked one of the speakers if he had experience, as she had, of parents asking for their children to be redetained as that was preferable to the harassment and violence they were subjected to once they were released and sent back to the Maritzburg townships.

A representative of the End Conscription Campaign said pitting young white national servicemen against black youths in the townships was further adding to the polarity between the races.

The day's evidence was summed up by Professor L Ackerman, head of the law faculty at the University of Stellenbosch, who said the evidence showed the "frightening extremes of polarity and endemic violence" rampant in South Africa today.

It also demonstrated the "hopelessness, rootlessness and lack of schooling" that abounded in South Africa.

"We cannot continue to deal with South Africa's problems without each other."

Prof Ackerman described Saturday's accounts as "chilling and horrifying."

A similar event was held in London on Saturday and one of the many messages of support received by the organisers was one from Mrs Glynnis Kinnock, the wife of British Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock. Mrs Kinnock chaired the meeting in London. — Sapa.

THEIR MASTER'S VOICE

D/D 26/4/88 (327)

Azapo applies for lifting of restraints

DURBAN — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) made an application to the Supreme Court in Durban yesterday to have the recent restrictions placed on 17 organisations, including itself, set aside.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order were cited as respondents.

In an affidavit before the court, the national health secretary of Azapo, Mr Nchaupe Aubrey Mokopae, said the Minister of Law and Order had no power under the emergency regulations to terminate the existence of any organisation although such powers were contained in other security legislation.

Azapo asked for an order declaring the amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on February 24, allowing organisations to be restricted, null and invalid.

It also asked that the restrictions on Azapo and the other organisations promulgated in February be declared invalid.

Mr Justice Bristowe adjourned the application to a date to be arranged. The respondents have been asked to file answering affidavits by noon on May 13 and Azapo to file its replying affidavits by noon on May 20. — DDC

Azapo fights curbs

Sowetan 26/4/88

327

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday made a Supreme Court attack on the amendments to the emergency regulations under which it and 16 other organisations were banned in February.

Azapo cited the State President and the Minister of Law and Order as respondents.

It asked for an order declaring the amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on February 24 allowing organisations to be restricted null and invalid.

It also asked that the restrictions on Azapo and the other organisations promulgated in February be declared invalid.

Mr Justice Britstowe adjourned the case to a date to be arranged. — Sapa.

Black policeman gunned down with AK-47

Cape Times 26/4/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A black police sergeant was gunned down with an AK-47 rifle while on his way to work near Newcastle yesterday morning, police in Pretoria confirmed last night.

A spokesman said the dead policeman, whose name has not yet been released, was shot just before 5am while waiting at a bus stop at Osizweni.

The report also said another two men were wounded in two other unrest-related incidents in Natal. — Sapa

Pupil 'assault': Cops not charged

Cape Times 26/4/88

Staff Reporter

TWO Nyanga high school pupils who were allegedly tortured by policemen were not prepared to attend an identity parade and no eyewitnesses to the alleged assaults could be found, the Attorney-General, Mr Neil Rossouw, said yesterday.

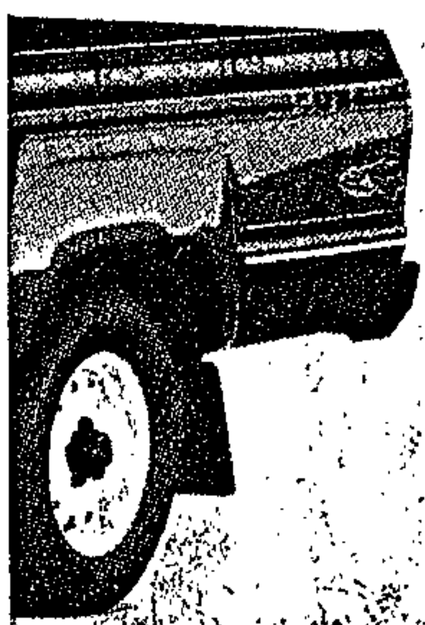
Confirming his decision not to prosecute the five policemen who were under investigation for allegedly assaulting and electrically shocking Mr Sonwabe Madikane, 17, and Mr Mandla Malgas, 18, Mr Rossouw said the docket could be reopened "at any stage".

The pupils told journalists that they were part of a group returning from a meeting at the Idasa headquarters in Mowbray on January 19.

A Landrover had approached and they had immediately discarded Idasa literature they were carrying and fled. Police had allegedly caught them.

They were handcuffed, interrogated for four hours and electrically shocked and assaulted, they said.

SRX.



rmance.

ore

x 2200 SRX

nore torque.

,2 litre

ight engine

mic body, it

Demjan

Azapo asks court to overturn bannings

Cape Times 26/4/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) applied to the Supreme Court here yesterday to have the recent restrictions placed on 17 organizations, including itself, set aside.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order are cited as respondents.

In an affidavit before the court, Mr Nchaupe Aubrey Mokopae, national health secretary of Azapo, said the Minister of Law and Order had no power under the emergency regulations to terminate the existence of any organization, although such powers were contained in other so-called security legislation.

Azapo asked for an order which would declare invalid the amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on February 24, allowing organizations to be restricted.

It also asked that the restrictions on Azapo and the other organizations promulgated in February be declared invalid.

Durban prostitute acquitted of murder

rrespondent

briefing.

ARGUS
April 26 1988 (327)

METROPOLITAN

Tian van der Merwe

Press curbs 'affecting State decisions'

Staff Reporter

THE Government had become "a victim of its own propaganda," by inhibiting the free flow of information, Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Tian van der Merwe said at a "Muzzled Media" meeting.

Mr van der Merwe was speaking in Claremont at a meeting of the Young Progressives, called to protest against media restrictions, the three-month closure of New Nation and the threatened closure of other newspapers.

Cabinet decisions were being made on the basis of limited information, "where the State President chooses to get his information from, and interpreted by the security forces".

CONVENIENT

Criticism of the Government was tolerated "only as far as it is politically convenient" for the National Party.

The Government wanted people overseas to see some criticism of the State so that they would believe there was a free society. The State then used its "massive control" over the SABC to counter this criticism, Mr van der Merwe said.

One could no longer speak of a functioning democracy because people could no longer make sensible judgments based on proper information.

"INHIBITING"

The regulations had been "effective and tremendously inhibiting" but more so to the establishment than the alternative Press.

Ms Gaye Davis, of the Weekly Mail, which is among the papers threatened with closure, said she was happy writing reports knowing that every effort would be made to publish them.

Legal advisers had become *de facto* editors and some newspaper lawyers were "more creative, inventive and adventurous" in applying the regulations to news reporting.

Star 27/4/88

Oukasie an 'emergency camp'

The effects of the Government declaring the Brits township of Oukasie an emergency camp were immediately felt in the area yesterday as scores of police and soldiers moved in shortly after noon to take a census.

327

Mr Alan Morris of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac), who was in the township at the time, said the atmosphere had been tense as members of the forces went from house to house listing all occupants. But there had been no violent incidents, he added.

Mr Louis Kok, Transvaal Provincial Administration director of community services, said that after the census was complete nobody would be allowed to move in. Neither would present residents be forced to move, he said.

Weekly Mail warned

Sowetan 27/4/88

(327)

By MZIKAYISE EDOM and ALINAH DUBE

THE *Weekly Mail* was yesterday warned by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in terms of the emergency regulations.

In a notice published in yesterday's Government Gazette, Mr Botha said that in his opinion, the matter published in the *Weekly Mail* and the way it was published, was causing a threat to public safety or to the maintenance of public order or a delay to the termination of the state of emergency.

The co-editors of the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Anton Harber and Mr Irwin Manoim, yesterday said Mr Botha would have "a fight on his hands" if he tried to ban the newspaper.

Mr Manoim said: "The *Weekly Mail* has wide support — from the business sector, lawyers

• To Page 2

'Paper will write stories'

27/4/88

(327)

• From page 1

and other newspaper editors in influential circles".

Last December Mr Botha sent the newspaper a letter warning it about the material it published. The newspaper responded to the letter, asking for clarification on the accusations, but received no reply from the Minister.

Mr Manoim said the Minister had moved a step further now "by publishing the notice in the Government Gazette".

He said: "We have now reached the end of the warning process. The next step is suspension, which he can do any time."

Rules

Mr harber said the newspaper would continue writing stories as it had done in the past.

"As far as we are concerned, we have broken no rules because if we had done so, the Government would have prosecuted us," he said.

The regulations empower the Minister to suspend any publication for up to three months at a time.

Last month, Mr Botha suspended the *New Nation* for three months.

The *New Nation* is a weekly newspaper owned by the Catholic Church.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Independent Black States/self-governing territories: repatriations

3. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many persons were repatriated to the (a) independent Black states and (b) self-governing territories from the Republic in (i) 1985, (ii) 1986 and (iii) 1987?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Prior to 1 July 1986, repatriations and removals of Blacks from the Republic in terms of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act 25 of 1945); the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937) and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972) were the responsibility of the former Department of Co-operation and Development and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, respectively. Since the abolition of influx control with effect from 1 July 1986 and the consequent repeal of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act 25 of 1945) from the same date, the removal of Blacks from the Republic in terms of the provisions of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937) and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972) has become the responsibility of the Department of Home Affairs.

Citizens of the self-governing areas are also South African citizens and as such are not subject to the provisions of the latter two acts. Except for removals to the independent Black states during the period 1 January 1986 to 30 June 1986, no statistics for the priod prior to 1 July 1986 are available in the Department. My reply to the hon member's question, therefore, is as follows:

(a) (i) No statistics available.

(ii) 146 for the period 1 January to 30 June. No persons removed during the remainder of the year.

(iii) None.

(b) (i) No statistics available.

(ii) No statistics for the period 1 January to 30 June, available. No persons removed during the period 1 July to 31 December.

(iii) None.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Emergency regulations: requests for permission to publish articles

135. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many requests for permission to publish articles dealing with matters covered by the emergency regulations have been received by the South African Police since 6 February 1987, (b) on how many occasions was permission refused, (c) what was the reason for refusing permission to publish in each case and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 61 requests.

(b) 45 occasions.

(c) The articles or portions thereof, fell within the ambit of the provisions of Regulations 3(1) of the Regulations promulgated by virtue of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) in Government Gazette 10772 of 11 June 1987.

(d) 29 February 1988.

Detention of two persons

554. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, are being detained; if so, (a) on what date were they detained and (b) (i) why and (ii) in terms of what statutory provisions are they being detained;

(2) whether they are to be released; if so, when; if not,

(3) whether they are to be charged; if not, why not; if so, in terms of what statutory provisions?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, not persons with the names furnished by the honourable member.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) and (3) Fall away.

Banned/subversive organizations

787. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether he will furnish the House with the names of organizations which are listed by the South African Police as (a) banned and (b) subversive; if not, why not; if so, (i) what are their names in each case and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) The South African Police did not ban any organization and does not possess over such authority.

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

(b) No legislation exists whereby the South African Police can "list an organization as subversive", neither is such a list kept by the South African Police. When an organization involves itself with subversive activities, action is taken against such an organization in terms of the applicable security legislation.

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

Members: transfers for promotion

791. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether it is the policy of the South African Police that members stationed at a particular command for a specific period must be transferred once that period has expired in order to become eligible for promotion; if not, what is the policy in this regard; if so, what is the (a) duration of this period and (b) reason for this policy?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

In the South African Police promotion from the rank of constable up to and including the rank of lieutenant, takes place after the successful completion of the National Diploma in

Protest against media restrictions

Star 27/4/88 (327)

CAPE TOWN — The Government had become "a victim of its own propaganda," by inhibiting the free flow of information, Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Tian van der Merwe said at a "muzzled media" meeting in Claremont, Cape Town, yesterday.

The meeting, called by the Young Progressives, was in protest against media restrictions, the three-month closure of *New Nation* and the threatened closure of other newspapers.

Cabinet decisions were being made on the basis of limited information, "where the State President chooses to get his information from, and interpreted by the security forces," Mr van der Merwe said.

Criticism of the Government was tolerated "only as far as it is politically convenient" for the National Party.

The Government wanted people overseas to see some criticism of the State so that they would believe there was a free society. The State then used its "massive control" over the SABC to counter this criticism, Mr van der Merwe said.

One could no longer speak of a functioning democracy because people could no longer make judgments based on proper information. — Sapa.

Govt is emphasising security rather than reform — report

Star 27/4/88

(327)

By Martin Challenor

Two events — the restrictions served on extra-parliamentary organisations and the white by-election results — symbolised political developments in the first three months of 1988, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest Quarterly Countdown.

It was prepared by Mr Shaun Mackay of the institute's policy research unit.

The crackdown confirmed an increasing Government emphasis on security, rather than reform, the institute said, while the voting results confirmed significant white opposition to the erosion of apartheid.

This opposition appeared to limit the Government's willingness to move further along the path of socio-economic desegregation, as shown by its unwillingness to promote further beach desegregation.

State President Botha, the Countdown noted, had said the Government would continue to pursue reform. Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister in the Office of the State President entrusted with information, had suggested that the Government was determined to pursue reform on its own terms.

The Government's "current stress on security measures is designed to ensure that black leadership accepts that," the Countdown said, "but its attempt to initiate reform on its own terms has won little support from black leaders, and Dr van der Merwe implies that it will not make further concessions to win this support.

"Thus there can be little progress towards political reform in the immediate future and further changes are likely to centre around socio-economic issues."

"It (the Government) appears to hope that economic growth will defuse black material grievances and reduce black pressure for a political settlement.

"Whether this will happen remains to be seen, but it is also doubtful whether the Government can ensure economic growth without retreating further from segregation in areas such as housing and education. Its stress on economic reform may therefore bring it under pressure to make further adaptations in these areas," Countdown said.

Significant events of the quarter were:

- 18 extra-parliamentary organisations restricted;
- The CP increased its majority in three by-elections;
- The Labour Party boycotted the Dias Festival and the State President refused to dismiss LP Minister Mr Carter Ebrahim;
- RSC boundaries for Natal, excluding kwaZulu, were announced;
- Extra-parliamentary groups reassessed non-participation in official structures;
- Racial quotas governing admission to technikons were repealed;
- A Bill was tabled to increase the powers of non-independent homelands;
- QwaQwa joined Lebowa in rejecting the National Council;
- The Government reversed its policy on multi-racial school sport;
- the Appellate Division nullified the transfer of Moutse to kwaNdebele.

Changes delayed:

- The establishment of the National Council;
- The tabling of the President's Council report on admission of Africans to the council.

The Argus, vv

NATIONAL

Paper 21/4/88 'causing threat to public safety'

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Weekly Mail has entered the third stage of Government censorship procedures with a formal, gazetted warning that it is "causing a threat to public safety".

The warning — the third to be issued to various publications in two weeks — was made in a Government Gazette published in Pretoria yesterday and signed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Mr Botha, the sole arbiter of whether a publication has contravened the August 1987 Press curbs, warned the publishers of the Weekly Mail that its contents and the way in which they are published "in my opinion (cause) a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or (cause) a delay in the termination of the state of emergency".

Without warning

If, in terms of the media curbs, Mr Botha objects to further issues of the Weekly Mail it may be closed down for three months at a time, or censored before publication without further warning.

The warning to the Weekly Mail differs from others issued to a total of seven publications since the curbs were drawn up in that it was accompanied by a telex from the Minister inviting the Weekly Mail to discuss the matter under certain conditions.

These include no discussion of the case involving the publication New Nation now before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in which the paper challenges the Minister's right to warn, close or censor newspapers.

"Astounded"

Mr Anton Harber, editor of the Weekly Mail, said he is "astounded" that the Minister issued the warning "before giving us the kind of information we need to deal with his objections" to the content of the paper.

The Weekly Mail received a list of the Minister's objections to articles and photographs — the first step in the censorship process — in December last year.

It replied with a 160-page "representation" as was its right in terms of the curbs, and "heard nothing more," Harber said.

On March 21 the newspaper received a second letter from the Minister, inviting further representations, particularly on the "cumulative effect" of articles or portions of articles carried in the paper.

It again replied, this time with a 10-page letter. In all correspondence with the Minister the Weekly Mail has asked for a meeting in order to "understand his objections".

● The Weekly Mail plans to publish on Friday.

DD 27/4/88

Dad's Army unit used in police raid — MP

(327)

Daily Dispatch correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The government had lost the moral right to conscript people into the SADF by using members of "Dad's Army" in an early morning police raid on a black township, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, told Stellenbosch students.

During the raid on Kaya Mandi township at Stellenbosch on March 26, 449 people — 142 men and 307 women — were arrested for trespassing in a hostel for single men.

Speaking at a meeting organised by the Stellenbosch branch of Nusas, Mr Van Eck said while police and members of the "Dad's Army" citizen force units surrounded the hostel in the early hours of the morning, police started a "systematic" bed-to-bed search demanding proof of monthly rental from the inhabitants.

Mr Van Eck also condemned the "medieval conditions" of the hostels, describing the toilets as "holes in the ground with no seats".

His efforts to highlight the happenings in Kaya Mandi were not only in the interest of the people living there, but also in the interests of all South Africans, he said.

The chairman of the Kaya Mandi Civic Association, Mr Clifford Ntsomboti, speaking at the same meeting, denied a police statement that the inhabitants of the hostel requested police to take action against "undesirable people".

The Mayor of Kaya Mandi, Mr Myatsa, requested the police to take action because the town council was losing too much money, Mr Ntsomboti said.

Mr Ntsomboti told the meeting that a petition calling for the resignation of Mr Myatsa was unsuccessful.

● In a statement to a Cape Town newspaper, Capt G. Boonzaaier, spokesman for the divisional commissioner of police for the Boland, confirmed that a "crime prevention operation" took place in Kaya Mandi on March 26.

According to Capt Boonzaaier, no charges against the police were laid by any of the 449 people — most of whom paid admission of guilt fines.

"Everyone was treated humanely and with the necessary respect," he said.

D/D 27/4/88 (243) 327

Editors vow to fight as banning looms after minister's warning

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday issued a gazetted warning against the Weekly Mail in terms of the media regulations.

At the same time he sent the editors a telex offering to meet them.

The Weekly Mail is the seventh publication to receive a gazetted warning, the penultimate step to a three-month ban or vetting by a government censor.

A co-editor of the Weekly Mail, Mr Irwin Manoim, said that Mr Botha, would have "a fight on his hands" if he were to suspend the newspaper, as it had wide support from the business sector, laywers and other influential newspaper editors.

"Support for Weekly Mail was demonstrated at a meeting held two weeks ago to which we invited 100 leaders in society, including executives from major mining houses, large corporations and banks.

"A committee was set up to "save the press" and indications at the meeting showed that we have a number of important allies."

Co-editor, Mr Anton Harber, said yesterday they would do all they could to fight off the banning or censorship and persuade Mr Botha what he was doing was "foolhardy".

They would be considering all avenues, including legal action, but would not say at this stage whether they would take up Mr Botha's offer to meet him.

They were "astounded" at the gazetted warning, as they had made detailed representations to Mr Botha and had not had a response, aside from the telex.

They did not understand Mr Botha's objections and needed clarification in order to know how to deal with the situation.

It appeared Mr Botha was determined to restrict all newspapers critical of government.

"They started with the New Nation and have moved on to ourselves — they will move onto other newspapers."

The New Nation, one of the seven publications to receive a gazetted warning, has already been banned.

The others are the Cape Town weekly South; a left-wing journal Work in Progress; the Oudtshoorn community newspaper Saamstaan; the Cape Town community newspaper Grassroots; and the End Conscription Campaign publication Out of Step.

A number of other publications have received written warnings from Mr Botha. — Sapa

'Causing a threat to public safety'

Star 27/4/88

Weekly Mail given warning in Gazette

(327)

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau.

The *Weekly Mail* entered the third stage of Government censorship procedures yesterday with a formal, gazetted warning that it was "causing a threat to public safety".

The warning — the third to be issued to various publications in two weeks — was made in a Government Gazette published in Pretoria yesterday and signed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Mr Botha, sole arbiter of whether a publication has contravened the August 1987 press curbs, warned the publishers of *Weekly Mail* that its contents and the way in which they are published "in my opinion (cause) a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or (cause) a delay in the termination of the state of emergency".

In terms of the media curbs, if Mr Botha objects to further issues of *Weekly Mail*, it may be closed down for three months at a time or censored before publication without further warning.

Weekly Mail's warning differs from others issued to seven publications since the curbs were drawn up in that it was accompanied by a telex from the Minister inviting the newspaper to discuss the matter under certain conditions.

These included no discussion of the *New Nation* case before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in which the newspaper challenges the Minister's right to warn, close or censor newspapers.

Mr Anton Harber, editor of *Weekly Mail*, said he was "astounded that the Minister (issued the warning) before giving us the kind of information we need to deal with his objections" to the paper's content.

Weekly Mail received a list of the Minister's objections to articles and photographs — the first step in the censorship process — in December last year.

It replied with a 160-page "representation" as was its right in terms of the curbs, and "heard nothing more", Mr Harber said.

On March 21, the newspaper received a second letter from the Minister inviting further representations, particularly on the "cumulative effect" of articles or portions of articles carried in the paper.

WARNING OF INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY

It again replied, this time with a 10-page letter. In all correspondence with the Minister, *Weekly Mail* has asked for a meeting in order to "understand his objections".

"We see no rational way we can deal with the Minister's objections. He has moved to a gazetted warning without giving us reasons," said Mr Harber.

He predicted an "international and local outcry" at the formal warning, similar to that which greeted the first action against the paper in December 1987.

At that time, *Weekly Mail* recieved telegrams of support from publications such as the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Independant*, the *Guardian* and *The Washington Post*.

Yesterday's action brought to seven the number of publications which have reached at least this phase of the curbs.

Tow-truck driver shot dead in row

A Johannesburg Traffic Department tow-truck driver, Mr John Cass (33), was shot dead at point-blank range in Doornfontein yesterday after an argument with a man whose wife's car was being towed away.

Mr John Cass ... shot dead in Doornfontein yesterday.

Mr Cass of Eldorado Park died when he was shot in the temple in Pearse Street at 7.15 am.

A man was arrested soon afterwards and was expected to appear in court soon on a murder charge, said police spokesman Lieutenant Pierre Louw.

Detectives have seized a 6,35 mm pistol.

Johannesburg's Traffic and Security Director, Mr John Pearce, said he was horrified by the kill-

Pearse Street to tow away an abandoned car which was apparently hindering work being done on the road by the municipality.

Residents and workers in the area said the vehicle, which had been parked at the spot for some time, did not have

Govt is 'still against'

Gazetted warning for Weekly Mail

Cape Times 27/4/88 (327)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday issued a gazetted warning against the Weekly Mail in terms of the media regulations, at the same time as he sent the editors a telex offering to meet them.

The Weekly Mail is the seventh publication to receive a gazetted warning, the penultimate step to a three-month ban or vetting by a government censor.

Co-editor Mr Anton Harber said yesterday that they would do all they could to fight off the banning or censorship and persuade Mr Botha what he was doing was "foolhardy".

He said they would be considering all avenues, including legal action, but would not say at this stage whether they would take up Mr Botha's offer to meet him.

He said it appeared Mr Botha was determined to restrict all newspapers critical of government. "They started with the New Nation and have moved on to ourselves — they will go on to move on to other newspapers as well."

Fellow editor Mr Irwin Manoim said Mr Botha would have "a fight on his hands" if he were to suspend the newspaper, as it had wide support from the business sector, laywers and other editors in influential circles. "We have now reached the end of the warning process ... The next step is suspension, which he can do at any time," he added. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

---

o American, Mr Gavin Relly, bican officials on the possible mpany in developing Mozam-

other of permitting cross-border violence.

In a statement last night, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the

ECC article in Times leads to police probe

CAPE TIMES 27/4/88

Staff Reporter

POLICE are investigating an alleged contravention of the emergency regulations by the Cape Times arising out of the publication of an article on the End Conscription Campaign.

The article was written by Dr David Greene, press officer for the Western Cape Region of the ECC, and dealt with the ECC's view on conscription and the Angolan war. It was published on February 2 this year.

The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr J C Viviers, was visited by a member of the security police on Monday who informed him of the investigation and asked whether he wanted to make a statement. Mr Viviers declined.

The investigation is in terms of Section 5B (par b) of the media regulations which relates to the making of a "subversive" statement.

Cape Times 28/8/88

Issue of articles refused

Political Staff

THE police had turned down 45 of the 61 requests it had received since February last year to publish articles dealing with matters covered by the emergency regulations, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton), Mr Vlok said permission had been refused because the articles or portions of them fell within the ambit of the provisions of the regulations promulgated in terms of the Public Safety Act.

He also told Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP, indirectly elected) that the police did not ban any organization and did not have such authority.

"When an organization involves itself with subversive activities, the action is taken against such an organization in terms of the applicable security legislation," Mr Vlok said.

Winnie barred from burial

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Police at the weekend prevented Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, from attending a funeral of an Umkhonto we-Sizwe member in Germiston on the East Rand.

Mrs Mandela, her daughter Zinzi and about 12 members of the Mandela United Football Club were held in a nearby Katlehong police station.

After three hours when the funeral was over they were escorted to Johannesburg, Mrs Mandela told SOUTH.

Mrs Mandela said: "We were stopped near the church. They told me I was banned from the funeral. There were already 250 mourners in the church.

"I protested and a Captain Droskie retorted: 'You are under arrest Mrs Mandela. I am arresting you. Come, you'll talk to Colonel Muir'.

"They confiscated the keys of the two kombies, and Zinzi and I were bundled into a nearby police truck and driven to the police station."

She said a Captain Nel tried to explain to her what powers the police had for occasions like unrest funerals.

Earlier police restricted the funeral of an ANC guerilla Vuyisile Anthony Bixa, 23. As early as 6 am they manned roadblocks at all entrances to the black township.

Bixa and two of his colleagues were killed in a shootout with the SADF near the Botswana border on March 23.

327 B/day 28/4/88

Police turn down 45 requests to publish

Political Staff

POLICE had turned down 45 of the 61 requests it had received since February last year to publish reports dealing with matters covered by the emergency regulations, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Vlok, who was replying to a question from David Dalling (PFP Sandton), said 61 requests to publish material were received between February 7 last year and February 29 this year, and permission was refused on 45 occasions.

He said permission had been refused because the articles or portions of them fell within the ambit of the provisions of the regulations promulgated in terms of the Public Safety Act.

He also told Clive Derby-Lewis (CP indirectly elected) the police did not ban any organisation and did not possess such authority.

"No legislation exists whereby the South African Police can 'list an organisation as subversive', neither is such a list kept by the SAP.

"When an organisation involves itself with subversive activites, the action is taken against such an organisation in terms of the applicable security legislation," Vlok said.

327 B/day 28/4/88

Police turn down 45 requests to publish

Political Staff

POLICE had turned down 45 of the 61 requests it had received since February last year to publish reports dealing with matters covered by the emergency regulations, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Vlok, who was replying to a question from David Dalling (PFP Sandton), said 61 requests to publish material were received between February 7 last year and February 29 this year, and permission was refused on 45 occasions.

He said permission had been refused because the articles or portions of them fell within the ambit of the provisions of the regulations promulgated in terms of the Public Safety Act.

He also told Clive Derby-Lewis (CP indirectly elected) the police did not ban any organisation and did not possess such authority.

"No legislation exists whereby the South African Police can 'list an organisation as subversive', neither is such a list kept by the SAP.

"When an organisation involves itself with subversive activites, the action is taken against such an organisation in terms of the applicable security legislation," Vlok said.

536 intimidation charges

A TOTAL of 792 people were arrested and 536 charged under the Intimidation Act last year, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in the House of Assembly yesterday in reply to a question from Peter Soal (PFP Johannesburg North).

In 1986, 545 were charged; in 1985, 293; 71 in 1984; 48 in 1983; and 30 in 1982. — Sapa.

327

B/day

28/4/88

Azapo turns 10 years old silently

(327)

Star 25/4/88

By Michael Tissong

When the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) celebrates its 10th anniversary today, it will be under a veil of official silence reminiscent of the "silence" that was imposed on its entire first executive in 1978.

Azapo's executive was banned as soon as they were elected to office at the organisation's inauguration in Soweto.

Today, Azapo is in a similar predicament because of the restrictions the Government placed on Azapo and 16 other organisations in February.

The terms of the restrictions mean that Azapo may not engage in any activities of resistance without Government approval.

Azapo was formed after the Government banned Black Consciousness organisations, several people and two newspapers — *The World* and *Weekend World* — on October 19 1977.

Azapo upheld the banner of Black Consciousness and incorporated socialism into its outlook at an ideology conference in April 1981.

Developing on the theories of Marx, Lenin and Mao, Azapo believes that only a socialist transformation of the economy could lead to an equitable distribution of wealth.

Its documents propose nationalisation of private productive property after "liberation".

No minority groups would be recognised in what Azapo calls the "Socialist Workers' Republic of Azania" and all people would be required to voice political opinion in one Parliament.

Among the campaigns the organisation has engaged in is the cultural boycott campaign from 1979.

Mbeki to challenge restrictions in court

Star 28/4/88

(327)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Lawyers for African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki have served papers on the State President and others, challenging the restrictions which were imposed on their client within weeks of his release from Robben Island last November.

Mr Mbeki (77) served 23 years of the life sentence imposed on him during the Rivonia trial, in which Nelson Mandela and other top ANC men received similar sentences.

In terms of the emergency regulations, Mr Mbeki was served with an order restricting him to the magisterial area of Port Elizabeth, preventing him from participating in political activities, and restraining him from communicating with the press.

Mr Mbeki is applying to the Eastern Cape Supreme Court to:

- Declare the entire state of emergency on which the order rests invalid.
- Alternatively, to declare the particular regulation, in terms of which the Commissioner of Police is delegated powers to make orders, invalid.
- Or thirdly, to declare the order itself invalid.

It will be argued, among other things, that the order restricting Mr Mbeki is too vague to be lawful. The municipal boundaries of Port Elizabeth are not definitely ascertainable, it will be argued.

It will also be submitted that there was no basis in law for the Commissioner to have issued the order against Mr Mbeki.

The only grounds for the issue of such an order is to protect public safety, maintain public order, or help terminate the state of emergency, it will be submitted.

- According to Mr Mbeki's Johannesburg attorney her client has been refused permission to visit his wife at her home in the Transkei.

Mwasa hits out at Govt

Sowetan 28/4/88

327

THE Media Workers' Association of South Africa condemns in the strongest terms possible the Government's action on *Weekly Mail* — one of the more committed newspapers serving the public, Mwasa said in a statement yesterday.

"We wish to assure the *Weekly Mail* that Mwasa will stand behind it in whatever action it decides to take to defend its rights to inform the public on all issues affecting it . . . after all, that is the *Weekly Mail's* responsibility in the first place".

Meeting

Meanwhile, Mwasa has decided to hold a meeting at the Ipeleng Community Centre in Soweto at 7pm on May 5 on the government's onslaught on the media.

The deputy-editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Thloloe, will give a paper on the media restrictions and what Mr Botha hopes to achieve by restricting the media, the statement said.

Two other speakers will be announced early next week.

Curbs mar happy day for Azapo

Sowetan 28/4/88

327

FOCUS

By SELLO RABOTHATA and MOKGADI PELA

THIS year marks the 10th anniversary of the Azanian People's Organisation — once one of the most popular organisations among black people in the country.

Sad to say, though, that only the name Azapo and dealing with the organisation's administrative duties are what is left since March 24, this year, thanks to the stroke of a pen by Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order.

Azapo is one of 18 organisations whose activities have been restricted by the South African Government.

It is against this background that Azapo is "celebrating" a decade of existence.

The black consciousness organisation was started in 1978 after the Government banned 20 organisations, two newspapers and a periodical on October 19, 1977.

Racism

This action raised concern about the future of black opposition.

The origin, aims and commitment of the organisation are best outlined in an updated version of Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi's book, *Theory and Practise of Black Resistance to Apartheid*, on which this article is based.

Azapo saw as one of its early tasks the reorienteering of the black consciousness movement by "taking it to the broad masses of people."

By this it was probably mooting its worker-focus policy, which has been increasingly emphasised since the organisation was launched.

Dr Motlhabi adds that at its launching in September 1979, Azapo said the South African problem was an economic one, racism being used as an instrument of economic exploitation and oppression.

It defined workers as all those who were thus exploited and oppressed, that is, black people. These people were to be in the vanguard of the liberation struggle.

Azapo was formed to continue the trend of resistance to all that the Government and its policy of apartheid stood for.

Mr LYBON Mabasa.

Miss NOMBULELO Melani.

In many respects, Azapo's policy appears to have been a continuation of that of earlier black consciousness movements, although there are many points of difference.

Hence it cannot simply be assumed that Azapo is itself only a continuation of any of the past BC organisations under an assumed name.

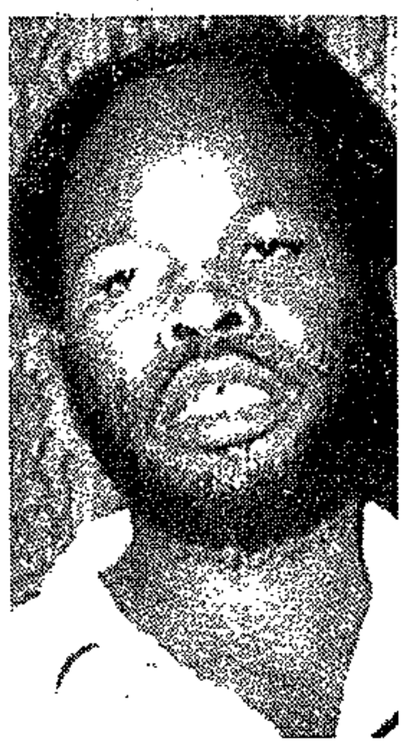
What it has in common with the old BCM is the black consciousness approach, with its emphasis on conscientisation as a motivating strategy.

Boycotts

Although at its inception Azapo adopted aims and objectives that focused purely on the conscientisation strategy, its activities in subsequent years went beyond this "people-centred" approach to posing some challenges to the government.

This was done mostly indirectly, such as by encouraging rent boycotts or campaigning for the international community to isolate South Africa.

This was certainly a step beyond self-help projects and other approaches aimed only at motivating the community for later action.



Mr ISHMAEL Mkhabela.

The organisation also committed itself to a programme of action.

However, it does not seem to have spent much time formulating such a programme.

It succeeded in some of its campaigns, particularly in cultural boycotts, and to a limited extent, sports boycotts.

For the most part, however, Azapo's programme has been "inward-looking", urging black self-help activity much as the BCM used to do.

Azapo's first committee included, among others, the president, Miss Nombulelo Melani, Mr Lybon Mabasa, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Mr Khehla Mthembu.

Soon after Azapo's formation, almost the entire executive committee was arrested and later banned.

Azapo's Bloemfontein branch chairman, Mr Isaac More, was banned and banished to Welkom.

In 1979, Mr Curtis Nkondo, then president, was suspended for his frequent violation of Azapo protocol and particularly after he has particularly after he had asked Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party to intervene to secure his brother's release.

Mr KHEHLA Mthembu.

Mr Nkondo's brother, Zinjiva, was in the plane that was forced to land by the South African authorities in Bloemfontein.

By talking to Mrs Suzman, Mr Nkondo had violated the Azapo principle of non-negotiation with the system.

Azapo spearheaded the cultural boycott and artists like Ray Charles and the O'Jays have said they would never forget the lesson given to them. This is why the United Nations adopted a blacklist against all artists performing in South Africa.

Detentions

The organisation had addressed various international bodies like the United Nations. Azapo's general secretary, Mr Haroun Patel, has just returned from an 11-nation tour after being invited by socialist groupings.

Azapo has lost a number of its members through detentions and inter-organisational violence.

Some of those are Mr Xolisile Mnyaka, who was killed in the Eastern Cape, Mr Tebogo Mohau, a former Robben Island prisoner, and many other sympathisers such as Mr Jacob Lengane, father of well-known political activists, Kabelo and Jefferson.

Weekly Mail warned

THE Weekly Mail this week received a gazetted warning from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

The Johannesburg-based newspaper is now in the penultimate stage before a possible three-month suspension, or being subjected to pre-publication government censorship.

The editors simultaneously received a telex from Botha in which he offered to meet with them.

New Nation

Meanwhile, SOUTH, which faces three months' closure or pre-publication government censorship, received a letter on Friday April 22, from Botha, warning that the paper had 14 days to make further representations to prevent action being taken against it.

The Weekly Mail is the sixth publication to receive a gazetted warning.

327

Sowetan 28/4/88

Oukasie to be sealed off under emergency camp restrictions

Star 28/4/88

(327)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

In 33 days' time the Brits township of Oukasie, which is threatened with removal, will be sealed off to all non-residents apart from health workers, soldiers and State officials.

This provision is one of a range of restrictions imposed on residents in terms of the Government Notice declaring Oukasie an emergency camp in terms of the Squatters Act.

The superintendent appointed for the township by the provincial authorities may issue special permits to allow outsiders access to the settlement of some 8 000 people. But he may refuse such a permit if:

- "He is of the opinion that the presence of the person concerned may ... cause a disturbance of the peace and good order in the camp.
- "Good cause exists for such refusal or withdrawal."

Yesterday, Brits Action Committee (BAC) spokesman Mr Sello Ramakobye told a press conference in Johannesburg that a curfew had been imposed in the area on its first night — Tuesday — as a emergency camp. "Last night, just after 9.15pm, police were going round telling people to move into houses and not to be seen in the streets," he said

He added that pamphlets had been sent to employers explaining that these steps were being taken because "radicals" were behind the refusal of the people to move.

The BAC issued a statement explaining that it viewed the restrictive camp conditions "as a pretext for the State to establish a permanent military and police presence at Oukasie so as over a period of time to totally control and thereby demoralise the community so that the State will ultimately achieve its dream of residents leaving 'voluntarily' for Lethlabile".

Observers estimated that 100 police and soldiers entered the area on Tuesday to number houses and begin taking a census. They set up camp on the soccer field, it was reported.

As an emergency camp Oukasie has been subject to a large increase in service charges — from R24 to R37,50 a month. An additional R15 a month is payable for every registered lodger.

"There has been no improvement in basic services for over 50 years. About 50 percent of our community is unemployed," BAC said.

Failure to pay service charges may incur a sentence of R500 and/or up to three months' jail for the first offence.

Entering the area unlawfully and keeping a dog or a chicken or a donkey without written permission of the township superintendent may incur a similar penalty.

The maximum penalties for second or subsequent transgressions of the emergency camp regulations are double — up to R1 000 and/or six months.

Star 28/4/88

Editors deplore warning to Mail

(327)

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

Newspaper editors around the country have condemned as "absurd", "shocking" and "deplorable" the warning issued to the *Weekly Mail* on Tuesday in terms of Government censorship.

Mr Harvey Tyson, Editor-in-chief of The Star, said that the "ludicrous" accusation made against the *Weekly Mail* was a threat to every South African.

"Those who dreamt up this grotesque form of censorship are doing the country, and especially white voters, a major disservice."

Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the *Sunday Times*, described as "obviously absurd" the action taken against newspapers with "no explanation offered".

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, who is to assume editorship of the *Sowetan* next week, said that although the action against the *Weekly Mail* was not unexpected, "it still leaves most people in the media and, I would suggest, the country rather shocked that another newspaper is faced with suspension".

Mr Michael Green, editor of the *Daily News*, said: "It is hard to see the *Weekly Mail* as any kind of threat to public order."

Mr James McMillan, editor of the *Natal Mercury*, said he "strongly opposed the banning of any paper".

ARBITRARY

He was particularly opposed to "arbitrary action" against a paper where it had not been proven in court that a

of the *Sowetan* next week, said that although the action against the *Weekly Mail* was not unexpected, "it still leaves most people in the media and, I would suggest, the country rather shocked that another newspaper is faced with suspension".

Mr Michael Green, editor of the *Daily News*, said: "It is hard to see the *Weekly Mail* as any kind of threat to public order."

Mr James McMillan, editor of the *Natal Mercury*, said he "strongly opposed the banning of any paper".

ARBITRARY

He was particularly opposed to "arbitrary action" against a paper where it had not been proven in court that a newspaper had "genuinely endangered the State".

Mr Mostert van Schoor, editor of the *Pretoria News*, said: "If his (the Minister's) opinion is correct, then the paper's readers must be dangerous revolutionaries for putting up with its news and views. Clearly they are not a threat to the State."

Mr J C Viviers, editor of the *Cape Times*, said: "The warning to the *Weekly Mail* following the closure of the *New Nation* is a depressing confirmation of the Government's determination to silence the so-called alternative press."

Mr Khulu Sibiya, editor of the weekend newspaper *City Press*, said the action was "expected; it comes as no surprise at all".

Mr P W Kühn, deputy editor of *Beeld*, said it was not his newspaper's policy to comment on "such matters".

A similar "no comment" was made on behalf of the editor of *Die Burger*.

Mr Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*, referred The Star to the paper's editorial headlined "Witless action".

The editorial described as "quite bizarre" the suggestion that the *Weekly Mail* "may be stoking up a night of the long knives".

● The Star's formal comment appears on Page 10.

THE EDITOR,
PO BOX 13094,
SIR LOWRY ROAD

Groote Schuur racism: report 'one-sided'

IT was with deep indignation that I took cognisance of the one-sided report in SOUTH (April 14-20) under the heading: "Racism claims at Groote Schuur". In the report the Public Servants' League was criticised severely.

What bothers me is that your reporter consulted the national secretary on the whole matter, but did not deem it necessary to write about the other side of the story.

You should bear in mind that our organisation represents 44 000 members. I am sure thousands of members are regular readers of SOUTH. Our head office has received several telephone calls protesting the line of your story. I am convinced thousands of our members share my views.

So far I have been very proud of the undaunted performance of SOUTH. You made it clear many times, whatever the consequences, that you will stand by the truth in the interests of the community you serve.

We reject the view that we are a "sweetheart union" with the contempt it deserves.

The PSL has in the past and is still making a stand against hurtful discrimination in the public service. Allow me to quote from the national chairman's address as delivered at an annual general meeting in Port Elizabeth recently:

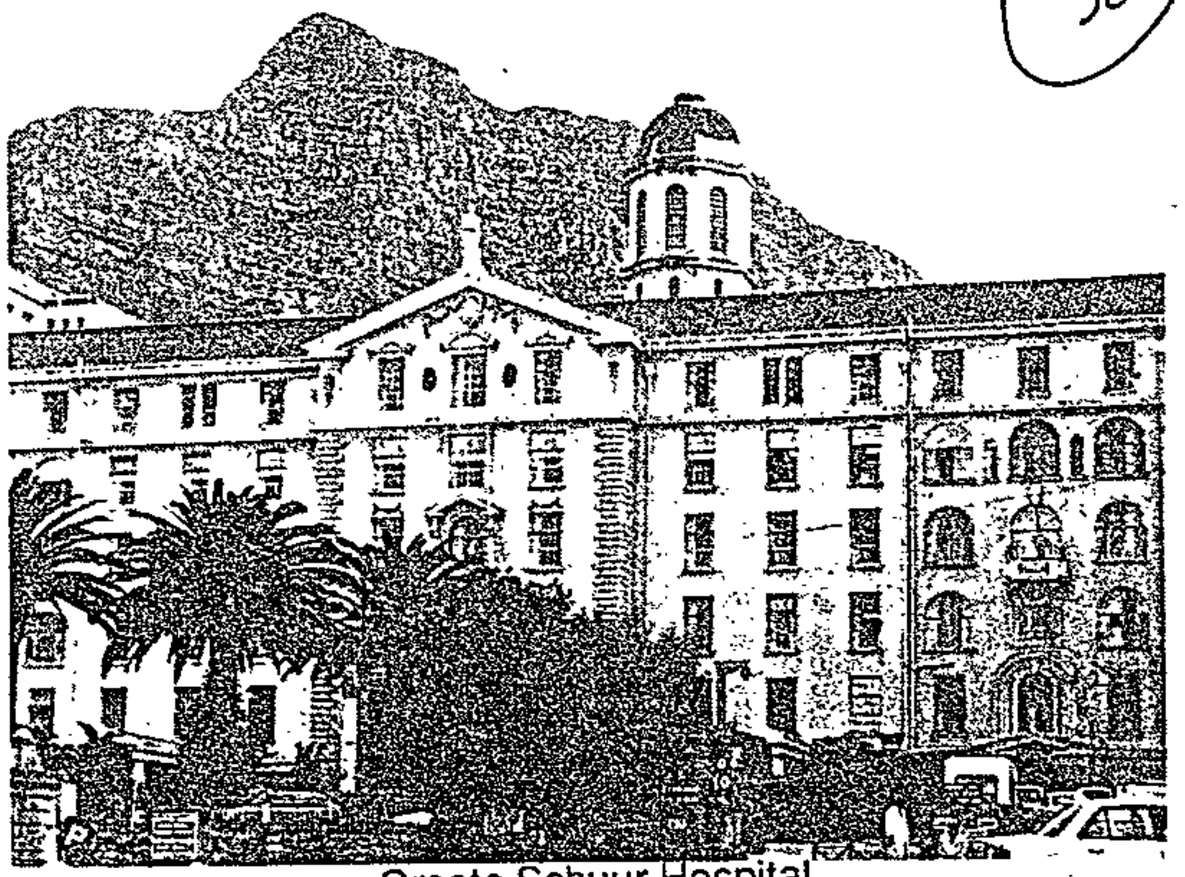
"We must help to determine a future in the public service and our country where everyone will be happy and live peacefully together. The present set-up in the public service, as well as in our country, does not satisfy our people."

While it is our organisation's immediate objective or priority to improve conditions of employment and to bring about a non-discriminatory public service, it must be clearly understood that we also want to improve our political future.

Thus the Public Servants League has quite unjustly been given the image of being a "sweetheart organisation" that supports the Government and apartheid. We stand for equality in all spheres of life and, therefore, we oppose all forms of discrimination which is based on race and colour.

As a result of persistent pressure from the PSL the following goals were attained:

• A new employment and utilisation policy has materialised where equal opportunities on merit exists;



Groote Schuur Hospital

• The Commission for Administration and the Ministers Council has complied with a request from the PSL that preference be given to blacks when it comes to appointment and/or promotion to senior posts. This will assist to reduce the backlog resultant from an unjust employment policy;

• Parity in salaries as from March 1, 1988;

• Creation of posts for those employees who have been doing certain types of work (drivers or cooks), but were classified as temporary. These people must now be identified and appointed into posts;

• Staff evaluation through merit assessment also for general assistants; and

• Immediate admittance to the pension fund. The two-year waiting period has been done away with.

The PSL is at present also bargaining for: A multiracial Commission for Administration; uniform retirement age of 60 years; an increase in the maximum housing subsidy; salary increases of 20 percent for all civil servants and general assistants.

Some of the other negotiations include: Extension of 100 percent housing loans and housing subsidies to married women officials; maternity leave; and parity on all levels.

You also reported that the PSL was not recognised by workers. I would like to know which workers you refer to. The PSL is a 44 000 strong organisation and is growing rapidly because of what has been achieved in the interest of our members. I wish to invite members of the PSL to report irregularities to us.

The statement that "workers are forced to join the PSL" is untrue. We respect the principle of freedom of association. All our members have joined of their own free will.

JJ DAVIDS

CHIEF: LIAISON SERVICES

This letter has been shortened. — Editor.

SA judges in a dilemma

JUDICIAL DILEMMA

WHAT one eminent judge described recently as a "crisis in the administration of justice" has been brewing in the South African legal system for a long time.

Mr Justice M M Corbett, an Appeal Court judge, made his observation during the national Bar conference in Cape Town recently, saying there was increasing difficulty in finding highly skilled advocates prepared to accept appointments as judges.

While many observers agree with Mr Justice Corbett, it is also pointed out that the problem's causes are deep-seated and relate to the South African situation and the role of law in that situation.

Symbolic of the dilemma was the resignation last year of two judges, Mr Justice Leon and Mr Justice Ackermann.

Resignations from the Bench are almost unprecedented, tradition being that judges serve until retirement. The last time it happened in South Africa was in 1979 when Mr Justice King and Mr Justice Mostert resigned.

The question is: Why would senior counsel be unwilling to accept elevation to the Bench? Surely, with its status, awesome responsibilities of life and death and the power to make law, the recognition and appointment would be the pinnacle of any legal person's career.

Trenchant criticism of the situation was made in 1980 to the Hoexter Commission by Mr Justice Didcott, of the Natal Provincial Division. Much of what he said then is still relevant or has been exacerbated by the growing crisis in South Africa.

The letter of the law, he said, was that the "judicial authority of the Republic" belonged to the Supreme Court as a whole, not to the Minister of Justice, nor to the Department of Justice.

"Such, however, is the letter of the law. Its spirit struggles to survive the long siege the Supreme Court has undergone."

A major example of this were statutes which had robbed the Supreme Court of its "inherent jurisdiction and traditional functions" or had carved deeply into its judicial function.

"As we all know, their medley of effects range from mandatory sentences, depriving the Supreme Court of its discretion to impose punishments that fit the circumstances, to the capture of its work by special tribunals, from the immunity to judicial review gained by performers of administrative acts to indemnities protecting officials who have behaved unlawfully and embargoes on interdicts against those about to do so.

"The worst of all ... has been the Supreme Court's loss in large areas of that ancient and trusted weapon for the defence of personal liberty, the writ of *habeas corpus*.

"The growth of administrative law at the expense of judicial power is a phenomenon by no means peculiar to South Africa, but ... few communities ... have gone as far as we.

"Few, and none with whom comparison would be welcome, have done so with less apparent reluctance or greater damage to the fabric of law," said Mr Justice Didcott.

This process has continued and many in the legal profession fear that administrative law will continue to expand.

The director of the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg, Mr Geoff Budlender, made that point to a recent conference on laws against trade unions and political organisations.

He pointed to a process in which the State's perceptions of its security needs was expanding, and so were the areas of life which the Government saw as security related and therefore had to be removed from the purview of the courts.

Mr Justice Didcott reserved his sharpest criticism for the way people were elevated to the Supreme Court Bench.

"There can hardly be a lawyer in the land who is unaware of it ... yet, for fear no doubt of comtempt of court, it is never discussed openly. I refer to appointments from the Bar to the Supreme Court Bench, and promotions within it, on grounds other than merit ...

"I do not suggest that we have had no appointments on merit ... we have obviously had many. But we have also had many, far too many, of the other sort ...

"Things have got so bad that some advocates and attorneys who claim political influence, and visibly relish the role of wheeler-dealers, boast openly of their successes in securing the appointment or promotion of so-and-so, and spoiling the prospects of what's-his-name ..."

Mr Justice Corbett was referring to advocates not accepting appointments. Mr Justice Didcott, while talking about those who were never approached, also foresaw the present problem.

"Consider ... the long list of leading counsel who have not even reached the Bench. Confine one's attention, for convenience, to the Johannesburg Bar, the largest in the country by far, and one which has always counted amongst its members the ablest advocates of their time.

"Ponder on the relatively few Transvaal judges drawn from their ranks in the past three decades. Imagine the gain to that court, its reinforcement, had it included a Rosenberg, an Ettlinger, a Pollak and a Rathouse, a Maisels and a Hanson, a Welsh, a Kentridge, a Chaskalson ...

"Today no doubt advocates of similar calibre, were they given the choice, would hesitate long before accepting invitations to become judges. That this should be the position is a blow to the prestige of our Supreme Court and a blot on our legal system," he said.

Three of those named by Mr Justice Didcott are commonly accepted in the profession as among the greatest advocates to have been produced in South Africa.

All three have served as judges of appeal in neighbouring states. Mr Maisels was president of the Swaziland Appeal Court, Mr Welsh was senior appeal judge there and Mr Kentridge has served as a judge of the Botswana Appeal Court and is a respected QC in London.

The tendency to overlook eminently qualified people was possibly not as pronounced today as it was 20 or 30 years ago, "but it is very difficult to know because of the tradition that if it has been offered and you have turned it down you do not talk about it", said one source.

"It would become invidious if people did talk about refusing an appointment. It would appear as if someone appointed was third, or fifth or sixth choice for the position.

"But this also makes it difficult to know whether someone, if they had been approached, would have accepted."

At the very outset the problem is about the limited size of the community of senior counsel available for selection.

It's limited because there is a degree of personality and personal choice that initially decides whether people in the profession will practise as attorneys or choose the more lonely life of an advocate at the Bar.

From here one can, if inclined, "take silk" and become a senior counsel. As with much else connected with legal appointments, much depends on practice and tradition, rather than stipulated procedures.

Someone becomes a senior counsel after practising at the Bar, proving himself both before the Bench and to his peers in the demanding hurly-burly of civil and criminal trials.

An advocate needs the support and approval of the chairman of the Bar Council and the Judge-President of the division after which an application for silk is approved by the Executive on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice.

Thus the community available for elevation to the Bench is restricted to those people who have found their way through the necessary academic and professional qualifications, gone to the Bar and found acceptance in the eyes of their peers and finally been approved by the State.

As senior counsel, advocates must still prove themselves as having the requisite intelligence, knowledge of the law and independence to make a fit judge.

Again, elevation to the Bench depends on practice and convention.

In the first instance, the Judge-President of a division of the Supreme Court either formally or informally approaches a senior counsel to see if he would accept an appointment. If it is accepted, the Judge-President advises the Minister of Justice and on his recommendation the appointment is approved by the Executive.

● **The final article in this series will appear tomorrow.**

Libraries not up to standard, judges complain

A DEPARTMENT of Justice spokesman said each judge had his own clerk or secretary with typing facilities.

"Furthermore, the facility of a typing pool is available at the Registrar's division for use by judges.

"Lubbes, a private typing and transcription service, types most of the judgments.

"The two typists mentioned are in addition to these," she said.

Judges complain that libraries are not up to standard, nor are information retrieval systems such as are available at universities, and librarian posts have been degraded to such an extent that it is difficult to get qualified librarians to work for the salary, let alone legal librarians.

Meanwhile, the workload of judges is said to have increased enormously in recent years, itself a symptom of South Africa's troubled society.

More serious and violent crimes mean more appeals, more lower court sentences for review and more time devoted to this aspect of administering justice.

At the same time, the increasing conflict within society has meant more public violence and subversion and "terrorist" trials, hearings of urgent interdicts on behalf of detainees, challenges to emergency regulations and actions under them.

The first in a two-part series by DICK USHER, Staff Reporter

Seven hanged in Pretoria today

Pretoria Bureau

Seven men were hanged at Pretoria Central Prison today, bringing to 36 the number of people executed in SA this year.

Those executed were:

- Sipho Mahala (21) and Lungile Rewu (19) for the murder of Mlungise Mgudi (16) on November 2 1985 near Port Elizabeth.
- Benjamin (20) and Dirk Rossouw (21) for the murder of Carel van Rooyen (79) near Vryburg on May 30 1986.
- Dlozilakhe Richard (23), Fihle (19), and Vo Victor (20) Mzinyane for the murder of Mr Mapegu Mtolo near Bergville on March 3 1986.

29/3/88 STAR

Police 'raided our office'

29/4/88

By Sally Sealey

The Johannesburg Central Advice Centre which offers advice and help to Johannesburg's flat tenants, was raided early last week by members of the South African Police, said a spokesman for the office yesterday.

Co-ordinator of the advice office Mr Ayub Mayet said the police gained access to the advice office in Pritchard Street while he was out.

Mr Mayet said that at least eight policeman arrived at the office last Wednesday morning and "searched it thoroughly".

He was handed a receipt from a Captain van Huyssteen detailing items removed.

A spokesman for the SAP said: "We do not comment on routine police duties. We are not prepared to make inquiries in this regard".

Mr Mayet said the advice office had close dealings with the anti-Group Areas Act organisation Actstop.

Hillbrow's problems revolve around Act, declares Actstop

Star 29/4/88

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The only crime in Hillbrow was the Group Areas Act and problems in the area revolved around this law, not around crime, law and order, as suggested by Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, during his recent visit to Hillbrow, said a spokesman for Actstop

The organistion, which helps people evicted under the Group Areas Act, contrasted Mr Meyer's "clandestine" visit with its own, and other organisations', "widely publicised" meetings where "workable solutions to the problems confronting Johannesburg and other areas devastated by the Group Areas Act had been expounded".

Mr Meyer had failed to address these problems in any way, "meeting instead behind closed doors with National Party councillors and other interest groups while ignoring the 50 000 black people of Johannesburg" who also had an interest in the problems, Actstop said.

"It is surprising that he does not address the problems in Mondeor where statistics show that crime has increased faster than in Hillbrow.

"We repeat our solution and demand the scrapping of the Act, and we insist that no solution can be found until all the city's residents, both black and white, are consulted.

'Not all in Mondeor are racists'

Star 29/4/88 Municipal Reporter

A petition calling for the Group Areas Act to be enforced in Mondeor wrongly labelled the residents of the suburb as racists and bigots, callers have complained to The Star.

Reacting to a public meeting held on Wednesday night to protest against blacks moving into the area, incensed residents said the mood of the meeting did not represent the feelings of most Mondeor people.

None of the callers was prepared to have their names printed for fear of victimisation by right-wingers whom they said had called the meeting.

The petition was signed by people from other southern suburbs including Winchester Hill and Southdale, protesters said.

One woman alleged that people who had voiced opposition to the speakers had been threatened by members of the audience. "I was told: Shut your mouth if you don't want to walk out of here with broken legs," she said.

Others were called "kafferboeties" and "white kaffirs" and it was alleged that speakers said that blacks raped, murdered and stole and destroyed the ecology.

Another woman appealed to the authorities "to take steps to prevent meetings of this kind being held in the suburb again".

Anti-apartheid campaign by FFF

The Star incorrectly stated yesterday that the End Conscription Campaign is launching a "101 Ways to End Apartheid" campaign on May 2. In fact the campaign is being launched by the Five Freedoms Forum.

The campaign will be launched at the Market Theatre at 6 pm on May 2, compered by Des and Dawn Lindberg. There will be readings by Nadine Gordimer and songs by Jennifer Ferguson.

'OUKASIE CUT OFF'

Sowetan 29/4/88

327

IN 33 days' time the Brits township of Oukasie, which is threatened with removal, will be sealed off to all non-residents apart from health workers, soldiers and State officials.

This provision is one of a range of restrictions imposed on residents in terms of the Government Notice declaring Oukasie an emergency camp in terms of the Squatters Act.

The superintendent appointed for the township by the provincial authorities may issue special permits to allow

SOWETAN REPORTER

outsiders access to the settlement of some 8 000 people. But he may refuse such a permit if:

- "He is of the opinion that the presence of the person concerned may . . . cause a disturbance of the peace and good order in the camp;
- "Good cause exists for such refusal or withdrawal."

Curfew

Brits Action Committee (BAC) spokesman Mr Sello Ramakobye told a press conference in Johannesburg that a curfew had been imposed in the area on its first night — Tuesday — as a emergency camp. "Last night, just after 9.15pm, police were going round telling people to move into houses and not to be seen in the streets," he said.

He added that pamphlets had been sent to employers explaining that these steps were being taken because "radicals" were behind the refusal of the people to move.

The BAC issued a statement explaining that it viewed the restrictive camp conditions "as a pretext for the State to establish a permanent military and police presence at Oukasie so as over a period of time to totally control and thereby demoralise the community so that the State will ultimately achieve its dream of residents leaving 'voluntarily" for Lethlabile."

Mail urges readers to protest

The *Weekly Mail* today published a strong front-page appeal to its readers to continue protesting against the Government's protracted attempts to shut it down.

A special edition of the *Government Gazette* this week warned the paper that its activities could lead it to be closed for three months, or required to submit all information for pre-publication censorship.

The appeal, dominated by the headline "Save the Wail", read:

"Our enemies consider us one of the country's noisier newspapers. So do our friends.

"For three years we've failed to keep our mouths shut. Despite various requests.

"This week the Minister of Home Affairs warned us ... that our wailing threatened public safety."

But, the appeal read, the newspaper denied the charge.

The process of closing newspapers was so lengthy, so tortuous, so little-understood that public interest died long before the climax of the wearying process of death by a thousand pin-pricks.

"Which is why we appeal to our readers: Don't let us go quietly", it said.

"Carry on reading us. Carry on subscribing. Make a fuss.

"Wail dammit."

Mbeki's lawyers challenge restriction order

JOHANNESBURG — Lawyers for the African National Congress' leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, have served papers on the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, and others, challenging the restrictions imposed on their client.

(327)

Mr Mbeki, 77, who served 23 years of the life sentence imposed on him during the Rivonia trial, was released from Robben Island last November.

In terms of the emergency regulations, Mr Mbeki was served with an order restricting him to the magisterial area of Post Elizabeth, within weeks of his release.

This prevented him from participating in political activities and restrained him from communicating with the press.

D 10 29/4/86

Mr Mbeki is applying to the Eastern Cape Supreme Court to:

- Declare the entire state of emergency on which the order rests invalid;
- Alternatively, to declare the particular regulation in terms of which the Commissioner of Police is delegated powers to make orders invalid;
- Or thirdly to declare the order itself invalid.

It will be argued that the restriction order is too vague to be lawful and the municipal boundaries of Port Elizabeth are not ascertainable.

It will also be argued that there was no basis in law for the Commissioner to have the order issued against Mr Mbeki.

The only grounds for the issue of such an order is to protect public safety, maintain public order or to help terminate the state of emergency, it will be submitted.

According to Mr Mbeki's Johannesburg attorney her client has been refused permission to visit his wife at her home in Transkei. — Sapa

327

An international outcry meets notice to Mail

Stoffel Botha ... warning

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE Minister of Home Affairs' warning to the *Weekly Mail* this week has brought widespread condemnation and the launch of an international "Save the Press" campaign.

A wide range of businessmen, editors, trade unionists, and civil rights organisations — locally and internationally — have come together to urge Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha not to restrict newspapers.

"We are gearing up to fight the minister. He is not going to be able to act against us without causing a local and international outcry," the *Weekly Mail's* co-editors said.

"So far the response has been extraordinary — businessmen, members of the legal profession, ambassadors and editors are among those who are working on ways to convince the minister that he should think again," they said.

Botha published a special gazette on Tuesday warning the *Weekly Mail* that it is publishing matter which, "in my opinion, is causing a threat to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order or is causing a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency."

This takes the newspaper a further step down the road towards its possible suspension. To date, the minister has suspended one newspaper, the *New Nation*, and gazetted warnings against six others: *Weekly Mail, South, Work in Progress, Grassroots, Saamstaan* and *Out of Step*.

The "Save the Press" campaign grew out of a meeting of about 100 influential South Africans two weeks ago.

Aspects of the campaign so far are:

●United States presidential candidate Paul Simon, a "regular reader of the *Weekly Mail*", is to raise the issue in the US senate. He telephoned the newspaper's editors yesterday to express his concern

●A letter from the editors of *Weekly Mail, New Nation* and *South* has been sent to hundreds of editors around the world, drawing their attention to the situation.

●An open letter to the State President, signed by writers and journalists around the world, was delivered to the South African embassy in London this week. Signatories so far include former London *Times* editor Harold Evans, playwright Tom Stoppard, Lord McGregor of Durris, chairman of the British Press Council, Louis Blom-Cooper QC, editor of the *Independent* Andreas Whittam-Smith, chairman of Random House publishers Bob Bernstein, and Lord Avebury, chairman of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group.

The London-based Index on Censorship group has already received more than 100 signatures for the letter, which is the first step in an ongoing international campaign to persuade the minister "to lift the ban on *New Nation*, and to take no further steps against the alternative or mainstream press".

● The Progressive Federal Party is to raise the issue in parliament in Cape Town.

●Editors of major local newspapers and leading businessmen are meeting in separate groups to decide what action to take.

There was swift reaction this week to the latest warning to *Weekly Mail:*

●Addressing a public meeting on Wednesday, former SA ambassador to London, Denis Worrall, lambasted the government for attacking the press, accusing it of "immaturity" and political myopia.

Referring specifically to *Weekly Mail's* warning, he said: "South Africa needs as much information as possible. South Africans are mature enough to determine their future on the basis of facts and a free flow of information."

●In an editorial, the *Star* said: "Today it is the 'alternative' media, tomorrow it could well be others ... What is at stake is not just an abstract concept called freedom of the press, but the very right of all South Africans to know what is going on in their country".

●Newspaper editors around the country condemned the warning.

●Messages of support were received from media organisations around the world, such as the World Press Freedom Committee and the Committee for the Protection of Journalists, from South African businessmen and from editors around the world.

32

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTION OF CHILDREN

A total of 300 children aged 17 or under are being held in prisons and police stations around the country, Audrey Coleman of the Black Sash and Free the Children Alliance said at a seminar at the University of the Witwatersrand last week. She said there were about 2 000 people in detention and an average of about 500 people a month were detained during the first four months of 1987.

Another speaker, Dr David Webster, of the Five Freedoms Forum, said 24 percent of those held under security and Emergency laws were children. At least 1 750 people had been detained since the beginning of 1988. He also said about 10 000 children aged 17 or under were detained during the first year of the national State of Emergency but most had since been released.

An estimated 30 000 people had been held under the Emergency regulations since June 12 1986 and that 9 194 people were known to have been detained last year, according to Webster.

HUNGER STRIKES

Emergency detainees were involved in 15 hunger strikes beween Febuary 1 and December 31 last year, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, said in parliament. The strikes took place at Durban Male Prison, East London Prison, Modderbee Prison, Pollsmoor Prison, Port Elizabeth Prison, Potchefstroom Prison and Victor Verster Prison.

MEDICAL VISITS TO DETAINEES

The Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, told parliament that state doctors had paid 3 800 visits last year to security detainees. Action was taken in 20 cases of alleged assaults, 50 cases of hunger strikes, 30 cases of depression and 50 cases of "minor complaints".

YOUTHS IN POLICE CELLS

A total of 63 360 youths aged 17 or under were held awaiting trial in police cells last year, Vlok said in parliament. The daily average of people detained in police cells in South Africa was 14 917. The majority of these people were held under the Criminal Procedure Act, according to the minister.

BANNING OF MEETINGS

A total of 49 meetings in South Africa (excluding the "independent homelands") had been prohibited in terms of the Emergency regulations from June 12 1986 and Febuary 22 1988, Vlok said in parliament. He also said that 316 people had been arrested in 1987 for allegedly attending gatherings prohibited in terms of section 46 of the Internal Security Act and that 56 were arrested in terms of the Emergency regulations for the same reason.

NEWSPAPER REPORTS

Government press monitors last year identified 301 newspaper reports with a potentially subversive content, according to the 1987 annual report of the Department of Home Affairs tabled in parliament recently. The report noted there had been a "marked reduction" in the nature and scope of reporting that "prompted or had the potential to promote a revolutionary climate, particularly as regards the commercial media".

POLITICAL PRISONERS

A total of 145 males were serving sentences in 1987 exceeding 10 years for offences against the security of the state, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told parliament.

He said 95 were serving sentences of more than five years and 48 had been jailed for more than two years for similar offences. One woman was serving a sentence of more than 10 years and three had been jailed for over two years. The minister said five people serving sentences for "offences against the security of the state" were released last year after "renouncing violence in terms of the State President's offer", and 42 political prisons were released last year.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

PASCAL MOLOI, 27, former South African National Students Congress executive member, was detained under the Emergency regulations on May 20 last year.

He became active in the Azanian Students Organisation (now Sansco) as a student at Fort Hare University, from which he was expelled. In 1985, while studying at Vista University (Soweto), he was elected to the Azaso (Sansco) national executive.

Moloi was detained for three days in 1985, and for three months last year under the Emergency regulations. At the time of his latest detention he was completing a B Comm degree at Wits University, and was serving as Sansco national information officer. He is being held at Johannesburg (Diepkloof) Prison.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:
Latest Opportunism — The Theory of the South African Revolution (Comrade Mzala); South African Youth Congress — Save the Patriots Campaign (Sayco); Sansco National Conference (SA National Students Congress); The Heroes of our struggle still carry the torch of freedom — Mandela's comrades jailed for life — poster (not stated); June 16: Word of Prayer to End Unjust Rule (Kairos, Braamfontein); Looking to a new future of freedom, justice and peace (Swapo); Victory to Swapo women 1959 — 1987 (Swapo); Swapo 1988 — 28 years of a bitter heroic anti-colonial resistance: 1960 — 1988 — calender (Swapo); Swapo News and Views July-Sept 1987 (Swapo); What is Koevoet-Coin? — pamphlet (Swapo); To the Namibian People (Swapo); To SADF and its extended wings (Swapo); Suidwes Afrikaanse Gebiedsmag, swart soldate (Swapo); Koevoet members be advised (Swapo); Namibian citizens in SWATF (Swapo); 10 issues of The Combatant — vol 6 nos 6, 8, and 12, vol 7 nos 2, 3, 6 and 8 and vol 9 nos 2, 3, and 4 (Plan); Swapo Constition (Swapo); National Stay-Away March 21 — pamphlet (not stated); Seminar in North American on the efforts by the international community to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, Montreal, Canada July 23 — 27 1984 (not stated); Gazelle, April/May 1988 (Republican Press, Johanesburg); Stag vol 7 no 4 April 1988 (Viclen Promotions, Turffontein); Angola — SA's Dirty War — film; Apartheid — A New Order — film; Hollywood Man — film; three cigarette lighters displaying bare-breasted girls.
Unbanned: Poets to the People (Barry Feinberg); Stubborn Hope (Denis Brutus); Stern Heft no 9 Febuary 1988 (Grener and Jahr AG and Co, Hamburg).

Mbeki can't go to family funeral

By BILL KRIGE

MUZZLED ANC leader Govan Mbeki was refused permission to travel to Transkei this week to attend the funeral of his sister-in-law.

According to Canon Mncebisi Xundu, who has been close to the former African National Congress chairman since his release last year after 23 years' jail on Robben Island, Mr Mbeki was "depressed by the decision".

"The funeral had been postponed in the hope that permission would be granted," he said.

Challenge

"There was no way anyone could have labelled this a political occasion."

This week lawyers served papers on the State President challenging the curbs placed on 77-year-old Mr Mbeki within weeks of his release.

The man sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial is seeking to have the state of emergency declared invalid.

Alternatively, he is seeking to invalidate the regulation giving the Commissioner of Police power to silence him.

Mr Mbeki lives alone in a neat face-brick maisonette in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

According to Canon Xundu, he has an enormous appetite for literature and spends most of his day reading.

"He begins the day with a brisk walk," he said.

Urban violence — maybe the State lit the fuse

Own Correspondent Star 2/5/88

Analysts believe the South African Government's political crackdown could have sparked an increase in urban terror.

Over the past month, attacks have averaged one every three days. (327)

The analysts say the battle by anti-Government forces has now shifted from the formerly unrest-ridden townships to another arena — that of high-profile attacks.

"The more successful the Government gets in its campaign of counter-insurgency, the more the tempo of insurgency increases," says Professor Deon Fourie, lecturer in strategic studies at Unisa.

"It is essential for them (the insurgents) to show the flag at whatever cost."

Since the Krugersdorp bomb blast on March 17, which killed three people and injured at least 20, there have been 13 reported attacks countrywide.

This includes landmines that were defused before exploding.

At the Pretoria bomb blast outside the Sterland cinema complex, a man was killed and another seriously injured.

COMPENSATING

A bomb exploded recently outside Parliament in Cape Town, and an explosive device planted in a flower-box caused damage to the Johannesburg City Hall.

Political analyst and ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge says it is possible that the ANC is compensating for the repression of political organisations by going for high-profile military attacks.

"If I were in the ANC high command now, I would say the "people's war" is not on the cards and we need to create an image of sophistication by carrying out elaborate attacks which will attract local and international attention.

"It is plausible that this is what they are thinking."

Professor Peter Vale, director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, says the State now has a domestic advantage, but the increase in bomb attacks implies that the "war continues".

"The tempo is moving at a faster rate than we tend to see," he says, adding that it is difficult to control bomb attacks.

Dr Lodge says the recent bomb blasts in Cape Town, Pretoria and Johannesburg show a degree of co-ordination which indicates that much of the ANC's organisational structures are still intact.

"The most likely explanation is that the ANC is alive and well, and the fact that the bomb blasts were all in major centres raises the possibility that there was co-ordination between them.

He believes the ANC is still sticking to its policy of not attacking civilian targets.

"When 'soft' targets are hit, which is rare, I think it is the work of someone who is locally trained and does not follow the ANC policy as rigorously as it would be by someone trained outside the country, and not influenced by local perceptions."

Professor Fourie says the recent spate of attacks is a defiant gesture by the ANC, who wanted to show that they "haven't been beaten".

"It's all a question of technique. You can't allow the Government to get on top of you, and if it looks as if you have been beaten then you have to do something to show you haven't," he says.

Professor Fourie says the clampdown on township unrest could have led to a feeling that it is more productive, from a publicity point of view, to engage in bomb attacks.

"The value of this strategy is increased if there is Government over-reaction.

"If people who are uncommitted become antagonised, it serves as a recruiting ground for the insurgents."

He says the attacks have been "pretty indiscriminate", and although there is talk of avoiding 'soft' targets, this has not really been the case.

"This could also be caused by the fact that it is difficult to control cadres from a long distance."

The director of the institute, Professor Mike Hough, says it is difficult to pinpoint reasons for an increase in sabotage.

"It could be coincidental that at times we do suddenly have a flare-up.

"A clear pattern that has emerged is that increasingly there are more and more attacks on 'soft' targets.

SMOKESCREEEN

"This means that either talk of avoiding 'soft' targets is a smokescreen, or that the ANC has lost control of its people in the field."

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, says the bombings over the past few weeks have achieved what they were designed for — to intimidate.

He says the police have the situation under control and the attacks are the work of a few men who have slipped the police dragnet.

Stoffel hits back at media critics

327

D/D 21/5/88

PRETORIA — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday rebutted criticisms of his handling of the media, accusing detractors of "misrepresentations".

He said certain elements "refused to accept that, by means of propaganda, publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries".

He said a false impression had been created that he wanted to close down newspapers and restrict publications indiscriminately.

It was also claimed that the emergency regulations relating to the media were simply to shield the government against criticism.

"All that is untrue," he said.

What was true was that certain elements inside and outside South Africa wanted to brush aside the existing state of emergency as being unnecessary.

It was his duty to act in terms of the emergency regulations pertaining to the media in cases warranting such action.

"As far as the Weekly Mail is concerned, and the organised outcry about the warning which I have issued to the newspaper, the matter rests squarely with the publishers of the Weekly Mail."

Replying to Mr Botha's statement, the co-editors of the Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber and Mr Irwin Manoim, said: "If there is a revolution some day, it will not be because newspapers like the Weekly Mail have promoted it, but because voices for peaceful change such as ours are no longer to be heard.

"We are an independent, critical newspaper, with ties to no organised group. We believe in democratic values, in non-racism and in open debate about the options for a changing South Africa.

"Mr Botha accuses us of promoting revolution. He cannot, surely, believe this. Our real crime is the telling of awkward truths which the government would prefer not to hear."

They urged Mr Botha not to dismiss the views of those who had appealed to him to reconsider. — Sapa

Cape Times 2/5/88 327

Govt unyielding on press action

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday he would continue to act against the media in terms of the emergency regulations despite a "hysterical campaign in certain circles".

In a statement he said that as far as his warning to the Weekly Mail was concerned, the lengthy procedure for acting against a publication made ample provision for it to state its case and decide what it wanted to do.

"Due to the organized outcry about the warning ... I want to state clearly and categorically that the further development in this matter rests squarely with the publishers of the Weekly Mail."

Mr Botha said he needed to "protect the public against being misled even further" by misrepresentations about his action against various publications.

"The false impression is created that I want to close down or place restrictions on publications indiscriminately; that freedom of speech and the free flow of information are unnecessarily restricted; and that the emergency regulations pertaining to the media have no other purpose than to shield the government against criticism.

"All of that is untrue.

"What is true, is that there are certain elements inside and outside South Africa which want to brush aside the existing state of emergency in an off-hand manner as being unnecessary.

"They do not accept that a sustained onslaught is being directed against South Africa on almost every front and therefore they are also not prepared to accept the emergency regulations pertaining to the media as being essential."

He said it would be irresponsible to allow the promotion of the cause of revolutionaries by positive publicity, and the government was not irresponsible.

● If there is a revolution some day, it will not be because newspapers like the Weekly Mail have promoted it, but because voices for peaceful change such as ours are no longer to be heard, co-editors of the Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber and Mr Irwin Manoim, said yesterday in response to a statement by Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, Sapa reports.

"Mr Botha asks us to state our case: We are an independent, critical newspaper, with ties to no organized group. We have a point of view: We believe in democratic values, in non-racism and in open debate about the options for a changing South Africa.

"Mr Botha accuses us of promoting revolution. He cannot, surely, believe this. Our real crime is the telling of awkward truths which the government would prefer not to hear.

"Mr Botha appears astonished at the public outcry over his warning to the Weekly Mail."

'Our crime is telling awkward truths'

Star 21/7/88

Weekly Mail hits back at Minister

If there were a revolution some day, it would not be because newspapers like the *Weekly Mail* had promoted it, but because voices for peaceful change were no longer to be heard, *Weekly Mail* co-editors Mr Anton Harber and Mr Irwin Manoim said yesterday.

They were responding to a statement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

"Mr Botha asks us to state our case," they said. "We are an independent, critical newspaper, with ties to no organised group. We have a point of view: we believe in democratic values, in non-racism and in open debate about the options for a changing South Africa.

"Mr Botha accuses us of promoting revolution. He cannot, surely, believe this. Our real crime is the telling of awkward truths which the Government would prefer not to hear.

"Mr Botha appears astonished at the public outcry over his warning to the *Weekly Mail*. It seems he hoped to act against the press without a murmur of dissent. Instead, a wide range of people, both in South Africa and abroad, appealed to him to re-consider.

"These include senior business leaders, editors of major newspapers, professionals and diplomats.

"These are cautious, responsible people, not given to either 'naivety', 'recklessness' or 'hysteria'.

"We urge Mr Botha not to dismiss their views too lightly," Mr Harber and Mr Manoim said.

In a statement yesterday, the Minister said certain elements "obstinately refuse to accept that, by means of propaganda, publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries ... Due to misrepresentations regarding the warnings ... it has become necessary to protect the public against being misled even further.

"The false impression is created that I want to close down or place restrictions on publications indiscriminately; that freedom of speech and the free flow of information are unnecessarily restricted; and that the emergency regulations pertaining to the media have no other purpose than to shield the Government against criticism. All that is untrue."

The Minister said "there are certain elements inside and outside South Africa which want to brush aside the existing state of emergency, in an off-hand manner as being unnecessary".

ONSLAUGHT

"They do not accept that a sustained onslaught is being directed against South Africa on almost every front and, therefore, they are also not prepared to accept the emergency regulations pertaining to the media as being essential.

"We dare not allow such people to lead us astray.

"They obstinately refuse to accept that by means of propaganda publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries ..."

Mr Botha said that "due to the organised outcry about the warning which I have issued to the *Weekly Mail*, I want to state clearly and categorically that the matter rests squarely with the publishers of the *Weekly Mail*." — Sapa.

Weekly Mail states its case

3/5/88 Sowetan

IF there is a revolution some day, it will not be because newspapers like the *Weekly Mail* have promoted it, but because voices for peaceful change such as ours are no longer to be heard, co-editors of the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Anton Harber and Mr Irwin Manoim, said in response to a statement by Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha.

"Mr Botha asks us to state our case: we are an independent, critical newspaper, with ties to no organised group. We have a point of view: we believe in democratic values, in non-racism and in open debate about the options for a changing South Africa.

Truths

"Mr Botha accuses us of promoting revolution. He cannot, surely, believe this. Our great crime is the telling of awkward truths which the Government would prefer not to hear.

"Mr Botha appears astonished at the public outcry over his warning to the *Weekly Mail*. It seems he hoped to act against the Press without a murmur of dissent. Instead, a wide range of people, both in South Africa and abroad, have appealed to him to reconsider.

"These include senior business leaders, editors of major newspapers, professionals and diplomats. These are cautious, responsible people; not given to either "naivety", "recklessness" or "hysteria".

WETAN, Tuesday, May 3, 1988

GOVT PROTECTING PUBLIC - STOFFEL

3/5/88 Sowetan (327)

Minister answers criticism on warnings to the media

HOME Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has rebutted criticisms of his handling of the media, accusing detractors of "misrepresentations."

In a statement dealing with warnings he has issued to newspapers in terms of the emergency regulations — "among others the *Weekly Mail*" — Mr Botha said certain elements "obstinately refuse to accept that by means of propaganda, publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries. . ."

"Due to misrepresentations regarding the warnings . . . it has become necessary to protect the public against being misled even further," the Minister said in his statement.

"The false impression is created that I want to close down or place restrictions on publications indiscriminately — that freedom of speech and the free flow of information are unnecessarily restricted and that the emergency regulations pertaining to the media have no other purpose than to shield the Government against criticism.

"All that is untrue."

He said what was true "is that there are certain elements inside and outside South Africa which want to brush aside the existing state of emergency in an off-hand manner as being unnecessary.

"They do not accept that a sustained onslaught is being directed against South Africa on almost every front and therefore they are also not prepared to accept the emergency regulations pertaining to the media as being essential.

Revolution

"We dare not allow such people to lead us astray. They obstinately refuse to accept that by means of propaganda, publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries and to create a favourable atmosphere for the violent overthrow of civilised standards and good order in South Africa.

"The end result of what these people are promoting or supporting, is the replacement of the existing order by a Marxist/communist regime.

"We cannot allow ourselves to be diverted from our course by naivity or reckless intent," he said.

PW: SACP link prevents lifting of ban on ANC

D\D 3/5/85 Parliamentary Staff 327

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday ruled out any possibility of unbanning the African National Congress while it remained "totally linked" to the South African Communist Party (SACP).

He said there would be no release of political prisoners for as long as they refused to renounce violence, take part in talks and affirm that they would not use violent means to bring about change in South Africa.

Replying to the Progressive Federal Party's MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who called for the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of prisoners, Mr Botha said he was not prepared to allow the South African Communist Party to operate in South Africa because it was dangerous.

During the debate on Mr Botha's Vote in the House of Delegates, the State President said he could not unban an organisation like the African National Congress which claimed to be the partner of the South Africa Communist Party.

Mr Botha said terrorism thrived on publicity and the lack of opportunities presented to people.

It was for this reason that in opposing terrorism, South Africa had launched a vast socio-economic programme "as never before".

The job creation programme was an example of this, he added.

Mr Botha said that pressure from outside and influences which were being brought to bear were the reasons for certain black leaders not co-operating in the government's constitutional initiatives.

Mr Botha said reform had to be taken step by step and did not simply mean the handing over of South Africa to irresponsible people.

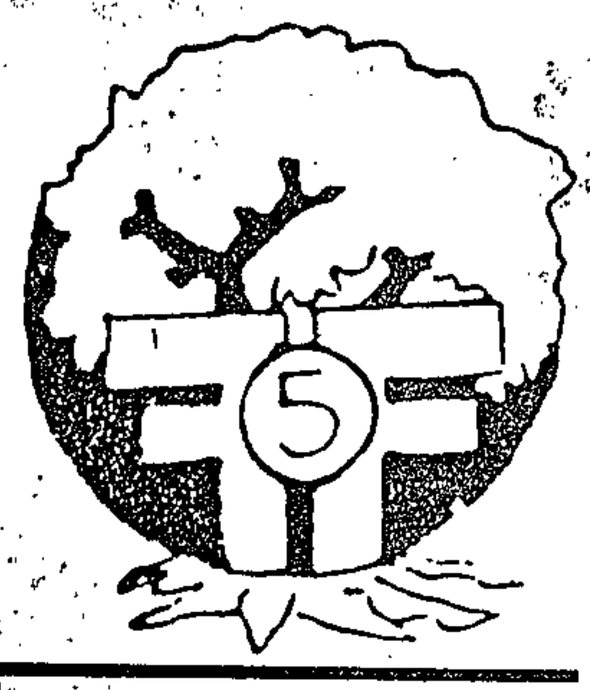
MR BOTHA

MR POOVALINGAM

Apartheid can be fought without breaking law

Star 31/5/88 (327)

The Five Freedoms Forum was born 13 months ago into a South African society struggling in the turmoil of change. But it arrived with the twin commitments to harness and give direction to the struggle for an open and apartheid-free society. Vice-chairman Barbara Buntman provides some insights into the aims, history and objectives of the organisation.



Almost three years ago the Government drew a curtain across the tragedy being played out in South Africa by introducing the first state of emergency.

Since then it has allowed only occasional glimpses behind that curtain and has carefully stage-managed any scenes it has allowed the white audience to see.

In its own version of theatre of the absurd the Government created a quiet calm during which a passive audience has grown increasingly isolated from the events on stage.

It was to this audience that the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) began to direct its actions in March 1987.

A few months before that — in November 1986 — the idea of creating such an organisation emerged when the Reverend Beyers Naude, Mr Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre and *New Nation* editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu organised a well attended meeting to discuss the problems created by the Government's imposition of the state of emergency. The major objective of the meeting was the development of a unified response against these actions. An important rider was that this response was to be anti-apartheid in nature, not anti-South African. It is a distinction that is not often drawn.

Some four months later the FFF was launched with its own manifesto and, as expressly stated in its name, a commitment to restore to millions of South Africans the five basic freedoms which apartheid denies them.

These freedoms are:

- Freedom from want.
- Freedom from fear.
- Freedom from exploitation and discrimination.
- Freedom of conscience.
- Freedom of speech and association.

In the past two years the Government has made massive inroads into basic freedoms — without which no democratic society can function.

The FFF believes that educating white South Africans about the lack of these basic freedoms is an important task and is committed to addressing the issues of human rights and of raising the level of political awareness among fellow South Africans. People first need to know and understand what is happening around them before they can be expected to take part in doing something about it.

Emergency regulations give the State wide — and unchecked — power to do almost anything it pleases. Newspapers are censored and even closed down, thousands of people have been detained without trial — some for two years and more — and political organisations are banned and restricted.

Against this background the FFF has set itself a series of tasks:

- To inform and educate the white community as to what is really happening in our country.
- To protest against infringements of human rights.
- To give concerned individuals something constructive to do to help create an environment better suited to negotiation.
- To address the fears that whites have for the future and to encourage all white South Africans to "stay and contribute" rather than leave the country.
- To create a situation where black and white South Africans can meet and learn to know each other.

'Emergency regulations give the State wide — and unchecked — power to do almost anything it pleases'

The FFF strives to emphasise the common ground among people and organisations opposed to apartheid rather than highlighting their differences. To this end the FFF has attempted to make itself a wide-ranging movement and at present is an umbrella body for some 25 organisations which include human rights groups, religious bodies, professional bodies, and youth and student organisations.

Individuals are also given the space within the FFF to feel comfortable working for the ideals of a broad-based organisation.

All these groups and individuals have one thing in common — they are all working within the white community to bring about an open and apartheid-free society.

The FFF, however, is not confined to any particular community. It enjoys the respect of and is supported by a wide cross-section of the black community. And as a measure of its wide appeal the forum is also working with people within the parliamentary structures as well as those working outside of these structures.

This was clearly seen in the range of participants in a conference held by the FFF at Wits University in September last year.

It was at that meeting that the commitment to unite and contribute to the ending of apartheid was strengthened.

Since then the FFF has involved itself in several activities in line with its manifesto objectives, the latest of which was launched yesterday.

This campaign — 101 Ways to end Apartheid — aims to create an awareness among whites that it is possible to oppose apartheid without breaking the law, even within the constraints of the present climate.

People are being asked to suggest ideas of how to take positive steps to end apartheid. A booklet will then be produced which will outline 101 constructive ways in which every person can work towards a free and just South Africa.

Govt to consult universities on subsidy cuts

Mr F W de Klerk

THE government would now negotiate with universities to achieve the aims of the subsidy conditions which were rejected by the Supreme Court, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Replying to committee stage debate on his Budget vote he said the own affairs education ministers had agreed to withdraw the letters to universities outlining the subsidy conditions.

Each minister would consult the universities under his control to reach agreement on measures on which there was already a large degree of consensus.

Room would remain for constructive protest, criticism and debate, but this would have to be done in a responsible manner and in a way that would not serve the revolutionary onslaught.

It was important that the tension between the government and universities be eliminated without losing sight of the four goals to which the government remained committed.

These were: Uninterrupted tuition and study for students at all universities, the constructive and educationally sound application of the taxpayer's money, the implementation of effective measures for good discipline and the maintenance of traditional academic values.

The government would abide by the court ruling on the subsidy regulations, but it was important to make the distinction that the judgment was on the method by which the government had sought to achieve its aim, not on these goals themselves.

Earlier Mr De Klerk said academic freedom could not exist at a university that aligned itself fully with leftist radical views.

The government supported the ideal of academic freedom, which was related to the essential function of the university.

This was the impartial pursuit of the truth with nothing to hamper this process. Truth was not the property of any one group or ideology. — Sapa

Argus 4/5/88 (397)

Trojan Horse: Families of shot boys to be paid compensation

Staff Reporter

THE families of two boys killed in the "Trojan Horse" incident in Athlone three years ago are to be compensated for their funeral expenses by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

In a letter the Minister informed attorneys acting for the families of Michael Miranda, 11, and Shaun Magmoed, 16, that he would pay for their funeral expenses and legal costs.

Attorney Mr Gary Jansen said today that each family would get about R900.

Yesterday the Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr Niel Rossouw, said he had declined to prosecute the policemen involved in the Trojan Horse incident in which three people died after police hidden in boxes on the back of a lorry opened fire in Athlone in 1985.

In March an inquest court ruled that a police lieutenant and his task force were responsible for the killings and that negligence was involved.

Mr Jansen said the families of the two boys would decide at the weekend about a private prosecution.

Cosatu to hold congress

Sowetan 4/5/88

(327)

By LEN MASEKO

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions, whose activities have been severely hampered by Government restrictions, holds its national congress in Johannesburg on May 14 and 15.

About 1 500 delegates from all over the country are expected to attend the congress.

The meeting comes in the wake of the virtual banning of 17 community organisations and a clampdown on Cosatu. It will focus — among other things — on:

- The Labour relations Amendment Bill;
- Poor participation by affiliates in many Cosatu structures; and
- Local and regional structures and leadership within Cosatu.

Statement

Cosatu said in a statement: "The federation is under attack like never before — as is the entire mass democratic movement.

"The question millions of people are asking is: how will we continue to march towards a democratic society, free of apartheid and exploitation," the federation said.

- The Media Workers' Association of SA is to hold a meeting in Soweto tomorrow, to protest against "the government's onslaught on the media".

Mr Joe Thloloe, the *Sowetan's* deputy editor, will analyse "The Onslaught Against the Media" at the meeting.

The meeting will be held at Ipelegeng Community Centre, White City at 7pm.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Indians: applications to join Police force

46. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any applications to join the Police Force were received from Indians living in (a) Port Elizabeth, (b) East London, (c) Cape Town and (d) Johannesburg during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available; if so, how many were (i) successful and (ii) unsuccessful in each case;

(2) whether Indian policemen are stationed in each province of the Republic; if not, (a) why not an (b) in which provinces are there no Indian policemen;

(3) whether he intends taking any steps in this regard; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;

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

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(a) (i) and (ii) None

(b) (i) None

(ii) One

(c) (i) Three

(ii) Six

(d) (i) Two

(ii) None

(2) No.

(a) and (b)

Up until now Indian members have not been stationed in the Orange Free State because until recently Indians did not reside in those communities.

(3) Yes.

(a) and (b)

Indian members of the Force will be transferred to the Orange Free State in proportion to the increase of the Indian population in that province.

(4) No.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

East London: hunger strike in prison

434. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether any detainees and/or prisoners in the East London Prison went on a hunger strike in January 1988; if so, (a) how many detainees and/or prisoners were involved and (b) what (i) was the duration of and (ii) were the reasons for the hunger strike;

(2) whether any complaints have been received by the East London Prison authorities concerning the (a) food and (b) medical care given to detainees and prisoners; if so, (i) when were these complaints received, (ii) what was the nature of the complaints in each case and (iii) what action was taken in response to them;

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

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) (a) and (b) (i) and (ii)

Detainees in terms of the Emergency Regulations

No.

However, thirty-one detainees in terms of the Emergency Regulations refused the meals served to them from lunch on 25 January 1988. Five of the thirty-one detainees took dinner on 27 January 1988. Another detainee refused his meals from breakfast on 28 January 1988. The five who took dinner on 27 January again refused breakfast on 28 January 1988. All the detainees took breakfast on 29 January 1988 and thereafter continued taking their meals regularly. The detainees refused to give a reason for their actions during this time and stated that they are not on a hunger strike.

Sentenced prisoners and prisoners awaiting trial

Yes.

A sentenced prisoner at East London Prison refused the meals served to him from 5 January 1988 up to and including lunch on 8 January 1988. The reason he gave for his hunger strike was that the doctor had not prescribed the "right" medical treatment for his complaints. However, he thereafter consulted two other doctors on five occasions.

(2) Yes.

In terms of Prisons Regulation 103 the Head of a Prison shall see every prisoner daily, investigate every complaint and request submitted by a prisoner and, as far as possible, dispose thereof. All these complaints and the manner of disposal are recorded and any complaint and request which cannot be disposed of by the Head of the Prison is submitted to the Commanding Officer without delay for his attention and disposal.

Furthermore, Judges of the Supreme Court also visit prisons, and complaints and requests may also be submitted on these occasions.

The honourable member did not indicate for which period the information is required, but for the purpose of answering the question, complaints regarding medical care/food submitted during January 1988 by an average of 1 183 prisoners and 52 detainees incarcerated in the East London Prison during that month, are furnished.

Complaints by sentenced prisoners and prisoners who were awaiting trial:

None.

Complaints by detainees in terms of Section 29 of Act 74/1982

None.

Complaints by detainees in terms of the Emergency Regulations 88.01.20

COMPLAINT: A detainee alleged that the bread was stale.

DISPOSAL: The Head and the Assistant Head of the Prison investigated the matter personally and found the complaint to be without any substance. No other prisoner or detainee had complaints in this regard.

The detainees in terms of the Emergency

South could be facing its final deadline today

327

Staff Reporter ARGUS 4/5/88

THE deadline for the weekly newspaper South to make representations to the Minister of Home Affairs about its being banned for three months is 4pm today.

In a front page editorial editor Rashid Seria writes that today's edition of South could be the last.

"The newspaper could be banned by a Government determined to cover up the evils of apartheid."

By banning South the Government would not put out the flame of freedom burning in the hearts of many South Africans, Mr Seria said.

In an interview Mr Seria said that South would hand the Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, its final submissions before the deadline.

South had decided not to "submit to censorship" should Mr Botha decide to appoint a censor rather than close the newspaper, he said

After Mr Botha made his decision South intended asking the "courts if he has applied his mind as required by the law in our case," Mr Seria said.

327 W/Mail 5/2/5/88

Lawyer says police handed him his *Sechaba*

Weekly Mail Reporter

A DURBAN advocate is under police investigation for allegedly possessing unlawful publications — however he claims they were all part of professional briefs.

Imrann Moosa said this week that two of the documents taken from him by police were court exhibits and were given to him by the police.

One is a photocopy of the African National Congress publication, *Sechaba*, November 1986, and the second is a copy of an extract of a message by ANC president Oliver Tambo together with a copy of the manifesto of Umkhonto we-Sizwe.

Moosa said they were exhibits from the case of State versus Tshikila, heard in October last year in the regional court at Kenton-on-Sea. He had represented the accused and the two documents were exhibits, marked as such, which he received from the head of the security police in the Eastern Cape during the trial.

The third document was Lenin's *What is to be done?*. It was part of a brief from the Frank Talk collective, asking for an opinion on whether they could keep copies of the book and whether the relaxation of the ban on Lenin's selected works applied to that edition of *What is to be done?*.

On February 26, the day after the publications were confiscated, Moosa was served with a statement by Durban security police informing him that he was "suspected of committing an offence in terms of the Internal Security Act", in that he was found in possession of the three publications.

Moosa's lawyer, Ashwin Trikamjee, confirmed this week his client was under investigation but said nothing had been heard from the police for some time.

Moosa said he regarded the police action as an invasion of professional privilege and that it was hampering him in his duties as an advocate.

(327)

5-12/5/88

Weekly Mail to meet Botha this week

Weekly Mail Reporter

Weekly Mail's co-editors expect to meet the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, next week to discuss his threat to act against the paper.

The meeting is being arranged in the wake of an exchange of press statements this week between the two parties — and as an international "Save the Press" campaign gets off the ground.

As part of the campaign:

● An open letter to the State President from prominent editors, writers and media people around the world is to be published in South Africa's Sunday newspapers this weekend.

The letter has been signed by, among others, the editors of the *Independent*, *Mail on Sunday*, and *Observer* of London, *Politiken* of Copenhagen, *Expressen* of Stockholm, the *Times of India*, the *Statesman* of India, the *Hufvudstadbladet* of Finland and the *Mauritius Times*.

Other signatories are Lord Avebury of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, Peter Galliner of the International Press Institute and Bob Bernstein, chairman of Random House publishers.

● The Black Sash has circulated 1 000 copies of a chain letter, calling on the minister to stop his action against the press. They are asking people to sign the letter and pass it on to five friends.

● Stoffel Botha is about to receive a flood of letters from businessmen, editors, ambassadors, and ordinary readers of the *Weekly Mail* — all calling on him to reconsider his threat to the press.

When Botha issued a special Government Gazette last week warning the newspaper that he considered it to be publishing matter that was a threat to public safety, he simultaneously informed the editors that he was prepared to meet them under certain conditions.

The co-editors, Anton Harber and

● To PAGE 2

Weekly Mail to meet Botha this week

(327) W/Mail 5/12/88

● From PAGE 1

Irwin Manoim, replied saying they would be prepared to meet the minister to discuss matters arising from his warning.

A date is expected to be set for sometime next week.

On Sunday night, Botha issued a statement "in order to alert the general public not to be misled by the hysterical campaign in certain circles against the emergency media regulations."

He said "certain elements obstinately refuse to accept that by means of propaganda, publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries ...

"The false impression is being created that I want to close down or place restrictions on publications indiscriminately; that freedom of speech and the free flow of information are unnecessarily retricted and that the emergency restrictions pertaining to the media have no other purpose than to shield the government against criticism.

"All that is untrue," he said.

He said what was true was that "there are certain elements inside and outside South Africa which want to brush aside the existing state of emergency in an off-hand manner as being unnecessary.

"We cannot allow ourselves to be diverted from our course by naivity or reckless intent.

"It would be irresponsible to allow the promotion of the cause of revolutionaries by positive publicity. The government is not irresponsible.

"As far as the *Weekly Mail* is concerned, just this: I have repeatedly explained in public the provisions and application of the media reglations. The procedure according to which action is taken against a publication is long and makes ample provision for such a publication to state its case and to decide what it wants to do.

"Due to the organised outcry about the warning which I have issued to the *Weekly Mail*, I want to state clearly and categorically that the matter rests squarely with the publishers of the *Weekly Mail*," he said.

The *Weekly Mail* co-editors responded by urging Botha not to dismiss the protest voices too lightly.

"Mr Botha asks us to state or case: We are an independent, critical newspaper, with ties to no organised group. We have a point of view: we believe in democratic values, in non-racism, and in open debate about the options for a changing South Africa.

"Mr Botha accuses us of promoting revolution. He cannot, surely, believe this. Our real crime is the telling of awkward truths which the government would prefer not to hear.

"Mr Botha appears astonished at the public outcry over his warning to the *Weekly Mail*. It seems he hoped to act against the press without a murmur of dissent. Instead, a wide range of people, both in South Africa and abroad, have appealed to him to reconsider.

"These are cautious, responsible people, not given to 'naivety', 'recklessness' or 'hysteria'," they said.

● The lights are fading fast for *South*, a Cape-based independent newspaper, as they submit their last representations to Botha.

Once Botha has received and considered them, he could publish a gazette suspending the publication of the newspaper.

(327)

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in parliament 72 detainees had made written representations about their detention or release last year but none had been released as a result of these representations.

He also said inspectors made 3 745 visits to detainees last year and magistrates made 3 896 visits.

Vlok said teargas was used twice against detainees in police cells last year — on both occasions to "restrain" detainees "who fought among themselves".

HOSPITALISATION OF HUNGER STRIKERS

Seven Emergency detainees who went on hunger strikes were hospitalised during 1986 and 1987, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in parliament.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in parliament that a total of 15 Emergency detainees were involved in hunger strikes during 1987.

Vlok said a total of 94 juveniles held under the Emergency regulations had been admitted to hospital between January 1, 1987 and Febuary 11, 1988. They comprised 22 people aged 20, 25 aged 19, 19 aged 18, 13 aged 17, 12 aged 16, two aged 15 and one aged 14. He said they had been sent for treatment for a number of reasons including chest pains, sore knees, pubic pains, epigastric pains, abscesses and warts.

POLICE FIGURES

The following figures were released by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok in parliament:

- Fifteen policemen were suspended and five dismissed last year as a result of arrests, interrogations, detentions or other "unrest-related" activities.
- A total of 400 people were killed and 623 wounded by the police "in the execution of their duties" last year.
- A total of 171 lawsuits were brought against the minister of law and order by members of the public last year. Of these, 145 were settled out of court, two were decided in favour of the claimants with costs, three were abandoned and 21 withdrawn.
- A total of 569 complaints were lodged with the South African Police last year regarding the conduct of municipal police. Complaints included murder, attempted murder, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, theft, rape, malicious damage to property, culpable homicide, pointing of a firearm, robbery, negligent driving and drunken driving.
- Seventy-three policemen were killed in the execution of their duties in 1987 and 636 were seriously injured. The figures excluded those killed or injured in vehicle accidents.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

MOGOPODI MOKOENA, 24, University of the North SA National Students Congress (Sansco) leader, was detained under the Emergency regulations on June 12, 1986 and is still being held.

Mokoena first became active in Azaso (now Sansco) at the University of the North (Turfloop) five years ago and in 1984 was elected to the organisation's executive, on which he continued to serve until his detention. In 1985 and 1986 he was elected to the Turfloop Students' Representative Council, serving as treasurer. He was also elected chairperson of the Economics and Administration Students Council.

On June 12 1986, the first day of the State of Emergency, he was detained on campus.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation: A woman's place is in the struggle, not behind bars (Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Johannesburg); Apartheid, Imperialism and African Freedom (William J Pomeroy); Swapo News and Views April/June 1987 (Swapo Foreign Mission in Zimbabwe, Cranborne); Emergency medical kits for Swapo — pamphlet (P and P NSC Health Collective, London); Swapo Information Bulletin January 1983 (Swapo Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda); African Concord December 10, 1987 no 170 (Concord Press of Nigeria Ltd, London); Smash apartheid: Workers to Power — pamphlet (not stated); For news of Southern Africa — pamphlet (New Worker, London); School Students on Death Row — pamphlet (SATIS, London); The Leninist, isue 59, February 10, 1988 (BCM, London); Fact File Namibia 2 (London Caledonian Press, Watford, Herts); Wit inwoners wees gewarsku — pamphlet (WAAK, Pretoria Wes); Heroes Day March 21 1960 — pamphlet (Azanian Co-ordination Committee, Johannesburg); Workers Hammer no 80 June 1986 (Spartacist Publications, London — and all other publications by the same publisher); Beau Valley promotion pamphlet with 17 pictures (Beau Valley Country Club, Warmbaths); Flesh: Fotos von Phil Flahche (GMP Publishers, London); Jui no 3 (Press-Office et Editions des Savanges); T-shirts with the wording: The Cramps, Spinach Reaches the Parts and The Adventures of Captain Condom (not stated); Four T-shirts with the wording Quick tell another lie, Never mind the ocks here's my sex pistol, Stop crying Mary you can be next and F..K off I'm not in the mood (not stated); Too drunk to f..k (Loud Products, London); Collectors Art no 11641 — poster (Uwe Ommer, Netherlands); Gimme Hope Jo'Anna/Say Hello to Fidel — record (Eddy Grant); In case of Aids break glass — keyring (not stated).

UNBANNED: Communist Manifesto: Socialist Landmark (Harold J Laski); Plays from Black Africa (Fredric M Mitto).

Mwasa to protest

Sowetan 5/5/88

327

THE Media Workers' Association of South Africa will tonight have a meeting at the Ipelegeng Community Centre Hall in Soweto to highlight the detention of journalists, the closure of newspapers and the restrictions on the media.

The main address will be given by the deputy editor of the *Sowetan*, Joe Thloloe. Mr Eugene Nyathi, a political analyst, will speak on the restrictions.

Among those detained are *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu; Vincent Mfundisi, a Mwasa shop stewards at the SABC; Brian Sokutu, a journalist and Mwasa member from the Eastern Cape, and Themba Khumalo who worked for an overseas publication.

Mwasa organisers, Wilson Sidina and Maroposi Mapalakanye are also in detention. The meeting starts at 7pm and will continue until about 9pm.

Spotlight on Aids

BULAWAYO — Public interest in information about Aids has increased "tremendously", with thousands of trade fair-goers visiting the Ministry of Health's pavilion to watch a video on the killer disease, a ministry official said yesterday. Sowetan

"The video has drawn about 2000 viewers every day and has provoked a lot of questions from the public," said the ministry's chief health education officer, Miss Baeti Mothobi. 5/5/88

Ziana reports the pavilion is dominated by messages against Aids and sexually transmitted diseases.

South writes last editorial?

CAPE TOWN — The deadline for the weekly newspaper South to make representations to the Minister of Home Affairs about its being banned for three months was 4 pm yesterday.

In a front-page editorial the editor, Mr Rashid Seria, wrote that yesterday's edition of South could be the last.

By banning South the government would not put out the flame of freedom burning in the hearts of many South Africans, Mr Seria said.

South would hand the minister its final submissions before the deadline, he said.

South had decided not to "submit to censorship" should the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, decide to appoint a censor rather than close the newspaper, he said.

After Mr Botha made his decision South intended asking the courts "if he has applied his mind as required by the law in our case", Mr Seria said. — Sapa

From a Weekly Mail reader

What right does Stoffel Botha have to call our paper "a threat to the maintenance of public order"?

None whatsoever.

And it's time we told him so.

Look at the message I'm sending him.

If you like it, send him a copy.

If you can word it better, send him your own message.

But do it NOW.

Mr J. C. G. Botha
Minister of Home Affairs
House of Assembly
Cape Town
8001

Dear Mr Botha

I am a regular reader of the *Weekly Mail*. I am disturbed that you are contemplating action which could lead to the closure of the paper because, in your opinion, it "is causing a threat to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order or is causing a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency."

I read the *Weekly Mail* because I want to know what is going on; I like to make decisions based on all the available facts. To me, it is unacceptable that the information at my disposal should be filtered through the whims of a prejudiced party politician.

If you do not like the information the *Weekly Mail* carries, you should look to the policies of your party, which have led this country to its present sorry state. The people of this country need all the information they can get to work out solutions to the problems you have caused. They certainly don't need you to tell them what is good for them.

Hands off the press—it's doing a better job than you are.

Placed by Philip Machanick of 1[illegible] Vrdoljak Heights, 36 De Beer Street, Bruintontein, 2001.

Security and the law — who wins?

At a conference on laws against trade unions and political organisations convened by the University of Cape Town's labour law unit, Mr Geoff Budlender, director of the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg, argued that the trend in South Africa was for the Government to extend the scope of "security" matters and to remove them further from judicial restraint. He warned that this was a form of State lawlessness which held grave future dangers. This is an edited version of his talk.

by DICK USHER
Weekend Staff Reporter

THE essence of law is the regulation and control of the exercise of power. Law determines when and how power may be exercised, and when it may not, says Mr Geoff Budlender, the director of the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg.

He outlined an analysis of "urban black law", under which he said the Government had been endowed with powers beyond the effective control of Parliament and the exercise of which could be challenged in the courts to only a very limited extent.

"This approach is epitomised by the provisions of the Black Administration Act of 1927. It set the tone for legislation which followed over the next 50 years.

"It was a system of administration rather than law which was created. The aim was the efficient administration or management of urban Africans.

Mr Budlender

"The legislation was generally understood in this way by the courts, which were slow to interfere with the administrators in their work.

"Africans were to be subjects, to be governed by those who knew what was best, and it was advisable not to place these experts under legal restraint.

"From the mid-1970s into the 1980s changes started to emerge. In a series of four decisions, the Appellate Division recognised that urban Africans had rights as opposed to exemptions from prosecution.

"From the late 1970s — curiously, almost simultaneously with this series of cases — certain administrative powers began to be restrained.

"Probably the most fundamental changes were introduced by the Abolition of Influx Control Act which demolished an extensive armoury of legislation built up over decades.

"One purpose of the Act was to bring the area of black administration under legal control.

"The changes that emerged were not the result of a sudden and spontaneous outburst of liberalism on the part of Government. But the significant feature is the unmistakeable shift away from arbitrary official power — lawlessness — towards law."

Mr Budlender then compared the former exercise of State power over blacks with the area of security legislation which, he said, had always been an inhospitable one for lawyers and the courts.

"However, the emergency regime has brought about radical changes in several respects.

"In the first instance, the scale of 'security' action has increased in a way that places it on a different plane. A great deal of lawful and peaceful political activity has been criminalised.

"Secondly, there has been a deliberate and sustained attempt to remove all effective control over the activities of those defined as security forces.

"The attempt to exclude control through the legal process has taken three forms.

"Firstly, there is an indemnity clause which is designed to prevent or inhibit legal proceedings being taken against the State in respect of unlawful conduct by its own officials.

"This is a prospective indemnity: by enacting a prospective indemnity the State effectively says that it anticipates its officials are going to act unlawfully, but it cannot or will not do anything to prevent this. State officials must therefore be given a free hand.

"Secondly, the 'ouster clause' in the emergency regulations is designed to prevent the courts interfering to prevent imminent or continuing unlawful action.

"Thirdly, the exclusion of the right of detainees to have access to their lawyers also effectively excludes the right of access to the courts. If you say to a detainee 'you may only see your lawyer with my permission' you are also effectively saying 'you may only have access to the courts with my permission'.

"The emergency regime has brought about a further radical change, and that is the far-reaching delegation of rule-making powers to officials, who exercise a subjective discretion in determining what rules they will make.

"There were initially some serious and sustained efforts by the courts to continue to exercise legal restraints over those powers. Since the Omar judgment (*Omar* vs *Minister of Law and Order* 1987) those efforts have been all but ended.

"In effect, the Court has declared a policy of abstentionism. The unarticulated premise seems to be a 'hands off' approach to issues which are regarded as security matters. In this way, the emergency has substantially been placed beyond legal control, or beyond the law.

"What is even more worrying is that the range of what is officially regarded as the 'security' area is growing all the time."

Mr Budlender said it had often been recognised that law had a double-edged function — it provided remedies through "the system" and by so doing, it drew people into "the system".

"For those outside 'the system', the system itself holds sometimes fatal attractions. Participation brings with it the danger of co-option, but holds out real benefits.

"The growth of the 'security' area and of lawlessness is however likely to remove that difficult choice.

"Participation will be seen to offer no benefits. If the State is perceived to exercise its powers through force rather than through law, those who are the subjects of that force are likely to draw the conclusion that it can only be met by force.

"The prospect is a grim one because it foreshadows not only the events which are likely to take place as our society struggles to transform itself: it also foreshadows the state of mind which will be held by large numbers of people, and particularly young people, as and when that transformation is accomplished."

Overseas protest over SA threats to publications

Star 9/5/86

327

By Sue Olswang

The banning of a newspaper and gazetted warnings to other South African publications has sparked an appeal to President Botha by a host of overseas writers and editors.

An appeal to lift the ban on *New Nation* and put a stop to further steps against the "alternative or mainstream press" was contained in a large advertisement which appeared in *The Sunday Star* this week.

Addressed to President Botha, it read in part: "We are alarmed by the recent banning of *New Nation*; by the gazetted warnings issued to *Weekly Mail*, *South*, *Grassroots*, *Saamstaan* and *Work in Progress*; and by the warning letter to *Sowetan*.

"We deplore the arbitrary way in which these publications may now be stopped; the fact that the opinion of Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha may be the sole basis of a banning order; and the fact that he does not have to give any reason for his opinion, which cannot be challenged in court."

Some of the more than 90 signatories include Mr A Whittam-Smith, editor of *The Independent* newspaper in London; Mr Charles Glass of ABC News in London; Mr Bill Kovach of the American Society of Editors; Mr Harold Evans, former editor of *The Times* of London; Lord McGregor, chairman of the British Press Council; and Mr Donald Trelford, editor of *The Observer* newspaper.

Minister lashes out at resistance art

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday lashed out at "resistance art" and said the government would defend and protect "proper morals" with all means.

Mr Botha said that under the banner of art and literary merits, the creators of resistance art wanted to bypass the Publications Act and attack morality, religion, the dignity of sections of the inhabitants, relations between inhabitants and the safety of the state.

"Of course, resistance art did not originate in South Africa," he said.

"It has been known for ages in countries where authors and other artists mask and subtly camouflage their works for security reasons. D/D 19/5/88

"Locally, resistance art is mostly expressed in the form of plays, popular theatre, recitals and music, the purpose of which is to create a climate which fosters a spirit of resistance and revolt and which can then lead to labour unrest, civil disobedience, protest marches and, in the final instance, to revolution."

He said that it was impossible to control spontaneous theatre where at the end of the show, "the audience is so emotionally charged that they will not calm down before everything in the vicinity — from buildings to cars, and even other people — has been attacked."

He said that another form of resistance art was "biting satire in which an attack is launched on personalities and specific aspects of the 'establishment'."

"Their purpose is obviously to make the viewer critical of the existing order and to create a spirit of general dissatisfaction and even revolt."

The state, as well as the bodies concerned with publications control, had noted the new tendency. — PS

Govt wants papers to toe line — Thloloe

Sowetan 9/5/88

THE Government was using a deliberate strategy of creating anxiety and uncertainty in the community by restricting publications and selectively banning organisations, the deputy editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Thloloe, told a protest meeting in Soweto at the weekend.

Mr Thloloe, a former national executive committee member of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), was addressing the meeting on restrictions placed on the media and in particular the detention of journalists.

The meeting, attended by more than 500 Mwasa members, several trade unions and organisations, was held at the Ipelegeng Community Centre and was hosted by Mwasa.

Mr Thloloe said that the Government, in selecting certain newspapers and slapping them with warnings or closure, was using a "deliberate strategy which would see all publications towing the line and preaching the gospel according to P W (Botha), our father."

He said that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, was using a strategy of first creating anxiety and then uncertainty. The Government issued a warning to *New Nation* on November 27, 1987 before closing it down for three months on March 22, 1988.

Co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Irwin Manoim, also spoke at the meeting.

SOME of the 500 people who attended the Mwasa media protest meeting at Ipelegeng Community Centre, Soweto, rose in song as detained journalists were remembered.

Top editors criticize banning

Cape Times 9/5/88 (327)

JOHANNESBURG. — The closure of the New Nation newspaper, as well as the warnings issued to six others, was criticized by international editors and writers in an advertisement placed in South African national Sunday newspapers yesterday.

The advertisement, under the headline "Dear President Botha", said the signatories were "alarmed at the recent banning of the the New Nation", a church-funded weekly.

They were also concerned about the gazetted warnings issued to the Weekly Mail, South, Grassroots, Saamstan, and Work In Progress and the "warning letter" sent to the Sowetan.

"We deplore the arbitary way in which these publications may now be stopped, the fact that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, may be the sole basis of a banning order, and the fact that he does not have to give reasons for his opinion, which cannot be challenged in court," said the advertisement.

The advert was placed on the editorial pages of the English-language newspapers, and is signed by the former editors of London's Times and the Observer, as well as by the current editors of the Observer, the Independent and the Mail on Sunday. — Sapa

COPYRIGHT WARNING,
U.C.T.
NARM.

Harassed and censored authors put it in writing

Star (327). 10/9/88

Sue Leeman talks to the editor of a leading anti-censorship magazine which publishes its 100th issue today. The illustrations accompanying this article are taken from that issue.

Index on Censorship magazine, for 16 years one of Britain's loudest anti-censorship voices, celebrates its 100th issue with a published feast of the writings of oppressed authors.

In a sense, the publication's weighty 100th issue is simply an extension of the regular *Index*, which since 1972 has been providing a forum for dissident writers, be they pressmen in Pretoria or playwrights in Prague.

However, the bumper issue represents a landmark in that no fewer than 50 noted writers from across the world have written about the harassment they suffer for practising their craft.

Six of the writers featured are South Africans, among them Breyten Breytenbach and Wally Serote. This is the third largest contingent from an individual country — only the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have more writers featured.

Questionnaires

Index's editor, Mr George Theiner, a Czech writer who knows what it is to anger the authorities in his home country, says work on the landmark issue began last year.

Questionnaires in 14 languages were sent to more than 100 dissident writers asking them to describe the pressures they are under, how freedom of expression has affected their national cultures, how writers cope and what can be done to help them.

While the cultural climate, particularly in Europe, is freer than it was 10 years ago, there are still countries which cause concern, he says, including South Africa, where "the heat has been turned with a vengeance on the media".

The material elicited by the questionnaires is rich and varied, taking the form of essays, poems and play exerpts. Some writers have given in-depth interviews.

Mr Theiner is particularly struck by the submissions from Soviet authors who, he says, are beginning to feel the effects of the official thaw created by *glasnost*.

Soviet poet Andrei Voznesensky, a prominent critic of Stalin, says in an interview that *glasnost* "is changing the minds of the people". Noted Soviet novelist Andrei Bitov asserts that Soviet censorship has "all but disappeared" — but adds wryly that writers probably found it easier to be creative while still under pressure.

Several writers tell of the suffering they have experienced when jailed for producing "subversive" literature. There is great pathos in Arab writer Dhabiya Khamee's account of her detention in Abu Dhabi, when she was deprived of all contact with the outside world because the authorities considered her writings to be dangerous to the moral fabric of society.

Another moving submission comes from Guatemalan writer Tania Palencia — crippled after a police beating — whose stark, simple poem "Disappeared" lists the members of a family who have vanished into state jails in her homeland.

These writings are in sharp contrast with the submission of Czech writer Ludvik Vaculik, who writes with great wit about his clashes with the censors. "Some of them really were thick know-nothings who were on the lookout for certain words, which would activate their blue pencil. These chaps could be fooled by the use of a different word. For instance, the word 'conscience' alerted a censor. It was therefore advisable to substitute 'responsibility' — the Party demanded responsibility of its citizens."

George Theiner himself once spent three years in a labour camp for refusing to join the Party in Czechoslovakia.

He joined *Index* in 1973, a year after the organisation had been set up by English poet Stephen Spender. The idea had come from Russian dissident Pavel Litvinov, who argued for the establishment in London of an organisation which would publish the work of banned writers.

Mr Theiner has now been *Index* editor for more than five years. Circulation is small at around 5 000, but he is happy with the fact that readers are mostly opinion-formers and intellectuals.

Apart from *Index*, the organisation puts out briefing papers on the state of censorship in various countries.

There is a staff of 10, only four of whom are employed full-time. The organisation's largest single source of funding is the Ford Foundation, which provides enough to pay the salaries of three researchers.

Asked what *Index* has achieved in 16 years, Mr Theiner says: "I believe it is too much to claim that we have changed a government's view on censorship.

"But we are more interested in the victim (of censorship) than in the persecutors. Our greatest achievement has been to give hope and support to these people (oppressed writers) who cannot publish a word in their own countries.

"If you are sitting in Prague and writing 'for the drawer', as they say, it is wonderful to see your work in *Index*."

Acknowledgement has come from various sources, most recently two Scandinavian newspapers, *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm) and *Politiken* (Copenhagen), who have awarded *Index* their "Freedom Prize". — The Star's London Bureau.

---

entrance and could not avoid bump-

about its purpose, it could not be built on top of the hill, as this would symbolise government imposed upon the people," he says. "It should nestle within the hill, symbolically rising out of the Australian landscape, as true democracy rises from the natural state of things."

When Queen Elizabeth had a private tour of the building, she saw some of the trappings which have prompted questions about the price of "true democracy". Although the building has a futuristic look from the outside, it appears more like the set of a 1930s Hollywood musical inside, with staircases and pillars in Italian and Portuguese marble.

There are four separate entrances, for members of the House of Representatives, for members of the Senate, for ministers and for the public. This means that lobbyists and journalists will no longer be able to buttonhole Prime Minister Bob Hawke and his ministers as they enter and leave.

BILLIARD ROOMS

And whereas the Parliament's 224 MPs shared offices in the old building, each will now have a suite, with a reception room, bathroom, kitchen and cocktail cabinet. To help them unwind, they will also have two billiard rooms, two squash courts, eight tennis courts, a swimming pool, spa pool, sauna, jogging track and meditation room.

All this has heightened worries that MPs, already insulated in a somewhat artificial capital city, will become further removed from reality inside their vast pleasure dome. — Mr Giurgola thinks otherwise: "I hope this building inspires a less provincial style of politics, making people more open to the world and to the level of culture Australia is gaining now." — *The Independent News Service, London.*

South Africans' points of view

The six South Africans featured in *Index on Censorship's* 100th issue have highlighted different aspects of the limitations imposed on dissident writers in South Africa.

Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane, author of "The Children of Soweto" (unbanned in South Africa in 1987) and currently visiting professor of comparative literature at the University of Georgia, writes: "My country insisted that, even though those of my colour are actually in the majority, I was a minority writer, having no connection with the civilised culture.

"I was supposed to accept my master's version of my experience and write it down and give it back to him and, thus, I would enter the mainstream . I would still be a minority writer, of course, but at least I would have a civilised point of view."

Says novelist and short story writer Richard Rive: "In South Africa, if he (the writer) is black, he produces a peculiar type of literature, not because the colour of his skin is black but because there are factors at work on him because of his colour.

"His social environment in turn influences his cultural environment and he is forced to create within the limitations imposed on him. The sameness of his experience produces in his work what seems like a sameness of theme, treatment and intent."

But, he adds: "I will do all in my power, and use all the talent at my disposal, to expose the bigotry and sham of racialism wherever and whenever it raises its evil head."

Exiled writer Wally Serote, now working full-time for the ANC's department of art and culture in London, says in an interview that he believes his role as writer is "to create a proper ... point of reference for my people as a writer, I hope I'm capable of that.

"Now that is being very ambitious, but one can only say that precisely because one has experienced ... this very deep wealth which the world has forgotten."

Journalist and novelist Miriam Tlali, who still lives in Soweto, asks why simply writing about the realities of township life has earned her the title "Enemy of the State".

"We (writers) are expected to highlight, synchronise and sing praises to ... virtually non-existent reform. We are urged to stop protest and go about the business of eating and drinking. We are in fact asked to ignore the reality that the blacks (90 percent of the population) are not voting and deciding on the enactment of laws which condemn them to perpetual servitude.

"And this is precisely what the committed writer refuses to accept."

Breyten Breytenbach's contribution to the issue is a number of poems from his latest collection entitled "Judas Eye". The sixth South African contributor is Njabulo Ndebele, now teaching literature at the National University of Lesotho.

No 1 loses hubcaps

Thieves showed little respect for Hillbrow's number one beauty this week when they stole all four hubcaps off her car while it was parked outside her flat. Miss Hillbrow, Sandra Sam 'ing (21), is appealing to anyone knowing anything about the theft to telephone Julian Grabman at 646-3844.

● Picture by John Hogg

Cape newspaper banned

Star 10/5/88

327

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The Cape-based newspaper *South* has become the second publication to be banned in terms of the latest press curbs, this time for a month and a day.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, banned the paper yesterday after warnings in terms of "slow-motion censorship" regulations published in August last year.

A Government Gazette notice signed by the Minister said the banning was effective from yesterday until and including June 10.

This will affect five editions of *South*, including one published yesterday.

The Minister may ban a paper for up to three months at a time, or impose a censor.

In the Gazette yesterday Mr Botha gave no reason for banning *South*, but last year he accused it of promoting the image of the ANC, legitimising violence and stirring up hatred against the security forces.

The editor of *South*, Mr Rashid Seria, yesterday rejected these charges.

"We do not fabricate or instigate issues, we merely mirror what is happening in the country."

Mr Peter Gastrow of the National Democratic Movement said the Government was unable to "meet politics with politics" and had resorted to "repression and censorship".

Eight publications have been targetted in terms of the curbs.

Two, *South* and the *New Nation*, have now been closed down, and another, *Die Stem*, closed itself after claiming to have been threatened.

The *Weekly Mail* is in the penultimate phase of the curbs, having last month received a formal, gazetted warning, as have the periodical *Work in Progress*, the End Conscription Campaign Durban newsletter *Out of Step* and the Oudtshoorn community newspaper *Saamstaan*.

The *Sowetan*, the second-largest daily newspaper in South Africa, has received lists of material which the Minister finds objectionable.

More than 1 in 4 SAA domestic flights are late

Star 10/5/88

More than a quarter of South African Airways domestic flights have been delayed each week this year, says SAA deputy chief executive Mr Viv Lewis.

An average of 248 out of 930 domestic flights were delayed each week.

Businessmen — about 60 percent of domestic passengers — have also complained about the unavailabilty of seats.

Mr Lewis said SAA had leased out planes during the economic slump and had not anticipated the degree of upswing

He said 58 percent of the delays were due to the "domino effect" — if one plane was delayed, subsequent flights were held up.

Only 2,8 percent of all delayed flights were due to technical problems.

Mr Lewis did not account for the remaining percentage.

MANY people want to enter the taxi business.

South suspended

Sowetan 10/5/88

(327)

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday suspended the production of *South* newspaper for a month.

The notice was published in a special Government Gazette.

South, based in Cape Town, is the second "alternative" newspaper to be banned by the Minister within the last two months.

On March 22, Mr Botha banned the *New Nation*, based in Johannesburg, for three months under the emergency regulations.

Another newspaper, *Weekly Mail*, was warned by Mr Botha on April 26 in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Rashid Seria, editor of *South*, said: "We had been warned and now we are banned suffering a similar fate as the *New Nation* and knowing that a similar threat hangs over the entire alternative Press".

Mr Seria added that the directors and trustees of the newspaper would seek legal opinion on the matter.

The Media Workers Association of South Africa said it condemned the banning of *South*. Mwasa also said that the time has come "when we must stop uttering empty slogans, but must take positive action".

The South African Society for Journalists also condemned the barning.

Grosskopf refuses paper's apology

Cape Times, 10/5/88 Staff Reporter (327)

THE father of Mr Heinrich Grosskopf — the man linked by the authorities to the Krugersdorp bomb blast — has refused to accept an apology published by the Sunday Times following the newspaper's "hysteria against a man against whom not a single crime had been proven in a court of law".

Addressing a recent Media Council hearing, Professor H J Grosskopf said he was referring to reports published in the Sunday Times of March 20 and 27 headlined "The suburban schoolboy who became a ruthless car-bomb killer/Making of a terrorist", and "Grosskopf: Amazing story of scribbled notes and letters".

By referring to his son as a "ruthless car-bomb killer", a "deadly terrorist" and an "ANC killer" on a "mission of murder", the Sunday Times had transgressed the SA Media Council's code of conduct, he said.

In a signed statement the editor of the newspaper, Mr Tertius Myburgh, said his paper believed it had "already fulfilled our obligations under the council's code and the rules of procedure by acting fairly, responsibly and swiftly in admitting our error, correcting it and apologising to the complainant".

Prof Grosskopf was not prepared to accept this apology as it did not reflect the true essence of his complaint and his specific referral to "trial by newspapers".

No decision has yet been reached by the council.

Paper may act against banning

D 10/10/5/86

(327)

CAPE TOWN — South was considering legal action following the announcement in a Government Gazette yesterday, which totally prohibits publication of the newspaper, the editor, Mr Rashid Seria, said here.

The banning order, in terms of the Public Safety Act, was published in a special Government Gazette this afternoon.

It is effective from yesterday to June 10, when the present state of emergency expires.

Our correspondent says that 21 000 copies of the weekly Western Cape newspaper, which were brought out yesterday, may have to be withdrawn.

The banning follows a final warning by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in March.

Mr Botha said South had published subversive propaganda.

The move follows a three-month ban on the Johannesburg newspaper, New Nation, and warnings against several other newspapers, including Work in Progress; the Oudtshoorn newspaper, Saamstaan; the Cape Town newspaper, Grassroots; and the End Conscription Campaign publication, Out of Step. — Sapa

Cape Times 10/5/88 (327)

State of emergency curbed violence - SAP

Political Staff

THERE was a decrease in the "visible violence of the revolutionary onslaught" last year which had been "curbed to a large extent by the state of emergency and the actions of the security forces".

And, during the year there was a massive 75,80% decrease in the number of cases of public violence, the figure dropping from 8 156 in 1986 to 1 973 last year.

This is disclosed in the report of the South African Police tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The report covers the period July 1986 to December 1987.

In his report, the Commission of Police, General Hennie de Witt, states while there has been a decrease in visible violence, "the level of terrorism, revolutionary onslaught and intimidation and consequently of the revolutionary climate, is still unsatisfactorily high".

General De Witt adds that the opportunity created by the police for actions "which will evoke a more positive attitude with especially the black population, must be used increasingly by the relevant institutions".

Reviewing the past year, the general states that internally, radical organizations "kept up activities aimed at promoting the revolutionary climate and mobilizing the masses".

The ANC, he writes, declared 1987 "Year of Advance to People's Power" and had laid the foundation used by radical organizations in the interior to promote the revolutionary onslaught.

"In spite of these attempts by the ANC/SACP, the SAP are succeeding in forcing back the revolutionary onslaught to the initial phase."

General De Witt said renewed attempts had been made to mobilize the masses, although countrywide unrest and riots, apart from Natal, had decreased in comparison with previous years.

In Natal, he said "the attempts of the UDF to dethrone Inkatha led to bloody fights between the two groups which claimed several lives".

Govt bans South for a month

Cape Times 10/5/88

By JIM FREEMAN

SOUTH, the Cape Town-based weekly newspaper, has been banned for a month in terms of a proclamation in the Government Gazette yesterday.

The notice in the gazette said the order was issued under Regulation 7A (3) (b) of Proclamation R123 of 1987 and R7 of 1988 and was valid till June 10.

The banning covered yesterday's edition of the newspaper, brought out earlier than normal because South anticipated the order to be promulgated in the Government Gazette tomorrow, said South's editor, Mr Rashid Seria.

The newspaper had been gearing itself for a three-month ban following several warnings from the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, he said.

According to Mr Seria, South was faced with pulling back almost 21 000 copies of the newspaper published yesterday from selling points in the Western Cape, as well as from outlets in Johannesburg and Durban.

Mr Seria maintained that because the ban had been anticipated, the trustees had planned a number of contingencies to avoid the retrenchment of staff and to generate revenue.

He said South Press Services, which publishes South, had revived a dormant project to create a news agency and was in the process of drafting an agreement with a Durban-based news agency, the Press Trust of South Africa.

SA editors urge Minister Stoffel Botha to ease press restrictions

Star 10/5/88

(327)

Here is the full text of a petition — supported by more than 20 editors across the country — to Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha.

The text of an accompanying letter written by The Star's editor-in-chief, Mr Harvey Tyson, is also quoted.

The signatories of the petition ask that unnecessary restrictions under the emergency regulations be eased.

In the covering letter by Mr Tyson's concern is expressed at the increasing threat to freedom of the press and the rights of South Africans.

The petition to the Minister of Home Affairs

We, editors of South African newspapers, are concerned at the mounting political pressure on the press and ask, in the public interest, that the unnecessary restrictions issued uder the emergency regulations be eased.

We believe the ministerial banning of *New Nation* and the threat to silence *Weekly Mail* and other newspapers and journals are against the national interest. We are opposed to such authoritarian action for the following reasons:

1. The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues.

2. While it is not possible to be aware of every article published, we have no knowledge of any recognised publication that is fomenting violent revolution. If the Minister has any evidence of so serious a crime, we believe he should submit it to the courts for judgment. Such matters affect all of society, and cannot be left to the whim of officials, politicians or parties.

3. We believe that the Minister's concern may be less about press incitement to revolution than about coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude — a subservience not in the interest of South Africa.

Therefore, in the interests of the freedoms, standards and values which all of us, including Government, profess to support, we ask that the Rule of Law be restored.

The covering letter to the Minister of Home Affairs

The petition, suggested by some editors in Johannesburg and immediately supported by more than 20 editors across the country, expresses their genuine, basic and common concern at the increasing threat to freedom of the press, and the rights of South Africans.

We are concerned as much for the future as for the present; because we believe that current actions will set a precedent for all future governments — as has happened in similar circumstances in many other countries around the world.

We believe the cause of revolution is abetted, not reduced, by closing down small newspapers and threatening bigger ones.

Our perception, right or wrong, is that attempts are being made to pressure newspapers into using one, bland voice.

While each newspaper editor would wish to express his own views in his own way (several non-signatories agree with the basic sentiment expressed, but will not be part of a joint statement), the petition submitted to you represents a consensus of the personal views of the editors who have appended their names.

We make this unprecedented joint plea in the belief that it is not only in the interests of a free press, but in the interests of South Africa and in the interests of justice and peace.

Star 19/5/88

Joint protest by 26 SA editors

(327)

An unprecedented joint protest at "authoritarian action" by the Government against the media has been made by 26 editors of South African newspapers, who have signed a petition to the Minister of Home Affairs.

Normally, editors prefer to express their views in their own publications. The petition, however, is said to represent a basic and common concern at the increasing threat to freedom of the press and the rights of South Africans.

The petitioners assert the belief that the Ministerial banning of *New Nation* and the threat to silence *Weekly Mail* and other publications are authoritarian and against the public interest.

"We believe that the Minister's concern may be less about press incitement to revolution than about coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude — a subservience not in the interests of South Africa," the petition states.

"The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues."

The signatories urge that ordinary criminal procedure be used as the appropriate way of dealing with any publication that fomented violent revolution, pointing out that they know of no recognised publication presently engaging in such unlawful acts.

The signatories are: Ron Anderson, editor of The Star (daily editions); Herman Arendse, editor of Argus Community Newspapers; Tony Ball, editor of the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*; Nigel Bruce, editor of the *Financial Mail*; Andrew Drysdale, editor of *The Argus*; Michael Green, editor of the *Daily News*; Allen Greenblo, editor of *Finance Week*; Rex Gibson, for the editor of The Saturday Star; Anton Harber, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*; John Hildyard, editor of *The Sunday Star*; Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*; James McMillan, editor of the *Natal Mercury*; Irwim Manoim, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*; T G Mthembu, editor of *Ilanga*; Tertius Myburgh, editor of the *Sunday Times*; Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*; Brijlall Ramgughee, acting editor of *Post Natal*; Khulu Sibiya, editor of *City Press*; Derek Smith, editor-in-chief of Times Media Limited, Eastern Cape; Richard Steyn, editor of the *Natal Witness*; Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, The Saturday Star and The Sunday Star; Mostert van Schoor, editor of the *Pretoria News*; Koos Viviers, editor of the *Cape Times*; Glynn Williams, editor of the *Daily Dispatch*; Neville Woudberg, editor of the *Evening Post* and *Weekend Post*; and Ian Wyllie, editor of the *Sunday Tribune*.

● See Pages 3 and 13.

Phones tapped for security

Cape Times 11/5/88

377

Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday refused to disclose whether the telephones of MPs in the House of Assembly were tapped.

The Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, also refused to supply information on the tapping of telephone conversations in general "because it will not be in the country's interest to furnish the information".

Answering questions on behalf of Mr Botha, Mr F W de Klerk told Mr Leon de Beer (independent, Hillbrow) that no application for "telephone interception" was granted for any other reason than the maintenance of security of the Republic.

Mr De Beer wanted to know whether permission had been granted for the tapping of MPs telephones during the past year.

If so, he wanted to know which members were affected, when their phones had been tapped and at whose request such permission had been granted.

Journalists condemn ban imposed on newspaper

Star 11/5/88 (327)

PORT ELIZABETH — The one-month ban on *South* newspaper is a frightening example of the erosion of press freedom, says Mr Bob Kernohan, president-elect of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ).

"The banning of *South* is a further ... example of the erosion of press freedom by the Government at a time when it is vital for the future of South Africa that information be disseminated as widely as possible," he said in a statement yesterday.

"The SASJ regards it and similar moves with the gravest concern and urges Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Mr Stoffel Botha to review it urgently with a view to cancelling the ban."

The Western Cape branch of the SASJ said in a statement that the ban had come only weeks after *South* celebrated its first anniversary.

"Through Stoffel Botha's desperate and heavy-handed use of the censorship Acts, the State has shown yet again that, as the political crisis deepens, one of its first scapegoats is invariably the truth," the statement said.

In Johannesburg, the Media Workers Association of Southern Africa condemned the State's action.

Mwasa said in a statement: "We condemn the banning of *South*.

"At our protest meeting last week a packed hall of more than 500 people heard how the Government progressively since 1960 has brought down so many newspapers as part of its campaign of total onslaught against any form of opposition to injustices ... waged against the people of this land.

"This renewed campaign, which includes the effective banning of 17 organisations and the restriction of the trade union movement and other organisations, can only be seen as an onslaught which will not cease unless the people are forever silenced," the statement added.

"The time has come when we must cease to utter anti-slogans but take positive action." — Sapa.

Media organisations slam government ban on South

327

DD 11/5/86

CAPE TOWN — The newspaper South has been handed an unwelcome but entirely predictable present from the government, the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) said in a statement yesterday.

The SASJ said the suspension of the newspaper came only weeks after South celebrated its first year on the streets of the Western Cape.

"Through Mr Stoffel Botha's, desperate and heavy-handed use of the censorship acts, the state has shown yet again that, as the political crisis deepens, one of its first scapegoats is invariably the truth.

"We are appalled by the ban on South and demand that the paper immediately be allowed to put back into practice its simple but indispensible motto — that people have the right to know.

"The Western Cape region of the SASJ applauds the newspaper's commitment to fighting the gagging order."

The Association of Democratic Journalists said in a statement yesterday that the suspension of New Nation and South "proves — if such proof is still necessary — that journalism is now an illegal activity in this country".

"It has become illegal for journalists to fulfil their primary responsibility of informing the public.

"The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has yet again demonstrated, that in his eyes it is a crime, punishable with silence, to attempt to tell the truth and to speak for, and report on, the needs and demands of the voiceless majority."

The Media Workers Association of Southern Africa also condemned the banning:

"At our protest meeting last week, a packed hall of more than 500 people heard how the government progressively, since 1960 has brought down so many newspapers as part of its campaign of total onslaught against any form of opposition.

"This renewed campaign can only be seen as a vision and hardened onslaught which will not cease unless the people are forever silenced or, alternatively, unless they toe the line of the state.

"The time has come when we must cease to utter anti-slogans but must take positive action." — DDC

Editors protest over restrictions

DID 11/5/88

(327)

JOHANNESBURG — An unprecedented joint protest at "authoritarian action" by the government against the media has been made by 26 South African newspaper editors who have signed a petition to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The petition is said to represent a basic and common concern at the increasing threat to press freedom and the rights of South Africans.

The petitioners assert the belief that the ministerial banning of New Nation and the threat to silence Weekly Mail and other publications are authoritarian and against the public interest.

"We believe that the minister's concern may be less about press incitement to revolution than about coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude — a subservience not in the interests of South Africa," the petition states.

"The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues."

The signatories urge that ordinary criminal procedures be used as the appropriate way of dealing with any publication that forments violent revolution, pointing out that they know of no recognised publication presently engaging in such unlawful acts.

The signatories are: the editor of The Star (daily editions), Mr Ron Anderson; the editor of Argus Community Newspapers, Mr Herman Arendse; the editor of the Diamond Fields Advertiser, Mr Tony Ball; the editor of the Financial Mail, Mr Nigel Bruce; the editor of The Argus, Mr Andrew Drysdale; the editor of the Daily News, Mr Michael Green; the editor of Finance Week, Mr Allen Greenblo; Mr Rex Gibson for the editor of The Saturday Star; the co-editor of the Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber; the editor of the Sunday Star, Mr John Hildyard.

The editor of the Sowetan, Mr Aggrey Klaaste; the editor of the Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan; the co-editor of the Weekly Mail, Mr Irwim Manoim; the editor of Ilanga, Mr T. G. Mthembu; the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh; the editor of Business Day, Mr Ken Owen; the acting editor of Post Natal, Mr Brijlall Ramgughee; the editor of City Press, Mr Khulu Sibiya; the editor-in-chief of Times Media Limited, Eastern Cape, Mr Derek Smith; the editor of the Natal Witness, Mr Richard Steyn; the editor-in-chief of The Star, The Saturday Star and The Sunday Star, Mr Harvey Tyson; the editor of the Pretoria News, Mr Mostert van Schoor; the editor of the Cape Times, Mr Koos Viviers; the editor of the Evening Post and Weekend Post, Mr Neville Woudberg; the editor of the Sunday Tribune, Mr Ian Wyllie and the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Glyn Williams. — Sapa

Cape Times 11/5/88 (327)

Editors issue joint protest

JOHANNESBURG. — An unprecedented joint protest at "authoritarian action" by the government against the media has been made by 26 South African newspaper editors who have signed a petition to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Editors normally express their views in their own publications.

The petition, however, is said to represent a basic and common concern at the increasing threat to freedom of the press and the rights of South Africans.

The petitioners assert the belief that the ministerial banning of New Nation and the threat to silence Weekly Mail and other publications are authoritarian and against the public interest.

In a covering letter by the Star's editor-in-chief, Mr Harvey Tyson, concern is expressed at the increasing threat to freedom of the press and the rights of South Africans.

"We believe that the minister's concern may be less about press incitement to revolution than about coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude — a subservience not in the interests of South Africa," the petition states.

"The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues."

The signatories urge that ordinary criminal procedures be used as the appropriate way of dealing with any publication that foments violent revolution, pointing out that they know of no recognized publication presently engaging in such unlawful acts.

The signatories are: Ron Anderson, editor of The Star (daily editions); Herman Arendse, editor of Argus Community Newspapers; Tony Ball, editor of the Diamond Fields Advertiser; Nigel Bruce, editor of the Financial Mail; Andrew Drysdale, editor of The Argus; Michael Green, editor of the Daily News; Allan Greenblo, editor of Finance Week; Rex Gibson, for the editor of the Saturday Star; Anton Harber, co-editor of the Weekly Mail; John Hildyard, editor of the Sunday Star.

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan; James McMillan, editor of the Natal Mercury; Irwin Manoim, co-editor of the Weekly Mail; T G Mthembu, editor of Ilanga; Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times; Ken Owen, editor of Business Day; Brijlall Ramgughee, acting editor of Post Natal; Khulu Sibiya, editor of City Press; Derek Smith, editor-in-chief of Times Media Limited, Eastern Cape; Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness; Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, The Saturday Star and The Sunday Star; Mostert van Schoor, editor of the Pretoria News; Koos Viviers, editor of the Cape Times; Glynn Williams, editor of the Daily Dispatch; Neville Woudberg, editor of the Evening Post, and Weekend Post and Ian Wyllie, editor of the Sunday Tribune. — Sapa

Jurists say torture part of strategy

Cape Times 11/5/88 227

GENEVA. — The International Commission of Jurists, in a 160-page report, yesterday charged South Africa's security forces with the use of torture and violence as part of a repressive strategy.

The report was prepared by four West European law experts, Mr Geoffrey Bindman of Britain, Mr Jean-Marie Crettaz of Switzerland, Mr Henry Downing of Ireland, and Mr Guenter Witzsch of West Germany. They said they were able to travel freely in South Africa while gathering information.

The 1982 Internal Security Act had created a series of criminal offences of a political character "in extremely wide and often vague terms". Together with one-sided procedural rules, the Act provided the state "with the means of securing the conviction of virtually any political opponent".

"We stress particularly the widespread use of torture and violence, even against children, which is habitually denied by the government and thus goes unpunished, though plainly illegal even under South African law."

In response, Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, said last night the report's allegations were "unsourced, unnamed, untested and one-sided".

"How can we possibly react to faceless allegations. If these people can come forward with evidence and specific details such as dates, times and names which we can test, then we will investigate them to see if they contain any truth.

"We challenge, even plead, with the authors of the report to come forward with specific allegations which we can investigate.

"But as they stand these claims are part of a coordinated campaign to spread misinformation and tarnish the name of South Africa."

'Anger still there'

Sowetan 11/5/88

327

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, "can stifle public expression through newspapers, but the fact of oppression and the resulting anger and frustration in people's lives remains," the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) said in a statement today.

"The only way that can be changed, is by changing oppressive laws and ending apartheid. It is the oppressive laws and not the newspapers which are the real danger," ACAG said.

The Cape Town-based *South* was closed for a month by Mr Botha in a special Government Gazette.

"In the name of public safety the Minister has banned *New Nation* and now *South*," the statement said.

"ACAG knows it is the essence of futility and stupidity to shatter the windows into the frustrations of people's lives — frustrations which the National Party Government and not the newspapers created."

"The newspaper *South* has been handed an unwelcome but entirely predictable present from the government," the Western Cape region of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said in a statement in response to the suspension of the newspaper.

The SASJ said the suspension came only weeks after the newspaper celebrated its first year on the streets of the Western Cape.

"Through Stoffel Botha's desperate and heavy-handed use of the censorship Acts, the State has shown yet again that, as the political crisis deepens, one of its first scapegoats is invariably the truth.

"We are appalled by the ban on *South* and demand that the paper immediately be allowed to put back into practice its simple but indispensible motto — that people have the right to know.

"The Western Cape region of the SASJ applauds the newspaper's commitment to fighting the gagging order." — Sapa.

Editors sign petition

Sowetan 28/5/88

327

AN unprecedented joint protest at "authoritarian action" by the government against the media has been made by 26 South African newspaper editors who have signed a petition to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Editors normally prefer to express their views in their own publications.

The petition, however, is said to represent a basic and common concern at the increasing threat to freedom of the press and the rights of South Africans.

The petitioners assert the belief that the Ministerial banning of *New Nation* and the threat to silence *Weekly Mail* and other publications are authoritarian and against the public interest.

View

"The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues."

The signatories urge that ordinary criminal procedures be used as the appropriate way of dealing with any publication that foments violent revolution, pointing out that they know of no recognised publication presently engaging in such unlawful acts.

"We believe that the Minister's concern may be less about press incitement to revolution than about coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude — a subservience not in the interest of South Africa.

"Therefore, in the interests of the freedoms, standards and values which all of us, including government, profess to support, we ask that the rule of law be restored."

The covering letter to the Minister of Home Affairs reads:

"The petition, suggested by some editors in Johannesburg and immediately supported by more than 20 editors across the country, expresses their genuine, basic and common concern at the increasing threat to freedom of the press, and the rights of South Africans.

"We believe the cause of revolution is abetted, not reduced, by closing down small newspapers and threatening bigger ones.

"Our perception, right or wrong, is that attempts are being made to pressure newspapers into using one, bland voice

"While each newspaper editor would wish to express his own views in his own way (several non-signatories agree with the basic sentiment expressed, but will not be part of a joint statement), the petition submitted to you represents a consensus of the personal views of the editors who have appended their names.

"We make this unprecedented joint plea in the belief that it is not only in the interests of a free press, but in the interests of South Africa and in the interests of justice and peace."

The signatories are: Ron Anderson, editor of the *Star* (daily editions), Herman Arendse, editor of *Argus Community Newspapers*, Tony Ball, editor of the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, Nigel Bruce, editor of the *Financial Mail*, Andrew Drysdale, editor of the *Argus*, Michael Green, editor of the *Daily News*, Allen Greenblo, editor of *Finance Week*, Rex Gibson, for the editor of the *Saturday Star*, Anton Harber, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, John Hildyard, editor of the *Sunday Star*.

Editors

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*, James McMillan, editor of the *Natal Mercury*, Irwin Manoim, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, T G Mthembu, editor of *Ilanga*, Tertius Myburgh, editor of the *Sunday Times*, Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*, Brijlall Ramgughee, acting editor of *Post Natal*, Khulu Sibiya, editor of *City Press*, Derek Smith, editor-in-chief of *Times Media Limited* (Eastern Cape), Richard Steyn, editor of the *Natal Witness*, Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of the *Star*, the *Saturday Star* and *Sunday Star*, Mostert van Schoor, editor of the *Pretoria News*, Koos Viviers, editor of the *Cape Times*, Glynn Williams, editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, Neville Woudberg, editor of the *Evening Post* and *Weekend Post* and Ian Wyllie, editor of the *Sunday Tribune*. — Sapa.

327

Let's talk, says De Klerk as he drops 'subsidy' rules for varsities

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE government has withdrawn the letters imposing conditions on the subsidies paid to universities, but it is to re-open negotiations with the universities to achieve "consensus" about discipline on the campuses.

Minister of National Education FW de Klerk stressed this week that although the government abided by the decisions of the courts, which ruled that the conditions attached to university subsidies were out of order, the government remained committed to the goal of discipline on campuses.

These goals were "uninterrupted and unhindered tuition of and study by students at all universities; the functional, constructive and educationally sound application of the taxpayers' money; the implementation of effective measures to maintain good order and discipline on all campuses; and the maintenance of the universities' traditional academic values and standards".

De Klerk, who was speaking during the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates said he was "under the impression ... that I have the support of the universities themselves for these four goals".

According to De Klerk, it was not the objectives that were in dispute, but how these would be attained.

"We are not convinced that sufficient steps are being taken at all universities to attain those objectives. That is why these conditions came into being."

De Klerk said the government could amend the existing legislative to give it the power to impose those conditions or it could try though a process of negotiation to achieve these objectives or it could do no thing. The last alternative was unacceptable to the government.

"I personally think that the alternative — and I have the support of my colleagues — to find a way through a process of negotiation and ensure that we achieve the stated objectives, should be looked at carefully."

De Klerk said the ministers concerned had agreed to withdraw the letters in which the conditions were imposed. Each minister, together with De Klerk, will now consult the university for which he is responsible "so that a method may be found to achieve the objectives on which consensus has already been achieved to a great extent".

Earlier, De Klerk said the government supported the ideal of academic freedom, "namely the impartial pursuit of truth, or at least the most workable theory regarding a phenomenon. Academic freedom implies that there should be nothing to hamper this pursuit, or to delay the results to students and the research community.

"Underpinning this, is the democratic notion that the truth is not the exclusive property of any group or ideology. It is not possible to predict on ideological grounds who will uncover the truth. Science should therefore be as objective as possible.

"Ironically enough, the radical leftist views that are informed to a large extent by the philosophy of Marx, do not recognise this basis of academic freedom.

"Radicals to the left do not embrace the philosophy of academic freedom, because they wish to make science an accessory to the so-called struggle.

"At the same time they use academic freedom as a stick with which to beat the government. They accuse the government of disregarding academic freedom, but as a matter of fact they themselves show no regard for academic freedom," De Klerk said.

Our press is strongly inhibited

Willem de Klerk, brother of Cabinet Minister F W de Klerk, was the editor of Rapport. He resigned from the newspaper last year after constant pressure from government. Now a Professor in Journalism at Rand Afrikaans University, he has strong views on press freedom.

The informed public is aware of most aspects of freedom of the press. I briefly reduce these to four statements:

☐ Freedom of the press does not mean absolute, unbridled freedom, as every newspaperman knows. It implies responsibility, the preservation of the ethical norms of communication and journalistic standards of what is accurate, fair and in the interest of the public;

☐ Tension between the press and politicians, authorities and the public is normal in a democracy. Newspapers publicise, are involved in events, take up positions and make decisions. They operate in a conflict-oriented market. This is part and parcel of the nature and function of the press;

☐ The South African press is relatively free. We have more freedom than is found in autocratic systems — but SA has never had a true democracy. Despite all the talk about broadening democracy in this country, we are currently living in a "semi-democracy." The way government handles the press is a clear indication of this — there are dozens and dozens of statutory measures which inhibit or prohibit the gathering or the publication of information. Surpassing all former measures, the 1986 and 1987 regulations curtailed the press to an unprecedented extent even for a "semi-democracy;"

☐ The press cannot be divorced from its community. We have a community polarised into groups with different political expectations, strategies and procedures. We are in a power struggle around political philosophies.

Against this background, I can find no justification for the extent and manner in which the press has been suppressed in SA. The most fundamental protest against the government regulations is that it places arbitrary power in the hands of a politician. A faceless committee of censors advises the politician, who, in this way, gets the power to wield the axe above newspapers according to the vaguest of norms, namely, the furtherance of revolutionary activities. Without duly tested norms, power is allocated to the State which, directed by its own party political propaganda and aims as well as by its own irritations and angers, has the power to inhibit, sow suspicion and destroy newspapers.

This is abuse of power. This is improper interference. This is a step towards the further impairment of the freedom of the press and the public. This is opting for the style of the dictator.

And this state of affairs causes certain side effects. It affects the credibility of the South African press, internally and abroad. In principle, it undermines the public's right to be informed — which is important in a polarised country because ignorance can lead to a false sense of security. And the current regulations establish a tradition of government control of the press which may in future boomerang on political systems in SA.

The regulations inhibit the press and, therefore, the public, on basic principles of freedom: the freedom to know; the freedom to communicate; the freedom to differ and criticise; the freedom to oppose and protest. I do not argue that these liberties have ceased to exist, but I maintain that they are strongly inhibited. This in turn affects the credibility of the government and stimulates suspicion.

We have to remain a free press in SA, precisely because of the many differences in our community. In this way, bargaining and negotiations may be fostered. A press that is immune to State or group pressure is an essential part of a polarised community. It may be a burden, it may even be dangerous — but it remains an inextricable part of the process of dialogue.

It is my opinion that colliding political aspirations in SA can be kept in balance successfully only by a politically free press, only subject to its own controlling institutions and codes. The image of SA and changes in our system can best be built, therefore, by maintaining the freedom of the media.

I believe that the press — including the so-called alternative press — has a vital role to fulfil in a polarised community. I quote the following statement by a leader in the field of communications:

"It is an important communications principle — in fact, a known propaganda principle — that a communicator maintains and enhances its credibility exactly because it allows other speakers to say their piece."

FM 13/5/88

PRESS BANNINGS 327

Man above the law

The Cape-based paper *South* went the same way this week as *New Nation* when Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha banned it, in terms of the emergency regulations, for a month. Coincidentally, it was also the week in which judgment in the *New Nation* case appeared. As a symbol of the unhappy position the press currently occupies, it repays examination.

The decision of the Rand Supreme Court, delivered by Judge Curlewis, upheld Botha's opinion that *New Nation* had contravened the emergency regulations. What, in essence, the judge decided, was this: the State of Emergency is a political issue, not a legal one. The courts are dealing "with the opinion of a politician and not a judgment of a court of law."

In other words, if the legislature empowers the State President to do what he thinks is necessary or expedient, the court is not entitled to second-guess him. As Judge Curlewis put it: "The fact that one may be somewhat astonished by the vast apparatus that has been put up to deal with this matter has no bearing upon the legal aspect at all."

If this be a correct statement of the law, the implications are serious. When parliament empowers the executive to perform certain functions (such as to promulgate regulations in pursuance of emergency powers) it does so on certain conditions. If the executive fails to adhere to these conditions for some reason, it is said to be ultra vires (beyond legal authority) and its action could be declared invalid.

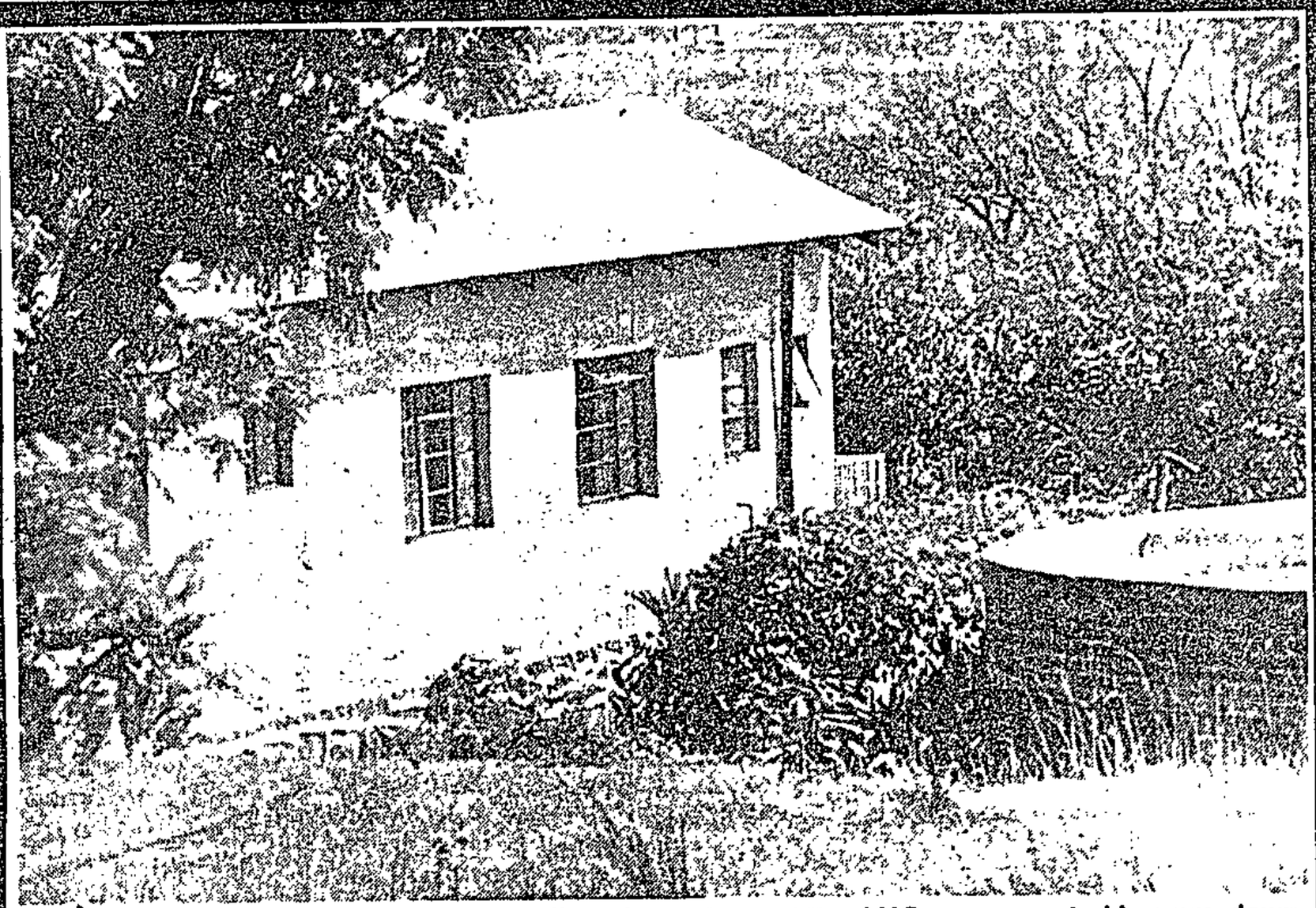
Administrative law is the main avenue of redress available to those organisations or individuals against whom the State acts in terms of its emergency powers. When they bring actions against the State they are normally asking for it to be found to have acted ultra vires; that is, broadly speaking, that the empowered person exercised powers they did not have — or that they did have the powers, but exercised them improperly.

The problem, as articulated in the *New Nation* judgment, is that the relevant State officials are effectively placed beyond the law. If the regulations are to be interpreted in the manner Judge Curlewis suggests, then the role of law in this area could be dramatically curtailed.

However, this interpretation may be incorrect. The judgment fails almost completely to deal with the authorities cited by counsel for the applicants. Arguments are not received or dismissed by reference to existing legal authorities; they are merely dismissed. Some of the decisions cited, such as the Natal Newspaper and Mawu cases, are of considerable authority and paint a very different picture of the extent of executive powers under the emergency. Had these been followed the outcome may well have been different.

The *New Nation* judgment represents a shift away from the rights of the individual towards those of the executive. It must be hoped that that body of legal opinion which holds the judgment to be something of an aberration is correct and that liberal values receive a more sympathetic hearing when the case goes on appeal. ■

☐ **See page 55 for Willem de Klerk's opinion on press freedom.**



THE Broederstroom house where four alleged members of the ANC were arrested in a pre-dawn swoop on Sunday. Sowetan 13/5/88

ANC 4 'nice people'

327

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

By SY MAKARINGE and Sapa

THE four suspected African National Congress guerillas who were arrested in a pre-dawn raid in a quiet country house north-west of Johannesburg on Sunday were described by workers in neighbouring farms as humble and easy-going people.

The workers, who refused to be identified, said they were surprised when the Broederstroom house the four were living in was surrounded by police early on Sunday morning.

"They were very nice people who liked cracking jokes. It never occurred to us that they could be members of the ANC," one of the workers said.

Another said the gardener who was working for the four — three South African white men and a white

● To Page 2

Former reporter

327

● From Page 1

Sowetan 13/5/88

woman — seemed to be getting along well with his employers.

"He worked for them on a part-time basis and seemed not to be aware that the four were allegedly trained by the ANC," he said.

A white shopkeeper said the four usually came to buy food from his shop.

"They were very nice guys but the problem is that they were in a wrong job," he said.

Security was very tight yesterday and police refused Press photographers permission to take close-up pictures of the house — which is situated about three kilometres from the Pelindaba Nuclear Research Centre.

The names of the four have been withheld, but it is believed one of them is a former Rand Daily Mail journalist. Police have also seized a large quantity of arms — said to be the largest arms cache the police had confiscated so far.

Among the weapons seized was a Soviet SAM-7 ground-to-air launcher.

Death of the truth

Sowetan 13/5/88

GLOOM again descended on the South African newspaper world this week with the silencing of *South*. The other day it was the *New Nation* that was gagged.

The Government's recent actions against the media and some organisations strike the victims as bewildering and perverse, but slowly a pattern is emerging: the Government is using much more subtle methods to get compliance with its will.

The attack on the media started from two ends — *Die Stem* on the right and *New Nation* on the left. The publishers of *Die Stem* decided to stop publishing before action was taken against them; the *New Nation* put up a fight before it went down.

It appears the Government is hoping that the newspapers in the centre will be cowed by what they see happening at the ends.

The regulations allow for subjective judgments by officials and this makes editors uncertain about what may and what may not be published.

Some of the newspapers were warned for publishing material that was also published in newspapers that were not warned. Even lawyers no longer advise newspapers with their usual confidence. We are all dancing on delicate egg shells.

People who have been interrogated tell of how the inquisitors rely on the anxiety that grows out of uncertainty to impose their will. A man in detention does not know what is happening to his children, his wife and his colleagues. He does not know when he will be released. He does not know what time of the day he will be fetched from the cell for questioning.

Uncertainty, anxiety, collapse of confidence...

The only certainty for editors today is: if you publish anything that promotes the image or esteem of the Government, you are safe. The further away you move from that, the more the chances of getting shut.

The Government is not closing down newspapers in the same way it closed the *World* and *Sunday World*, among others: it just suspends publication for a few weeks. It dangles the carrot of "tehabilitation" — at a price.

GABU Tugwana, acting editor of *New Nation*, which has been suspended for three months.

PERSPECTIVE

Joe Thloloe

The Government is hoping that the outcry against a few weeks' suspension will not be as vociferous as that against a total closure.

The same method is being used against organisations opposed to the Government.

That is why the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) were not banned outright and that is why some organisations were restricted while others, sharing the same beliefs and programmes, were not. And it explains why some leaders were restricted and not others.

The uncertainty in newsrooms is so real that when the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, says that there is less subversive material being published today than there was before the media regulations were promulgated last August, I don't know whether to believe him or not.

My first problem is that his yardstick is subjective, nothing that I can use to check what he is saying. My second is that he might be right: we might all have bowed down without realising it.

And so truth has died.

Role of SA writers

(327)

Sowetan 13/5/88

THE six South Africans featured in Index on Censorship's 100th issue this week have highlighted different aspects of the limitations imposed on dissident writers in South Africa.

Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane, author of "The Children of Soweto" (unbanned in South Africa in 1987) and currently visiting professor of comparative literature at the University of Georgia, writes: "My country insisted that, even though those of my colour are actually in the majority, I was a minority writer, having no connection with the civilised culture.

"I was supposed to accept my master's version of my experience and write it down and give it back to him and, thus, I would enter the mainstream. I would still be a minority writer, of course, but at least I would have a civilised point of view."

Says novelist and short story writer Richard Rive: "In South Africa, if he (the writer) is black, he produces a peculiar type of literature, not because the colour of his skin is black but because there are factors at work on him because of his colour.

"His social environment in turn influences his cultural environment and he is forced to create within the limitations imposed on him. The sameness of his experience produces in his work what seems like a sameness of theme, treatment and intent."

But, he adds: "I will do all in my power, and use all the talent at my disposal, to expose the bigotry and sham of racialism wherever and whenever it raises its evil head."

Exiled writer Wally Serote, now working full time for the ANC's department of art and culture in London, says in an interview that he believes his role as writer is "to create a proper . . . point of reference for my people as a writer, I hope I'm capable of that."

Journalist and novelist Miriam Tlali, who still lives in Soweto, asks why simply writing about the realities of township life has earned her the title "Enemy of the State".

"We (writers) are expected to highlight, synchronise and sing praises to . . . virtually non-existent reform. We are urged to stop protest and go about the business of eating and drinking. We are in fact asked to ignore the reality that the blacks are not voting and deciding on the enactment of laws which condemn them to perpetual servitude.

"And this is precisely what the committed writer refuses to accept."

W/Mail 13-19/5/88

die in mines demo

The last copies ... a special edition of *South* is sold in Cape Town this week. Minutes later the paper was banned

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD, Afrapix

13-19/5/88 W/Mail (327)

On the streets at noon. Shut down at 2.30pm

By KAREN EVANS and THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE staff of *South* had to pull a special edition off the streets at the 11th hour this week when a banning order was slapped on the Cape-based newspaper.

South, which is usually published on Thursday, attempted to beat an expected banning order by bringing out the paper's last edition on Monday, in the hope that Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha would not bring down the axe until Wednesday.

According to editor Rashid Seria, the special edition was on the streets by midday. At 2.30pm *South* was banned.

"We received legal advice to withdraw our newspaper from the streets, which we did."

They managed to sell only 20 percent of the print run.

Production of the newspaper has been totally prohibited according to a notice in the Government Gazette on Monday. The banning is effective until and including June 10, a day before the expiration of the current State of Emergency.

South staff intend keeping themselves busy in the next month by undertaking in-house training, helping *Grassroots* newspaper, and launching a news agency in conjunction with Press Trust, a Durban agency.

Seria expressed concern over the possibility of the banning order being extended if the State of Emergency is renewed. "Beyond that we will fight with all our might. If we don't make it difficult for the minister now the future of the press will be bleak."

Organisations have come out in support of *South*, condemning the action of the minister.

"Through Stoffel Botha's desperate and heavy-handed use of the censorship axe, the state has shown yet again, as the political crisis deepens, one of its first scapegoats is the truth," said Bob Kernohan, president-elect of the Southern African Society of Journalists.

He called on the minister to review the banning urgently "with a view to cancelling it".

In a statement the African National Congress condemned the banning and accused the government of being "competely intolerant of those voices of our people advocating fundamental democratic changes in our land".

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) said the minister of home affairs can "stifle public expression through newspapers, but the fact of oppression and the resulting anger and frustration in people's lives remains."

● See PAGE 16

327

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok refused in parliament to disclose how many people had been detained by police in the six "self-governing homelands", because "I do not consider it to be in the interest of the safety of those territories to divulge information regarding the actions by the police forces of those territories".

PRISON FIGURES

The following figures were released in parliament by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee:

●There were 582 people aged 17 or under in prison awaiting trial on December 31, 1987.

●A total of 163 natural and 32 unnatural deaths, "most of them of black people", were reported in South Africa's prisons last year. Nine prisoners were killed by fellow prisoners and 1 030 were injured by other prisoners and referred to hospital.

●The daily average of prisoners in prisons in South Africa (excluding the "independent homelands") was 103 200 — 18 398 more than the maximum number they were designed to hold. The most overcrowded prisons were Grootvlei Maximum Security (99,2 percent), Pollsmoor Maximum (95 percent) Victor Verster Medium B (83,4 percent). A total of 17 prisons were over 72 percent overcrowded.

●At the end of March this year there were 89 000 sentenced and 21 000 awaiting-trial prisoners in South Africa.

●An amount of R1,6-million was paid for the hire of prison labour by private individuals last year, and hired prisoners worked 302 days in 1987.

The value of prison labour calculated at the tariff rate and supplied free of charge was R1 057 132-million during the last financial year, according to the auditor general's report. The value of prison labour used by the South African Prisons Service in this period was R11 296 434-million.

●A total of 108 members of the South African Prisons Service were injured by prisoners last year, nine of them seriously.

●A total of 1 769 complaints by prisoners of alleged assault by warders were made in 1987, but "no substantiation" could be found in 1 184 of the complaints. Of the remaining 585 complaints, 95 were referred to the SA Police, 388 resulted in departmental hearings and 102 complaints were still being investigated.

Of those charged 144 members were found guilty of 136 charges, 198 were found not guilty of 187 charges and 65 charges involving 72 members were in the process of finalisation.

Of the complaints investigated by police 14 members were found guilty in 11 cases and five members were found not guilty in five cases.

The attorney general refused to prosecute in 55 cases involving 101 members.

In 24 cases involving 26 members the outcome of the attorney general's decision was not yet available.

CHANGES IN RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

A total of 718 people had their racial classification changed last year and 197 people who tried were unsuccessful, Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in parliament.

He listed the following changes: white to "Cape Coloured" — five; "Cape Coloured" to white — 313; "Cape Coloured" to Chinese — four; white to Chinese — one; Chinese to white — 10; white to Malay — four; Malay to white — 17; Indian to "Cape Coloured" — 61; "Cape Coloured" to Indian — 35; Indian to Malay — nine; Malay to Indian — 23; "Black" (African) to "Cape Coloured" — 182; "Cape Coloured" to black — eight; black to "Other Asian" — three; black to Indian — two; black to Griqua — seven; "Cape Coloured" to Malay — 13; Chinese to "Cape Coloured" — two; Indian to black — two; Malay to "Cape Coloured" — 15; Griqua to "Cape Coloured" — two.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

CONSTANCE HLATSHAWYO, 26, former Alexandra Women's Organisation secretary, was detained under the Emergency Regulations on June 13, 1986 and is still being held.

Hlatshwayo was active in the now-banned Congress of South African Students while at school in Alexandra, and served as a branch secretary. In 1983 she helped found the Alexandra Youth Congress and was elected chairperson of the young women's committee, and secretary of the Alexandra Woman's Organisation.

Hlatshwayo was detained for five months during the 1985 State of Emergency.

SAVE THE WAIL

and Freedom of the Press

The Weekly Mail, the newspaper that 'kicks down barriers', has received a warning from the Minister of Home Affairs that its words threaten public safety.

The following people and organisations in Grahamstown have contributed to sponsoring this page to demonstrate their support for this courageous newspaper. In pursuance of responsible protest, this page will be sent to the Minister.

We call on other communities wishing to show unity with the Weekly Mail and other publications under threat to follow our example and sponsor a page.

WAIL, DAMMIT!

Make a fuss before the Wail is bludgeoned to death and silenced

Dr. & Mrs. H. C. Hummel
Mr. & Mrs. P. M. Sully
Anonymous
D. McLean
Dr. J. Peires
M. L. Peires
Dr. W. Branford
Dr. J. Branford
Dr. S. Miller
R. Bouch
I. Truen
A. Oosthuizen
S. Ramsay
D. Christie
S. Malunga
D. Aylliff
D. Moll
J. du S. Read
C. Woeber
Mr. R. Berold
Mr. P. Glover
Rev. G. Hawkes
Mrs. B. A. Tark
Anonymous
Mr. G. Coutouvides
Prof. W. Kotzl
Mr. T. Huisamen
Prof. M. van Wyk Smith
Mrs. R. Smith
Mrs. J. Marsh
Anonymous
Mr. D. Forsyth
Ms. M. Weaver
Mr. A. Weaver
Dr. J. S. Marsh
Ms. R Brook
Mr. S. Rankin
Ms. J. Segar
Ms. L. Cloete
Rev. T. Goodyer
Adv. I. Smuts
Mr. P. Auf der Heyde
Mr. K. James
Mrs J. James
Mr. & Mrs. R. W. Harris
Mr. & Mrs. D. Gardiner
Mr. C. A. Mallinson
Prof. R. E. Jacob
Prof. F. Pirajno
Mrs. M. F. Hendry
Prof. W. J. Davies
Mrs.C. Davies
Mr. J. A. Roberts
Mr. S. D. Pamphilon
East Cape News Agency
Ms. J. C. Small
Ms. Z. Beck
Mr. Z. Boon
Mr. M. Kenyon
Ms. R. Kingwill
Mrs. J. M. Butler
Dr. S. Booysen
Mrs. A. Berning
Mrs. M. Baxter
The Very Rev. T. Barker
Mrs. M. Barker
Prof. P. D. Terry
J. King
Mrs. E. K. J. Barker
Prof. & Mrs. R. T. Bell
Prof. W. H. Hewitt
Mr. W. Holleman
Mrs. H. Holleman
Mrs. R. Johnson
Ms. J. Joubert
Mr. C. Steyn
Mr. E. de Wijze
Mr. T. Bower
Mrs. A. Kew
Mrs. K. Marx
Dr. R. Marx
Mr. P. Marx
Mr. G. Marx
Mr. D. Marx
Adv. & Mrs. K. Matthee
Rev. & Mrs.T.Patterson
Mr. & Mrs. T. Slade
St Pauls College Common Room
Mr. A. Roux
Mrs. C. Roux
Rev. A. C. J. Charton
A Friend
Ms. A.. C. Petra
The Young Progressives
Mrs. M. Allen
Mrs. A. W. Macdonald
Mr. & Mrs. E. K. Moorcroft
Mrs. M. G. McCoy
Mrs. M. G. Gilbert
Ms. C. Jeffrey
Miss M. Moed
Mrs. A. Evans
Mrs. L. Todres
Ms. H. Cumes
Nusas-SRC Rhodes University
Ms. I. Walker
Mr. D. Bunyan
Mrs. N. De Villiers
Ms. S. Fold
Mr. J. M. Berning
Mrs. P. Higgins
Mr. B. Patterson
Mrs. S. Patterson
Mrs. A. Rowolt
Mr. D. Lowry
Miss P. Higgins
Mr. P. Teeton
RU Catholic Students Society
Ms. E. V. Viljoen
Capitalists Against Apartheid
South African Jews Against Injustice
Mrs. M. Kenyon
Mr. G. Kenyon
Mrs. I. Vermaak
Prof. T. Botha
Ms. V. Botha
P. McDonald
Ms. B. Brady
P. Smailes
Ms. J. Worth
M. Rollo
Mr. J. Hughes
Ms. G. Maurice
Ms. N. Davey
Ms. M. West
Mrs. S. Cangley
M. Harding
Ms. S. Mckenzie
Ms. N. Conway
Ms. S. Ziehl
Ms. S. Aird
Prof. & Mrs. D. A. C. Maclennan
Mr. J. C.Louw
Prof. R. Tunmer
Mr. R. Midgely
Prof. R. Harker
Prof. J. Suggit
Prof. I. Kanler
Mr. J. G. Grogan
Prof. T. R. H. Davenport
Mrs. G. Davenport
P. F. P. Grahamstown Branch
Grahamstown Advice Office
Miss B. M. Nicholls
Mr. J. L. Jackson
Mrs. G. P. Jackson
Dr. A. P. Bosch
Albany News Agency
Ms. D. Orpen
Mr. R. Hartle
Mr. D. de la Harpe
Mr. David Pitman
Ms. R. Kingwill
Mr. J. Steuart
Ms. N. Gotyana
Mr. B. Lock
Mr. P.Tandy
Mr. M. Feltham
Mr. A. Yazbek
Mr. M. Vermaak
Mr. E. van Heerden
Mr. G. Davies
Mr. D. Butler
Mr. J. Godden
Mrs. T. Tisane
Ms. L. Vale
Prof. P. Vale
Ms. S. Lund
Ms. M. de Villiers
Ms. S. Middleton
Mr. M. Roodt
Ms. B. Taylor
Ms. N. Cattaneo
Mr. A. Tracey
Prof. J. L. Cattaneo
Mr. R. White
Ms. A. Burroughs
Ms. A. Baleta
Mr. G. A. von Klemperer
Mrs. M. A. von Klemperer
Ms. S. J. Maule
Ms. T. A. Morrison
Ms. J. Harris
Mr. P. Howes
Mr. O. Skae
Mr. C. J. Hodgskill
Prof. P. G. Surtees
Anonymous
Mr. J. Wellman
Ms. M. Beard
Mr. M. Hacksley
Ms. N. Yeye
Mr. G. Smith
The Rt. Rev. D. Russell
Mr. J. Pretorius
Miss F. Henley
Dr. A. Marais
Ms. P. Rogers
The Albany Black Sash
Prof. F. G. Butler
Mrs. A. Elliot
Mr. J. Breytenbach
Mr. N. Jardine
Mr. G. Maritz
Miss F. Gale
Mr. & Mrs. C. Rogers
Prof. G. Stewart
Mr. C. Riddle
Mrs. L. Place
Mr. T. Walker
Mr. G. Hayman
Mr. G. Pinnock
Miss J. Osborne
Mr. C. Lebert
Anonymous
Mr. R. Hartley
Mrs. M. Lorraine
Mr. A. Weakey
Mr. R. Morikua
Grahamstown Rural Committee
Mr. P. Hathorn
Mr. B. Hartle
Ms. F. Adams
Mr. J. Pickering
Ms. M. Baleta
Mr. S. Benton
Mr. D. Sandi
Ms. N. Steyn
Ms. J. Murray
Mrs. D. Russell
Mrs. M. Pretorius
Mrs. A. Marais
Miss T. Wild
Prof. T. Davies
Mr. L. Wright
Mrs. S. Ross
Mr. D. Meyer
Mrs. J. Jardine
Mr. P. van Velsen
The Rev. Dr. B. Clarke
Ms. D. Sandler
Mr. I. Lauder
Mr. L. Stanfield
Ms. J. Fairbairn
Ms. J. Worthington-Smith
Mr. K. Carleen
Mr. G. Kew
Mrs. J. Elsworth
Miss B. Dickerson
Ms. R. Theron
Ms. S. Du Plessis
Mr. J. Lorraine
Mr. & Mrs. M. Schafer
Ms. J. Rolfe
Mrs. P. Paton
Prof. J. K. Coetzee
Dr. M. C. Roux
Mr. G. T. Wood
Mr. B. du Toit
Mr. R. Hartley
Prof. T. Beard
Mr. D. Christianson
Mrs. A. Campbell
Mrs. C. Burnett
Miss. A. Campbell
Mr.C. Heymans
Mr. A. Donaldson
Mr. M. Leibbrandt
Dr. A. Webb
Prof. & Mrs. P.Black
Dr. R. C. G. Palmer
Prof. I. Macdonald
Dr. J. de Wet
Mr. S. Booysen
Prof.K. van Wyk
Dr. & Mrs. FC & IJ de Moor
Prof. T. M. Letcher
Mrs. V. H. Letcher
Mr. C. J. Letcher
Mr. R. F. Hall
Mrs. P. Hall
Prof. & Mrs. G. de Jager
Dr. D. B. Campbell
Ms. V. de Klerk

Issued by: Albany Black Sash, Market Street, Grahamstown

More calls to Botha: don't clo

WEEKLY MAIL co-editors Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim meet the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, on Monday — as the "Save the Press" campaign reaches a new peak.

The meeting, originally scheduled for this week and now postponed till Monday, will focus on the minister's warning to *Weekly Mail* that he considers it "a threat to the safety of the public". Also at the meeting will be the newspaper's attorneys.

There were renewed calls this week for the minister to reconsider his action against the press. Protests have come from people as wide-ranging as Dana Bullen, of the Washington-based World Press Freedom Committee, and General Bantu Holomisa, military leader of Transkei. Editors from 33 countries — ranging from the USA and Scandinavia, to Jamaica, Ghana and Sri Lanka — have voiced their protest.

●The Inter-American Press Association (IAPA), representing more than 1 300 newspapers from North, Central and South America and the Carribean, sent a message to Botha.

Signed by Ignacio Lozano, IAPA president and editor-in-chief of Los Angeles' *LA Opinion*, the organisation deplored recent actions and threats against the South African press.

"While our sphere of activity is principally the Western hemisphere, we feel obliged to protest because the type of suppression being practiced by your government is of concern to free peoples everywhere.

"We will follow the situation closely, especially with regard to any further restriction against the *Weekly Mail* or other periodicals."

●The vice-chancellors of the universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Natal and the Western Cape issued a joint statement on current government action against the press.

"A fundamental tenet for universities is a commitment to academic freedom. By academic freedom is understood the right of individual staff members and students to engage without hindrance in the acquisition, advancement and transmission of knowledge.

"Violations of general liberty inevitably curtail academic freedom. Unless freedom of expression is guaranteed, universities are hindered in their fundamental pursuits.

"High standards of scholarly enquiry can only be attained when the principle of freedom of thought is respected. Where academic inquiry is subjected to the interests of another cause — especially the suppression of information on the basis of alleged public advantage — the consequences are serious.

"We therefore call upon Minister JCG Botha to reconsider the merits of his apparent course of action against publications of which he disapproves even when they have not transgressed the press regulations. Such action will provoke further isolation and compound the debilitating nature of the growing intellectual boycott of this country."

The statement was signed by Professor RW Charlton (Wits), Professor JVO Reid (UCT), Professor P de V Booysen (Natal) and Professor GJ Gerwel (UWC).

●In what the country's biggest daily newspaper, *The Star*, called an "unprecedented" action, 26 editors countrywide signed a protest at "authoritarian action" by the government against the media.

The signatories included the editors of the major English-language newspapers in the country.

In a covering letter, the editors said they believed "the cause of revolution is abetted, not reduced, by closing down small newspapers and threatening bigger ones".

In the petition, they said the ministerial action was "against the national interest" and asked that "the unnecessary restrictions issued under the Emergency regulations be eased.

"The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues.

"We believe that the Minister's concern may be less about press incitement to revolution than

Read all about it. If the

Saamstaan speaking up ... front pages over the years. Originally called Suid-Kaap Nuus, the paper got its

The small-town paper which shops won'

The name of the tiny newspape is *Saamstaan*, Afrikaans for 'stand together'. A good name for a newspaper whose staff have stood together despite bannings, detentions, fire-bombings, beatings, shootings, abusive phone-calls, printers who won't print the paper, lawyers who won't read it, shops which won't sell it ...

By PAT SIDLEY in Outdshoorn

EVERY person associated with the tiny Outsdhoorn newspaper *Saamstaan* has spent some time in detention. Several have been house arrested. Some have been beaten, some shot at, some maimed.

Saamstaan, newspaper of the "coloured" township Bridgton and its black neighbour, Bongolethu, is an eight-page tabloid which appears every six weeks — that is, if not too many members of staff are in jail.

The paper's offices have been set on fire three times. Copy and photographs disappear before they find their way into the paper. No printer within 500km of Oudtshoorn will touch the newspaper and an entire print run of 9 000 copies disappeared after being signed for by a mysterious person named "Scarface" at the Cape Town printers.

Saamstaan is one of the seven newspapers being dragged through the laborious "warnings" process which may lead to its eventual suspension by the minister of home affairs. But looming suspension is one of *Saamstaan's* lesser problems.

Saamstaan is an Afrikaans word which means "stand together". A small community paper, its offices, with one telephone and one typewriter, are near a part of Bridgton which has been renamed "Moscow" by local youth organisations.

The newspaper is written in three languages — Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. It was born in 1983, the year the UDF was launched. It was published in an area served by no other newspaper, to be circulated among a deprived and oppressed community, whose incidence of tuberculosis and rates of unemployment were both extremely high.

Its structure, with no editor but a collective drawn from all manner of groups (a rugby club dominates), meant that in no time it was the focal point of political organisation in the region and the vehicle for local mobilisation.

Its news came from the groups and youth organisations who decided collectively what was of interest to them and others in the area.

Run by local activists, the newspaper quickly became a successful vehicle for mobilising its readers, and as a source of basic information and advice. It helped build firm — and unusual — bridges between the large "coloured" population and the smaller "African" population.

Oliphant said: "We never realised the strength of the press. Once the newspaper started, more and more people came forward to participate.

"We were never only a newspaper. We were an organisation assisting people in diverse ways with their problems. We talked to people about rent evictions and helped the youth draw up constitutions for their organisations."

There is a strong emphasis on sport in *Saamstaan*. In its coverage of local and national items, it supports a UDF vision for South Africa.

It provides news and information about people's lives, enabling them to make informed decisions about their circumstances and act on them in an educated way.

Local activists praise the newspaper's advice section. "The newspaper is an organ to assist people with advice on various matters. They had never had a place to go before," said one.

"People had never heard of the Southern Cape before *Saamstaan*," said a Bongolethu activist. "It was a paper where we could knock at people's doors, discuss their problems, help solve them, and build structures and organisations to deal with it all. It is a real alternative newspaper, reporting news which is not reported on anywhere else. *Saamstaan* is the only paper to do it here — it's on our doorstep and now the government feels threatened."

Not one of the more than 20 white lawyers in Oudtshoorn will take on any work, however minor or important, for the newspaper, the political groups or even any of the individuals they think may be associated with "politics".

In order to prevent the disappearance — or confiscation — of stories and photographs, each article is duplicated several times and the photographs are hidden away in homes around town until they are ready to be sent to the printers in Cape Town.

Oliphant, a 40-year-old father of five, is known to his anonymous callers, some policemen, lawyers and other local whites as a *"kakmaker"* (troublemaker).

It is not a term he necessarily rejects.

Oliphant was once a schoolteacher, but after being banished to the Northern Cape, he gave it up and now sells educational books.

He does not hide his affiliations and brandishes his political symbols, some of which have literally drawn fire in the region. His youngest son, aged two, is named Nelson.

Journalist Umbulelo Grootboom, another person pivotal to the *Saamstaan* operation, lives in Bongolethu and has spent most of the past i. years in jail. He now faces charges of making subversive statement during a service for four l cal activists facing the death penalty for neckla ing a councillor. Oliphant has been asked, as state witness, to identify a voice on a tape recor ing which police say was made at the service.

The case comes to court in June and Oli has had to receive special permission on his striction order from police to travel to court

REGGIE OLIPHANT, a journalist on *Saamstaan* newspaper and a former regional president of the United Democratic Front, was stopped by police on Sunday afternoon a couple of minutes' drive from his house in Bridgton, Outsdhoorn.

The policeman told him he was in contravention of his restriction order that confines him to his house after 6pm. The policeman said the time was 6.03pm. Oliphant 's watch read 5.48.

DERICK JACKSON, co-ordinator of *Saamstaan* newspaper project, rece a telephone call at dawn last week teli him his girlfriend, in the labour ward the local hospital, had miscarried.

Jackson, under house arrest, cann easily visit his girlfriend. He has had apply for police permission to visit her a couple of hours in the evening.

The phone call turned out to be un Just one of the many abusive calls Jac son and his colleagues receive with mo otonous regularity.

ON THE PRESS

se papers

Stoffel Botha — renewed pleas

...out coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude — a subservience not in the interests of South Africa.

"Therefore, in the interests of the freedoms, standards and values which all of us, including government, profess to support, we ask that the Rule of Law be restored," they said.

The editors who signed were: Ron Anderson (The Star — daily); Herman Arendse (Argus Community Newspapers); Tony Ball (Diamond Fields Advertiser); Nigel Bruce (Financial Mail); Andrew Drysdale (The Argus); Michael Green (Daily News); Allen Greenblo (Finance Week); Rex Gibson (for the Saturday Star); John Hildyard (Sunday Star); Aggrey Klaaste (The Sowetan); James Macmillan (Natal Mercury); TG Mthembu (Ilanga); Tertius Myburgh (Sunday Times); Ken Owen (Business Day); Brijlall Ramgughee (Post Natal); Khulu Sibiya (City Press); Derek Smith (Editor-in-Chief, Times Media Ltd, Eastern Cape); Richard Steyn (Natal Witness); Harvey Tyson (Editor-in-Chief, The Star); Mostert van Schoor (Pretoria News); Koos Viviers (Cape Times); Glynn Williams (Daily Dispatch); Neville Woudberg (Evening Post); Ian Wyllie (Sunday Tribune); and Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim (Weekly Mail).

●Hundreds of people attended a protest meeting in Soweto on the weekend. The meeting, called by the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa), passed a resolution condeming the government's onslaught on the press.

●The Anti-Censorship Action Group has launched a "Stop Stoffel Botha" petition, which is being circulated countrywide.

This complements a chain letter being circulated by the Black Sash and an appeal from a *Weekly Mail* reader, which he has published as an advert in the newspaper, calling on people to write letters of protest to Botha.

●Major-General Bantu Holomisa, head of the Transkei military council, added his voice to the protests. "As a reader, I am still waiting for any justifiable reason for the closure of the *Weekly Mail*. So far I have not seen any — but, anyway, that's South African business," he said in an interview this week.

● Enos Mabuza, chief minister of KaNgwane, said in his policy speech at the opening of his legislative assembly this week that it was "deeply regretable" that the government was further enforcing its "restrictive rule".

●An advert in the form of an open letter to the state president from prominent international media personalities, including the editors of major papers around the world, appeared in the *Sunday Times, Sunday Star, City Press and the Natal Witness*. The Afrikaans paper, *Beeld*, refused to carry the advert.

The odd case of the smart but careless news thieves

By FRANZ KRÜGER, East London

THERE was something a little odd about the burglary last week at the offices of the Port Elizabeth news agency, PEN.

Not just the fact that it was the third break-in in months. Nor the fact that the expensive alarm system did not go off.

What was puzzling was that the very skilled and professional burglars carelessly forgot to steal any money. They stole documents and negatives and news agency telecommunications equipment.

Journalists working for Pen, an affiliate of East Cape News Agencies, say they believe the attack last Wednesday night was by people "who want to stop us from working".

Pen staffer Mbulelo Linda said the independent news agencies were supplying publications with news that "some quarters don't want to see published".

Linda said the nature of the burglary made him believe it had not been carried out by ordinary burglars: the intruders, who managed to circumvent a sophisticated radio alarm system, removed documents and negatives, as well as the equipment the agency needs to send out material. Among the items stolen were a teletex machine, computer equipment and the control box of the radio alarm.

According to the manager of Provident Burglar Alarms, Robbie van der Merwe, no alarm was registered at his firm's control room, although the alarm was found to be switched on the morning after the incident.

Van der Merwe said the break-in was "suspicious" in that it was not usual for documents and negatives to be stolen, while petty cash had been left behind.

He would not be drawn on who might be responsible, but security sources who did not want to be named said whoever broke in "knew what they were doing. They were professionals, and there aren't too many of them around."

The sources said the burglars could have circumvented the radio alarm by the use of a duplicate key, or by jamming the radio frequency of the alarm system for as long as they required.

The sources said it also seemed as if there must have been at least two people involved, who probably had a car at their disposal, because some of the equipment stolen was very heavy.

It was the third break-in to have occurred at Pen since it was established in late 1986. Last June, the office was entered through a skylight and the office searched. Attempts were made to steal the teletex, but failed.

● Linda and fellow Pen journalist Mike Loewe were detained shortly after the agency was set up and spent several months in Emergency detention.

When released, they were prohibited from working as journalists, but restrictions were relaxed after a court application. Loewe now lives in Johannesburg. — el-news

taff aren't in jail

name from its first front page headline "Ons moet saamstaan"

sell and no printer will touch

Saamstaan spirit — a familiar scene as staffers and supporters welcome back two colleagues released from detention. Saamstaan staffers have been arrested on numerous occasions

side the magisterial district of Oudtshoorn.

State action has included the 1984 detention, in one go, of 27 *Saamstaan* committee members and a University of Cape Town video crew.

Action during the State of Emergency has taken its toll. "People are scared to move around with *Saamstaan*, and one person was detained simply because he had a copy of it," says Jackson. Several people have burned their copies, fearful of the consequences of being caught with one.

As a consequence the paper is being given away now, instead of being sold, as it used to be, for 15c a copy. Several store owners are too frightened to carry the paper, and distribution has had to change drastically.

The three people central to *Saamstaan* (and to political organisation in the area), Oliphant, Jackson and Grootboom, are all under severe restriction orders.

Although they may be quoted and can work on their newspaper, they are all effectively under house arrest at night and may not move out of the magisterial district of Oudtshoorn, although Jackson has received permission to go to Cape Town when necessary to get the paper to the printers. They may not have anything to do with specified political organisations and may not address gatherings of 10 people or more.

Grootboom has been almost continuously in jail since 1985. He has been detained for a number of reasons — the weirdest being his arrest for stealing prize stock "for a UDF party".

That happened after a local farmhand, fired after having a row with his boss, herded some cattle through the town, past an empty plot where a party was in full swing.

The revellers, delighted by this gift from the heavens, slaughtered the cattle. Police arrived, fired buckshot to disperse the gathering, and arrested one person: Grootboom. The charges were later withdrawn.

Grootboom was the first of the 18 people around South Africa to be banned on the day of the government crackdown on black political organisations in February. His order prohibits his attendance at any meeting where the government is criticised. It was delivered to him just before his release from his most recent spell in detention, several days before the others were served.

Jackson finds his restriction order prohibits his playing rugby — and sport, which he says provided his initial political awareness, is a central part of his life. Permission to go to rugby practice has been denied.

Oliphant's car has been burnt; he receives nightly phone calls asking *"Slaap julle nog?"* (Are you asleep?) and some which threaten his children with the burning of their house; and he faces difficulties in his job, as he cannot sell books outside the magisterial district of Oudtshoorn.

On the day he and Jackson were released from detention, they retired to the back room of Oliphant's house— a room with no windows — to write a letter to the South African Council of Churches.

The letter complete, they walked out of the front door to post it, and a police van pulled up. A policeman said: "Come with us, and bring the letter with you."

Since 1981, remarks Oliphant nonchalantly, "there has not been one single bloody year that I have not been inside".

What makes the *Saamstaan* staff continue? "I think it's become an obligation," says Oliphant. "I feel I'm under an obligation to my children and my people.

"I see myself as a part of society in which everyone gets an equal share of the big bread of this country. And I really mean equal."

*

PATRICK NYUKA, a *Saamstaan* reporter, has a badly maimed left arm, disfigured face and buckshot scars on his back.

He was shot while covering a celebration party when two local activists were released from prison last year. Police had wanted to confiscate his film and notes and he had tried to pass them to a young woman standing nearby. She, too, was severely wounded by police fire.

Nyuka was charged with public violence.

Too secret to tell the editor

Weekly Mail Reporter, Windhoek

MILITARY officials want information from two Windhoek journalists. But the matter is so secret that they won't even tell the journalists what the information relates to.

The editor and a senior journalist of Windhoek's "alternative" newspaper, *The Namibian*, have been subpoenaed to give evidence before a military board of enquiry.

Gwen Lister and Mark Verbaan will appear at the Suiderhof military base in Windhoek next Friday.

Earlier this month, two military policemen arrived at the newspaper's offices with summonses ordering them to give evidence before an inquiry convened in terms of the military discipline code to inquire into "a matter of a secret or confidential nature ..."

Further inquiries only brought the response that they would be given more details on the day they appear.

The matter has been referred to the newspaper's legal advisers.

Move to bar ANC

LONDON — A South African police film of a raid on white ANC insurgents has been sent to Mrs Thatcher, it is claimed here.

It was sent in an attempt to persuade the Prime Minister to clamp down on the ANC's London base, says a report in the *Mail on Sunday*. 327

The film shows a security operation that netted an arsenal of weapons and allegedly revealed a white ANC command structure leading back to London.

The report adds: "The South Africans have by-passed the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is at odds with the Prime Minister because of his determination to maintain contact with the ANC.

"Many top ANC men, including the president, Oliver Tambo, use London as a base and the organisation has offices in the capital."

DEAR PRESIDENT BOTHA

We are alarmed by the recent banning of the New Nation and South; by the gazetted warnings issued to the Weekly Mail, Grassroots, Saamstaan and Work in Progress; and by the warning letter sent to the Sowetan.

We deplore the arbitrary way in which these publications may now be stopped, the fact that the opinion of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, may be the sole basis of a banning order, and the fact that he does not have to give any reasons for his opinion, which cannot be challenged in court.

The South African press and foreign correspondents of the world's media are already greatly censored; in February a further 17 organisations were effectively banned. It now seems to be the intention to cripple one-by-one any inconvenient publication.

We urge you to lift the ban on New Nation and South, and to take no further steps against the alternative or mainstream press.

THIS APPEAL HAS BEEN PLACED BY 'INDEX ON CENSORSHIP', 39C HIGHBURY PLACE, LONDON, ON BEHALF OF LEADING EDITORS, WRITERS AND PROFESSIONALS AROUND THE WORLD

A WHITTAM-SMITH
Editor, Independent, London
CHARLES GLASS
ABC News, London
BO STRÖMSTEDT
Editor, Expressen, Stockholm
HERBERT PUNDIK
Editor, Politiken, Copenhagen
DANA BULLEN
World Press Freedom Committee
OLIVER CLARKE
Publisher, The Gleaner, Jamaica
T RILEY
Freedom of Info Institute, Canada
AS ABRAHAM
Editor, Times of India, Bombay
LORD BONHAM-CARTER
House of Lords, London
STEWART STEVEN
Editor, Mail on Sunday, London
BILL KOVACH
American Society of Editors
CHRIS LAW
Film-maker, London
GA HARTMOLL
British Film Institute, London
DR KARL GROBE-HAGEL
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt
MARK LE FANU
Society of Authors, London
BIRGITTE RAHBEK
Danmarks Radio, Copenhagen
BEN SONNENBERG
Editor, Grand Street, USA
DONALD ATYEO
Editor, Time Out, London
ERKKA LEHTOLA
Aamulehti, Finland
KALPANA SHARMA
Indian Express, Bombay
ANDREW NAGORSKI
Newsweek, Bonn
ALF THOOR
Expressen, Stockholm
D FRANKE
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt
JAN TYSTAD
Dagbladet, Oslo
JOHN RENTOUL
New Statesman, London
HARRY CONROY
National Union of Journalists
MARK PALMER
Middle East Times, London
ALAN ROSS
London Magazine, London
COLIN HARDING
The Independent, London
JOHN KELLEHER
Channel 4 TV, London
DENIS HERBSTEIN
Journalist, London
VICTORIA BRITTAIN
The Guardian, London
HELEN BIRCH
City Limits, London
PETER MICHALSKI
Springer News Service, London
JEREMY PAXMAN
Journalist, London
ANDREAS SKARTVEIT
Gylendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo
M JOHANNESSEN
Editor, Morgunbladid, Iceland
JOHN DOWNING
Editor, Toronto Sun, Canada
ALFONSO DUBOIS
Editor, Pensamento, Nicaragua
ROBERTO TEJADA
Vuelta magazine, Mexico
P GHYSELBRECHT
Warehousekeeper, Belgium
SAPM STOKVIS
Editor, Article 19, Netherlands
JW VERBEI
Editor, De Journalist, Netherlands
KENNETH SOLOMON
University of Maryland, USA
JAIME MUNOZ MUNOZ
Colegio de Periodistas, Chile
JOHN M BURKOFF
University of Pittsburgh, USA
RHONDA WASSERMAN
University of Pittsburgh, USA
RODDY HEYLIGER
Editor, Saba, Netherlands Antilles
ROGER EAST
Editor, Keesing's, London
KATE DEVEREUX
Writer, Keesing's, London
STEVE LEWIS
Editor, Keesing's, London
IAN GORVIN
Writer, Keesing's, London
DJ SAGAR
Editor, Keesing's, London
FRANCIS NICHOLSON
Journalist, Keesing's, London
PHILLIPA YOUNGMAN
Sub-editor, Keesing's, London
ALISON COWAN
Editor, Keesing's, London
MARK R ROSENZWEIG
University of California, Berkeley
THOMAS G CLARK
Editor, Writer's Digest, USA
JUAN SORUCO
Director, Cedoin, Bolivia
MINEKE SCHIPPER
Free University, Amsterdam
JCE HUIZINGA
Press Institute, Amsterdam
DAVID SUDA
Monmouth College, USA
DAVID NALLE
Alfred Friendly Press Fellowships
M NIOL
Press Africaine, Paris
GEORGE THEINER
Index on Censorship, London
W SALAYAKANOND
Press Development, Thailand
WAYLES BROWN
Cornell University, USA
LORRAINE J ELLETSON
Sophia University, Tokyo

LORD ARDWICK
Commonwealth Press Union
JOHN R MACARTHUR
Publisher, Harper's, USA
PETER GALLINER
International Press Institute
HON. DAVID ASTOR
Former Editor, Observer, London
CUSHROW IRANI
Editor, The Statesman, India
NAT HENTOFF
Village Voice, New York
MELVYN BRAGG
South Bank Show, London
R USHERWOOD
University of Sheffield
ANDREW MILNE
Cambridge University
JOHN ALDERSON
Professor, United Kingdom
SIDNEY CROSKERY
OBE, Northern Ireland
MONICA FOOT
City Council, Birmingham
JAGATH SENARATNE
Development Studies, Sussex
STEWART BROWN
Birmingham University
KS RAMAKRISHNAN
Newspaper Development, India
NICK ST GEORGE
Radio journalist, London
PAMELA CLUNIES
Poetry Society, London
PADDY SHERMAN
Southam Newspapers, Toronto
NALINA GERA
Maharashtra Herald, India
ROLF KLUGE
Editor, Oslo
JH EDWARDS
Birmingham University

HAROLD EVANS
Former editor, London Times
LORD MCGREGOR
University of London
TOM STOPPARD
Playwright
LORD AVEBURY
Parliamentary Human Rights Group
LOUIS BLOM-COOPER
Queen's Counsel, London
BOB BERNSTEIN
Chairman, Random House
DONALD TRELFORD
Editor, Observer, London
MARION DÖNHOFF
Publisher, Die Zeit, Hamburg
BRUCE CONE
Africa Info Centre, New Zealand
ROBERT MENARD
Rapporteurs, France
J CHECRIER
Professor, Editor, France
JAMIE KALVEN
Journalist, USA
A EMILE
Chief reporter, Mauritius Times
S RAMLALLAH
Sub-editor, Mauritius Times
GI HAMPSHIRE
Librarian, London
JL HOLZGREFE
University of Oxford
ELIZABETH KISS
University of Oxford
BOGDAN SZAJKOWSKI
Cardiff University
WOLF BRÜGMANN
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt
KARI SKJONSBERG
Author, Norway
ELLING TJONNELAND
Peace Research Institute, Oslo

JUAN LUIS CEBRIAN
Editor, El Pais, Madrid
NORMAN WEBSTER
Editor, Globe and Mail, Toronto
LIONEL MORRISON
National Union of Journalists
NALINA GERA
Editor, Maharashtra Herald, India
HAKAN HELLBERG
Editor, Hufvudstadbladet, Finland
AHMED RAJAB
Editor, Africa Analysis, London
STEVE PLATT
Editor, New Society, London
PETER PALUMBO
Company director, London
EDGAR AUTH
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt
BRIGITTE KOLE
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt
MICHAEL SIMMONS
The Guardian, London
ROBERT HEWISON
Journalist, London
PETER HENNESSY
Journalist, London
MICHAEL COVENEY
Journalist, London
RACHEL BILLINGTON
Writer, London
GORDON HOLMEBAKK
Gylendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo
RONALD KOVEN
Correspondent, Paris
BERNT ECKLUND
Expressen, Stockholm
MAREK GARZTECKI
Editor, Voice of Solidarity
KEVIN BOYLE
Director, Article 19, London
PHILIP SPENDER
Index on Censorship, London

HANS IHLEBAEK
Norwegian Press Association
JENS LINDE
Danish Union of Journalists
NEAL ASCHERSON
Observer, London
SVEN EGIL OMDAL
Norwegian Union of Journalists
MICHAEL WALTER
Swiss Radio International
STEVE PLATT
Editor, New Society, London
DON ROWLANDS
Journalism Centre, Cardiff
ARNE RUTH
Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm
EDWARD MORTIMER
Financial Times, London
CAROLINE MOOREHEAD
The Times, London
MUSTAFA EL BEHAIRY
Al Wafd, Egypt
ANTONIN ANDRESEN
Norwegian PEN, Oslo
INGER ETZLER
Swedish Broadcasting Corporation
ROBIN WHARMBY
Press Federation, London
ULRIKE FUSSEL
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt
JANE E KIRTLEY
Committee for Press Freedom
DAN VAN DER VAT
The Guardian, London
MICHAEL FREEMAN
Carcanet Press Manchester
EJB ROSE
Runnymede Trust, London
CARLO GEBLER
Author, London
LARS PERSSON
Expressen, Stockholm
GHISLAIN RIPAULT
Writer and editor, France
EGH JOFFE
Journalist, London
SARAH LV GRANICH
Writer, London
NATHANIEL POLSTER
Editor, HLR Newsletter, USA
DR SH AMIN
Glasgow College, Scotland
JOHN S ROSSANT
Business Week, USA
M RAMLALLAH
Editor, Mauritius Times
GUNDER ANDERSSON
Author, Sweden
PENTTI V RUOHONEN
Editor, Finnish Broadcasting
CHARLES RANDOLPH
Writer, London
ZOIA HORN
Right To Know Project, USA
MACARIO DI TIW
Media Services, Phillipines
V GUNEWARDENE
Deanga, Sri Lanka
MIKAEL WITTE
Freedom of Expression, Denmark
ANNE SCHMITT
Soviet American Review, USA
ROMEO B ABUNDA
Press Foundation, Phillipines
ABDI ISSA
Journalist, Istanbul
LYDIA H WOLF
Welfare worker, USA
ANNE NELSON
Protect Journalists, USA
ANDREW MORRISON
Editor, Catholic Standard, Guyana
S WICKREMASINGHE
Barrister, Sri Lanka
OLIVIA WARD
Journalist, Toronto Star, Canada
A DE LUNA
Librarian, Paris
RICHARD KEEBLE
City University, London
HACENE HIRECHE
University lecturer, Paris
JMV HILLS
Teacher, Norfolk
DONALD FRISCHMANN
Texas Christian University, USA
FRANK M LUECKE
Editor, Cameron Herald, USA
FAWZIAH AL-BAKR
Journalist, London
LANDON WHITE
US
CHRISTINE GEORGE
Everywoman Magazine, London
BARBARA ROGERS
Everywoman Magazine, London
KATHERINE KNORR
Journalist, Paris
STEFANIA GRANI
Solicitor, London
ROBERT FRASER
Editor, London
GEOFFREY BOUTE
Civil Servant, Sheffield
DAVID SPARK
Journalist, London
ROY ISAKSSON
Writer, Sweden
ANTONIO LLUBERES
Revista, Dominican Republic
LAWRENCE ELLIS
Writer, University
WIM ZAAL
Novelist, Amsterdam
JOHAN SOMERWIL
President, Int Publ Ass., Geneva
SIMOPEKKA NORTAMO
Editor, Helsingin Sanomat, Finland
ANNA PYK
Swedish Writers Union Stockholm
ALEX OWUSA KWAKYE
Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
YEHUDA LITANI
Jerusalem Post, Israel
BARTOLOMAUS GRILL
Political editor, Die Zeit, Hamburg

ANC criticises ban on South

LUSAKA — The African National Congress yesterday strongly condemned the banning of the newspaper *South* under media regulations.

A statement released by the ANC in Lusaka said that coming after the banning of the *New Nation* and the threat against other media, the action clearly showed that the Government was completely intolerant of those voices inside South Africa advocating fundamental democratic changes. (327)

The statement said South Africa's rulers hoped it could stop the mass opposition against it by prohibiting the publication of the truth about the country. — Sapa. Star 31/5/88

hawkers can contact Mr Beukes at 880-1175 seven days a week.

JUST HAWKING THE DOGS: Martin Lewis and Derek Beukes (foreground).

Swapo bulletins banned

327

Star 14/5/88

CAPE TOWN — Eight information bulletins produced by Swapo in Luanda are among this week's list of publications banned for distribution, the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday.

The issues banned are those of November 1983, April, June, October, and December 1986, and January, February and May 1987.

A publications committee has prohibited possession of "The Hot 'n Healthy Times" (Eroticus Publications, San Francisco), and a 1986-1987 catalogue, "Adult goods, sex aids, novelties, lingerie, games etc" (A F Products, Hillbrow).

A committee has decided that "West Africa 28 March 1988" (West Africa Publishing, London) and "Beating Apartheid and Strengthening the Frontline" (ICFTU Press, Brussels) were not undesirable — provided they are made available only in legal deposit and university libraries.

During the past week, 22 films were submitted for examination. Nine of these were unconditionally, and 13 conditionally, approved.

From today it is an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications/objects (name of producer/author in brackets):

Abrecsa — Order of Service, and Abrecsa — June 16 Service (Abrecsa, Braamfontein). The Socialist No 210, March 1988 (International Socialist, Melbourne).

Hammer and sickle flag with Russian colours (not stated). CCCP: Workers of the World Unite — flag (not stated).

Two T-shirts with the words "Undermine their pompous authority" and "Menace me Dennis" (producers not stated). Three T-shirts, one with the letters CCCP, another displaying a hammer and sickle and CCCP, and the third showing a soldier holding a gun with a Russian slogan (producers not stated).

Care newsletter No 85 1987 November/December (Care Newsletter, Australia). Sharpeville 21 March 1960, Sharpeville Day Is Ours — pamphlet (Defend UDF Committee).

T-shirt, Sayco Salutes Isitwalandwe, Govan Mbeki, Freedom or Death — Victory Is Certain (not stated). Tranz No 18, No 20 and No 32 (Swish Publications, London).

Happy Sex, Spass am Sex (Dr Maurice Yaffe, Elizabeth Fenwick). Gek Nr 50 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Johannesburg). — Sapa.

D 10 14/5/88

SA Society of Journalists calls on govt to lift bans

327

CAPE TOWN — The Southern Africa Society of Journalists (SASJ) has called on the government to lift the bans on the newspapers, New Nation and South, and to terminate its threats to the media in general.

At its 12th annual congress being held here, the SASJ passed a resolution which noted "with grave concern" the continued enforcement of the state of emergency and accompanying Press curbs.

"The seizing and closure of publications and the detention of individual journalists is a repulsive extension of these curbs.

"These sweeping gags make a mockery of the principles of Press freedom."

The SASJ called on the government to end the state of emergency and to enter into meaningful negotiations with legitimate leaders, many of whom are currently in detention, banned or in exile, about the formation of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

It also called for the release of leaders in detention, the unbanning of popular political movements and the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

The SASJ said the state should "immediately suspend what now appears to be its hidden programme to eliminate all voices of dissent in the country and to allow the media to report freely on issues of importance to the country as a whole or, alternatively, to scrap the arbitrary tests by which its so-called media panel operates and to have this accuracy of publications tested in an impartial court".

The congress also noted "consistent attempts of the government to misinform, disinform, deceive or refuse information to local and foreign newspapers".

It said that, through this approach, journalists unwittingly became instruments of the state's repression.

The congress resolved to urge all journalists to bear this in mind when in receipt of statements from government sources and to treat with "appropriate sceptism and a rigorous spirit of enquiry", the facts contained in the statements.

The congress also resolved to embark on a "high energy campaign" for the immediate release of all journalists and media workers and to draw up a petition to be presented to the state president. — Sapa

Cape Times 14/5/88

Saamstaan: We won't be silenced

A REPRESENTATIVE of the prize-winning newspaper Saamstaan yesterday hid his acceptance speech in a shoe for fear of interception.

Mr Mzukisi Mooi, in Cape Town to receive the 1988 Pringle Award for Saamstaan's "commitment to Press Freedom", last night said he was the only Saamstaan staffer who was still free to travel after a state clampdown on the newspaper and its staff.

In its citation, the SA Society of Journalists noted that each of Saamstaan's staff members had on occasion been detained, the office had been petrol-bombed and that the newspaper had received a gazetted warning of closure or pre-publication censorship.

"The Saamstaan project is the very essence of journalism."

● Jaffer: Press panders to public — Page 3.

Lift gags and stop threats journalists

327

14/5/88

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Southern Africa Society of Journalists, at its 12th annual congress has called on the Government to lift the bans on New Nation and South and to stop its threats to the media in general.

A resolution noted "with grave concern" the continued enforcement of the emergency and accompanying Press curbs.

"The seizing and closure of publications and the detention of individual journalists are a repulsive extension of these curbs," the resolution said.

"These sweeping gags make a mockery of the principles of Press freedom."

The SASJ called on the Government to end the emergency and begin meaningful negotiations with legitimate leaders, many in detention, banned or in exile, about the formation of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It called for the release of leaders in detention, lifting bans on popular political movements and for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

The State should "immediately suspend what now appears to be its hidden programme to eliminate all voices of dissent in the country and to allow the media to report freely on issues of importance to the country as a whole or alternatively to scrap the arbitrary tests by which its so-called media panel operates and to have this accuracy of publications tested in an impartial court".

The congress also noted "consistent attempts of the Government to misinform, disinform, deceive or refuse information to local and foreign newspapers".

It noted that through this approach journalists unwittingly became instruments of the State's repression.

The congress resolved to urge all journalists to bear this in mind when in receipt of statements from government sources and to treat with "appropriate scepticism and a rigorous spirit of inquiry" the truth or otherwise contained in the statements, as they would to all other sources of information.

The congress resolved to embark on a "high-energy campaign" for the immediate release of all journalists and media workers and to draw up a petition to be presented to the President. — Sapa.

Ease Press laws, say publishers

Weekend Argus Reporter

PROMINENT South African book-publishers have urged the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to review and rescind legislation restricting the Press.

In a letter to Mr Botha signed by Claremont publisher David Philip on behalf of 23 directors and spokesmen of publishing firms and university publishers, the group expressed their deep dismay over Press restrictions, especially those placed on the "alternative Press".

"We wish to ensure that you are aware of the seriousness of our concern for the free flow of information in South Africa," the letter said.

"We as book publishers in South Africa regard an injury to the Press as an injury to publishing as a whole.

"The recent restrictions on the media seriously endanger the freedom of the Press and of publishing generally in this country."

The statement of concern was approved by:

Karin Donker, Ad Donker; T V Bulpin, Books of Africa; Lynne Bryer, Chameleon Press; Piet Snyman, Century Hutchinson S A; Malcolm Edwards, Collins Publishers S A; Anita Theron, Heinemann S A; John Allen, Longman Penguin S A; Howard Dalton, Lowry Publishers; Don Nelson, Don Nelson; James Clarke, Oxford University Press S A; David Philip, David Philip; Dorothy Wheeler, Ravan Press; Mothobi Mutloatse, Skotaville Publishers; Basil van Rooyen, Southern Book Publishers; Gerrit Struik, C Struik Publishers and Timmins Publishers; Hans Strydom jun., Hans Strydom Uitgewers; John Miles, Taurus Uitgewers; M Moberly, the University of Natal Press; Professor Ample Coetzee, the University of the Western Cape Publications; Professor Noel Carson, Witwatersrand University Press; Dr Martin Hall, Centre for African Studies at UCT; Professor Peter Vale, Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, and Professor Paul Walters, Institute for the Study of English in Africa.

SA press curbs slated

Star 14/5/88 (327)

SUE LEEMAN

LONDON — There is every reason to believe that the South African Government will continue to do its utmost to conceal news about black resistance and its repressive response, says the censorship watchdog body, Article 19.

To mark the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the London-based organisation has published a report containing an overview of censorship in 50 countries.

The 300-page volume is dedicated to detained *New Nation* editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

In its six-page entry on South Africa, the report says that over many years, "the means have been perfected to circumscribe rights to opinion and expression when these were exercised in any fashion considered seriously to challenge apartheid policies".

It says that "with few exceptions, South Africans who have held or proclaimed opinions considered hostile, and who might command attention or influence, have been victims of virtually every conceivable mode of repression — including political trials, detention, internal exile and prohibition of their writings".

The country's legal system, it says, "comes close to total regulation of the freedom to seek, receive and impart ideas and information, proclaimed in the Universal Declaration".

The report adds the curbs have reduced international media focus on apartheid. "Government leaders are gratified by these sucesses: their belief that unrest and rioting go hand-in-hand with the dissemination of news and the taking of pictures is confirmed."

Cape Times 21/5/88 (323)

Five hurt in Mitchells Plain blast

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

FIVE people, including four children, were hurt last night when a grenade launcher exploded in a Mitchells Plain street.

The launcher had been picked up by a child.

Three of the injured were taken to Groote Schuur Hospital with lacerations caused by flying shrapnel.

The explosion, which occurred about 5.45pm at the corner of Bluegum Road and Broadlands Close, chipped a concrete gutter and sent bits of shrapnel flying metres away, striking at least five bystanders.

Ms Carmen Johnson, 15, of Bluegum Road, said she was watching television when she heard a "very loud" bang.

"I thought the stove had exploded and ran outside to see an elderly woman and two children with bleeding wounds standing on the other side of the road."

Mr Henry Norkee, of Broadlands Close, said he was also watching television when he heard a "big bang" and rushed into the street.

"I immediately phoned the Flying Squad and ambulance when I realized what had happened," he said.

Dozens of police, including Brigadier "Jumbo" de Wall, Divisional Inspector for riot control, arrived on the scene soon afterwards and cordoned off the blast area.

Mrs Anna Coert last night said she had just sent her 13-year-old daughter Bernadette, four-year-old son Craig and domestic servant, Mrs Rebecca Alberts, 50, to fetch her other son, Nathan, 5, who had been playing in the street when the blast occurred.

Major D T Potgieter said the 40mm grenade launcher, apparently dropped or thrown into the road by a child who found it in a nearby park, exploded on impact.

Mrs Coert's children and domestic worker were struck by flying shrapnel while standing at least 10m away.

Two other children, James Petersen, 8, and Morne Damons, 13, were also wounded.

Bernadette Coert was due to be discharged from hospital late last night, but the condition of the other injured could not be established.

THE PRESS UNDER SIEGE / 1

C Press 15/5/88

Govt hits Press again – this time South

(327)

CP Correspondent

IN a self-confessed attempt to beat a likely ban, a special edition of the Cape weekly, *South*, was published on Monday, three days earlier than usual, just hours before the paper was closed for a month.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, announced in a special Government Gazette on Monday that *South* was prohibited from publishing between May 9 and June 10.

At a Press conference, the editor of *South*, Rashid Seria, said although the closure had been expected for some time, it had still come as a shock.

"Not in our wildest dreams did we expect the Minister to act so quickly. At the back of our minds some of us felt he would not promulgate a special Government Gazette today," said Seria.

He said *South* had printed 21 500 copies on Monday, which would probably have to be withdrawn. The newspaper was seeking legal advice on this matter.

South had expected to be closed for three months and had planned accordingly, Seria said.

Editors of major newspapers had been asked to "place" *South* staff on their newspapers for that period.

In an editorial in Monday's edition of *South*, Seria said it was difficult to understand Botha's measures against the alternative Press.

"What is certain is that he wants to eliminate the alternative press," Seria said.

The attacks on the Press appeared to be part of an official onslaught to crush the democratic movement.

"As far as Botha is concerned, we are all part of a plot to legitimise the African National Congress! And nothing is likely to convince him otherwise."

THE PRESS UNDER SIEGE / 2

Editors send Minister joint protest over curbs

AN unprecedented joint protest at "authoritarian action" by the government against the Press has been made by 26 South African newspaper editors in a petition to the Home Affairs Minister, Stoffel Botha.

Editors normally prefer to express their views in their own publications.

The petition, however, is said to represent a basic and common concern at the increasing threat to freedom of the Press and the rights of South Africans.

The petitioners assert the belief that the ministerial banning of *New Nation* and the threat to silence *Weekly Mail* and other publications are authoritarian and against the public interest.

The signatories include Khulu Sibiya, editor of *City Press* and Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan* among editors of most of the country's leading daily and weekly newspapers.

● The full text of the petition reads:

"We, the editors of South African newspapers, are concerned at the mounting political pressure on the Press and ask, in the public interest, that the unnecessary restrictions issued under the emergency regulations be eased.

"We believe the ministerial banning of *New Nation* and the threat to silence *Weekly Mail* and other newspapers and journals are against the national interest. We are opposed to such authoritarian action for the following reasons:

"The public is being deprived of information and viewpoints which all South Africans need if they are to make sensible decisions on vital issues.

"While it is not possible to be aware of every article published, we have no knowledge of any recognised publication that is fomenting violent revolution. If the Minister has any evidence of so serious a crime, we believe he should submit it to the courts for judgment. Such matters affect all of society, and cannot be left to the whim of officials, politicians or parties.

"We believe that the Minister's concern may be less about Press incitement to revolution than about coercing all the media into adopting a uniform attitude – a subservience not in the interest of South Africa.

"Therefore, in the interests of the freedoms, standards and values which all of us, including government, profess to support, we ask that the rule of law be restored."

'Unrest news hidden'

LONDON — There is every reason to believe that the South African Government will continue to do its utmost to conceal news about black resistance — and details of its own repressive response — says the censorship watchdog body *Article 19*.

To mark the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the London-based organisation has just published a major report containing an overview of censorship in 50 countries.

The 300-page volume is dedicated to detained *New Nation* editor, Mr Zweelakhe Sisulu, who is on the international board of *Article 19*.

In its six-page entry on South Africa, the report says that over many years, "the means have been perfected to circumscribe rights to opinion and expression when these were exercised in any fashion considered seriously to challenge apartheid policies.

"With few exceptions, those South Africans who have held or proclaimed opinions considered hostile have been victims of virtually every conceivable mode of repression."

Sowetan 16/5/88

327

Journalists slate press curbs: 'Mockery'

Cape Times 16/5/88

Staff Reporter

JOURNALISTS at the 12th annual congress of the SA Society of Journalists (SASJ) at the weekend criticized the government's media curbs — particularly the banning of newspapers and detention of journalists — as making a "mockery" of press freedom.

A resolution passed by the congress noted "with grave concern" the continued enforcement of the state of emergency and accompanying press curbs.

"The seizing and closure of publications and the detention of individual journalists is a repulsive extension of these curbs," the resolution said.

"These sweeping gags make a mockery of the principles of press freedom."

The SASJ called on the government to end the state of emergency, release detainees and political prisoners and "enter into meaningful negotiations with legitimate leaders about the formation of a non-racial democratic South Africa".

Afrikaans press executives won't condemn Govt clamp

Star 16/5/88 (327)

Own Correspondent

Differences between Afrikaans and English newspaper groups have been thrown into sharp relief by the latest moves in the Government's clampdown on the press.

While every major English-language newspaper has protested against the "authoritarian action" against the press, the chief executives of the two Afrikaans press empires have expressed no opposition to restrictions placed on the so-called alternative media.

Perskor managing director Mr Koos Buitendag declined to comment last week on attempts to muzzle the *Weekly Mail* and other papers.

Mr Buitendag, also president of the Newspaper Press Union, said the question of representations to the Government was a matter for the NPU to decide.

Mr Ton Vosloo, MD of Nasionale Pers which controls the black weekly *City Press*, said he would not be making any approaches to the Government but that the Nasionale Pers position had often been put in past NPU representations.

Commenting on State action against the media, Mr Vosloo said one should be careful about labelling such action as "an assault on press freedom".

The concept of press freedom was not absolute, he said, and its principles were cast at a time and "in circumstances where fair play is still considered a virtue".

"In present-day circumstances one often finds opposition groups take on governments through psychological methods. The established media are often targets for infiltration to obtain various revolutionary goals. We have numerous court findings in this respect," he said.

In a thinly veiled reference to two newspapers already suspended by the Government, *South* and *New Nation*, Mr Vosloo attacked what he called "spurious publications who do not care one whit about press freedom, standards or ethics". He said these foreign-funded "so-called newspapers and so-called press agencies" were invariably part of the same revolutionary onslaught.

In contrast, the MD of Argus Newspapers, Mr Peter McLean, and the acting MD of Times Media Ltd, Mr Roy Paulson, condemned the Government's attempts to "interfere with the free flow of information".

"We object in the strongest terms to the arbitrary closing down of newspapers by ministerial decree," Mr McLean said.

"The subjective way in which the Minister arrives at decisions to ban or warn a paper is anathema to us. If newspapers are thought to be inciting people to violence or endangering the security of the State, then they should be tried in court."

POSER

The staff of *South* have lobbed a prickly poser at the English press barons. They have asked to be taken on by *The Argus* and *Cape Times* during the month the Cape Town paper may not be produced. They say this is an opportunity for the commercial groups to give material, and not only vocal, support to their beleaguered colleagues.

Mr Paulson said that, at best, he could call it as an "interesting suggestion" but felt the motivation was provocative

'Rescind media clamps'

Star 16/5/88

CAPE TOWN — Twenty-three publishers asked the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, on Saturday to rescind the media restrictions. (327)

They said in a letter to Mr Botha: "We as book publishers in South Africa regard an injury to the press as an injury to publishing as a whole.

"The recent restrictions on the media seriously endanger the freedom of the press and of publishing generally in this country and we strongly urge that in the public interest the relevant legislation be reviewed and rescinded," it said.

The letter was endorsed by the managing directors or spokesmen of the following firms: Collins Publishers, Heinemann SA, AD Donker, Books of Africa, Chameleon Press, Century Hutchinson SA, Longman Penguin SA, Lowry Publishers, Don Nelson, Oxford University Press SA, David Phillip, Ravan Press, Skotaville Publishers, Southern Book Publishers, Struik Publishers, Hans Stydom Uitgewers, Taurus Uitgewers, University of Natal Press, Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland Publikasies, Witwatersrand University Press, UCT Centre for African Studies, Rhodes University Institute for Social and Economic Research, and Rhodes University Institute for the Study of English in Africa. — Sapa.

327 B/day 16/5/88

NEWS FOCUS

Union crackdown not panic by State

ALAN FINE

THE SECURITY crackdown against Cosatu and 17 other organisations was not the action of a panic-stricken State. Rather it is part of a considered — if seriously flawed — strategy to resolve SA's political and economic crises.

This is a key assertion in a Cosatu paper — circulated in advance of the special weekend conference as a basis for discussion — which goes some way towards dispelling the "panic-stricken State" and other myths which developed in left-wing organisations during their 1983-1986 heyday.

The paper recognises that events since the imposition of the second state of emergency, culminating in the February bannings, have crucially changed the operating atmosphere and demand a new approach to political activism.

It sees the crackdown as a pre-emptive action designed to limit unions to bread and butter issues, destroy the "democratic movement," and thus mass action, paving the way for measures which, government hopes, will provide for political control without the otherwise necessary shield the emergency gives.

This is necessary, the paper argues, because the emergency has limitations as a permanent weapon of control. Among other things, it alienates the support of important liberal sectors.

Reform measures, it says, include constitutional restructuring at all levels, together with attempts to redress the socio-economic needs (through, for example, selective township upgrading) of some layers of black society.

The State, meanwhile, has evolved a clearer economic direction, with government becoming more concious that its primary role is to serve capital rather than Afrikaner interests.

Hence its moves towards support for the free market, and in particular privatisation, deregulation and possibly a wage freeze. This, the paper says, represents an attack on both the black and the white working class.

(On the question of business and the wage freeze, this appears an overstatement. Most conservative employer organisations have opposed this. It is perhaps more accurate to stress, as is done further on, that most sectors of business have not opposed measures such as the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and the political restrictions on Cosatu, which will shift the balance of bargaining power back towards business and discourage political activities which impact on the bottom line).

Rejected

"Bothanomics," the paper says, is also an attempt to deal with the serious fiscal crisis. But it has rejected doing this by cutting defence spending and ending the extravagances of the tricameral and bantustan systems. It has instead chosen a solution which would cement an alliance with business.

Government's next political step, it argues, is to draw moderates into the system by promoting them as authentic leaders and wooing them through economic upgrading, together with continued repression of the democratic movement.

Thereafter, it predicts, government will move towards negotiations on its own terms. This will include — as but one of a number of groups — the ANC and the democratic movement, whose bargaining position will have been weakened or destroyed through State action.

The paper argues, though, that this strategy is beset by contradictions. The most important is that any attempt to impose a solution which fails to meet democratic standards will be rejected by the majority.

Also, repressive actions generate strong international protest; homeland corruption is costing billions; economic planning is subject to military objectives; the NP is losing electoral support to both the right and the left; and the harsh and unavoidable consequences of privatisation and deregulation will sharpen management/worker conflict.

Nevertheless, it is argued, the use of such carrots together with the stick (like the Chris Ball affair) has made business come to terms with support for government strategy. Business has, for the moment, stopped its search for long-term security and flirtation with extra-parliamentary groups — such as the 1985 meetings with the ANC — it says.

The paper argues that certain structural and strategic shortcomings in Cosatu and other mass organisations have prevented them from responding adequately to the changing situation.

Cosatu, it says, is hampered by divisions within between affiliates, apathy towards Cosatu structures and a lack of openness in political debate whereby alternative views are dismissed through perjorative labelling.

Open debate should be encouraged — on the basis of support for and loyalty to Cosatu and the UDF.

A broad weakness of the democratic movement as a whole, it adds, is that it has concentrated its energies on high-profile political campaigns at the expense of concerted grassroots organisational work.

'No adapted'

"The declaration of the state of emergency drastically changed conditions ... but we have not adapted effectively ... We cannot respond by blind defiance based on the view that the State is panic-stricken and all that is needed is a big push. Nor can we respond by saying the State's power is unassailable, that it has no weaknesses," the paper says.

It argues that the primary task is the building of organisation. Such work need not be overtly political, and intervention in issues such as religion, sport, health, housing, unemployment and education is vital. A failure to do so, it argues, will bolster those moderate groups which do take an interest.

And, it concludes, the restrictions on Cosatu and the bannings of other organisations means much of the responsibility for these tasks rests with the unions within Cosatu.

Sunday paper reprimanded

(327)

DID 6/5/88

CAPE TOWN — The South African Media Council has reprimanded the Sunday Times for breaching the council's Code of Conduct in reports on March 20 and March 27 on an alleged ANC terrorist, Mr Heinrich Grosskopf.

An investigating quorum of the council met here on May 5 to examine complaints by Mr Grosskopf's father, Professor H. J. Grosskopf of Stellenbosch, against the newspaper.

The Sunday paper was reprimanded for breaching clauses 2.1 (which states the media shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively) and 2.2 (which states news shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from the facts).

The paper was required "at the earliest possible moment" to carry prominently on the front page the following report:

"On May 5, 1988 the media council considered two complaints by Prof H. Grosskopf against the Sunday Times with reference to reports concerning his son, Heinrich.

"The report of 20 March 1988 described his son, inter alia, as a 'cool and deadly terrorost' and an 'ANC killer hunted by the police for Thursday's car-bomb attack at Krugersdorp'.

"The report of 27 March, 1988 implied that Prof Grosskopf had, via the medium of scribbled notes and a letter, been in contact with his son.

"The media council concluded that the Sunday Times' reports in question constituted flagrant and reprehensible breaches of clauses 2.1 and 2.2 of the Code of Conduct.

"The first report sensationally presented as fact the above highly damaging allegations concerning complainant's son as though they constituted the established truth whereas at the time of publication they were speculative in their nature.

"No evidence of this truth was presented to the council.

"With reference to the second report of 27 March, 1988, also, an inaccurate report was carried which could readily have been avoided upon a simple enquiry. The council reprimanded the Sunday Times."

Sketching the background of the first complaint the council said the paper's editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh had drafted an apology which was published on the second page of the March 27 issue of the paper.

Prof Grosskopf refused to accept the apology and lodged a second complaint and the matter was taken to the council. — Sapa

Newspapers will move underground — editor

Star 16/5/88 (3.27)

DURBAN — The Government is pushing the alternative press underground, says the editor of the banned Cape newspaper *South*, which the Government has shut down for a month.

Editor Mr Rashid Seria last week predicted the development of a "suitcase press" which would print news using primitive equipment that could be carried in a suitcase.

The Government would then find it virtually impossible to control the flow of news, Mr Seria said.

"The State has closed all options for non-violent protest in this country and it is now doing the same with the 'alternative' press, making it impossible for us to survive on an institutionalised basis.".

"We are either going to be forced out of business or the country will see a situation where publications are going to flourish underground, as happened in the '50s," he said.

South operated from hi-tech offices below Table Mountain using all the advances the electronic age had brought. If it were killed, the new publications that would take its place would probably resort to outdated production methods, Mr Seria said.

The Cape paper, which claims to have a circulation of 12 000, is the latest publication to feel the Government's wrath.

Its banning follows the suspension of *New Nation*. The *Weekly Mail*, *Grassroots* and *Saamstaan* are other newspapers that fear closure.

South became a mouthpiece of extra-parliamentary opposition in the Cape and fought against the State's clamp on news, consistently publishing

Own Correspondent

reports about issues that mainstream newspapers considered too hot to touch.

In the latest issue, pulled off the streets last week, it discussed the ANC's draft constitutional guidelines, debated whether hangings would deter the ANC and focused on news of detainees held under the state of emergency.

Mr Seria is pessimistic about the newspaper's future after its suspension by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha. Mr Seria fears the ban could be renewed indefinitely or that the Minister might streamline the banning process to make it easier for him to act more swiftly against newspapers.

"We cannot go from one banning to another; it is impossible to work under such conditions. The whole process is designed to demoralise.

"But irrespective of repression and attempts to crush us, we will come back again and fight after a lull."

The staff is preparing for its next edition, on June 10, which is two days before the state of emergency is expected to be renewed.

Call for international pressure against Govt

This crowd of slogan chanters were among the 1 400 Congress of SA Trade Unions members who were in Johannesburg to map out a response to the Government's clampdown on apartheid opposition. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Cosatu shows defiant attitude

Star 16/5/88

(327)

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

Leaders of South Africa's biggest labour federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), at the weekend called for greater mobilisation of anti-apartheid forces and more international pressure on the South African Government.

The occasion was Cosatu's special congess, held in Johannesburg in response to recent State action against Cosatu and other anti-apartheid organisations.

Addressing more than 1 400 delegates, Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi said despite repressive measures by the Government, the mood of the oppressed remained "unbroken".

He rejected the Government's reform and repression strategies as "calculated to perpetuate its infamous rule over us".

"The tinkerings with the system have never touched the foundations of the apartheid system. The issues of the land and political rights of the majority remain unaddressed," said Mr Barayi.

He called on "those who want peace and security, but are not as yet sure of our intentions, to look forward to the future in terms of ... the Freedom Charter".

Government plans to privatise the social services and freeze public sector wages were an attempt "to shirk the responsibility of subsidising the health service" and to find money "to finance (its) all-consuming military adventures".

Describing the South African conflict as "a matter for global concern", Mr Barayi said the Government had "irrevocably lost the battle for the soul of the international community".

"How many more lives do we have to lose before those in Washington and London realise that (President) Botha has gone too far?" asked Mr Barayi.

Addresing the gathering, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the State had intensified repression in response to "growing unity among democratic forces".

Attacks on Cosatu and democracy in general raised the need for the building of "a broader working class unity under the banner of Cosatu", said Mr Naidoo.

The task of organised labour, he added, was to "turn the militant mood of our people into democratic mass organisation".

Mail editors discuss ban with Minister

CAPE TOWN — Attorneys acting for *The Weekly Mail* and the newspaper's co-editors, Mr Irwin Manoim and Mr Anton Harber, had an hour-long meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Cape Town yesterday.

The Weekly Mail faces action under the emergency press curbs.

Mr Harber said in a short statement it was an informal discussion in a cordial atmosphere.

"Each side put its point of view and the matter was left at that," Mr Harber said.

Cosatu calls for 3 days of protest

Star 17/5/84

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

The Congress of SA Trade Unions has reacted to the Government's clampdown on anti-apartheid groups by calling for three days of "peaceful protest" next month.

The decision was one of several taken at a special Cosatu congress in Johannesburg at the weekend. About 1 500 delegates representing up to a million workers attended the congress.

PROTEST

In a statement Cosatu said it had chosen June 6, 7 and 8 as days of peaceful protest. The resolution on the matter "reiterated Cosatu's commitment to struggle for the basic human rights of members" in all spheres of life.

The congress was called in response to the Government's restriction of Cosatu from "political" activity and the effective banning of 17 anti-apartheid organisations in February.

DECISIONS

Other decisions included that:

- A conference of "a broad range of anti-apartheid organisations, which believe in non-racialism and democracy" be called to facilitate unity against "apartheid repression". It would be based on "disciplined mandates, democracy and free and open debate".

PROGRAMME

- Cosatu commits itself to a "concerted programme of action" against the February restrictions and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill through workplace demonstrations every Tuesday and making approaches to managements.
- That a declaration be adopted reaffirming Cosatu's opposition to 40 years of National Party rule.

attempted murder, two of robbery, four of assaults and intimidation. They have pleaded not guilty.

SOME of the delegates who attended the Congress of South African Trade Unions' special congress at the Wits University at the weekend. Pic: VUSI MANYONI

According to the charge sheet, those who were abducted and later murdered are Mr Joseph Mulaudzi, Mr John Sebopelo, Mr Petrus Moremane and Mr Jerry Goodman.

Mr Phuluwa said he did not participate in the strike. He said he was kidnapped by a group of men at Bosmont railway station where he was a barrier attendant. The men had alighted from a train to Randfontein on the night of April 28 last year.

Accused

He said one of the men, Mr William Rikhotso, an accused, told him: "We've got you mpimpi". He said he did not answer. Among the group of men was Mr Isaac Mogorosi (30), Mr Freddie Mothisi (30), Mr David Maphanga (25), Mr Jacob Mmatloa (33), Mr Michael Ikageng, all of them among the accused. There were other men he

• To Page 2

(327) Sowetan 17/5/88

Cosatu protest call

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has called for three days of "national peaceful protest" against restrictions imposed on it and the banning of 17 community organisations.

This was one of the resolutions taken by more than 1 500 delegates who attended Cosatu's special conference at the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend.

The days earmarked for the "national protest" are June 6, 7 and 8.

The Cosatu delegates also resolved to support the call for a "broad range of anti-apartheid organisations which believe in non-racialism and democracy".

This conference would work on the basis of "disciplined mandates, democracy and free and open debate". The participants would commit themselves to a

To Page 2

Sowetan 17/5/88

Cosatu protest call

(327)

• From Page 1

concerted programme of action against the restrictions and the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Bill through:

• To take the matter up with managements, warning them of "the grave threat to industrial relations".

The congress also adopted a resolution which reiterated Cosatu's commitment "to struggle for the basic human rights of our members in every sphere as reflected in our policy resolutions".

Cosatu noted that the Government was "maneuvering out of weakness, as it battles against deep economic problems and the general lack of political support from the people".

The proposed labour legislation has been criticised by dozens of trade unions and labour experts as seeking to erode workers' rights won over the past 10 years.

DD 17/5/88 (327)

US questions bannings

CAPE TOWN — The banning of the New Nation and South, and the threats of suspension facing five other publications, represents a "distressing escalation" in the suppression of the free flow of information and ideas in South Africa.

The United States Embassy in Cape Town said that "the effect of these closures — and of the general process of arbitrary censorship — is a systematic stifling of non-violent dissent".

"In the end, it is South Africa which ultimately suffers. An ill-informed public and a compliant and conformist press cannot serve the nation in its need to confront the critical problems that face the country." — DDC

Cosatu discusses govt bannings

(327)

DD 17/5/88

JOHANNESBURG — A Cosatu statement released yesterday said that a resolution adopted at the weekend congress to discuss the banning and restrictions on various organisations re-iterated Cosatu's commitment to "struggle for the basic human rights of our members in every sphere".

The congress was attended by 1 500 delegates representing one million signed-up members.

According to the statement, Cosatu would "support the call for a conference of a broad range of anti-apartheid organisations which believe in non-racialism and democracy and which will unite against apartheid repression.

"This conference will work on the basis of disciplined mandates, democracy and free and open debate to commit ourselves to a concerted programme of action against the restrictions and the LRA (Labour Relations Amendment Bill)."

Cosatu said it would pursue the issue with management, warning them of the grave threat to industrial relations and giving them notice that worker militancy around legitimate demands won't be curbed.

"But workers and the majority of people remain steadfast and determined to end apartheid and exploitation and to establish a truly democratic order in our country," the statement added. — Sapa

Sowetan 17/5/88

Curbs not opposed

327

DIFFERENCES between Afrikaans and English newspaper groups have been thrown into sharp relief by the latest moves in the Government's clampdown on the press.

While every major English-language newspaper has protested against the "authoritarian action" against the Press, the chief executives of the two Afrikaans Press empires have expressed no opposition to restrictions placed on the so-called alternative media.

Perskor managing director, Mr Koos Buitendag declined to comment last week on attempts to muzzle the *Weekly Mail* and other papers.

Mr Buitendag, also president of the Newspaper Press Union, said the question of representations to the Government was a matter for the NPU to decide.

Mr Ton Vosloo, MD of Nasionale Pers, which controls the black weekly, *City Press*, said he would not be making any approaches to the Government but that the Nasionale Pers position had often been put in past NPU representations.

Commenting on State action against the media, Mr Vosloo said one should be careful about labelling such action as "an assault on Press freedom."

The concept of Press freedom was not absolute, he said, and its principles were cast at a time and "in circumstances where fair play is still considered a virtue."

"In present-day circumstances one often finds opposition groups take on governments through psychological methods. The established media are often targets for infiltration to obtain various revolutionary goals. We have numerous court findings in this respect," he said.

In a thinly veiled reference to two newspapers already suspended by the Government, *South* and *New Nation*, Mr Vosloo attacked what he called "spurious publications who do not care one whit about Press freedom, standards of ethics."

He said these foreign-funded "so-called newspapers and so-called Press agencies" were invariably part of the same revolutionary onslaught.

In contrast, the MD of Argus Newspapers, Mr Peter McLean, and the acting MD of Times Media Ltd., Mr Roy Paulson, condemned the Government's attempts to "interfere with the free flow of information."

"We object in the strongest terms to the arbitrary closing down of newspapers by ministerial decree," Mr McLean said.

"The subjective way in which the Minister arrives at decisions to ban or warn a paper is anathema to us. If newspapers are thought to be inciting people to violence or endangering the security of the State, then they should be tried in court."

The staff of *South* have lobbed a prickly poser at the English Press barons. They have asked to be taken on by *The Argus* and *Cape Times* during the month the Cape Town paper may not be produced. They said this is an opportunity for the commercial groups to give material, and not only vocal support to their beleaguered colleagues.

Mr Paulson said that, at best, he could call it as an "interesting suggestion" but felt the motivation was provocative.

NEWSMEN IN TALKS WITH BOTHA

Sowetan 17/5/88

327

ATTORNEYS acting for the *Weekly Mail* and the newspaper's co-editors, Mr Irwin Manoim and Mr Anton Harber, had an hour-long meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Cape Town yesterday.

The Weekly Mail faces action under the emergency press curbs.

Mr Harber said in a short statement it was an informal discussion in a cordial atmosphere.

"Each side put its point of view and the matter was left at that," Mr Harber said.

"No undertakings were asked for or given by either side and the discussions were off the record." — Sapa.

Cape Times 18/5/88 (327)

SADF backed up police raids

MEMBERS of the Defence Force's Stellenbosch Commando were used to support the police in the raid on hostels in the Kaya Mandi Township near Stellenbosch on March 26, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said yesterday.

Mr Breytenbach, who was replying to a question from Mr Jan van Eck (Independent, Claremont), said the police requested the participation of the Stellenbosch Commando members to perform tasks in support of the police.

The Commando members were issued with personal weapons.

Govt threatens to act against 'media terrorists'

327

Star 19/5/88

Political Staff

The Government yesterday mounted a double-barrelled attack on sections of the media.

In the House of Representatives the Government's censor-in-chief, **Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha**, continued his attack on the so-called alternative press, branding some sections as "media terrorists".

In the House of Assembly **Defence Minister Magnus Malan** reopened the debate on the "public's right to know" by scolding sections of the press for not paying sufficient attention to the security of the SADF and the country.

He accused the media of being interested solely in circulation figures — selling and buying news as a product — while the SADF was concerned with the security of the country and the family and friends of its personnel.

Mr Botha fired his opening shots by accusing sections of the press of being more concerned about the concept of "press freedom" rather than the existence and effect of publications which promoted subversion and revolution.

Intimidation

It was stated, he said, that action taken by the Government "against subversive and revolutionary publications" violated democratic principles.

"Should the Government, in the name of democracy, allow fear, hatred, intimidation, murder, mutilation and other similar evils to be furthered by certain publications?"

Claims made by newspaper editors that the suspension of newspapers under emergency measures was actually promoting revolution by fostering resistance, were devoid of truth, Mr Botha said.

The regulations deal with "inciting thoughts which threaten the security of our country", he said.

If the suppression of the publications led to subversive resistance, the Government would have to take further action.

"The Government simply cannot allow itself to be coerced by the argument that by suppressing one evil, another will arise in its place."

Mr Botha said the primary aim of revolutionaries was to gain support for the violent overthrow of the existing order.

In their efforts to achieve publicity for their thoughts and deeds, particularly acts of terrorism, they had collaborators whom Mr Botha referred to as media terrorists.

He claimed it was an acknowledged fact worldwide that planned acts of terrorism, such as bomb blasts, were often leaked to certain members of the media.

He also objected to certain newspapers presenting terrorists as freedom fighters or guerillas.

Mr Botha suggested that fear and anxiety had increased as a result of incidents of intimidation being given publicity.

He said certain newspapers were carrying the false message that the days of established order in South Africa were numbered, and that the true implications of communism were not being spelt out.

Mr Botha said elements within and outside the press were incorrectly trying to create the impression that the Government and newspapers in general were in conflict.

"The Government is not in conflict with newspapers which do not accept the existing order in South Africa but are convinced it should be reformed peacefully."

304

Cape Times

327

sday, May 19, 1988 ★

Southern Africa 'a swamp' of spies

Political Staff

SOUTHERN AFRICA had become a "swamp" of espionage with its own rules and morality, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

It was the "grey world" of intelligence agents in which South Africa was forced to participate for its own security.

Speaking during the debate on the Defence budget, General Malan said South Africa reserved the right to strike back at ANC guerillas in their hiding places in neighbouring countries.

But, below the level of official government action, where the SADF acknowledged and announced when it had carried out cross-border strikes, "lies the level of international espionage operations".

"Southern Africa has become a swamp of international agents from Western and communist secret services.

"It is a grey world about which John Citizen only hears — a world with its own rules," he said.

South Africa was forced, unwillingly, by its enemies to participate in this "world".

"But, you must not expect the government to talk publicly about these matters.

"It would endanger peoples' lives. Our whole information flow depends on people who are prepared to work with us.

"It enable us to identify the ANC, its living quarters and its routes, among others, through Zimbabwe," General Malan said.

It had also enabled the SADF to identify the Cuban advances in Angola but people should not expect the government to go into detail about these things.

In spite of apparent attempts to find peaceful solutions to "conflict situations" the Kremlin had clearly bound itself to expanding its field of influence through covert means. These included propaganda, misinformation, agents, bribery and secret financial aid.

Stoffel Botha lashes out at 'resistance art' in SA

Star 19/5/88

(327)

Resistance art in South Africa — in the form of plays, popular theatre, recitals and music — was aimed at fostering a spirit of revolt, **Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha** said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Speaking in the budget debate on his vote, he said people, under the banner of art and literary merits, wanted to bypass the Publications Act.

This was an attack on the interests which the Act was intended to protect, namely the morality, religion and dignity of South Africans and the safety of the State.

In certain communities, spontaneous theatre was used to agitate the audience.

He said: "When the show ends, the audience is so emotionally charged that they will not calm down before everything in the vicinity, from buildings to cars and even other people, have been attacked."

It was impossible to control this form of theatre.

Mr Botha added: "It should never be doubted that it is a matter of great importance for the State to protect the spiritual and moral welfare of the community, and to maintain the necessary equilibrium between the freedom of the individual and the interests of the community."

He said the State would not interfere with the moral function of parents, educationists and the Church — but it would defend and protect proper Christian norms acknowledged by all population and religious groups. — Sapa.

Botha hits at 'media terrorists'

(327)

Star 19/5/88

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Further action against the media could be taken by the Government following the latest verbal onslaught against newspapers by two senior Cabinet Ministers, opposition politicians fear.

Two senior Cabinet Ministers attacked South African newspapers during debates in Parliament yesterday.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha accused sections of the media of being "media terrorists" by helping the African National Congress in its objective of violent revolution.

He also warned that the Government could not allow itself to be coerced by the argument that by suppressing one evil, another would rise in its place.

Mr Botha said: "Let me make it clear: Should the suppression of inciting thought lead to subversive resistance, as is claimed, the Government would also have to take action."

The opinions of people who did not share the Government's point of view were not being curtailed, he said.

He is expected to especially deal with the Media Council and its powers and activities with regard to the "subversive menace" in the media.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan yesterday said the media was interested in circulation figures while the Defence Force was protecting the security of the country.

He criticised what he termed the quality of information and not the quantity. Not enough publicity was given to such things as the objectives of the ANC and its links with communism, he said.

A Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, Mr Peter Soal, said today he found the latest attacks on the media deeply disturbing.

Government's press curbs come under fire

(327) Star 19/8/88

If the Government were on the right reform track, it would not be banning newspapers, *Mr Charlie Green (LP, Haarlem)* said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

In the budget debate on Home Affairs he said the Government professed to support the democratic principals of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

But, every time there was an emergency, the first to suffer were certain critical newspapers.

The policy was to eliminate people on newspapers who informed the community as to what the Government was doing or who praised extra-parliamentary organisations.

The Government had haunted newspapers ever since it came to power.

He said no matter how many papers were banned, the people would still search for freedom. — Sapa.

Newspaper banning: 'It's their choice'

(327)

Star 19/5/88

The decision on whether or not the *Weekly Mail* newspaper would be banned rested with its editors, **Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha** said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Replying in the budget debate on his vote to Mr Charlie Green (LP Haarlem), who asked him whether he was going to ban the newspaper, Mr Botha said he hoped it would not be necessary to take further action. Sapa.

Cape Times 19/5/88

Stoffel: Claims are untrue

Political Staff

CLAIMS by newspaper editors that the temporary suspension of newspapers promoted revolution by fostering resistance among those who contended they had a valid viewpoint were devoid of truth, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

He said during the debate on his vote in the House of Respresentatives that he knew of, but had not yet received the petition by 26 newspaper editors.

"There are editors who maintain that the temporary suspension of newspapers affected by the emergency measures, promotes revolution by fostering resistance among those who contend they hold a valid viewpoint which is being suppressed.

"This is devoid of truth. The opinions of people who do not share the government's viewpoint are not being curtailed," Mr Botha said.

Cape Times 19/5/88

Government slams 'media terrorists'

327

Political Staff

"MEDIA terrorists", people who provided publicity for revolutionaries, spread the message of revolutionaries and provided publicity for acts of terrorism, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

Revolutionaries needed publicity for the thoughts and deeds, particularly acts of terrorism such as motorcar bombs and the tossing of grenades into private homes, especially the homes of those who upheld the law, he said during the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives.

"It is an acknowledged fact worldwide that planned acts of terrorism such as bomb blasts are often leaked to certain members of the media, especially in television, in order to obtain the maximum possible publicity.

"I want to take it a step further. Have you noticed that certain newspapers present terrorists as "freedom fighters" or "guerillas", rather than the perpetrators of political violence seeking publicity.

"Do you find that people are sometimes indoctrinated in favour of the communist ideology without all its true implications being spelled out?"

A clear understanding of what is going on in South Africa is important.

Minister on 'action' against newspapers

Cape Times 19/5/88

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday he hoped it would not be necessary to take action against the Weekly Mail but stressed that it was up to the newspaper's editors not to transgress the prohibition against propaganda.

He was replying in the House of Representatives to Labour Party MPs Mr Charlie Green (Haarlem) and Mr Sam Louw (Rus Ter Vaal), who had attacked Mr Botha for banning the New Nation and South.

Mr Green also challenged him directly to say whether he was going to ban the Weekly Mail.

Mr Botha said: "There is a specific prohibition in regard to propaganda. If editors continue to publish things prohibited in terms of the regulations, they take the decision into their own hands."

In his speech, Mr Green said it was Mr Botha's policy to eliminate all newspapers which informed the public.

"Who are its victims? They are newspapers that circulate in the townships."

The newspapers which reported on extra-parliamentary organizations were getting into hot water.

"As soon as they criticize the government, they risk being banned. If a newspaper says 'apartheid is unchristian', it has had it".

Every time the government imposed an emergency, the first people to suffer were the newspapers.

"This party believes in the absolute freedom of the press," Mr Green said.

"We know that a newspaper cannot overthrow the government of day.

"The people have a right to know what is happening. They want to read New Nation and South and they want to read the Weekly Mail.

"Irrespective of how many newspapers you close down, the people were still struggle for freedom."

Cape Times 19/5/88

Stoffel attacks protest artwork

Political Staff

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday lashed out at "resistance art" and said the government would defend and protect "proper morals" with all available means.

Under the banner of art and literary merits, the creators of resistance art wanted to bypass the Publications Act and attack morality, religion, the dignity of sections of the inhabitants, relations between inhabitants and the safety of the state, Mr Botha said.

Speaking in the debate on his Vote in the House of Representatives Mr Botha said another form of resistance art was "biting satire in which an attack is launched on personalities and specific aspects of the "establishment".

"The purpose is obviously to make the viewer critical of the existing order and to create a spirit of general dissatisfaction and even revolt," he said.

The state, as well as the bodies concerned with publications control, had noted the new tendency with concern.

The state will "with all its available means, defend and protect the proper morals and customs namely those morals and customs acknowledge and accepted by the all the population and religious groups in our community in the comprehensive indication of a "proper Christian norm"," Mr Botha said.

(327) B/day 19/5/88

PARLIAMENT

Malan: Mugabe will foster SA revolution

THE Mugabe government would strengthen and extend its support for SA revolutionaries, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

He said SA should have no illusions about the matter.

He said SA wanted to see the subcontinent removed from the East-West power play and did not want to prescribe a political formula for Angola.

"We expect the Soviet Union to show some flexibility on this issue. It can no longer afford to underwrite the conflict that has developed around a pro-Moscow MPLA government."

Reconciliation was imperative in Angola to end internal tensions.

Dealing with conflicts in southern Africa, Malan singled out Zimbabwe and said terrorist acts which could be traced back to that country had increased by 52% in 1987, measured against 1986.

"Added to this are a large number of terror acts which cannot be traced to a specific country, many of which originate in Zimbabwe," he said.

"It should be noted that one of the serious implications of the Broederstroom discovery of advanced weapons is the evidence that these weapons were brought in through Zimbabwe and Botswana."

On freedom of information, Malan said an informed public was a responsible public and there was nothing wrong with the right to know, but a balance had to be maintained between the need for information and security interests of the country and its people.

He said: "The public's right to know can never threaten the soldier's or the public's lives and security".

Protecting the security of the public and the country was priority No 1 and information which might damage the county or its people, or give the enemy an advantage, was diametrically opposed to this.

Malan said it appeared many SA journalists could not wait for the Angolan, Mozambican and Zimbabwean news agencies to send their propaganda stories into the world.

"The media makes a business out of news, but the SADF does not. For the SADF there is no profit motive and sales figures are not involved."

This was why the SADF did not intend to enter a news competition with propaganda organs like Aim, Angop and Ziana. — Sapa.

'Media terrorists spread revolution'

PEOPLE who spread the messag of revolutionaries and provided publicity for acts of terrorism were "media terrorists", Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives, he said revolutionaries needed publicity for their thoughts and deeds, particularly acts of terrorism such as car bombings and throwing hand grenades into private homes.

He said it was acknowledged worldwide that planned acts of terrorism were often leaked to the media for maximum publicity.

Botha asked whether MPs found that in certain newspapers "revolutionaries are presented in a variety of ways aimed at promoting their acceptance by the public".

Botha said that for those who understood the part played by the alternative revolutionary Press in the onslaught against the established order in SA, "the reasons for the action taken by the government to combat such revolutionary propaganda, must also be evident".

Weekly Mail ban 'up to the editors'

Political Staff

HOME Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday he hoped it would not be necessary to take action against the Weekly Mail but stressed it was up to the newspaper's editors not to transgress the prohibition against propaganda.

He was speaking in the House of Representatives after two Labour Party MPs, Charlie Green (Haarlem) and Sam Louw (Rus ter Vaal), attacked him for banning the New Nation and South. Green also challenged him directly to say whether he would ban the Weekly Mail.

"If the editors decide to publish the matters in this document (the prohibition on propaganda), they will have taken the decision into their own hands," Botha said.

Green said it was Botha's policy to eliminate all newspapers which informed the public.

● BOTHA

He said government's actions against newspapers also challenged the intelligence of the people who read them.

"If they are busy with reform, they don't ban newspapers."

Botha said claims by newspaper editors that the temporary suspension of newspapers promoted revolution by fostering resistance among those who contended they had a valid viewpoint were devoid of truth.

He said he had not yet received the petition by 26 newspaper editors protesting against the prohibition on newspapers, but he had read about the petition.

Notice of motion for probe into corruption

NOTICE was given in the House of Delegates yesterday by NPP Chief Whip Mahomed Baid of a motion to be moved on June 16 that President P W Botha appoint a commission of inquiry into the administration of all four departments of the House with regard to corruption claims.

It should investigate all aspects of the administration of the departments of Education and Culture, Budgetry and Auxiliary Services, Health Services and Welfare, and Local Government, Housing and Administration, "with particular reference to the allegations of maladministration, irregularities and corruption made in this House from time to time". — Sapa.

Resistance art fosters spirit of revolt — minister

RESISTANCE art in SA in the form of plays, popular theatre, recitals and music was aimed at fostering a spirit of revolt, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Speaking in the budget debate on his vote, he said people wanted to bypass the Publications Act under the banner of art and literary merit.

This was an attack on the interests which the Act was intended to protect, namely the morality, religion and dignity of South Africans and the safety of the state. In certain communities, spontaneous theatre was used to agitate the audience.

"When the show ends, the audience is so emotionally charged that they will not calm down before everything in the vicinity, from buildings to cars and even other people, has been attacked," he said. It was impossible to control this form of theatre.

Another form of resistance art was biting satire aimed at making the viewer critical of the existing order and at creating a spirit of general dissatisfaction and even revolt.

Recitals by so-called national artists at which freedom songs were sung, and which could lead to an emotionally explosive situation, were becoming prevalent, he said. — Sapa.

DAILY DISPATCH, THURSD

Stoffel attacks media terrorism

D/D 19/5/88

By BARRY STREEK

327

MR BOTHA

CAPE TOWN — "Media terrorists", people who provide publicity for revolutionaries, spread the message of revolutionaries and provide publicity for acts of terrorism, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

Revolutionaries needed publicity for the thoughts and deeds, particularly acts of terrorism such as car bombs and the tossing of hand-grenades into private homes, especially the homes of those who upheld the law, he said during the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives.

"It is an acknowledged fact world-wide that planned acts of terrorism such as bomb blasts are often leaked to certain members of the media, especially in television, in order to obtain the maximum possible publicity.

"I want to take it a step further. Have you noticed that certain newspapers present terrorists as 'freedom fighters' or 'guerillas', rather than the perpetrators of political violence seeking publicity.

"Do you find that revolutionaries are presented in ways aimed at promoting their acceptance by the public?

"Do you find that people are sometimes indoctrinated in favour of the communist ideology without all its true implications being spelled out?"

A clear understanding of what was going on in South Africa was important, he said.

"Do members find that fear and anxiety have increased as a result of incidents of intimidation given special publicity by newspapers?

"Do they find that in certain newspapers, there are recurrent allegations, sometimes put subtly and sometimes blatantly, carrying the message that the days of the established order in South Africa are numbered or that the country is succumbing to the violent onslaught of the ANC and South African Communist Party?"

Those who understood this had a good understanding of the nature and extent of the part played by the alternative revolutionary press in the onslaught against the established order in South Africa.

"If they understand this, then the reasons for the action taken by the government to combat such revolutionary propaganda, must also be evident to them."

The government was not in conflict with newspapers which accepted the existing order in South Africa but were for peaceful reform.

"We should not allow ourselves to be misled by revolutionary propaganda," Mr Botha said.

Tribute to court bomb victims

Star 20/5/88

Today a year ago four policemen were killed in car bomb explosions outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court — exactly four years to the day after the Pretoria bomb blast killed 19 people.

A memorial service will be held at the Bezuidenhout Street entrance of the magistrate's court today to pay tribute to the men who were killed in the explosion last year.

The service, organised by Victims Against Terrorism, will be attended by Johannesburg's mayor, Mr Jan van Blerk and mayors and community leaders from both towns. Family members of the victims will be present when a plaque is unveiled.

The policemen killed were Constable Kobus Wilkens (26), Constable Weyers Botha (20), Constable Andre Duvenhage (26) and Constable Christoffel Botha (22).

Police spokesmen said the car bomb had been detonated with [illegible] blast scene with an [illegible] kie-talkie. It was the first time this sophisticated equipment had been used in South Africa.

The ANC claimed responsibility for the blasts.

Indifference also to blame for clamps — editor

Star 20/5/88

MUNICH — The Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, yesterday blamed public indifference partly for the increasing Government pressure on the South African press.

In an interview on Vatican Radio in Rome Mr Tyson said that the South African press had "never been as threatened as it is now".

"When the *New Nation* was closed, the outcry was not very great. It was from some of us in the press, but not from many others, from other people."

The result was that other papers had been closed, he said. "Now we have more under threat, even establishment newspapers such as my own have had warnings, not official warnings but unofficial . . . so the threat is great."

The interview with Mr Tyson, who was in Rome to attend an international conference of newspaper publishers and editors, was carried by Vatican Radio, monitored in Munich. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

SUNNY THE WEATHER

Press watchdog plan appears set

Star 20/5/84 (327)

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government appears set on pushing through legislation to establish a statutory body to discipline the media despite of a storm of protest against new moves affecting press freedom.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has stirred up a hornet's nest with his announcement yesterday of his support for the statutory body.

The Minister told Parliament yesterday he would be discussing the matter with the NPU.

Mr Botha explained in an interview today that he was not trying to get the Media Council to deal with what the Government views as the "revolutionary supportive press"; he said he would do this.

He said he had no problem with the conventional media as far as revolutionary propaganda went, because these newspapers gave both sides of the story.

His complaint about the Media Council was that it did not properly uphold its own code of conduct.

He said he received complaints from the public about reports on which no action had been taken.

The Media Council, he said, should be policing its own code to ensure members adhered to it.

Mr Justice L de V van Winsen, chairman of the Media Council, said the council would be seeing Mr Botha to discuss the alternative media.

"The Minister feels the Media Council is not playing enough of a supervisory role and it should be more active in seeking out contraventions, rather than waiting for public complaints.

"The Media Council, by contrast, sees itself in a more judicial role of settling complaints brought to it by the public. We cannot be a prosecutor and a judge at the same time," he said.

Mr Peter Soal, a PFP media spokesman, said there was no absolutely no reason why the Government should not take any editor or newspaper to court in terms of the common law of the country.

"The Government must keep its hand off the press," he said.

Temporary reprieve for Sowetan

Star 20/5/88 (327)

Political Staff

The *Sowetan* newspaper appears to have received a temporary stay of execution following an announcement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Parliament that he was not considering further action against this publication "at present".

In the same breath, Mr Botha also criticised newspaper editors,particularly those in the Argus Group and Times Media Limited,who had signed a petition protesting against the banning of *New Nation* and *South*.

The letter accompanying the editors' petition sounded very like the thinking of Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Tian van der Merwe and Claremont independent MP Mr Jan van Eck, said Mr Botha.

He said he was concerned that these senior newspaper people did not understand the import of the media regulations in the light of the "revolutionary onslaught".

Mr Botha said he had had no reasons to date to publish an official warning to the *Sowetan*.

Mr Botha gave the House a breakdown of 188 reports from the publications which have received notices so far: *Die Stem*, *Grassroots*, *Saamstaan*, *Work in Progress*, *The Weekly Mail* and *Out of Step*.

"Not one of these publications was acted against merely because it was opposed to apartheid or the Government," said Mr Botha.

Media Council 'does not fulfil its role'

Star 20/5/88

Minister threatens press with new body

327

Political Staff and Sapa

Government media minder **Mr Stoffel Botha has threatened the Press with a new move in the form of a statutory disciplinary body to replace the present Media Council.**

Speaking during his Home Affairs vote debate in the House of Assembly yesterday **Mr Botha** recalled the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act in which there was provision for such a body.

When the present Media Council was formed by the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and the Conference of Editors in 1983 as an independent body whose guidance the press would accept voluntarily, the Government had withheld the establishment of the statutory disciplinary body for which there was provision in the Act, in order to "give the Media Council an opportunity to prove itself," said Mr Botha.

He said it was clear now that the council did not fulfil the role envisaged by the NPU and did not satisfy "the Government's own reasonable expectations".

"Negotiations thus far have produced nothing of significance," said Mr Botha adding that further negotiations on the shortcomings of the council would "obviously be futile".

"The Government now asks itself whether the putting into operation of the applicable sections of the Amendment Act can be withheld any longer," he said.

'Violent revolution'

Before he made recommendations to the Government he would have "in depth" discussions with the NPU, he said.

Mr Botha said during the debate that press freedom in South Africa had to be looked at in the context of an attempted violent revolution by the ANC and its mentor, the SA Communist Party.

He said these organisations blatantly admitted they collaborated with the mass media.

Mr Botha said he wanted to ask the following rhetorical question: "How long must the Government and I, as the responsible Minister, continue to caution in a friendly tone and elicit the co-operation of the press in these major matters of national interest, before those sectors of the press which so grossly underestimate the threat against South Africa, will come to their senses?"

'Clamps prevent exchange of news'

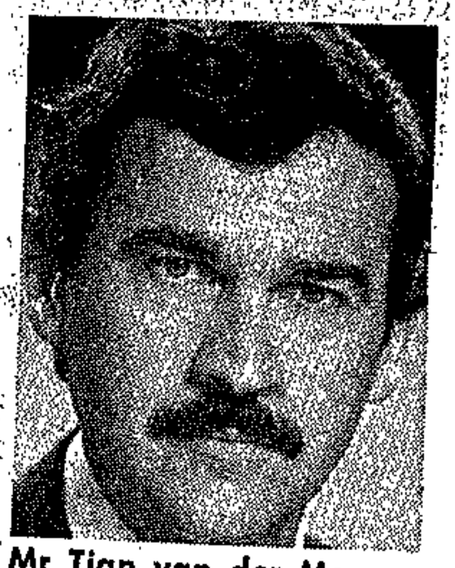
Star 20/5/88

327

The real reason for the existence of the media regulations and their application was to prevent free and open exchange of news and views — the lifeblood of democracy — from penetrating the claustrophobic atmosphere created by the Government, **Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point)** said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

"The Government does not want their own propaganda to be challenged by revealing facts and views," Mr van der Merwe said during debate on the Home Affairs budget vote in reference to the banning orders on the *New Nation* and *South* and the warning of possible action against *The Weekly Mail*.

The Government had succeeded in creating a repressive feeling of insecurity and isolation in the minds of South Africans; this being even more the case among whites than blacks; and it wanted that insecurity to remain because it was the only basis on which it could retain political support — Sapa.



Mr Tian van der Merwe ... Government has created feeling of insecurity.

The Mail and the minister meet. And it's polite

20-26/5/88 (327) W/Mail

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE *Weekly Mail's* editors and lawyers had an hour-long meeting this week with the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, to discuss his threat to act against the newspaper.

Co-editors Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim and attorneys from the firm Bell, Dewar and Hall met Botha and four members of his department in Cape Town on Monday.

Since the meeting was off-the-record, no details have emerged. However, the *Weekly Mail* representatives said afterwards that there had been a polite exchange of views.

"The meeting reached no formal conclusion and no undertakings were asked for or given by either side. However, both sides expressed their views on the situation in a cordial atmosphere," the co-editors said afterwards.

Botha told parliament on Wednesday that the decision on whether or not the *Weekly Mail* would be banned "rested with its editors".

Replying to a question in the budget debate on his department, Botha said he hoped it would not be necessary for him to take further action.

However, if the editors "decided to continue" publishing matters prohibited by the regulations then they had taken the decision into their own hands.

In his speech in the House of Representatives, Botha attacked "media terrorists" who are "collaborators" in the attempts by "terrorists ... to get publicity for their thought and deeds.

"They are people who are in a position to provide publicity for the revo-

●To PAGE 2

The Mail and the minister

lutionaries. They achieve this in two ways: by spreading the message of the revolutionaries and by providing publicity for acts of terrorism," he said.

"It is said that actions such as those taken by the government against subversive and revolutionary pulications amount to the violation of democratic principles. The contrasting question that I wish to pose is this: should the government in the name of democracy simply allow that fear, hatred, intimidation, murder, mutilation and other similar evils be furthered by certain publications? That is nonsense...

●The *Weekly Mail* editors yesterday thanked people involved in the campaign to stop the minister from acting against the press.

"We were overwhelmed by the level and extent of support we have received. There has been a flood of letters, petitions, protests and other forms of support.

"We have no doubt that these activities have had an important effect in assisting us to continue publishing."

●From PAGE 1

the editors said.

Meanwhile, a wide range of people added their voices to the call to "Save the Press":

●Twenty-three South African book publishers signed a statement last week calling on Botha to review and rescind the Emergency media regulations.

The "statement of concern" was signed by David Philip of David Philip Publishers, Karin Donker of AD Donker, TV Bulpin of Books of Africa, Lynne Bryer of Chameleon Press, Piet Snyman of Century Hutchinson, Malcolm Edwards of Collins SA, Anite Theron of Heinemann SA, John Allen of Longman Penguin SA, Howard Dalton of Lowry Publishers, Don Nelson of Don Nelson (Pty) Ltd, James Clarke of Oxford University Press SA, Dorothy Wheeler of Ravan Press, Mothobi Mutloatse of Skotaville Publishers, Basil van Rooyen of Southern Books, Gerrit Struik of C Struik Publishers and Timmins Publishers, Hans Strydom of Hans Strydom Uitgewers, John Miles of Taurus Uitgewers, M Moberly of the University of Natal Press, Professor Ampie Coetzee of the University of the Western Cape Press, Professor Noel Garson of the Wits University Press, and representatives of three university-institute publishers.

(327) W/Mail 20-26/5/88

GENERAL Magnus Malan

Fears for media

Sowetan 20/5/88 327

WARNINGS were made yesterday in the wake of a double-barrelled attack on sections of the media by senior Cabinet Ministers that further measures against the media were imminent.

The Government has re-opened its attack on sections of the Press defending the recent banning of some newspapers and defence force secrecy.

The attack came in two different Houses of Parliament.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP Houghton) said "It is all very ominous from a government that does not hesitate to use its powers."

In the House of Representatives Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha, accused sections of the media helping the ANC in its objective of violent revolution.

But he denied that the Government was generally in conflict with the media.

General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said he subscribed to the principle of the public right to know but said this had to be balanced by the security of the country.

WHAMMING THE RADICALS

A manual on counter-revolutionary strategy, distributed to politicians and civil servants by the State Security Council, describes the workings of a strategy beloved by our military: WHAM, or 'Winning Hearts And Minds'

By MARK SWILLING

Mark Swilling is a research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand

"DIE man wat weet" is the pseudonym used by a mole located near the heart of state power structures. Writing recently in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, *"die man"* confirmed that real power in the state is wielded almost entirely by *"die groot krokodil"* (PW Botha) and his "inner cabal" of National Intelligence Service "securocrats", cynical security branch strategists and seasoned generals from military intelligence.

Does this "cabal" have a strategy?

The answer has emerged in a booklet, distributed to leading politicians and state functionaries by State Security Council officials. Entitled *The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare*, this booklet claims to be a manual for all those who want "to defeat the revolutionaries" in order "to regain the initiative".

"A governing power", the introduction to the manual asserts, "can defeat any revolutionary movement if it adapts the revolutionary strategy and principles and applies them in reverse."

The rest of the manual is a detailed strategy for "winning hearts and minds" (or WHAM, as some officials have dubbed it).

WHAM is significantly different from earlier security strategies authored mainly by ex-police chief General Johan Coetzee. Coetzee and his protegé Craig Williamson argued that the United Democratic Front, low-level protest action, trade unions and other township organisations should be allowed to exist but controlled through infiltration, selective bannings and detentions.

In the meantime, grand reformist plans to stabilise the urban system (Riekert Commission), legalise unions (Wiehahn Commission) and "extend democracy" (tri-cameral constitution) should gradually legitimise state and government.

Sustained resistance soon put paid to this strategy and a new one was needed But this time, the generals told *"die groot krokodil"*, it's not grand reform from above that will work but the careful remoulding and re-organising of the communities from below.

Major General Bert Wandrag of the South African Police Riot Unit summed it up: "Drastic action must be taken to eliminate the underlying social and economic factors which have caused unhappiness in the population. The only way to render the enemy powerless is to nip the revolution in the bud by ensuring there is no fertile soil in which the seeds of revolution can germinate."

The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare spells out in detail how this should be done.

The first step, to "annihilate" or "eliminate" the enemy, involves the relatively simple task of "seeking out the enemy and destroying him".

The second step is to restore "effective administration ... An effective and well motivated administration will deny revolutionaries the initiative."

Once these two objectives have been achieved, a co-ordinated WHAM campaign should be implemented. This involves "civil education", "counter-organisation of the masses", "self-defence", "the intelligence system", "area defence" and the creation of "mobile forces".

"Civil education" involves the creation of a "good working relationship between the administration and the masses". This is done by identifying "problems locally ... and implementing corrective measures". In addition, an extensive programme to train "loyal leaders" and "the youth" for local administration must be initiated and these people must "receive good remuneration".

"Counter-organisation" is "the main weapon against revolutionaries": "The government must take the lead under all groups, classes, clubs and societies with the organisation of social, career, sport, education, medical, religious and military activities. This must be done on a person-to-person basis by sympathetic and helpful personnel. The population must become involved and identify with the group's activities."

"Self-defense" is the "most important part of counter-organisation of the masses". The recruitment of what the British in Malaya called "special constables" should be undertaken with the support of local leaders.

These local "militias" should be armed and must be "oriented towards the environment". They form the "bridge between the administration and the masses and ... should therefore be politically oriented", *ie* they should "influence/mobilise the masses".

An effective intelligence system is indispensable: "It is essential for the government to have a covert intelligence system with roots among the masses and all organisations. The state must be able to identify revolutionary and non-revolutionary political organisations."

The force behind winning hearts and minds ... township children play with a Casspir close at hand

Picture: AFRAPIX

To manage this sophisticated intelligence gathering process, "joint committees" of "security force and administrative and political institutions" must be established.

"Area defence" must be carried out by the military co-operating closely with the administration to "defend the area". To do this the military must assist the administration "with the building of roads, dams, irrigation schemes, schools, churches, etc". Significantly, the manual contains the instruction that "atrocities against the population by the security forces must be avoided". Security forces must be "extremely mobile and be able to support self-defence units immediately".

All these strategies are being implemented and coordinated by the complex network of Joint Management Centres (JMCs) that comprise the National Security Management System (NSMS). The president and his "security cabal" control the state through these committees and have managed to unite officialdom around their "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategies.

To begin, 34 of the "hottest" townships were identified for special attention after the 1986 State of Emergency was declared. They are called "oilspots" by JMC officials. The manual defines "oilspots" as "strategic bases" where "effective control over the population in an affected area" is regained. These "oilspots" will then steadily "expand" and coalesce into bands of loyal local populations. This loyalty is achieved by way of the "co-ordinated application of area protection forces and initial military civic affairs teams".

In places like Alexandra, New Brighton, Mamelodi and Bonteheuwel — four well-known showpiece "oilspots" — JMCs are spending large amounts of money on upgrading projects. They are establishing new sports, cultural, church and political bodies and propagating government policy.

During 1987/88 R3,2-billion was spent on upgrading in many of the 34 "oilspots". Another R16-billion is supposed to find its way into the Directorate of Urbanisation in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning for the upgrading of another 200 townships. PW Botha's opening of parliament speech indicated that this would come from the proceeds of privatisation — a pipe-dream as far as many top economists are concerned.

Regional services councils (RSCs) are a crucial component of WHAM. They will be using money raised from levies on business to finance township upgrading. The Central Witwatersrand RSC will be spending R66-million in this way, while the Pretoria RSC will spend R32-million, Algoa RSC R12-million and the Western Cape RSC will have R53-million to spend (if it does not have to finance the R34-million deficit inherited from the Divisional Council).

The private sector has welcomed this increased expenditure on urban townships and has ignored the political implications. When the Urban Foundation announced the R800-million private sector contribution to housing development, there was no mention of political *quid pro quos* on constitutional issues.

Using massive public and private sector resources, the JMCs are co-ordinating:

- mass detentions and show trials;
- the "normalisation" of local government by the breaking of rent and election boycotts;
- establishment of counter-organisations — new sports bodies, cultural groups and political organisations;
- civil education programmes to co-opt new local leaders and administrators;
- creation of "self-defence units" — *kitskonstabels*, vigilantes and municipal police;
- intelligence systems;
- area defence through military involvement in public works programmes.

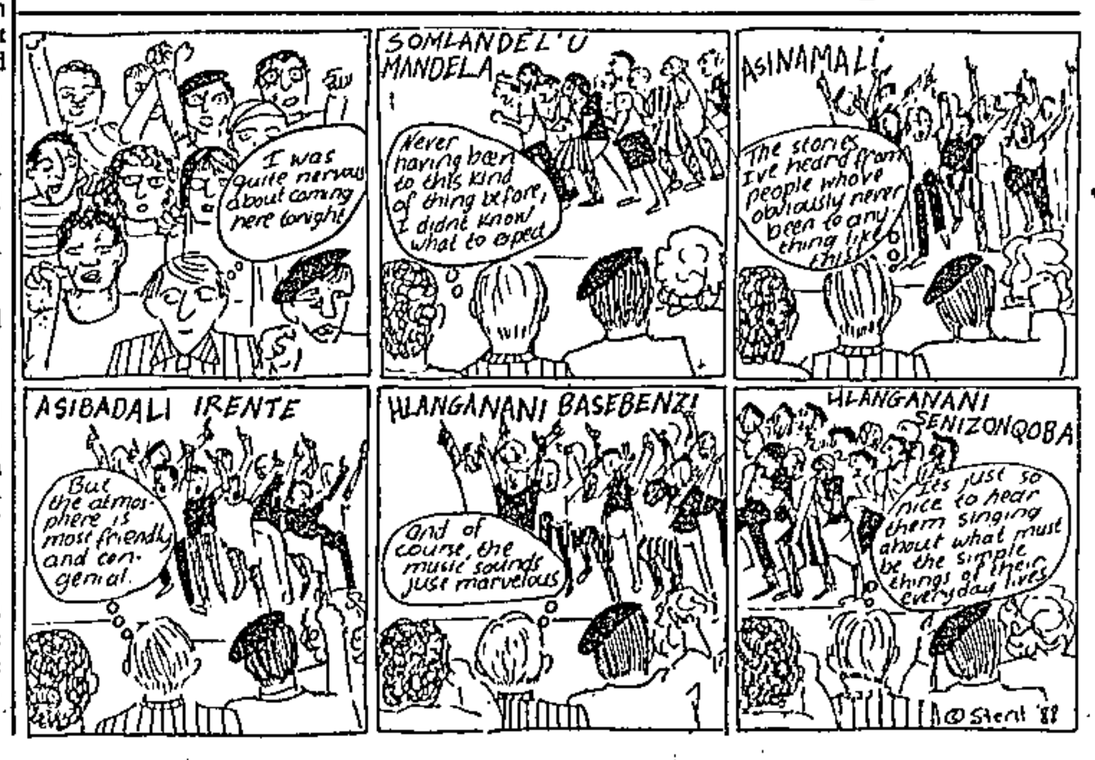
It is unlikely this strategy will succeed.

Economic conditions and international sanctions are likely to push national economic growth below two percent, thus severely limiting resources available for upgrading.

And the strategy ignores the question of political rights, regarding nationalism and the demand for political rights as the ideologies of agitators and not the concerns of "ordinary people".

The most the strategy may achieve is compliance, not the spontaneous consent required to legitimise state structures.

WHO'S LEFT? by Stent



327

APARTHEID BAROMETER

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

AN estimated 5 000 people were detained under the Emergency regulations between June 11 1987, when the Emergency was re-declared, and April 1988, according to a Human Rights Update report compiled by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

According to the report, at the end of April the number of names of Emergency detainees tabled in parliament exceeded 2 800, "and from previous experience it can be estimated that all detentions, including those lasting less than 30 days, totalled over 5 000 at that point". The minister of law and order is required in terms of the Public Safety Act to table in parliament the names of people detained for 30 days or longer under the Emergency regulations, but he has consistently refused to release the number or names of those held for less than 30 days.

Human rights groups estimate that at least 30 000 people have been detained under the Emergency regulations since the State of Emergency was declared on June 12 1986, and that about 2 500 people are currently in detention — over 2 000 of them under the Emergency regulations.

About 1 000 people have been in detention for the full 11 months of the current Emergency or longer, according to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (Cals).

SECURITY LEGISLATION DETENTIONS

At least 205 people are known to be in detention under South Africa's security legislation (including that of the "independent homelands"), according to a report by Cals. The Cals report stressed that this figure was probably an under-estimate because "many more people are believed to be still in detention in Bophuthatswana as more than 452 people were detained there in Febuary". The Cals report has the names of only six Bophuthatswana detainees.

CHILDREN IN DETENTION

According to figures released in parliament by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, 1 338 people aged 17 or under (including 290 aged 15 or under) were detained under the Emergency regulations in 1987. On Febuary 16 1988 Vlok said 234 children were still in detention — 140 aged 17, 89 aged 16 and five aged 15. On February 23 he said that four 15-year-olds were still being held in Natal under the Emergency regulations.

According to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University 89 children were known to be still in detention in the Transvaal at the end of April — 40 aged 17, 32 aged 16, 16 aged 15 and one aged 14. The report said that in March this year a 14-year-old, Philip Mosinmedi, was detained in Soweto and is still being held, and four children from Sharpeville and another child from Duduza have been held for over six months under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The report also said that since June 12 last year 78 children aged 17 or under have been detained in Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands area, and that 50 children are still being held.

The report said that a total of 1 035 people had been detained.

WOMEN IN DETENTION

According to the Cals report 126 women are known to have been detained under the Emergency regulations since June 12 last year. Since the beginning of 1988 three women are known to have been detained under security legislation, and two women were still be in security detention at the end of last month. Cals says one woman detainee, Daisy Matlou, 18, held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act in Potgietersrus is pregnant and another woman, Nelly Mngoma, 26, who is being held at Johannesburg (Diepkloof) Prison, recently gave birth while in detention.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

NONCEBA JULIET MKUPA, 45, Congress of South African Trade Unions Woman's Forum vice-chairman, was detained under the Emergency regulations on October 8 last year.

Mkupa first became politically active as a teenager in East London in the early 1960s. In 1963 she was detained and held in solitary confinement for 60 days — to be used as a state witness against her cousin who had been held for ANC activities. She refused to testify but he was hanged in 1965.

Since Cosatu's formation in 1985 she has been involved in the Federation's activities.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and information:

Sayco Salutes Isitwalandwe, Govan Mbeki — Freedom or Death — Victory is Certain (Sayco); Swapo Information Bulletins November 1983, April, June, October and December 1986 and January, Febuary and May 1897 (Swapo, Luanda); Abresca — Order of Service (Abresca, Braamfontein); Abresca — June 16 Service (Abresca, Braamfontein); Hammer and sickle with Russian colours (not stated); CCCP: Workers of the World Unite — flag (not stated); Undermine their pompous authority — T-shirt (not stated); Menace me Dennis — T-shirt (not stated); CCCP — T-shirt (not stated); T-shirt displaying hammer and sickle and CCCP (not stated); T-shirt showing soldier holding a gun with a Russian slogan (not stated); Care newsletter no 85 1987 November/December (Care Newsletter, Australia); Sharpeville March 21 1960 — Sharpeville Day is Ours — pamphlet (Defend UDF Committee); Tranz no 8, 20 and 32 (Swish Publications, London); Happy Sex, Spassam Sex (Dr Maurice Yaffe, Elizabeth Fenwick); Gek nr 50 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Johannesburg); Quartet — play; Cash Pussies 99 is s...t — T-shirt (not stated); A lesson in how to swear by Rick (not stated); Keyring containing condom and words "Aids" (not stated); White Ghost — film; The Sun Will Rise — film; Hots 3 — film.

NGK in call to lift the emergency

Star 20/5/88 327

Staff Reporter

THE Ned Geref Kerk has called on the government to consider at least partly lifting the state of emergency and warned against authorities abusing their powers while indemnified by emergency regulations.

An editorial article in the latest edition of the Kerkbode, the church's official mouthpiece, noted that emergency measures were "by definition abnormal and the church could consequently request that these measures not be applied any longer than is absolutely necessary".

"As it is, there are many security laws which could be applied to maintain law and order," the editorial said.

The state of emergency could not be allowed to become the "normal" method of government, as had happened in Zimbabwe. It was important for the government not to be "tempted" into applying the emergency laws — because of the ease with which order could be maintained — while the same ends could be achieved through "normal channels", the Kerkbode said.

"The church has the obligation to warn that the abuse of power is always in conflict with the will of God," the editorial said.

Charges laid

FOURTEEN Black Sash members received court summonses on the eve of their planned protest against apartheid at Durban's City Hall yesterday, marking the organisation's 33rd anniversary.

They are to appear in the Durban Regional Court on June 6 charged with attending an illegal gathering on February 26 this year when they stood along Berea Road protesting against the banning of 17 organisations, including the UDF and Cosatu.

Sowetan 20/5/88

(327)

Disciplinary body for press soon?

D/D 20/5/85

327

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday indicated that the time had come to introduce a statutory disciplinary body for the press as envisaged in the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act.

Effectively this means a media council with which all newspapers would have to register.

The registration of a newspaper would be cancelled if it did not do so and it would not be allowed to be registered again without the permission of the minister.

Currently newspapers are not bound to register with the media council.

The introduction of such a body, the PFP's Mr Dave Dalling warned the minister, would put the government and the Newspaper Press Union on a "collision course".

During the debate on his vote, Mr Botha said an independent media council had been established on September 1, 1983 with an acceptance of the principle that the press would "voluntarily accept" the guidance of the media council would apply.

The establishment of this body, he said, meant that the government had agreed to withhold the contemplated statutory disciplinary body.

In the course of time, Mr Botha said a number of shortcomings had been brought to the attention of the media council but no "meaningful" reaction had been forthcoming.

Mr Botha said that with regard to the problem of what he described as "tendencies of negative reporting" and "misleading headings" the council had reflected an attitude of not wanting to become involved.

The minister said he could only come to the conclusion that the Media Council "does not fulfil the role which the NPU proposed to the government" and equally it did not satisfy government's "own reasonable expectations".

Further negotiations, he said, would be "futile" and government was therefore asking itself whether the introduction of the statutory body could be delayed any longer.

FM 20/5/88 (327)

STOFFEL ENTERS THE MOVIE SCENE

Are the SABC and the Bureau for Information qualified to investigate the motion picture industry? Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe thinks so.

A five-man task force announced by him this week includes Stellenbosch engineering professor and deputy chairman of the board of the SABC Christo Viljoen, and John Smith, chief director media production at the Bureau for Information.

The structure of the task force has been met with dismay by some of those in SA's small, but vital, international motion picture production houses.

The foundation of the industry, which has blossomed in the past four or so years, is the tax system.

While relevant tax law has been reformed and largely codified in S24F of the Income Tax Act, the industry can now be said to be less tax-driven than has been the case until recently. Van der Merwe's task force ignores this, with no accountant or attorney appointed.

Moreover, the most clued-up member of the task force, Boet Troskie of Mimosa (*The Gods Must be Crazy*), is rarely in SA, with interests that a picture grossing $100m-plus have given him abroad.

But what has struck fear into the hearts of some of SA's motion picture cognoscenti are the objectives of the task force:

- ☐ The need for local film entertainment;
- ☐ The need for visual and sound-related educational material;
- ☐ The need for visual and sound-related information for use in SA and abroad;
- ☐ The training of personnel for the local film and industry; and
- ☐ Potential export markets for fully and partially locally produced productions.

The first objective is vague and seems to beg the question; the second and third have little, if anything, to do with motion pictures; the fourth requires an investigation in its own right; and the last implies that South African motion pictures have not yet cracked the international box office.

Surely, after four years of vigorous encouragement via tax law, Van der Merwe does not want motion pictures to die an anguished death?

Minister's press threat under fire

Star 20/5/88 By Claire Robertson and Adele Baleta 327

The threat by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, of tougher press measures has been criticised by journalists, legal experts and censorship monitoring bodies.

Mr Botha told Parliament yesterday that there had to be some form of "discipline" on the press and attacked the Media Council for not monitoring the "negative" media.

Mr Michael Green, editor of the *Daily News*, said it was not the Media Council's task to "carry out Mr Botha's ideas of press freedom".

"The English language newspapers get it in the neck from both sides — on one hand we are accused of having been co-opted by Government and, on the other, of furthering the revolutionary struggle."

Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) organiser Ms Pat Sidley said: "The Steyn Commission had provided for a statutory Media Council and code of conduct, the registration of journalists and the criminalisation of those who practised without being on the register. If the Government is seriously now proposing to dust this piece of fascist legislation off its shelf and bring it into law, the end is in sight for any remnant of the ability to express oneself freely."

Professor John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies said he was hoping that the Minister would withdraw the threat.

Marx book is no longer undesirable

327
STAR 21/5/88

A Publications Committee had, on review, ruled that Karl Marx's Selected Works (Vol 1), produced by London Lawrence and Wishart Ltd, was not undesirable, the Directorate of Publications said yesterday.

The Publications Appeal Board has decided that "A Roman Tale" by Carroll Baker is undesirable and has set aside a committee decision that the publication was conditionally not undesirable.

"Lenin on Petty-Bourgeois Revolutionism" (Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow) was declared not undesirable provided it was confined and made available in the normal manner in legal deposit and university libraries only.

During the last week 22 films were submitted, of which six were unconditionally and 13 conditionally approved. Three films — "Full Metal Jacket (video)," "Plaza Real" and "The Stick" — were rejected.

From today it is an offence to possess the following publications: Flesh Fotos von Phil Flasche (G M P Publishers, London); Lui No 3 (Presse-Office et Editions des Savanes); Brunette (Futura Books, London); Naked Teacher's Secret (Randy Jackson); Man, Maid, Lust (Richard Trookis); Little Boys' Plaything (Rod Strong); Sex and the Single Tourist (Carl Stanton); Taxi Cab Sex (Scotty Keene); Too Young for Marriage (Delmore James); Unemployment Lady's Lust (Jake Hooler); Hot Chains, Cold Wife (J T Watson); Hunter's Sex Season (David Bancroft); The Happiest Hooker (Terri Lincoln); Hung Hustler (Bob Michaels); Anne's Damaged Alley (Pat Collier); The Corrupted Swappers (Peter Ryan); Billy's New Teacher (Jan Hanson).

From today it is an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications:

Swapo Information Bulletin June 1987 (Swapo Dept of Information and Publicity, Luanda); Nature's Eternal Religion (Ben Klassen); Justice and Service February 1988, and Justice and Service No 2 Vol 3 February 1988 (both produced by Justice and Service, Harare); New Perspectives Vol 18 2/1988 (Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Helsinki); Anti-Apartheid Women's Newsletter, Issue 35 Spring 1988 (Anti-Apartheid Movement Women's Committee, London); Anti-Apartheid News, March 1988 (Anti-Apartheid Movement, London); A Cry from South Africa: Free the Children from Apartheid (BART, London); Save the Sharpeville Six; No to Apartheid Executions (SATIS, London); Prank No 145 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg); People Making History Book 2 (Peter Garlake and Andre Proctor); Covenant News Bulletin, No 1 December 1987 (not stated); New Unity Movement Youth Wing: Fight Fascist Controls: Reject the De Klerk Proposals (New Unity Movement Youth Wing (Natal) Durban); News and Letters Vol 33 No 3 April 1988 (not stated); Solidarity action fighting for freedom — poster (National Union of Students); The Combatant Vol 9 No 5 December 1987 (PLAN Commissariat, Lubango); Children of War, Stand Together Now, youth organising packet (not stated); A Trade Union Handbook, Organise or Starve (Workers Unity Publication, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) Lusaka). — Sapa.

Media take issue with minister

Staff Reporter

THE Media Council has taken issue with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, on its role as watchdog of the press.

This follows a statement in Parliament on Thursday when Mr Botha again raised the possibility of introducing a statutory body to discipline the press.

The chairman of the council, retired Appeal Court judge Mr Louis de V van Winsen, said Mr Botha's remarks were based upon a wrong perception of its role and had been the subject of correspondence.

Meanwhile, the Newspaper Press Union welcomed the opportunity to hold in-depth discussions with Mr Botha in an attempt to find a solution.

"The NPU remains committed to the search for a solution which allows the maximum of freedom of speech within the parameters of existing legislation and with due regard to prevailing circumstances," the statement said.

But the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr Bob Kernohan, said: "The implications of introducing a statutory disciplinary body clearly points to the fact that the dissemination of information will be further curtailed at a time when such information is vital to the charting of a fresh course to a new South Africa."

Cape Times Fresh Air Fund

Taxed to death

Govt won't act against CBS

Cape Times 21/5/88

Reprimand for US news team

Political Staff

NO ACTION is to be taken against the American television network CBS News for its documentary film "Children of Apartheid" which was criticized at the time by the government as biased and unfair.

Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, said in the House of Representatives yesterday that he had been given certain undertakings by CBS News and would not "in the present instance take any action against the presence of CBS News in South Africa".

Extracts from the film were shown on SABC TV recently to demonstrate the type of media coverage South Africa was receiving abroad.

Mr Botha said he had investigated all the circumstances surrounding the matter and had "no doubt that the persons responsible for making this documentary have transgressed their conditions of sojourn in South Africa".

He said the president of CBS News had agreed that Mr Botha should issue a press statement on May 18 that he had severely reprimanded the organization for "its conduct in connection with the making and screening of the documentary film".

Mr Botha said he had told CBS News he stood by his previous statement that the film had been "distorted and unfair".

It had been made in circumstances which "amount to a breach of our requirements in regard to the conduct of visiting media personnel".

"CBS News agrees that the circumstances surrounding the making of the programme were such as to give grounds for objection by the South African Government and regretted that it had not been meticulous in complying with South African procedures regarding foreign media," he said.

Cape Times 21/5/88

Suicide squad 'possible'

No action is to be taken against CBS for documentary

DID 21/5/88

327

CAPE TOWN — No action is to be taken against the American television network CBS News for its documentary film, Children of Apartheid, which was slammed at the time by the government as biased and unfair.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in the House of Representatives yesterday that he had been given certain undertakings by CBS News and would not "in the present instance take any action against the presence of CBS News in South Africa".

Mr Botha said he had "no doubt that the persons responsible for making this documentary have transgressed their conditions of sojourn in South Africa".

He said the president of CBS News had agreed that Mr Botha should issue a press statement on May 18 that he had severely reprimanded the organisation for "its conduct in connection with the making and screening of the documentary film".

● Mr Botha added that no decision had been taken to re-censor the film Cry Freedom and no decision was necessary. — PS-Sapa

State mum on UDF's court challenge

(327)

NO date has been set yet for the hearing of an application by the United Democratic Front (UDF) to declare the banning of their organisation invalid.

By ALI MPHAKI

The UDF is taking legal action against State President P W Botha, the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and the Government of the Republic of South Africa on the implementation of Regulation 6 which effectively disallows the organisation from functioning.

Prohibit

The regulation allows the UDF to "keep its books up to date, take legal advice and perform activities which the Minister of Law and Order accepts. It also allows the Minister the power to prohibit the UDF from performing any acts or activities whatsoever.

Attorneys Krish Naidoo and Company, who are representing the UDF, have challenged the right of the State President to surrender to the Minister of Law and Order his powers to restrict organisations.

In their argument they state that it is not permissible as "the emergency regulations are of such importance that Parliament conferred power to the State President only."

They further argue that the banning of the UDF at this stage is questionable as the organisation was regarded by the respondents as a threat since inception.

(1) Thezani

Stoffel Botha's actions to curb press stir up hornet's nest

DD 21/5/88

327

CAPE TOWN — Recent actions by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to curb the alternative press in South Africa coupled with his recent comments on the press and the media council has stirred up a hornet's nest.

Yesterday the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) said there was little doubt that the "vice" on freedom of the press in South Africa was "tightening to an unprecedented extent".

The President of the SASJ, Mr Bob Kernohan, was reacting to Mr Botha's announcement on a possible statutory disciplinary body for the press.

"The implications are that the dissemination of information will be further curtailed at a time when such information is vital to the charting of a fresh course to a new South Africa.

"Every effort must be made to prevent such action," Mr Kernohan said.

Members of the national executive of the Black Sash responded, particularly to the banning of New Nation and South, by holding a demonstration in Claremont, Rondebosch and Mowbray yesterday morning Posters were displayed which read;

"A just society needs a free press".

The banning of South was disgraceful and the current threat to the wider press and the year-long emergency restrictions on all publications was an outrage, the president of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, said in a brief statement.

"No amount of censorship will stop opposition to apartheid and tyranny," she said.

A retired Appeal Court judge and chairman of the Media Council has reacted against the minister's remarks made in parliament yesterday.

Mr Justice Louis van de Winsen said, in a brief statement, that the comments were based on a wrong perception of the council's role.

"We asked recently for a meeting with the minister and were told that we would be advised soon of a suitable date.

"We were not aware when we made the request, and were given no prior warning, that he was about to make the statement he made in parliament. We are assuming that his undertaking to see us still stands," he said.

The National Press Union (NPU) also reacted yesterday by welcoming the opportunity to hold in-depth discussions with the minister before the government took any action to introduce a statutory body to discipline the press.

"Both the NPU and Media Council have held protracted discussions with the minister and his predecessors, in an attempt to find a solution to a vexed problem.

"The NPU remains committed to the search for a solution which allows the maximum of freedom of speech within the parameters of existing legislation and with due regard to prevailing circumstances," the statement said. — Sapa

Botha is urged against 'foolhardy option'

NPU welcomes talks on new press threat

Star 21/5/88

327

CLAIRE ROBERTSON, ADELE BALETA and SAPA

The Newspaper Press Union said yesterday it welcomed the opportunity to hold in-depth discussions with the Minister of Home Affairs before the Government took any action to introduce a statutory body to discipline the press.

Mr Botha had told Parliament there had to be some form of press discipline, ideally self-imposed, and he attacked the Media Council for not monitoring the "negative" press.

"Both the NPU and Media Council have held protracted discussions with the Minister and his predecessors, in an attempt to find a solution to a vexed problem.

"The NPU remains committed to the search for a solution which allows the maximum of freedom of speech within the parameters of existing legislation and with due regard to prevailing circumstances," the statement said.

The acting Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Rex Gibson, said: "A statutory council means ultimate Government control of the press, no more and no less. We trust that Mr Stoffel Botha will yet turn away from a foolhardy option that will be doubly damaging.

"Abroad, it will place another, perhaps a final, nail in the coffin of South Africa's reputation among those who argue: 'Say what you like about South Africa, it does at least have a vigorous press which does not operate under government licence.'

"At home, a statutory council — trying to apply the secret and whimsical norms of Mr Botha's department — will have the press by the throat. The throttling process will lull the Government and subjugate newspapers, to be sure — but it will also feed national ignorance, despair and tension."

The Argus company had received the news with "despondency" and "alarm", managing director of the company's newspaper division, Mr Peter McLean, said.

"State control on the press is unnecessary. If implemented, the move will be seen overseas in a highly unfavourable light and further complicate relations with our trading partners and friends in the Western world.

"We believe that the Media Council has done an admirable job. Its aim is to facilitate the free flow of news and the operation of a responsible press rather than to act as a censor which is what the Government wants it to do."

Papers will run risk of closure

Star 21/5/88

327

Claire Robertson
Pretoria Bureau

If the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act is enforced — as threatened by Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha — newspapers will be forced to create and submit to a Government-approved control body or face closure, according to a Johannesburg media lawyer.

The lawyer, who asked not to be named, was reacting to Mr Botha's statements of dissatisfaction with the present Media Council and his wish to have "intensive" discussions with the Newspaper Press Union on the issue.

Mr Botha told Parliament this week that he would contemplate bringing the amending Act into being.

"The Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act, which was passed amid great uproar in 1982, was held in abeyance — but can be brought into effect at any time by means of a notice in the *Government Gazette*," the lawyer said.

"It provides that any newspaper which does not subject itself for disciplinary purposes to a body referred to in the Publications Act, may have its licence cancelled.

"The hidden catch in the amending (Act) lies in the definition of the body to which newspapers must subject themselves for disciplinary purposes.

"The amendment to the Publications Act, which the Minister threatens to bring into force, provides that the body which will discipline newspapers will be an 'independent and voluntary body (none of whose members shall be appointed by the Government) striving for the attainment and maintenance of the highest possible standards by persons disseminating news...'

"The difficulty with the definition is that it goes on to stipulate that this body must fulfill a further condition — namely that it 'is recognised by the Minister...'

"The Minister will be in a position, if this amendement comes into force, to reject any body with which he is not satisfied, either because it is not comprised of acceptable members or because it does not seek to regulate itself in an appropriate fashion.

"If, in reaction to this, the newspaper community refuses to put forward a voluntary body, then the amendment will result in them all losing their licences."

Cpress 22/3/88

The seemingly crazy world of Johannesburg's bus service

Too black to be coloured, so take a walk, driver tells nurse

By CHARLES MOGALE

ESTHER Flank is coloured. But then she is too dark.

And for that, she had to walk to the Johannesburg city centre this week while other coloureds of paler complexion were allowed to board a "multi-racial" municipal bus.

A tearful Flank told how she was thrown off a bus by a driver who said she was anything but white or coloured, and so she could not board the Berea-to-city bus.

"This man told me the bus was not multi-racial. He told me I could not get on, but there were several coloureds and Indians on the bus. I asked him why he allowed them on, but he would would not listen," Flank, a nursing sister, said.

According to a spokesman for the Johannesburg transport department, whites, coloureds and Asians are allowed on buses on that route. But Flank was thrown off nonetheless.

"I felt very small and humiliated. It hurt me very deeply because the only reason the driver threw me out was apparently because I am too dark. He told me the bus was not multi-racial. I thought that was nonsense because I have used these buses before. I think he used his discretion and thought I was too dark to be coloured. So he threw me out," Flank said.

Eye-witness Tshepo Letswele said he was shocked and upset when the driver threw Flank from the bus.

"I was sitting at the bus stop reading a newspaper when I heard a little noise. The lady (Flank) had been waiting for the bus near me. When the driver told her the bus was not multi-racial and she should get off, I felt disgusted. I got onto the bus steps and challenged the driver. All this is bull ... and I told him so.

"When he finally drove off I had taken down all his particulars. I encouraged the lady to take further action," Letswele said.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Advice Centre, Amos Cebekhulu, said his organisation had heard about the activities of the Johannesburg bus drivers and was concerned.

"We are appalled that our people should be left at the mercy of the drivers. This hinders the progress of black people towards economic advancement. This is a typical racial incident encouraged by the policies of the government. They have made people believe in and stay by their colour," said Cebekhulu.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg transport department said a full inquiry into the incident would be held. *City Press* furnished him with the name of the driver, his business number and the registration number of his bus.

"If we find that our employee has transgressed any rules, justice will persue its course.

"I cannot say what the judgment will be, or what steps will be taken if such a situation arises, because it will be entirely up to the presiding officer in the hearing. But we will definately look into the matter," he said.

Esther Flank ... has driver's particulars.

Cling to a white friend and you're safe

By SINNAH KUNENE

CLING to a white friend on certain bus routes, then you can be sure of a hassle-free ride on Johannesburg buses.

According to a spokesman for the municipality – Johannes de Buys – blacks are not allowed onto segregated buses unless accompanied by a white passenger.

The only mixed bus routes were an experimental few to Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

De Buys said bus drivers were "not allowed to hassle passengers, but had the right to turn back blacks".

This week a Johannesburg Hospital intensive care nurse, Happy Madlala, had a bitter experience on a Johannesburg municipal bus.

And she has vowed she will fight "to the bitter end until some white bus drivers treat blacks like human beings".

A resident at the Baragwanath Nurses Home, Madlala said she was refused a ride on a municipal bus while on her way to work at the Johannesburg Hospital. She was not dressed in uniform.

"When I got onto the bus, I saw two uniformed black nurses on the bus. The driver told me blacks were not allowed onto the bus, but I argued that I had been using the same transport for two years," she said.

The bus driver drove her, and all his other passengers to the Hillbrow Police Station, where a Capt Meyer "dragged me out of the bus and manhandled me".

"They showed me a newspaper cutting where some white passengers protested against the presence of a black nanny on one of the buses, claiming that 'our' presence in the bus caused problems," said Madlala, who has laid a charge against the bus driver.

A white colleague who was on the same bus also made a statement at the police station.

The Johannesburg Hospital's chief superintendant, Dr TM Frankish, said De Buys had told him the matter was being investigated.

Happy Madlala ... forced off a municipal bus.

Delegates want press unbanned

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

DELEGATES representing about 45 media-related groups resolved to call for the immediate and unconditional unbanning of all media at the launch of the "Save the Press Campaign".

The conference, held at the University of Cape Town yesterday afternoon, follows the banning of two community newspapers and the government clamp-down on the media.

Mr Essa Moosa, a Cape Town lawyer, chaired the second half of the meeting where delegates of about 45 publications and media-associated organizations adopted a draft declaration in which they demanded the right to:

- Procure and disseminate information in accordance with the principles of our discipline without state intervention and harassment.
- Free access and movement in pursuing these objectives.
- To air ideas, views and opinions of people and organizations regardless of their political and ideological persuasion.
- Act and campaign on behalf of any cause we consider to be humane and in the interest of the people we serve.
- Associate with any movement or organization in pursuing these objectives.

Professor Hermann Giliomee, editor of the Suid-Afrikaan, chaired the first half of the meeting and some of the speakers included Professor Jakes Gerwel, the Rector at of the University of the Western Cape, Mr Harald Pakendorf, former editor of the Vaderland in Johannesburg, and Mr Sefako Nyaka, news editor of the New Nation, the first newspaper to be banned by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Magazine under threat

Mr Patrick Solomons, a worker at Molo Songololo, a children's magazine, said the magazine was under threat by officials of the Department of Education and Culture which had tried to cut off their distribution networks at schools.

Mr Peter Dennehy, a Cape Times reporter and a member of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said that because so little "politically sensitive" material was used in newspapers, the reporter was less willing to take risks and the news editor reluctant to allow the reporter to spend a great deal of time in "unrest areas".

Mr M J Fuzile, who served 20 years on Robben Island and runs the Veritas News Agency in King William's Town, said he had been detained under the emergency regulations from June 1985 to November last year.

Ms Jane Raphaely, editor-in-chief of Cosmopolitan and Femina magazines, said she had been "bounced off the Media Council for saying things I was not put there to say".

Professor Giliomee, Mr Mansoor Jaffer, of Grassroots, and Mr Moegsien Williams, media officer for the University of the Western Cape, were elected as the three committee members.

BUY THE WORLD!!
IT'S A GOOD INVESTMENT
25% to 45% discounts on all
GLOBES, WORLD MAPS AND
GROGAN HISTORICALS

Media representatives to fight curbs

ARGUS 22/5/88 527

By JEREMY DOWSON, Staff Reporter

MORE than 200 media representatives have resolved to campaign for lifting the emergency under which the latest Press curbs have been imposed.

At the launch of the Save the Press campaign at the University of Cape Town yesterday, delegates noted that the Government was "clamping down on the media in an attempt to promote its own policies and deny the public access to information and opinion about alternatives".

It was doing this "by using the law, by assuming blanket powers under the state of emergency and through restrictions on individuals and organisations".

Referring to the suspension of New Nation and South and threats to others, delegates said: "We, people and organisations associated with the media, cannot remain silent while this process continues.

"We demand the right to fulfil the role of a free Press in serving our society."

Among the resolutions taken were that the campaign committee would work with others towards lifting the emergency and call for the immediate and unconditional unbanning of all restricted media and the release of detainees.

Those elected to the committee were Professor Herman Giliomee, editor of the Suid Afrikaan and a professor of political studies at UCT; Mr Mansoor Jaffer of Grassroots and Mr Moegsien Williams, senior media officer of the University of the Western Cape.

Among those who addressed the gathering in support of the campaign were UWC Rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, former Vaderland editor Harald Pakendorf, New Nation news editor Sefako Nyaka, Cosmopolitan and Femina editor-in-chief Jane Raphaely, Ameen Akhalwaya of the Lenasia-based weekly the Indicator, Peter Dennehy of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Patric Solomons of Molo Songololo, UCT Radio station director Ian Koenigsfest, Cape Town printer Rashieda Parker, the editor of the Black Sash magazine Sash, Helen Zille, Patrick Nyuka of Saamstaan, King William's Town journalist M J Fuzile and Cape Town civil rights lawyer Mr Essa Moosa.

Sowetan gets a Govt reprieve

Sowetan 24/5/88 (327)

POLITICAL STAFF

The Sowetan newspaper appears to have received a temporary stay of execution following an announcement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Parliament that he was not considering further action against this publication "at present."

In the same breath, Mr Botha also criticised newspaper editors, particularly those in the Argus Group and Times Media Limited, who had signed a petition protesting against the banning of *New Nation* and *South*.

The letter accompanying the editors' petition sounded very like the thinking of Progressive Federal party MP Mr Tian van der Merwe and Claremont independent MP Mr Jan van Eck, said Mr Botha.

He said he was concerned that these senior newspaper people did not understand the import of the media regulations in the light of the "revolutionary onslaught."

Notices

Mr Botha said he had had no reasons to date to publish an official warning to the *Sowetan*.

Mr Botha gave the House a breakdown of 188 reports from the publications which have received notices so far: *Die Stem, Grassroots, Saamstaan, Work in Progress, The Weekly Mail* and *Out of Step*.

"Not one of these publications was acted against merely because it was opposed to apartheid or the Government," said Mr Botha.

Sowetan 24/5/88

Vow to fight media curbs

327

MORE than 200 media representatives have resolved to campaign for the lifting of the state of emergency under which the latest Press curbs have been imposed.

At the launch of the "Save The Press" campaign at the University of Cape Town on Sunday, a declaration was adopted noting that the Government was "clamping down on the media in an attempt to promote its own policies and deny the public access to information and opinion about alternatives".

It was doing this "by using the law, by assuming blanket powers under the state of emergency and through restrictions on individuals and organisations".

In a reference to the recent bans on *New Nation* and *South* and threats to others, the declaration said: "It (the Government) is now resorting to closing down newspapers.

"We, people and organisations associated with the media, cannot remain silent while this process continues."

UK call for action on SA

Cape Times 25/5/88 Own Correspondent 227

LONDON. — MPs of all parties are calling on the British government to take actions against South Africa if the Promotion of Orderly Politics Bill becomes law. The MPs have signed a motion on the Commons Order Paper noting with concern "the continuing efforts by the South African government to restrict peaceful opposition to apartheid".

The bill, they say, "will not only place further regulations on all acitvities of individuals and organizations, but also threatens to cut off external financial support to groups which peacefully oppose apartheid".

Court curb on harassment by Mandela

327 B/day

MANDY JEAN WOODS

AN urgent interim interdict restraining Winnie Mandela and a friend, Joyce Leballo, from threatening, abusing, harassing or injuring a Soweto businessman was granted yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone issued a rule nisi to operate as an interim interdict pending the outcome of the application.

In a supporting affidavit businessman Joseph Billy Leballo said Mandela had ordered a gang of comrade youths to evict him, keep him from his home and to "do him harm" if he returned.

The interdict also prohibited Mandela and Leballo from directly or indirectly removing or damaging property belonging to Leballo and to pay the costs.

Leballo said his wife Joyce had been friends with Mandela since about June 1976. The friendship developed into a political involvement and in June 1987 Joyce was detained under the emergency regulations for harbouring terrorists.

A divorce action had been stalled because of his wife's detention, he said.

"Since I left the common home, Mandela put comrades in the home with what seemed to be the support and consent of my wife."

25/5/88.

Star 26/5/88

SA warned not to block EC aid

327

BONN. — West Germany issued a strong warning to South Africa yesterday not to block European Community (EC) aid to black groups.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, speaking at a reception for ambassadors from Organization of African Unity (OAU) states, said South Africa's white-minority government appeared to be considering a ban on such EC aid.

"Whoever wants to hinder these measures through law must know he is pitting himself against the 12 European Community countries," said Mr Genscher, whose government currently holds the rotating EC presidency.

"We will not put up with Pretoria prescribing either the kind or the extent of our assistance to victims of apartheid and their organizations," Mr Genscher said. He did not say what the EC would do if Pretoria prohibited the aid. — Sapa-Reuter

UDF woman in court

Star 26/5/88 (327)

CAPE TOWN — The first person held in connection with furthering the aims of one of the 18 organisations restricted in the Government's February crackdown appeared in court here yesterday.

Miss Febe Potgieter (21) of Hyacinth Road, Belhar, a member of the Western Cape Regional UDF executive, was released on warning to July 25 for the Attorney-General's decision. — Sapa.

Suspected terrorist shot in Ficksburg

Star 26/5/88 327

PRETORIA. — A man suspected of being a trained terrorist was shot and killed after being confronted by members of the Bloemfontein divisional riot unit on Tuesday, police said yesterday.

The statement said the riot unit, acting on information received from the security branch, confronted the man at about 1.15 pm in the Ficksburg area.

The man produced an F1 grenade, which police said was of "communist origin", but was killed before he could throw it.

Police also reported that two men men were hacked to death wih pangas in Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale.

A delivery vehicle was extensively damaged in a petrol bomb attack in Port Elizabeth's Soweto township.

Schoolchildren in Meadowlands, Soweto, robbed a delivery vehicle of groceries that were being transported, police said.

And in Port Elizabeth, the Congress of South African Trade Unions claimed yesterday a meeting of its Eastern Cape region was disrupted by police on Tuesday night. Captain Bill Dennis, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, admitted that police were present at the meeting but said no action was taken. He said police had received information that the emergency regulations could be contravened.— Sapa and Own Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 17 May 1988:

Police officer: inquiry on actions

*13. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether the actions of a certain police officer, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, are or were the subject of an inquiry; if so, (a) what are the circumstances surrounding this case, (b) who is conducting or conducted the inquiry, (c) what were the instructions to the persons conducting the inquiry, (d) when (i) is the inquiry expected to be completed or (ii) was it completed and (e) what is the name of the officer concerned;

(2) whether any provisional reports on the inquiry are available; if so, what is the purport thereof;

(3) whether the findings of the inquiry will be made known; if not, why not;

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

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (3) No.

(4) However, since last year, a special investigation team of the South African Police has been conducting a comprehensive investigation as a result of certain allegations about other matters, which came to their attention.

Particulars of the allegations cannot be revealed at this stage as they may prejudice the investigation. As soon as the investigation has been completed, the case dockets will be submitted to the Attorney-General for his decision.

Stellenbosch: demolition of squatters' huts

*22. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) Whether he, his Department and/or the Cape Provincial Administration gave instructions in or about July 1987 for the demolition of squatters' huts in the vicinity of Stellenbosch to be discontinued; if so, (a) why and (b) on what date;

(2) whether the inspectors concerned with the demolitions have been or are to be transferred; if so, why;

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

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of the Cape Province and he furnished the following information:

(1) Yes.

(a) The "instructions" to the Divisional Council of Stellenbosch to discontinue the demolition of squatters' huts are a direct result of Proclamation No 109 of 29 June 1987 in the *Government Gazette* in terms of which the activities and authority in respect of squatter control were transferred from the Divisional Council to the Cape Provincial Government. It cannot therefore actually be regarded as an instruction but rather as action in terms of an amendment of the act.

(b) 1 July 1987 — i.e. the day following the date of the said Proclamation.

(2) The transfer of inspectors was discussed as a result of the transfer of responsibilities but has not been finalised yet. The necessary arrangements (posts, etc) for transfer to the Cape Provincial Government, who received the additional activities, are at present being considered.

(3) No.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does the fact

that he prefaced his reply by saying that the information he gave us was provided by the Cape Provincial Administration imply that he and his Minister do not accept responsibility for the correctnes or otherwise of that information?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: We accept responsibility, Mr Chairman. [Interjections.]

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Is the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning entitled to refer to another hon member in this House as a "sot"?

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Did the hon the Minister say that?

The MINISTER: Yes, Mr Chairman, I said it and I withdraw it.

Teachers' association: prevention of meeting

*23. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and order:

(1) Whether members of the South African Police prevented a public meeting arranged by a certain teachers' association, the name of which has been furnished to the police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, from taking place at the Samaj Centre in Rylands, Cape Town, on 18 April 1988; if so, (a) what is the name of this association, (b) what action was taken by the Police, (c) (i) by whom and (ii) in terms of what statutory provisions or regulations was this decision taken, (d) (i) on what date and (ii) at what time did the Police first learn that this meeting was to take place and (e) (i) on what date and (ii) at what time was the decision taken to prevent the meeting from taking place;

(2) whether the organizers of the meeting were informed of this decision; if so, who was so informed; if not, why not?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes. This meeting was arranged to promote the selfish political aims of the WESTERN CAPE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION which has strong ties with the UDF and is not acknowledged as the mouth-piece of the teaching profession. The meeting was by no means in the interests of the children or education. The organisers planned to propagate a school boycott in which they would have used school children to promote their own selfish aims. By so doing, the children would have been deprived of important and essential education. The following persons, who have no interest in education, would have acted as speakers:

ABDULHAH OMAR — an UDF office bearer;
ANDILE JONAS of the National Education Crisis Committee;
and an unidentified speaker of Cosatu.

(a) The WESTERN CAPE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

(b) After consultation with officials of the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives and the acknowledged teachers' association, the Divisional Commissioner prohibited the gathering. Members of the South African Police informed persons who arrived for the meeting that the gathering had been prohibited and requested them to leave. They complied with this request and no further police action was necessary.

(c) (i) The Divisonal Commissioner, Western Province.

(ii) Regulation 7 of the Safety Regulations, promulgated in terms of section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) by Proclamation R.96 of 11 June 1987.

(d) (i) and (ii) Confirmed information was received at 09h30 on 18 April 1988.

(e) (i) and (ii) Shortly after the information was received on 18 April 1988.

(2) Yes. The chief organizer of the teachers' association concerned.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I infer that he is suggesting that the recognised teachers' association which was consulted supported the decision to ban the meeting?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr

(327)

(2) This information falls outside the ambit of my portfolio.

Grabouw: township for Blacks

*19. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether, at any stage between 1960 and 1975, there was a township for Blacks in the Grabouw area; if so, (a) when, (b) what was its name and (c) how many persons resided there;

(2) whether this township was demolished; if so, (a) when, (b) why and (c) what arrangements were made for the persons who resided there;

(3) whether any representations have been received for the establishment of a new township for Blacks in this area; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was the response thereto?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of the Cape Province and he furnished the following information:

(1) No.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

(2) (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

(3) Yes.

(a) 4 March 1988.

(b) Mr J van Eck.

(c) The possibility thereof is being investigated.

South African Police: searching of home

*20. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether members of the South African Police conducted a search of the home of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, on or about 27 April 1988; if so, (a) on whose instructions, (b) for what purpose and (c) what is the name of this person;

(2) whether a search warrant has been issued for the purpose of this search; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) (i) by whom and (ii) to whom was it issued and (c) (i) by whom and (ii) to whom was it displayed on the premises searched;

(3) whether any items were removed from the premises; if so, (a) what items and (b) why;

(4) whether a receipt was issued for the items removed; if not, why not; if so, (a) by whom and (b) to whom was the receipt issued;

(5) whether any further action is to be taken as a result of this search; if so, (a) what action, (b) against whom, (c) when and (d) on whose instructions; if not, (i) why not and (ii) when will the items removed from the premises be returned to the person concerned?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, not as far as could be ascertained.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

(2) to (5) Fall away.

The Weekly Mail: representations

*21. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether he received any representations on behalf of a certain publication, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, subsequent to warning this publication of possible action to be taken against it; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom, (c) what was the nature of these representations and (d) what is the name of the publication;

(2) whether he responded to these representations; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the nature of his response?

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) The publishers of the periodical *The Weekly Mail* was notified in writing on 17 December 1987, that action under regulation 7A(1) of the Regulations published by Proclamation R.97 of 1987, as amended, was being considered by me, such notice also stating the grounds of the proposed action. The publishers, Weekly Mail Publications (Pty) Ltd, submitted written representations to me on 31 December 1987 and on 7 April 1988. After careful consideration of these representations, which are regarded as a confidential matter between the publishers and myself, I decided to issue a warning in the *Gazette* under regulation 7A(1) of the Regulations and the publishers of this publication were notified by telex of this decision on 26 April 1988. The warning was issued on the same day by notice in the *Gazette*.

South: reasons for banning

*22. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether the editor of a certain publication, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was informed of the reasons for its banning at the time of or subsequent to the publication of the banning in the *Government Gazette*; if not, why not; if so, (a) what were these reasons, (b) when were they furnished and (c) what is the name of this publication?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The publishers of the periodical *South* were given an initial notice in writing in terms of regulation 7A(4) on 13 November 1987 that I was considering action, such notice stating the grounds of the proposed action. After written representations had been received in connection with the proposed action, a warning was issued in the *Gazette*. Hereafter I caused the publication to be further monitored. Subsequently it became evident to me that the publication continued with the repeated or systematic publishing of matter, which had or was calculated to have the effect, referred to in the Regulations. A further written notice, stating the grounds, was issued to the publishers. Written representations were once again received from the publishers. I considered the representations carefully, whereafter I issued on 9 May 1988 the order, whereby any further issue of *South* was prohibited for a period of approximately one month.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, could he advise us whether those people who do the monitoring on his behalf have any journalistic training?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am advised by a variety of people including people with journalistic training.

Political affiliations of certain person

*23. Mr J B DE R VAN GEND asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the South African Police in Harrismith have been informed of and/or have ascertained the current political affiliation of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so,

(2) whether the Police issued any instruction or advice to this person regarding the political organization concerned; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the nature of the instruction or advice, (c) (i) on whose instruction and (ii) why was it issued and (d) what is the name of the (i) person and (ii) political organization in question?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

(a) to (d) Fall away.

Sex education in schools: policy

*24. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he has, further to Recommendation 14 of the President's Council Committee for Social Affairs on the Youth of South Africa (PC 2/1987) regarding the teaching of sex education in schools, adopted a policy on this matter; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is this policy and (b) when was it made public;

(2) whether the decision regarding the teaching of sex education in schools is an own affair; if so, for what reason;

(3) whether he intends having discussions with the other Ministers responsible for education regarding the (a) teaching of sex education in schools in general and (b) question of Aids in particular; if not, why not; if so, (i) when and (ii) what will be the purpose of these discussions;

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

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No. I have not yet in terms of the National

UK ignores priests' plea

Sowetan 26/5/88

(327)

LONDON — A delegation of South African churchmen this week failed to persuade British foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to take a stronger stand against proposed South African legislation which would ban foreign funding for any organisation the government deems political.

Dr Beyers Naude, a former secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, said afterwards: "The whole delegation was deeply disappointed and frustrated by the fact that nothing tangible or meaningful has come out of this discussion."

Sanctions

The delegation, which was led by the current secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, and included Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban, hoped to persuade Britain and the European Economic Community (EEC) to impose further sanctions against South Africa to force Pretoria to repeal the state of emergency and not to press ahead with new legislation. The churchmen suggested diplomatic missions in South Africa should be reduced and downgraded, visa requirements tightened for South Africans, more restrictions imposed on trade and finance, and direct flights to South Africa should be stopped.

The foreign office said Sir Geoffrey listened to the churchmen with "sympathy and concern" but would only use "persuasion and pressure" against Pretoria. Archbishop Hurley said these tactics would not work against the South African Government.

Campaign

"Something much more effective is needed," he said.

In particular the church delegation wanted Britain to campaign against the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which is now going through the South African Parliament. It is expected to become law later in the year, and would block outside funding for any organisation deemed political by the Pretoria Government. It will diminish the work of organisations like the Black Sash and the trade unions, but will also probably kill the EEC special programme for the victims of apartheid, which is administered by the churches.

After the meeting Dr Naude said it "confirmed the fears of the black population that there is very little we can expect from the British Government . . . to what extent is the British population satisfied with this sort of response?" — *The Independent.*

DR Beyers Naude.

BEARES

Foreign-funding Bill likely to be dropped by Govt

(327) SKW 26/5/88

Political Staff

The Government is likely to drop or fundamentally change the controversial Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which is aimed at cutting foreign funding of political organisations.

A delegation of South African churchmen under Dr Beyers Naude is visiting Britain and Europe to lobby governments to put pressure on the South African Government to drop the Bill.

Sources said this week that the Bill was likely to be dropped or changed anyway.

They said even the National Party had realised the Bill was impracticable.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee has responded to criticism of the Bill by saying it is not intended to block foreign money for black upliftment.

He welcomed funding of job-creation programmes and health and education projects by foreign governments, organisations and businesses.

Critics had claimed the effect of the Bill would be to cut off all foreign funds for black upliftment.

Mr Coetsee said this was not so.

The intention was to prevent foreign funds being used "to endanger the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order".

Some parliamentarians believe the Government will now fall back on the Affected Organisations Act, which already empowers it to cut off foreign funds from an organisation declared "affected".

The church group under Dr Naude vainly implored the British government to use sanctions to stop Pretoria using the Bill to block foreign anti-apartheid aid.

The group left for the capitals of Europe on Tuesday as British MPs from all parties backed their campaign.

So far, Britain has declined to go further than saying it is "pressing the South African Government hard" over the draft Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

Call for probe into SADF emergency

ARGUS 27/5/88

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday called on the government to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate the operations of the security forces and the state of emergency.

The PFP's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, also said the South African Law Commission should be instructed, as a matter of urgency, whether political considerations should be regarded as extenuating circumstances when death sentences are imposed in cases where there are political overtones.

He said in a statement that the death sentences imposed in the Cradock murder case "highlights yet again the state of anarchy that the government has allowed to develop within the security forces in the course of the last three years of political conflict".

The pattern in the Cradock case seemed to be the same as in previous cases.

It started with the encouragement of a "war psychosis" and continued with "the abandoning of democratic rights and procedures, the indisciplined and vicious action by some members of the security forces, attempts to cover-up such behaviour, particularly action against the media, and fortunately in some cases the eventual emergence of the truth when the guilty are brought to justice."

The causes should be obvious, Mr van der Merwe said.

"It is firstly the declared state of emergency which gives excessive power to policemen and soldiers and indemnifies them against the consequences of their behaviour.

"It is secondly the climate created by government propaganda that suggests that once a person or organization can be identified as part of the 'total onslaught' that such person or organization can be eliminated, brutally and without further ado.

"It is thirdly the restrictions imposed on the press which undermines public knowledge and public scrutiny of what is being done by the security forces.

"It is encouraging to note both the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police show some concern about these developments, but this is in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Minister of Defence and the State President who did not hesitate to stop the murder trial of six members of the SADF who killed a man with knives, pangas and kieries."

The South African Law Commission should also consider as a matter of urgency "the applicability of the death sentence in cases of political overtones and clear recognition of political considerations as extenuating cirucmstances in murder cases."

Funding climb-down as pressure grows

27/5-2/6/88 W/Mail (327)

Controversial funding Bill softened after world pressure

Weekly Mail Reporter, Cape Town

AMID massive foreign pressure, the government is backing down on plans to impose tight controls on foreign funding.

The controversial Promotion of Orderly Politics Bill will almost certainly be changed.

Instead, legislation — similar to that of the United States — is likely to be proposed by the joint parliamentary committee that will require non-profit organisations to disclose all sources of foreign funding and to have audited accounts.

The committee is meeting again today to discuss the matter. Proceedings of parliamentary committees are secret.

No indication has been given yet on when the proposed legislation will be published, nor have any details of the new measure been published.

But a statement by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, in the pro-Nationalist press this week, hinted a new approach was on the cards.

Coetsee stressed that the government welcomed foreign funds for upliftment projects and that the draft Bill was only a working document.

There was, however, widespread unhappiness about provisions of the proposed Bill and it has been felt if the government wanted to stop foreign funding for particular organisations, the Affected Organisations Act and other laws should be used.

The government has also come under enormous international pressure to scrap the Bill. Only two days ago, the South African ambassador to Bonn was called to the West German Foreign Ministry to be told of the European Community's (EC) concern about the Bill.

State secretary Jeurgen Sudhoff told ambassador Willem Retief the

●To PAGE 2

Funding bill softened

W/Mail (327) 27/5-2/6/88

●From PAGE 1

legislation would make a peaceful solution in South Africa more difficult.

Earlier the same day, the West Germany foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, issued a warning on the same issue in unusually strong diplomatic language.

"Whoever wants to hinder these measures (aid to anti-apartheid groups) through law must know that he is pitting himself against the 12 European Community countries.

"We will not put up with Pretoria prescribing either the kind or extent of our assistance to victims of apartheid and their organisations," he said in an address to ambassadors of OAU countries in Bonn.

The West German statements are important, because not only does Germany have a relatively conservative government with some influence in Pretoria, but Germany speaks for all 12 EC countries.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary, said last month his government would "do its utmost to keep up its aid programmes for victims of apartheid.

A number of countries, including Britain and the US, have leaned strongly on Pretoria on this Bill. It has, for example, been repeatedly cited by Washingtonians lobbying for the comprehensive sanctions Bill now before the US congress.

Writers rally to 'Save The Press' banner

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

JOURNALISTS ranging from feature writers on glossy women's magazines to editors of political journals have rallied in Cape Town under the banner of a Save the Press campaign.

Delegates from about 45 media-related organisations launched the campaign last weekend in a Western Cape initiative which, it is hoped, will spark similar campaigns in other regions.

A draft declaration adopted demanded the right to:

- Obtain and disseminate information "in accordance with the principles of our discipline" without state intervention and harassment
- Free access and movement in pursuing these aims
- Air ideas, views and opinions of people and organisations regardless of their political and ideological persuasions
- Act and campaign on behalf of any cause deemed humane and in the interest of the people served
- Associate with any movement or organisation in pursuing these objectives.

Elected to a committee to coordinate the campaign were Professor Hermann Giliomee, editor of the journal *Die Suid Afrikaan;* Mansoor Jaffer, editor of *Grassroots* community newspaper and Moegsien Williams, media officer at the University of the Western Cape.

Giliomee told the *Weekly Mail* he would be approaching editors of daily and Sunday newspapers to canvas their support and involvement in the campaign to achieve as broad a front of opposition as possible.

The press meets — delegates at the Cape Town meeting

Picture: ADIL BRADLOW, Afrapix

W/Mail 29/5-2/6/88

327

APARTHEID BAROMETER

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

The names of another 54 Emergency detainees, who have been held for 30 days or longer, were released in parliament by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok. This brings the number of detainees named since the Emergency was declared on June 12 1986 to 17 986. Of these, 3 012 have been held since June 11 1987, when the Emergency was re-declared. These figures apply only to those detained for 30 days or longer.

SECURITY LEGISLATION DETENTION

At least 205 people were known to be in security detention as of March 31 this year, according to a report by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at Wits University.

These detainees were held under the following Acts: section 9 Internal Security Act (142); section 31 ISA (10); Ciskei National Security Act (22); Transkei Public Safety Act (six); Bophuthatswana ISA (six); Venda Maintenance of Law and Order Act (17); unknown legislation (two).

They were detained during the following periods: in 1986 (19); January — June 1987 (57); July — December 1987 (102); January — March 1988 (26); detention date unknown (one).

EMERGENCY RESTRICTION ORDERS

According to the CALS report, at least 70 detainees are known have been served with Emergency regulations restriction orders since the State of Emergency was declared. The report stressed that this was only a small proportion of the total number and that the names of many restricted persons were unknown.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

MANDLA NKOMFE, 26, Soweto Youth Congress leader, was detained under the Emergency regulations on December 4 last year.

Nkomfe was a high school pupil in Soweto during the 1980 schools boycott. He joined the Congress of South African Students and in 1982 was elected to the Cosas committee responsible for the formation of youth congresses. In 1983 he was elected to the South African Youth Congress executive as treasurer and assisted with the formation of Sayco in 1986.

● Last week's Prisoner of Conscience, Nonceba Mkupa, had in fact been released from detention shortly before the newspaper was published. We apologise for the error.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for importation and distribution:

A Trade Union Handbook, Organise or Starve (Workers Unity Publication, SACTU, Lusaka); Swapo Information Bulletin June 1987 (Swapo Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda); The Combatant vol 9 no 5 December 1987 (PLAN Commissariat, Lubango); Anti-Apartheid Women's Newsletter issue 35 Spring 1988 (Anti-Apartheid Movement Women's Committee, London); Anti-Apartheid News March 1988 (Anti-Apartheid Movement, London); Justice and Service Febuary 1988 and Justice and Service no 2 vol 3 Feb 1988 (Justice and Service, Harare); New Perspectives vol 18 1988 (Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Helsinski); A Cry from South Africa: Free the Children from Apartheid (BART, London); Save the Sharpeville Six, No to Apartheid Executions (SATIS, London); Covenant News Bulletin No 1 December 1987 (not stated); New Unity Movement Youth Wing: Fight Fascist Controls: Reject the De Klerk Proposals (New Unity Movement Youth Wing, Natal, Durban); News and Letters vol 33 no 3 April 1 (not stated); Solidarity action fighting for freedom — poster (National Union of Students); Children of War, Stand Together Now, youth organising packet (not stated); People Making History Book 2 (Peter Garlake and Andre Proctor); Nature's Eternal Religion (Ben Casen); Prank No 145 Sonskyn Uitgewers, (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg); A Roman Tale (Carroll Baker); Full Metal Jacket — video; Plaza Real — film; The Stick — film.

Banned for possession:

Flasche (GMP Publishers, London); Lui no 3 (Presse-Office et Editons des Savanes); Brunette (Furura Books, London); Naked Teacher's Secret (Andy Jackson); Man, Maid, Lust (Rickard Trookis); Little Boys' Plaything (Rod Strong); Sex and the Single Tourist (Carl Stanton); Taxi Cab Sex (Scotty Keene); Too Young for Marriage (Delmore James); Unemployment Lay's Lust (Jake Hooler); Hot Chains, Cold Wife (JT Watson); Hunter's Sex Season (David Bancroft); The Happiest Hooker (Terri Lincoln); Hung Hustler (Bob Michaels); Anne's Damaged Alley (Pat Coller); The Corrupted Swappers (Peter Ryan); Billy's New Teacher (Jan Hanson).

27/5-2/6/88 W/Mail 327

Laudable, but bannable

Some of the activities of the UDF are 'laudable' says the state. But the ban remains. By KAREN EVANS

"MANY or at least some of the activities or acts of the United Democratic Front and affiliates are not only perfectly legal but even laudable," said the minister of law and order in response to an application by the UDF to declare the banning of their organisation invalid.

The UDF is taking legal action against State President PW Botha, the government of the Republic of South Africa, and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok on the implementation of Regulation 6 which effectively precludes the organisation from functioning.

The regulation allows the minister the power to prohibit the UDF from "performing any acts or activities whatsoever". It allows the UDF to keep its books up to date, take legal advice and perform activities "which the minister consents to".

In response to the minister's statement that certain activities of the UDF are legal and laudable, attorneys Krish Naidoo and Company argue it is incomprehensible that the UDF is precluded from performing such activities, underlining "the unreasonable nature of the restriction".

The applicants have challenged the right of the state president to surrender to the minister his powers to restrict organisations. The applicant argues it is not permissable as "the Emergency regulations are of such importance that parliament conferred the power to the state president only".

In their argument, the respondents outlined a history of the African National Congress and its policies, the dimensions of the revolution, the history of the UDF and the execution of its policies.

Excerpts from ANC president Oliver Tambo's New Year speeches over the last three years were used as evidence of the existence of a link between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the UDF.

The applicants, in an answering affidavit, argued that the respondent failed to confirm the validity of the Emergency, but filed "lengthy affidavits, the apparent purpose of which is to endeavour to discredit the applicants and paint a distorted picture".

The applicant denied links with the ANC and SACP and dismissed the idea that the UDF is a "single coherent movement with a conspiracy to overthrow the state by violent means".

"Such smears are unsubstantiated, unfounded and vague in the extreme."

The applicant denied associating itself with aims and methods of the ANC and SACP or having had any part in the formation of the organisation.

In his responding affidavit, the state president argued that he had taken into account "all relevent information concerning the security situation in the country and having so considered such information I declared the State of Emergency".

The state president further considered it necessary to implement Regulation 6A.

"In my opinion the activities of certain organisations have reached such widespread proportions and increased the revolutionary climate to such an extent that it is necessary to act immediately and decisively in order to protect the safety of the public, to maintain public order and restore peace, calm and tranquillity in the country to the extent that the State of Emergency can be lifted."

The applicants argued that the UDF's banning at this stage is questionable as the organsiation was regarded by the respondents as a threat since its inception.

No date has been set for a hearing.

We

the undersigned members of anti-apartheid solidarity groups and organisations in the Federal Republic of Germany,

- condemn the recent suspension of 'The New Nation' and 'South' by Stoffel Botha
- wholeheartedly support the campaign

HANDS OFF THE PRESS

- furthermore, pledge to mobilise and intensify pressure against further attempts to muzzle 'The Weekly Mail', 'Grassroots' 'Saamstaan' and "Work in Progress'

STOP STOFFEL

South Africa Scholarship Fund, Tuebingen
Pro Oikumene, Stuttgart
Anti-apartheid Movement in the FRG and Berlin (West)
Medico International, Frankfurt
Covenant Project, Bremen
Women against Apartheid, Bremen
Action Group: Free Nelson Mandela, Stuttgart

mark the Portuguese National Day, with a special eight-page supplement inside Weekend!

Luxury hotel grinds to a halt as 245 workers are rounded up after demo

Star 28/5/88 (327)

PAT DEVEREAUX

Guests staying at Johannesburg's prestigious Carlton Hotel yesterday morning awoke to no room service and apologetic notices as 245 hotel staffers were arrested outside in a protest sparked by a change in the hotel's management.

Many of the international guests — delegates attending a promotional tourism workshop hosted by the South African Tourism Board — witnessed police arresting the demonstrators under emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act.

"I was horrified to see women placard-holding demonstrators being manhandled by the police as they were loaded into police vans," said a Taiwanese tourist, who did not want to be named.

She said the demonstration seemed peaceful and this had given her a "totally different perspective on South African laws".

Restaurant bookings at the hotel had to be cancelled and there was no bar service.

According to the hotel's marketing director, Mr Larry Macartney, the dispute arose after the disinvestment of the Seattle-based Western International (Westin) company on April 15 because the hotel staff expected a service bonus pay-out.

Mr Macartney said those protesting made it plain that their dispute was with Westin and not the Carlton. He said they seemed to misunderstand that they were employed by the Carlton and were not employees of the former managing company, Westin.

Eye-witnesses yesterday said the demonstrators, due to start work on the morning shift, had gathered outside the hotel demanding compensation which had allegedly been promised by Westin. Shortly afterwards the 142 men and 103 women staff members were arrested.

Late yesterday afternoon Mr Macartney said: "Bail of R100 each was paid by management personel and the demonstrators are being processed at John Vorster Square and then released."

The afternoon staff had failed to report for work but a meeting was expected to be held with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union (Harwu).

● The Saturday Star was prevented from publishing photographs of yesterday's demonstration in terms of the emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act.

World's dearest house

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — A Georgian mansion, called The Holme, in London's Regent's Park is being offered for sale — at R120 million. Agents handling the sale think this makes it the world's dearest dwelling.

The house, built in 1818, has superb park views and is close to all amenities. It has 40 rooms, including a banqueting hall, a library, sauna, whirlpool bath and exercise areas. Outside there is an all-weather tennis court, along with eight garages.

Landscaped grounds sloping down to a wide lake frontage helped earn the house the description of one of the most romantic places in London.

The estate agents will not name the present occupants. "There's a family living there whose lifestyle has changed," was all a spokesman would say.

A family from the Middle East is thought to have bought the property for about R20 million in 1984.

Cape Times 28/5/86

Hotel guests make own beds

JOHANNESBURG. — Guests at the Carlton Hotel made their own beds yesterday after police arrested nearly all the black staff protesting against disinvestment by the American managers. — Sapa and UPI.

327

Tourists see 245 arrested in pay protest

28/5/88 (327)

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Guests awakened at the Carlton Hotel here to no room service and apologetic notices as 245 hotel staffers were arrested outside in a protest sparked by a change in the hotel's management.

Many of the international guests — delegates invited to a promotional tourism workshop hosted by the South African Tourism Board — saw police arresting the demonstrators under emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act.

"I was horrified to see placard-holding women being manhandled by the police as they were loaded into police vans," said a Taiwanese tourist, who did not want to be named.

She added that the demonstration seemed peaceful and this had given her a "totally different perspective on South African laws".

Restaurant bookings at the hotel were cancelled and there was no bar service.

The management said they were inundated with queries from guests but denied any had left because of the inconvenience.

According to the hotel's marketing director, Mr Larry Macartney, the dispute arose after the disinvestment of the Seattle-based Western International (Westin) on April 15. The staff expected a service bonus payout.

Mr Macartney said protesters made it plain that their dispute was with Westin and not the Carlton. However, he said, they seemed to misunderstand that they were employed by the Carlton and were not the former managing company.

Witnesses said the demonstrators, due to start work on the morning shift, gathered outside the hotel demanding compensation allegedly promised by Westin. Soon afterwards the 142 men and 103 women were arrested.

Late yesterday afternoon Mr Macartney said bail of R100 each was paid by the management and the demonstrators were being processed at John Vorster Square and released.

WJ2 108.66

WH2

per roll

1 BR ROOF SHEETING

7.49 per m

PLASTICIZER

2.99

per 5ℓ

Concentrated strength

PI
RO
INSUL
24
per

Weekend FOCUS 1

THE FRIENDLY EXECUTIONER

Stoffel Botha

A PROFILE — by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Staff

HE regards people of the media as his friends. His doors are always open to them. And in his view, the standards of South African newspapers compare with the best in the world.

The speaker?

None other than Mr Stoffel Botha, who, as Minister of Home Affairs, has the power to close down newspapers — and has done so.

In his office in the HF Verwoerd Building he has a framed cartoon depicting him as *The Friendly Executioner* wielding a huge axe over the South African Press.

He is amused by it, clearly relishing that brand of satire.

As the minister in charge, he has come to the forefront of the ongoing controversy about Press freedom in South Africa, and his actions in closing some papers, warning others and expressing tough views on newspapers.

BUT in his office in the Verwoerd Building in Cape Town he told me this week how much he enjoyed reading newspapers, how he appreciated their role, and what high regard he had for the job they were doing under difficult circumstances.

The last thing he wanted was to seek confrontation with the Press — "my doors are always open to them".

He greatly appreciated the "positive and educational role and the informative action" of the Press.

He understood the difficult circumstances under which journalists worked when they had to meet deadlines and when they also had to interpret the facts before them.

If it had not been for the media, South Africa would not have progressed as far as it has in various fields.

To him it is "a pleasant task" to read newspapers — and in spite of a busy daily programme he always sets aside time to read them. Sometimes he does so before going to bed at night or when he has time to spare during lunch breaks.

He tries to look at every publication in the country, ranging from the daily papers to weekend papers, magazines and papers circulating among black people. "I find time to read them all, perhaps not in great detail — and I enjoy them."

In reading them, his aim was not to scrutinise them with a view to censorship but largely to be informed about events. It did not upset him if he found individual papers had overstepped the mark in some way or did not present a balanced account of events.

HOWEVER, he received letters every day from individuals, organisations or from the private sector complaining about published material. These were usually referred to the Media Council or to his department.

In spite of such complaints he still thought that South Africa's overall Press standards compared favourably with the best in the world. This did not mean there were not certain weaknesses.

One of the problems was that the existing press code of conduct was not always adhered to. This would be discussed with the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) at talks to be held in June.

What about his recent reference in Parliament to *media terrorists*, which he described in these terms:

They are instruments of conflict and destruction throughout the world, not only in South Africa. They are the people who do not have the guts to be terrorists themselves as it is too dangerous. They hide behind the protection of an editorial office to motivate others to do the dirty work for the sake of their selfish aims; like those people who try to impress the ordinary motorist with their expensive sports cars on public roads, but do not have the courage to take up the challenge at Kyalami.

Mr Botha said there were not many of them (*media terrorists*). His concern was about "a small group" seeking to wreck the Government's reform efforts.

He saw the emergency regulations as a temporary measure to maintain order so that the Government could go ahead "in peace" to seek political and constitutional solutions to the country's problems.

The regulations affecting the media were not aimed at silencing ordinary critics of the Government, but largely at propaganda from hostile sources.

QUESTIONED about his attack in Parliament on "resistance art" and "biting satire", he explained that he had not implied all satire was unacceptable.

He enjoyed satire. Satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys, for example, was "very funny" at times and he had no objection to him.

"I have an intense interest in the performing arts. I have seen some of Uys's performances and I enjoy them, but sometimes it depends on one's taste."

He also did not object to jokes about politicians — "I enjoy them, but sometimes it goes beyond my sense of humour."

But back to his remarks in Parliament: "I am not against satire. I was merely referring to some things that get out of hand. I get loads of correspondence daily from various organisations, churches and other bodies complaining about plays, for example..."

In Parliament Mr Botha had outlined his objection to "resistance art" thus:

Under the banner of art and literary merits, these people want to bypass the Act and attack those interests which the Act is intended to protect, namely the morality, the religion, the dignity of sections of the inhabitants, relations between sections of the inhabitants, and the safety of the State.

Resistance art did not, of course, originate in South Africa. It has been known for ages in countries where authors and other artists masked and subtly camouflaged their works for security reasons.

Locally, resistance art is mostly expressed in the form of plays, popular theatre, recitals and music. The purpose of all this is to create a climate which fosters a spirit of resistance and revolt, and which can then lead to labour unrest, civil disobedience, protest marches and, in the final instance, to revolution..."

And on the question of "biting satire" Mr Botha told Parliament:

Another form of resistance art is biting satire in which an attack is launched on personalities and specific aspects of the "establishment". The purpose is obviously to make the viewer critical of the existing order and to create a spirit of general dissatisfaction and even revolt.

Something which is becoming more prevalent are recitals and song evenings during which recitals from the poems and other works of so-called "national" artists and prohibited publications are given. The recitals are usually alternated with the singing of freedom songs, which often serve as a catalyst for the creation of an emotionally explosive situation.

The State, as well as the bodies concerned with publications control, have noted with concern a new tendency.

MR Botha emphasised in this week's interview that he had a great interest in arts and the theatre.

In his five years as Administrator of Natal he had been instrumental in getting the Natal Playhouse off the ground and had served for five years as chairman of the Natal Performing Arts Board (Napac). He had also been instrumental in establishing the Natal Symphony Orchestra.

"I have an intense interest in the performing arts".

Before he entered politics Mr Botha, who studied law at the University of the Witwatersrand, practised as a lawyer in Johannesburg. He was a senior partner in a large firm of attorneys.

He has also been a farmer in Northern Zululand where he owns a farm.

'We don't serve blacks,' says Cape cafe boss

CP Correspondent

PETTY apartheid is still rife in Cradock, as two journalists and their black assistant discovered recently when they were refused service at a restaurant in the Eastern Cape town.

Mthuthuzeli Mgsiza, a translator, sat down for a meal in the Durban Street restaurant with a Canadian professor of journalism, Jim McKenzie, and another journalist. When they requested service, the proprietor's wife, a Mrs Myburgh, refused, saying she was not prepared to serve blacks.

"They give me a headache and they pinch and if I serve one of them I would have to serve all and my shop would close in a week," she said.

Asked why she was prepared to take money from the numerous black customers who bought at the take-away section of the restaurant, she said she would "be grateful if you could get them not to buy at my shop".

"My boy was shot at the border – why should I serve them?"

Mgsiza, who was working with the journalists on a story, said the incident had upset him. "These things happen sometimes, so it is not so very bad, but I wonder if these people are aware of the problems they are causing our country," he said.

McKenzie, who has been in the country from Regina University for only four weeks, said it was the first time he had come across such a racial incident.

"In Canada it would be illegal to do something like that. The person who was with us would immediately be able to sue, but I suppose this country is different," he said.

"All we wanted to do was have a meal. I came here to see what is going on and that woman certainly showed me quite a bit."

Mr Myburgh said his wife would not comment on the incident, but added that he always refused to serve blacks.

Censors apply big stick to Singh's Cannes hit movie

Star 30/5/88 327

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Durban film producer Anant Singh's South African-made film "The Stick", which won acclaim at the recent Cannes film festival, was banned last week by the Publications Control Board.

The film has been tipped to set major box office receipts around the world.

The locally-set anti-film movie, reported to have received more publicity than any other on offer at Cannes, has been snapped up by major distributors in Japan, Holland, Spain, France, Greece, and south east Asia, and negotiations are being conducted in Britain, West Germany, Australia and the US.

The film, due for release in South Africa in July, was cut and edited by Lee Edward Percy, who edited the Oscar-winning "The Kiss of the Spiderwoman".

CONFIDENT THAT APPEAL WILL SUCCEED

Singh, who hosted the world premiere of the film at the 12-day film extravaganza in the French Riveria resort, says he will not take the matter lying down.

"Although I am naturally disappointed at the decision made by the censorship committee, we have already lodged our intention to appeal with the Appeal Board and we are confident that the film will be passed on appeal.

"The decision to ban 'The Stick' is not unlike that of other anti-war films that have been made in the US. Films such as 'Platoon', 'Full Metal Jacket' and 'Apocplypse Now' also had to be submitted for appeal.

Director Darrell Roodt says: "I really hope that they pass it. It's a film especially made for South Africa, and it must be seen here. It's only fair."

Star 30/5/88 (327)

Stoffel Botha's threat to media freedom

IN MY JUDGMENT

The Star's Ombudsman **JAMES McCLURG** discusses readers' complaints

If you have a complaint about the editorial content of The Star you are invited to write to The Ombudsman, c/o The Editor's Secretary, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000.

The existence of this column, modest though its scope may be, demonstrates The Star's acceptance of two principles: that no newspaper is immune from error and that no newspaper should be the final judge in its own cause.

The SA Media Council, currently under fire from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, is grounded in much the same principles, but with a heavy political background.

The acceptance of these principles, though now fairly general, did not come easily to journalists or the newspaper industry as a whole. It is doubtful whether the press would voluntarily have surrendered its liberty to a disciplinary body, even a self-appointed one, had it not been for government pressure.

It was under the threat of restrictive legislation that first the Press Board of Reference, then the Press Council (later revamped and given "teeth") and finally the present Media Council were successively set up. The Southern African Society of Journalists has watched this process with dismay, regarding it as appeasement on the part of the Newspaper Press Union, the proprietors' association.

The Media Council represents a compromise between the Government on the one side and the NPU and the Conference of Editors on the other.

Had this compromise not been reached at the eleventh hour in 1982, legislation would have been passed putting the newspapers at the mercy of a statutory body which would in effect have been a censor.

The Media Council, whose chairman and vice-chairman are former judges of the Appeal Court, includes representatives of both the general public and the media.

But the objectionable legislation of 1982 was not cancelled. It was merely put on ice, and it looks like being taken out of the parliamentary refrigerator and warmed up.

The Newspaper Press Union has consistently refused to be involved in the disciplining of non-members, otherwise it could have found itself being expected to act against the small "alternative" publications (including the highly esteemed *Weekly Mail*) whose life now hangs on the personal yea or nay of Mr Stoffel Botha.

The council has also declined to become a "pro-active" body monitoring the output of NPU members and disciplining errant publications even in the absence of outside complaints.

Since the media representatives on the council espouse opposing political beliefs, to have undertaken either of these things would have created intolerable tensions and almost certainly caused a complete split.

Mr Botha finds that, all in all, the council has not met the Government's "reasonable expectations" and does not administer its own code properly. Another meeting is to be held, but it is doubtful whether room for further compromise exists.

If Mr Botha now does his worst, the public can be expected to know less and less of what is going on in their own country and over its borders. Any talk of media freedom in South Africa will finally become a manifest mockery.

★ ★ ★

Cape Times 30/5/88

Carlton Hotel workers released

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — All 245 Carlton Hotel workers arrested during demonstrations on Friday were released and resumed work, a hotel spokesman said.

He said the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union had taken up the issue of the international hotel group Westin's withdrawal with its headquarters in Seattle in the United States.

More than half of the Carlton staff demonstrated when they heard Westin was planning to withdraw its management prior to paying severance benefits promised, a union spokesman said.

TV tapes of church service 'wiped'

Cape Times 31/5/88

Staff Reporter

INTERNATIONAL television crews covering a church service at the threatened Lawaaikamp settlement yesterday claimed that four video cassettes, which had been handed to SAA for transportation to Johannesburg, had been "wiped".

In a joint statement, Worldwide Television News (WTN) and Visnews said television crews had videotaped a church service at Lawaaikamp on Sunday and had shipped four videotapes containing footage of the church service to Johannesburg

"WTN and Visnews have clear evidence that the four tapes had been tampered with after they were given to SAA for shipment. The video images on all four cassettes had been erased.. We deplore this type of tampering with the news gathering process.

"WTN and Visnews issue this statement representing NBC News, ABC News, BBC and ITN."

SATS spokesman Mr Francois Louw confirmed last night that SAA had transported the tapes but said SATS did not "interfere in any way with cargo that has been entrusted to us for transport.

"Our official standpoint is that we transport all cargo after having screened it by means of X-rays and other means for the sake of aircraft and passenger safety. We are investigating the matter, and view it in a serious light," he said.

He could not explain how the tapes could have been wiped clean and could not say whether another agent could have intercepted the tapes and interfered with them.

Mr Craig Matthew, WTN cameraman, said nothing remained of the church service at Lawaaikamp which he had filmed.

The images could not be wiped out by X-Ray machines at airports and it would need strong magnetism to erase the tapes which were packed in normal plastic shipping bags and properly tied, he said.

● Lawaaikamp's residents have till today to move or face legal efforts to evict them. They have appealed that they be allowed to stay and that Lawaaikamp be upgraded.

Department pulls back its journal

(327) Star 31/5/88

By Claire Robertson
Pretoria Bureau

The Department of Home Affairs has withdrawn the l[illegible] edition of its journal, *Civitas*, in which an editorial calls for unity among all races in South Africa.

It appears in the issue commemorating the Huguenot Festival, and was distributed and withdrawn on Friday. A spokesman would not give reasons.

The editorial says that although several derogatory terms are used by the various races to describe other races, they all make up "one *volk*" (one people).

It says: "We call one another 'Kaaskoppe, Boere, Hotnots, Porras or *Seekaffers*, Yanks, Pommies or *Rooinekke, Aitaais, Keffiegrieke*, Kaffirs or Bantu, Frogs, Nazis and everything Polish, Russian or Hungarian is 'Communist'.

'HAS LAID A CORNERSTONE'

"But each one of us, whatever we are called, has laid a cornerstone in the building of our country.

"Dias laid the cornerstone of the 'Porras'; Van Riebeeck that of the 'Kaaskoppe'; the Huguenots that of the 'Frogs'; the Strandlopers that of the 'Hotnots'; Shaka and others that of the 'kaffirs' and so on.

"But however we feel about one another, we are one big cornerstone. The cornerstone of South Africa. One people. Each and every one of us builds the walls of South Africa.

"Whatever we think of ourselves, each one has done his part in the construction. Let us take one another's hand and continue to build to make this happen."

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT

Address:
20 Alfred Street, Observatory 7925

Phone:
(021) 47 9852/ 69 8531 Ext. 440

Membership and Constituency:
People with technical expertise in among other things engineering, architecture, economics, computers, health, labour. Open to all people interested in offering skills and expertise to progressive trade union and community organisations.

Aims and Objectives:
To provide technical assistance and information to progressive organisations to aid them in their struggles.

Publications

Title	Date of Publication	Price
VDU Users Survival Package (6 pp)	1982	30c
Land Valuation (4 pp)	1982	20c
Electricity Struggles	1983	50c
The Struggle for Better Sewerage	1983	50c
Hire Purchase Checklist (5 pp)	1983	25c
Medical Aids Schemes (forthcoming)	1984	

* * * * * * * * * *

UNEMPLOYMENT WORKERS MOVEMENT

Address:
P.O. Box 21, Manenberg 7764

AID PLEDGE FOR THE APARTHEID VICTIMS

BRUSSELS — The European Economic Community on Monday pledged to maintain humanitarian aid to South African anti-apartheid groups even if such groups are effectively banned under a Bill being prepared by the South African Government.

Church leaders given assurance

EEC development commissioner Lorenzo Natali met on Friday in Brussels with South African church leaders and leaders of the Kagiso Trust, a South African group that aids apartheid victims.

EEC officials said Natali assured them of the organisation's support of those who "use all pacific (peaceful) means to fight for the abolition of apartheid.

The EEC has earmarked 25,5 million European currency units (30,6 million dollars) for huminatarian aid to South African opposition groups in 1988, up from the 20 million and 10 million ecus (24 million and 12 million dollars) in 1987 and 1986, respectively.

The South African religious leaders from several denominations urged the EEC to pressure South Africa into shelving the "Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics" Bill.

The Bill, likely to be adopted by South Africa's Parliament later this year, will let Pretoria seize funds from abroad if it believes these will be used for political activities.

South African churches and church groups rely heavily on foreign funding. Under the Bill, they would need government approval to get foreign aid.

EEC officials did not say how the EEC would continue its humanitarian aid if the Bill becomes law.

Last week, a group in the European parliament urged the EEC to increase economic sanctions against South Africa if it tightens up its anti-apartheid legislation.

In 1986 the EEC banned new investments in South Africa and halted imports of iron, steel and gold coins from the country. — Sapa-AP.

Organiser's conviction quashed

Star 11/6/88

CAPE TOWN — A South African Railways and Harbours Workers Union (Sarhwu) organiser convicted of making a subversive statement in a speech at Stellenbosch University last year has had his conviction and sentence set aside on appeal in the Supreme Court.

Mr Morris Tshililo Khwidzhili (36) was fined R1 000 (or one year) by a Stellenbosch magistrate last year. Half the sentence was suspended for five years.

He was found guilty in terms of the media regulations.

The basis for the conviction was that Mr Khwidzhili, addressing students on a Sats strike in Johannesburg, encouraged them to support it.

The magistrate quoted Mr Khwidzhili as saying: "Police and soldiers were sent with guns. When they met the people, they shot them, tear-gassed them, hit them with stones. But we know there is no freedom without blood. We are heading for freedom. We are dying for the truth and our rights." (327)

Yesterday Mr Justice H Berman, with Mr Justice Nel concurring, set aside Mr Khwidzhili's conviction and sentence after hearing that the strike had ended on April 22, two days before the Stellenbosch University speech. — Sapa.

had applied to move
flets were distributed in
king residents to attend a
fficials this evening.

in terms of the Squatter Act more than a month ago.

Apart from certain officials, po-

orities.

The most pressing concern of residents yesterday was the fact

additional structures may be
and no newcomers may move into the area.

Stellenbosch petition protests against curbs

S/Ex 21/6/88 Own Correspondent (327)

CAPE TOWN — More than 230 people living or working in Stellenbosch have signed a petition calling on Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha to revoke the Government's "undemocratic and repressive measures" against the Press.

A statement by the petition organisers is to be published tomorrow in Afrikaans in the *Weekly Mail*.

Among the signatories are Dr Esther Lategan of the National Democratic Movement, Professor Herman Giliomee of the University of Cape Town's political science department and Professor Sampie Terreblanche, one of 34 Stellenbosch University academics who severed ties with the National Party before last year's election.

A spokesman for the organisers, Mr Eugene Lourens, said the petition had been signed by a "wide range" of people.

It reads: "We are of the opinion that freedom of the Press is one of the most important pillars of any democratic society."

The signatories said they viewed the action taken by the Government against *New Nation*, *South* and the *Volkstem* in a "serious light" and called on Mr Botha to revoke the Government's "undemocratic" measures.

Other academics who have signed the petition include the vice-rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jaap Durand, Professor Willem van Vuuren of UWC and Stellenbosch University academics Professor Johan Degenaar, Professor Hennie Kotze, Professor Willie Breytenbach.

A co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Anton Harber, confirmed that the statement would appear in tomorrow's edition.

FOREIGN FUNDING

Turning the screws

Following opposition from within the National Party itself, as well as pressure from the international community, government appears set to review the controversial Promotion of Orderly Politics Bill.

The Bill followed Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee's announcement last year that government intended to close loopholes which allowed foreign money to come into SA for political purposes. The intention of the legislation was to block money for extra-parliamentary activities. However, in the drafting of the legislation, nearly all donations were threatened.

This week Coetsee made it clear that he does not want to stop funds for black upliftment. However, there is no sign that government has abandoned its desire to control funds destined for activities it deems undesirable. What it is looking for is a workable formula.

One possibility being considered is legislation — similar to that in the US — that will require non-profit organisations to disclose details of foreign funds and their intended use and to have audited accounts. Two *démarches* condemning the Bill have been made to government recently. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Kobus Meiring received the first from German Ambassador Immo Stabreit on behalf of the 12 European Community (EC) nations. This was followed by another from Canada, Australia, Finland, Norway and Sweden in which the five countries expressed their collective opposition to the proposed legislation. Separate representations have also been made by the US.

Coetzee ... does not want to stop funds

Federal Republic of Germany Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher reiterated the EC point of view last week when he addressed the ambassadors of the OAU countries on their 25th anniversary.

"Arbitrary arrests and censorship of the press, the branding of political opponents as criminals and the introduction of laws designed to cut off the victims of apartheid from foreign aid are manifestations of State despotism," said Genscher.

Genscher added that any attempt to block funds would be considered as an act against the EC countries and that SA should be aware that they are opposed to it. ■

3/6/88 FM 32

Vlok throws down a gauntlet

Sowetan 3/6/88

327

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday challenged Dr Max Coleman of the Detainees Parents' Support Committee to make public the names of those youths under 16 years whom he claimed were being held in terms of the emergency regulations.

He was commenting on news reports quoting Dr Coleman as having said that Mr Vlok's Republic Day statement that no child younger than 16 was being held in terms of the emergency regulations and that less than 100 aged 16 and 17 were being detained, was untrue.

Mr Vlok said he regarded Dr Coleman's allegation that about 250 children up to the age of 17 were being detained, some for over a year, in a serious light.

"I take the strongest exception to Dr Coleman's public statement in which he tries to make out that I am misleading South Africans by giving false information," he said.

A 14-year-old youth referred to by Dr Coleman was detained for a few hours only.

"He was arrested on March 30, but was released the following day after supplying police with valuable information. He was taken to his parents' home at 16,30 on March 31."

Mr Vlok said he was prepared to allow a magistrate to accompany Dr Coleman to any police cell or prison to point out the particular detainees.

He had already assigned a police officer to make arrangements with Dr Coleman.

"Should he not accept my challenge or fail to name the children or point them out, that will be proof positive that his allegations are total fabrications and abominable lies," he said.—Sapa.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok last week released the name of another 28 people detained under the Emergency Regulations fo 30 days or longer. This brings to 18 010 the total number of peopl detained for 30 days or more since the Emergency was declared o June 12, 1986. Of these, 3 036 have been detained since the Emer gency was redeclared on June 11 last year.

The minister has consistently refused to release the names of thos held for less than 30 days.

Vlok said in parliament this week that there were "fewer than 100' youths aged 16 or 17 in Emergency detention at the moment an none aged 15 or under.

PIETERMARITZBURG AND NATAL MIDLANDS DETENTIONS

At least 1 035 people were detained under the Emergency regulation in Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands area between June 12 las year and March 15 this year, according to a report from the Universi ty of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies. On Jun 12, 1987 a further 26 people were still being held from the previou Emergency, the report said.

According to the report those organisations most affected by the de tentions were the following: Natal Students Congress, Edendal Youth Congress, National Education Union of South Africa, Mvel weni Youth Congress, Diindi Youth Congress (all United Democrati Front affiliates), the Transport and General Workers Union, Post and Telecommunications Workers Association and the National Union o Metalworkers of South Africa.

SADF DEATHS IN ANGOLA

A total of at least 69 South African Defence Force and South West African Territorial Force troops have been killed in Angola and the "operational area" (which includes Angola) since September last year, according to official SADF releases. A further three are officially missing and one has been captured. Fifty-eight of these deaths were listed specifically as having occurred in Angola.

According to the Angolan government, 342 SADF and SWATF troops were killed between September and December last year.

Last month Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan said in parliament that 31 SADF and 12 SWATF troops had been killed in fighting in Angola in the previous nine months. Since then the SADF has announced the deaths of four more SWATF soldiers and one more SADF soldier in the "operational area". Malan was replying to a question by PFP defence spokesman, Roger Hulley, who said in parliament that "independent estimates from overseas" had put the total SADF/SWATF losses at "hundreds of troops".

By adding up the total number of South African deaths in Angola and the "operational area" over the past nine months according to SADF press releases, a figure of 53 is reached — all of them white troops. This figure is believed to include 40 conscripts and 13 members of the Permanent Force, with 34 of the dead having been either officers or non-commissioned officers.

Last week Malan said in parliament that he was not prepared to release information on SADF, SWATF or Unita troops.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

MOTGOMOTISI MOGODIRI, 24, South African National Students Congress (Sansco) activist, was detained under the Emergency regulations on May 20 last year and is still being held.

Mogodiri joined the now-banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) as a high school student and five years ago was elected chairperson of the Soweto Cosas branch. In late 1984 he was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and was held for nine months.

Since 1986 Mogodiri has been active in Sansco at Wits University. At the time of his detention last year he was a second year BSC student.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:

Mowbray Youth Congress Newsletter no 2 March 1988 (Mowbray Youth Congress, Mowbray); Crisis News no 21 April/May 1988 (Western Province Council of Churches, Cape Town); Work in Progress no 53 April/May 1988 (Southern African Research Service, Braamfontein); Swapo Information Bulletin, December 1987 (Swapo Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda); Save The Six — pamphlet (not stated); Azikwelwa: Stayaway: Monday March 21 (not stated); Artikel Kommentare: A trail of blood leading back to the apartheid courts (not stated); Liberation no 10 March/April 1988 (Manifest Press, Dar-es-Salaam); Southern Africa Campaign Pack, Fighting for Freedom (National Petition Campaign, London); Worshipping with Namibia Christmas packet (Church Action on Namibia, London); The Leninist Issue 61 March 18, 1988 (November Publications, London); Fight Racism: Fight Imperialism: Issue 76 March 1988 (Larkin Publications, London); Zimbabwe News vol 19 no 3 April 1988 (Department of Information and Publicity, Jongwe Printing and Publishing Co, Harare); Straight Left no 110 April 1988 (Straight Left Ltd, London); Imperialism's psychological offensive against the frontline states (Mikhail Troyansky).

Unbanned:

Gazelle April/May 1988 (Republican Press, Johannesburg).

Star 3/6/88 (327)

Ever-growing pressure on the press

From a paper delivered to the recent general assembly of the International Press Institute in Istanbul, Turkey, by Raymond Louw, editor and publisher of Southern Africa Report, Johannesburg.

A report on the pressures on the press South Africa is always a bewilder-ng assignment. Where does one egin? There are just so many essures and they come from all ides — and they are always increas-g.

Perhaps the worst at this time is the ban on the two weekly papers, *New Nation* and *South*. *New Nation*, with a largely black circulation of 37 000, and *South*, with a mainly black and coloured circulation of 10 000 have been banned under the emergency regulations for up to three months.

Another four newspapers are threatened with closure and an unknown number of others have been required to submit copies of their publications to the secret board of government employees which decides which papers are "a threat to public order", "foment revolution", "promote banned organisations" — and I must say I always find this a bizarre element of the restrictive media regulations — "prevent the ending of the state of emergency", which means that they too may be faced with closure.

'The government in its zeal had obviously not realised that closure could be a two-edged sword.'

Condemnation by this board of inquisitors, who act through the Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, is arbitrary and purely subjective. A decision is based on a study of more than one issue of the paper, but, according to the Minister, the "tone" of articles can be a deciding factor.

One newspaper was accused of promoting the image of a banned organisation by publishing a story about the ANC announcing willingness to have peace talks with the SA Government. The story also appeared in most other papers in the country but none of them were accused of this "crime". That may sound absurd, but the end result could still be banning of the paper for three months — which, of course, could lead to its being closed down.

The known papers under threat, in addition to the banned Catholic bishops-funded *New Nation* and *South* are: the *Weekly Mail*, started by several displaced journalists after the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1985, which has a 22 000 circulation of mainly upper class whites and a few blacks; *Saamstaan* (which means "stand together") which was planned to appear in the rural black community at Oudtshoorn in the Cape, with a print order of 9 000 to 12 000 copies every six weeks, but failed to meet that commitment because of the intermittent detention of its three courageous editors, the sabotage of its deliveries and other harassment; another "community" paper, *Grassroots*, in Cape Town, bigger than *Saamstaan* but details of its sales are not known, which is being subjected to the additional burden of an inquiry into foreign funding; *Out of Step*, a quarterly run by the End Conscription Campaign ... and *Work in Progress*, a bi-monthly journal with 14 000 circulation.

All these papers, described as the "alternative press", have in common slender resources and precarious financing. They concentrate on political, labour and other issues which are treated more cursorily in the mainstream press and are vigorously anti-apartheid and anti-government.

Another paper threatened with closure is the *Sowetan* (circulation 137 000), which is part of the mainstream press, owned by the Argus Company. The argument it used to some effect was that though it opposed government policies, its closure would rob the government of a vehicle for explaining its policies to blacks because it published ministerial statements even if it commented unfavourably on them later.

The government in its zeal had obviously not realised that closure could be a two-edged sword. It has not taken further action but has left the warning hanging over the newspaper.

A three months' ban, though serious, would not necessarily mean extinction for the "alternative" papers, except possibly for the *Weekly Mail*, which has begun to attract a fair number of advertisers. These would, of course, tend to be frightened off by a ban. *New Nation*, which has little advertising, is saving printing costs while being banned and is using the period on staff training.

But for the *Sowetan* with substantial advertising, a ban could mean closedown. Though owned by a big group, it would not easily be able to sustain unproductive overheads for that period. This, of course, is an extremely serious problem for the mainstream press, some of which have already had editions held up — a threat was made to ban an edition of *The Star*, the country's biggest evening paper.

Confiscation of a few issues, let alone a three months' ban, could mean the difference between profit and loss on a year's operations for a major newspaper — and that could result in permanent closedown.

These fears are certainly not lessened by the constant example of the "alternative" papers being threatened. Another pressure point is the continual threat of legal action against editors and journalists. Most opposition newspaper editors suffer constant harassment. Most have a stack of complaints against them for what they have published or for the activities of their journalists, many related to demands for their sources of information. Failure to comply can earn two-year jail sentences.

Harassment is of course a major pressure and the worst of this is de tention without trial. It is held over journalists as a constant threat. There are also the restriction orders imposed on detainees on their release. Five journalists are in detention, under various security laws.

One, Brian Sokutu, in his 30s, has been held since June 12 1986 — a total of 699 days, mostly in solitary confinement. Another long-held detainee is internationally known editor and US Harvard University Nieman fellow, Zwelakhe Sisulu (37), editor of the banned *New Nation* who was arrested on December 12 1986 and has been held for 517 days. The reasons have not been given.

Other forms of harassment have been the detention, mostly for brief periods, but accompanied by interrogation, often under threat of worse treatment, of reporters and photographers on assignment; and arrest and trial on charges of breaking censorship laws, some of which stick and some of which are thrown out of court. (Half of the country's editors have convictions of one kind or another for breaches of censorship laws).

Louw ... "detention without trial is a constant threat".

Telephone tapping and interference with mail is regarded as routine. Harassment varies only in degree of severity between SA and the so-called "independent black homelands" and between white and black journalists.

Demands for information sources has had a stifling effect on informants; assaults and detentions of journalists in the black "homelands" has discouraged papers from sending staff there; and the murderous fighting in Pietermaritzburg, where more than 600 people have been killed, has resulted in the authorities and the warring sides imposing considerable additional pressures on journalists.

'The list (of government restrictions) covers every significant feature of life.'

"Normal" emergency restrictions require journalists to absent themselves from unrest areas and to move out of camera and sound tape range.

These complement the many existing restrictions on publishing information about defence matters, police conduct, so-called "key points", strategic supplies, occurrences in prisons, the treatment of detainees, the statements of banned people, and so on. The list covers every significant feature of life.

South Africa's electronic media ... broadcast what the authorities want and there is little risk that SABC-TV would produce a documentary questioning the police role in a shooting as ITV and the BBC in Britain have done over the IRA killings. The only similarity between the Gibraltar killings and a similar incident in South Africa would be the reluctance of officials to give more than the flimsiest details about what had occurred, that is if the authorities decided to release information at all.

The emergency regulations lay down that nothing may be published in newspapers about "unrest", the category into which this incident falls, without official permission. This would prevent publication of details of such a killing except, perhaps, the bare statement that three people had been killed in a shooting with no reference to the police involvement.

If the authorities did disclose the information, the Police Act (which prohibits publication of information about police activities unless steps have been taken to ensure accuracy) would prevent the media from alleging police misconduct.

In practice, however, the papers would insinuate that there had been irregularity, ask questions of the authorities and publish the answers and some aspects of the story would appear in some of the papers. Meanwhile, the state-controlled electronic media would give an account justifying the official version, which, of course, would tend to throw doubt in the public mind on the press version.

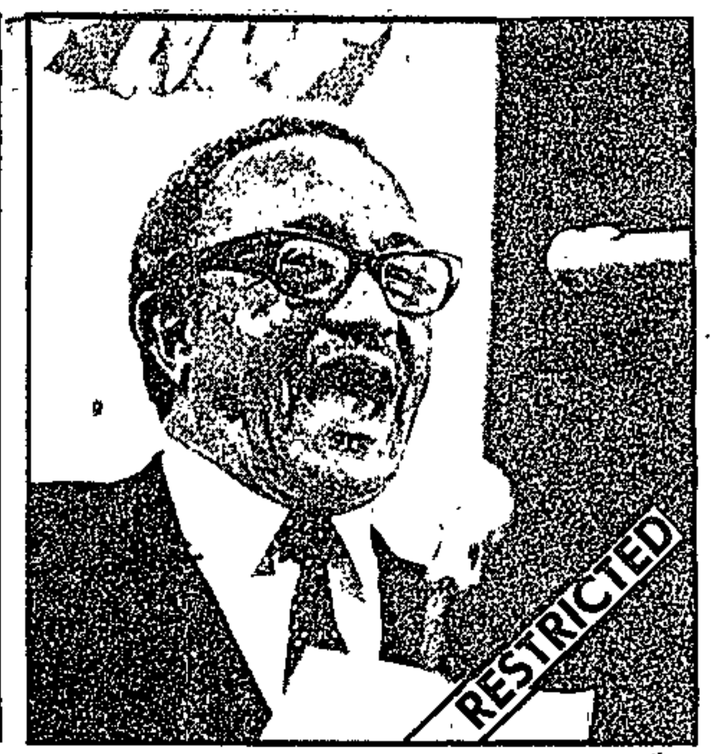
There is a lesson for the rest of the world in all this. Before this government came to power 40 years ago, press freedom in South Africa was at much the level as in Britain.

South Africa enjoyed with minor exceptions the considerable freedoms that the British press had. But, take note that the speaker that follows me is Donald Trelford, editor of *The Observer* of London, whose talk is about the growing censorship of the British press.

And that adds point to the lesson, which is, of course: beware, the censorship disease is catching!

GOVAN MBEKI

ALBERTINA SISULU



ARCHIE GUMEDE

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED ORGANISATIONS, ENDORSE

3 DAYS OF NATIONAL PEACEFUL PROTEST 6, 7, 8 JUNE 1988

WE CALL UPON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO:

- **UNBAN THE UDF AND 17 OTHER ORGANISATIONS**
- **LIFT THE RESTRICTIONS ON COSATU**
- **STOP THE LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT BILL**
- **LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY**
- **UNBAN GOVAN MBEKI AND 18 OTHERS**

AK64
3/6/88
327

Issued by the following organisations:

★ SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL YOUTH CONGRESS (STYCO)
★ NATAL YOUTH CONGRESS (NAYCO)
★ FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN (FEDSAW)
★ ATTERIDGEVILLE/SAULSVILLE RESIDENTS ORGANISATION (ASRO)
★ CONGRESS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF SA (CONTRALESA)
★ NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC)
★ EAST RAND PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (ERAPO)
★ CAPE AREAS HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE (CAHAC)
★ TUMAHOLE CIVIC ASSOCIATION (TCA)
★ MAMELODI CIVIC ASSOCIATION (MCA)
★ ORANGE FREE STATE YOUTH CONGRESS (OFSYCO)
★ NATAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATION (NAWO)
★ TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (TIC)

AND ALL AFFILIATES OF THE UDF: SOUTHERN TVL, NORTHERN TVL, EASTERN CAPE, WESTERN CAPE, BORDER, OFS, NATAL (NOT SPECIFICALLY RESTRICTED BY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE ON 24 FEBRUARY 1988)

Press order: Govt may appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police have been granted leave by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein to appeal against a decision that an order by the commissioner was void and without legal effect.

The order, made on January 8, 1987, prohibited editors from publishing any advertisement or report "calculated to improve or promote the public image of an organization unlawful under the Internal Security Act".

It also prohibited the media from "commending, defending, explaining or justifying any action, policy or strategy of such organization against the authority of the state".

The decision that the order was void was made by Mr Justice H Daniels in the Witwatersrand Supreme Court on January 29, 1987. It was granted to the Argus Printing and Publishing Co Ltd and South African Associated Newspapers Ltd. — Sapa

sent from the airwaves. He made his long-awaited reappearance on the station this week.

On Wednesday "a changed" John Berks returned to 702 in a new mid-morning slot, with a

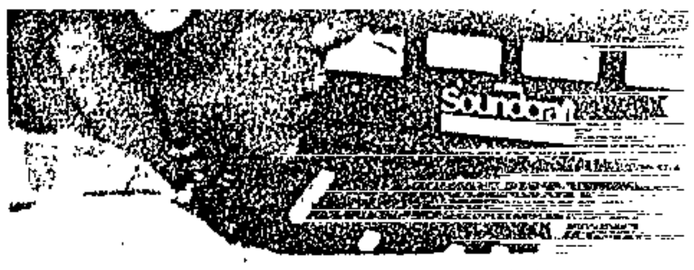
Next door, in a smaller studio, Berks can see newsman Chris Gibbons reading the 9 am bulletin, but he pays no attention.

On the other side of the glass, it seems the entire station's personnel have

through and Berks lets off a large contrived cough to clear his throat. His engineer Charl Erasmus straightens up and rests his hands on a large green button on the sound desk in front.

come for the next three hours . . ."

John Berks is back.



RIGHT: John Berks is back behind the microphone, as engineer Charl Erasmus handles the knobs.

Brink bestseller won't be on sale in Republic

(327) Star 4/6/88

The bestseller of controversial author professor Andre Brink — "States of Emergency"— will probably never see the light of day in South Africa.

The novel, which as been on the London bookshelves since May 3, will not be sold in the Republic. This was confirmed by the publishing house Faber and Faber in London yesterday.

Brink's editor in London, Mr Robert McKrum, was not available for comment yesterday but, according to a spokesman for the publishing group, publicity director assistant Emma Bagnall, the book's political content and its close observation of the mechanics of the African National Congress would make it unacceptable to the South African authorities.

SARA MARTIN

It's generally accepted in the publishing world, however, that another more personal reason why the book is not to be distributed in South Africa concerns Brink's divorce from his third wife Alta last year.

Marital strife

"There is a clause in the divorce settlement between Professor Brink and his third wife Alta, who separated in November 1987," said a well-informed source in publishing, "which states that the book may not be distributed in South Africa because it contains certain personal details of their lives."

"It includes sections on marital strife between the two which could turn out to be an embarrassment for Mrs Brink and her family," says the source.

The story which uses the State of Emergency in South Africa as backdrop revolves around another "emergency" — the passionate affair between a college professor, Philip Malan, and his postgraduate student, Melissa.

"The characters could easily be recognisable," said the source.

"States of Emergency" has been distributed worldwide.

More than 3 500 copies in hard-cover have been sold in London alone.

According to the publishers, it is gearing up to be on the top-five booklist.

Number change

Professor Brink has recently changed his phone number to avoid the media.

He is on leave from his post as a Rhodes University lecturer and could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Publications you may not read

(327) Star 4/6/88

CAPE TOWN — Three pamphlets are among this week's list of banned publications, the Directorate of Publications announced here yesterday.

They are titled, "Save the Sharpeville Six", produced by the Nactu Support Committee; "Support our Comrades", produced by the Section 29 Parents Committee, Lotus River, and "Hlanganani Ukulwa Nokuvalwa Kwezinhlangano u Botha/Unite and Fight the Banning of Organisations by Botha".

Erica Jong's "Fear of Flying" was declared not undesirable provided it is not sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18, and is only distributed by bookshops and book distributors.

"Organize ... Or Starve" by Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall was also declared not undesirable provided it is confined and made available in the normal manner in legal deposit and university libraries only.

The April 25 issue of *Der Spiegel* Nr 17, 42 Jahrgang (Der Spiegel, Hamburg), was conditionally declared not undesirable provided it is not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

During the past week 14 films were submitted for examination of which seven were unconditionally and five conditionally approved. Two films, "Bad Dreams" and "Loose Screws", were rejected.

From yesterday it is an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications (name of author/producer in brackets):

Forum Vol 21 No 3 1988 (Northern and Shell PLC, London).

12th Assembly of the member organizations of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest, Hungary, 23-29 November 1986 (World Federation of Democratic Youth).

The political programme of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) of Namibia (not stated).

The Combatant Vol 9 No 6 January 1988 (PLAN Commissariat Lubango, Angola).

Towards the Fire Next Time: March 1988 (not stated).

Al-Qalam Vol 13 No 3-4 March-April 1988 (Al-Qalam, Qualbert, South Africa).

Care Newsletter No 86 January/February 1988 (Care Newsletter, Australia).

Breaking Contract: The story of Vinnia Ndadi (LSM Information Centre, Canada).

Trade Unions in the Struggle for Peace and Security (Propaganda, Information and Publicity (PIP), Department of Sactu, Lusaka). — Sapa.

Pick 'n Pay

Southern Transvaal Discount Superm

COME ALONG AND ENJOY

BOXING AT BRIXTON

NOW IT'S STOFFEL VERSUS STOFFEL IN A R4,7M ADVERT LAUNCH

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Government will be placing official advertisements in the "alternative media" if it follows recommendations of a R4,7-million campaign it has commissioned from an advertising agency.

Newspapers such as the Weekly Mail and New Nation (temporarily closed by the Government) may be "needed" to counter propaganda against the local authority elections in October, says the agency, McCann.

Such a move would highlight an ironical clash of interests between the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Mr Botha is moving to contain or close newspapers he says are fostering a revolutionary climate.

Dr Van der Merwe may need those papers to communicate with the people he wants to motivate to the polling booths.

Suspect

"It's ridiculous," said Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on information.

"Now *slim* Stoffel must advertise in the papers *dom* Stoffel is closing down."

The agency's proposal said: "The Government's credibility as an agent for future reform is suspect."

So it has suggested the Government's message be carried by two cartoon characters, like the owl and the chameleon in Nuustak.

"Such characters would succeed also in this campaign to convey to the target audience facts which would under normal circumstances be unacceptable," an agency spokesman said.

The Government was embarrassed and angered by the leak of the proposal to the Conservative Party on Friday.

Dr Van der Merwe said he had planned to hold a Press conference next week to explain details of the campaign.

Black Sash members in court

Star 27/7/88

DURBAN — Fourteen Black Sash members appeared in the Durban Regional Court yesterday on charges of holding an illegal gathering.

They are Ms Patricia Clark (42) of Berea, Mr Dalles Harris (19) of Durban North, Mr Graham Barber (18) of the University of Natal, Durban, Ms Bridgette Engelbrecht (27) of Berea, Ms Olga Potgieter (36) of Glenwood, Ms Christina Lucia (40) of Manor Gardens, Ms Janice Mary Moon (30) of Glenwood, Ms Ann Claude (20) of Berea, Ms Laura Washington (26) of Overport, Mr Dorion Mark Cameron (19) of Glenwood, Mr Shawn van Wyk (18) of Amanzimtoti, Ms Penelope McKenzie (21) of Overport, Ms Elizabeth Mary Ardington (45) of Mandini, and Ms Patricia Steele of Greyville (58).

They will be tried on August 2. — Sapa.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 277 PRETORIA, 8 JULIE JULY 1988 No. 11426

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1425 **8 Julie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Barend Hermanus Henn, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Port Natal, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

B. H. HENN,
Afdelingskommissaris: Port Natal.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) die landdrosdistrikte van Durban, Pinetown en Chatsworth, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 501 van 8 Maart 1985;

(b) die landdrosdistrik van Inanda, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1405 van 16 Augustus 1968, soos gewysig, uitgesluit die gebiede bekend as—

(i) KwaMashu, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing R. 462 van 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2651 van 30 Desember 1977;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Port Natal;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Emmanuel Bongani GASA;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1425 **8 July 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Barend Hermanus Henn, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Port Natal Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

B. H. HENN,
Divisional Commissioner: Port Natal.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Emmanuel Bongani GASA, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) the Magisterial Districts of Durban, Pinetown and Chatsworth, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 501 of 8 March 1985;

(b) the Magisterial District of Inanda, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1405 of 16 August 1968, as amended, excluding the areas known as—

(i) KwaMashu, as demarcated and described in Government Notice R. 462 of 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2651 of 30 December 1977;

No SAP comment

POLICE would not issue any official statements on the stayaway because it was a contravention of the emergency regulations to give publicity to such actions, a Pretoria police spokesman said yesterday. Sowetan

"No official statements regarding the stayaway or intimidation will be issued because it is a contravention of the emergency regulations to give publicity to the stayaway or to further its aims," said the spokesman. (327) 8/7/86

• It is an offence under the emergency regulations to incite or encourage members of the public to stay away from work or to go on illegal strike, or to publish anything which shows the extent to which a stayaway is successful or which discloses particulars of the manner in which members of the public are intimidated, incited or encouraged to take part in or support such action.

It is also an offence to give an account of any incidents in connection with stayaway intimidation, incitement or encouragement.

Two banned publications to reappear

ARGUS 26/8/88 (327)

Staff Reporter

TWO publications restricted under South Africa's emergency media regulations will be back next week.

New Nation, banned for three months, is planning a special re-publication issue and South, banned last month until the expiry of the current emergency on Friday, will also be in circulation.

A spokesman for Bishop Reginald Orsmond, chairman of the South African Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, publishers of New Nation, said they were assuming the emergency would be renewed and that the media regulations would be substantially the same.

"That means the Minister will have to go through the same exercise as last time before he can take further action against New Nation," he said.

"He will have to examine three issues and make warnings as he did before restricting New Nation."

Mr Rashid Seria, editor of South, said the newspaper would be back next Tuesday.

Tougher emergency laws?

ARGUS 9/6/88

327

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE state of emergency is to be renewed within the next few days — and it may be made tougher.

Official sources indicated today that "loopholes" in the present state of emergency might have to be eliminated.

It was not clear whether this referred to a further tightening of media restrictions or action against "radical" organisations on the left and the right. There is the possibility of both.

No comment could be obtained from the Tuynhuys but in terms of the Public Safety Act a state of emergency declared by the President from midnight on June 11 must come to an end a year later.

Some media sources today expressed fear about the renewal of the bannings of newspapers and a number of restrictions against political organisations, trade unions and individuals in the renewed emergency regulations.

Mr Rashid Seria, editor of the weekly newspaper South, which is nearing the end of its banning order, said: "We believe there is a strong possibility that these actions in terms of the old regulations will be made actions in terms of the new regulations when the emergency is repromulgated."

Widespread unrest

A proclamation announcing the renewal of the emergency is due by Saturday night.

The notice will probably appear in a Government Gazette tomorrow.

The nationwide state of emergency was first imposed on June 12 1986 and last year it was renewed from midnight on June 11.

Before that there was a partial state of emergency, first in 48 and then in 23 urban magisterial districts, which lasted for 228 days and was lifted on March 7 1986.

The state of emergency was from time to time tightened up with new restrictions on the media which have blacked out all unofficial news on unrest and the emergency, on illegal strikes and on consumer and rent boycotts.

The renewed state of emergency announced in June last year expanded and revised curbs on Press reporting of unrest and security actions.

In September last year a Government-appointed directorate was formed to police newspapers and other publications.

In February this year 18 extra-parliamentary organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, were placed under severe restrictions.

Govt move 'to plug loopholes'

Tougher emergency clamps are imminent

Star 9/6/88

(327)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent
Cape Town

A new, probably tougher, state of emergency is expected to be imposed by the Government by this weekend, replacing the present emergency which lapses on June 11.

The new emergency could be effective from midnight tonight or tomorrow night. The necessary legal steps will be taken by way of publication in the Government Gazette, probably tomorrow.

Continuation

Sources indicate the new emergency will be largely a continuation of the current one, but a few loopholes are likely to be closed.

Plugging the loopholes may affect the regulations governing he media or be aimed at organisations.

In terms of the Public Safety Act, the state of emergency declared by the State President from midnight on June 11 must come to an end after a year.

The chief criteria the Government has often stated for the ending of the emergency have not yet been fully met, giving weight to the belief that the emergency is to be renewed.

The five criteria are: an improvement in the national housing situation (both in terms of provision for those living in shanties and in terms of ownership); normalisation of the situation in black education, particularly in the schools; installation of working, credible third-tier government structures; generation of adequate job opportunities to soak up unemployment; restoration and maintenance of law, order and stability.

The present state of emergency is the third since widespread unrest in 1985 prompted the Government to take extraordinary powers in an attempt to restore political stability in South Africa.

● The re-imposition of the state of emergency will be a sign of the Government's "illegitimacy, an indictment of its own actions, and a clear admission that it is not capable of governing through means other than the illegitimate (and) that its policy of reform is bank rupt", a statement released by the Five Freedoms Forum said today.

The statement says the state of emergency "should be seen for what it is — a ruthless and undemocratic mechanism to retain power".

● A meeting to highlight "the cost and futility of the state of emergency, and to show that, despite it, people are still working for a safer, more just South Africa" was held today at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg.

How Ashley Kriel died

Cape Times 9/6/88 (327)

By RONNIE MORRIS
Supreme Court Reporter

IN A dramatic twist to the Ashley Forbes terrorism trial yesterday, detailed evidence on circumstances surrounding the death of ANC member Ashley Kriel on July 9 last year, was given by police.

There was a stunned silence in the Supreme Court when defence counsel Mr Michael Donen asked security policeman Warrant Officer Jeffrey Benzien: "Who murdered Ashley Kriel?"

WO Benzien: "I object. I am aware of Kriel; counsel makes a statement that Ashley Kriel was murdered. I am not aware of any charge of murder. The term is completely inaccurate."

Donen: "I would like an answer."

Benzien: "I do not know who murdered Ashley Kriel."

Mr Justice Williamson: "Was he murdered?"

Benzien: "The inquest is sub-judice. I was present when Ashley Kriel was arrested and fatally injured. The finding of the inquest court is still pending. I object to the question put to me. There is no evidence that Kriel was murdered in my presence. I believe the court which will hear the inquest will make a correct (regmatige) finding."

Donen: "My instructions are that Ashley Kriel was a well-known student at UWC and also the founding member of the Bisco (Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress)."

Benzien: "That may be so."

To page 3

Warrant Officer Jeff Benzien

From page 1

Donen: "He was known by the students at UWC including Forbes, Jacobs and Pedro."

Benzien: "That may be so."

Donen: "... and he was shot dead."

Benzien: "I interpret shot dead and fatally wounded differently."

Donen: "What I actually want to know is did you shoot him dead?"

WO Benzien replied that to put the evidence in its proper context he would have to relate to the court the attempt to arrest Kriel.

Mr W C Viljoen, for the state, objected and said he could not see the relevance of the line of questioning. Kriel's arrest did not take place in the presence of any of the accused, he said.

Mr Donen said it was relevant because it related to the credibility of WO Benzien because as soon as the accused and other people appeared in front of him they "immediately spoke and pointed out things".

Mr Justice Williamson said he thought it was relevant.

Donen: "Did you shoot Ashley Kriel?"

WO Benzien said that during Kriel's arrest, "Kriel's firearm came into my possession and during a struggle a shot went off and he was fatally injured".

Donen: "Who pulled the trigger?"

Benzien: "It is difficult to say."

He said security police had information that Kriel was a trained ANC guerilla but police could not find an address for him.

While he and two colleagues were patrolling Athlone and after stopping at an apparently deserted house, he had seen a movement behind a curtain. Convinced that it was "not just a shadow", he had entered the property and knocked on the back door.

He was dressed in an overall, his firearm was not easily accessible and he did not have a walkie-talkie. The door was opened by Kriel whose hands were covered by a jersey and a towel.

"In that split second I decided to arrest Kriel. I was convinced he had a firearm or a handgrenade under the jersey and towel. We used a ploy and said we were examining the sewerage system. I moved away from the door and he gave two steps forward.

"When we looked in each other's eyes I realised he knew what was going on."

WO Benzien said he had grabbed Kriel by the arms, turned him around and when the jersey and towel fell, saw Kriel had a firearm. Kriel pointed the firearm at a colleague who was standing between them.

"After a few seconds I managed to overpower Kriel and gave him a tremendous blow on his forehead in an attempt to render him unconscious. He was lying on his back and my colleague took out his handcuffs.

"When my colleague was putting the handcuffs on Kriel's right hand he came up into a sitting position and tried to take the firearm from me. He got to his feet and tried to get into the house.

"In the ensuing struggle a shot went off and hit him in the right part of his shoulder blade (regterblad). He immediately went limp and was handcuffed. It appeared that Kriel was badly wounded and both his hands were cuffed."

A quick search of the house revealed nothing, but when reinforcements arrived a handgrenade was found under a pillow, WO Benzien said.

Donen: "Who's hand was on trigger?"

Benzien: "In all honesty I can say I do not know."

He could not say if his finger was on the trigger or how the shot went off, WO Benzien said.

"If my fingerprints are on the trigger I would admit it."

Cape Times 9/6/88 (327)

He said that within days it was common knowledge that he was present at the scene of the shooting and he was forced to change his telephone number and special security measures, still in force, were taken at his home.

Kriel was highly regarded in a section of the community and he, his wife and children were in danger, WO Benzien said.

Mr Donen put it to WO Benzien that when he first met accused Nicklo Pedro, he had told him: "You are deep in s... I know everything about you. Do you know Ashley Kriel?" And that when Pedro replied that he did, WO Benzien told him: "I shot him, you are lucky to be alive", WO Benzien replied: "It is possible that I asked him whether he knew Kriel. The rest I deny strongly."

WO Benzien rejected as a "blatant lie" Mr Donen's submission that Pedro was scared when he (WO Benzien) told Pedro: "We went to shoot Kriel when he did not want to co-operate."

Asked if he had a photograph of Kriel in his office, WO Benzien said he did not.

Mr Donen said that during the interrogation of the accused at present on trial, WO Benzien had a Cayco (Cape Youth Congress) photograph of Kriel mounted on a poster on the wall with the words "Freedom or death, victory is certain".

Mr Donen said that following those words, the words "not for you" were written and an "X" was drawn over Kriel's face, with the words "One down ... to go" added.

WO Benzien admitted there was a Cayco poster of Kriel on which he had written the words "not for you". But he did not know whether his colleagues had written the other words as a joke or as a tribute.

The hearing continues today.

New Nation to return

Sowetan 9/6/88

BISHOP Orsmond.

TWO publications restricted under South Africa's emergency media regulations will be back next week. (327)

New Nation, banned for three months, is planning a special re-publication issue.

A spokesman for Bishop Reginald Orsmond, chairman of the South African Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, publishers of *New Nation*, said they were assuming the emergency would be renewed and that the media regulations would be substantially the same.— Sapa.

Renewed emergency bans calls on local elections boycott

New regulations on banned organisations, media, calls on local elections boycott

Political Staff

Mercury 10/6/88 (327)

FURTHER restrictions, including a ban on calls to boycott the October local government elections, are among the features of the renewed state of emergency which was proclaimed in the Government Gazette today.

The nationwide state of emergency was renewed today for the second time since 1986.

The new state of emergency will remain in force for 12 months unless it is withdrawn earlier.

The latest regulations also contain a further clampdown on the quoting of banned organisations, the continued banning of publications and provision for the registration of some news agencies.

The media regulations are only part of a number of proclamations dealing with the renewed state of emergency. Others deal with the emergency restrictions as they affect educational institutions and detainees under the emergency regulations.

"Laws inadequate"

In his preamble to the new state of emergency, President Botha says he believes that "circumstances have arisen in the Republic which seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, and that the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order".

In terms of the new regulations, boycott calls — except by registered political parties — will become illegal in terms of an extended definition of subversive statements.

It will in future be illegal to quote any unlawful organisations under any circumstances unless permission has been obtained. This will affect the quoting of members of such organisations who are not themselves banned.

This means that no one speaking on behalf of such organisations as the ANC and PAC may be quoted.

'Greater assault' on Press freedom

Staff Reporter

THE expanded media restrictions contained in the new state of emergency amounted to an even greater assault on Press freedom, promiment media lawyer, Johannesburg-based Mr Paul Jenkins, said today.

He said in a statement: "The amendments amount to a closing of loopholes and a yet further restriction on the activities of the so-called alternative Press and certain less-well-established news agencies.

"Of particular significance is the restriction on the publishing of statements of unlawful organisations. An early reading of this shows that the voice of organisations such as the ANC and PAC may be even more stifled.

"The effect of the amendments is that the media will be subjected to even further severe censorship restrictions and members of the media and even the public will need to be more vigilant in deciding what they may or may not say and publish.

"The new regulations have taken on a cloak of semi-permanence and are beginning to look more and more like Acts of Parliament and less and less like temporary regulations. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in this, the third consecutive nation-wide state of emergency, the regulations have been given short titles such as "the Prison Emergency Regulations 1988" and "the Educational Institutions Emergency Regulations 1988", similar to the short titles given to Acts of Parliament.

"The brave and ragged flag of Press freedom is fluttering weakly at half mast."

Press curbs

In terms of the state of emergency regulations, news, pictures and comment are restricted.

Eased on one point

The present media restrictions are eased on one point. After the period of warning provided for suspension of a publication, the Minister of Home Affairs must examine two issues of the journal instead of one before coming to a final decision.

In the case of periodicals appearing at irregular intervals and which are not registered in terms of the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act, suspension can now be extended from three to six months.

News agencies, except those specifically named in the new regulations, will have to register with the Director-General of Home Affairs and will have to supply him with the names of journalists working for such agencies and the people who receive the agency's output.

In addition, they have to furnish the department with copies of all news items produced by them within one day of dissemination.

Agencies exempt from these restrictions are Reuters, United Press International, Agence France Press, Deutsche Presse Agentur, Associated Press, Gemeenschappelijke Persdienst (Holland), Chinese News Agency (Taiwan), Kyodo News Service (Japan), Italian News Agency, Afrika Presse Dienst (German), Visnews (Britain), Worldwide TV News (Britain) and the South African Press Association.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

'Causes of conflict still present'

Political Staff

MR Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that while the state of emergency might have succeeded in curtailing violence, the Government had not succeeded in removing any of the underlying causes of conflict.

"The state of emergency is not a passing phase.

"After 40 years of Nationalist rule the curtailment of civil liberties and of political expression is fast becoming a part of the South African way of life.

"Of course any government has a responsibility to protect the person and property of ordinary law-abiding citizens, but any government that is worth its salt must be able to do so without destroying the rule of law in the process."

BLOODSHED

Mr Chris de Jager, the Conservative Party's chief spokesman on law and order, said the Government had been forced to renew the state of emergency.

There was clearly no peace so the Government had to do it to prevent bloodshed.

He said the CP did not approve of this state of affairs in principle because the Government had failed to solve political problems.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said he regretted the renewal of the state of emergency while being aware of the fact of violence and bomb attacks.

There were also the continued efforts of people who sought to make the country "ungovernable".

Fundamental change was needed to prevent violence.

What people really wanted was to see the reform process going ahead and the final dismantling of apartheid, he said.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said the Government's re-imposition of the state of emergency was a "pointless and bankrupt exercise" which did nothing to help resolve South Africa's problems.

AGGRAVATED

The prospect of even more stringent emergency regulations in fact aggravated South Africa's crisis, he said.

A new state of emergency did nothing to address the central issue of power sharing. It did nothing to end the institutionalised violence which was the source of all political violence in South Africa, and instead it created an atmosphere conducive to more State violence.

Most distressing, however, was the relative equanimity with which most of those who claimed to want change received the news of the latest measures, the Archbishop said.

The conviction and passion with which

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

MGAS 10/6/88 (327)

Emergency curbs widened

(Continued from page 1)

The restriction on newspapers which have already been banned expires tomorrow, the last day of the current emergency. But the Minister of Home Affairs has given himself until June 20 to decide whether to reapply the ban for a further two months.

Periodicals which are not registered under the Imprint Act can also in future be seized for carrying material which in the opinion of the Minister of Home Affairs amounts to subversive propaganda.

Previously there was no distinction between registered and unregistered periodicals and the only sanction for carrying "subversive propaganda" was a warning and possible, ultimate closure for three months.

Not only are these unregistered periodicals now subject to warning and closure for six months for carrying "subversive propaganda" but they can be summarily seized.

The new regulations also make it an offence to publish material which any other journal might have carried had it not been closed.

Reasons for conflict remain

(Continued from page 1)

these people spoke when they denounced sanctions and stayaways was strangely absent when they responded to actions by the Government which were the root cause of the country's problems.

"They claimed to be concerned about black suffering, but when did they express their abhorrence of torture, detention without trial and police violence as strongly as they now condemn the peaceful stayaway?

"When did they condemn forced removals such as that pending at Lawaaikamp as powerfully as they condemn sanctions?

"When did those who weep over black suffering ever express such passionate outrage over the millions of South Africans who have no work as a result of the massive structural unemployment created by apartheid?

"These people argue that they agree with black South Africans on the need for ending apartheid but they differ on methods.

"The failure to condemn the extension of the state of emergency when they vigorously abuse and vilify us for resorting to non-violent methods to end apartheid casts doubt on the credibilty of their professed concern," the Archbishop said.

Action against AWB likely

Govt tightens emergency restrictions

Star 10/1/88

(327)

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Government has launched South Africa's third consecutive state of emergency with tighter clamps on the media, certain organisations and individuals.

Notices were promulgated in the Government Gazette today perpetuating all the regulations in effect in the outgoing emergency while "plugging a few loopholes".

Among the new regulations are:

- It now becomes an offence to quote any unlawful or restricted organisation in any way even via a spokesman who is not banned.
- It is an offence for any person or organisation to encourage a boycott of the municipal elections, with the exception of registered political parties.
- All news agencies must now be registered, with the exception of 13 organisations which include established agencies such as Sapa and Reuter.

Other changes contained in the regulations involve the tightening of regulations concerning irregular periodicals appearing at a frequency of more than a month.

Where the Minister has up to now been able to close down such a periodical for three months, he may now do so for six months or he may order that copies of such periodicals be seized.

Weapons

Government sources gave clear indications today that action would soon be taken against certain organisations, including those on the far Right.

The Government is known to want to curb certain activities of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), particularly its use of military-style uniforms, the carrying of arms and the display of the AWB emblem which is similar to Hitler's swastika.

To the left of the Government, sources indicated today that action was being considered against certain individuals "who persistently involve themselves in disseminating distorted images about South Africa, and particularly the authorities".

Action apparently being contemplated includes using existing emergency powers to prevent certain people from giving media interviews and statements, even when acting in their personal capacities.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Regulasiekoerant No. 4215 *Regulation Gazette*

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE JUNE 1988 (327) No. 11339

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 96, 1988

VERKLARING VAN 'N NOODTOESTAND

Nademaal dit na my mening blyk dat omstandighede in die Republiek ontstaan het wat die veiligheid van die publiek en die handhawing van die openbare orde ernstig bedreig, en dat die gewone landswette onvoldoende is om die Regering in staat te stel om die veiligheid van die publiek te verseker en die openbare orde te handhaaf;

Verklaar ek derhalwe hierby kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), dat daar 'n noodtoestand binne die Republiek bestaan vanaf 10 Junie 1988.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Negende dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 96, 1988

DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY

Whereas in my opinion it appears that circumstances have arisen in the Republic which seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, and that the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order;

I therefore, under the powers vested in me by section 2 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), hereby declare that a state of emergency exists within the Republic as from 10 June 1988.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Regulasiekoerant **No. 4215** ***Regulation Gazette***

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE / JUNE 1988 (327) No. 11339

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 96, 1988

VERKLARING VAN 'N NOODTOESTAND

Nademaal dit na my mening blyk dat omstandighede in die Republiek ontstaan het wat die veiligheid van die publiek en die handhawing van die openbare orde ernstig bedreig, en dat die gewone landswette onvoldoende is om die Regering in staat te stel om die veiligheid van die publiek te verseker en die openbare orde te handhaaf;

Verklaar ek derhalwe hierby kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), dat daar 'n noodtoestand binne die Republiek bestaan vanaf 10 Junie 1988.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Negende dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

893—A

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 96, 1988

DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY

Whereas in my opinion it appears that circumstances have arisen in the Republic which seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, and that the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order;

I therefore, under the powers vested in me by section 2 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), hereby declare that a state of emergency exists within the Republic as from 10 June 1988.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE JUNE 1988 No. 11346

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1116 **10 Junie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953: BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Johannes Kotze, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Natal, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. KOTZE,
Afdelingskommissaris: Afdeling Natal.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) die gebiede in die landdrosdistrik van Pietermaritzburg bekend as—

(i) Edendale, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing R. 163 van 23 Augustus 1974, soos gewysig;

(ii) Ashdown en Imbali, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing R. 293 van 16 November 1962, soos gewysig;

(iii) Sobantu, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1838 van 10 September 1954, soos gewysig;

(b) die gebied in die landdrosdistrik van Camperdown bekend as Mpumalanga, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2394 van 19 Desember 1972, soos gewysig;

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1116 **10 June 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953: ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Johannes Kotze, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Natal Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. KOTZE,
Divisional Commissioner: Natal Division.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of a person, means any gathering associated with such a burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with such a burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) the areas in the Magisterial District of Pietermaritzburg known as—

(i) Edendale, as demarcated and described in Government Notice R. 163 of 23 August 1974, as amended;

(ii) Ashdown and Imbali, as demarcated and described in Government Notice R. 293 of 16 November 1962, as amended;

(iii) Sobantu, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1838 of 10 September 1954, as amended;

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE / JUNE 1988 No. 11344

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. 1112 **10 Junie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953:
BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOOD-REGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 7 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, verbied ek, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die organisasies vermeld in die Bylae hierby, vanaf afkondiging van hierdie bevel en behoudens regulasie 7 (4) van gemelde regulasies, om enige bedrywighede of handelinge hoegenaamd te beoefen of te verrig.

A. J. VLOK,

Minister van Wet en Orde.

BYLAE

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.
AZANIAN YOUTH ORGANISATION.
CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS.
COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY.
CRADOCK RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION.
DETAINEES PARENTS' SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE.
NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.
PORT ELIZABETH BLACK CIVIC ORGANISATION.
RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN.
SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL STUDENTS' CONGRESS.
SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH CONGRESS.
SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION.
SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. 1112 **10 June 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953:
ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 7 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, hereby prohibit the organizations specified in the Schedule hereto, as from publication of this order and subject to regulation 7 (4) of the said regulations, from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever.

A. J. VLOK,

Minister of Law and Order.

SCHEDULE

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.
AZANIAN YOUTH ORGANISATION.
CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS.
COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY.
CRADOCK RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION.
DETAINEES PARENTS' SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE.
NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.
PORT ELIZABETH BLACK CIVIC ORGANISATION.
RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN.
SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL STUDENTS' CONGRESS.
SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH CONGRESS.
SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION.
SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Regulasiekoerant
Regulation Gazette
No. 4217

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor geregistreer
Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE JUNE 1988 327 No. 11341

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 98, 1988

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

GEVANGENISNOODREGULASIES

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), vaardig ek hierby die regulasies vervat in die Bylae met ingang van 10 Junie 1988 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Negende dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing en uitleg

1. (1) In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"aangehoudene" 'n persoon wat kragtens regulasie 3 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, in aanhouding is;

"geneeskundige beampte", met betrekking tot 'n aangehoudene wat—

(a) in 'n gevangenis soos omskryf in die Gevangeniswet aangehou word, 'n persoon wat kragtens artikel 6 van die Gevangeniswet as die geneeskundige beampte van daardie gevangenis aangestel is of 'n geneesheer wat ingevolge genoemde artikel die pligte verrig wat aan so 'n beampte opgedra is; of

(b) in 'n polisiesel of -opsluitplek aangehou word, die distriksgeneesheer vir die gebied waarin daardie polisiesel of -opsluitplek geleë is of 'n ander geneesheer wat op sy gesag handel;

"gevangenis" 'n gevangenis soos omskryf in regulasie 1 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988;

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 98, 1988

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

PRISON EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule with effect from 10 June 1988.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions and interpretation

1. (1) In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Commissioner of Police" means the Commissioner of the South African Police, and for the purposes of the application of a provision of these regulations in—

(a) a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958), the said Commissioner or the Divisional Commissioner designated under that Act for that division; or

(b) a self-governing territory, the said Commissioner or the Commissioner or other officer in charge of the police force of the Government of that self-governing territory;

"detainee" means a person who is in detention under regulation 3 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988;

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Regulasiekoerant
Regulation Gazette
No. 4129

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor geregistreer
Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE / JUNE 1988 No. 11343

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 100, 1988

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

NOODREGULASIES OP OPVOEDKUNDIGE INRIGTINGS

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), vaardig ek hierby die regulasies vervat in die Bylae met ingang van 10 Junie 1988 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Negende dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing en toepassing van regulasies

1. (1) In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"Direkteur-generaal" die Direkteur-generaal: Onderwys en Opleiding;

"koshuis" 'n koshuis verbonde aan 'n skool, en waar dit as deel van 'n saamgestelde woord gebruik word, het dit in so 'n woord 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis;

"leerling" ook 'n student aan 'n onderwyskollege;

"Onderwyswet" die Wet op Onderwys en Opleiding, 1979 (Wet 90 van 1979);

"skool" 'n openbare skool soos omskryf in die Onderwyswet, en waar dit as deel van 'n saamgestelde woord gebruik word, het dit in so 'n woord 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis.

(2) Geen bepaling van die Onderwyswet doen afbreuk aan die geldigheid van enige bepaling van hierdie regulasies of van 'n bevel daarkragtens uitgevaardig nie.

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 100, 1988

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule with effect from 10 June 1988.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions and application of regulations

1. (1) In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Director-General" means the Director-General: Education and Training;

"Education Act" means the Education and Training Act, 1979 (Act 90 of 1979);

"hostel" means a hostel attached to a school, and where in the Afrikaans text 'koshuis' is used as part of a compound word, it shall have a corresponding meaning in such word;

"pupil" includes a student at a college of education;

"school" means 'n public school as defined in the Education Act, and where in the Afrikaans text 'skool' is used as part of a compound word, it shall have a corresponding meaning in such a word.

(2) No provision of the Education Act shall derogate from the validity of any provision of these regulations or of an order issued thereunder.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer.

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE / JUNE 1988 No. 11345

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1114 **10 Junie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953:
BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOOD-REGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 (1) (a) van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, vaardig ek, Roy Peter During, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Westelike Provinsie, hierby met betrekking tot die gebiede vermeld in Bylae A, die bevel uiteengesit in Bylae B uit.

R. P. DURING,
Afdelingskommissaris: Afdeling Westelike Provinsie.

BYLAE A

(a) In die landdrosdistrik van Wynberg en in die gebied bekend as Nyanga Uitbreiding 3 woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 662 van 3 April 1980, die oop, opgeruimde en onbewoonde grond van die gebied begrens deur Mahoberylaan, Klipfonteinweg en Lansdowneweg.

(b) In die landdrosdistrik van Wynberg en in die gebied bekend as Nyanga woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1984 van 9 Desember 1960, die oop en opgeruimde grond van die gebied begrens deur Terminusweg, NY 78, NY 5 en Great Dutchsingel.

BYLAE B

Geen persoon mag enige gedeelte van 'n gebied in Bylae A omskryf, betree of daarop of daarin aanwesig wees sonder die skriftelike toestemming van die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Westelike Provinsie.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1114 **10 June 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953:
ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 (1) (a) of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Roy Peter During, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Western Province Division, hereby issue with reference to the areas mentioned in Schedule A, the order set out in Schedule B.

R. P. DURING,
Divisional Commissioner: Western Province Division.

SCHEDULE A

(a) In the Magisterial District of Wynberg in the area known as Nyanga Extension 3 Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 662 of 3 April 1980, the open, cleared and unoccupied ground of the area bordered by Mahobe Drive, Klipfontein Road and Lansdowne Road.

(b) In the Magisterial District of Wynberg in the area known as Nyanga Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1984 of 9 December 1960, the open and cleared ground of the area bordered by Terminus Road, NY 78, NY 5 and Great Dutch Crescent.

SCHEDULE B

No person may enter or be present on or in any part of an area as described in Schedule A, without the written permission of the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Western Province Division.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Regulasiekoerant
Regulation Gazette
No. 4218

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor geregistreer
Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE JUNE 1988 No. 11342

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 99, 1988

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

MEDIANOODREGULASIES

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), vaardig ek hierby die regulasies vervat in die Bylae met ingang van 10 Junie 1988 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Negende dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"ampsdraer", met betrekking tot 'n organisasie, 'n lid van die beherende of uitvoerende liggaam van—

(a) die organisasie; of

(b) 'n tak of afdeling van die organisasie;

"beperkte byeenkoms" 'n byeenkoms ten opsigte waarvan 'n voorwaarde kragtens artikel 46 (1) (ii) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet 74 van 1982), bepaal is of ten opsigte waarvan 'n voorwaarde, verbod of vereiste kragtens regulasie 10 (1) (d) van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, opgelê of van krag is;

"byeenkoms" 'n byeenkoms, toeloop of optog van enige getal persone;

"Direkteur-generaal" die Direkteur-generaal: Binnelandse Sake;

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 99, 1988

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule with effect from 10 June 1988.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the South African Police, and for the purposes of the application of a provision of these regulations in or in respect of—

(a) a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958), means the said Commissioner or the Divisional Commissioner designated under that Act for that division; or

(b) a self-governing territory, means the said Commissioner or the Commissioner or other officer in charge of the police force of the Government of that self-governing territory;

"Director-General" means the Director-General: Home Affairs;

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Regulasiekoerant
Regulation Gazette
No. 4216

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor geregistreer
Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 10 JUNIE / JUNE 1988 No. 11340

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 97, 1988

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953:
VEILIGHEIDSNOODREGULASIES

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), vaardig ek hierby die regulasies vervat in die Bylae met ingang van 10 Junie 1988 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad,op hede die Negende dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

A. J. VLOK,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. (1) In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"ampsdraer", met betrekking tot 'n organisasie, 'n lid van die beherende of uitvoerende liggaam van—

(a) die organisasie; of

(b) 'n tak of afdeling van die organisasie;

"beampte" 'n persoon in diens van die Staat, en ook 'n lid van 'n veiligheidsmag wat nie andersins in diens van die Staat is nie;

"byeenkoms" enige byeenkoms, toeloop of optog van enige getal persone;

"druk" om deur druk, tik of op enige ander wyse van reproduksie voort te bring;

"geskrif" ook enige metode waarvolgens letters, syfers, tekens of simbole in sigbare vorm voorgestel of weergegee word;

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 97, 1988

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953:
SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule with effect from 10 June 1988.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

A. J. VLOK,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. (1) In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Act", means the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953);

"Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the South African Police, and for the purposes of the application of a provision of these regulations in or in respect of—

(a) a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958), the said Commissioner or the Divisional Commissioner designated under that Act for that division; or

(b) a self-governing territory, the said Commissioner or the Commissioner or other officer in charge of the police force of the Government of that self-governing territory;

Organisation is 'causing untold harm'

Vlok threatens to 'clip DPSC's wings'

Star 10/6/88

Detainees' Parents Support Committee members out to destroy the morale, image and function of the SA Security Forces through slanted, biased allegations and lies must stop it, or their wings would be clipped, the **Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok**, said in the President's Council yesterday.

Addressing a plenary session of the council on the country's security situation, Mr Vlok said there was no doubt that this was the aim and objective of the organisation.

"This organisation and its members have caused our country untold harm. They do not care a damn whether an allegation is based on fact or tested.

"In many instances, we have challenged the DPSC to produce facts following their claims of torture ... of detainees, especially of children and youths. They have never been able to do so.

"Last week I told a public meeting that not a single child younger than 16 was being held in terms of the Emergency Regulations.

"Dr (Max) Coleman immediately went public and in effect called me a liar. He said he knew of a 'string of 15-year-olds being held'.

Minister Adriaan Vlok ... challenged DPSC.

"When I challenged him to produce the names, he came up with a list of 15 youths, half of whom had long been released and who, according to our records, were older than 15 years.

"In respect of the other seven, I said I was prepared to allow him to point out the youths in question and check out their ages in the presence of a magistrate.

"This was done. The youths told the magistrate they were older than 15, but in the case of five of them, there were discrepancies regarding their birth dates.

"Before the magistrate could verify these discrepancies, Dr Coleman again issued a statement claiming that the youths were in fact 15 years old.

"We have since produced birth certificates in which it has been proved beyond all doubt that the youths are older than 15 years.

"My view on children in detention is well-known. I do not wish to see children being detained, but unfortunately circumstances sometimes cannot allow otherwise.

"However, I am happy to state that today there are fewer than 80 youths being held in terms of the emergency regulations and none of them are under the age of 16.

"Those who are still in detention are being held under the best possible conditions. They are not being held with hardened or adult criminals; their parents and legal advisers have regular access to them; they receive the best medical care; are regularly visited by judges, district surgeons and senior officers.

"What I do wish to say, however, is that there is no doubt as to the aims and objectives of this organisation.

"It is determined to destroy the morale, image and functions of the South African Security Forces through its slanted, biased allegations and lies and we will not allow this to continue. My warning to these people is: Stop it, or your wings will be clipped," Mr Vlok said. — Sapa.

R1 045-m extra needed by Govt

Star 10/6/88

Supplementary estimates of expenditure of R38 924 million were tabled in the House of Assembly yesterday, an increase of R1 045 million over the supplementary estimates tabled in the main Budget in March.

The biggest amount to be voted is R550 million for the Department of Transport.

Extra funds for the National Flood Disaster Fund and the improvement in social pensions and allowances make up the R113 million allocation for House of Assembly Administration, R20,5 million for the House of Representatives and R3,9 million for the House of Delegates. — Sapa.

Star 10/6/88

Measure is 'sign of Govt illegitimacy'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Re-imposition of the state of emergency would be a sign of the Government's "illegitimacy, an indictment of its own actions, a clear admission that it is not capable of governing through means other than the illegitimate (and) that its policy of reform is bankrupt", a statement released by the Five Freedoms Forum said yesterday.

Entitled "Say No to Emergency Rule", the statement said the state of emergency, which had resulted in more "oppression, restrictions, violence and Government-sponsored misinformation, should be seen for what it is: a ruthless and undemocratic mechanism to retain power".

The Five Freedoms Forum yesterday held a lunchtime public meeting to highlight "the cost and futility of the state of emergency and to show that, despite it, people are still working for a safer, more just South Africa".

Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, were the main speakers.

Star 10/6/88

'Prepare for permanent emergency'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

South Africans should prepare themselves for a permanent state of emergency, Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said this was because the State was unable to govern without the "very wide and arbitrary powers afforded it by these states of emergency".

He and Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo were the main speakers at a "Say No to Emergency Rule" public meeting at the Central Methodist Church.

CONSPIRACY

The state of emergency, Mr van Eck said, had made people grow used to an "all-pervasive conspiracy of silence".

It was created by a Government which was "restricting the dissemination of virtually all news; a never-ending spiral of violence initiated by violent State repression; a massive system of Government repression of legitimate opposition; and a system of misinformation to convince the already uninformed white electorate that the unrest was under control, that it was instigated by foreigners from Moscow and that there was no civil war between black and white South Africans".

Govt takes draconian new steps to muzzle the media

Star 10/6/88

A to Z of emergency laws

PRETORIA BUREAU

Sweeping and more detailed emergency regulations aimed at the media were announced in a *Government Gazette* published in Pretoria yesterday.

They are part of the renewed state of emergency announced late on Thursday night by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

They include:

- Nobody, without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Police or a member of a security force serving as a commissioned officer, may take any photograph or produce a television or film recording, or make a drawing or depiction of any security unrest action, including the damaging or destruction of property or the injury and killing of people.
- The prohibition of any film, pictures, reports or drawings of any damaged or destroyed property or injured or dead persons or other visible signs of violence at the scene where unrest or security action is taking or has taken place, or of any injuries sustained by any person in or during unrest or security action.
- The prohibition of any film, pictures, reports or drawings or sound recording of any unrest or security action or incident, including damage or destruction of property and people injured or killed.

On the publishing of subversive statements, the gazette prohibits statements, either oral or written, in publications, on television, or by means of sound recording.

The importation of any of these is also banned, as well as the local production or importation of foreign periodicals which contain subversive statements.

The banning includes news agency business, which is defined as "activity involving the gathering, preparation, compilation, recording, processing or production of news material regarding events in the Republic and the supplying of such news material to a person for publication in a periodical which is published in the Republic or elsewhere or for broadcasting by a television or radio station situated in the Republic or elsewhere".

The media may not report on security action; that is any action to terminate unrest, to protect life or property, follow-up action, or any action in which a person is arrested under the Public Safety Act or Security Emergency Regulations (1988).

A subversive statement is one which incites or encourages, or which is calculated to have the effect of inciting or encouraging, members of the public to:

- Take part in an activity or to commit an act resisting or opposing a member of the Cabinet, or of a Ministers' Council, or another member of the Government, official of the Republic or self-governing territory, or a member of the security forces in the exercise or performance of their duty under the Public Safety Act of 1953.

Boycott Action

- Take part in a boycott action against a particular firm or against firms of a particular nature, class or kind, either by not making purchases at or doing business with those firms, boycotting a particular product or article, or refusing to comply with an obligation towards a local authority with regard to rent or a municipal service.

The gazette states further that the notice is also binding on members of the public who incite or encourage people to:

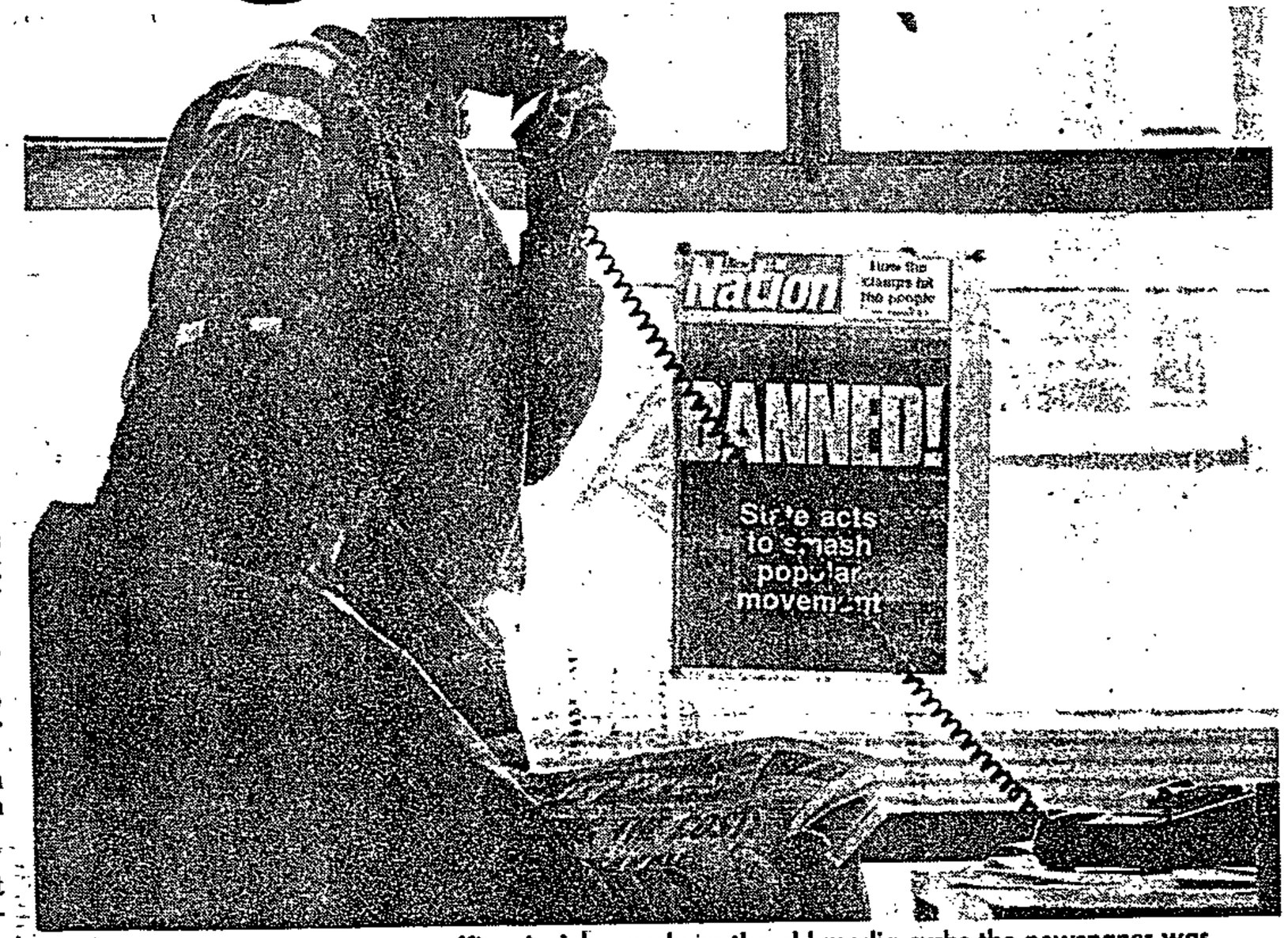
- Stay away from work or to strike in contravention of the provisions of any law, or to support such a stayaway action or strike.
- Attend or to take part in a restricted gathering.
- Take part in any activities of or to join or support an unlawful organisation in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982.
- Exert power in specific areas by means of structures purporting to be those of local government, and acting as such in an unlawful manner, or to establish such structures, or to support them or subject themselves to those (pseudo) authorities.

Referring to the media, the gazette states that no member of the media, including cameramen and crew, will be allowed at the scene of an unrest situation, restricted gathering or security action without permission from the Commissioner of Police.

This provision apparently will not apply to somebody from the media who happens to find himself/herself at the scene of the unrest, restricted gathering or security action and "is within sight", or arrives at the scene "for a reason other than to cover the unrest, gathering or action for the gathering of news material".

The gazette states that if there is a "systematic or repetitive publishing" of subversive propaganda "promoting, fomenting revolution or uprisings" in the Republic — "or other acts aimed at the overthrow of the Government, otherwise than by constitutional means" — the Minister may, by notice in the gazette, issue a warning and after an examination of a series of issues of the publication (including any issue after April 11 1988), prohibit further issues of the publication.

The prohibition will not exceed three months at a time in the case of a registered periodical, or six months at a time in the case of any other periodical, unless the article published has been previously approved by a person specified in the order. — Sapa.



The New Nation newspaper offices in Johannesburg the old media curbs the newspaper was banned for three months.

SMOKE?

endowed South Africans and their black counterparts into two distant camps.

Detentions, clamps on "subversive" messages to sustain anti-apartheid campaigns and the restriction of mass political organisations have made black political activity disappear from the sight of the outside world.

These emergency measures have criminalised campaigns involving a whole range of non-violent action — consumer boycotts, work stayaways, class boycotts, rent withdrawal.

Beyond reach

For the voteless who saw such action as their only leverage, violent and non-violent strategies have now been reduced to the same level of risk.

Before these facets of emergency rule were imposed, non-violent action could and did result in negotiations relating to education, local government, troop presence in the townships. Now the initiators and co-ordinators of such action must remain faceless and beyond reach of those who might have wanted to talk things out.

Precisely how campaigns to withhold rent continue, how students mobilise class boycotts and how workers combine in stayaway action remains a mystery to the wider world.

What is clear is that these campaigns are sustained without high profile leaders and, in many cases, without the presence of "intimidators".

The criminalisation of the activities of its still legal opponents has narrowed the Government's own political options.

Mr Botha's National Statutory Council has been rejected by most black politicians of stature and even by several homeland leaders.

The option of the Government abandoning this non-starter and taking the first momentous steps towards negotiation was made virtually impossible in February when the emergency measures were used to immobilise the United Democratic Front and its major affiliates (undoubtedly the largest legal political formation) and to bar the Congress of South African Trade Unions from involving itself in political activities.

Pretoria has indeed cut off the hand it might at some stage wish to shake.

In this context the October municipal elections cannot help becoming a major test of strength. The credibility of township councillors who were so roundly rejected in the 1983 polls will once again be laid bare for scrutiny.

In many cases councillors and the council system enter the electoral fray in a weak position.

In several PWV areas, including part of Soweto and Alexandra, non-functional councils have been replaced by administrators. Elsewhere, councillors stay in compounds enclosed by barbed wire, not daring to live among the people. In many Transvaal townships, councils have been bankrupted by rent boycotts.

Are these features, hangovers of past violence, put paid to by emergency rule? Or are they permanent fixtures in communities where a culture of resistance exists below a sullenly quiet surface? Events of October 26 should provide some answers.

..y . o-Anne Co...nge

As the second year of continuous emergency rule drew to a close this week, a work stayaway unparalleled in South Africa was observed in several cities and small towns.

The mounting of such a protest under conditions where major anti-apartheid organisations are heavily restricted, hundreds of community leaders have been in detention for up to two years and it is an offence so much as to whisper encouragement for an illegal strike adds a dimension to the question: What has the state of emergency achieved?

The prime achievement cited by the State President, Mr P W Botha, in announcing the renewal of emergency rule was the decrease in "unrest".

If the level of political violence in recent months is compared with that in early 1986, Mr Botha's claim holds up in general terms.

The logical follow-up question is: Having established control by mass detentions, security force patrols, clamps on communication and restricting organisations, has the State been able to regain its authority and to win the hearts and minds of township people?

This time last year, the Bureau for Information hinted that this was not the case, asserting that a "revolutionary climate" still prevailed.

This week's stayaway, the persistent if somewhat ragged rent boycotts, the recent upsurge in school boycotts in Soweto and the Cape, and the ubiquitous pro-ANC graffiti of the townships indicate that many people continue to march to a drum beaten by leaders outside Government.

In the six months before the 1986 emergency, according to court evidence given by Brigadier Hermanus Stadler, head of intelligence for the security police, 340 police homes, 1 185 police vehicles, 3 344 delivery vehicles and 1 733 buses were attacked.

It is clear the present conflict in the streets is nothing like as intense. But there are bloody exceptions.

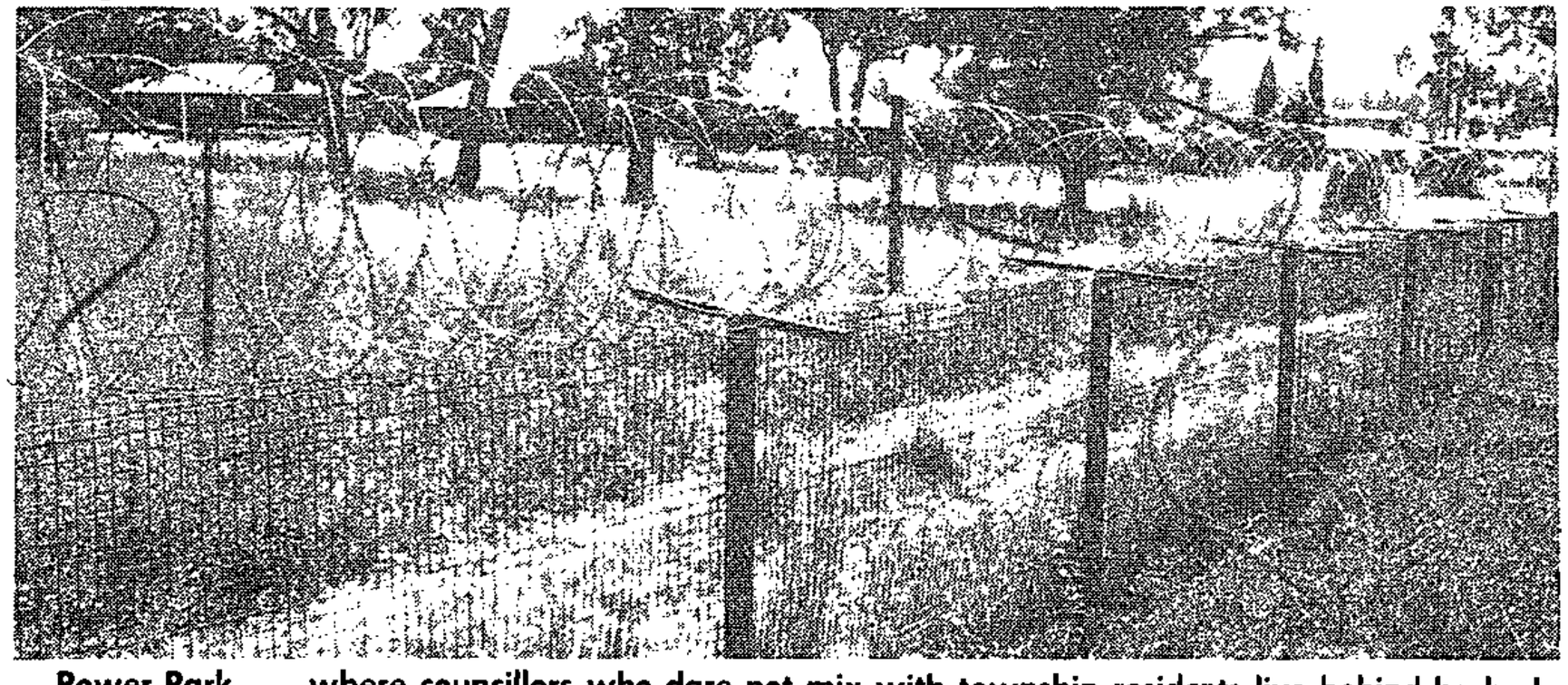
Prime among these is the Maritzburg area, where at least 650 lives have been lost in conflict in the last 18 months.The fighting, although between civilians, is intensely political, with supporters of Inkatha — the ruling party of kwaZulu — confronting supporters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front.

The other distinct area in which violence has increased is that involving attacks by members of the African National Congress and other armed groups fighting apartheid.

In the Bethal treason trial, Brigadier Stadler recently submitted there were 230 such attacks in 1986 and 234 in 1987. The previous annual peak in the post-1976 period was 136 attacks, recorded in 1985.

Given that street violence has largely been suppressed, the next question is: Has the State been able to turn this control to good political purpose? The indications are that it has not.

A speaker at a meeting of Cosatu — now banned from political activities.



Power Park . . . where councillors who dare not mix with township residents live behind barbed wire.

Rosemary Hunter: Criticised the composition of the university council.

327

Star 10/6/88

Unrest dips, but 'hearts and minds' battle appears lost

Emergency balance sheet

Cape Times

Funfinder Inside

BEST DAILY NEWSPAPER 1987

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

FOUNDED 1876 ★ ☎ 208 4911 FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1988 50c (45c plus 5c GST)

ARAMIS
The Aram
Bag conta
Yours fo
Devin or
COSMETI
CAVENDI

Cape Times 10/6/88

Vlok may expel BBC over film

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday hinted that the BBC may be kicked out of South Africa.

The clash follows the broadcast in Britain on Wednesday night of the controversial documentary, "Suffer the Children", which contains "serious allegations" of police torture, beatings and disfiguring of children in detention in South Africa.

The British Charges D'Affairs was called in by the South African government to hear protests about the BBC screening, but the Foreign Office in London had no comment to make on the issue.

Mr Vlok said the government took the "strongest exception" to this "most hostile film".

"Neither the government nor the police were given a chance to comment on the serious and one-sided allegation in the film.

"Worst of all is the fact that a spokesman for the BBC in London still had the audacity to phone my office yesterday to ask for comment, but still without us having been given the opportunity to view the film."

Mr Vlok said that when his press liaison officer, Brigadier Leon Mellet, asked a BBC spokesman why the allegations were not put to the SAP for comment beforehand, the interviewer responded: "Quite frankly, the BBC does not believe the SA government."

"If this is the BBC's attitude, why should the government continue to host their representatives here?"

The police would investigate every allegation made and, if any were proved to be factual, the necessary action would be instituted.

"But those allegations which are proved to be false will be exposed and we expect the BBC to then afford as much time to the truth in the same time slot as they did with this film."

In the film, a Methodist minister from Soweto, Mr Paul Verryn, is quoted as claiming that girls and boys of 13 were being tortured with electric shocks.

"He said some of the victims were as young as nine. We will go to him and ask him to supply us with the evidence.

"A SA Council of Churches worker, Mr Saki Macozoma, claims that it was common to find missing children in mortuaries, while another person claimed that children's fingers were chopped off. They, too, will have to give us the evidence."

The film, made by the independent company Penumbra, claimed up to 10 000 children had been detained during the state of emergency.

The BBC's commissioning editor, Mr George Carey, emphatically dismissed a strong protest from the SA Embassy that the film was "propaganda", had serious inaccuracies and that they could have sought permission to make it openly. — Political Staff and Own Correspondent

ing — more quickly.
Report — Page 8

tile film".

"If this is the BBC's attitude, wh

Tougher curbs

Cape Times 10/6/88

327

Midnight statement

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

SOUTH AFRICA enters its third year of nationwide emergency rule today — under even tougher curbs on anti-government groupings.

President P W Botha announced at midnight last night that a proclamation would appear in today's Government Gazette declaring that a state of emergency "again exists" in the Republic.

Government sources last night indicated that regulations might be tightened to curb the activities of what it considered "radical" organizations on both the left and the right of the political spectrum.

Fears have also been expressed about the renewal of newspaper bannings and curbs on unions and individuals.

In justifying the reimposition of the emergency, Mr Botha said the government had "in recent times" achieved considerable success in curtailing the incidence of violence and unrest in the Republic.

"It is, however, evident that there still exists a notable revolutionary climate in the country. In addition, the revolutionary and terrorist threat against our society remains a reality."

Reacting to the reimposition of the emergency early this morning, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said it was clear the emergency rule was not a "passing phase", and added: "After 40 years of Nationalist rule the curtailment of civil liberties and of political expression is fast becoming a way of life."

PFP civil-liberties veteran Mrs Helen Suzman said: "It seems South Africa will have to endure a permanent state of emergency, under which thousands of people are detained without trial and denied due process, the media are severely restricted, and extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid organizations are virtually banned.

"Worst of all is the increasing placidity with which the white electorate accepts this incursion into the civil rights they should enjoy."

A total of 3 040 people were held for more than 30 days in the past 12 months of emergency rule and 14 974 were held for more than 14 days in the first 12 months of emergency after June 1986.

Among the prominent people known to held in detention without trial are Mr Vusi Khanyile, adviser to UCT principal and member of National Education Crisis Committee; Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of New Nation; Mr Murphy Morobe, acting UDF publicity secretary; Mr Raymond Suttner, Wits law lecturer and member of UDF executive; and Mr Trevor Manuel, member of the UDF Western Cape executive.

In announcing reimposition of the emergency, President Botha said he was of the opinion that circumstances in the Republic were "such that the ordinary law of the land is still inadequate to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public".

Mr Botha said the proclamation would remain in force for 12 months unless it was withdrawn before that.

FOCUS: STATE OF EMERGENCY

IS THE BODY STILL BREATHING?

The Emergency ends today. Another is likely to replace it. Has the 'democratic movement' which dominated townships from 1984 to 1986 been eradicated? A range of opposition leaders interviewed here dispute this. By ANTON HARBER and SHAUN JOHNSON

"COMRADE CHE", a 15-year-old activist, stood in the area of Alexandra township he described as "Cuba liberated zone". "The *boere* can never come back here," he said.

That was early 1986.

A week later, the South African Defence Force had set up base in the township, within hailing distance of "Cuba". Che was nowhere to be found: residents said he might be in hiding, in jail, in exile, or dead.

Today, the township has been identified as a key area for "upgrading" and the front-end loader is a more familiar sight than the Casspir.

Che has not reappeared; community leaders face treason charges in Johannesburg courts. A lot has changed in the two years of Emergency rule.

Does this vignette illustrate the destruction of the "democratic movement" which held sway in townships across South Africa from 1984 to 1986? As the second anniversary of the Emergency approaches, the conventional wisdom seems to be that the United Democratic Front-led upsurge of mass resistance has been eradicated, never to return.

A range of opposition leaders disputed this analysis in interviews this week.

All — from the Congress of South African Trade Unions' Jay Naidoo to the National Democratic Movement's Wynand Malan — agreed the state clampdown had severely damaged extra-parliamentary organisation, but said the politicisation which had taken place between 1984 and 1986 could not be reversed. It was likely to resurface, although in altered form.

A number of leaders pointed to the extent of this week's stayaway as an indication that mass militancy had not disappeared, even though it found public expression less frequently.

"Mass-based organisations, in particular the United Democratic Front, have demonstrated a remarkable amount of resilience," said Dr Farouk Meer of the Natal Indian Congress. "Specific instances show this — the youth grouping Sayco (South African Youth Congress) was born during the Emergency, and the NIC itself was able to hold its first conference in about nine years, as well as properly constitute several branches. Problems are being overcome."

All those interviewed said there had been a "realistic reappraisal" of how long it would take to bring about fundamental change; there had been a "rescheduling of the timetable" away from the heady optimism which characterised earlier years.

"There are areas where noses have been bloodied, and people are dizzy from the blows — or even floored," said Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, former secretary-general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. "But there are indications that things are intact. It is a sullen silence, simmering with anger."

UDF patron Johnny Issel recently said: "The struggle against apartheid has broadened. On the one side, our organisation is so affected by the attacks that we can't consolidate. But if you go into any area today, you will find the mood of the people is one of anger."

There is a belief that the repression has, perversely, had some positive effects on resistance. "It has called forth more deeply-rooted organisation and structures," said the Azanian Co-Ordinating Committee's Jackie Hlapolosa. "It has also given birth to more co-operation and consultation between groups in the long-term.

"It is a painful realisation, but a realistic one, that the slogan 'liberation today' has given way to a vision of a protracted struggle. There was a temporary misorientation in the broad democratic movement.

"What it also means is that instead of looking to outside forces, the onus is now on people inside the country to achieve change. The success of the joint National Council of Trade Unions/Cosatu protest is a concrete pointer that this is happening."

Mkhatshwa calls it "a paradoxical source of strength": the experience activists gain from the setbacks will encourage more mature political organisation.

While there is agreement on how changing conditions have influenced the position of resistance groups, there is less clarity on precise ways of moving forward. Cosatu's Jay Naidoo agreed that although a "rethink" of tactics was taking place, it was too early to say what form it would take.

"We acknowledge we have no blueprint. We are facing very rapidly changing conditions and have to respond to them as they come." He said it was "only through struggle that we can achieve change — therefore there can be no retreat (for the union movement) into economism or inactivity at the community level."

Wynand Malan, renegade Nationalist and now leader of the NDM, told the *Weekly Mail* he felt the "ad hoc politics of protest and pressure" were not enough to bring about fundamental change. "There seems to be no clear strategy in extra-parliamentary politics. I believe the political mobilisation of 1984-86 was almost complete, and although some activities have been crushed by the system, the awareness remains.

"There should be more focus on the kind of future we all want for South Africa, and the development of alternative strategies — strategies which would involve those outside present constituencies of protest. I mean also those who find themselves part of the so-called s[illegible]

There is another side to the argument that repression has hastened the process of "rethinking". It has also, self-evidently, made it almost impossible for organisations to hold the necessary meetings and discussions. Organisations labour under effective bannings, key individuals are jailed, on trial, or restricted from speaking at gatherings. All outdoor meetings are banned, and most indoor meetings fall foul of magisterial prohibitions.

Thus while there is evidence of restrategising, it is among individuals — and is not obviously occurring on an organised, structured level. Broadly, options which could be considered by extra-parliamentary organisations include:

- To continue the current battle to retain legality and attempt to recreate the mass mobilisation of 1985;
- To abandon legal, peaceful forms of resistance and join the "armed struggle";
- To adopt, as the South African Youth Congress appears to have, "semi-underground" modes of operation. These involve a stress on smaller, more localised groupings of activists who operate legally but covertly. Sayco developed its approach before the February restrictions, but when detention of its leaders was a distinct possibility;
- To reconsider the blanket boycott of government-created structures, including the tricameral parliament and black local authorities.

The first option appears to have the least currency in extra-parliamentary circles; the second is likely to be chosen by a number of individuals, but not by organisations; the third is, on current indications, the most popular, especially in view of the relative strength of Sayco; the fourth is a possibility at some point in the future, but its exponents have some way to go in persuading the bulk of activists of its validity.

The State of Emergency has also thrust the trade unions and the churches into a more overtly political role than ever before.

According to Naidoo "the trade union movement has become the vehicle for people to express their political views. Taking up political and community struggles is a legitimate part of trade unionism."

Meer sees the "increasingly important position of the unions in the political struggle" as a "positive development". He says the "UDF has always emphasised the need for workers to take a leading role, and this is being fulfilled under present conditions. We in the political sector welcome this — workers should in fact be centre stage, especially as the UDF can't function as it used to."

This heightened political profile has meant intensified attention from the state, but this does not dissuade Naidoo: "The state has declared its intention to smash us. This has been forced on us, and we have no choice but to respond." Malan predicts that the more the political focus of resistance turns to the unions, "the harsher state action is likely to be against them. The struggle cannot be their only activity."

Last week's emergency convocation of religious leaders in Johannesburg was a graphic illustration of extra-parliamentary expectations from the churches. While there was disagreement over how much progress had been made in committing the church to an active political role, it is clear that leaders are responding to calls to step into the gap left by the bannings of organisations.

It is clear from this complex picture of the dynamics operating within opposition groupings after two years of Emergency rule that there remains a residue of militancy — what Dr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand calls the "culture of activism" — in the townships of South Africa. There is no clarity, yet, on the direction in which it will be channelled, but this question tops the

●To PAGE 16

A sullen silence, simmering with anger — Soweto youths march after a funeral is banned

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

POWER IS HABIT FORMING. ABSOLUTE POWER IS ADDICTIVE

By CARMEL RICKARD

TWO years of Emergency powers in the hands of the police and the state have been addictive and it is unlikely they will be given up.

This is the opinion of two top South African academic lawyers, professors John Dugard of Wits University and Tony Mathews of Natal University, who were speaking on the second anniversary of the State of Emergency.

Mathews said he believed the authorities were now "habituated to virtually unlimited power.

"It shows in the growing police arrogance which we are seeing on the campuses and in the way they deal with university officials. This official arrogance flows directly from giving them such broad powers.

"I do not think we will ever go back to a situation of 'normal powers' — even in the South African meaning of the phrase.

"Once the law and order enforcing authorities are used to these powers it is very difficult, as far as they are concerned, to do without them."

Dugard agreed with this view, saying the Emergency regulations were easier to apply than "normal" laws.

"The procedures are much simpler and there is far less accountability to anyone."

He said that from the state's point of view it might be a "smart move" to revert to the 1985 position of regional Emergencies, lifting the present Emergency but leaving it effective in key magisterial districts.

"This would help their international position, and what harm would it do to lift restrictions in, say, Prieska?"

National director of Lawyers for Human Rights Brian Currin said, "It has become clear that the Emergency regulations have created an atmosphere in which legal democracy has scant role to play.

"Their Emergency powers have given the executive a new attitude to powers which existed even before the Emergency — they are doing things they hesitated to do before, even though they were empowered to act."

Currin gave as an example, the state president's intervention in stopping the murder prosecution of senior soldiers in Namibia, contrary to the decision of the Attorney General that a case against them did exist.

He added, "If ever there was a belief that the executive arm of the government respected the authority and independence of the judiciary that must surely have been shattered over the past two years."

The director of the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies at Natal University, Durban, Chris Albertyn, said the Emergency had undermined respect for the law and due process.

"People accept it is normal that principles like the right to remain silent, to be represented, not to be arrested except in good cause, are no longer in force. But these are the basic principles of a democratic society."

There has been a marked drop-off in the number of supreme court applications brought to challenge aspects of the Emergency regulations, and Mathews believes this is the result of two factors — the Omar cluster of appeal court judgements which ruled the state president was the judge of what was "reasonable" in law and what was not, and which also ruled lawyers had no right to see detained clients — it was a privilege which could be granted or refused.

"This ruling cut the ground from under the lawyers' feet."

David Gordon, SC, chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights in Durban, believed there was "no lack of judicial activism.

"The problem is rather a systematic plugging of loopholes exposed by human rights lawyers and more careful draughtsmanship by the framers of Emergency regulations."

FOCUS: STATE OF EMERGENCY

1988 AND ALL'S WELL, ON THE SURFACE

The Emergency has brought relative peace, says the government. At a price: 5 000 detained, and many likely to be redetained this weekend. By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE June 1987 Emergency helped to reintroduce a degree of stability during which political developments like the October municipal elections could take place, a Bureau for Information representative said this week.

But David Webster, vice chairperson of the Five Freedoms Forum, said while the public image was that the government wanted to restore "law and order", the private reality was its desire to crush all opposition.

The University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies estimates a total of 5 000 people were detained over the past Emergency year. An estimated 2 000 to 2 500 are still being held; 10 percent — or about 250 — are children under the age of 18. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok released the names of approximately 3 000 detainees, but he is obliged to name only those who have been detained for longer than 30 days.

Many former detainees were slapped with stringent banning orders on their release.

In addition, 18 extra-parliamentary organisations were banned in terms of the Emergency regulations. The Congress of South African Trade Unions was prohibited from carrying out non-union activities.

Two newspapers, *New Nation* and *South*, were temporarily suspended and seven were threatened with suspension for "causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or causing a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency".

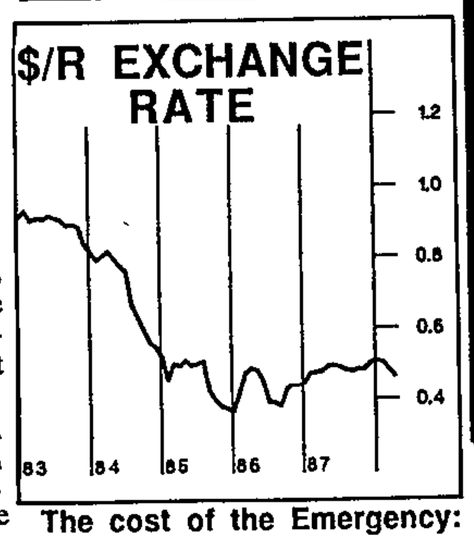
A Bureau for Information representative told the *Weekly Mail* this week that "although the Emergency had created a certain degree of stability, the revolutionary climate is still relatively high. We need some time to normalise it". He said unrest incidents had declined to an "acceptable level", except for the Natal conflict, which accounted for between 40 and 90 percent of the unrest incidents from August last year and 80 percent of the unrest deaths. Unrest had also peaked over the whites-only election period last year. He expected another peak over June 16.

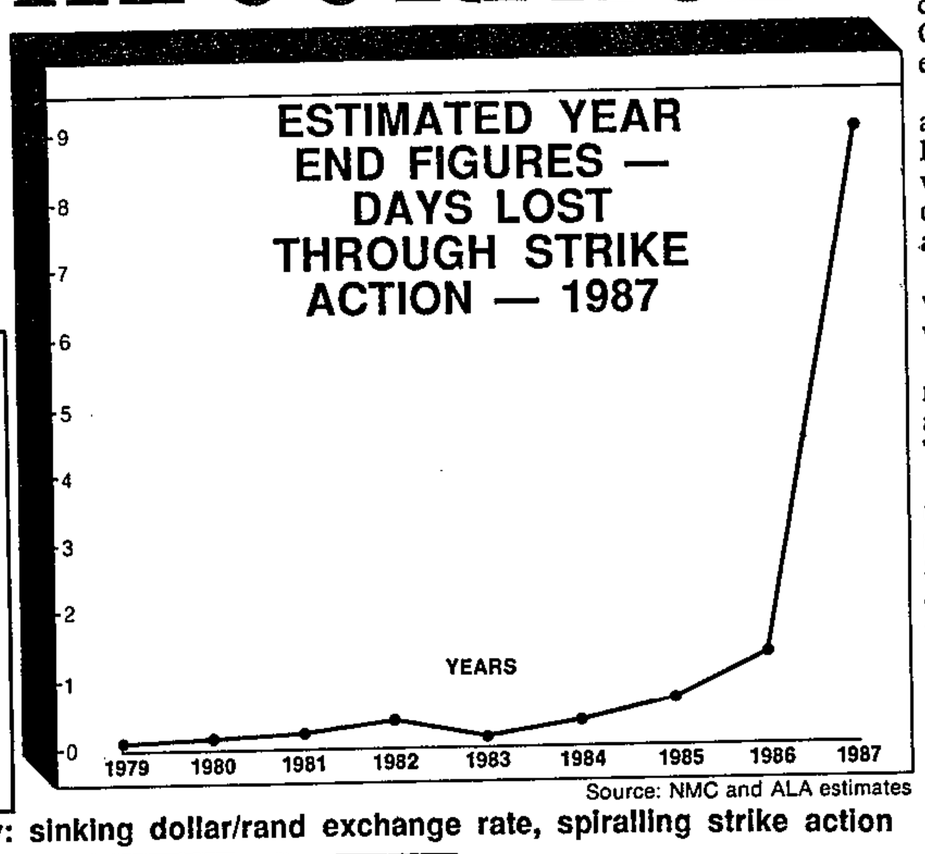
President PW Botha declared the national Emergency to restore stability, normality and create conditions in which development could take place, the bureau's representative said.

He said the Associated Chambers of Commerce's business confidence index relected a rising degree of confidence in the economy. The government had invested funds in housing and education schemes, and "we have high hopes for the municipal elections" which would form part of the government's political development plans.

"We have not completely achieved the aims set out, but one thing has been proved, the Emergency situation has been effective," the representative said.

As long as the government believes a revolutionary climate prevails a core group of detainees — including most United Democratic Front executive members and the entire executive of the National Education Crisis Committee — are likely to remain behind bars indefinitely.





The cost of the Emergency: sinking dollar/rand exchange rate, spiralling strike action

Minister Adriaan Vlok

The Centre predicts at least 1 000 of the detainees will be re-detained this weekend. Many have already spent two years and more behind bars.

"This core of 1 000 detainees is being carried forward from one State of Emergency to the next, and face the prospect of being permanent 'prisoners of war'," the *Human Rights Update* compiled by the Centre states.

The Free the Children Alliance says while many chilren under the age of 18 have been released in recent months, more are being detained every day. "There has been nothing like the number of releases in the weeks before June last year," a representative of the Alliance said.

Of the estimated total of 5 000 detainees, 78 percent were members of United Democratic Front affiliates; 12,4 percent were signed up members of unions affilated to Cosatu; 3,4 percent belonged to unions affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions; 3,1 percent were from National Forum or Azanian People's Organisation groups, and 3,1 percent belonged to other organisations like the South African Council of Churches.

Natal recorded the highest number of detentions — 40 percent of the 5 000. It was followed by the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal area, with 2[illegible] percent.

The Eastern Cape — which had recorded the highest number of detentions in previous years — accounted for 20 percent of detentions, although the Centre believes this could be higher. The Free State accounted for six percent of detainees; the Transvaal country for five percent, the Western Cape for two percent, and the Northern Cape for one percent.

The Centre said political activists and community workers were the largest target group identified; they were followed by teachers and students, and then by trade union leaders and workers.

The past year saw an increase in vigilante attacks, particularly in Natal where more than 700 people died.

The number of activists who died mysterious deaths, regarded by many as political assassinations, grew. They included:

- Eric Ntonga, a senior official of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and former South African Allied Workers Union organiser and UDF official, who was found murdered in his car near King William's town on July 25, 1987. He was killed shortly after prominent Afrikaners met the African National Congress in Dakar at a summit arranged by Idasa.
- Soweto Students Council organiser Samuel Ndlovu who was shot dead outside a Soweto supermarket on September 2.
- Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union organiser Amos Tshabalala, who was found dead on the street in October.
- Petrus Mnisi, Vaal organiser of the Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee, who died on November 16 after being attacked in Sebokeng.
- Sicelo Dhlomo, 18, a volunteer worker for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, who was found murdered on January 25, 1988. He was detained briefly by police shortly before his murder and questioned about his appearance on an American TV programme in which he said he had been tortured in detention.
- Linda Brakvis, a 24-year-old UDF activist from Heldermoed near Bloemfontein, who was murdered by unknown assailants on January 29 three days after being released from police custody.
- Pearl Tshabalala, who came from a prominent anti-apartheid family and was shot dead in Durban's Claremont township on February 10.
- Amos Boshomane, a shop steward for the National Council of Trade Unions' Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union, who was shot dead in Kathlehong while on his way to work on February 25.
- Nomse Nduna of Daveyton, the mother of two trade unionists, who was killed on March 6.

Reluctant guests, unable to leave

Forty people have been detained since day one of the first national Emergency. By GAVIN EVANS

WHEN police swooped on households throughout the country on June 12, 1986, the thousands of people detained were given no idea when they might be allowed to return home.

Tomorrow at least 40 of those detained on the first day of the national State of Emergency will "celebrate" their second year behind bars — still not knowing how many days, months or years they will be kept.

According to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, about 550 Emergency detainees have been held since 1986, 215 of them since the first month of the Emergency and 40 since the first day.

The centre estimates that at least 30 000 people have been detained under Emergency regulations over the past two years, and about 2 000 to 2 500 are still being held. In addition about 300 people are currently being held under South Africa's security laws (including those of the "independent homelands").

While most Emergency detainees are being held in communal cells, a few are known to be in solitary confinement.

This week Wits University senior law lecturer Raymond Suttner completes two years in detention; he was detained on June 12, 1986, day one of the National State of Emergency. He has been held in solitary confinement for the past year. When he was detained, he was serving as the United Democratic Front's Transvaal education secretary.

This is not the first time behind bars for the 42-year-old advocate. In June 1975 he was detained, held in solitary for five months and allegedly severely tortured. Convicted for African National Congress activities, he served over seven years in Pretoria Central Prison.

Despite calls for his release from the US State Department, conservative Bavarian politician Franz Josef Strauss, and numerous local and overseas groups and individuals, the government has shown no signs of being prepared to consider Suttner's release.

Two other detainees believed to be in solitary confinement are National Education Crisis Committee leader, Eric Molobi, 38, who was detained on December 7 last year, and UDF Western Cape executive member, Willie Hofmeyr, 33, who has been held for the past two months.

For some detainees the experience of two years of Emergency detention has been part of a recurring nightmare.

Amos Masondo, 35, Cosatu central executive committee member and Soweto Civic Association publicity secretary, has not only spent 23 months of the current Emergency in incarceration, but was also detained for the full nine months of the 1985/6 Emergency.

Masondo, who was about to take up employment as a Food and Allied Workers Union organiser when he was picked up on July 21, 1986, has been detained six times. He also spent five years on Robben Island for ANC activities and has now spent a total of nearly 10 years of his life behind bars.

Another Emergency detainee who has recently spent more time in detention than out is Port Elizabeth Youth Congress president, Mkhuseli Jack.

Over the past 12 years Jack has been detained 11 times; he has spent a total of nearly four years of his life behind bars without having been convicted of a single offence. He has been held for 22 months of the current Emergency.

The oldest person believed still to be in Emergency detention is 67-year-old Bloemfontein UDF member Caleb Motshabi, who was detained on June 16, 1986. Motshabi had spent 12 years on Robben Island for ANC activities and was then banished to Thaba 'Nchu for five years.

Two others in their sixties who are in still in Emergency detention are UDF Eastern Cape leaders Edgar Ngoyi and Henry Fazzie.

Ngoyi, 61, UDF Eastern Cape president, was detained under the Emergency regulations on June 12 1986. He was tried for murder, refused bail, and re-detained immediately after being acquitted.

He had also been detained for four months of the 1985/6 Emergency and spent 18 years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Fazzie, 64, UDF Eastern Cape vice president, was detained under Emergency regulations on August 4, 1986. He had previously spent four months in Emergency detention in 1985 and had spent 21 years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Over 120 women are believed to be in Emergency detention. The woman believed to have been held longest is Constance Hlatshwayo, 26, Alexandra Women's Organisation secretary, detained on June 13, 1986.

Another long-serving female detainee is Ntombazana Botha, 45, Border Council of Churches administrator, who has been held for 16 months. A single mother of two, she was also detained in 1983, 1984 and 1986.

Two journalists are still being held under Emergency regulations.

Port Elizabeth freelance journal ist Brian Sokutu, 26, has been held since June 16, 1986.

New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, 38, has spent the past 18 months in Emergency detention. He was also detained for three weeks earlier in the Emergency. He has now been detained four times for a total of two-and-a-half years, without having been convicted of any offence.

IS THE BODY BREATHING?

●From PAGE 15

agendas of resistance organisations in all their manifestations.

And, as Lodge points out, catalytic events have heralded new phases of resistance in the past. Given the seriousness with which the upcoming municipal elections are being treated by both government and opposition, one cannot predict the effect of campaigns around the ballot.

The critical factor is that the government has succeeded in "demobilising the townships" but has had very little success in winning people over to its views and visions. Says Naidoo: "The very fact that the state continues to attack us is also an indication of weakness — it has not won the people to its side."

The war over hearts and minds has not been won — and that, not short-term security battles, is what will decide the outcome.

(327) whole page

FOCUS: STATE OF EMERGENCY

1988 AND ALL'S WELL, ON THE SURFACE

The Emergency has brought relative peace, says the government. At a price: 5 000 detained, and many likely to be redetained this weekend. By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE June 1987 Emergency helped to reintroduce a degree of stability during which political developments like the October municipal elections could take place, a Bureau for Information representative said this week.

But David Webster, vice chairperson of the Five Freedoms Forum, said while the public image was that the government wanted to restore "law and order", the private reality was its desire to crush all opposition.

The University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies estimates a total of 5 000 people were detained over the past Emergency year. An estimated 2 000 to 2 500 are still being held; 10 percent — or about 250 — are children under the age of 18. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok released the names of approximately 3 000 detainees, but he is obliged to name only those who have been detained for longer than 30 days.

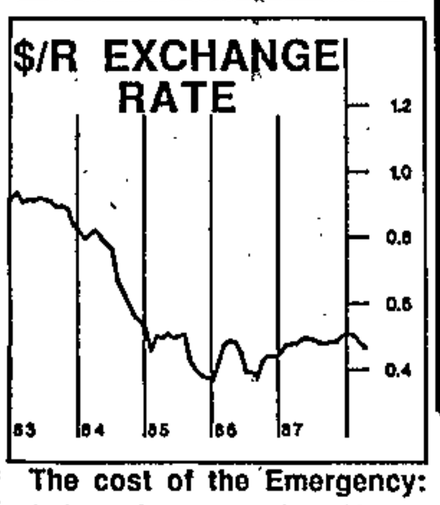
Many former detainees were slapped with stringent banning orders on their release.

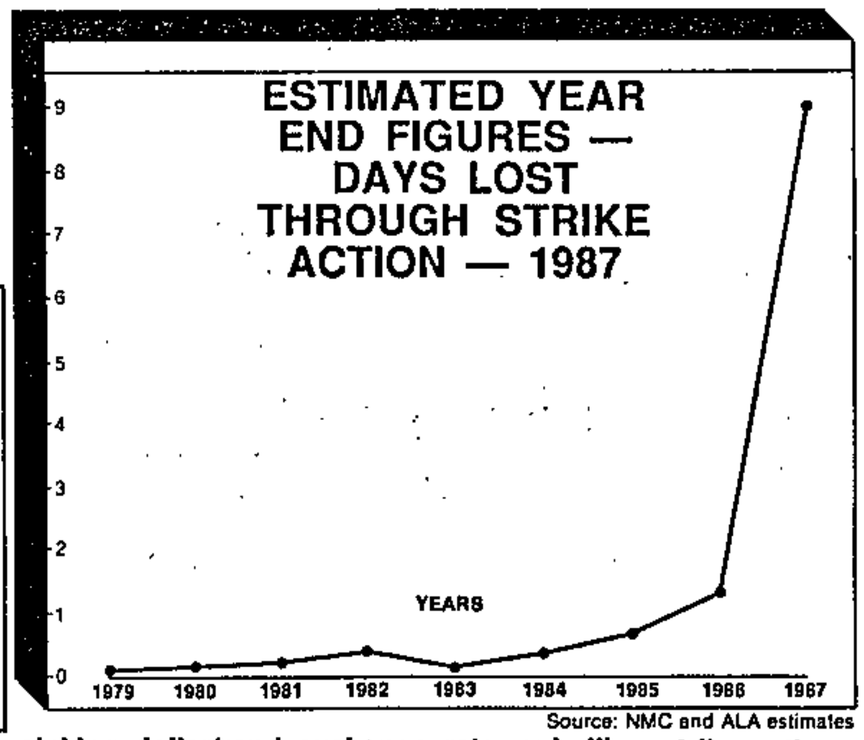
In addition, 18 extra-parliamentary organisations were banned in terms of the Emergency regulations. The Congress of South African Trade Unions was prohibited from carrying out non-union activities.

Two newspapers, *New Nation* and *South*, were temporarily suspended and seven were threatened with suspension for "causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or causing a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency".

A Bureau for Information representative told the *Weekly Mail* this week that "although the Emergency had created a certain degree of stability, the revolutionary climate is still relatively high. We need some time to normalise it". He said unrest incidents had declined to an "acceptable level", except for the Natal conflict, which accounted for between 40 and 90 percent of the unrest incidents from August last year and 80 percent of the unrest deaths. Unrest had also peaked over the whites-only election period last year. He expected another peak over June 16.

President PW Botha declared the national Emergency to restore stability, normality and create conditions in which development could take place, the bureau's representative said.





The cost of the Emergency: sinking dollar/rand exchange rate, spiralling strike action

He said the Associated Chambers of Commerce's business confidence index relected a rising degree of confidence in the economy. The government had invested funds in housing and education schemes, and "we have high hopes for the municipal elections" which would form part of the government's political development plans.

"We have not completely achieved the aims set out, but one thing has been proved, the Emergency situation has been effective," the representative said.

As long as the government believes a revolutionary climate prevails a core group of detainees — including most United Democratic Front executive members and the entire executive of the National Education Crisis Committee — are likely to remain behind bars indefinitely.

Minister Adriaan Vlok

The Centre predicts at least 1 000 of the detainees will be re-detained this weekend. Many have already spent two years and more behind bars.

"This core of 1 000 detainees is being carried forward from one State of Emergency to the next, and face the prospect of being permanent 'prisoners of war'," the *Human Rights Update* compiled by the Centre states.

The Free the Children Alliance says while many chilren under the age of 18 have been released in recent months, more are being detained every day. "There has been nothing like the number of releases in the weeks before June last year," a representative of the Alliance said.

Of the estimated total of 5 000 detainees, 78 percent were members of United Democratic Front affiliates; 12,4 percent were signed up members of unions affilated to Cosatu; 3,4 percent belonged to unions affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions; 3,1 percent were from National Forum or Azanian People's Organisation groups, and 3,1 percent belonged to other organisations like the South African Council of Churches.

Natal recorded the highest number of detentions — 40 percent of the 5 000. It was followed by the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal area, with 26 percent.

The Eastern Cape — which had recorded the highest number of detentions in previous years — accounted for 20 percent of detentions, although the Centre believes this could be higher. The Free State accounted for six percent of detainees; the Transvaal country for five percent, the Western Cape for two percent, and the Northern Cape for one percent.

The Centre said political activists and community workers were the largest target group identified; they were followed by teachers and students, and then by trade union leaders and workers.

The past year saw an increase in vigilante attacks, particularly in Natal where more than 700 people died.

The number of activists who died mysterious deaths, regarded by many as political assassinations, grew. They included:

- Eric Ntonga, a senior official of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and former South African Allied Workers Union organiser and UDF official, who was found murdered in his car near King William's town on July 25, 1987. He was killed shortly after prominent Afrikaners met the African National Congress in Dakar at a summit arranged by Idasa.
- Soweto Students Council organiser Samuel Ndlovu who was shot dead outside a Soweto supermarket on September 2.
- Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union organiser Amos Tshabalala, who was found dead on the street in October.
- Petrus Mnisi, Vaal organiser of the Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee, who died on November 16 after being attacked in Sebokeng.
- Sicelo Dhlomo, 18, a volunteer worker for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, who was found murdered on January 25, 1988. He was detained briefly by police shortly before his murder and questioned about his appearance on an American TV programme in which he said he had been tortured in detention.
- Linda Brakvis, a 24-year-old UDF activist from Heldermoed near Bloemfontein, who was murdered by unknown assailants on January 29 — three days after being released from police custody.
- Pearl Tshabalala, who came from a prominent anti-apartheid family and was shot dead in Durban's Claremont township on February 10.
- Amos Boshomane, a shop steward for the National Council of Trade Unions' Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union, who was shot dead in Kathlehong while on his way to work on February 25.
- Nomse Nduna of Daveyton, the mother of two trade unionists, who was killed on March 6.

Reluctant guests, unable to leave

Forty people have been detained since day one of the first national Emergency. By GAVIN EVANS

WHEN police swooped on households throughout the country on June 12, 1986, the thousands of people detained were given no idea when they might be allowed to return home.

Tomorrow at least 40 of those detained on the first day of the national State of Emergency will "celebrate" their second year behind bars — still not knowing how many days, months or years they will be kept.

According to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, about 550 Emergency detainees have been held since 1986, 215 of them since the first month of the Emergency and 40 since the first day.

The centre estimates that at least 30 000 people have been detained under Emergency regulations over the past two years, and about 2 000 to 2 500 are still being held. In addition about 300 people are currently being held under South Africa's security laws (including those of the "independent homelands").

While most Emergency detainees are being held in communal cells, a few are known to be in solitary confinement.

This week Wits University senior law lecturer Raymond Suttner completes two years in detention; he was detained on June 12, 1986, day one of the National State of Emergency. He has been held in solitary confinement for the past year. When he was detained, he was serving as the United Democratic Front's Transvaal education secretary.

This is not the first time behind bars for the 42-year-old advocate. In June 1975 he was detained, held in solitary for five months and allegedly severely tortured. Convicted for African National Congress activities, he served over seven years in Pretoria Central Prison.

Despite calls for his release from the US State Department, conservative Bavarian politician Franz Josef Strauss, and numerous local and overseas groups and individuals, the government has shown no signs of being prepared to consider Suttner's release.

Two other detainees believed to be in solitary confinement are National Education Crisis Committee leader, Eric Molobi, 38, who was detained on December 7 last year, and UDF Western Cape executive member, Willie Hofmeyr, 33, who has been held for the past two months.

For some detainees the experience of two years of Emergency detention has been part of a recurring nightmare.

Amos Masondo, 35, Cosatu central executive committee member and Soweto Civic Association publicity secretary, has not only spent 23 months of the current Emergency in incarceration, but was also detained for the full nine months of the 1985/6 Emergency.

Masondo, who was about to take up employment as a Food and Allied Workers Union organiser when he was picked up on July 21, 1986, has been detained six times. He also spent five years on Robben Island for ANC activities and has now spent a total of nearly 10 years of his life behind bars.

Another Emergency detainee who has recently spent more time in detention than out is Port Elizabeth Youth Congress president, Mkhuseli Jack.

Over the past 12 years Jack has been detained 11 times; he has spent a total of nearly four years of his life behind bars without having been convicted of a single offence. He has been held for 22 months of the current Emergency.

The oldest person believed still to be in Emergency detention is 67-year-old Bloemfontein UDF member Caleb Motshabi, who was detained on June 16, 1986. Motshabi had spent 12 years on Robben Island for ANC activities and was then banished to Thaba 'Nchu for five years.

Two others in their sixties who are in still in Emergency detention are UDF Eastern Cape leaders Edgar Ngoyi and Henry Fazzie.

Ngoyi, 61, UDF Eastern Cape president, was detained under the Emergency regulations on June 12 1986. He was tried for murder, refused bail, and re-detained immediately after being acquitted.

He had also been detained for four months of the 1985/6 Emergency and spent 18 years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Fazzie, 64, UDF Eastern Cape vice president, was detained under Emergency regulations on August 4, 1986. He had previously spent four months in Emergency detention in 1985 and had spent 21 years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Over 120 women are believed to be in Emergency detention. The woman believed to have been held longest is Constance Hlatshwayo, 26, Alexandra Women's Organisation secretary, detained on June 13, 1986.

Another long-serving female detainee is Ntombazana Botha, 45, Border Council of Churches administrator, who has been held for 16 months. A single mother of two, she was also detained in 1983, 1984 and 1986.

Two journalists are still being held under Emergency regulations.

Port Elizabeth freelance journal ist Brian Sokutu, 26, has been held since June 16, 1986.

New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, 38, has spent the past 18 months in Emergency detention. He was also detained for three weeks earlier in the Emergency. He has now been detained four times for a total of two-and-a-half years, without having been convicted of any offence.

IS THE BODY BREATHING?

●From PAGE 15

agendas of resistance organisations in all their manifestations.

And, as Lodge points out, catalytic events have heralded new phases of resistance in the past. Given the seriousness with which the upcoming municipal elections are being treated by both government and opposition, one cannot predict the effect of campaigns around the ballot.

The critical factor is that the government has succeeded in "demobilising the townships" but has had very little success in winning people over to its views and visions. Says Naidoo: "The very fact that the state continues to attack us is also an indication of weakness — it has not won the people to its side."

The war over hearts and minds has not been won — and that, not short-term security battles, is what will decide the outcome.

FOCUS: STATE OF EMERGENCY

WHAT TV CAN'T SEE, CAN STILL HURT

If the Emergency has succeeded in taking apartheid off foreign TV screens, foreign relations should improve. But they haven't — they've got worse. By SHAUN JOHNSON and ANTON HARBER

WHEN the State of Emergency was declared two years ago South Africa was the world's number one news story.

This week none of the three major American television networks has a correspondent in the country.

"Stories" from elsewhere in the world — Israel, Panama, Nicaragua — dominate the TV screens, not least because they continue to provide startling pictures of strife; pictures of the kind South Africa's Emergency has prevented.

Has neutralising troublesome foreign media and removing apartheid from the public mind improved diplomatic relations between Pretoria and key capitals like Washington, London or Bonn?

No. On the contrary, this period has seen opposition from these quarters grow more obdurate. Pretoria's actions have antagonised even those who give it sympathetic hearing.

It should have been of unusual advantage for Pretoria to have conservative governments in the three capitals most important to South Africa.

But in the last two years both the United States and Britain, along with Commonwealth and European allies, have imposed partial sanctions.

The US passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act shortly after the declaration of the Emergency in 1986 and the British imposed what it called "restrictive measures". There is no prospect of these measures being lifted. Indeed, there is concerted pressure on both these governments to make them more stringent.

In addition, there has been large-scale disinvestment. The United Nations has identified 520 companies, including 350 from the US, which have pulled out of South Africa.

The US and Britain have altered the tone of their diplomatic pronouncements. A practical indicator of this was the replacement of apparently more friendly, low-key ambassadors with emissaries taking a harder line. America's Herman Nickel, a key exponent of the policy of "constructive engagement", gave way to Edward Perkins, who has vastly improved US contacts with extra-parliamentary groups and is far less closely identified with the white establishment. Her Majesty's representative, Sir Patrick Moberly, was succeeded by Robin Renwick, a dynamic Africa hand who has also substantially improved relations with opposition groups.

Nickel's departure signalled the "fading away" of the constructive engagement policy, according to a diplomatic source. The policy was never formally renounced by the US State Department, but the style and tone of US-SA diplomacy has changed markedly.

Only this week, State Department representative Phyllis Oakley issued an unprompted endorsement of the "right of South Africans to demonstrate peacefully in defence of freedoms". She said this week's stayaway "appears to enjoy the overwhelming support of the disenfranchised majority ... and underscores the urgent need for negotiations".

Since June 1986 British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's criticisms of apartheid have become increasingly strident. During her recent visit to Africa, she described it as an "utterly repulsive and detestable system, a deep affront to human dignity and basic human rights". She also responded with unusually harsh words to the restricting of 17 resistance organisations in February.

Renwick echoes these sentiments with equal vehemence: "We want to see apartheid eradicated completely. Please be in no doubt of our hopes and ambitions on that score."

The disappearance of "reform" as a high-profile plank in the National Party's speechmaking — let alone in practice — has led to signs of increasing irritation and impatience among those who held out against punitive measures.

These governments originally asked only for modest indications of reformist intent. They are now insisting on a lot more. A number of speeches by Schultz, his assistant secretary of state Chester Crocker and ambassador Perkins reflect a more specific vision of an acceptable future South Africa — universal franchise being the key tenet.

Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Joseph Strauss, centre, with Dutch Reformed Church leaders Johan Heyns (right) and Pierre Rossouw. Strauss visited Southern Africa on a fact-finding mission in January

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

US Ambassador Ed Perkins

Picture: NOEL WATSON

During the Emergency, the British and Americans have also accorded unprecedented recognition to the African National Congress. ANC president Oliver Tambo has been received by US Secretary of State George Schultz and British Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe.

The policy changes of this period are "not limited to words and meetings", according to Schultz. "We are promoting positive change through our program of aid to black South Africans," he said last October. This represents an important shift in the practical implementation of anti-apartheid policy.

Between them, the US and UK are now ploughing more than R100-million into development and humanitarian assistance to "victims of apartheid".

Moreover, substantially larger amounts of assistance are going into neighbouring states. In particular, relations with Mozambique and Zimbabwe have been substantially expanded.

Clearly two years of Emergency rule have furthered soured South Africa's relations with the outside world.

If one is to take Pretoria's defiant Department of Foreign Affairs at face value, none of this matters. The South Africans told the United Nations to "do your damndest" in March. Critics of sanctions have long argued such measures would reduce the influence of the international community over events in South Africa.

Very few countries — and none of South Africa's major trading partners — have in fact done their damndest, and it is clear that at least some significant influence remains.

Diplomatic observers believe, for example, that sharp warnings from the international community about the fate of the "Sharpeville Six" and criticism of the government's threat to cut off foreign funding of opposition and human rights groups in South Africa were a key factor in the apparent changes of mind on these issues.

A development flowing from the relatively stronger US sanctions action has been a shift of influence across the Atlantic. Pretoria, say diplomatic sources, now listens more carefully to the voices of London and Bonn.

But some point to a resurgence in US influence as congress considers the Dellums Bill, which would significantly extend sanctions measures.

There are essentially two views on how the South African government should react to US anti-apartheid initiatives. The first holds that in the likelihood of a Democratic presidency (and pressure within that party to have South Africa declared a "terrorist state"), further sanctions and a deterioration in relations are inevitable. South Africa can therefore safely thumb its nose at Washington.

The second, argued by, among others, the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, is that the passage of the Dellums Bill — and other punitive measures — is dependent on Pretoria's actions.

What is clear is that despite bombastic utterances from Pretoria — essentially telling the world to keep its nose out of South Africa's business — foreign influence remains.

The most surprising aspect of all, perhaps, is just how little Pretoria appears to be prepared to offer to these relatively receptive administrations. Any indication of serious reformist intentions would certainly still be welcomed. Their absence has led to a growth of impatience and frustration which may, in the not-too-distant future, be extremely difficult to reverse.

Two years of Emergency may have quietened South Africa's townships and stemmed the flow of news to the outside world. It has only provoked heightened criticism and pressure from outside.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

327

DETENTIONS

Between 2 300 and 2 800 people are in detention in South Africa, according to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at the University of the Witwatersrand.

CALS said an estimated 2 000 to 2 500 people were being held under the Emergency regulations and about 300 people were detained under South Africa's (and the "independent homelands'") security laws.

Among these are about 550 people who were held under the Emergency regulations during 1986 — including 215 detained in the first month of the Emergency (June 1986) and 40 others on day one of the Emergency (June 12 1986). CALS estimates at least 30 000 people have been detained since the Emergency was declared two years ago.

The estimated 300 security detainees include 182 whose names are known to CALS. Among those are 114 people held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, 14 under section 31 of the ISA and 54 under the security laws of the "independent homelands".

POLITICAL TRIALS

CALS' May "Human Rights Update" report lists 37 political trials involving 112 accused which were completed between December last year and March 1988. Of those charged 58 were convicted, 47 were acquitted or had charges against them withdrawn and seven are on appeal. The report also lists 62 ongoing political trials, involving 691 accused. These include five treason trials involving 50 accused.

GROUP AREAS ACT

The following figures were released in parliament:

●Police in the Western Cape investigated 238 complaints of offences under the Group Areas Act in the 12 months from January 31 last year, said the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok. He said 11 of the complaints were false, 60 were withdrawn when the Attorney-General declined to prosecute, 83 were with the Attorney-General for his decision, 83 were still being investigated and in one case the alleged wrongdoer could not be traced.

●Action had been taken against 20 estate agents and 39 letting agents in the past five years for alleged offences under the Group Areas Act, Vlok said.

●Last year police investigated 1 343 complaints in terms of the Group Areas Act. Of these three people were charged, 357 complaints were false and 330 were withdrawn, 100 dockets were withdrawn, the dockets of 100 cases were with attorneys-general for their decisions and 453 complaints were still being investigated.

Progressive Federal Party MP Tiaan van der Merwe said the number of police investigations into Group Areas Act complaints had risen by 30 percent in the past year. In previous years the number of investigations averaged between 900 and 1 000.

●The Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said two of the three people prosecuted were found guilty of contravening the Group Areas Act. So far this year another three people have been prosecuted and one case had been finalised.

●The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, said no notices were issued in respect of blacks occupying premises in white areas. Nor had his department issued any notices since June 2 1987 on any mixed couples requiring them to vacate their dwellings.

●More than 83 percent of the 902 852ha proclaimed under the Group Areas Act has gone to whites, according to Heunis. He said 750 050ha had been proclaimed for occupation by whites, 101 797ha for "coloureds" and 51 005 for Indians.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

NTOMBAZANA BOTHA, 45, UDF Border executive member and Border Council of Churches administrator, was detained under the Emergency regulations on Febuary 13 last year.

In 1982 he helped found the Masazane project to help children expelled from Department of Education and Training schools, and was elected to its board. At the time she was a member of the Border Catholic Justice and Peace Commission. She also helped establish the Border branch of the Detainees' Parents Support.

In 1984 Botha was elected to the Border UDF executive and served as treasurer. She was elected to the interim UDF executive in 1986.

That year, Botha, who had previously worked as a clerk for an insurance company, was employed by the Border Council of Churches. She was detained in 1983, 1984, 1986 and again in Febuary last year.

Botha is a single parent mother of two children.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:

Trade Unions in the Struggle for Peace and Security (Propaganda, Information and Publicity Department of Sactu, Lusaka); The political programme of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) of Namibia (not stated); The Combatant vol 9 no 6 January 1988 (PLAN Commissariat Lubango, Angola); Support our Comrades (Section 29 Parents Committee, Lotus River); Hlanganani Ukulwa Nokuvalwa Kwezinhlangano u Botha/Unite and Fight the Banning of Organisations by Botha (not stated); Save the Sharpeville Six (Nactu Support Committee); Forum vol 21 no 3 1988 (Northern and Shell PLC, London); 12th Assembly of the member organisations of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest, Hungary, 23-29 November 1986 (World Federation of Democratic Youth); Towards the Fire Next Time; March 1988 (not stated); Al-Qalam vol 13 no 3-4 March-April 1988.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

PRICES: WITWATERSRAND & PRETORIA R1,00 (excl. GST) | ELSEWHERE IN SA R1,12 (excl. GST)

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 22. FRIDAY JUNE 10 to THURSDAY JUNE 16, 1988

THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

THE MAN BEHIND THE MEN BEHIND THE BOMBS

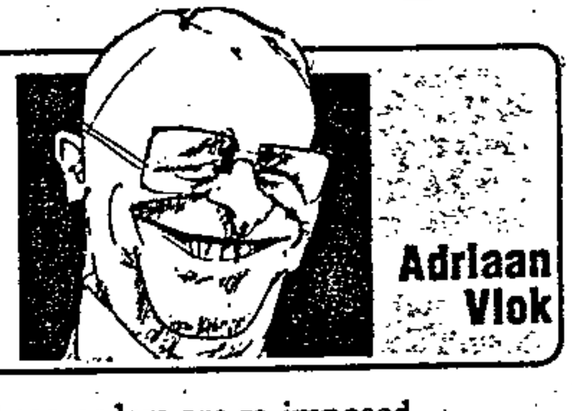
The first interview in a South African newspaper with the ANC chief who sends in the bombers ...

Chris Hani, commander of MK, speaks on PAGE 5

PW will renew Emergency this morning .... (327) 10/6/88 W/Mail

EMERGENCY III

As Botha announces new Emergency, Vlok fires shots at opposition groups



Adriaan Vlok

THE future of thousands of individuals and organisations will depend on the new Emergency regulations due to be published today.

State President PW Botha announced last night that another 12-month State of Emergency — the third successive national Emergency — will be declared this morning.

In a statement on the eve of the expiration of the current Emergency, he said the situation was such that the ordinary law of the land was still inadequate to ensure public safety.

Today's Government Gazette will make it clear whether the government gives itself the same extraordinary powers it has held for two years.

Individuals and groups who will be most immediately affected include:

● The estimated 2 000—2 500 people in Emergency detention, including at least 200 under-18s. The police will be obliged to release all of them, but last year almost all Emergency detainees were re-detained before they could leave the prisons.

● The 18 organisations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and scores of individuals who are restricted. All restrictions expire today and these groups will be watching to see if these orders are re-imposed.

● *New Nation* and *South*, the two newspapers whose suspensions end today. There is some speculation that these suspension orders may be extended into the new Emergency, but the staff of both newspapers reported yesterday they were in production and preparing to produce editions next week.

The eight other publications that have received formal warnings will be watching to see if the new regulations affect the expiration today of their warnings.

Other key questions will be whether the security forces are given the same extensive powers they have enjoyed for two years and whether the government will retain its formidable control over the media.

As Botha announced the reimposition of the Emergency, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok fired a barrage of early warning shots at those who oppose his government. He took the floor in the President's Council and launched a scathing attack on a range of anti-apartheid organisations.

They include the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance, the

● To PAGE 2 P.T.O

Future of thousands depends on PW today

●From PAGE 1

United Democratic Front and its 600 affiliates, union bodies such as Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions "and almost 70 other communist-infiltrated and manipulated trade unions", women's organisations such as the Black Sash, Federation of Transvaal Women and United Women's Organisation, youth groups such as the South African Youth Congress and the Azanian Youth Organisation, education bodies such as the National Education Union of South Africa and the National Education Crisis Committee, and a further 400 smaller organisations and churches.

He reserved a special word for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, whose wings, he warned, would be clipped if it did not stop its "slanted, biased allegations and lies.

"Our enemies know that they can never defeat the police and army with so-called 'soldiers'. Therefore their effort is concentrated on the mobilisation and resistance of the masses.

"This, they hope, will lead to the so-called 'people's power'," he said.

The establishment of organisations was the key for the success of the enemy. "In this connection, under the leadership of the ANC/SACP alliance, almost 1 000 such organisations have been established over the last four years or so. That this forms part of the revolutionary plan for South Africa, there exists today irrefutable evidence," Vlok said.

He quoted extensively from ANC documents to show that the UDF and its affiliates, Cosatu, Nactu and trade unions were working together with the ANC/SACP alliance.

People in women's organisations such as the Black Sash, Fedtraw and UWC did not realise that they were being misused in an underhand *("slinkse")* manner and "they will not under any circumstances be allowed to exist the moment when the ANC/SACP alliance takes over control".

Churches and church organisations were also being pulled in and misused in an underhand manner. He quoted SACP leader Joe Slovo as saying last month that "we must preach the gospel which the church has recently done very effectively — preach the gospel of defiance, of resistance, of rebellion — wherever people come together in the hostels, in the mines, the parks, the schools, the churches, wherever people come together".

A weapon used with exceptional knowledge and the greatest success against South Africa was propaganda and was aimed at isolating the whole of South Africa from well-disposed countries and people, he said.

He also said a three-pronged counter-revo-lutionary plan was available and could succeed if the country were prepared to implement it. The three prongs were security force action against revolutionaries and radical activists, good government and the institution of a political-constitutional dispensation acceptable to the majority of people.

In his statement, Botha said the government had achieved "considerable success in curtailing the incidence of violence and unrest.

"It is, however, evident that there still exists a revolutionary climate in the country. In addition, the revolutionary and terrorist onslaught threat remains a reality," he said.

This necessitated another 12 months of Emergency.

Over the past two years, each succesive Emergency has brought tighter restrictions. However, expectations this time are that the government will keep much the same powers and will do little more than plug a few legal loopholes in existing regulations.

overnment has responsibility to protect lives

EMERGENCY RENEWED

Sowetan 10/6/88 (327)

PRESIDENT Botha

For 12 months

SA Press Association

THE state of emergency will be renewed for 12 months by proclamation in the Government Gazette today, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced this morning.

He said in a statement that although considerable success had been achieved in curtailing violence and unrest, he was of the opinion that circumstances were such that the ordinary law of the land was still inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain law and order.

"It is indeed the aspiration of the Government that conditions will change to such an extent that the declared state of emergency can be lifted," Mr Botha said.

Intimidation

"In the meantime, the Government has an overriding responsibility to protect the lives and possessions of all our citizens and to ensure that their daily lives can continue without fear, intimidation and terror.

"Intimidation and terror are aimed at undermining the political, economic and social activities of all our communities. It is also being employed to disrupt our courts and legal procedures."

"By declaring a state of emergency, these processes and community life can be protected and stability ensured.

"A firm base for stability is imperative for the promotion of economic confidence and growth and economic growth in turn offers the essential basis for the continued social and constitutional development of our country," the State P...

Raid on WM man

POLICE this week raided the Hillbrow flat of *Weekly Mail* reporter, Thami Mkhwanazi.

Mkhwanazi is a former Robben Island prisoner who was last week elected to the executive of the Association of Democratic Journalists.

According to his wife, Amanda Kwadi, two policemen arrived at their flat on Tuesday afternoon and identified themselves at first as plumbers. The two searched the flat, apparently in terms of Emergency regulations, for about 20 minutes.

They questioned her about Mkhwanazi's work, the stayaway and the whereabouts of various activists.

A spokesman for the South African Police said he had no knowledge of the incident. "The visiting of premises, seizing of property, etc, is regarded as routine police duties. As this office does not comment on routine duties, enquiries in this regard will not be made."

10-16/6/89 WMail

(327)

CAPE TIMES 10/6/88

327

A 'courteous' hearing

NO tangible results but a "courteous" hearing was the response of members of the South African Media Council who met the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Cape Town this week to discuss the media emergency regulations.

The council's conciliator and registrar, Mr Bob Steyn, said in a statement yesterday: "We were well received. We cannot report any tangible result in the sense that we have come back with any undertaking by the minister.

"Though we were unable to persuade the minister that the media restrictions should be lifted, we have come away with the impression that the gap in perceptions has been narrowed and that there is room for further discussion." — Sapa

June 3 Scope on latest banning list

(327)

Star 11/6/88

CAPE TOWN — Another issue of *Scope* magazine has been banned from distribution. The June 3 edition produced by Republican Press, Mobeni, Durban was found to be undesirable, the Directorate of Publications announced today.

The Publications Appeal Board has ruled that "The Blaze of Autumn" by Roe Richmond was not undesirable provided it was not sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18.

Other conditions imposed were that it was not distributed through mail-order but only by bookshops, libraries and book distributors.

A Publications Committee has decided that "Stern Heft Nr 17 April 1988" by Gruner and Jahr AG was not undesirable provided it was not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

During the past week 21 films were submitted for examination of which seven were unconditionally and 14 conditionally approved.

From today it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications (name of author/producer in brackets):

Directory of Dominatrixes Vol 1 Number 1 (J Jordan Associates Ltd, New York).

Mistress Antoinette's Kinky Contracts Vol 4 Number 4 (Eros Publishing Co Inc, Wilmington).

Ms Spikes Vol 1 No 1 Leather Spikes and Lust (Holly Publications Inc, North Hollywood).

Super Bitch Vol 1 No 2 (HOM Inc, California).

1988-1989 Namibia July 1988 December 1988 Jan 1989-June 1989 — calendar (not stated).

All American Man, December 1987 (Liberation Publications Inc, Los Angeles USA).

US World Journal Vol XIV No III (US World Journal Publishing and Printing Enterprises, New York).

Children of Resistance (Victoria Brittain and Abdul S Minty). — Sapa.

More curbs in new emergency

Cape Times 11/6/88 327

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

YESTERDAY'S sweeping emergency crackdown on political opposition and the press has been widely condemned as "horrific" and "draconian" by government opponents.

Political parties warned that its attempts to further suppress dissent and muzzle the media would backfire on the government.

The provisions of the latest batch of tightened emergency regulations include:

- An effective silencing of banned organizations like the ANC or PAC in the media by outlawing any comment directly or via third parties, from its members, even those not banned.
- A ban on any attempts to hamper the October municipal elections. All boycott calls, except by registered political parties, will become illegal in terms of the extented definition of subversive statements.
- A clampdown on a number of smaller news agencies, including forced registration which may without prior notice or hearing be summarily withdrawn. Anybody, or agency, contravening a series of new stringent operating conditions affecting such news organizations is liable to a fine or R20 000 or to imprisonment for up to 10 years without the option of a fine.
- The continued banning of newspapers whose restrictions expire today, with the Minister of Home Affairs giving himself until June 20 to decide whether to reapply the ban for a further two months.
- Periodicals not registered under the Imprint Act are now not only subject to warning and closure for up to six months but can be summarily seized.
- It is now also an offence to publish material which any other journal might have carried had it not been closed.

The Bureau of Information said in a statement last night that its research had shown that the nationwide state of emergency imposed since June 12, 1986 had led to "a definite increase in visible unrest".

However, "radical and revolutionary organizations" still had the power to disseminate propaganda in certain parts of the country, "thereby establishing a climate conducive to violence and unrest".

Expressed outrage

"Certain dates also have an emotional connotation for these (unnamed) organizations and the planning of symbolic actions regarding dates can lead to an increase in unrest.

"The influence of these organizations and of intimidation are such that counter-measures are still needed to prevent radicals and revolutionaries forcing their will onto the moderate majority," the bureau said.

However, most opposition parties expressed outrage at the latest clampdown.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the new regulations were "tougher and more horrific" than the old ones, with the "screws of totalitarianism being tightened more and more".

"There can be no solution to the crisis facing the country as long as the media are muzzled, and ordinary people kept in ignorance of what is going on and being fed heavy doses of government propaganda."

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan said the new "draconian" measures placed "almost all dissent in an area where it can be seen as subversive simply because it does not fall within the very narrow parameters laid down by the state.

"No real information about very important political movements in the country will be available — we are no longer allowed to know what is happening in our own country."

The Independent Party's national organizer, Mr Jannie Swart, said the tougher curbs on the activities of what the government regarded as "radical" organizations gave rise to great concern because without lifting the emergency "the government cannot hope to achieve the credibility it needs to conduct the process of meaningful negotiation".

The Conservative Party's chief spokesman on Law and Order, Mr Chris de Jager, said there was clearly no peace in South Africa at the moment. The government had been forced to renew the emergency to prevent bloodshed.

He said the CP did not approve of this state of affairs in principle because the government had failed to solve political problems.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said he regretted the renewal of the emegency while at the same time being aware of continuing violence and bomb attacks.

He said fundamental change was necessary to prevent violence.

Government reimposes emergency for a third year

Outrage at new curbs

Star 11/6/86

(327)

The reimposition of the State of Emergency yesterday — with more clamps on the press, organisations and individuals — have brought wide condemnation in South Africa and abroad.

Criticism came from a wide spectrum of the South African public. The first protests from overseas were from the British and Japanese governments.

The British Foreign Office deplored the reimposition of the State of Emergency, saying it will not help the "process of dialogue and reconciliation so badly needed in the country".

A Foreign Office spokesman said the British government remained firmly opposed to the State of Emergency and saw its second anniversary as a sad occasion.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo also made a statement, but cannot quoted.

A British Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesman said it "totally condemns the reinstatement ... especially in the face of international pressure".

The Japanese Foreign Ministry said Japan again strongly requested South Africa to find a peaceful solution to its problems as soon as possible "through talks, by immediately abolishing the emergency declaration and the measures prohibiting activities of anti-apartheid organisations, and by releasing political prisoners".

The Federated Chamber of Industries yesterday urged the Government to start making cuts in the terms of the State of Emergency.

FCI spokesman Dr Gert Fisher said the extension of the State of Emergency would in no way improve industrial relations.

"The measures should be reduced or lessened, especially in view of the international scenario."

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) said it feared industrial relations would be harmed.

"It seems the Government is trapped within its own policy of repression and hostility towards the aspirations of the majority."

Afrikaanse Sakekamer vice-chairman Mr Japie Jacobs said: "We support the Government of the day. There has been a noticeable improvement as a result of

● TO PAGE 2

P.T.O

'Now the hidden word'

Mr Jolyon Nuttall, vice-president of the National Press Union and Manager of The Star, said: "The Government seems intent on converting the written word to the hidden word.

"It keeps adding to the list of things that may not be published, in apparent hope that ignorance will create bliss.

"Particularly worrying for the media are the powers assumed by the Minister of Home Affairs to extend the suspension of publications by a notice in the Government Gazette.

"This is censorship by edict in its worst form."

Mr Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*, said: "Sorry, I can't be quoted, I'm in Government service and precluded from commenting."

Mr Bob Steyn of the *South African Media Council*, said the new measures seemed to go further than the previous regulations, of which the council was critical.

He added: "I must emphasise that our role is not confrontational, but mediatory.

"Our task is to try to secure the freeest possible flow of information in the public interest."

Star 10/6/85

Rows over curbs

FROM PAGE 1

(324)

the emergency.

He said his organisation hoped the situation would normalise to the extent that a state of emergency would no longer be necessary.

The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry's legal manager, Mr Ken Warren, said: "Assocom hopes that all groups in the population, including businessmen, will continue to work towards creating conditions which will make a state of emergency unnecessary."

The Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said: "A 'State of Emergency' empowers a democracy to suspend normal law temporarily in a crisis. But now we are entering our third year of semi-dictatorship. It is a state of affairs that ought to be intolerable to every thinking South African.

"Can we live easily with the thought that censorship is now tighter than it was at the height of the riots? Or that people are facing the possibility of another year in jail — without ever being charged?"

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that while the State of Emergency might have succeeded in curtailing violence, the Government had not succeeded in removing any of the underlying causes of conflict.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, said: The new emergency measures were Draconian in their effect and placed almost all dissent in the area where it could be seen to be subversive, simply because it did not fall within the very narrow parameters laid down by the State.

Mr Bob Kernohan, president of the **Southern African Society of Journalists,** said the new regulations tightened the grip on the press even further, and it is in the interest of all South Africans to be alerted to the fact that this will result in incomplete and one-sided accounts of news becoming more prevalent.

Mrs Winnie Mandela said the State of Emergency would not solve the country's problems, but would worsen an already bad situation.

"This is only a confirmation of the desperation of a Government which knows its unpopularity. The Nationalists have lost control."

"They will never solve the country's problems without the ANC."

A statement released by the office of **Archbishop Desmond Tutu** said: "Most distressing is the relative equanimity with which most of those who claim to want change in this country receive the news of the latest repressive measures.

"The conviction and the passion with which these people speak when they denounce sanctions and stayaways is strangely absent when they respond to actions by the Government, which are the root cause of our problems."

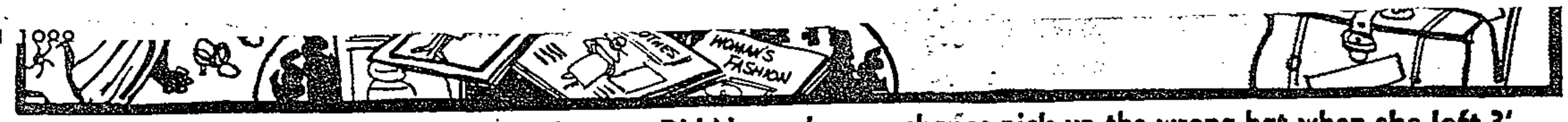
South African Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said the state of emergency confirmed that the Government was determined to suppress the oppressed black majority. This left black leaders with no option but to intensify their call "for comprehensive economic sanctions" against the country.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said he regretted the renewal of the State of Emergency, while being aware of the fact of violence and bomb attacks.

There were also the continued efforts of people who sought to make the country "ungovernable". Fundament[illegible] needed to prevent violence.

A **Chamb**[illegible] spokesman said the chamber had m[illegible]e it clea[illegible] on many occasions that it strongly s[illegible]ported the principles of freedom of speech a[illegible] the rule of law. "The solution to the problem clearly lies in contracting a system which will give meaningful political participation to all South Africans."

Mr Jon Qwelane, representative for Africa on the bureau of the Geneva-based **International Federation of Journalists,** said: "The new curbs on the press, more stringent than those of two previous states of emergency, must bring home even to the most blinkered of Government supporters that the oft-repeated claims that South Africa's is the 'freest press in Africa' are simply untrue.



'The Palace is on the phone, Mr President — Did Nancy by any chance pick up the wrong hat when she left ?'

Sad, these anniversaries and developments

ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

11/6/86

(327)

This time of year has become famous for its sad anniversaries. Tomorrow is the anniversary of our darkest hour, the imposition of the State of Emergency. Next week we remember June 16 and its terrible legacies. Such occasions do not instil hope for the future.

One sage has likened the State of Emergency to GST. Once imposed it becomes too good, too comfortable for Government to want to lift it.

When GST was introduced, Government was nipping a mere 4c of every rand. Now Barend du Plessis takes 12c of whatever is left of the post-Rubicon rand in your pocket.

After imposing a state of emergency, Government seems to want more and more powers for itself. It calls it the broadening of democracy. Such cynicism takes some beating.

It may be irrelevant, but it's interesting to note that tomorrow, as we turn the screws even tighter, the people of France — all of France — go to the polls to choose their parliamentary representatives.

And incidentally, next year is the 200th since the French Revolution, with its slogan of "liberty, fraternity, equality". Mankind still has a long way to go before it reaches anything like the attainment of those ideals. South Africans, in any event, are rowing energetically in the opposite direction.

Employers meeting union federations last week made great play of the fact that the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, source of this week's agonies, was in line with Western democratic principles. Britain particularly was mentioned.

In Mrs Thatcher they couldn't have picked a more articulate and energetic union basher. But whatever you may say against her, the lady has a majority in parliament, and you can't argue with that.

What the employers choose to ignore is that most people in and out the labour movement have no representative in parliament where such laws are made and therefore cannot influence them.

The employers have the ear of Government and indeed the two meet from time to time behind closed doors. Nobody except Nat constituency parties has that kind of camaraderie with Government.

Employers, through Saccola, say they don't see this piece of legislation as a union-bashing exercise. This is a myopic view.

The Minister of Manpower himself made it clear during the election campaign last year and in parliament that amendments to labour legislation were necessary to "restore the balance of forces".

This was after complaints from white voters and many employers that unions "were getting out of hand" or "going too far".

True, the legalisation of black unions has given power to black workers. But that was not Government's objective. Its aim was to get them into the system in order to control them. It seems not to have been quite successful, hence the legislation "to restore the balance".

As Cosatu pointed out in one of its adverts, the Bill cannot be seen in isolation from the other repressive measures taken by Government against extra-parliamentary forces.

During last year's election campaign, Government speakers identified areas of the "total onslaught" which needed attention: extraparliamentary opposition, including the labour movement, the alternative media and foreign funding for anti-Government bodies.

The first two objectives have been accomplished. All extra-parliamentary bodies have been effectively silenced; unions are been banned from the political arena and there's a concerted onslaught against the press.

International hostility has so far thwarted the Government in its effort to outlaw foreign funding.

The labour bill has political ambitions. But employers' support for it is not surprising. As their spokesman noted last week, businessmen are, after all, pragmatic people. They know on which side their bread is buttered.

WE ARGUS 11/6/88 (327)

EMERGENCY

New laws can curtail AWB uniforms, guns

Political Correspondent

THE Government has cleared the way legally to act against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

A new clause has been included in emergency regulations issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in terms of the Public Safety Act.

It deals with the prohibition of "particular activities or acts".

Law and Order spokesmen declined to speculate on the purpose of this clause, but in other Government circles it is believed it is aimed at bodies such as the AWB and other radical organisations.

It empowers the Minister to issue an order against any persons or category of persons prohibiting specific acts or activities.

There are also provisions which appear to be aimed at the prohibition of carrying arms or wearing uniforms.

The militaristic AWB has uniforms and some its members appear armed in public. Concern has been expressed about the potentially-inciting actions of the AWB and the Government has been criticised for not acting against it. The AWB, in turn, has been defiant.

The new proclamation also contains powers enabling the Minister to restrict the activities of certain persons.

These were first drafted and used against extra-parliamentary movements which were restricted in February.

Apart from having activities restricted, people also can be confined to specific areas during specific hours.

The right of the courts to test the Minister's decisions will be severely limited.

Meanwhile, the Government is defending its decision to renew the state of emergency with the argument that meaningful reform can only take place in a climate of stability.

The Bureau of Information said in a statement that this was the reason the emergency was declared in 1986.

Research, it said, had shown that the emergency had led to a definite decrease in "visible unrest".

Measures were, however, still necessary to counter the activities of revolutionary and radical organisations

Anger, protests at new clamps

Weekend Argus Reporter, Political Staff, Foreign Staff and Sapa

THE renewal of the state of emergency has been greeted with concern and condemnation by foreign governments and a storm of protest locally.

ter with the Director-General of Home Affairs and supply him with the names of journalists working for them and the people who receive the agency's output.

In addition they have to furnish the department with copies of all news items produced by them within one day of dissemination.

Agencies exempt from these restrictions include Reuters, United Press International, Agence France Press, Deutsche Presse Agentur, Associated Press, Visnews (Britain), Worldwide TV News (Britain) and the South African Press Association.

The restriction on newspa-

with concern and condemnation by foreign governments and a storm of protest locally.

The new regulations provide for a further clampdown on the quoting of banned organisations, the continued banning of publications and provision for the registration of some news agencies.

They also include a ban on calls to boycott the October local government elections.

The British Foreign Office said yesterday it "deplored" the re-imposition of the state of emergency, which would not help the "process of dialogue and reconciliation that is so badly needed".

The Japanese government described it as "regrettable" and urged the Government to "realise a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems as soon as possible".

The nationwide emergency, renewed yesterday for the second time since 1986, will remain in force for 12 months unless withdrawn earlier.

The 17 organisations banned from performing any acts whatsover have been re-banned and have had their ranks swelled by the addition of a new restricted organisation, the Congress of Democrats, which took the place of the United Democratic Front when the UDF was restricted.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has had its partial restrictions reimposed.

The new security emergency regulations have been extended and now enable the authorities to restrict a person or members of an organisation from wearing specific kinds of uniform or from carrying weapons.

Other regulations deal with the emergency restrictions as they affect educational institutions and detainees under the emergency regulations. There is no significant change in these spheres.

In terms of the new regulations, boycott calls — except by registered political parties — will become illegal in terms of an extended definition of subversive statements.

In future it will be illegal to quote any member of an unlawful organisation if that person is making statements that have "the effect of threatening the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order".

The present media restrictions are eased on one point. After the period of warning about suspension of a publication, the Minister of Home Affairs must examine two issues of the journal instead of one before making a final decision.

News agencies, except those specifically named in the new regulations, will have to register and the South African Press Association.

The restriction on newspapers which have been banned expires tomorrow, the last day of the current emergency. However, the Minister of Home Affairs has given himself until June 20 to decide whether to reapply the ban for a further two months.

Periodicals which are not registered under the Imprint Act also can be seized for carrying material which, in the opinion of the Minister, amounts to subversive propaganda.

The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said the measures were Draconian and placed almost all dissent in the area where it could be seen to be subversive simply because it did not fall within the very narrow parameters laid down by the State.

Mr Malan said: "Already we are in a position where there is a severe regression in civil liberties, but we also are no longer allowed to know what is happening in our own country."

Professor Herman Gilliomee, editor of the Afrikaans journal Die Suid Afrikaan and head of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town, said:

"The new Press regulations make the Government less accountable than before. They make any serious negotiations less likely than before. They take politics out of the Press and drive it underground."

The Save the Press Campaign, representing 60 media groups and publications in the Western Cape, said that by restricting information from organisations representing the aspirations of millions of South Africans, the Government had set the basis for virtually only one voice to be heard — its own.

The curbs had reduced the October elections to a farce, as those expected to vote would be unable to make informed decisions without correct and balanced information at their disposal.

A statement issued from the office of the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the introduction of the tricameral parliamentary system largely contributed to the Government's reliance on states of emergency to remain in control.

"The Government now must be told bluntly that if it maintains law and order through Draconian measures, then it must bear the responsibility of doing what is necessary to move away from the circumstances in which national states of emergency are deemed to be necessary."

ANDY'S MAN'S SHOP
282/4 VICTORIA ROAD, WOODSTOCK. Ph 47 4313
TROUSERS
ALL WOOL • TREVIRA WOOL • AEROFLEX • COTTON
FROM R27 95
TOP MAKES SIZE 81 — 177
(CSK69934)

60c Cape Times

Top of the Times & Homefinder Inside

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

FREWIN TROPHY BEST DAILY NEWSPAPER 1987

FOUNDED 1876 ☎ 208 4911 SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1988 60c (54c plus 6c GST)

Interpol puts SA officer on wanted list

CAPE TIMES 11/6/88 (327)

By CHRIS STEYN in Cape Town and IAN HOBBS in London

INTERPOL has put out an arrest warrant for a former member of the South African Embassy in London.

He is Sergeant-Major Joseph Klue, currently based at Infantry School, Oudtshoorn.

He was was recalled to Pretoria in 1982 after being labelled a spy in an Old Bailey court case in London. Sgt-Maj Klue was named as the embassy's "contact" man in a plot to break into and steal documents from black nationalist organizations in Britain.

The soldier was recalled to South Africa after the British government threatened to expel him for "activities incompatible with his office".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said at the time of his recall that Sgt-Maj Klue had come into possession of important information about violence planned by the ANC.

This week the French newspaper L'Express said Interpol had been asked by the Belgian police to put out an arrest warrant for Sgt-Maj Klue in connection with an attempted shooting of the ANC's chief representative in Belgium and Luxemburg, Mr Godfrey Motsepe, in February.

Two shots were fired into the ANC's Brussels offices, smashing a window and lodging in a wall behind Mr Motsepe.

Soon afterwards, the ANC's representative in France, Cape Town-born Miss Dulcie September, was gunned down outside her Paris office by a mystery assassin.

Last night Belgian police declined to comment on the L'Express report. Interpol never comments on its actions.

A Brussels police spokesman confirmed that an investigating judge had identified a man in the case — but would give no further details.

Sgt-Maj Klue told the Cape Times yesterday: "I don't work in counter-intelligence — I am in an administrative capacity.

"I am not involved in any spying activities whatsoever. And I was in South Africa at the time of the attempted murder of Mr Motsepe," he said.

He said he had not been overseas since he left Britain in 1982 and denied any involvement in the break-ins at the London offices of African nationalist movements.

"I was the target of propaganda because they knew that my three-year term was coming to an end at the embassy in London," he said.

Asked whether he could explain why he was again being linked with counter-intelligence operations, he said: "My name is obviously still known to them — but it is purely another propaganda campaign."

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's press secretary, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said last night that by the time he left his office yesterday evening he had not yet been contacted by Interpol in connection with Sgt-Maj Klue.

SADF spokesman Major Riaan Louw last night said: "The SADF has nothing to add to the statement already given to the media by Sgt-Maj Klue in which he contemptuously dismissed allegations that he had anything to do with the death of Miss September.

"Sgt-Maj Klue returned to South Africa at the end of 1982 after he had completed his normal duty period of three years as personnel clerk to the military attache at the South African Embassy in London.

"Since then he has served at Southern Cape Command and he is at present on the staff of the Infantry School at Oudtshoorn.

"Since 1982 he has not been out of South Africa and therefore could have not been involved in any attack on an ANC member."

WANTED ... Sergeant-Major Joseph Klue

Magazine gets govt warning

CP Correspondent

A CAPE Town magazine, *New Era*, is the latest publication to be given a government warning.

Last Friday, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha issued a warning in the *Government Gazette* that, in his opinion, the content of *New Era* constituted a threat to public safety or to the termination of the state of emergency.

This clears the way for possible further action against the magazine, launched in 1986 by Grassroots Publications and published every two months.

Mary Ralphs, co-editor of the magazine, said Botha's action against *New Era* was part of a "general onslaught" on the media aimed at silencing legal opposition to the government.

Argus

327

Sowetan 13/6/88

Nactu slams curbs

327

By LEN MASEKO

THE extension of the state of emergency would not resolve the conflict in this country, the National Council of Trade Unions said at the weekend.

Condemning the renewal of the state of emergency for a third time, Nactu said in a statement that South Africa was "undoubtedly becoming a totalitarian State".

The 500 000-member federation was reacting to the extension of state of emergency for a further 12 months. The State President Mr P W Botha, announced this last Friday.

"The federation rejects the allegation by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that Nactu is an appendage of the ANC and the (SA) Communist Party. We challenge the Minister to prove his unfounded claims in public," the federation said.

Meanwhile, a Nactu affiliate, the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, said more than its 500 members — employed by Highveld United Transport — received a final warning for staying away from work last week.

Mr Maduke Rankholo, Tawu's general secretary, said these workers had participated in a three-day protest called by Nactu and the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

He said in other cases — related to the protest against the Labour Amendment Bill — 32 workers were locked out at Lebowa Transport's Bapedi depot and 10 dismissed by Express Cartage management.

"The 10 workers will have to come with their union representatives for a meeting with company lawyers today," Mr Rankholo said.

MGUS 13/6/88

'Appalled' by new emergency media curbs

Staff Reporter

TWENTY-two organisations in the Western Cape linked to the Save the Press Campaign have signed a statement condemning the Press curbs in the new emergency regulations.

"The Save the Press Campaign is appalled by the latest dose of Draconian curbs imposed on the media through adjustments to the emergency regulations," the statement says.

"By restricting information emanating from organisations representing millions of South Africans the Government has set the basis for only one voice to be heard — its own."

"VITAL VOICES"

The statement says it is clear that the Government wishes to eliminate all "alternative" publications.

"Far from navigating a course enabling a peaceful resolution of the conflict within South Africa's borders, the Government has once again attempted to suppress the very voices which are vital to achieving this aim.

"The Government is not only empowering itself to re-ban papers already silenced, it can also silence Press agencies which play an indispensable part in keeping people informed about events in remote regions of the country.

FIASCO

"Steps to curtail publications not registered under the Imprint Act will seriously hamper a vast array of community-based newspapers."

The regulations had also reduced the October municipal elections to a fiasco.

"Those expected to vote will be unable to make informed decisions without correct and balanced information at their disposal," the statement says.

The statement was signed by: Upfront, Out of Step, South, UWC News, Southern African Society of Journalists (Western Cape), Prospector, Perspective, Ekapa, On Trial, Media Workers' Association of South Africa, South African Students' Press Union, Churches Urban Planning Commission, University of Cape Town SRC, National Union of South African Students (UCT), Varsity, Western Province Tertiary SRC, Educatio, UCT Radio, Grassroots, Learning Roots, New Era and The Shield.

Groups to challenge third SA emergency

Cape Times 13/6/88 (327)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Several organizations and individuals further restricted in terms of the third state of emergency have sought legal advice on possible action to challenge the restrictions.

Lawyer Ms Priscilla Jana yesterday said she had been instructed by the Release Mandela Committee and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki to get opinion from counsel on the new regulations.

"(UDF president) Albertina Sisulu, although not affected by the regulations, has also instructed me to get an opinion on the new regulations," she said.

Lawyer Mr Krish Naidoo said that before the new emergency regulations were promulgated, action on behalf of UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, UDF Natal Midlands chairman Mr A S Chetty and the Rev Simon Gqubule had been contemplated.

"We expect to lodge applications on their behalf within the next two weeks."

Mr Naidoo said the basic arguments of the applications would remain the same and the applications would just be updated to include the latest regulations.

The State President included several new restrictions in renewing the state of emergency.

● The British government said last week that the reimposition of the state of emergency would would do nothing to help dialogue and reconciliation "which is so badly needed in SA".

A Foreign Office spokesman said the continued emergency and new restrictions had created a "sad anniversary" for SA.

Helsinki..... 19 9 Paris..... 23 19 Warsaw.....
Hong Kong..... 31 29 Perth.....

Botha warns Cape magazine

Star 12/6/88 (327)

CAPE TOWN — The Western Cape political magazine *New Era* has been given its second gazetted warning by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The warning follows the issuing of a warning in the *Government Gazette* under the old emergency regulations.

New Era co-editor Ms Mary Ralphs said its publishers, Grassroots Publications, would consult lawyers about the implications of the magazine being given a renewed warning.

She believed it to be "only a matter of time" before larger publications began to bear the brunt of Government action against the press.

COMMENT

327

The emergency

THE renewal of the state of emergency and the tightening of restrictions is another admission of the failure of government. There are, we accept, times when emergency rule may be necessary in any country — the period from 1985 to 1987 seems to have been such a time in SA — but the damage caused by authoritarian control cannot be underrated.

Whether the renewal of the emergency for another year is justified is difficult to say; the public is denied by the emergency regulations the knowledge necessary to judge whether the conditions which caused their imposition still pertain. However, many troubled parts of the country seem much quieter now than they were a year, or three years, ago.

The appearances may be superficial. The tightening of the regulations implies government believes conditions to be worse than the public knows. If so, it has a duty to share its knowledge with the public. If it cannot justify another year under harsh, restrictive and authoritarian powers, its duty is to lighten the emergency burden, either through repeal of some conditions or by lifting emergency rule selectively in quieter areas.

As it is, government will again get the worst of both worlds. Its actions will be interpreted abroad as those of frightened men determined to rule with a rod of iron. The immediate result is likely to be calls for more sanctions, from friend and foe, and the facilitation of new sanctions.

At home, the emergency will continue to address the symptoms of unrest while it conceals the causes. The additional regulations announced on Friday, which were designed to reduce further the knowledge South Africans have about their country, aim at thought control. Denying the public the views of unbanned spokemen for banned organisations is pointless when those views are expressed daily in black townships. Taking more powers to ban small newspapers for reports often carried in larger ones is as pointless — the use of a sledgehammer to swat a gnat.

It is a pity government was neither brave nor confident enough to test the political climate by a selective easing of restrictions. It is an even greater pity that the police indemnity for actions committed in terms of the emergency regulations has been renewed. We have, in recent weeks, seen evidence of excesses committed by police, including cold-blooded murder, under the mantle of the emergency. It was to the credit of government and the police the guilty were charged and convicted. But two-fold damage remains: firstly, it is impossible to be sure the emergency has not been used as a cover for brutality in other, undiscovered, cases, and secondly, even if there has been no abuse of power, it is impossible to persuade sceptical people that rumours of brutality are not true.

The imposition of the new emergency regulations is, at best, a mistake.

Plans to challenge emergency in court

MANDY JEAN WOODS

SEVERAL organisations and individuals futher restricted in terms of SA's third state of emergency have sought legal advice on possible action to challenge the restrictions.

Lawyer Priscilla Jana said yesterday she had been instructed by the Release Mandela Committee and former Robben Island prisoner Govan Mbeki to get opinion from counsel on the new regulations.

"Albertina Sisulu (UDF president) although not affected by the regulations, has also instructed me to get an opinion on the new regulations."

Applications

Lawyer Krish Naidoo said before the new emergency regulations were promulgated, action on behalf of UDF president Archie Gumede, UDF Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty and the Reverend Simon Gqubule was contemplated.

"We expect to lodge applications on their behalf within the next two weeks," he said.

Naidoo said the basic arguments of the applications would remain the same but they would be updated.

The State President included several new restrictions in renewing the state of emergency:

- ☐ Spokesmen of unlawful or restricted organisations may not be quoted even if they are not banned;
- ☐ No organisation or person, except registered political parties, may call for a boycott of the October municipal elections;
- ☐ News agencies, except established ones, must register with the Director General of Home Affairs by July 31;
- ☐ Banning orders on 17 organisations, including the Release Mandela Committee, UDF, and the Detainees Parents Support Committee, were reinstated;
- ☐ The period of newspaper bans was extended by two months to five months;
- ☐ Further restrictions were placed on Cosatu, including calling for the unbanning or lifting of restrictions on organisations, release of detainees, and commemorating incidents of riot, public violence or unrest;
- ☐ The definition of "subversive statement" was broadened to include encouraging boycotts or the disruption of elections.

The Bureau of Information said the state of emergency had resulted in a decrease in visible unrest.

Pietermaritzburg

"The increase in unrest related incidents from September 1987 to February 1988 can be attributed to the dispute between Inkatha and the UDF. During this period 67,9% of all documented unrest-related incidents occurred in Natal."

The British government said last week the reimposition of the state of emergency would do nothing to help dialogue and reconciliation in SA.

B/day 13/6/88. (327)

The media may not report on security action without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Police

A subversive statement is one which incites or encourages people to take part in boycott action

The notice is binding on members of the public who incite or encourage people to stay away from work

BLACKOUT

SWEEPING and more detailed emergency regulations aimed at the media were announced in a *Government Gazette* published in Pretoria on Friday.

They are part of the renewed state of emergency announced late last Thursday night by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

They include:

New emergency laws hit hard

Sowet on 13/6/88

FOCUS

327

- Nobody, without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Police or a member of a security force serving as a commissioned officer, may take any photograph or produce a television or film recording, or make a drawing or depiction of any security unrest action, including the damaging or destruction of property or the injury and killing of people.

Injuries

- The prohibition of any film, pictures, reports or drawings of any damaged or destroyed property or injured or dead persons or other visible signs of violence at the scene where unrest or security action is taking or has taken place, or of any injuries sustained by any person in or during unrest or security action.
- The prohibition of any film, pictures, reports or drawings or sound recording of any unrest or security action or incident, including damage or destruction of property and people injured or killed.

On the publishing of subversive statements, the gazette prohibits statements, either oral or written, in publications, or television, or by means of sound recording.

The importation of any of these is also banned, as well as the local production or importation of foreign periodicals which "activity involving the gathering, preparation, compilation, recording, processing or production of news material regarding events in the Republic and the supplying of such news material to a person for publication in a periodical which is published in the Republic or elsewhere or for broadcasting by a television or radio station situated in the Republic or elsewhere."

PRESIDENT Botha . . . declared emergency.

Arrest

The media may not report on security action; that is any action to terminate unrest, to protect life or property, follow-up action, or any action in which a person is arrested under the Public Safety Act or Security Emergency Regulations (1988).

A subversive statement is one which incites or encourages, or which is calculated to have the effect of inciting or encouraging, members of the public to:

- Take part in an activity or to commit an act resisting or opposing a member of the Cabinet, or of a Ministers' Council, or another member of the Government, official of the Republic or self-governing territory, or a member of the security forces in the exercise or performance of their duty under the Public Safety Act of 1953.
- Take part in a boycott action against a particular firm or against firms of a particular nature, class or kind, either by not making purchases at or doing business with those firms, boycotting a particular product or article, or refusing to comply with an obligation towards a local authority with regard to rent or a municipal service.

Binding

The gazette states further that the notice is also binding on members of the public who incite or encourage people to:

- Stay away from work or to strike in contravention of the provisions of any law, or to support, contain subversive statements.

The banning includes news agency business, which is defined as such a stayaway action or strike.

- Attend or to take part in a restricted gathering.
- Take part in any activities of or to join or support an unlawful organisation in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982.
- Exert power in specific areas by means of structures purporting to be those of local government, and acting as such in an unlawful manner, or to establish such structures, or to support them or subject themselves to those (pseudo) authorities.

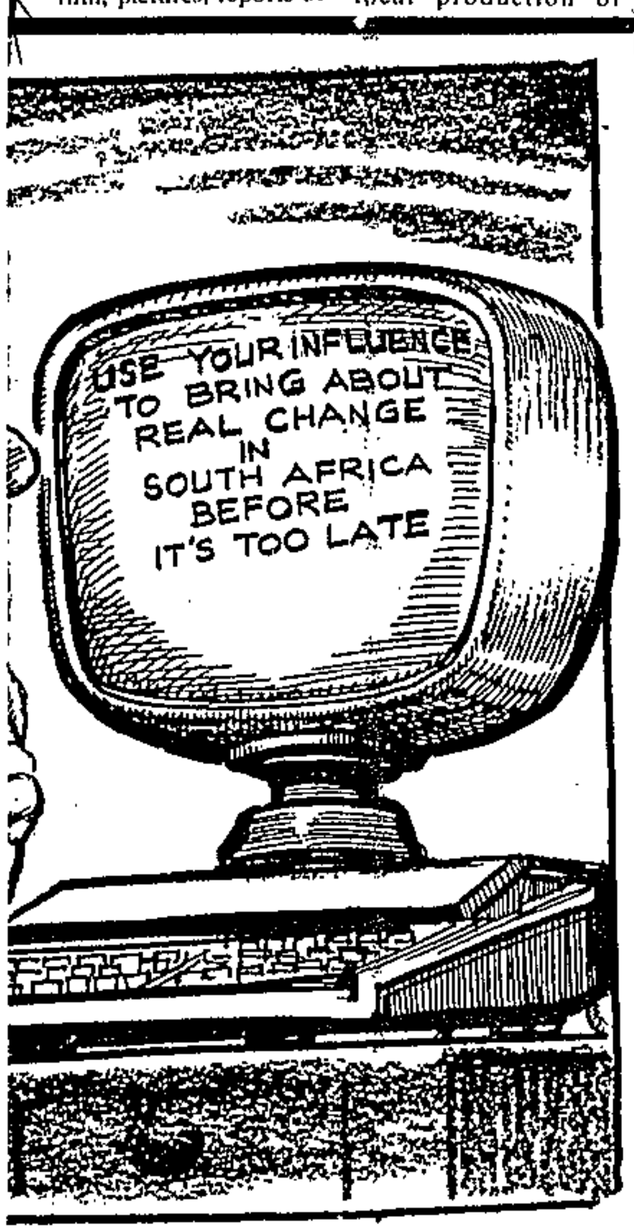
Referring to the media, the gazette states that no member of the media, including camermen and crew, will be allowed at the scene of an unrest situation, restricted gathering or security action without permission from the Commissioner of Police.

Provision

This provision apparently will not apply to somebody from the media who happens to find himself/herself at the scene of the unrest, restricted gathering or security action and "is within sight," or arrives at the scene "for a reason other than to cover the unrest, gathering or action for the gathering of news material."

The gazette states that if there is a "systematic or repetitive publishing" of subversive propaganda "promoting, fomenting revolution or uprisings" in the Republic — "or other acts aimed at the overthrow of the Government, otherwise than by constitutional means" — the Minister may, by notice of the gazette, issue a warning and after an examination of a series of issues of the publication (including any issue after April 11 1988), prohibit further issues of the publication.

The prohibition will not exceed three months at a time in the case of a registered periodical, or six months at a time in the case of any other periodical, unless the article published has been previously approved by a person specificed in the order. — Sapa.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

- Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Western Cape Teachers' Association: public meeting

*13. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) With reference to his reply to Question No 23, standing over, on 26 May 1988 in regard to the prevention of a public meeting arranged by the Western Cape Teachers' Association, (a) what is the name of the acknowledged teachers' association that was consulted by the Divisional Commissioner and (b) (i) with what officials of the latter association did consultations take place and (ii) what recommendations did they make in regard to the above-mentioned meeting;

(2) whether, prior to receiving the confirmed information referred to in paragraph (1) (d) of the above reply, the South African Police were aware that this meeting was to be held; if so, on what date did they receive the original information;

(3) what persons or bodies decided that the (a) Western Cape Teachers' Association was not acknowledged as the mouthpiece of the teaching profession and (b) meeting was by not means in the interests of the children or education?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (3)

It is clear to me that, by means of this question, the hon member wants to abuse parliament to obtain publicity for a radical organisation like the Western Cape Teachers' Association.

Any organisation that propagates a school boycott does not do so in the interests of education, the children or the social welfare of the people of a country. Such a boycott, on the short term, creates the potential for unrest, violence, serious damage and also serious injuries and death. On the long term, it places the future of our children at stake. Experience has taught us this from the unrest that has prevailed since 1984. Numerous school children of that time who were abused in this way, are today disillusioned, unemployed youths with serious welfare and social problems. This, while radicals who abused them, now wash their hands in innocence saying "they are suffering for the cause".

It is the responsibility of the South African Police to preserve the internal security and peace. This task is executed diligently because it is in the interests of South African and the well-being of all its people. Therefore we will not hesitate to take suitable steps against those organisations which, at the expense of the children and the people of South Africa, promote their selfish revolutionary political motives.

I therefore regard my reply to question 23, which I supplied to the hon member on 26 May 1988, as sufficient.

Police stations: toilets

*14. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether all toilets in police stations are open for use by members of staff as well as members of the public of all race groups; if not, why not; if so, since when;

(2) whether all notice boards relating to race have been removed at these toilets; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

Toilets at police stations have already been opened to all races for a considerable time. As far as could be ascertained, all notice boards relating to race have been removed.

***Contact*: article on revolutionary elements in Republic**

*15. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 24 on 1 March 1988, the article on the strategy of the revolutionary elements in the Republic has already been drawn up for publication in *Contact*; if so,

(2) whether approval has been given for this article to be so published; if not, why not; if so, in which edition of *Contact* will it appear?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No, (2) falls away.

Roodepoort: premises occupied in contravention of Group Areas Act

*16. Mr J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) Whether certain persons, particulars about whom have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the prupose of his reply, are occupying premises in Roodepoort in contravention of the provisions of the Group Areas Act; if so, (a) since when and (b) what are their names;

(2) whether he has taken or is going to take steps against these persons; if not, why not; if so, what steps (a) have been taken and/or (b) will be taken?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of Transvaal and he furnished the following information:

(1) Yes.

(a) July 1985.

(b) R. A. Searle and P. K. Searle.

(2) No steps have been taken against these persons. An application for a concession to occupy the premises is under consideration at present.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is he aware that application for permission was made on several occasions and that it was refused on several occasions?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, according to my information permission has once again been applied for.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, can he indicate at what stage the Department will decide that the applications that are continually submitted and refused must cease and that action will be taken against these persons who are living on the premises illegally?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the authority to grant permits has been delegated to the Administrator of the Transvaal and, in the other cases, to the other Administrators.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, can he tell us whether we are to conclude from his reply that the Administrator is the person we must approach for a possible eviction order against these illegal occupants, and not the Government?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, apparently the hon member does not have the correct facts. If he wishes to lodge a complaint in this connection, he is free to lodge a complaint at the nearest police station. If an application is made for a permit, it is addressed to the Administrator of the Transvaal, who has the authority to grant or refuse a permit.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The question now put by the hon member will be the last supplementary question.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, I want to point out with respect that he has still not replied to one of the questions. I want to know when the Government, in spite of the continued applications for permits, will say "so far and no further", and remove these people from the premises? From the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister it already appears that these persons have been living on the premises illegally since 1985. (Interjections.)

*17. Mr J J S PRINSLOO — Law and Order.† [Reply standing over.]

*18. Mr J J S PRINSLOO — Justice.† [Reply standing over.]

Own Affairs:

Provincial education departments: letterheads/compliment slips

*1. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether the (a) letterheads and (b) compliment slips of the various provincial education departments have been standardized; if so, (i) why and (ii) in what way; if not, what are the main points of difference in regard to the (aa) letterheads and (bb) compliment slips used by these departments?

SOWETAN, Tuesday, June 14, 1988

PRESSMEN UNITE AGAINST CLAMPS

14/6/88 Sowetan

327

LOCAL and foreign journalists in South Africa have displayed a rare unanimity and expressed alarm over Pretoria's extension and toughening of media curbs under the nationwide state of emergency.

A pro-government newspaper even went as far as saying the move would deprive the public of vital facts.

The curbs were announced on Friday as the Government extended for a third year its sweeping emergency powers that allow for detention without trial of opponents.

"We view with despair the State's brutal assault on the very little and rapidly-diminishing freedom of the Press and on the right of the people to know what is happening around them," said Jon Qwelane, a local columnist and representative of the Geneva-based International Federation of Journalists.

The Foreign Correspondents Association, grouping nearly 100 journalists of major foreign news organisations, issued a statement urging the swift repeal of all Press restrictions.

Irony

"We observe with irony that South Africa is progressively shutting down the free flow of information at a time when the Soviet Union, frequently depicted here as an enemy of Press freedom, is noticeably moving towards a more open society, despite having its own problems," it said.

President P W Botha first imposed media controls when he declared the emergency on June 12, 1986. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA 'now a few gazettes away from complete totalitarianism'

(327) Star 14/6/88 (2043)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Twenty-two organisations in the western Cape linked to the Save the Press Campaign have condemned the new press curbs contained in the new emergency regulations.

"The Save the Press Campaign is appalled by thtest dose of draconian curbs imposed on the media through adjustments to the emergency regulations," they say in a statement.

"By restricting information emanating from organisations representing millions of South Africans, the Government has set the basis for only one voice to be heard — its own. The curbs have brought the country a few gazettes away from complete totalitarianism."

The statement said it was clear that the Government wished to eliminate all "alternative" publications.

"Far from [illegible]gating a course enabling a peaceful resolution of the conflict within South Africa's borders, the Government has once again attempted to suppress the very voices which are vital to achieving this aim.

"The Government is not only empowering itself to re-ban papers already silenced; it can also silence press agencies which play an indispensible part in keeping people informed about events in remote regions of the country."

The newest regulations had also reduced the October municipal elections to a fiasco, the statement said. "Those expected to vote will be unable to make informed decisions without correct and balanced information at their disposal."

"The Save the Press Campaign, representing about 60 varied media groups in the western Cape, will be intensified and we call on all peace-loving South Africans to join forces in resisting the latest onslaught on the media and systematic attacks on human rights.

FREE ACCESS

"We reiterate the demands spelt out at our recent launch, including the right to procure and disseminate information without State intervention, harassment or detention; to free access and movement in pursuing these objectives; and to air ideas, views and opinions of people and organisations regardless of their political and ideological persuasions."

The statement was signed by *Upfront*, *Out of Step*, *South*, UWC News, the Southern African Society of Journalists (Western Cape), *Prospector*, *Perspective*, *Ekapa*, *On Trial*, the Media Workers' Association of SA, SA Students Press Union, the Churches Urban Planning Commission, the University of Cape Town SRC, Nusas (UCT), *Varsity*, Western Province Tertiary SRC, *Educatio*, UCT Radio, *Grassroots*, *Learning Roots*, *New Era* and *The Shield*.

LATE EDITION

89 Soweto pupils held by police, says Sosco

(327) (BLEY) Star 17/6/88

By Zenaide Vendeiro, Education Reporter

Eighty-nine Soweto pupils were detained on Friday when the third state of emergency was declared, a spokesman for the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) claimed yesterday.

In addition, two Sosco executive members, Mr Johannes Seheri and general secretary Mr Lawrence Bayana, were released and immediately re-detained.

Sosco, it said, viewed the state of emergency as a move aimed at "disrupting our lessons and detaining more students". It also believed that the Department of Education and Training (DET) was the "main cause" of the detentions and did not have the interests of pupils at heart.

A DET spokesman said the department had no knowledge of Friday's detentions.

The spokesman for Sosco said it was calling for protests, but appealed to pupils to commemoratethe June 16 anniversary "in a disciplined manner".

The Star's Political Correspondent reports from Cape Town that the Department of Education and Training has refuted reports that all its programmes in Soweto have been disrupted by radical pupils.

A press statement released by the DET director-general, Dr A B Fourie, last night said: "Such statements militate against the ongoing efforts of the DET, teachers, parents, community leaders and the majority of pupils to normalise schooling in areas where radicals have been bent on thwarting education."

It was common cause that elements intent on destroying the very fabric of civilised society, with scant regard for the future of young people, were afoot.

Although all primary schools were functioning normally, sporadic incidents had occurred in some Soweto secondary schools since the beginning of the year.

Dr Fourie said, however, the DET's support programme for pupils in Soweto whose education had been jeopardised was beginning to achieve results.

Latest media clamp 'could be ultra vires'

Lawyers challenge 'gagging' rulings

Star 14/6/87

327

Political Staff

Lawyers are planning to contest the new media emergency regulations which forbid quotation of known spokesman or office-bearers of the United Democratic Front and 17 other restricted organisations.

Johannesburg attorney Miss Priscilla Jana is to seek counsel's opinion on the scope of the new clampdown which was gazetted with the new emergency on Friday.

She said today it seemed that section 3(1)(f) of the Media Emergency Regulations might effectively forbid publication of any political remarks by people such as Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF.

Though political statements by the UDF, Azapo and other organisations were prohibited under restriction orders served on them in February, officials of these bodies have continued to be quoted in their personal ca pacities.

But section 3(1)(f) prohibits publication of statements by people "known" to be spokesmen or office-bearers of organisations such as the UDF which have been restricted under regulation 3(8)(b) or 8 of the Security Emergency Regulations.

The new regulation seems to be aimed at preventing the office-bearers of the these organisations from claiming that they are speaking in their personal capacities.

Miss Jana said that the new regulation might now effectively gag these people from making any political statements because of the broad scope of section 3(1)(f).

PUBLIC SAFETY

The section prohibits any statement which either has the "effect or is calculated to have the effect of of threatening the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order, or of delaying the termination of the state of emergency".

Mr Paul Jenkins, a media lawyer, said that he thought that the regulation could easily be ultra vires. He did not think it would prevent the publication of all political statements by people such as Dr Boesak.

"I don't see how a statement by him such as 'Apartheid is bad' could fall within the scope of this section.

"However, where I think it could be tricky is if someone like him should call for sanctions. This could be interpreted as threatening public safety."

But he said he considered the section ultra vires because to prevent a person from making certain statements just because he was an office-bearer of a certain organisation went beyond the intentions of the original Act.

Asked how the regulation would prevent quotation of people like Dr Boesak, an offical of the Department of Home Affairs media relations office said that this would have to be judged from case to case.

"Where Dr Boesak is talking as a church leader, this will not fall within the scope of the Act.

"Where he makes political statements, the publication will have to decide in each case whether or not the statement threatens public order and safety or delaying the termination of the state of emergency."

Section 3(1)(f) also prohibits publication of statements by spokesmen and office-bearers of organisations banned under the Internal Security Act such as the ANC.

Miss Priscilla Jana ... silencing any political statements from people such as Dr Boesak.

NEWS BRIEFS

Sowetan 14/1/88 (327)

Curbs hit

TWENTY-two organisations in the Western Cape linked to the Save The Press Campaign have signed a statement condemning the latest Press curbs contained in the new state of emergency regulations.

"The Save the Press Campaign is appalled by the latest dose of draconian curbs imposed on the media through adjustments to the emergency regulations," the statement said.

Sowetan 14/6/88

Curbs will be fought says Jana

(327)

LAWYERS are planning to contest the new media emergency regulations which forbid quotation of known spokesmen or office-bearers of the United Democratic Front and 17 other restricted organisations.

Johannesburg attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana said she was seeking counsel's opinion on the scope of the new clampdown which was gazetted with the new emergency on Friday.

She said it seemed that Section 3 (1) (F) of the media emergency regulations might effectively forbid publication of any political remarks by people such as Dr Alan Boesak, patron of the UDF.

Though political

To Page 2

Statements prohited

• From page 1 (327)

statements by the UDF, Azapo and other organisations were prohibited under restriction orders served on them in February, officials of these bodies have continued to be quoted in their personal capabilities.

But Section 3 (1) (F) prohibits publication of statements by people "known" to be spokesmen or office-bearers of organisations such as the UDF which have been restricted under Regulation 3 (8) (B) or 8 of the security emergency regulations.

The new regulation seems to be aimed at preventing the office bearers of these organisations from claiming that they are speaking in their personal capacities.

Mrs Jana said that the new regulation might now effectively gag these people.

Mr Paul Jenkins, media lawyer, said that he thought that the regulation could easily be "ultra vires" but that he did not think it would prevent the publication of all political statements by people such as Dr Boesak.

Sowetan 14/6/88

um, One G

Aho Ta

BBC would 'regret' curb

Cape Times 14/6/88

327

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The BBC says it would regard any move to stop it from reporting in South Africa as "regrettable".

Asked to comment on reports from South Africa that the government was investigating the continued presence of the BBC in the country, a spokesman said: "Naturally the BBC regrets any action which would further impede its coverage from South Africa."

The spokesman said he could not comment further until they knew exactly what action the government was planning.

Meanwhile, right-wing MPs and newspapers continued to attack the corporation for broadcasting Saturday's concert to mark the 70th birthday of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr John Carlisle, MP, said the BBC's governors had breached an undertaking not to transmit political speeches.

"Heads must roll and the governors must now be sacked," he said.

The concert contained 700 political references, contradicting undertakings made by the director-general of the BBC, Mr Michael Checkland, according to Mr Carlisle. The group would be asking Mr Checkland to answer its allegations, Mr Carlisle said yesterday.

'Broke clause'

"This concert broke clause 13 of the BBC's constitution in which it undertakes to remain impartial," he said. "The BBC broke an undertaking that they would not broadcast any obvious political comment. Speeches by Mr Oliver Tambo and Sir Richard Attenborough could hardly be described as musical entertainment."

He added that both Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and several artists had claimed on the programme that the concert was a political event, and that the BBC had made "no apparent attempt to stand by its earlier claim that the concert was simply a musical event".

The London Evening Standard in a leader-page article under the headline "The Biased Broadcasting Corporation" said the broadcasting of the concert "contributed materially to the violence and bloodshed of South Africa, in an unthinkable attempt to be trendy".

The BBC said it had received 500 calls about the broadcasting of the concert. It would not say whether the majority were for or against.

The BBC is insisting the concert was a musical event, but concert organizers say "it was first and foremost a consciousness-raising event, not a fund-raising one. Every second of it was political".

Mr Mike Terry, organizing secretary of the Anti-Aparthied Movement (AAM), said it was too early to assess exactly how much had been raised. However, it is estimated that about £4 million (R16m) was raised, and that each charity would receive about £1m (R4m) each.

Jim Kerr, lead singer of Simple Minds, the Scottish band which staged the most political set of the concert, said the books would be open for everyone to see.

'Under pressure' South back on sale tomorrow

Cape Times 14/6/88

327

Staff Reporter

SOUTH, the city-based weekly newspaper, will be back on the streets by tomorrow pending a legal opinion from attorneys.

South was banned for a month on May 9 by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, after several warnings from him.

Yesterday South's editor, Mr Rashid Seria, said: "We were going to publish our editions as normal. As much as we are under pressure from the state, we have an obligation to our readers and constituency which we will maintain."

Mr Seria said Mr Botha told South he would decide whether or not to suspend the paper after having seen the contents of tomorrow's edition.

The government had promulgated a provision in the latest emergency regulations allowing Mr Botha to ban South for a further period not exceeding two months.

"We are preparing an edition for tomorrow subject to legal opinion. If we publish, it will present the minister with a basis to take us off the streets for a further two months. Should we wait, the provision expires on June 20," he said.

South, which claimed an average distribution of 15 000 copies including subscriptions nationally, said it hoped to increase sales to 25 000.

The edition due to appear tomorrow would be a day earlier than usual to give staff time off to commemorate June 16.

At the time of its banning, South had to pull back 21 000 copies of the paper from selling points in the Western Cape and outlets in Johannesburg and Durban.

practice this is done in consultation with the head of the particular office.

(ii) Whether it is essential to preserve the documents for the proper continuation of the administration of the country and whether the documents have sufficient research value to be used by researchers.

(c) The internationally accepted principle of origin according to which the order that the documents had in the office of origin is maintained or is restored if that order has been disturbed.

(d) (i) Thirty years, with the exception of those archives which the Minister of National Education has authorized the head of an office in terms of section 6 (a) (i) to retain for a certain period and those the transfer of which the Director of Archives has deferred in terms of section 6 (b) (i).

(ii) The Legislature in its wisdom has decided on the thirty-year period. It is assumed that the reason for this is that documents less than thirty years old are often of too sensitive a nature to be made available.

(e) Documents are only made available to researchers under continuous supervision in the reading rooms of archives depots.

(3) Yes.

(a) All the leading countries in the archival field such as Britian, the Netherlands, Germany and France.

(b) A closed period of thirty years is accepted as realistic, and applied, in most of these countries.

(4) No. The enormous volume of the documentation makes the compilation of such a central register impractical and undesirable. In most Government offices there are, however, filing systems which have been approved by the Director of Archives in terms of section 3 (2) (i) of the Archives Act and according to which the documents are systematically kept and cared for. This is a matter that constantly receives the attention of the Director of Archives.

SAP: group areas

1161. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether members of the South African Police are in the course of their duties authorized to issue warnings in connection with offences in terms of the Group Areas Act; if so, how many such warnings were issued over the latest specified five-year period for which information is available;

(2) whether these warnings gave rise to further action being taken; if so, to what further action?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No

(2) Falls away

Woodstock: gathering

1183. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to the report in terms of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, tabled by him on 16 May 1988, he will furnish details about a gathering in Woodstock on 29 April 1988 during the course of which the persons attending it were ordered to disperse; if not, why no; if so, (a) what was the nature of the gathering, (b) how many persons were present, (c) by whom had it been called, (d) (i) at what time of day and (ii) where in Woodstock was it held and (e) (i) who ordered the persons attending it to disperse and (ii) why was this order given;

(2) Whether any further action was taken or is to be taken as a result of this gathering; if so, (a) what action, (b) when, (c) why and (d) against whom?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(a) to (e) At 12h03 on 29 April 1988 approximately 50 persons of all races held an illegal gathering in Porter Street, Woodstock in protest against the new labour legislation. An officer of the South African Police ordered the persons to disperse, as it was an illegal gathering. The persons obeyed the order and dispersed.

(2) Yes

(a) to (d) A charge in terms of section 2(1) of the Gatherings and Demonstration Act, 1973 (Act 52 of 1973) was lodged and is at present being investigated. As soon as the investigation has been completed, the case docket will be submitted to the Senior State Prosecutor for his decision.

Tugela Ferry police station: offences

1185. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(a) How many cases of (i) murder, (ii) culpable homicide and (iii) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm were reported at the Tugela Ferry police station in each of the latest specified five calendar years for which information is available and (b) in how many cases were persons charged in each of these three categories of offences?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	1983		1984		1985		1986		1987	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
(i)	99	19	105	28	56	16	89	24	76	32
(ii)	10	4	10	1	12	3	5	4	2	—
(iii)	115	86	90	59	136	102	101	70	89	66

NOTE Statistics are furnished in respect of the number of cases reported and referred to the courts for trial. In some cases more than one person was charged. However, these statistics are not readily available and are therefore not furnished.

Joint Matriculation Board: examinations

1222. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Education:

(a) How many (i) Black, (ii) White, (iii) Coloured and (iv) Indian candidates wrote the (aa) matriculation and (bb) school-leaving examinations of the Joint Matriculation Board in 1987 and (b) how many such candidates (i) passed and (ii) failed their examinations?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(a) All candidates write the examination of the JMB. According to the achievement in the examination, matriculation or school-leaving certificates are issued to candidates.

(aa) and (bb)	Number that wrote
(i) Blacks	485
(ii) Whites	1 166
(iii) Coloureds	52
(iv) Indians	43

(b)

	(i) Number passed		(ii) Number failed	
	Matriculation	school-leaving		
(i) Blacks	93	135	257	
(ii) Whites	921	192	53	
(iii) Coloureds	27	15	10	
(iv) Indians	24	12	7	

Cabinet Ministers: police protection

1241. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he will furnish information on the cost of providing police protection to Cabinet Ministers at public meetings; if not, why not; if so, what was the cost so incurred (a) in 1985, 1986 and 1987, respectively, and (b) in 1988 as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(2) what was the cost incurred in respect of the meetings held by the (a) State President in Potgietersrus in 1986, (b) Minister of Foreign Affairs in Pietersburg in 1986 and (c) Minister of National Education in Randfontein in 1988?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

Section 5 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958) stipulates that the South African Police is responsible for inter alia the maintenance of law and order, as well as the prevention of crime. Police protection rendered to the State President, all Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Leaders of Opposition parties and members of Parliament, falls within the ambit of the said provisions and is performed during the course of normal police duties. Expenses incurred in this regard are therefore not separately identified and calculated.

BANNED NEWSPAPER RETURNS

SOWETAN Correspondent

THE weekly Cape Town newspaper *South* will be back on the streets today.

On May 9 Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha banned *South* for a month in terms of the emergency regulations.

South editor Mr Rashid Seria said yesterday he had decided to publish despite fears that it could be banned.

"The Minister of Home Affairs has advised us that he will decide whether or not to suspend our paper after seeing an edition," Mr Seria said.

The latest regulations contain a provision allowing the Minister to ban *South* for a further two months.

Mr Seria said Regulation 9 (A) was specifically aimed at *South* as it was the only publication to be acted against under Regulation 7A (3)B after May 1 1988.

"If we publish today it will present the Minister with a basis to take us off the streets for a further two months.

"If we wait, the provision under Regulation 9(A) expires on June 20."

• The acting editor of *New Nation*, Mr Gabu Tugwana, said yesterday that the chairman, the board of directors and staff of *New Nation* have decided to delay the republication of the newspaper, in spite of the expiry of the ban on June 10.

A bumper issue will be published on June 30, he said.

Concern over emergency

B/day 15/6/88

Business Day Reporter 327

THE renewal of the state of emergency means notice has been served that the process of peaceful political and social reform continues to be impeded, Association of Law Societies president K A Wilson said in a statement on Monday.

He said the fact that it has been deemed necessary in the interests of public security to prolong the state of emergency, on more stringent terms than before, would be viewed by every SA citizen — and hence every lawyer — with apprehension and regret.

"With regret because restoration of the rule of law, which is surely the resolve of every lawyer, and not a derogation therefrom, will be the ultimate safeguard of every citizen's rights...

"With apprehension because it means we have been served with notice that the process of peaceful political and social reform, which we are all so eager to encourage, continues to be impeded."

Ban on New

Star 15/6/88

York Times is lifted by Government

The Star's Foreign News Service

NEW YORK — The *New York Times* said yesterday it had been told by the South African Government that an 18-month ban on the newspaper's representatives in South Africa had been lifted.

The newspaper, noted for its extensive coverage of South African events, its strong editorial support for sanctions against South Africa and for its generally sharp criticism of the Government's racial policies, said it had been advised by the Government that it "would welcome an application from a staff correspondent to report full time from South Africa".

In response, the newspaper has submitted the name of Mr Christopher Wren as its next bureau chief in Johannesburg.

MOSCOW

Mr Wren, who is one of the paper's most senior and experienced foreign correspondents, previously headed the *New York Times* bureaux in Moscow, Cairo, Beijing and Ottawa.

The newspaper has been barred from having its own staff correspondent in South Africa since January 1987, when the Government refused to renew the accreditation of Mr Alan Cowell or accept a successor.

The *New York Times* has since been represented by Mr John Battersby, a South African journalist who will continue to report for the newspaper.

Star 15/6/88

Censored

(327)

Government edicts prevent The Star from publishing all the news. The State of Emergency has been reimposed with even more media restrictions. In many instances The Star is also prevented from indicating where and how reports have been censored. Particularly affected is news about unrest, political protest and labour activity.

Readers should bear this in mind in assessing what is happening in the country.

Crackdown!

15-22/6/88 South

327

15-22

By RYLAND FISHER and MONO BADELA

SCORES of people have been detained or restricted in a countrywide crackdown on mainly UDF activists since the declaration of South Africa's third State of Emergency last week.

The new Emergency Regulations, granting the State sweeping powers and broadening the scope of the media curbs, were met with hardly a murmur of protest.

Other leading activists have gone into hiding to avoid detention after the police swooped on their homes.

Restriction orders on others were renewed, and several detainees prepared to sit another year in jail without trial.

The Soweto Students Congress said two of their executive members, Johannes Seheri and general secretary Lawrence Bayana, had been released and immediately redetained.

Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) general secretary Neville Naidoo was detained in Guguletu last Saturday.

TO PAGE TWO

P.T.O

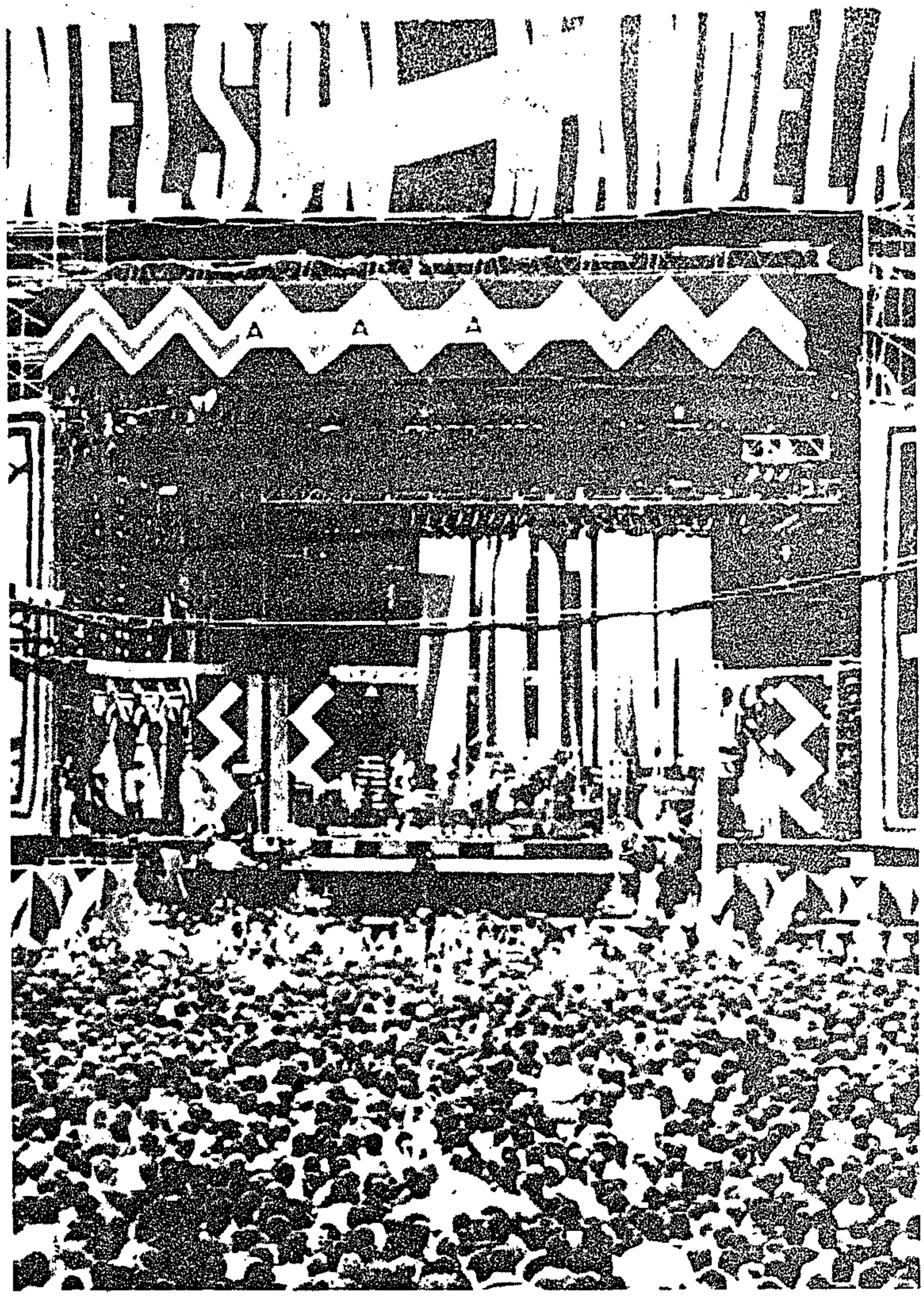
pledge

owledge of Muslim pilgrims but has pledged that all SA

London told SOUTH's London lights chartered for pilgrims from

pposed to SA's bantustans like

around the world were this week e.



A tribute in a billion! The world's top stars beamed the name of South African political prisoner Nelson Mandela into millions of homes in 60 countries, calling for his release before his 70th birthday next month. **Story, pictures — Pages 16, 17**

FROM PAGE ONE

Redetained

Police do not confirm emergency detentions but according to information supplied by families and lawyers, about 20 people are still held in the Western Cape.

They include former UDF secretary Trevor Manuel who was detained on August 15 1986. He is being held at Victor Verster prison in Paarl with Cayco president Mzonke Whitey Jacobs, detained on December 12 1986, and Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) organiser Wilson Sedina, detained on October 26 last year.

Others redetained in the Western Cape are UDF treasurer Ebrahim Rasool, detained since June 6 1987, UDF executive member Mountain Qumbela (October 26 1987), UDF media officer Willie Hofmeyr (April 22 1988), UDF worker William Thomas (June 3 1988), matric pupil Mark Splinters (January 31 1988), matric pupil Magbool Moos (February 1 1988), Walter Mputing of Guguletu (February 11 1988), Mark Jackson (May 23 1988), UDF publicity secretary Hilda Ndude, Vivian Madikwa, Pascalina Tyeku, Nobom Sonto, Mncedisi Ndumo and Lungile Mqikela (all detained on June 2 1988), and Moses Maboee (date of detention unknown).

It is believed that about 3 000 people are being held throughout the country.

They include New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, trade union and community leader Amos Masondo, UDF national publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, UDF acting national general secretary Mohammed Valli, Pat Lephunya, Port Elizabeth's Mkhuseli Jack, Henry Fazzie and Stone Sizani, the NECC's Eric Molobi, Molefe Tsele and Vusi Khanyile, Soweto Youth leadery Dan Montsitsi, and former Azaso president Tiego Moseneke.

Several lawyers said their clients were re-detained before they could leave prisons on Friday.

Albertina Sisulu

Among those restricted are former Robben Islander Govan Mbeki, and the UDF's co-president Albertina Sisulu, and national treasurer Azhar Cachalia.

UDF officials restricted in the West Cape include vice-president Joe Marks, secretary Joey Marks, former president Zolli Malindi, former vice-president Christmas Tinto, Federation of SA Women (Western Cape) president Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu, and former Cape Youth Congress president Roseberry Sonto.

Most of those restricted first had orders placed on them on February 4 when the UDF and other organisations were virtually banned.

Cachalia was served with his restriction order a few hours after his third application for a passport was rejected. He had been invited to attend a conference of West Germany's Social Democratic Party. His application was supported by the German Embassy, which made representations on his behalf.

The orders prohibit the affected people from taking part in activities of several political organisations, including the UDF.

They may not address more than ten people, conduct media interviews or assist with the compilation of any publication and, in some cases, may not leave specified magisterial districts.

The orders, the same as those issued earlier this year, were signed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

SOUTH ban

In a further crackdown, the government last week announced stricter measures to curb the press and a ban on calls to boycott the October municipal election.

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has been given the power to ban SOUTH for a further two months after the newspaper's one month suspension ended last week.

Botha has until next Monday to decide whether he will use these powers.

In Soweto, more than 80 pupils are believed to have been detained since the Emergency was declared last Friday.

Civil rights lawyer Priscilla Jana announced this week that lawyers were planning to contest the new media Emergency Regulations which prohibit quotation of known spokespersons or office-bearers of the UDF and other restricted organisations.

Allan Boesak

She said it seemed sections of the media Regulations might effectively forbid publication of any political remarks by people like UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

She said the new regulations seemed to be aimed at preventing office-bearers of these organisations from claiming that they are speaking in their personal capacity.

NY Times ban lifted by govt

Star Times 8/6/88

NEW YORK. — The South African government has agreed to allow the New York Times to re-open its bureau in Johannesburg after imposing a ban on the newspaper's coverage in January last year.

The government informed Times officials on Monday that it will accept an application from a staff correspondent to report full-time in South Africa, it was reported yesterday.

Mr Christopher Wren, an assistant foreign editor who has headed the paper's bureaus in Moscow, Cairo, Peking and Ottawa has been named as the bureau chief. — Sapa-AP

New Nation, South are to appear again

Star 15/6/88

327

By Janet Heard and Own Correspondent

The Cape publication *South* will be back on the streets today after a month's banning. And the *New Nation*, banned for three months, will be published again on June 30.

Both newspapers were forced to close down by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha until the expiry of the previous state of emergency, which was reimposed on June 10.

The new emergency allows the Minister to extend by two months the suspension of publications that were suspended under the previous emergency. The extended ban requires none of the warning procedures that preceded the original suspension.

South editor Rashid Seria said yesterday it had been decided to publish despite fears that the newspaper could be banned.

"The Minister of Home Affairs has advised us that he will decide whether or not to suspend our paper after seeing an edition," Mr Seria said.

New Nation, published by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company in Johannesburg, was banned for three months on March 22.

Acting-editor Mr Gabu Tagwana said yesterday that the staff and chairman of the board of directors had decided to resume publication on June 30 instead of June 16 to give themselves sufficient time to prepare a bumper issue and to upgrade equipment.

"It wll be our biggest single issue produced. It will also give *New Nation* and the legal team time to familiarise themselves with the new and tighter media regulations before publishing."

All 'regular' freelance journalists to register

327

Star 15/6/84

By Tim Cohen

The new emergency regulations required the registration of all regular freelance journalists or stringers, even if all they wrote about was flower shows, the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr Bob Kernohan, said last night.

The new regulations, published last Friday, went much further than was first thought, he said.

News agencies operating in South Africa declined when approached for comment last night to discuss the implications of the regulations, saying these were still being studied and that legal advice was being sought.

Media experts at first thought that only news agencies (other than those specifically excluded) had to be registered, but legal experts said last night that any regular freelancer reporting on news events fell within the definition of a "news agency business".

This is defined in the regulations as "an activity involving the gathering, preparation, compilation, recording, processing or production of news material regarding events in the Republic and the supplying of such news material to a person for publication ... in the Republic or elsewhere".

Section 11 of the regulations requires the registration of a "news agency business" by August 1 with the Director-General of the Department of Home Affairs.

The regulations allow for three exceptions — news agencies specifically mentioned need not register; people who supply news material exclusively to a publication of which they are employees; and people whose work consists of only a "casual or isolated act".

INTERNATIONAL 337

Democrat snub to S Africa angers Reagan

ARGUS 15/6/88

From ALAN DUNN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Democratic Party chiefs and the Reagan administration have clashed over the exclusion of South Africa from an invitation list to the party's national convention next month.

Convention organisers refused to invite the South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, to the convention where a Democratic manifesto will be completed and the party nominee for the presidential election in November formally chosen.

An American official said he could not recall either the Republicans or Democrats snubbing a country with normal diplomatic relations with the US.

Ambassadors

It was the custom that both parties invite the Washington diplomatic corps to their conventions every four years. It was usually through the State Department's protocol office.

This year, although the Republicans invited all ambassadors, including Dr Koornhof, to their convention in New Orleans in August, the Democrats told the protocol office they wanted South Africa excluded from their convention in Atlanta, Georgia, next month.

Protocol officials refused to do so, saying their duty was to help the entire diplomatic corps, not selective parts. They would act only if South Africa was invited.

A source who did not want to be named said the Democrats later insisted that South Africa be shunned.

Democratic convention organisers did not return a telephone call to explain why they had balked at inviting South Africa or whether they were now inviting ambassadors themselves following the State Department's recusal.

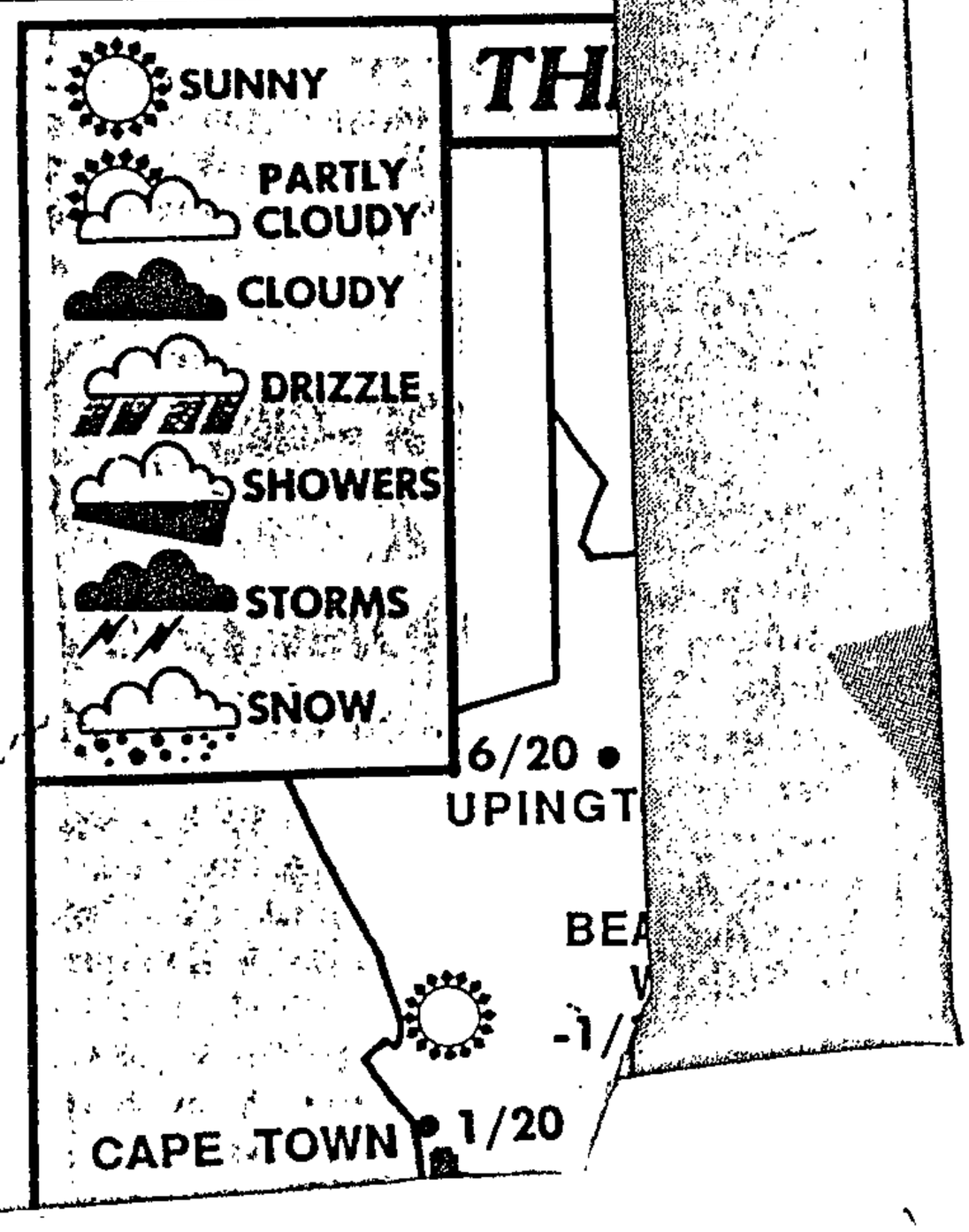
But convention delegates are sure to take a hard line against South Africa. The party has declared it a "terrorist state" and has called for total sanctions and American disinvestment.

South back on streets after ban

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Town-based weekly newspaper *South* appeared on city streets yesterday after being banned for a month.

The newspaper appeared a day earlier than usual to allow staff to commemorate June 16.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha informed *South* he would decide whether or not to suspend the paper after he saw yesterday's edition. — Sapa. Star 16/6/86



Emergency a 'source of misery'

The State President's announcement that by extending the state of emergency he was restoring stability and confidence in South Africa was like saying that a bout of pneumonia would restore health, **Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton)** said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

In the Second Reading debate of the Appropriation Bill, Mrs Suzman said the emergency powers of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial was the source of misery for over 26 000 people detained for 30 days or longer since the state of emergency was declared in July 1985.

She also called for clemency for the Sharpeville Six. — Sapa.

Sombre warning by expert on 'thin-end-of-wedge' press law

Star 17/6/88

By Patrick Laurence

The Government has taken a stealthy first step towards the establishment of a compulsory register for journalists, from which they can be disqualified by ministerial decree and thus barred from practising.

"It is the thin edge of the wedge," says Mr David Dison, co-author of a definitive book on newspapers and the law. His sombre warning is prompted by the latest emergency controls on the media, promulgated last Friday.

The regulations oblige all except specifically exempted news agencies to register. The definition of a news agency is so wide as to include, on the face of it, all freelance journalists, irrespective of whether they contribute to local or overseas publications or radio or television stations.

Registration of freelance journalists is a start towards fulfilment of the long quest by the Government to compel all journalists to register and thus become subject to control and manipulation from above, Mr Dison argues.

INDIRECT CONFIRMATION

Mr Andries Engelbrecht, chief director of media relations in the Department of Home Affairs, provides indirect but indisputable confirmation that the Government plans to compel all freelance journalists to register.

"They are not excluded," he says. "If anybody is in doubt, my advice is that they should register. I'm not telling anyone not to register."

A top Government official dismissed the registration requirement as inconsequential. "It is simply a question of supplying a bit of information. No money is required. It is not like registering a newspaper."

The regulations require news agency journalists to supply the Director-General of Home Affairs with their names and addresses, identity numbers, and a list of all the publications or radio/television stations to which they contribute.

Many journalists see registration of news agencies as an integral part of the network of Government controls imposed on newspapers under the state of emergency.

Two newspapers, *New Nation* and *South*, were suspended under the regulations by Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha, after being found by him to be spreading "revolutionary propaganda".

Both are alternative, rather than mainline newspapers.

The new regulations requiring registration of freelance journalists come in the context of Governmnent hostility towards the opposition press in general and the alternative press in particular.

It is reflected in the term "media terrorist", a phrase coined by Mr Botha to describe a person who, in Mr Botha's view, uses his skills to support the revolutionary or terrorist cause.

CODE OF CONDUCT

Mr Dison says the move requiring registration of freelance journalists should be seen against increasing signs of Government dissatisfaction with the present Media Council, set up by the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) to police a professional code of conduct.

The NPU represents proprietors and managers. It acted in collaboration with the Conference of Editors when it established the Media Council.

A 1982 amendment to the Registration of Newspapers Act, however, empowers the Government to set up its own statutory media council to enforce its own code of conduct.

But the amendment was never promulgated, the Government having been persuaded to stay its hand by the establishment of the present Media Council.

But the legislation remains on the statute book and can be brought into effect at any time.

No plan to register all journalists, says Stoffel

Star 17/6/88 327

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has rejected suggestions that the Government was trying to introduce the registration of journalists "through the back door".

He was reacting to inquiries by The Star this week about the latest emergency regulations that make it mandatory for most freelance journalists to register with Home Affairs.

The wide net cast by the regulations has raised suspicions that the Government is attempting to introduce the mandatory registration of all journalists via a back door.

The Government has previously considered legislating for such a register, but abandoned the plan because of intense opposition.

The implications of the latest regulations, however, could be that eventually all SA journalists would have to be registered. Furthermore, if the Minister assumed the power to strike journalists off a register, they could find their careers terminated.

When Mr Botha was asked by The Star to comment on fears that the Government was trying to slip in mandatory registration of journalists via the emergency regulations, he said: "I can state emphatically that such a suggestion is devoid of all truth.

"I sincerely trust the media will in fairness properly analyse the particular provisions of the regulations, which will then enable them to completely reject such a rumour."

Editors work in a morass, says Tyson

Star 17/6/88 327

By Inga Molzen

Editors have criticised provisions in the new media curbs apparently aimed at cracking down on independent news agencies and freelance correspondents.

The Editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, commenting on the regulations, said: "The emergency regulations, as usual, mean different things to different people. We work in a morass. However, if the Minister says he is *not* trying to introduce by the back door a register of journalists, then of course he will not register freelancers."

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor-in-chief of the *Sowetan*, said the Government "is involving itself in an irreversible process which will inevitably lead to the total destruction of press freedom in South Africa".

Deputy editor of the *Pretoria News*, Mr Peter Sullivan, said: "It continues to be difficult to be polite about the emergency restrictions as *Washington Post* publisher Kate Graham said at The Star's Centennial Conference last year."

Mr Anton Harber, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, said it would be a serious attack on the profession.

THE NEW CURBS UNDER SCRUTINY

THE LICENSED TRUTH

By ANTON HARBER

A spectre which the government periodically conjures up when it feels the media are becoming too independent, is that of a press 'register'. Journalists will be licensed by the state, which has final say over who may write news. Last week a form of 'registration' was slipped unnoticed into the Emergency regulations

THE government is using Emergency regulations to introduce a register of journalists through the back door.

The new register of "news agencies" — defined widely enough to encompass hundreds of individual journalists, agencies and possibly even newspapers — is one of a number of new media restrictions that accompanied last week's declaration of a third national Emergency.

Most of the previous Emergency measures remain in force, but a number have been significantly expanded. The most important is the clampdown on "news agencies" — which represents a significant increase in the level of government control over the media.

This is, firstly, because it will establish the existence of a journalists' register. The minister need only gradually expand the definition of who must register — and already the list

STAFF REPORTER

THIRTY people were injured when police opened fire on hundreds of Mazda workers calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress yesterday in Pretoria.

A police representative, Colonel Adrian Muller, said his men had been attacked by "rioters with stones and petrol bombs". He said 30 injured protestors had been detained.

An eyewitness, Martha Made, said armed police had surrounded the huge crowd which spilled out of the Mazda grounds after attending a lunchtime meeting to demand the unbanning of the ANC.

"One officer ripped a poster calling for sanctions from the hands of a young worker and tore it in half. This angered people in the crowd who began shouting insults at the police," she said. "The police gave everyone five minutes to disperse, but opened fire after a few seconds."

Colonel Muller denied Made's allegations. He said: "A stone-throwing mob threw stones and petrol bombs at police who were forced to respond by using quirts and birdshot."

An ANC representative in Lusaka yesterday slammed the police action. "We salute the call for our unbanning and call for the immediate release of the workers and all other detainees," he said.

A United Democratic Front representative said the police action was further evidence that the state "has declared war on our people".

Late last night families of the injured men brought an urgent application for the release of the 30, claiming they were being denied medical attention.

Monwabisi Sibanda, the father of Joseph Sibanda, said in an affidavit he had received a scribbled message on toilet paper when he went to Pretoria prison to give his son a change of clothing.

"Please get lawyers to see us soon," the message from his son stated. "After being examined by a district surgeon we were all dumped in one cell. There are not enough blankets and food to go around and many of us are in great pain. We fear we won't see a doctor for some time."

A SA Prisons Service representative, Colonel Percy Hattingh, said the prisons would file answering affidavits by Monday. "We can assure relatives the detainees will receive sufficient blankets and food and will be examined by district surgeons on a regular basis," he added.

ENDS

1 June 12, 1986: The first Emergency 2 December 11, 1986: Further curbs 3 A cross marks the threat of suspension

Two years of the eroding right to know

STAFF REPORTER

THIRTY people were injured when police opened fire on hundreds of Mazda workers calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress yesterday in Pretoria.

A police representative, Colonel Adrian Muller, said his men had been attacked by "rioters with stones and petrol bombs". He said 30 injured protestors had been detained.

An eyewitness, Martha Made, said armed police had surrounded the huge crowd which spilled out of the Mazda grounds after attending a lunchtime meeting to demand the unbanning of the ANC.

"One officer ripped a poster calling for sanctions from the hands of a young worker and tore it in half. This angered people in the crowd who began shouting insults at the police," she said. "The police gave everyone five minutes to disperse, but opened fire after a few seconds."

Colonel Muller denied Made's allegations. He said: "A stone-throwing mob threw stones and petrol bombs at police who were forced to respond by using quirts and birdshot."

An ANC representative in Lusaka yesterday slammed the police action. "We salute the call for our unbanning and call for the immediate release of the workers and all other detainees," he said.

A United Democratic Front representative said the police action was further evidence that the state "has declared war on our people".

Late last night families of the injured men brought an urgent application for the release of the 30, claiming they were being denied medical attention.

Monwabisi Sibanda, the father of Joseph Sibanda, said in an affidavit he had received a scribbled message on toilet paper when he went to Pretoria prison to give his son a change of clothing.

"Please get lawyers to see us soon," the message from his son stated. "After being examined by a district surgeon we were all dumped in one cell. There are not enough blankets and food to go around and many of us are in great pain. We fear we won't see a doctor for some time."

A SA Prisons Service representative, Colonel Percy Hattingh, said the prisons would file answering affidavits by Monday. "We can assure relatives the detainees will receive sufficient blankets and food and will be examined by district surgeons on a regular basis," he added.

ENDS

IT takes a concrete example to show how three States of Emergency have eroded the public's right to know. Today, the only legal reports on police action in "unrest" are those which carry the official view.

In February last year *Weekly Mail* used a fictitious report to illustrate graphically how security legislation from 1980 to January 1987 had curtailed reports on "unrest", banned organisations and detentions. This week we update the illustration to include additional media curbs imposed in the past year. The "mock-up" report is fictitious. The lawyers' heavy pencilled lines, however, are real.

1 June 12, 1986, the first national Emergency is declared. Media regulations black out news of any "subversive statement" — a category including promoting the aims of unlawful organisations, encouraging participation in unlawful demonstrations and creating hostility between groups.

2 On December 11, additional curbs prevent unauthorised reports on police action to stop unrest. News about detention conditions is also banned and even court records of detention conditions cannot be quoted until the court has made a final ruling.

With the second national Emergency of June 11, 1987, new regulations again prohibit reports on action taken by the security forces to quell unrest. port for non-participation in the vote. Now they will not even be able to tell their members not to participate.

The regulation contains a remarkable irony: one can boycott if one participates — since the regulation allows you to call for a boycott only if you are a candidate.

● A wider definition of unrest. Previously, one could not take photographs of unrest, which was defined as, among other things, "rioting, public violence or a ... contravention of the Intimidation Act".

The new regulations replace the word "rioting" with the word "sedition", a much vaguer, more encompassing word that would no longer require the presence of violence.

This also affects reporting on security force action, which is prohibited if it follows "unrest".

● New restrictions on quoting or promoting organisations that have been restricted under the Emergency.

Previously, it was illegal to carry adverts from banned organisations (such as the African National Congress) or promote their esteem. This now also applies to the 18 organisations under Emergency restrictions.

It does not include the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

● A ban on quoting any person who is, or is commonly known as, an office-bearer or spokesman of a restricted organisation.

Although this only applies when their statements threaten public safety, this new regulation massively increases the number of people whose words are restricted.

● A wider ban on certain advertisements. Previously, a newspaper could not run an advert defending, praising or endeavouring to justify a banned organisation.

Now the ban includes such an organisation's "campaigns, projects,

Two years of the eroding right to know

1 June 12, 1986: The first Emergency **2** December 11, 1986: Further curbs **3** A cross marks the threat of suspension **4** June 10, 1988: More loopholes closed

STAFF REPORTER

THIRTY people were injured when police opened fire on hundreds of Mazda workers calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress yesterday in Pretoria.

A police representative, Colonel Adrian Muller, said his men had been attacked by "rioters with stones and petrol bombs". He said 30 injured protestors had been detained.

An eyewitness, Martha Made, said armed police had surrounded the huge crowd which spilled out of the Mazda grounds after attending a lunchtime meeting to demand the unbanning of the ANC.

"One officer ripped a poster calling for sanctions from the hands of a young worker and [illegible] in half. This angered [illegible] in the crowd who began shouting [illegible] police," she said. [illegible] officer gave everyone five minutes to [illegible] opened fire [illegible] wounds."

Colonel Muller [illegible] allegations [illegible] stone-throwing mob threw stones [illegible] was forced to respond by using quirts [illegible]

An ANC representative [illegible] condemned the police action. "We salute the call for [illegible] call for the immediate release of the workers and [illegible] he said.

A United Democratic [illegible] said the police action was further evidence that [illegible] on our people".

Late last night [illegible] filed an urgent application for the release [illegible] claiming [illegible] being denied medical attention.

Monwabisi [illegible] father of Joseph [illegible] said in an affidavit he had received a message on toilet paper when he went to Pretoria prison to give his son a change of clothing.

"Please get lawyers to see us soon," the message from his son stated. "After being examined by a district surgeon we were all dumped in one cell. There are not enough blankets and food to go around and many of us are in great pain. We fear we won't see a doctor for some time."

A SA Prisons Service representative, Colonel Percy Hattingh, said the prisons would file answering affidavits by Monday. "We can assure relatives the detainees will receive sufficient blankets and food and will be examined by district surgeons on a regular basis," he added.

ENDS

IT takes a concrete example to show how three States of Emergency have eroded the public's right to know. Today, the only legal reports on police action in "unrest" are those which carry the official view.

In February last year *Weekly Mail* used a fictitious report to illustrate graphically how security legislation from 1980 to January 1987 had curtailed reports on "unrest", banned organisations and detentions. This week we update the illustration to include additional media curbs imposed in the past year. The "mock-up" report is fictitious. The lawyers' heavy pencilled lines, however, are real.

1 June 12, 1986, the first national Emergency is declared. Media regulations black out news of any "subversive statement" — a category including promoting the aims of unlawful organisations, encouraging participation in unlawful demonstrations and creating hostility between groups.

2 On December 11, additional curbs prevent unauthorised reports on police action to stop unrest. News about detention conditions is also banned and even court records of detention conditions cannot be quoted until the court has made a final ruling.

With the second national Emergency of June 11, 1987, new regulations again prohibit reports on action taken by the security forces to quell unrest. The prohibition on any news of detention conditions is renewed. Statements encouraging the public to join the African National Congress are banned.

3 August 28, 1987, sees the introduction of regulations under which the *New Nation* and *South* are temporarily banned and eight other publications are threatened with suspension.

Our fictitious article could contribute to the closure of a publication for three months if, in the opinion of the minister of home affairs, it is part of a campaign by the newspaper to fan revolution, foment feelings of hostility towards the security forces or promote the esteem of a banned organisation.

4 June 10, 1988, the latest media regulations are introduced. They close a loophole whereby representatives of outlawed organisations could be quoted if they themselves were not restricted. Now it is illegal to publish statements of 'known officials' of banned organisations like the United Democratic Front if such statements "endanger public safety".

In addition, the regulations continue to prohibit unauthorised reports on police action to quell unrest. Moreover, newspapers still face closure under regulations similar to those of August.

Jo-Ann Bekker

Emergency regulations to introduce a register of journalists through the back door.

The new register of "news agencies" — defined widely enough to encompass hundreds of individual journalists, agencies and possibly even newspapers — is one of a number of new media restrictions that accompanied last week's declaration of a third national Emergency.

Most of the previous Emergency measures remain in force, but a number have been significantly expanded. The most important is the clampdown on "news agencies" — which represents a significant increase in the level of government control over the media.

This is, firstly, because it will establish the existence of a journalists' register. The minister need only gradually expand the definition of who must register — and already the list could involve hundreds of individuals and organisations — in order to establish a complete journalists' list.

A register would allow the government a final say in who may practise as a journalist — one of the most direct forms of media control.

Secondly, the state is increasingly turning its attention to the sources of news, as opposed to its outlets. During two years of Emergency, the government has attacked, in turn, foreign correspondents, photographers and the "alternative press". It has also prevented newspapers from publishing a wide range of "subversive statements".

The latest attack on "news agencies" signals a new focus on those who provide much of the information published in international newspapers and the local "alternative press". Not satisfied with attacking those who publish the news, the government is now trying to ensure the news does not reach them.

This follows the Emergency ban on the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which, as a human rights monitoring group, was the source of much public information on state repression.

The notion of a register of journalists, first introduced by the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the media in 1982, has always been opposed by a wide range of media organisations, both left-wing and right-wing.

The government's oft-repeated threat to introduce it has brought criticism from across the political and media spectrum. For example, the right-wing Washington-based World Press Freedom Committee has always been as adamantly opposed to registration as bodies such as the Media Workers Association of South Africa.

The Steyn Commission recommended the drawing up of a register which would exclude journalists convicted of security offences and those who broke a statutory code of conduct.

Parliament then passed an amendment to the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act incorporating these recommendations.

However, the outcry was so widespread and so vehement that the government accepted as a compromise the formation of a voluntary Media Council and the new Bill was never promulgated.

Last month, on the eve of a meeting with the Media Council, the minister of home affairs raised, once again, the spectre of a statutory code of conduct and register of journalists.

Now Botha has used Emergency regulations to introduce it. All "news agencies" have until July 30 to register — or shut down.

In terms of his Emergency Media Regulations, the minister cannot refuse to register anyone. However, he can de-register them if he forms the opinion that it is "necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the State of Emergency".

He does not have to give a hearing to anyone or give any notice of such an act. He can, in the words of the regulation, "summarily withdraw the registration" by a notice in the Government Gazette.

A de-registered journalist, or anyone who had been "involved" with a de-registered agency, can be refused further registration.

The minister has the power to order all "news agencies" to submit to him copies of all their work within 30 days of publication.

The definition of an agency is in itself a major source of controversy. It incorporates anyone involved in the "gathering, preparation, compilation, recording, processing or production of news material regarding events in the Republic and the supplying of such news material to a person for publication" either locally or abroad.

The only exemptions are people who do this on a "casual or isolated" basis or if the person is in the exclusive employ of one publication or television station. The 14 major news agencies, including Sapa and Reuter, are also excluded.

It is believed these regulations are aimed primarily at the younger, smaller news agencies that supply the "alternative press": Port Elizabeth News (Pen), East London News (elnews), Grahamstown's Albany News Agency (ANA) and Durban's Concord News.

However, according to media lawyers, the definition is so vague that it could include everyone from "the little old lady sending a few paragraphs every month to *Scope*" to a major newspaper like *The Star* which supplies news to its sister-papers in the Argus group.

Media lawyers expressed surprise that such formal and long-term measures — which involve a complex bureaucracy — are introduced in terms of Emergency regulations. "It is legally inappropriate," one said.

However, the suspicion is that the minister is using Emergency powers to try to establish the existence of a register. Once the Emergency is over, it will be easier and less controversial to introduce it into normal law.

Meanwhile, he has scope gradually to increase the number of journalists who must sign up.

Other significant additions to the media regulations are:

- A ban on encouraging people to boycott a local authority election. This is clearly aimed at stifling opposition to the October municipal elections.

Major opposition groups, such as the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, have already signalled their support for organisations that have been restricted under the Emergency.

Previously, it was illegal to carry adverts from banned organisations (such as the African National Congress) or promote their esteem. This now also applies to the 18 organisations under Emergency restrictions.

It does not include the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

- A ban on quoting any person who is, or is commonly known as, an office-bearer or spokesman of a restricted organisation.

Although this only applies when their statements threaten public safety, this new regulation massively increases the number of people whose words are restricted.

- A wider ban on certain advertisements. Previously, a newspaper could not run an advert defending, praising or endeavouring to justify a banned organisation.

Now the ban includes such an organisation's "campaigns, projects, programmes, actions or policies of violence or resistance against, or of subversion of, the authority of the state" as well as those of organisations under Emergency restriction.

- Massively increased powers to seize single editions of unregistered publications. This applies to most publications that come out less than once a month, including some of those who have had formal warnings of action against them, such as *Work in Progress* and *Saamstaan*.

All the minister or commissioner of police now has to do to seize an edition of one of these papers is to form the opinion that it is promoting or fomenting revolution.

This power also applies to film, television or sound recordings.

Major media controls that remain include the ban on a wide range of "subversive statements", "unrest" photographs and reporting of security force action and restricted meetings (*eg* all outdoor meetings). Journalists are still barred from being present at unrest situations or scenes of security force action.

The minister retains enormous powers to seize publications that contravene the regulations or suspend them if, after a lengthy process of warning, they publish material that "promotes" or "foments revolution" or "stirs up hatred" against security forces.

He has also extended the validity of warnings he issued against newspapers during the last Emergency.

This means that newspapers such as *Weekly Mail*, which have had two warnings, remain under the threat that they can be suspended from publication at short notice.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, last week released the names of a further 47 detainees held in terms of section 3 of the Emergency regulations for 30 days or longer. This brings to 18 029 the official total number of Emergency detainees held for 30 days or longer since the Emergency was declared on June 12 1986. The number held since June 11 last year, when the Emergency was re-declared, is 3 049. No figures have yet been released for the number of people detained since the third Emergency was declared last week. The government has consistently refused to release the number of detainees held for less than 30 days.

ATTACKS ON THE POLICE

According to a police affidavit in a recent court application, the cost of the "unrest" between September 1984 and the end of last year was R285-million.

In an affidavit placed before the Rand Supreme Court in response to the New Nation court action to overturn the media restrictions on the newspaper earlier this year, Brigadier Hermanus Stadler of the SA Police said that more than 880 members of the South African Police had been injured and 71 killed in unrest. He said that in 1987 alone, 750 attacks on the security forces were recorded, while more than 1 000 homes belonging to SAP members were attacked in 1986 and 1987. He said the cost of these attacks was R3-million.

Stadler said that seven police stations suffered damage amounting to more than R10 000, and that about 90 power pylons and transformers were also damaged in the attacks, at a cost of over R1,4-million. Damage to a SAP helicopter cost the police R20 000. He said that more than 3 700 SAP vehicles were attacked.

SADF FIGURES

The following facts and figures relating to the SA Defence Force were released in parliament:

- The SADF erected 14 temporary military bases at a cost of R5,7-million near "unrest" areas in the black townships.
- The SADF is training members of other African countries' defence forces, at home and further abroad. The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said it was "not considered in the interests of South Africa and the other countries concerned to divulge any information in this regard".
- Four SADF aircraft were involved in crashes up to April 16 this year, involving a total replacement cost of R6-million.
- The cost of the State's purchase of farms, comprising the missile testing range in the Southern Cape, was R27-million.
- The SADF has spent R1 228-million during the past three financial years on ammunition alone. General Magnus Malan said that in 1985/6, R163 289-million was spent on ammunition for training and R77 548-million on ammunition for combat. In 1986/7 the amounts were R298 914-million and R136 827-million, and in 1987/8 R228 389-million and R328 742-million respectively. Malan attributed the massive increase in combat ammunition expenditure this year to the SADF's involvement in the Angolan conflict.
- An estimated R705-million is spent yearly on administration, salaries, training, accommodation, ammunition, internal charges, clothing, rations, transport and medical treatment required to maintain the system of national service.
- Of the 183 chartered accountants working for the Receiver of Revenue, 181 were employed in lieu of national service.
- Asked whether the SADF would release information on SADF and SWATF troop and equipment losses in Angola, General Malan said that "information of this nature can be abused by the enemy and is therefore not divulged".

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

WILLIE HOFMEYR, 33, United Democratic Front Western Cape media officer, was detained under the Emergency regulations on April 22 this year and is still being held.

Hofmeyr became active in the Wages Commission in the early 1970s as a student at the University of Cape Town. In 1976 he was banned for five years, during which time he worked for an insurance company. He also completed a masters degree in Economic History during this period.

For the past two years he has been working with trade unions as an industrial health worker and is currently completing an LLB degree at UCT.

In May 1987 he was elected to the UDF Western Cape executive and was later appointed its media officer. In February this year he was served with an Emergency restriction order which effectively banned him from UCT.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:

Children of Resistance (Victoria Brittain and Abdu S Minty); 1988-1989 Namibia July 1988 - December 1988, January 1989 - June 1989 — calender (not stated); US World Journal vol XIV no III (US World Journal Publishing and Printing Enterprises, New York); Directory of Dominatrixes vol 1 no 1 (J Jordan Associated Ltd, New York); Mistress Antoinette's Kinky Contracts vol 4 no 4 (Eros Publishing Co, Inc, Wilmington); Ms Spikes vol 1 no 1 Leather Spikes and Lust (Holly Publications Inc, North Hollywood); Super Bitch vol 1 no 2 (HOM Inc, California); All American Man, December 1989 (Liberation Publications Inc, Los Angeles, USA); Scope June 3 1988 (Republican Press, Mobeni, Durban).

New disinformation order

SA's press restrictions are in line with those in countries like Israel, Singapore, Nicaragua and the Soviet Union. The common basis is the decision that no coverage gives the best of all worlds — a position foreshadowed some years ago by the Unesco bureaucrats.

When Unesco's New World Information Order withered and died a few years ago, few tears were shed. They should be flowing again now, however, for the cause of press freedom is under renewed assault, not from one source but from many.

It is hard to draw a line between countries as diverse as SA, Singapore, Nicaragua, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, the Soviet Union and even Britain, which comprise a non-exclusive list of nations in which press freedoms have been infringed recently (a comprehensive survey, *Information, Freedom and Censorship*, just published by Longman, lists the rest).

There cannot be any unholy conspiracy between them. But the common thread remains not just an age-old determination on the part of officialdom to control and influence what appears in the respective domestic media but also what the international press discloses. It is in this second area that new concerns apply.

The two are obviously connected. A prime source for every foreign correspondent is the local media; this applies as much in Washington, where small foreign bureaus cannot compete with the reporting strength of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and so on, as it does in Moscow today, where news is made through the columns of *Pravda* and other Soviet publications.

The good foreign correspondent should not merely shift and report what is in the indigenous media; it is much more important to be able to read between the lines. If, however, the domestic source is muzzled, then the work of the foreign correspondent becomes that much more difficult, though certainly not impossible.

Two recent examples demonstrate this. In SA, a principle purpose of the censorship in effect over the last two years has been quite simply to remove the reporting of unrest in the townships from foreign television screens. This has been achieved by circumscribing a prime source, the black and white domestic media, and by censoring the foreign press, both formally and more subtly, by encouraging what amounts to self-censorship.

In the short term, this approach has had some success. At a conference on press freedom in SA held in London earlier this year, US television executives conceded that they were covering SA less fully than in the past and believed that the decline in public protest in the US against the South African regime could be ascribed to that fact.

Similarly Israel, whose domestic press has always been conspiciously free and vigorous, was also much exercised by reporting, in the US in particular, of unrest in the Occupied Territories. Its response has mirrored that of SA and has included closure of dissident publications and suspending the credentials of two American reporters. It has been less successful in putting a lid on coverage, in good measure because the Israeli press fought hard against control. Across the river, Jordan, hitherto relatively relaxed towards domestic and foreign reporting, has also cracked down on both.

SA and Israel are not alone in the belief that controlling what appears on foreign television, and, to a lesser extent, in the press, helps determine policy. In so doing they subscribe to the view, long fashionable in rightwing circles, that the American media "lost" the Vietnam war because television coverage in the US showed that American forces were winning it. This is surely a gross simplification. The war was lost not in the newsrooms and the salons of Washington but in the paddy fields and jungles of Vietnam. But it is easy to be wise after the event.

There are, of course, other ways of influencing or controlling the media. The pattern of reporting from war zones or from difficult-to-reach areas is very much dictated by access, control over which varies. Depending on the state of the war, both Iran and Iraq routinely invite the foreign media to view evidence of their latest triumphs or of atrocities committed by the other side. So did the Sandinistas and Contras in Nicaragua.

Political freebies

The relatively high reputation enjoyed by Jonas Savimbi of Unita in the US owes a lot to some skilfully handled press trips, a fact which, belatedly, the Angolan regime has recognised. So, in its conflict with Renamo, has the regime in Mozambique. The best information coming out of Ethiopia is provided not by the government in Addis Ababa, but courtesy of the Eritrean Liberation Front.

The technique is in essence no different from furnishing motoring journalists with free cars and travel writers with free trips. The task for the responsible media is to strike the right balance between the need to inform objectively and a hunger for information whatever the source. This balance can be fairly struck, though it is hard to make the case that it is in every instance.

Certainly the government of Singapore is one which remains sceptical on this score, to the point that it really does appear to be breaking new ground in its running confrontation with the foreign press. It has amended its Newspapers and Printing Presses Act of 1974 to empower the relevant government minister to take action if he finds that a foreign publication is "engaging in the domestic politics of Singapore." Further, the Singapore government has argued — and its courts have so far agreed — that the minister has great powers of discretion over what constitutes interference.

PM Lee Kuan Yew doubtless has his own good reasons for taking the position he has. His attitude, though, is indelibly reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's famous slogan when he was fighting against the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties a decade ago: "We built it, we paid for it, it's ours." In other words, the message to the foreign press is that if you want to work in my territory, you play by my rules.

To an extent, there is nothing new in this. Countries have thrown out foreign correspondents for lots of reasons, including espionage and other breaches of domestic law and it is impossible to maintain that in each and every case the journalist was without sin. What does appear to be different is that Singapore, along with, perhaps, neighbouring Malaysia, is effectively legalising its prospective policies and applying them to the foreign media.

In Britain, formal and informal restrictions — the Official Secrets Act, the law of libel — do weigh mightily on the domestic media, but not so much on resident foreign reporters. Even the heavy hand of South African officialdom gives the foreign correspondent a degree of licence to determine whether or not a particular story does in fact break the censorship code.

This probably does deter some coverage in places like SA, but in practice, if not in principle, it is better to have half a loaf than none at all. Whatever the fine distinctions, in their respective ways SA, Singapore and too many other nations of contrasting political stripes seem to have concluded that it is better to have no coverage than that which is critical or unfavourable.

That, in sum, is what the Unesco bureaucrats were after, no matter how the notion was dressed up. The Western press is not perfect by a long chalk, but it has to fight for its rights to do the best it can. ■

PRESS CENSORSHIP

New disinformation order

When Unesco's New World Information Order withered and died a few years ago, few tears were shed. They should be flowing again now, however, for the cause of press freedom is under renewed assault, not from one source but from many.

It is hard to draw a line between countries as diverse as SA, Singapore, Nicaragua, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, the Soviet Union and even Britain, which comprise a non-exclusive list of nations in which press freedoms have been infringed recently (a comprehensive survey, *Information, Freedom and Censorship*, just published by Longman, lists the rest).

SA's press restrictions are in line with those in countries like Israel, Singapore, Nicaragua and the Soviet Union. The common basis is the decision that no coverage gives the best of all worlds — a position foreshadowed some years ago by the Unesco bureaucrats.

There cannot be any unholy conspiracy between them. But the common thread remains not just an age-old determination on the part of officialdom to control and influence what appears in the respective domestic media but also what the international press discloses. It is in this second area that new concerns apply.

The two are obviously connected. A prime source for every foreign correspondent is the local media; this applies as much in Washington, where small foreign bureaus cannot compete with the reporting strength of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and so on, as it does in Moscow today, where news is made through the columns of *Pravda*

and other Soviet publications.

The good foreign correspondent should not merely shift and report what is in the indigenous media; it is much more important to be able to read between the lines. If, however, the domestic source is muzzled, then the work of the foreign correspondent becomes that much more difficult, though certainly not impossible.

Two recent examples demonstrate this. In SA, a principle purpose of the censorship in effect over the last two years has been quite simply to remove the reporting of unrest in the townships from foreign television screens. This has been achieved by circumscribing a prime source, the black and white domestic media, and by censoring the foreign press, both formally and more subtly, by encouraging what amounts to self-censorship.

In the short term, this approach has had some success. At a conference on press freedom in SA held in London earlier this year, US television executives conceded that they were covering SA less fully than in the past and believed that the decline in public protest in the US against the South African regime could be ascribed to that fact.

Similarly Israel, whose domestic press has always been conspiciously free and vigorous, was also much exercised by reporting, in the US in particular, of unrest in the Occupied Territories. Its response has mirrored that of SA and has included closure of dissident publications and suspending the credentials of two American reporters. It has been less successful in putting a lid on coverage, in good measure because the Israeli press fought hard against control. Across the river, Jordan, hitherto relatively relaxed towards domestic and foreign reporting, has also cracked down on both.

SA and Israel are not alone in the belief that controlling what appears on foreign television, and, to a lesser extent, in the press, helps determine policy. In so doing they subscribe to the view, long fashionable in rightwing circles, that the American media "lost" the Vietnam war because television coverage in the US showed that American forces were winning it. This is surely a gross simplification. The war was lost not in the newsrooms and the salons of Washington but in the paddy fields and jungles of Vietnam. But it is easy to be wise after the event.

There are, of course, other ways of influencing or controlling the media. The pattern of reporting from war zones or from difficult-to-reach areas is very much dictated by access, control over which varies. Depending on the state of the war, both Iran and Iraq routinely invite the foreign media to view evidence of their latest triumphs or of atrocities committed by the other side. So did the Sandinistas and Contras in Nicaragua.

Political freebies

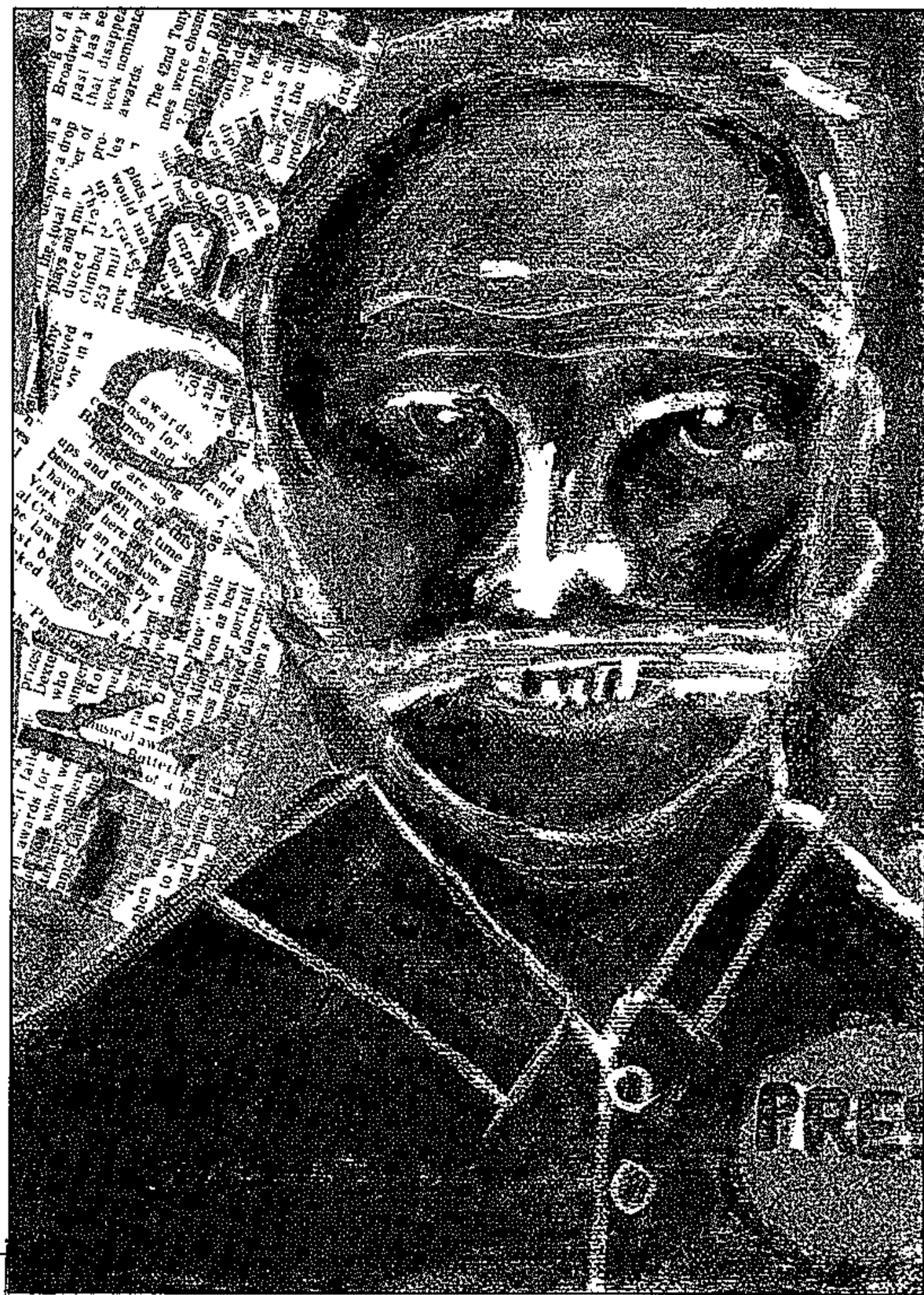
The relatively high reputation enjoyed by Jonas Savimbi of Unita in the US owes a lot to some skilfully handled press trips, a fact which, belatedly, the Angolan regime has recognised. So, in its conflict with Renamo, has the regime in Mozambique. The best information coming out of Ethiopia is provided not by the government in Addis Ababa, but courtesy of the Eritrean Liberation Front.

The technique is in essence no different from furnishing motoring journalists with free cars and travel writers with free trips. The task for the responsible media is to strike the right balance between the need to inform objectively and a hunger for information whatever the source. This balance can be fairly struck, though it is hard to make the case that it is in every instance.

Certainly the government of Singapore is one which remains sceptical on this score, to the point that it really does appear to be breaking new ground in its running confrontation with the foreign press. It has amended its Newspapers and Printing Presses Act of 1974 to empower the relevant government minister to take action if he finds that a foreign publication is "engaging in the domestic politics of Singapore." Further, the Singapore government has argued — and its courts have so far agreed — that the minister has great powers of discretion over what constitutes interference.

PM Lee Kuan Yew doubtless has his own good reasons for taking the position he has. His attitude, though, is indelibly reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's famous slogan when he was fighting against the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties a decade ago: "We built it, we paid for it, it's ours." In other words, the message to the foreign press is that if you want to work in my territory, you play by my rules.

To an extent, there is nothing new in this. Countries have thrown out foreign correspondents for lots of reasons, including espionage and other breaches of domestic law and it is impossible to maintain that in each and every case the journalist was without sin. What does appear to be different is that Singapore, along with, perhaps, neighbouring Malaysia, is effectively legalising its prospective policies and applying them to the foreign media.



In Britain, formal and informal restrictions — the Official Secrets Act, the law of libel — do weigh mightily on the domestic media, but not so much on resident foreign reporters. Even the heavy hand of South African officialdom gives the foreign correspondent a degree of licence to determine whether or not a particular story does in fact break the censorship code.

This probably does deter some coverage in places like SA, but in practice, if not in principle, it is better to have half a loaf than none at all. Whatever the fine distinctions, in their respective ways SA, Singapore and too many other nations of contrasting political stripes seem to have concluded that it is better to have no coverage than that which is critical or unfavourable.

That, in sum, is what the Unesco bureaucrats were after, no matter how the notion was dressed up. The Western press is not perfect by a long chalk, but it has to fight for its rights to do the best it can. ■

Lawyers express their outrage

PAT DEVEREAUX

Lawyers' groupings this week threw their weight behind the widespread outrage at the prolonging of the state of emergency and imposition of further sweeping media restrictions. (327)

Criticising the Government's move, the Association of Law Societies of South Africa said in a statement: "The fact that it has been deemed necessary in the interests of public security to prolong the State of emergency in more stringent terms than before, for a further 12 months, will be viewed by every South African citizen and hence every lawyer, with disappointment and regret.

"With disappointment — because it means that we have been served with a notice that the process of peaceful political and social reform, which we are all so eager to encourage, continues to be impeded. (327)

"With regret — because restoration of the rule of law, which is surely the resolve of every lawyer, and not a deroga tion therefrom, will be the ultimate safeguard of every citizen's rights".

Last week the Saturday Star a quoted a Mr Ken Owen, on the new media emergency regulations, believing him to be the same Mr Owen who is editor of *Business Day*.

Unfortunately the wrong Mr Ken Owen was contacted and his brief quote attributed to Editor Owen. S

The Saturday Star apologises to both Mr Owens for the mix-up.

Reacting to the reimposition of the State of emergency, Chairman of the Witwatersrand region

● To Page 2.

Lawyers slam clamps

(327) ● FROM PAGE 1. Star 18/6/88

of Lawyers' for Human Rights Mr Peter Leon said yesterday: "It is extremely regrettable. The most worrying aspect is that what was seen as a temporary expedient in 1985 is now the law of the land.

"The media regulations are more sweeping and encroach on press freedom giving the Government more censorship powers. What is happening here is what happened in Rhodesia — the state of emergency was continually extended."

Further condemnation of the renewed state of emergency came from Chairman of the Black Lawyers Association, Mr Keith Kunene, who said: "The latest media regulations make the press almost redundant. The truth can no longer be published.

"The emergency regulations make a mockery of democracy — the police are now the investigators and judges and answerable to no one. And this is all in the name of security."

De'Ath inquest to be reopened

Cape Times 18/6/88

Supreme Court Reporter

THE inquest into the death of ITN cameraman Mr George De'Ath will be reopened following the setting aside yesterday of a decision by the inquest magistrate not to hear oral evidence from Mr Andile Fosi, Mr De'Ath's soundman at the time of his death.

The judgment handed down by Miss Justice Leonora van den Heever — Mr Justice Berman concurring — also directed that the inquest magistrate, Mr W J P Marais, or any other magistrate who may hear the inquest, call Mr Fosi to give oral evidence.

Mr Marais was also ordered to pay the costs.

In his finding on August 13 last year, Mr Marais found that Mr De'Ath had died on June 14, 1986, and that his death was caused by "a head injury and the consequences thereof".

Where he was required to determine whether the death was brought about by any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person, Mr Marais had found: "Yes — the deceased was extensively assaulted by a person or persons unknown to the state."

Mr Gordon Ian Rushton, the attorney acting for Mrs Tiley (Mr De'Ath's sister), said in an affidavit that the film made by Mr De'Ath before the fatal assault — which had been in police custody for some time — had a "freeze frame" superimposed from a certain point.

Evidence was that Mr De'Ath filmed "to the very last" and the disappearance of the last minutes of the film called for an explanation, Mr Rushton said.

A video film (with soundtrack) prepared by Mr De'Ath, as well as others made by the South African Police Video Unit and other television networks of events in Crossroads that day, were available to the magistrate.

Mr Marais viewed only the police tape.

Professor L S Smith, formerly chief State Pathologist and Professor of Forensic Medicine at UCT, had concluded that oral evidence of the circumstances of Mr De'Ath's death could be important.

Miss Justice Van den Heever said there could be not be a "full, fair, public inquiry on incomplete or conflicting affidavit evidence as to relevant facts".

It was true that the identity of Mr De'Ath's attackers could not be determined from the documents before Mr Marais, but had Mr Fosi been questioned, particularly about available video material relating to people — particularly vigilantes — in the vicinity shortly before the attack, it was certainly "not beyond the bounds of reasonable possibility that he would be able to point out one or more of the people he is confident of being able to identify".

Mr J J Gauntlett, instructed by Findlay and Tait, appeared for Mrs Tiley. Mr P B Hodes SC, assisted by Mr W J Louw and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for Mr Marais.

Board bans beermugs and Beau Brummel's poster

Star 18/5/88

327

THE PUBLICATIONS Appeal Board has lifted the ban on "Gek Nr 50" produced by Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Johannesburg, the Directorate of Publications announced yesterday.

A poster produced by Beau Brummel, "Beau Valley Country Club: SA's World Famous Naturist Resort," and a beer mug with zodiac signs and love positions were among this week's list of publications/objects banned for distribution.

Another mug with a drawing of six nude male bottoms and the words "Hung Jury" on it was also banned.

Steve Biko's "No Fears Expressed," was declared not undesirable provided it was only distributed by bookshops, libraries and book distributors.

"Youth Express" (Grassroots Publications, Rylands Estate) was declared not undesirable provided it was not sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 16 and was only distributed by bookshops, libraries and book distributors.

Joseph Stalin's "Leninism," and "Social Change and Development, number 19, 1988" (Memorial Co-operative Society, Harare), were declared not undesirable subject to the condition that these publications were confined and "made available in the normal manner in legal deposit and university libraries only".

A Publications Committee has, on review, passed Guy Bellamy's "The Secret Lemonade Drinker".

A committee also decided that "Socialist Organiser No 354, 5 May 1988" published by Socialist Organiser, London was not undesirable but that the import of all publications by this publisher was prohibited.

The Directorate has, however, granted exemption from a section of the Act to persons who wish to import and possess it.

During the past week 24 films were submitted for examination of which seven were unconditionally and 12 conditionally approved.

Five films, "Dagmar and Co," "Deadly Stranger," "Foreplay" (video distribution), "Maximum Thrust" (Waldo Warren) and "Sex Education Part 1: Sexual Positions," were rejected.

From yesterday it was an offence to possess the following publications/T-shirts, posters and it is in the interest of persons who possess them to destroy them immediately unless they have a permit. (Name of author/producer in brackets):

Swapo of Namibia, Support Swapo work and aim for freedom — sticker (not stated).

Save the 32, Give them freedom for life, don't let them hang — poster (Sayco).

The memoirs of Dolly Morton and Three Times a Woman (both produced by W H Allen and Co PLC, London).

August 26, 20 years of armed liberation struggle in Namibia — poster (not stated).

Namibia youth official bulletin of the Swapo youth league, November-December 1983 (not stated).

Inqaba ya basebenzi issue No 24/25 October 1987 (Inqaba Ya Basebenzi, London).

70th Happy Birthday CDE President, The justness of our cause is unchallenged — poster (not stated).

Build and Defend Socialism (not stated).

A World to Win 1986/7 and 1987/9 (both produced by BCM World to Win, London).

Hammer and sickle flag with Russian colours — flag (not stated).

Non-stop Sex Swop/Neighbourly Lust (E Rexsean/Alice Q Cumber).

Sex-filled Days/Up all Night (Marsh Mallows/Barbie Dahl).

Tranz No 18 (Swish Publications Ltd, London).

CCCP: Workers of the World Unite — flag (not stated).

T-shirt with words "Undermine their pompous authority" (not stated).

T-shirt with letters CCCP (not stated).

T-shirt with soldier holding gun and Russian slogan (not stated).

Der Exhibitionist (Olympia Press Deutchland GmbH and Co Frankfurt).

Das Sexkofferchen (Sol-Verlags-GmbH).

Teuflische Lust Sexer Nr 74, and Sex-Nachte in El-Kahira Sexer Nr 19 (both produced by Franz Decker Verlag Nachf GmbH, Stuttgart).

Schamlos (Catherine de Premonville).

Die Puppen von Nurnberg (Herberg Hauser).

Die Liebe, Mein Herr (Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, Hamburg).

Poster 2779 High life with cigarette box and daggaleaf thereon — poster (not stated).

2311 Mati Klarwein Annonciation — poster (Wizard and Genius — Ideal — decor AG 8618 Oetwilam See/Zurich).

Alaska Momma Boris 1987 — poster (Verkerke Copyright and Licensing GmbH Nederlands).

Azania Frontline No 22 April/May 1988 (Azania Frontline, London).

Namibia at war, no justice no peace — postcard (not stated).

Proof: God's chosen are white adamic Christians "Verboten" (Thomas E O'Brien). — Sapa.

704

NEW BILL EASES FOREIGN FUNDING

By LESTER VENTER

THE Government is considering easing up on its plan to cut off foreign funds destined for political groups in SA.

An amended Bill is now expected whereby political organisations that get money from overseas will have to disclose their sources, and submit to compulsory audits on the use of the funds.

The Government provoked an outcry recently when it published its Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill — which proposed a blanket ban on foreign funds for political purposes in SA.

In the face of the outcry, the Government referred the Bill to a special parliamentary committee for further investigation.

The new version of the law could come back to the three Houses of Parliament for consideration this year. The measure in its less stringent form is expected to be passed by all three.

The purpose of audits would be to prevent the exploitation of a present loophole whereby unrestricted organisations receive funds, then pass them on to so-called "affected" or restricted organisations that in terms of their restrictions may not receive overseas money.

(327) Star 19/6/87

PFP 'deplores' new steps against media

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE federal executive of the PFP yesterday "deplored" the government's latest emergency regulations on the media, saying they drew a "cloak of secrecy" over information vital to citizens.

In a statement issued after its meeting at the weekend, the chairman of the federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said: "It is concerned that these regulations further extend the grip of the authorities on the media in South Africa and that this stranglehold on the public's right to know appears to have become a permanent feature of government.

"South Africans are denied much of the information vital to citizens of a democracy, a situation further augmented by the constant barrage of bias and propaganda by SATV and the SABC."

The regulations were not aimed at preventing inaccurate reporting, but simply at empowering the minister to make arbitrary decisions, he said.

"There is little doubt that the application of these regulations will do more to damage democratic values than to any evils they are designed to curtail.

"The PFP is particularly concerned about the cloak of secrecy which will now, to an increasing extent, be drawn over the actions of the security police and the treatment of detainees."

Mr Andrew said the party believed that "disturbing revelations of abuses" may in future never come to light except through court action, and that PFP members who had played a significant role in exposing some of these abuses would "find it more difficult to do this very important work".

New govt curb on foreign media

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Civil servants have been instructed not to speak to unaccredited foreign journalists to counteract what a government circular described as "one-sided vitriolic propaganda against SA".

This was disclosed in a government document leaked to the Weekly Mail last week.

Bureau of Information Chief Mr Dave Steward yesterday confirmed that the document was circulated by the Interdepartmental Liaison Forum (ILF) to heads of departments.

Mr Steward described the document as a guideline for "unsuspecting representatives of government departments" in the event of being approached by foreign media.

Mr Steward said the instruction was necessitated by the increasing numbers of foreign press and television journalists who had entered the republic under "false pretences" in order to produce vitriolic and one-sided propaganda against SA such as the recent BBC programme "Suffer the Children".

The document was prompted by a letter to all director-generals from the former Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

The objective of the instruction was to control such "unethical practices", the document says.

Ex-convict may be deported

Cape Times 20/6/88

Political Staff

A DECISION on the possible deportation to Venda of former Robben Island prisoner Mr Alson Tshitahe, 33, who was released after a 10-year sentence on Saturday, is expected today.

Mr Tshitahe was freed on Saturday afternoon from Caledon Square police station after being served with a deportation order at Cape Town harbour following his release that morning from Robben Island.

Mr Tshitahe was convicted in Pietersburg in 1978 for sabotage.

He said yesterday that when he was jailed he was a South African citizen and he did not see how he could be deprived of his citizenship.

The deportation order against another former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Sandi Sijake, also released on Saturday, has been stayed pending a court application.

3 Robben Island prisoners freed

CM Trib 20/6/88

By BARRY STREEK

327

THREE men who were jailed in the much-publicized Moumbaris terrorism trial in 1973 were freed from Robben Island at the weekend.

The three men — Mr Theophilus Cholo, 63, Mr Maqina Mpanza, 57, and Mr Sandi Sijaka, 43 — were jailed for 15 years after a Supreme Court trial in Pretoria in which two foreigners, Mr Alexander Moumbaris, an Australian citizen, and Mr John Hosey, an Irishman, were also jailed.

Mr Moumbaris escaped from the maximum-security wing of Pretoria Central Prison in 1979 along with three other white political prisoners.

He had been given a 12-year sentence.

Mr Cholo, Mr Mpanza and Mr Sijaka were convicted on June 20, 1973 on 19 counts of terrorism, including charges of providing assistance to the ANC and furthering the aims of a banned organization.

Received training abroad

All three had received training in the Soviet Union. Mr Cholo also received training in China and Mr Sijake in Egypt.

Mr Mpanza was involved in skirmishes near Wankie with the Rhodesian security forces in 1967.

All three, and a fourth Robben Island prisoner, Mr Alson Tshitahe, who was also released on Saturday, refused to sign a pledge renouncing violence while in prison.

Mr Sijaka said yesterday: "If anyone was to foreswear violence, it should be the exponents of apartheid."

All three men are planning to remain in South Africa.

Editor and publisher of book to appear in court

(327)

Star 20/6/88

By Janet Heard

The editor and publisher of the book, "The Fifties People in South Africa", are to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Monday on charges of contravening the Prisons Act.

Mr Jurgen Schadeberg (editor) and Mr Jim Bailey (publisher) face charges under the Prisons Act for publishing six photographs of prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada.

They appeared in court a month ago, but the case was postponed until July 4.

Mr Schadeberg said today the book itself was not affected, only the publisher and editor.

The book focuses on the activities of the political leaders, the journalists, the gangsters and the sportsmen who made *Drum* magazine popular during the '50s.

It includes 400 photographs taken from Bailey's African Photo Archives, and the text is original.

Mr Schadeberg said the book was approved by the Publications Control Directorate when it was published in November 1987. So far it had sold about 1 000 copies in South Arica.

COMMENT

Press curbs

MOST comment on the latest restrictions on the Press, including the requirement for independent correspondents (known as "stringers") to seek registration by the state, assumes government is all-powerful, sinister, and effective in suppressing information. In fact, its regulations are proof of ignorance, provincialism, and a blundering ineptitude.

The real problem with President Botha and his close advisers is the narrowness of the information base from which they operate, their incapacity to comprehend the media as a phenomenon of the 20th century, and their lack of education. They just don't know how the world out there operates.

The deplorable image of South Africa which has been created abroad has not been the work of the odd "stringer" but of some of the best and most experienced news-gathering staff in the world — men and women with working experience in Moscow, Poland, Beijing, Bonn, and similar centres. Once upon a time the South African Press used to lead the foreign Press in reporting on events in South Africa; today, it lags far behind.

Nor have the curbs on news coverage had a beneficial effect abroad. Indeed, the reverse is often true. Japanese television, denied access to scenes of unrest, has been using clips from Sir Richard Attenborough's film, "Cry Freedom", to fill out its news broadcasts. The BBC, denied access, has resorted to making programmes — properly described, in our view, as journalistic rubbish — which purport to disclose the torture of children. We are worse off as a result of the curbs.

Government goes astray because it allows itself to be guided by the superficial, and often nonsensical, theories of revolution which emanate from the rural colleges that, in this country, pass for universities. The most revolutionary idea ever produced is the idea of justice, and if government does not grasp that point, it wastes its time poring over Mao's Little Red Book.

All this, however, is peripheral. The essential point of any debate on public information or public media is credibility. A government which has established, as ours has done, a reputation for deceit, for concealing the facts, for suppressing the truth, for behaving in ways that do not bear examination in public, for having poor moral standards, for misnaming legislation in order to conceal its true purpose, for resorting to propaganda, for displacing editors who displease it, for trying to buy favourable publicity abroad, and for bullying the Press at home, is not readily believed.

The proposal to force some journalists to register will undermine the credibility of the rest. If government persists with this folly, it will soon have no way at all to communicate with either its own population or the outside world. At that point, it will have lost the ability to govern except by brute force, and possibly also the ability to conduct foreign relations.

ARGUS 21/6/88

Bomb blast, shootout at Gaborone: Two injured

GABORONE. — Two policemen were seriously injured in a shootout and a bakkie-bomb explosion rocked the Botswana capital today.

The shootout was at Kgale Siding, about six kilomtres south of Gaborone.

According to witnesses, a number of people were arrested when Botswana Defence Force members rushed to the scene.

The shootout took place near the St Joseph's College and the injured police officers were on a routine patrol of the area.

They were taken to Princess Marina Hospital for emergency surgery.

The blast was at 6.05am, police said.

The explosives were attached to a bakkie belonging to Field Services parked in the yard of an employee, Mr Allison Seeketso. He is a Batswana.

Mr Seeketso and his family were not injured.

The Assistant-Commissioner of Police, a Mr Molefe, confirmed the blast and the shootout. Police and army officers are trying to piece together details. — Sapa.

Police say ANC is a threat to law and order

POLICE have arrested 23 alleged ANC members in the past three months in connection with 16 incidents, including the Roodepoort lunch-hour blast which killed four people on June 3.

Details of the security forces' latest successes were released late yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, after President P W Botha addressed a joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament.

Mr Botha again appealed to the ANC to renounce violence and join in the search for peaceful solutions.

Referring to the arrests, Mr Botha said some of those detained had already disclosed information while several weapons and documents had been seized.

Black in cabinet

Among the 16 incidents connected to the arrests were the murder of three Atteridgeville policemen on March 18, a limpet-mine explosion at the Johannesburg city hall on April 15, another blast at a cinema complex in Pretoria on April 15 and two limpet-mine explosions in Pretoria on May 25, one of which injured four women.

In his wide-ranging "state of the nation" address to the joint sitting, Mr Botha also said that legislation to bring a black into the cabinet — to take control of black education — will be tabled in Parliament in August.

He said South Africa was reconsidering its financial aid to Namibia and that the build-up of Cuban troops in southern Angola was "provocative", and warned of an intensified onslaught against South Africa in the second half of this year.

He repeated his offer to security prisoners and those who had left South Africa for whatever reason to "reject and abandon violence".

"Turn your backs on godless Marxism and destructive radicalism. If you prove your sincerity in this regard, you will find the government's approach reasonable."

If the ANC wished to talk, he said, it should lay down its arms, cease its acts of terrorism and cut its ties with international communism.

"Then they may return to South Africa to participate in the peaceful search for solutions, to build the economy and improve social conditions."

The Cuban build-up in southern Angola seriously disturbed the balance of forces in the area and it could threaten the security of the entire region.

"Necessary precautions" would be taken in this regard, however.

Mr Botha said the government had no alternative but to renew the state of emergency, even though this was not its wish.

It was the government's hope that the situation would change to allow the lifting of the emergency — and serious consideration had been given to lifting it before its reimposition earlier

To page 4

From page 1

this month.

However the government's commitment to orderly development and broadening of democracy could not be promoted in conditions of disorderliness, subversion and violence, he said.

"The emergency measures of the past two years have contributed, as far as the general security situation is concerned, towards the creation of a condition of greater stability within the country.

"Even radical and revolutionary groups have had to concede openly they have suffered severe setbacks," Mr Botha said.

In spite of the visible decline in unrest-related incidents, there was still a high underlying climate of revolution which could lead to an escalation of unrest if the emergency were to be lifted now.

In addition, there was "adequate proof" that radicals and revolutionaries were planning an intensified onslaught in the second half of 1988 and which was to include "hard intimidation" and violence designed, among other things, to disrupt the countrywide municipal elections in October.

"These forces fear the orderly development of democracy in South Africa."

Mr Botha said the changed circumstances brought about by the emergency measures, which restricted the capability of radicals for mass manipulation and intimidation, had led to new methods being applied to change the status quo and influence the course of the democratic process.

"The ANC/SACP alliance has decided to adapt its tactics for pursuing the 'struggle' without relinquishing violence."

This new dimension of the onslaught was directed at gaining greater political acceptability for the revolutionary forces at home and abroad.

"Efforts are to be directed, in particular, at trying to unite the interests of various internal groups in an extra-parliamentary process to establish an alternative movement for radical political change," Mr Botha said. — Political Correspondent and Sapa

Cape Times 21/6/88

387

Louise Glenton, who help run the Operation Snowball collection depot in Kew, sit in an empty room which they hope will soon be filled with blankets and clothes.

Media curbs demo: journalists arrested

Star 22/6/88

CAPE TOWN — Three Cape Town journalists and a graphics artist holding placards to protest against media curbs were arrested outside their offices in St George's Street yesterday and charged.

A reporter from *The Argus*, Mr Robert Houwing, *Cape Times* reporters Mr Chris Steyn and Mr Peter Dennehy and graphics artist Ms Tina Coombes were warned to appear in court today. — Sapa.

Freelances slate new regulations

By Duncan Guy (327)

Star 22/6/88

Freelance journalists have expressed disgust at the Government's latest emergency regulations which includes the registration of freelance journalists and news agencies.

International correspondent Mr Mervyn Rees said yesterday that news of South Africa would be read with little credibility overseas.

"There is already a great deal of wariness about accepting copy from South African journalists or correspondents based here because of the media restrictions."

Mr Franz Kruger of East London said it was a great worry that the new restrictions seemed to have been passed unnoticed by many South Africans.

"Once a journalist is struck off the register they may no longer practise."

Another international correspondent, Mr Tony Weaver of Cape Town, said the definition of a "news agency" appeared to be hopelessly vague and that such registration would be "the end for journalism".

Sixty freelance journalists who met last week under the auspices of the Anti-Censorship Action Group decided not to register with the Minister of Home Affairs unless all representations in respect of any challenges to this provision have been exhausted.

Spokesman Miss Pat Sidley said yesterday that attorneys had been briefed to check whether the registration issue could be declared *ultra vires*.

Police release detained editor after five days

Star 22/6/88

WINDHOEK — The police have released Miss Gwen Lister, editor of the *Namibian* newspaper, a staff member said.

Miss Lister was detained last Friday in terms of security Proclamation AG 9, which provides for detention without trial for renewable periods of up to 30 days.

The staff member said Miss Lister was freed at about 3.15 pm yesterday. — Sapa.

22/6/88

Court dispute over tape

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE inquest into the death of 12 Mamelodi unrest victims in 1985 was abruptly adjourned yesterday when counsel for the families disagreed with the magistrate's ruling on a video tape recording as evidence.

The objection by advocate Morris Baslian for the families followed the showing in court of video tapes demonstrating the roles of police witness Brigadier Hertzog Lerm, Mamelodi mayor Zikhali Ndlazi and thousands of protesters and members of the police and SADF.

Baslian disagreed with magistrate P J Pretorius's ruling that the crowd appeared peaceful at first and that it later became agressive.

He also argued the crowd outside the court yielded to the police command to leave.

Under cross-examination by Baslian, Lerm, who was in charge of the police in Mamelodi on November 21, 1985, when the 12 people died, testified that he may have left out important aspects in his statement taken five months after the incident.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer *Registered at the post office as a Newspaper*

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 22 JUNIE JUNE 1988 No. 11378

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1270 **22 Junie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOOD-REGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Jan Frederik Muller, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Oranje-Vrystaat, hierby die bevel in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. F. MULLER,
Afdelingskommissaris: Oranje-Vrystaat.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied", die landdrosdistrik van Bloemfontein;

"Afdelingskommissaris", die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Oranje-Vrystaat;

"begrafnis", 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Modisoatsile Stephen BOGACU;

"seremoniële byeenkoms", met betrekking tot die teraardebestelling van Modisoatsile Stephen BOGACU, enige byeenkoms wat met so 'n teraardebestelling gepaard gaan, met inbegrip van 'n roudiens, gedenkdiens of ander diens wat gehou word in verband met so 'n teraardebestelling, en ook 'n begrafnisstoet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1270 **22 June 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Jan Frederik Muller, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Orange Free State Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. F. MULLER,
Divisional Commissioner: Orange Free State.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Modisoatsile Stephen BOGACU, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means the Magisterial District of Bloemfontein;

"Divisional Commissioner" means the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Orange Free State Division;

"funeral" means a gathering held at the grave of Modisoatsile Stephen BOGACU.

4 held after press curb protest

Cape Times 22/6/88

327

THREE city journalists and a graphic artist holding placards to protest against the media curbs were yesterday arrested outside their offices in St George's Street and charged with contravening the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act.

Police took possession of four posters and took the four to Caledon Square where they were photographed and fingerprinted before being charged and released on R50 bail each.

The four — Argus reporter Robert Houwing, reporters Chris Steyn and Peter Dennehy and graphic artist Tina Coombes, all of the Cape Times — were warned to appear before a Cape Town magistrate this morning.

A lawyer for the four said the law under which they had been charged prohibited certain gatherings and demonstrations in an area of Cape Town bordered by Long, Orange, Buitengracht, Strand and Buitenkant streets.

The posters read: "No news is bad news", "Emergency — your right to know — save the press", "Free the Press" and "Stop Stoffels gags — save the Press". — Staff Reporter and Sapa

Cape Times 22/6/88 327

Tutu protesters get 'tip-offs from press'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of demonstrators, co-ordinating airport protests against Archbishop Desmond Tutu's stand on sanctions, appears to have access to privileged information about the archbishop's travel movements.

The archbishop's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said the protesters had been at airports at times when only a small group within the church knew of his travel schedule.

Mr Mark Heaton of the National Student Federation (NSF) — one of the protesting bodies — said they had a contact in a press agency who told them of Bishop Tutu's arrivals and departures.

Other bodies in the protests were Inkatha's United Workers of SA, Victims against Terrorism, the United Christian Action Group and the United Christian Conciliation Party.

Mr Allen said that while the archbishop did not question people's right to protest, he had questioned the impartiality of the police in acting against demonstrators greeting several of his arrivals and departures.

He said it seemed that if any action was taken on these occasions, it was against pro-Tutu supporters while anti-Tutu supporters seemed to have unlimited right to protest in and outside the airports.

Mr Heaton denied this. He said that on Archbishop Tutu's departure for Moscow an NSF member was arrested for handing out press statements. Police could not confirm the arrest claimed by Mr Heaton.

A revolution in the quality of, and attitude to, the law of the land

Cape Times 22/6/88

327

By GERALD GORDON QC and DENNIS DAVIS (Associate Professor of Law at the University of Cape Town)

ADRIAAN VLOK ... promptly used new powers to restrict 17 organizations.

STOFFEL BOTHA ... existing measures were "not adequate against revolution supportive propaganda".

SOUTH AFRICA inherited a magnificent tradition of freedom under law. This was based first on the writings of the great jurists of the Netherlands and secondly on the libertarian principles of English public law.

The resulting common law of our country was marked by the basic principles of natural justice and the rule of law and by a broad equitable spirit in the sense of being reasonable and impartial and protective of the fundamental rights of the individual.

We are told frequently these days by members of the Government that a revolution is round the corner and the phrase "revolutionary climate" appears in many ministerial speeches.

Whether there is any justification for this warning, what is clear is that to meet the "revolution" the Government has been subjecting South Africa to a revolution of a different kind — a revolution in the quality of, and attitude to, the law of the land.

This process has gone on ever since the Nationalists came to power in 1948 but it drastically quickened from 1985, when, following on the events succeeding the Vaal Triangle unrest, the State President, acting under the Public Safety Act of 1953, proclaimed the first of the recent emergencies. That emergency was in the event temporary and geographically limited. Some four months after its termination however a nationwide emergency was declared. That was in June 1986 and, renewed by the State President this month, it enters its third year of existence.

Supplant

The Public Safety Act empowers the State President to declare an emergency, inter alia, if in his opinion, the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to ensure the safety of the public or maintain public order. For this reason legislation provided that the State President could introduce emergency regulations effectively to supplement the ordinary legal system. With us now into the fourth emergency within four years, it is clear that the emergency regulations, rather than *supplementing* the ordinary law of the land actually *supplant* it.

When the limited emergency of 1985 was declared, the government was still engaged in persuading the international community of its genuine intention to reform. Hence it vacillated between the policies of reform and repression. But by the time P W Botha declared the first nationwide emergency on June 12, 1986, the government had finally and irrevocably set its course on the path of unrestricted repression.

As the State President said at the time, "Everything indicated that there is now, and there will be for the foreseeable future, a need for such legislation". (House of Assembly Debates 1986 Col 8110).

The 1986 Regulations were far tougher than those which had operated during the 1985 Emergency. The restrictions of press coverage were tightened, particularly in so far as press reporting of unrest areas was concerned.

Extended

In June 1987 the Emergency was renewed. The State President claimed that "the extraordinary measures adopted during the past year have resulted in a decline in the visible incidence of violence, but if such measures could no longer be utilized there would be a serious and real danger of another escalation of internal violence'.' (HAD 1987 Col 1182).

Although he claimed that the Emergency had been successful and was now being used as a deterrent rather than as an offensive weapon as had been the case in 1986, the regulations gave even greater powers to the executive. The initial period of detention which could be authorized by an ordinary member of the security forces was extended from 14 to 30 days and new media regulations were promulgated, which reintroduced clauses that previously had been set aside by the Natal Supreme Court, as well as extending the definitions of a subversive statement.

Later in the year, the media regulations were dramatically extended. Mr Stoffel Botha told Parliament that the government's existing measures were not adequate to "act effectively against the revolutionary supportive propaganda" (HAD 1987 Col 4683).

As he told the Star Conference in October of last year, what concerned the government was "the irresistible temptation to interpret the situation in such a way that the potential for conflict and drama is over-emphasized (if not invented) while the anti-drama of reform is all but ignored". (SA Digest 16.10.87). In other words, press which sought to portray genuine black opposition to the government policy, was a hindrance to government policy and needed to be removed.

In February 1988, further extensions to the regulations took place whereby the Minister of Law and Order was empowered to restrict the activities of organizations and individuals. Mr Adrian Vlok, the Minister, promptly used these new powers to restrict the activities of 17 organizations.

With the emergency extended for another year, the regulations are even more extensive than those of the previous version. All the powers which were given to the Minister of Law and Order to restrict individuals and organizations have been incorporated into the main body of the emergency. The media regulations have been tightened up with a prohibition against reporting of any speech, statement or remark of any office bearer or spokesman of an unlawful or restricted organization irrespective of whether such a person is restricted or not, "insofar as any such speech, statement or remark has the effect or is calculated to have the effect of threatening the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order or of delaying the termination of the state of emergency."

Consequently any reporting of the comments of the ANC or the UDF, for example, are restricted in terms of this measure. Similarly it becomes a subversive statement to encourage a boycott of any election, including municipal elections, save in the case of a party registered under the Electoral Act or an organization having representatives in the election.

Despite the claim that the emergency measures are working, they have been extended regularly during the past four years, and the provisions are far more repressive now than they were four years ago. The regulations are even presented in the form of acts of parliament, each having a title as one would expect of a full-blown statute: "The Security Emergency Regulations", "The Media Emergency Regulations", "The Prison Emergency Regulations", etc.

In 1986 the government introduced the so-called Le Grange Bills to amend the Public Safety Act. Before this, any House of Parliament could have vetoed the emergency regulations. As a result of the amendment, so long as one of the three Houses approves of the regulations, they will continue to operate. In other words, the House of Assembly will always be able to block any possible (however unlikely) move of its junior colleagues in the Representatives or Delegates to terminate the emergency. As a result the Emergency allows the government the possibility of operating the tricameral system and even expanding it to co-opt blacks whilst at the same time allowing the executive *absolute control* of the most critical decisions of government without any possible opposition.

Two-pronged

The emergency measures are thus a crucial component of the government's total strategy. Influenced by writings such as those of Andre Beaufre, a French general dealing with Malaysia, Algeria and Vietnam, the government is convinced that it needs to mobilize all aspects of the power structure, not merely the military, to deprive its opposition of economic, political and psychological resources.

With a two-pronged attack of politics and repression it hopes to win public support sufficient to defeat its extra-parliamentary opposition. But as three million workers showed earlier this month, four years of repression have not succeeded in this aim. Hence this 1988 emergency will be followed, no doubtly, by an even more draconian 1989 model.

"For the foreseeable future," therefore, the emergency regulations are and will remain the "ordinary law of the land".

P W Botha and democracy

Star 23/6/88

By Patrick Laurence

(327)

The theory of democracy, writes Roger Scruton in "A Dictionary of Political Thought", is immensely complicated, noting that there is little agreement on the essential elements of a democratic regime.

President Botha's 20-page speech to the joint sitting of Parliament on Monday underlines Scruton's point.

An underlying theme in the speech portrayed Mr Botha and his chief lieutenants as defenders of democracy against radical and revolutionary forces seeking its overthrow.

"South Africa finds itself in one of the most important development phases in its history, a phase in which the Government has committed itself to orderly development and broadening of democracy," he said.

The two-year-old State of Emergency and the draconian powers wielded under it are not an aberration of democracy but are necessary for its defence, according to Mr Botha.

He accused "radicals and revolutionaries" of planning to sabotage peaceful change and of preparing, in particular, to disrupt the nationwide municipal elections in October to deny the extension of "free democratic rights" to all South Africans.

In appropriating the moral high ground for himself as a democrat, Mr Botha did not acknowledge that extra-parliamentary organisations opposed to participation in the elections have been paralysed by government edict while R4,7 million has been allocated to the Bureau for Information to campaign to persuade people to take part.

The restrictions imposed on the United Democratic Front — whose title reflects its claim to represent democratic values — fly in the face of one treason trial and pre-empt the findings of another. In the first, the Maritzburg trial, 16 UDF leaders were acquitted of treason; in the second, the current "Delmas trial", the judge has not heard all the evidence and arguments by defence counsel.

Nor did Mr Botha mention that at least 40 people — according to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies — have been in detention for two years under the emergency regulations, immoblised and unable to exercise their democratic rights.

Mr Botha, however, challenged the right of his radical opponents to label themselves democrats.

President Botha . . . appropriating the high moral ground.

"It is universally known that Marxists and revolutionaries use the word 'democracy' to describe their atheist and materialist system of autocratic one-party dictatorship," he said.

"No one in the Western and democratic world would describe the Soviet system as democratic. Yet some of these same people blandly accept that the aim of the ANC-SACP alliance is to implement a true democratic and free economic system in South Africa."

The same Western democrats, judging by the declaration of leaders of the top seven industrial nations at Toronto, Canada, do not share Mr Botha's view of his Government as democratic. They urged South Africa to move away from its present system towards non-racial democracy.

But Botha implicitly rejected their advice, declaring: "One man, one vote systems have failed in Africa, particularly in plural societies. Africa is a graveyard of failed experiments with Western models and systems rammed down its throat."

The outlawed African National Congress, however, has refused to abandon its quest to present itself as a democratic alternative to Mr Botha's Government.

Its constitutional draftsmen are working on a blueprint for a "post-apartheid society".

Guidelines for the ANC's new order include a multiparty political system in a unitary state, a bill of rights to protect individuals, a mixed economy (embracing independent trade unions and the right to private property) and land reform to redress the imbalance of wealth between black and white.

The same ANC, however, defends the grenade attacks on political meetings called by black leaders who want to take part in the October elections and attended by, for the most part, older people with little formal education.

Back so soon? South surprised its reader, and others, by appearing on the Cape Town streets earlier than expected. Under new regulations, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha had to extend their suspension within ten days. South decided to come out anyway Picture: AFRAPIX

State keen to avoid past blunders

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

EMERGENCY III confirms a dreary fact of politics: Repression not only works, but develops a dynamic of its own.

Whether it is South Africa or any other turbulent society, an uprising can succeed only if it can crack the ranks of the dominant group and split it wide open. They must lose heart and become obsessed with guilt.

And a significant section of the security forces must join the fold of the resisting masses. Without that the modern state can withstand even the most determined onslaught.

The lack of an outcry among whites after the proclamation of Emergency III shows they are at one with government in rating the reassertion of control as priority number one.

The great majority of whites strongly support a regime model which is pro-"law and order" and pro-capitalist and which places white hands on all or most of the crucial levels of power.

Much has been made of the Independence Movement which sprung up last year among Afrikaners in places like Stellenbosch, Somerset West and Randburg. Its significance can easily be overrated.

Afrikaner intellectuals and students to the left of the National Party do not reject the State's regime model. They are merely impatient with the Botha government's ineptness in attracting black partners.

While the Independents and verligtes are frequently people with tortured political souls, they have no intention of breaking ranks and abandoning the regime model.

An attitude survey conducted last year in Stellenbosch shows they are more sensitive than the regular NP supporters about repression. But if it comes to the crunch of who controls this land, they back the security forces.

Emergency III knows its back is covered.

But repression also develops its own dynamic, ultimately going much beyond the original aims of those who introduced it. It is striking to compare the intentions behind the partial State of Emergency of 1985 and Emergency III of 1988.

Emergency aid

The 1985 State of Emergency was only concerned with the State's political opponents in the extra-parliamentary movement who were directly challenging state power and control. The State was little concerned about attacks on the State and apartheid on the level of ideas. "Let them speak as long as they don't organise", was the security force motto.

The State also directed all its attention to overt political movements. It worried little about street committees and civic associations (in Port Elizabeth and some other places it was even prepared for a brief period to negotiate with them). It did also not care much about the press, intellectual journals, sports bodies and churches.

The 1988 Emergency is different. In what it claims for the State it is vastly more ambitious than preceding Emergencies. In the first place it wants to eliminate as far as possible the African National Congress and some of its internal affiliates from the arena of public debate.

Secondly, it wants to regulate and structure political reporting and debate in the press. It will not tolerate an alternative press that directly challenges the legitimacy of the State. It attempts to win the "hearts and minds" of the masses by upgrading the townships and by projecting the security forces as the allies of all peace-loving people.

Thirdly, the State intends to intervene not only in the activities of explicitly political movements, but in a much wider range of organised activities.

Through the Joint Management Centres (JMCs), sports bodies, youth clubs, welfare associations and churches will come under scrutiny. Leaders will be identified. There will be rewards, financial and otherwise, for those who co-operate, penalties for those who don't.

Undoubtedly this will greatly increase the scope of activities of the security forces. It is not yet clear how exactly this will transform the political system.

In 1986 South Africa was visited by prominent American political scientist Samuel Huntington, a foremost authority on reform and revolution in modernising societies.

Hermann Giliomee

Huntington gave this warning: "After governments have gone through a period of intensive repression in which they increase the power, the functions and the entire role of their security agencies, they often end up becoming prisoners of those agencies."

In South African the civilian politicians are still in control. There is very little chance of a military man like General Magnus Malan becoming NP leader as long as the leader is chosen by the caucus. Yet it has become quite clear that security has become the dominant framework in which the state thinks and acts.

Furthermore, the security agencies rather than the civilian politicians will be in the vanguard of those conducting the new ideological debate. This debate will not revolve around the issue of apartheid. It will be a debate between a multi-racial conception of the South African nation and a non-racial conception.

The multi-racial nation will look for open or tacit support from all those who depend on the state for employment and who are drawn into the system by housing bonds and other material ties. It will enjoy massive ideological and propagandistic backing by the radio and television which would constantly boost the image of the security forces.

Developing ideas

Those proposing a non-racial, democratic South African nation, on the other hand, would have far fewer material resources. They will have to rely on universities and churches for developing their ideas and disseminating them to a larger public.

Those propagating this conception of the nation will have to realise that indulging in the sectarianisms and anti-intellectualism of the past will be quite unproductive.

Only the broadest possible united front will have any chance of rivalling, and ultimately prevailing over, the concept of a multi-racial nation sponsored by an increasingly authoritarian state.

With seizure of power not on the agenda for the foreseeable future, the extra-parliamentary movement will have to develop its strategy of negotiations. Like the trade union movement it will have to develop a clear understanding of the nature of the state and the areas in which fruitful negotiations can take place.

The South African State is now a tougher customer than its predecessor of the pre-September 1984 era. It acknowledges privately that it was caught unawares. It admits that it was badly shaken in 1986 but it is grimly determined to avoid the blunders of the past.

The extra-parliamentary movement would do well to study very carefully what it is up against.

Plan to cut inflation to 9% by 1990

MSAS 28/1/88

153

Political Correspondent

INFLATION will be the main topic of discussion at the economic conference President Botha has called in Cape Town on February 4.

A statement from his office says 165 people have accepted invitations to continue the discussion on reports submitted to the President last year by the Economic Advisory Council.

The council has prepared a plan of action to slash inflation to nine percent by 1990.

It envisages cutting the inflation rate by 2,1 percent to 14 percent this year and by 2,5 percent in the next two years.

Wage restraint, but not a total wage freeze, is proposed.

The council, whose report was issued in November last year, had two provisos for the success of the plan of action.

These were that factors beyond the country's control did not again cause the price of imported goods to rise sharply and that it was ensured that prices, wages and salaries determined by the public sector increased at a lower rate.

It rejected wage and price control, saying experience had shown that such measures were hardly able to be applied successfully.

'Society is being robbed'

Sowetan 23/6/88

327

THE Government was facing a national crisis because it tried to march out of step with humanity by demanding that only its version of the truth be known to South Africa and the world, Mr Anthony Heard, former editor of the *Cape Times*, said.

Addressing a meeting at St George's Cathedral Hall on government curbs on the press, Mr Heard warned of the loss of newspapers.

"When a divided society is robbed, even temporarily, of what papers like *South*, or *New Nation* have to say, it is gravely threatened. It is threatened because it lurches closer to settling disputes not by reason but in the streets."

People should do all they could to save the press as it was part of the process of saviong the country.

"Established press and alternative press are two sides of the same coin. They are essential parts of free expression. And there is no point in one ignoring the plight or problems of the other.

"Today's alternative newspaper could be tomorrow's established institution."

Mr Heard said he had never known a period in his professional life when the South African press had not been under severe Government attack.

There was a long casualty list of newspapers either closed directly by the Government or crumbling for varios reasons, but under Government pressure.

Civil rights lawyer Mr Essa Moosa said English and Afrikaans-speaking journalists should "stand together" to safeguard the freedom of the press.

"The aim of the media, which is presently under attack, is to present facts to substantiate truth. To suppress the media is to suppress the truth. No enlightened society can allow this to happen," he said. — Sapa.

Gagged UDF unlikely to shift on tactics

Weekly Mail Reporter

DISCUSSIONS over future strategies for extra-parliamentary groups are continuing among affiliates and sympathisers of the now-restricted United Democratic Front.

The organisation is hamstrung by the curbs placed on its activities, and observers have to rely on broad indicators to assess the directions it is likely to follow.

Although the latest Emergency regulations forbid the promotion of a boycott of the upcoming municipal elections, it seems clear that the UDF position adopted before it was restricted in February — that it would not participate as an organisation — remains.

Following the recent appearance of a "working paper" — erroneously attributed to UDF executive member Titus Mafolo in earlier reports — debates about the state of resistance organisation, the position of the government and the promotion of new alliances have been escalated.

The paper, while clearly representing the view of some UDF affiliates, was not the responsibility of any single individual.

Discussion has also focussed on the notion of mastering the skills of "secret and underground" work, although this is carefully distinguished from the "strategic adoption of underground work by the African National Congress".

According to the paper: "We (should) adopt underground methods so as to be able to continue with open, above-board mass work. The most important task is to re-organise and strengthen grassroots structures."

While accepting that "most of our mass organisations are facing the deepest crisis in the history of their existence", the paper argued that the "challenge" of the municipal elections should be used "to move to higher levels of organisation.

"We have correctly identified bodies of minority rule as a weak link in the apartheid chain. We, therefore, need to concentrate our energies into this area and frustrate the state in its attempts to rationalise our oppression.

"Objective conditions are favourable for us to move forward," the paper concluded.

Even under Emergency strictures, the debate seems certain to intensify — though it is happening increasingly covertly and becoming more difficult to report.

W/Mail 24-30/6/88

327

Pardon, Mr Botha, but do you have a licence?

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE goverment's own Bureau for Information may have to register in terms of the new State of Emergency controls over "news agencies".

So might the South African Police's Division of Public Relations; and that of the South African Prisons Service and the State Security Council.

Media law experts say the new controls over "news agencies" are so wide-ranging that probably all 40 of the liaison offices of the various sectors of the government will fall within their ambit.

So might most of the country's law firms; dozens of organisations such as the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (Cals) which circulated information for publication; public relations divisions in every large company; and individuals ranging from foreign correspondents to church members who contribute to their local parish newsletter.

There is consensus that the primary targets of the government action are the "alternative" news agencies and South Africans who work for the foreign media. Their work and livelihood are directly threatened by the regulations.

However, the definition within the Emergency regulations encompasses dozens of others.

In order to qualify as a "news agency" and fall subject to the Emergency controls one simply has to be involved in the "gathering, preparation, compilation, recording, processing or production of news material" and supplying such material for publication locally or internationally.

There are only three categories that are exempt: major news agencies that are listed in the Government Gazette (such as Sapa, Reuters and Associated Press); people who do this work in a "casual or isolated" way; and those who are in the exclusive employ of one publi-

●To PAGE 2

Do you have a licence, Mr Botha?

●From PAGE 1

cation, television or radio station.

In other words, any individual or organisation that regularly provides material for publication to more than one outlet would fall within the new controls.

Thus law firms would be affected if they informed newspapers or other publications of developments in their field. So would organisations that regularly provided statistics or opinions, such as the SAIRR's regular reports or Cals' civil rights monitoring reports.

The only proviso is that the information they circulate would have to be news material.

There is nothing to exclude a church member who sent news articles to a parish newsletter.

Similiarly, there is no exemption for government liaison offices. As long as they are supplying more than one outlet, they will have to sign up at the Department of Home Affairs.

The same would apply to almost every public relations operation, both those within organisations such as the Chamber of Mines and private PR companies.

In terms of the regulations, the minister of home affairs will not be able to refuse registration. But he will be able immediately to de-register anyone who he believes is a threat to public safety or to law and order or is delaying the termination of the Emergency.

De-registration means that agency will no longer be able to perform its work — and the minister has the sole discretion to refuse re-registration.

● A meeting of about 60 freelance journalists, news agencies and others hit by the new regulations last Friday called on all journalists not to register in terms of the new regulations until all other channels have been exhausted.

Attorneys have been briefed to investigate the possiblity that the regulations are *ultra vires* and invalid.

24-30/6/88 W/Mail (327)

APARTHEID BAROMETER

SADF RAIDS INTO NEIGHBOURING STATES

THE South African Defence Force has acknowledged 11 raids into neighbouring African states since December 1981, excluding its raids into Angola, according to press reports.

Of these raids 10 were authorised and one, where two South African soldiers were killed in Zimbabwe, was officially "unauthorised".

In these raids into Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, at least 144 people were killed and 233 injured. In the same period there were at least 11 unacknowledged attacks on the above neighbouring states in which at least 20 people were killed and five injured, according to press reports.

ASSASSINATIONS OF ANC MEMBERS

A total of 46 assassination attempts on ANC members living outside South Africa were recorded in the South African press between 1981 and April this year. This figure does not include acknowledged SADF raids into neighbouring states.

In these assassination attempts at least 42 ANC members are reported to have been killed and at least 13 injured.

In addition, according to press reports, at least 10 people have been forcibly abducted from neighbouring states to South Africa over this period.

EDUCATION APARTHEID

The following figures relating to education in South Africa (excluding the "independent homelands") were released in parliament:

- The pupil-teacher ratio in black primary schools was 39,5:1, and in black secondary schools was 31,5:1 at the end of last year.
- More than a million black children between the ages of seven and 16 were not attending school in South Africa — 21 percent of the schoolgoing population.
- A total of 2 503 black pupils were unable to gain admission to schools in 1988.
- A total of 58 schools and 14 hostels owned or under the control of the white Department of Education and Culture were either unused or being used for purposes other than education. Of the unused schools 19 are in the Cape, Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase said. He said the other schools were being let to various government departments including the police and SADF and to private companies.
- A total of 465 primary and 440 secondary school teachers were refused posts at schools run by the Department of Development Aid last year.
- A total of 63 teachers in black schools were "unable to perform their duties during the last year because they were detained by the police". Gerrit Viljoen said 38 of the teachers were from the Cape, 16 from the Northern Transvaal, five from the Orange Vaal, three from the Highveld and one from Natal.
- A total of 97 of the 368 secondary high schools falling under the Department of Education and Development Aid were "subject to unrest or disruption" last year.
- There were 320 schools controlled by the Education and Development Aid department which did not have student representative councils and 89 that had.
- The per capita expenditure on white pupils in South Africa during the last financial year was R2 508.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

BLESSING MPILA, 30, United Democratic Front Transvaal office bearer, was detained under the Emergency regulations in Febuary last year and is still being held.

Mpila joined the Young Christian Students in Pietersburg in the early 1970s. As a student at the University of the North he helped organise a class boycott. He was expelled in 1980 and readmitted in 1984. During the period of his expulsion he was employed by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and as an organiser for the General and Allied Workers Union.

Since 1976 he has been detained five times. In 1985 he was detained for a year, nine months of it in solitary confinement, and was later tried in Venda and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, suspended for four years, for "terrorism, subversion and public violence".

At the time of his latest detention he was a member of the UDF Transvaal executive and was completing a BA Admin degree at Turfloop.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:

Beau Valley Country Club: SA's World Famous Naturist Resort (Beau Brummel); Beer mug with zodiac signs and love positions (unstated); beer mug with drawing of six nude male bottoms and the words "Hung Jury" (unstated); Dagmar and Co — film; Deadly Stranger — film; Foreplay — film (banned for video distrubition); Maximo Thrust — film (Waldo Warren); Sex Education Part 1: Sexual Positions — film.

Banned for possession:

Save the 32, Give them freedom for life, don't let them hang — poster (Sayco); Swapo of Namibia, Support Swapo work and aim for freedom — sticker (not stated); August 26, 20 years of armed liberation struggle in Namibia — poster (not stated); Namibia Youth, official bulletin of the Swapo Youth League, November-December 1983 (not stated); Inqaba ya basebenzi no 24/5 October 1987 (Inqaba ya basebenzi, London); The Memoirs of Dolly Morton and Three Times a Woman (both produced by W H Allen and Co, PLC, London).

24-30/6/89 W/Mail

This photograph has led to Internal Security Act charges against Maritzburg's Black Sash protestors. They had permission to hold their monthly picket — but not to pose for a photograph beforehand. They are being charged for gathering illegally. 26-30/6/88

Picture: JONATHAN KAPLAN

'Treat election seriously' urges municipalities chief

(527)

Star 24/6/83

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The October municipal elections should be taken seriously in the townships so "genuine leaders" can emerge, Mr Tom Boya, Mayor of Daveyton and chairman of the United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) said today.

Umsa is presently involved in exploratory talks with homeland leaders to form a "united forum" to seek a unified approach on the proposed National Council and create bargaining strength.

Mr Boya said the banning of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and 17 other organisations in February was "unfortunate" because it deprived municipal candidates of competition.

"We really do need a test in South Africa so that genuine and truly representative leadership can emerge. Some of those restricted organisations would probably participate in the municipal elections," Mr Boya said.

Mr Boya and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, have agreed on a joint approach on the NC.

Both leaders have rejected the NC, saying they would participate only after certain conditions have been met.

standing in the dock as would happen in a formally constituted court.

Masuku had decided of her own accord to leave his employ.

guages.

Mr Norman Makhubela interpreted.

ance of forces in the area had changed drastically.

Rise in terror 'part of an established cycle'

Star 24/6/88

327

By Patrick Laurence

There has been a steady rise in terror strikes since February 24, suggesting that the clampdown on extra-parliamentary organisations on that day may have fuelled the "revolutionary violence" espoused by the ANC and PAC.

But a senior South African intelligence officer has disputed the conclusion that the February restrictions have given impetus to outlawed organisations by driving some of the hardline cadres underground and into the arms of the ANC and the PAC.

There were 10 attacks in February by insurgents. After that the overall trend was upwards, with 19 strikes in March, 15 in April, 17 in May, and 19 so far in June — including the limpet mine explosion in an amusement arcade in Johannesburg.

But, the intelligence officer said, the increase in terror attacks is part of an overall pattern established over the years, in which there is a rise in the rate of attacks towards the middle of the year.

June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 rebellion by black schoolgoers in Soweto, tends to concentrate the minds of the planners of terror.

Statistical data tends to support the intelligence officer's contention. In 1985, the number of terror strikes rose from seven in February to 31 in June. Comparable figures for 1986 were 22 and 25. For 1987 they were 11 and 22, producing a more conspicuous mid-year surge.

Professor Andrew Prior, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, agreed with the intelligence officer that the 1988 increase cannot be attributed to the February 24 curbs.

He made two points. Firstly, there was not enough time for the ANC to organise a sudden increase in terror strike since February 24, as insurgent attacks need more time for planning; second, South Africa has a "political season" which starts on March 21, the annivesary of the Sharpeville shootings in March 1960, and climaxes on June 16.

The officer disagreed that the strait-jacketing of extra-parliamentary opposition would assist the ANC in the long run by providing it with new recruits drawn from an emerging generation of men and women for whom the February restrictions were the proverbial last straw.

He argued that the restrictions, like the State of Emergency in general, helped contain township turbulence, depriving the ANC of a congenial environment in which it could move relatively freely and recruit townships malcontents.

The problem with his view is that the number of terror strikes has risen since the imposition of the partial State of Emergency in 1985 and the reimposition of a nationwide emergency in June 1986 and again in June 1987.

The annual total of guerilla strikes for those years rose steadily from 136 in 1985 to 230 in 1986, and 234 in 1987. The total for 1988 to June 22 is 95.

Professor Prior cautioned those who believe the February 24 restrictions will not plant the seeds of a new harvest of bombs and killings.

He said the virtual paralysis of lawful extra-parliamentary opposition might well add impetus to campaigns of bombings and assassinations by persuading members of restricted organisations that their attempts to bring about change by peaceful means is blocked by State repression.

Furthermore, the October municipal elections might serve as another peak in the bombing campaign. The ANC has pledged repeatedly to disrupt them, and also the curbs preventing extra-parliamentary opposition organisations from campaigning lawfully in favour of an election boycott.

Significantly, May last year, the month of the general election for whites, was the month with the highest number of insurgent strikes — 29 against 22 in June.

Krugerrands

BUSINESS

Natal strife behind bans?

327 Cape Times 25/6/88

Political Staff

STRIFE between Inkatha and the UDF appears to lie behind the unusually high number of prohibited gatherings in Natal in the two weeks before Soweto Day on June 16.

A report tabled in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in terms of the Internal Security Act, showed that of 65 gatherings prohibited in terms of the Act between June 4 and 16, all but one were in Natal and in recognized Inkatha or UDF areas of support.

Khayelitsha was the only exception.

Black Sash pamphlet ban

Star 25/6/88 (327)

CAPE TOWN — A pamphlet produced by the Black Sash, Mowbray, titled "Remember Namibia, Remember Kassinga," has been banned for distribution, the Directorate of Publications announced yesterday.

Fourteen issues of Muslim News (Muslim News Publications, Athlone), were declared not undesirable provided they were confined and made available in the normal manner in legal deposit and university libraries only.

The issues are Vol 18 No 17, 15 September 1978; Vol 18 No 23, 15 Dec 1978; Vol 19 No 11, 15 June 1978; Vol 19 No 18, 5 Oct 1979; Vol 19, No 19, 19 Oct 1979; Vol 20 No 6, 25 April 1980; Vol 20 No 8, 9 May 1980; Vol 20 No 9, 23 May 1980; Vol 20 No 10, 6 June 1980; Vol 20 No 12, 4 July 1980; Vol 20 No 15, 22 August 1980; Vol 21 No 12, 19 June 1981; Vol 21 No 23, 11 Dec 1981; and Vol 18 No 16, 1 Sept 1978.

The same conditions applied to "Southern Africa Report, Vol 3 No 5 May 1988" (TCLSAC).

A Publications Committee has, on review, ruled David McLellan's "Marx's Grundrisse" was not undesirable, while possession of "Leninism" by Joseph Stalin, and Muslim News, Vol 18 No 16, Friday 1 Sept 1978 (Muslim News Publications, Athlone) were no longer prohibited.

During the past week 11 films were submitted for examination of which five were unconditionally and four conditionally approved. Two films, "Secrets of Naughty Susan," and "The Boys in Company C" (review), were rejected.

From yesterday it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following (author/producer in brackets):

"C" stimulation, his and her series; and "P" stimulation, his and her series (both produced by David Anthony).

Jalousien (Ane Schmidt).

Die Foto-Falle; and Die Nymphe (both produced by Gustaf Valentin).

Erregende Stille (Olympia Press, Deutschland).

Elternabend; and Die Parfumierte Falle (both produced by Kirsten Weinreut).

Ein Sommer Auf Dem Lande (Gustave Droz).

Des Guten Zuviel, erotische kriminal stories (Bastei-Lubbe-Taschenbuch, Western Germany).

Scharfe Katzen, Wilde Kater Orgas 63 (Terry Shaffer).

Beau Valley and Country Club — nine photos of nude girls (Beau Valley Country Club, Warmbaths).

Prank: Vol 1 No 118 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Jeppe, Johannesburg).

Human figure in motion postcards (General Publishing Co Ltd, Toronto).

AWEPAA News Bulletin No 18 April 1988 (AWEPAA, Netherlands).

Historic tours of Alexandra township — pamphlet (not stated).

International Viewpoint, issue No 141 May 16, 1988 (Press-Edition-Communication, Montreal).

Justice and Service No 4 Vol 3 April 1988 (Justice and Service, Harare).

New Perspectives 3/88 Vol 18 (Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Helsinki).

10 Years of Heroic Struggle (Nanso, UWC).

Youth in Exile 1-5 March 1988 (World Alliance of YMCAs Geneva, Switzerland). — Sapa.

327

Press regulations dangerous, says TML chairman

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The right of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to suspend newspapers on the strength of his opinion "threatens the freedom of expression of every inhabitant of our country", said the chairman of Times Media Limited (TML), Mr Pat Retief.

Writing in the latest TML annual report, Mr Retief expressed regret that the government had seen fit to use its emergency powers against certain newspapers.

He criticized the media regulations "which place beyond the reach of the courts the exercise of sweeping powers on the basis of an opinion of a minister".

He said the regulation empowering the minister to suspend newspapers was "dangerous" and "seems unnecessary given the panoply of existing laws available for use against alleged transgressors".

It was not necessary to agree with the views of the affected newspapers in order to believe that they should be accorded the normal protection of the courts.

Mr Retief said TML management had learnt to cope with the unpredictable and often turbulent conditions which prevail in SA.

He thanked management, editors and staff for the outstanding results achieved against a background of having to meet the complex demands of the newspaper business as well as "a minefield of restrictive legislation".

Press chief slates curbs

(327)

Star 27/6/88

The right of Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha to suspend newspapers on the strength of his opinion threatens the freedom of expression of every inhabitant of South Africa, says the chairman of Times Media Ltd (TML), Mr Pat Retief, in the company's annual report.

He says this is not only a dangerous regulation but "seems unnecessary given the panoply of existing laws available for use against alleged transgressors".

Mr Retief says it is not necessary to agree with the views of affected newspapers in order to believe that they be accorded the normal protection of the courts.

He expresses regret that the Government had seen fit to use its emergency powers against certain newspapers.

Few businesses were more complex than the newspaper business, which required many diverse disciplines to mesh smoothly together, while working against demanding daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly deadlines, said Mr Retief.

"In addition, our publications must tread through a minefield of restrictive legislation each time they go to press."

Treat yourself to taste today.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 28 JUNIE JUNE 1988 No. 11386

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1318 **28 Junie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Johann Cornelissen van Niekerk, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Port Natal, hierby die bevel in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. C. VAN NIEKERK,
Afdelingskommissaris: Port Natal.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) die landdrosdistrikte van Durban, Pinetown and Chatsworth, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 501 van 8 Maart 1985;

(b) die landdrosdistrik van Inanda, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1405 van 16 Augustus 1968, soos gewysig, uitgesluit die gebiede bekend as—

(i) KwaMashu, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing R. 462 van 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2651 van 30 Desember 1977;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Port Natal;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Surendra NAIDU;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1318 **28 June 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Johann Cornelissen van Niekerk, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Port Natal Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. C. VAN NIEKERK,
Divisional Commissioner: Port Natal.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Surendra NAIDU, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) the Magisterial Districts of Durban, Pinetown and Chatsworth, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 501 of 8 March 1985;

(b) the Magisterial District of Inanda, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1405 of 16 August 1968, as amended, excluding the areas known as—

(i) KwaMashu, as demarcated and described in Government Notice R. 462 of 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2651 of 30 December 1977;

SOWETAN, Tuesday, June 28, 1988

BANNED PAPER BACK IN STREETS

327

THE *New Nation* newspaper, which was shut down for three months in March under the emergency regulations, will be on the street again on Thursday.

According to the acting editor of the paper, Mr Gabu Tugwana, the Thursday edition will be bigger and will contain more special features than the editions prior to the suspension.

From Thursday, the paper will now sell at 50 cents, an increase from 30 cents, which Mr Tugwana said was to contain the spiralling costs of production.

"This is our first increase since the paper started two years ago, until now we have been taking the production costs which were escalating and we can no longer do so," he said.

On March 22, the newspaper, which is owned by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, was suspended by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Rise

Meanwhile, the Cape Town based *South*, last week reported a 25 percent rise in its circulation, after it was banned for a month, also under the emergency regulations.

The editor of *South*, Mr Rashid Seria, which now stands at 16 000 copies a week, said that he did not think the rise in the circulation was the result of the banning. He said that readers responded around issues which accounted for more copies being sold.

Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, announced that he would not ban *South* for further two months in terms of the Regulation 9(a) of new media regulations.

Curbs on free expression 'are deplored'

(327)
Star 25/6/85

The council of the English Academy of Southern Africa says it deplores any attempts, by the Government or any other agency, to suppress or impede the democratic right of free speech and publication in South Africa.

In a statement issued this week "in view of the increasing legislation limiting free expression in this country", the council said one of the aims in the constitution of the English Academy was to "defend the democratic rights of free speech and publication".

"In the light of that aim, our earnest desire is to uphold at all times and to cultivate free academic, political and social debate among the peoples of South Africa.

"We sincerely believe that only when the democratic right of free speech is restored to our people will a safe, peaceful and stable South Africa become a living reality, acceptable once again among the community of civilised nations."

Press chief criticises Minister's powers

Star 28/6/88 327

The right of Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha to suspend newspapers on the strength of his opinion threatens the freedom of expression of every inhabitant of South Africa, says Times Media Ltd chairman Mr Pat Retief in the company's annual report.

This was not only a dangerous regulation but "seems unnecessary given the panoply of existing laws available for use against alleged trangressors".

Mr Retief says it is not necessary to agree with affected newspapers' views in order to believe that they be accorded the normal protection of the courts.

He expresses regret that the State has seen fit to use its emergency powers against some newspapers.

Few businesses were more complex than the newspaper business, which requires many diverse disciplines to mesh smoothly together while working against demanding daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly deadlines, Mr Retief says.

"In addition, our publications must tread through a minefield of restrictive legislation each time they go to press."

SA fugitives fled

By CHRIS STEYN

THE two South Africans arrested in Zambia on suspicion of infiltrating the African National Congress are fugitives who fled the country after facing criminal charges, the SAP claimed yesterday.

Police said one of the men was a conman and the other a diamond smuggler — both were wanted for a series of crimes.

The men were named by Zambia's Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Paul Malukutila, as Mr Andrew Swart and Mr Steve du Plessis. Mr Malukutila said they infiltrated the ANC in June last year on a "spying mission".

In December they were placed under surveillance, which eventually led to their arrest. Both are in their thirties.

South African security sources told the Cape Times the arrests could be the result of a witch-hunt following a recent disclosure by police in the Bethal treason trial that there was a South African police informer at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka.

Secret ANC documents, photographed by the spy at the ANC offices in Lusaka, were handed into court as exhibits.

Police said several warrants of arrest had already been issued for Mr Du Plessis. Mr Swart was wanted by the Diamond and Gold Branch in connection with a charge of fraud.

'Problem with police'

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said it was quite possible representations might be made to Zambia for the two men to be handed over to South Africa, but the full facts would have to be determined before any such decision was taken.

According to Lusaka sources, it is understood that the men told the ANC "they had great problem with police and the security forces in South Africa", and said they wanted to become members of the ANC.

"But their reasons and stories just didn't hold . . . they raised suspicions, and were arrested."

The SAP said of a letter written by them about Mr Du Plessis to the Botswana police: "It was mentioned that he had entered Zambia posing as a political refugee from South Africa, that his pretended refugee status was only a ploy in endeavouring to escape justice for purely criminal offences, and that he had never been politically active."

Roger Smith reports from Johannesburg that an SADF spokesman said there were channels through which information could be brought officially to the attention of South African authorities, and "the SADF is not prepared to comment further".

In May last year, the ANC held an international press conference and produced seven South African police agents caught on spying missions aimed against the ANC.

The agents confessed that the mission usually involved infiltrating the ANC, PAC, the UDF, churches, community and youth organizations.

Cape Times 28/6/88

374

City man linked to Botswana arrests

Cape Times 28/6/80

327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A South African man who is alleged to have communicated with one of the two South Africans arrested near Gaborone last week, yesterday pleaded not guilty in Gaborone Magistrate's Court to a charge of possessing a hand grenade.

Mr Barry Jean Vivier, 29, whose address was given in court papers as 59 Rifle Range Road, Thornton, Cape Town, was remanded in custody and bail will be argued today after the army has presented its report.

Mr Vivier, manager of a supermarket in Gaborone who was arrested last Thursday, was charged under the country's Arms and Ammunition Act. The Botswana news agency, Bopa, said Mr Vivier's defence was that the grenade, found at his home in Gaborone, was an ornament. But the prosecution claimed he faced "a serious offence involving national security" and should remain in custody.

Detective-Assistant Superintendent Emmanual Maliko told the court Mr Vivier was contacted by a Mr Theodore Hermansen on June 19. Mr Hermansen, with fellow-South African Mr Johannes Basson, was arrested in Botswana last Tuesday.

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes. The name furnished by the hon member.

(2) (a) and (b)(i) and (ii) Yes, departmental disciplinary action will be considered against the sergeant and all the members who were involved in the incident, as soon as the one outstanding criminal case has been finalised.

Police: newspaper editors

*10. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the public relations division of the South African Police issued any warnings and/or put forward any suggestions to any editors or news editors on or about 7 June 1988 in regard to the publication of information regarding stay-aways, intimidation or any other specified topic; if so, (a) when, (b) why, (c) what was the purport of such warnings or suggestions, (d)(i) in what ways, (ii) on whose instruction and (iii) to which editors or news editors were they issued or put forward and (e) what was the response to each such warning or suggestion?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) to (e)

I wish to point out to the hon member that an excellent relationship of trust exists between the South African Police and the vast majority of the media.

On 6 June 1988 the commander of the Public Relations Division of the South African Police sent a confidential note by telex message through SAPA to all editors and news editors in which media regulations relating to the publication of certain information, was brought to their attention.

In view of an agreement between the South African Police and the Newspaper Press Union, as well as a meeting between these two parties which took place on 25 June 1987, it was decided to advise editors and news editors when it appeared necessary, with regard to reporting that could possibly constitute an offence of the media regulations. This step was welcomed by the media. This advice would, however, not be binding and the final decision to accept or ignore it, would still rest with the editors and news editors.

Up until now no complaints have been received from the media regarding this matter. However, it is regretted that a confidential matter between the South African Police and the media, which was intended to facilitate the task of the media, was apparently made known with malicious intent in order to involve it in petty politics.

Municipal elections

*11. Dr P W A MULDER asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:†

(1) Whether the Government commissioned a certain advertising company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to work out and submit a communication strategy with a view to the municipal elections in October 1988; if so, (a)(i) what company and (ii) on what date was the commission given and (b) what was the cost involved in the submission;

(2) whether the Government accepted this submission (a) in its entirety or (b) partially; if so, (i) what total amount was approved for the advertising campaign and (ii) by whom;

(3) whether the company concerned is part of an international group; if so, of what group;

(4) whether other companies were also requested to make submissions of this nature; if not, why not; if so, what companies?

The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

(1) (a) (i) No, not the Government as such, but the Bureau for Information requested several agencies to submit proposals and as a result the McCann submission was accepted.

(ii) 16/3/88

(b) None

(2) (a) No

(b) Yes

(i) R4,8 million (round sum)

(ii) Tender Board

(3) Whether or not the company concerned has international links has no relevance to the matter under discussion.

(4) Yes, but I do not believe that it is in the best interest of the other agencies to reveal their names.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply in respect of paragraph (3) of Question 11 — whether the company concerned is part of an international group — I understood from the hon the Minister's reply that it is not relevant to the question under discussion.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member understood it correctly. That is the reply of the hon the Minister, and that is the end of the matter.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, I would like to know whether there is any link between . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! No, the hon the Minister said on that point that in his opinion it was not relevant, and we cannot pursue the matter any further.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I just want to know on what grounds the hon the Minister asserts that it is not relevant for the purposes of replying to the question.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the company is a South African company but many of the companies do correspond with firms in one state or another . . .

†Mr F J LE ROUX: But that is not the point!

†The MINISTER: . . . and I do not think their international links are relevant for the purposes of this question.

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him whether the Government has accepted that part of the report that proposes that animated characters be used? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that aspect as well as certain other aspects concerning the implementation of the proposals of the company are still under consideration.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he give us an indication of where the head office of this company is situated, and whether they have more than one head office in South Africa and abroad?

†Mr W J SCHOEMAN: What does that have to do with the matter?

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! If the hon the Minister is not willing to reply to any further supplementary questions, we shall proceed to the following question. The hon member for Johannesburg North's question will be the last one.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, with respect, I believe this is only the fourth supplementary question arising from the hon the Minister's reply.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! It does not matter how many questions the hon member has counted. When the Chair decides enough questions have been put, it can bar hon members from putting any more questions.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, I was under the impression Mr Speaker had decided five supplementary questions would be allowed. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I have decided to allow the hon member to put his question, which will definitely be the final supplementary question relating to the reply to this particular question.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, further arising from the reply given by the hon the Minister, could he tell us whether, as a result of the communications strategy, certain advertisements were placed in newspapers last week concerning registration dates for voting on 26 October? If so, is the information contained in those advertisements correct?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the answer to both questions is yes.

Mr P G SOAL: That is untrue! [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I just want to point out to the hon member for Johannesburg North that he should perhaps recount the number of supplementary questions asked arising from the reply to Question 11. He might conclude there have actually been five.

country, moved up the street of these profane master-planners of the Kremlin.

These people have succeeded to such an extent in their attempts, that as a result of sanctions, many thousands of people, mainly Blacks, have lost their employment and means of existence.

From the available information it is now becoming evident that these unemployed, hungry people are beginning to rebel against those who are responsible for their grief and misery. This promotes the potential for friction and unrest considerably and creates a danger for the peace and safety of the public and the maintenance of the public order.

There have been several occasions recently, where groups of persons have been present at airports where the Archbishop was to have arrived or from which he was to have departed. However, this has always been allowed, provided that the persons remain orderly and peaceful. A Police presence has always been maintained at every occasion.

On the dates concerned, groups of persons once again arrived and as usual they were allowed to gather at suitable areas in the airport building. The persons awaited the Archbishop orderly and peacefully. On his arrival, a number of persons produced "anti-Tutu" placards and started jeering him, while insisting that he provide them with jobs and food.

The Police acted as quickly as possible and confiscated the placards without exception and arrested several persons.

Charges in terms of the State Airport Regulations are being investigated against these persons. The case dockets will be submitted to the Attorney-General for his decision as soon as the investigations have been completed.

†Mr J VAN ECK: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply will all demonstrators therefore in the same way be allowed to demonstrate, as these people were allowed to demonstrate against Bishop Tutu?

†Brig J F BOSMAN: Yes, you too! [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have indicated fully what our standpoint is and how we acted. I think that, if the hon member will read my reply carefully, he will be able to get a reply to that question of his.

†Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, when does he intend finally acting against Archbishop Tutu in view of his subversive activities abroad?

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Strictly speaking that does not arise out of this question.

WECTU: meeting

*20. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his replies to Question No 13 on 14 June 1988 and Question No 23, standing over, on 26 May 1988 in regard to the prevention of a public meeting arranged by the Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU), the name of the teachers' association consulted by the South African Police before prohibiting this meeting is the same as the name that has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what are the names of the office-bearers of the teachers' association so consulted and (b) on what date did these consultations take place

(2) whether the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives or any representative of this Ministry was consulted in this regard; if so, who; if not, why not;

(3) whether he intends taking any steps against WECTU or any of its representatives for any alleged contraventions; if so, (a) against whom, (b) what steps, (c) for what contraventions and (d) in terms of what statutory provisions;

(4) on what evidence did he base his statement that WECTU was planning to propagate a school boycott at the said meeting?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (4)

I refer the hon member to my replies to Oral Question 23 of 26 May 1988 and Oral Question 13 of 14 June 1988. I regard these replies as being a sufficient reply to this question.

†Mr J VAN ECK: You are evading the truth!

†Mr A FOURIE: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Is the hon member for Claremont entitled

to say that the hon the Minister is evading the truth?

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I do not think I am going to give any ruling on that.

BBC: Suffer the Children

*21. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he recently expressed any criticism of the film "Suffer the Children" which was televized by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) earlier this month; if so,

(2) whether he or any senior members or representatives of the South African Police (a) viewed, and/or (b) received a report on, this film; if not, on what information did he base his criticism;

(3) whether any information on South Africa provided in this film was factually incorrect; if so, what information;

(4) whether any representations regarding this film have been made to the BBC; if so, (a) by whom and (b) what was the nature of these representations;

(5) whether he is considering taking any steps against the BBC or its representatives in South Africa as a result of this film; if so, what steps?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) and (b) Yes, I was fully informed of the contents of the film before I expressed any criticism of it. At a later stage I viewed the film myself and I am satisfied that my criticism was justified.

(3) Yes. This film contained extremely biased and slanted criticism, distortions and blatant lies about South Africa and the so-called children in detention. It is focused on a slanted and negative interpretation of reality while the positive developments, especially in the Black communities, are totally ignored.

With the approval of the house, I table an excerpt of my speech in the President's Council on 9 June 1988, in which I expressed criticism regarding the film.

As I promised, the South African Police is already conducting an intensive investigation into the allegations which were made in the film. Certain persons, who made allegations of assault and torture in the film, have since then openly admitted that the allegations were false and that in some instances they were instructed what to say.

(4) Yes.

(a) and (b) The South African Embassy in London made representations to the BBC. The hon member may obtain particulars of these representations from my colleague the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(5) I refer the hon member to the reply of my colleague the Minister of Home Affairs, to Question No 22.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, may I ask whether the speech will be printed in Hansard?

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: I think that might just be a matter for Mr Speaker to decide.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, may I just assist by saying that it is not the whole speech, but only the short section that relates to this film.

†Mr P G SOAL: Thank goodness!

†The MINISTER: [Inaudible.]

Excerpt from the speech of the Minister of Law and Order in the President's Council on Thursday 9 June 1988 as referred to in reply to Question No 21:

Last night a most hostile film was shown on BBC Television, which according to information we have so far received, gave an extremely biased and slanted picture of so-called children in detention in South Africa. Serious allegations of torture, beatings and disfiguring of children supposedly by the South African Police are made in the documentary and are apparently backed up by some well known people, such as Priscilla Jana and others here in South Africa. The Methodist Minister of Soweto, Mr Paul Verryn, is for instance quoted in the film as claiming that girls and boys of thirteen years were being tortured with electric shocks. He said some of the victims were as young as nine years. We will go to him and ask him to supply us with the proof of these allegations. At the South African Council of Churches

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) (a) 1 170 square metres

(b) 1 000

(2) Yes (This is not a school hall but a Regional Hall)

(3) (a) 14

(b) (i) and (ii)

R1 301 000 : B.W. Huisman Construction
R1 267 168 : A.W, Johnson Builders (Pty) Ltd
R1 224 400 : Milwin Construction (Pty) Ltd
R1 197 561 : Stefanutti Construction (Pty) Ltd
R1 185 000 : Conatt (Pty) Ltd
R1 179 000 : James Clark (Pty) Ltd
R1 117 700 : Jan Fokkens (Pty) Ltd
R1 174 574 : RHO Builders Construction (Pty) Ltd
R1 167 000 : Acier — Beton Construction
R1 157 555 : Grid Construction (Pty) Ltd
R1 144 000 : S.S. Naicker (Pty) Ltd
R1 136 918 : Alexander Hamilton Construction (Pty) Ltd
R1 132 000 : Norvo Construction
R1 128 750 : Rambros Building Contractors

(c) Rambros Building Contractors

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Police: money paid to public

129. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any money was paid to members of the public in 1987 in respect of (a) assault by members of the Police Force and (b) unlawful arrest; if so, (i) what was the total amount paid and (ii) in respect of how many complaints in each category?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b)

In the 1987 calender year, the South African Police dealt with 1,4 million complaints which were reported at 1532 reporting offices. Conservatively calculated, at least 20 million man hours of duty were performed (administrative duties excluded), during which members of the Force were in constant interaction with the public, criminals, usurpers, rioters, revolutionary activists, and radicals. On close examination almost every complaint dealt with by the South African Police, contains the potential for conflict. Conflict is in itself the largest source of civil claims against the South African Police. Therefore, the fact that only 3240 civil claims were lodged against the South African Police, which represents a meagre 0,23% of the total number of complaints, is particularly pleasing.

However, experience has shown that detailed information regarding civil claims has in the past been abused by some newspapers to create a biased and distorted perception of the South African Police. The Force has inter alia been presented as an organisation which can only carry out its task through the use of force. In this regard I refer in particular to a report in the Sunday Tribune of 29 March 1987 under the heading "THE PRICE OF POLICE ASSAULTS". Furthermore I wish to point out to the honourable member that payments are only made after court judgements or after thorough investigation by the legal teams of claimants, the South African Police and the State Attorney. Furthermore, all payments are audited by the Auditor-General who submits a report to Parliament in this regard.

Taking everything into account and especially in view of the fact that there is proper Parliamentary notice and control over the spending of the funds concerned, seen against the unfounded and harmful misuse thereof, the requested information is not furnished.

However, should the honourable member approach me for this information, I am prepared to furnish it to him on a personal and confidential basis.

State of emergency: incidents

247. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he will furnish statistics on persons involved in incidents related to the current state of emergency; if not, why not; if so, how many persons (a) had been (i) killed and (ii) injured by (aa) members of the South African Police and (bb) any other specified persons and (b) had been (i) detained and (ii) arrested by the Police in connection with such incidents since 12 June 1987 as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether any member of the Police were (a) killed and (b) injured in unrest during the above-mentioned period; if so, how may in each case;

(3) what were the causes of the (a) deaths and (b) injuries in respect of (i) civilians and (ii) policemen during this period?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (3)

Although I am in favour or releasing as much information as possible, I wish to point out to the honourable member that in the past, extra-parliamentary activists and radical groups, among others the banned South African Communist Party, the ANC and the UDF, have in the most dreadful way misued this type of information for their own revolutionary and propaganda purposes, to the detriment of South Africa and the majority of its people.

Charges against 5 men are withdrawn

Emergency provision is declared invalid

Star 29/6/88

327

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A Free State judge this week declared invalid an emergency provision that made it an offence "verbally or by any other act, to threaten to inflict upon any other person ... harm, hurt or loss" to their person or property.

As a result of the successful attack on the regulations, charges against five young men from the Free State town of Petrus Steyn have been withdrawn, the Johannesburg attorney for the accused said.

He believed the judgment by Mr Acting Justice H W O Kloppers would have implications for others charged under section 4(a) of the State President's emergency proclamation R109 of June 1986.

The attorney said he was aware there had been a spate of similar prosecutions in areas such as Sasolburg, Heilbron and Bloemfontein. If any of those involved had been convicted, the ruling should provide grounds for the conviction to be rescinded.

The regulation reads: "Any person who directly or indirectly, verbally or by any other act, threatens to inflict upon any other person or upon any of such person's relatives or dependents any harm, hurt or loss, whether to his or their person or property, or in any other way, shall be guilty of an offence."

Counsel for the defence, Mr B Spilg, argued that the regulation was invalid for these reasons:

- It was *ultra vires* because the State President was acting beyond the powers assigned to him by the Public Safety Act in making so broad a regulation.
- The regulation was unreasonable and very vague.

Circumstances

Mr Spilg said there were numerous circumstances in domestic life and in business where people made the kinds of threats referred to in the proclamation.

The Public Safety Act, which empowered the State President to make regulations, stipulated that such regulations must be "necessary or expedient for providing for the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order" or that they must contribute to the ending of the state of emergency. Regulation 4(a) of regulation R109 went well beyond this, it was argued.

The accused, originally detained in June 1986, were charged in February 1987. They are Mr Percy Melato, Mr Raymond Melato, Mr Petrus Lekaje, Mr Patrick Mothebele and Mr Simon Motsoeneng.

New Nation back on the streets

(327)

Star 29/6/88

By Lloyd Coutts

The New Nation newspaper, banned for three months under emergency regulations, will be back on the streets from tomorrow.

Although the cover charge has been increased from 30 cents to 50 cents, tomorrow's paper is expected to be bigger than previous editions.

Acting Editor Mr Gabu Tugwana said the staff felt more confident than before the newspaper's suspension by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, on March 22.

Although the staff had spent the past three months recording events, they had also spent a great deal of time upgrading their skills.

Explaining the reason for the price hike, Mr Tugwana said production costs had increased

Media group resolves to oppose registration

Curbs not aimed at all journalists, says Minister

Star 29/6/88

327

By Patrick Laurence

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has again denied that the latest emergency curbs on the media are the first step towards compulsory registration of journalists.

But, in reply to specific questions from The Star, Mr Botha evaded a direct answer to the question of whether freelance journalists will be required to register under the restrictions.

Two questions were faxed to Mr Botha last week seeking clarity on the implications of the June 10 regulations.

They were: whether freelance journalists were required to register, and, if so, whether that did not constitute a first step towards compulsory registration of all journalists.

After considering the questions for a couple of days, Mr Botha replied, affirming that the regulations were not a move — in his words — "to slip in mandatory registration of all journalists".

Under the regulations all "news agencies" are required to register with the Department of Home Affairs, unless they are specifically exempted.

The definition of a news agency focuses on the activity of gathering and processing news about South Africa.

Media lawyers

It is framed so widely that some media lawyers have contended that they include people — stretching from freelance journalists to employees in the Bureau for Informaton — not normally regarded as fulfilling a news agency function in the dictionary sense of the phrase.

Mr Botha quoted the definition of a news agency in his reply, before adding: "To avoid requiring the registration of all journalists, regulation 11 (8) excludes people who supply news material ... exclusively to a periodical or television or radio station of which they are employees or by way of casual or isolated act to a person for publication in a periodical or for broadcasting to a television or radio station".

The logical inference to be made from Mr Botha's reply is that freelance journalists are not exempted and will therefore have to register. He did not say so directly, however.

At a recent meeting convened by the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) about 60 journalists resolved to compaign against registration. The journalists were drawn from the ranks of freelance writers, the smaller and non-exempted news agencies, three journalist societies and the "alternative newspapers" (which use the smaller news agencies).

The meeting further decided to seek legal opinion on the regulations. Senior counsel has since been asked to scrutinise them.

Mammoth report

The idea of establishing a register of journalists — from which they can be struck off — has been mooted from time to time as a technique for controlling the media. It was proposed most recently by Mr Justice M T Steyn, in his 1982 mammoth report on the media.

According to Ms Pat Sidley, an ACAG organiser, Mr Botha's media regulations are worse than Mr Justice Steyn's proposed register.

Under Mr Botha's curbs, some journalists will be required to register with a bureaucrat, the Director-General of Home Affairs. Mr Justice Steyn envisaged registration with a 12-man media council, consisting of three Government appointees and nine journalists.

Mr Botha is empowered to "summarily withdraw registration" if he is of the opinion that it is necessary for the "safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency." Refusal to register carries heavy penalties: a fine of up to R20 000, imprisonment for up to 10 years or jail without the option of a fine.

Mr Justice Steyn wanted his proposed council to have the power to reprimand, fine, suspend or bar journalists found guilty of improper conduct.

Pointer Inside A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION
☎ 208 4911 WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29, 1988 50c (45c plus 5c GST)

SHOPP
CAVEN

Mandela to get birthday visit

Cape Times 29/6/88

327

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has promised Mr Nelson Mandela a present on his 70th birthday — an unprecedented six-hour visit from his family on July 18.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said Mrs Winnie Mandela heard yesterday that she would be allowed to visit her husband from 9am to 3pm.

Political commentators said the concession, amid intense international pressure for Mr Mandela's release, could not have been taken without President P W Botha's approval.

"The whole family can go," Mr Ayob said.

"This will be the first time since he went to prison that the authorities have waived the rule limiting visits to two people for a maximum of 40 minutes."

Mrs Mandela was not available for comment, but a secretary at her Soweto office confirmed that the news was telephoned to her from Pollsmoor Prison.

"Mrs Mandela was very excited," she said.

Mr Mandela has been serving a life sentence for sabotage since 1964.

He had his first contact visit in 1979 and has been allowed to sit in the same room with his wife on every visit over the past five years. At least one prison official remains with him at all times.

He has no right to release before he dies and has rejected a government offer of freedom in return for denouncing political violence. — Staff Reporters and Sapa-Reuter

missions in foreign countries, Chief Judges in Bloemfontein and Mafikeng, Chairman and member of the Commission for Administration and the Heads of certain government departments.

(ii) Occupation by the office bearers and their households.

Organizations listed as banned and subversive

1228. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether he will furnish the House with the names of organizations which are listed by his Department as (a) banned and (b) subversive; if not, why not; if so, (i) what are their names in each case and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) The legislation administered by the Department of Justice does not provide for the listing of organizations as banned organizations. Section 4(1) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982), provides for the declaration of an organization to be an unlawful organization in the circumstances referred to in that section. The repealed Internal Security Act, 1950 (Act 44 of 1950), and Unlawful Organizations Act, 1960 (Act 34 of 1960) contained similar provisions and organizations declared to be unlawful organizations under those statutes are by virtue of the provisions of section 73 of the Internal Security Act, 1982 still unlawful organizations.

(i) The following organizations were declared to be unlawful organizations under the said statutes:

ORGANISATIONS DECLARED TO BE UNLAWFUL BY OR UNDER THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950

Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa
Black Parents' Association
Black People's Convention
Black Women's Federation
Border Youth Organisation, also known as Border Youth Union
Communist Party of South Africa
Eastern Province Youth Organisation, also known as Eastern Cape Youth Organisation
Medupe Writers Association
Natal Youth Organisation
National Youth Organisation
South African Communist Party
South African Congress of Democrats
South African Student's Movement
South African Students' Organisation
Soweto Students' Representative Council
The Black Community Programmes Limited
The Christian Institute of Southern Africa
The Defence and Aid Fund
Transvaal Youth Organisation
Union of Black Journalists
Western Cape Youth Organisation
Zimele Trust Fund

ORGANISATIONS DECLARED TO BE UNLAWFUL UNDER THE UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATIONS ACT, 1960

African National Congress
African Resistance Movement, also known as African Freedom Movement; National Committee, for Liberation; National Liberation Committee and The Socialist League
Dance Association
Football Club
Football League
Pan Africanist Congress
POQO
SAA Football League
South African Communist Party
Spear of the Nation
Umkhonto we Sizwe

ORGANISATIONS DECLARED TO BE UNLAWFUL UNDER THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982

Congress of South African Students

(ii) 13 June 1988

(b) There is no provision for organizations to be listed as subversive.

Public Service: staff housing subsidies

1233. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Privatisation:

What total amount was allocated by the departments and the organizational component referred to in section 6(1) of the Public Service Act, No 111 of 1984, for the (a) 1986-87, (b) 1987-88 and (c) 1988-89 financial years for the payment of staff housing subsidies on a (i) compulsory and (ii) voluntary basis?

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND PRIVATISATION:

To furnish the Honourable Member with the information in the requested forma, the individual files of approximately 70 000 staff members receiving housing subsidies will have to be consulted. Due to the magnitude of the task, the requested information can not be furnished.

Residence permits: persons of Eastern European origin

1256. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

With reference to his reply to Question No 950 on 26 April 1988, (a) how many persons of Eastern European origin who entered South Africa on temporary residence permits or tourist visas over the latest specified five-year period for which figures are available returned to their countries of origin and (b) for what purposes did they visit South Africa?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) and (b)

Statistics on the basis required are not available.

Deferment of tax

1261. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) (a) Under what conditions may companies apply for deferment of the tax payable by them to the State and (b) for what periods are they granted deferment;

(2) whether the Receiver of Revenue receives interest on such deferred tax; if so, at what rate; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) (a) The Income Tax Act provides that "any tax chargeable shall be paid on such days and at such places as may be notified by the Commissioner or as specified in this Act, and may be paid in one sum or in instalments of equal or varying amounts as may be determined by the Commissioner having regard to the circumstances of the case". While the Commissioner is thus empowered to defer the payment of tax there are no prescribed conditions attaching to such deferment.

(b) The period of deferment depends on the circumstances of the case, the Receiver of Revenue concerned having regard to factors such as the financial position of the taxpayer, the amount of tax payable and whether the taxpayer has a good or bad taxpaying record.

(2) Where income tax is not paid in full within the prescribed period, interest is payable at the rate of 15% per annum on the outstanding balance in respect of each completed month during which any portion of the tax remains unpaid.

In the case of sales tax where due to circumstances beyond the control of the person liable for the payment of tax the amount of tax due cannot be accurately determined within the time allowed, the Commissioner may, subject to such conditions as he may impose, accept a provisional payment. Any shortfall determined in relation to the actual liability as finally determined is subject to interest at the rate of 10% per annum in respect of the period reckoned from the day after the date by which the tax should have been paid in full to the date of payment of the shortpaid amount.

Number of first-year students

1263. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Education:

Whether his Department keeps statistics on the number of first-year students registered at universities in South Africa; if so, how many (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Asian, (d) Black and (e) other specified first-year students were registered at each university in each of the latest specified four years for which figures are available?

Furthermore, intimidation was rampant during the large-scale unrest and attempts to make the country ungovernable. Murder and assault of members of the Security Forces and law-abiding persons, as well as serious crime against their property, was aimed at intimidating everybody who favours peaceful reform in the country. I am not prepared to contribute to such a campaign of slander and intimidation by making known this information.

At the same time I would like to point out to the honourable member, that in all cases where persons are killed or injured by anyone, the recognised and trusted legal process of the land takes its normal course. Such cases are investigated thoroughly and, if warranted, come before our courts, where they are tried by competent and independent jurists.

Taking everything into consideration, I am therefore convinced that it is not in the best interests of our country and its people to furnish the requested information.

Rioting: injuries/damage/arrests

250. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many members of the South African Police were (a) killed and (b) injured in the Republic in attempts to contain rioting in 1987;

(2) (a) how many buildings belonging to (i) the State and (ii) private individuals were destroyed or damaged as a result of rioting in 1987 and (b) what is the estimated (i) value of the buildings so destroyed and (ii) amount of damage so sustained;

(3) (a) how many arrests of civilians were made in this connection in 1987, (b) on what charges were they arrested and (c) how many such civilians were still being detained as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 16 members

(b) 148 members

(2) (a) and (b) I do not consider it in the public interest or in the interest of the country to furnish this information.

(3) (a) 1895 persons

(b) On charges of various crimes *inter alia*:

Public violence
Malicious damage to property
Intimidation
Murder
Attempted murder
Rape
Assault

(c) 185 persons awaiting trial on 11 February 1988.

NOTE: A large percentage of the persons referred to in paragraph 3(a) above had already been tried and convicted.

Caiphus Nyoka: inquest

253. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 20 on 8 September 1987, an inquest was held or is to be held into the death of Caiphus Nyoka in Daveyton on or about 24 August 1987; if not, why not; if so, when;

(2) whether a post-mortem was held following the death of this person; if not, why not; if so, when;

(3) whether any persons were arrested or detained by the Police at the time Caiphus Nyoka was shot; if so, (a) what are their names, (b) in terms of what statutory provisions were they arrested or detained in each case and (c) what was the status of these persons as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, on 25 and 26 February 1988.

(2) Yes, on 26 August 1987.

(3) (a) to (c) Yes, five persons were arrested in terms of section 51(1) and (4) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982). Three of these persons were released on 26 August 1987. The other two persons are at present awaiting trial on charges of Terrorism in terms of section 54(1) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982) and will be tried on 13 July 1988. However, it is not in the interests of these persons or anybody else to furnish their names.

Unrest: deaths/injuries

276. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) With regard to 1987, (a) what total number of persons was (i) killed and (ii) injured in unrest, (b) how were they killed or injured in each case, (c) how many persons were killed or injured by members of the South African Police acting in the course of duty and (d) how many persons were killed or injured by gunshots;

(2) whether any members of the Police were (a) killed and (b) injured in unrest 1987; if so, (i) how many and (ii) what was the cause of death or injury in each case?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

I refer the honourable member to my reply to written question 247 which I also regard to be a sufficient answer to this question.

Overseas visits

578. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he undertook any overseas visits in 1987; if so, (a) which countries were visited and (b) what was the purpose of each visit;

(2) whether he was accompanied by any representatives of the media on these visits; if so, (a) what were the names of the journalists involved, (b) which newspapers or radio or television networks did they represent, (c) to which countries did each of these persons accompany him and (d) why;

(3) whether any costs were incurred by his Department as a result; if so, what total amount in that year?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No

(2) Lapses

(3) Lapses

Extradition treaties with other countries

997. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether South Africa has extradition treaties with other countries; if not, under what circumstances are persons extradited from South Africa; if so, with how many countries;

(2) whether he will furnish the names of these countries; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes. South Africa has extradition treaties with certain countries. If a person commits an offence within the jurisdiction of a foreign State which is not a party to an extradition agreement, such a person would also be liable to be surrendered to such foreign State with the written consent of the State President in accordance with the provisions of the Extradition Act, 1962 (Act 67 of 1962). The number of countries with which South Africa has extradition treaties cannot be given since previously the United Kingdom had entered into a number of extradition agreements that were also applied to South Africa and whereas in terms of the Extradition Act, 1962 South Africa declared itself to continue to be bound by those extradition agreements still in force at that time, the question as to which of those extradition agreements can be said to be in force now, will depend on the particular circumstances of every case.

(2) For the reasons mentioned in (1) above, no complete list of countries with which South Africa has extradition agreements is available. Should the honourable Member want information about any particular country, he can approach the Department

Cape Times 30/6/88

Six men released from Robben Island

By CHRIS BATEMAN

327

SIX Robben Island prisoners, jailed between four and 12 years ago for sabotage and terrorism, were released yesterday — some of them up to three-and-a-half years early.

One of the six is Mr Richard Chauke, 38, of Mamelodi, convicted in 1977 of participating in terrorism and jailed for 11 years for helping the subsequently-hanged ANC-guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu escape over the border for training.

Three others are New Brighton residents convicted of sabotage and sentenced to between 13 and 15 years in jail for burning police vans and a New Brighton primary school in 1976. They are Mr Monde Tshete, 33, Mr Vuyisile Matinise, 35, and Mr Galelekele Veto, 33. The remaining two, convicted on separate counts of participation in terrorism, are Mr Neko Hlatshwayo, 28, of Galeshewe township (Kimberley), and Mr Ben Mashinini, 45, of Soweto.

The six refused the government's 1985 freedom offer to political prisoners if they renounced violence. Their release yesterday was unconditional and no restrictions have been imposed on them.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer
Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 276 PRETORIA, 30 JUNIE JUNE 1988 No. 11401

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1339 **30 Junie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Johann Cornelissen van Niekerk, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Port Natal, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. C. VAN NIEKERK,
Afdelingskommissaris: Port Natal.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) die landdrosdistrikte van Durban, Pinetown en Chatsworth, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 501 van 8 Maart 1985;

(b) die landdrosdistrik van Inanda, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1405 van 16 Augustus 1968, soos gewysig, uitgesluit die gebiede bekend as—

(i) KwaMashu, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing R. 462 van 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2651 van 30 Desember 1977;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Port Natal;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van 'n persoon wat ter aarde bestel word;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

327

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1339 **30 June 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Johann Cornelissen van Niekerk, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Port Natal Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. C. VAN NIEKERK,
Divisional Commissioner: Port Natal.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of a person, means any gathering associated with such a burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with such a burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) the Magisterial Districts of Durban, Pinetown and Chatsworth, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 501 of 8 March 1985;

(b) the Magisterial District of Inanda, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1405 of 16 August 1968, as amended, excluding the areas known as—

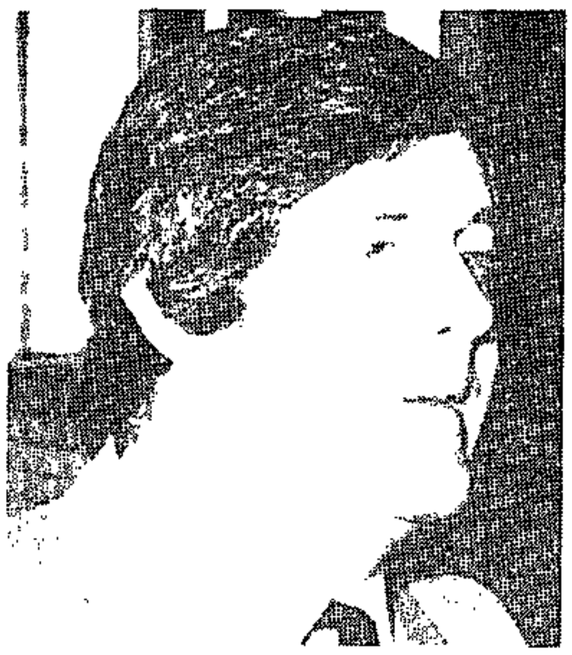
(i) KwaMashu, as demarcated and described in Government Notice R. 462 of 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2651 of 30 December 1977;

Censorship blindfolds 'whites in defeat'

327

30/6 – 6/7/88 Sowetan



Anthony Heard

Established press and alternative press are two sides of the same coin; they are essential parts of free expression. And there is no point in one ignoring the plight or problems of the other, Anthony Heard, former editor of the Cape Times, told a lunch-time meeting of the Save the Press campaign (Western Cape) recently

I HAVE never known a period in my professional life when the press of South Africa was not under severe government attack.

There is a long casualty list of newspapers either closed directly by government or crumbling for various reasons, but under government pressure. It ranged, in the 1950s and 1960s, from far-left publications such as The Guardian, New Age and Spark to the Liberal paper Contact, edited by Governor-General's son Patrick Duncan; in the seventies, it covered establishment-owned but outspoken black newspapers World and Post; and in the eighties the world-class Rand Daily Mail.

Down the years, while brave newspapers and journalists went to the wall, others were powerfully warned of what could happen to them, and they adjusted their procedures accordingly. A torturous minuet went on for years between government and what is loosely called the commercial or established press — with the government huffing and puffing and the latter responding by limiting its coverage, beefing up internal self-discipline to masochistic levels and, in some cases, taking permanent refuge in trivia and sensation as the magic combination to profit safely and permanently.

The so-called alternative newspapers are now being picked off by grim little men across the Government Avenue. Like fleet-footed antelope in the fynbos, some manage to duck the ponderous fire for a while. But there is a grim inevitability about it all.

The "revolutionary climate" argument used by government knows no bounds, it seems. Faced with a national crisis of its own making because it tried marching out of step with humanity, the government demands that essentially only its own version of the truth be known to South Africans and the world. So the BBC is thrown out or warned. Visas are refused. Papers are suspended. Journalists are detained, and their profession faces the looming prospect of state licensing.

It is exceptionally arrogant for anyone to assume a mortgage on the truth. Experienced journalists will confirm, from actual working conditions, that reality is made up of a compex mosaic of events and viewpoints. When a divided society is robbed, even temporarily, of what papers like SOUTH or New Nation have to say, it is not only the poorer, but it is gravely threatened. It is threatened because it lurches closer to settling disputes not by reason but in the streets. The official casts of mind which would use brute force against opposing opinions, not only betrays arrogance, but stupidity — because governments, like ordinary people, are fallible. Government versions are merely components of the truth, varying according to the credibility enjoyed by a particular government. And in an era of total onslaught propaganda and dirty tricks, the government line is only a small component of the truth.

Governments make mistakes, for instance they inform Parliament incorrectly on what happened at Langa, Uitenhage; they provide a version of how some of the Guguletu Seven died which violently contrasts with medical evidence in court, they grossly mislead about the secret state funding of pro-government newspapers.

What reliance can be placed on the government view of events when it cuts off all other channels of information on key issues of the day? Very little, if any. Quite apart from obvious considerations of human error, its credibility suffers immensely when it is found to be deliberately misleading people — as over the Angolan operation it denied in mid-attack in the seventies, or multifarious dirty tricks against political opponents.

We, the humble public, are expected to listen in awe while the propaganda arms of government hand down tomes from high mountains, while at the same time banning or severely restricting other versions of the truth. And we must be suitably intimidated by Emergency Regulations which are as draconian as they are foreign to what this land should be.

Thus, ordinary South Africans glued to controlled media could come to believe that the recent stayaway was a minor event, the June 16 commemoration insignificant, Tambo a bloodthirsty communist, the black masses remarkably contented, and so on.

One problem with press curbs is that they rob the government of vital information and insights which it desperately needs to govern properly. Its officials, uncorrected by other versions of the truth, unchastened by the thought that they could conceivably be wrong, portray events in their own subjective way, giving fiction and myth a status that sounds impressive, and giving their masters in government the comforting impression that all is well — when, in fact, truth can and often does lie elsewhere. Hence, in the midst of the Soweto upheaval we can hear authoritatively that there is "no crisis".

We are assured that Pretoria is winning the war in Namibia, in spite of having to wipe out Swapo with such efficiency and regularity that one wonders whether there are physically any people left to fight. We are led to believe that the internationally-unrecognised black homelands are working, when coups and near-coups vie with casinos and corruption to grap popular attention. We are led to believe that the ANC is beaten, disillusioned and about to collapse — yet 26 years after its banning and 76 years after its founding it simply won't go away. And the world celebrates its jailed leader's 70th birthday. We are assured that reform is being pursued with resolve, that the country will be governed into a new dispensation, but reality seems to be closer to an interminable wrangle over constitutional blueprints that seem to lead nowhere ... and reality is a Cabinet bleached by the loss, for different reasons, of the two members who made it look multi-racial, with promises of black reinforcements soon.

One of the first casualties of press control is government credibility. People lose confidence in what it has to say. For this, it has only itself to blame. The Portuguese, under a dictatorship, thought they were winning in Mozambique and Angola, and many informed observers agreed with them, till just before the collapse. White Rhodesians believed that Smithy would give them many years of comfort on top, or at least a nice black bishop would do it for them. They were wrong. They missed the Mugabe hurricane racing across the veld. Government propaganda and censorship had placed the whites so far from reality that it blindfolded them in defeat.

That is why we must do all we can to SAVE THE PRESS. It is part of the process of saving our country. Established press and alternative press are two sides of the same coin; they are essential parts of free expression. And there is no point in one ignoring the plight or problems of the other. This is, for instance, the time for established newspapers to come forward to support those under deadly attack, in every way possible. Today's alternative newspaper could be tomorrow's established institution.

Readers' Club.
The library consists of a reading room and a meeting room where the educational programmes are held. The meeting room can be booked for use by unions.
Opening Hours: Tuesdays - 3.00pm to 7.00pm
Saturdays- 10.00am to 5.00pm

* * * * * * * * * *

GENERAL WORKERS UNION AID SERVICE

Address:
P.O. Box 301, Athlone 7760

or
1st Floor Benbow Building, 3 Beverley Street, Athlone 7764

Phone:
(021) 638 2592/ 637 0870

TOTALITARIANSM — GENERAL
P88
July — August

APARTHEID BAROMETER

(32)

BANTUSTANS

The following figures relate to South Africa's 10 "homelands".

A total of 1 159 South African officials were seconded to the four "independent homelands" at the end of January this year — 534 to Ciskei, 299 to Bophuthatswana, 223 to Venda and 103 to Transkei, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said in parliament.

South Africa had paid R2,76-billion to the four "independent homelands" during the 1987/8 financial year, according to Botha. This figure included R1,06-billion to Transkei, R834,1-million to Bophuthatswana, R323,6-million to Venda and R520,5-million to Ciskei. These sums were made up of direct assistance, budgetary assistance, technical assistance, loans and incentives for industry and transfers in terms of bilateral agreements such as income tax, the Customs Union revenue pool and the common monetary area.

A total of R3 529,5-million was granted by the South African government to the 10 "homelands" last year. This included R1 319,4-million to the "independent homelands" and R2 210,1 million to the six "self-governing" territories. The 10 "homelands" received a further R1 200-million in tax and customs duties.

The South African government has guaranteed bank loans of R1,3-billion to cover budget deficits in the four "independent homelands" over the past two financial years, Botha told the parliament. He also said the total estimated overdraft facilities taken by the four "independent homelands" was R1 081,2-billion.

The budget of kwaNdebele has more than doubled over the past three years. Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen said its budget increased from R101,4-million in 1985/6 to R212,2-million in 1987/8.

A "minimum of R175-million" was probably misappropriated or embezzled in the "non-independent" homelands during the 1987/8 financial year, according to the Pretoria-based Africa Institute. The institute states that five percent of the South African grants to these areas are accounted for as misappropriated or embezzled.

SCHOOLS

Five white schools under the control of the Department of Education and Culture applied to admit "non-white" pupils in the last three years, and all were refused permission, Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase said. He said another 11 schools under his control had applied unsuccessfully to admit "non-white" pupils. According to Clase:

- White provincial schools admitted 106 "non-white" pupils from 1980 to the end of 1987. No special permission had been given to any school to admit children of black diplomats.
- There were 9 327 "non-white" children at private schools.
- There were 1 786 black graduates from teachers training colleges at the end of 1987 and 1 573 teaching graduates from universities. The corresponding figures for whites were 2 457 and 2 244.
- A total of 63 teachers at black schools were "unable to perform their duties" last year because they were detained.
- The Afrikaner Broederbond held meetings at four schools in the Transvaal over the past five years, and the National Party held three meetings at one school.

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations 1986 survey, the total education budget for the 1986/7 financial year was over R6,7-billion. This included R3-billion for white education; R1,1-billion for blacks, R607,5-million for the "independent homelands", R367-million for Indians and R6-million for the Deparment of National Education.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

JANET SMALL, 26, Grahamstown Black Sash worker, was detained under the Emergency regulations on June 13.

Small joined the National Union of South African Students in 1981 while she was a student at Rhodes University. She was a member of the Rhodes Students Representative Council and in 1985 served as Nusas secretary general.

For the past 18 months she has been employed by the Black Sash as a field worker. It is believed that she is being held at North End Prison in Port Elizabeth.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:

70th Happy Birthday President — The justness of our cause is unchallenged — poster (not stated); Build and Defend Socialism (not stated); A World to Win 1986/7 and 1987/8 (BCM World to Win, London); Hammer and sickle flag with Russian colours — flag (not stated); CCCP: Workers of the World Unite — flag (not stated); T-shirt with words "undermine their pompous authority" (not stated); T-shirt with letters CCCP (not stated); T-shirt with soldier holding gun with Russian slogan (not stated); Non-stop sex swop/Neighbourly lust (E Rexsean/Alice Q Cumber); Sex-filled Days/Up All Night (Marsh Mallows/Barbie Dahl); Tranz no 18 (Swish Publications Ltd, London).

New Nation hits the streets again

327

By Inga Molzen Star 1/7/88

An estimated 55 000 "bumper" copies of *New Nation* — until recently read by an estimated 250 000 readers each week — were back on the streets yesterday after a forced three-month closure.

"We're back! Back to continue writing about the aspirations and desires of the voteless majority," said acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana.

The *New Nation*, which is backed by the Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company, was closed down after an application to restrain the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, from invoking media curbs against the paper failed in the Rand Supreme Court.

"It's sad to say, not even an open court can test the subjective opinion of Mr Botha. We tried and failed," said Mr Tugwana.

Mr Tugwana, who is acting in the place of detained editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, said the morale of his staff was high and that they were determined to continue working and to take all the necessary precautions to avoid further State action.

"Let us be clear that even the previous three-month banning was imposed despite observing these precautions.

"We will fight vigorously to retain the few areas we have in which to express what is happening around us."

Mr Tugwana said the forced closure of *New Nation* was supposed to be an example and a warning to all "because the Government does not want to strike at the mainstream media".

The history of the media regulations, he said, had been one of increasingly severe measures.

Writers urged to unite against curbs

(327)

Star 1/7/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe

BROEDERSTROOM — Writers and journalists should combine their efforts to protect the written word against restrictive regulations and legislation, author Chris Barnard said in his chairman's address to the Afrikaanse Skrywers-Gilde yesterday.

"The strictures against which the freedom of speech should be protected are expensive and formidable," said Mr Barnard. "Perhaps the time has come for us to work closer to each other," he added.

Commenting on the role politics had in the guild, Mr Barnard said: "We pompously sit at conferences like this and talk about politics and moan and groan about everything unjust and corrupt in our society. But what is the guild practically doing to assist those people whose fate we are bemoaning?"

He said Afrikaans writers had already been introduced to the intolerance of black nationalism and were used to the intolerance of Afrikaner nationalism.

His impression of the South African writer "has taken a knock" because many writers wanted to reduce the guild to a political body.

Namibian writer George Weideman, a former chairman of the guild, raised issues such as the survival of Afrikaans in a post-apartheid society and the use of Afrikaans as "a language of dissent".

The guild had for too long believed that Afrikaans would function as a language of unity, he said.

Emphasising the guild's role as a gathering where writers could exchange ideas and enrich themselves, writer P G du Plessis said South African writers should not be blinded by apartheid which, he said, would "soon be abolished".

Crossroads pamphlets attack Tutu

Cape Times 2/7/88

By CHRIS BATEMAN

HUNDREDS of pamphlets attacking Archbishop Desmond Tutu and several local union office-bearers — and accusing one union worker of being a police informer — were distributed in New Crossroads this week — allegedly from a Casspir.

Miss Moki Hans, 25, of Yanta Street, New Crossroads, said she was sitting in a car in her driveway about 1am on Thursday when she saw a Casspir drive past with a man throwing pamphlets from the top of the vehicle.

The pamphlets entitled "SA Trade Union Monthly Titbits" include a picture of Archbishop Tutu headlined "The Flying Bishop" and another of a emaciated woman begging with her hands cupped and the caption "give us this day our daily bread".

They say workers would lose jobs and service benefits and face starvation through the archbishop's calls for disinvestment and sanctions.

Office-bearers of the Food and Allied Workers' Union and the National Union of Food Workers are accused of stealing money, in one case R15 000 from union funds.

● The secretary-general of Fawu, Mr Jan Theron, said he had laid a complaint of crimen injuria at Woodstock police station after reading allegations concerning him in the pamphlet.

SACC defies govt on funds

Cape Times 27/7/89

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Conference of the SA Council of Churches (SACC) this week resolved not to co-operate with the government on the issue of foreign funding.

A spokesman said the conference had resolved at its national meeting here that the SACC would not register as a fund-raising organization and the question of foreign funding did not apply, as churchmen were not "foreigners" and the church was universal.

The SACC also called on the State President to halt executions in South Africa, decided not to submit its magazine, Ecunews, to the authorities and resolved to oppose the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

Press 327 3/7/88

Blow to freelance journalists

'Thin edge of wedge to total control'

CP Correspondent

THE government has moved towards one of its long-desired goals – while falling short of a register for all journalists, freelancers have to register.

The new regulations, which were promulgated to establish the third national emergency in South Africa, have tightened Press curbs in several respects.

Among other new provisions, a register is established for news agencies. From August 1, no agency may operate unless it is registered with the Department of Home Affairs.

The government has given itself wide powers to deregister agencies.

Journalists around the country have been meeting to formulate a response. Public pressure is being seen as crucial to any attempt to force the government to drop the new measure.

Some agencies are considering legal action, and after a meeting of freelance journalists in Johannesburg last weekend, a statement was issued calling on journalists not to register until exhaustion of all possibilities to have the provision dropped.

The measure forms part of the network of controls imposed by the government on newspapers.

South and *New Nation* have already been suspended under these powers.

But while newspapers can be suspended for up to three months – and now in certain cases six months – agencies can be closed down permanently.

The registration of agencies provision is seen as primarily aimed at a number of small, independent news agencies that have sprung up in the past few years, but the definition of a news agency is so wide that freelance journalists are also affected.

There have been suggestions that companies' public relations divisions could be affected, and even the Bureau for Information itself.

And there are fears that the register may be widened to include other journalists. Prominent media lawyer David Dison has called the provision "the thin end of the wedge".

He said the register was the first step on the road towards a compulsory register for all journalists – a long-time aim of the government. The idea of such a register has been raised repeatedly, but has always been dropped after a public outcry.

Other media experts have pointed out that a register for journalists amounts to State licencing of the profession, which would ultimately mean total State control.

Within hours of the regulations being published, the East Cape News Agencies reacted.

"We hereby serve notice that we have every intention of fighting this measure, not only in our own interests, but in those of all South Africans," it said.

Ecna, which groups independent agencies in Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown and King William's Town, said it appeared the government wanted to establish a register "through the back door", affecting at first only "those seen to be the most marginal in the South African media – the independent news agencies".

The new provision provides that all agencies must be registered, and supply the department with details such as the names and addresses of the journalists involved, and the names of publications they serve.

Registration cannot be refused the first time around, but once an agency is registered it can be required to submit copies of all news material it produces to the department.

"If the Minister is of the opinion that it is necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency, he may, without prior notice to any person and without hearing any person, withdraw the registration of the agency."

Once it is deregistered, the agency and all the individual journalists involved can be refused re-registration.

There have been contradictory signals of the government's intentions. The Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, rejected suggestions that the measure was the first step towards a general register of journalists.

Botha was quoted as saying: "I can state emphatically that such a suggestion is devoid of all truth."

But his chief director of media relations, Andries Engelbrecht, gave a strong indication that freelance journalists were included:

"They are not excluded. If anybody is in doubt, my advice is that they should register. I'm not telling anyone not to register." – Elnews

Sponsors wanted for Achib scheme

Press 3/7/88

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business has appealed to companies to sponsor about five unemployed people every month at a cost of R800 a group to become hawkers.

The move is part of the organisation's Unemployment Creation Project, established last year to assist jobless people.

Achib has written to 21 companies asking for sponsorship. According to Achib president Lawrence Mavundla the organisation has had over 600 applications from people who wanted to become members but who do not have the finance to start up.

"It costs R135 to set up a hawker – R100 for stock and R35 for licensing and the organisation's joining fee," he said. Achib will charge an additional R125 a month to cover administration costs.

Mavundla said Achib had set up more than 900 hawkers last year. Because of mounting unemployment, the organisation decided to go on a campaign to interest more companies to become involved.

"The problem of unemployment affects the whole of South Africa and therefore an appeal is being made to companies to come forward and help.

The project will boost the organisation's marketing arm by providing an outlet for people who want to launch new products onto the market. Their products will be stocked and promoted by the sponsored hawkers."

Star Times 4/7/88

'SA rescue attempt foiled in Zimbabwe'

HARARE. — Zimbabwe foiled a South African attempt last week to rescue five men awaiting trial for bomb attacks against ANC targets, sources familiar with the incident said on Saturday.

The failed raid appears to have caused a grave crisis in relations between the two countries.

The Zimbabwean authorities have blacked out all news and the SA departments of Foreign Affairs and Defence have denied all knowledge of the raid.

A stolen Zimbabwean Air Force Augusta-Bell helictopter was seen hovering near Chikurubi Prison on the outskirts of Harare on Thursday.

Western diplomats say Zimbabwean security forces appear to have foiled an attempt by its pilot and lone passenger — a woman — to rendezvous with a unit of SA commandos on the ground. The fate of the commandos is not known.

The aim was apparently to free Guy and Barry Bawden, Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo — former members of the Rhodesian security forces — who were on their way to Harare Magistrate's Court for a routine remand hearing, the sources said.

Zimbabwean police reportedly found an abandoned car in the vicinity of Cleveland Rifle Range, close to Chikurubi Prison, containing weaponry and gas canisters.

The helicopter flew 200km to a subsidiary airstrip near Redcliff, in the Midlands, where it made a safe landing and the pilot set fire to it with gunfire.

An African child was injured by ricocheting bullets, sources say.

The pilot and his woman passenger then boarded a DC 3 Dakota which had entered Zimbabwean airspace described as a commercial charter flight. It was last seen flying southwards.

The Zimbabwean air force is understood to be seeking Lieutenant Gary Kane, 26, a Zimbabwean-born officer who enlisted after independence in 1980 and served with the air force on combat operations in Mozambique. His father is thought to be Mr Nigel Kane, a retired broadcasting personality with Rhodesia Television, now living in SA.

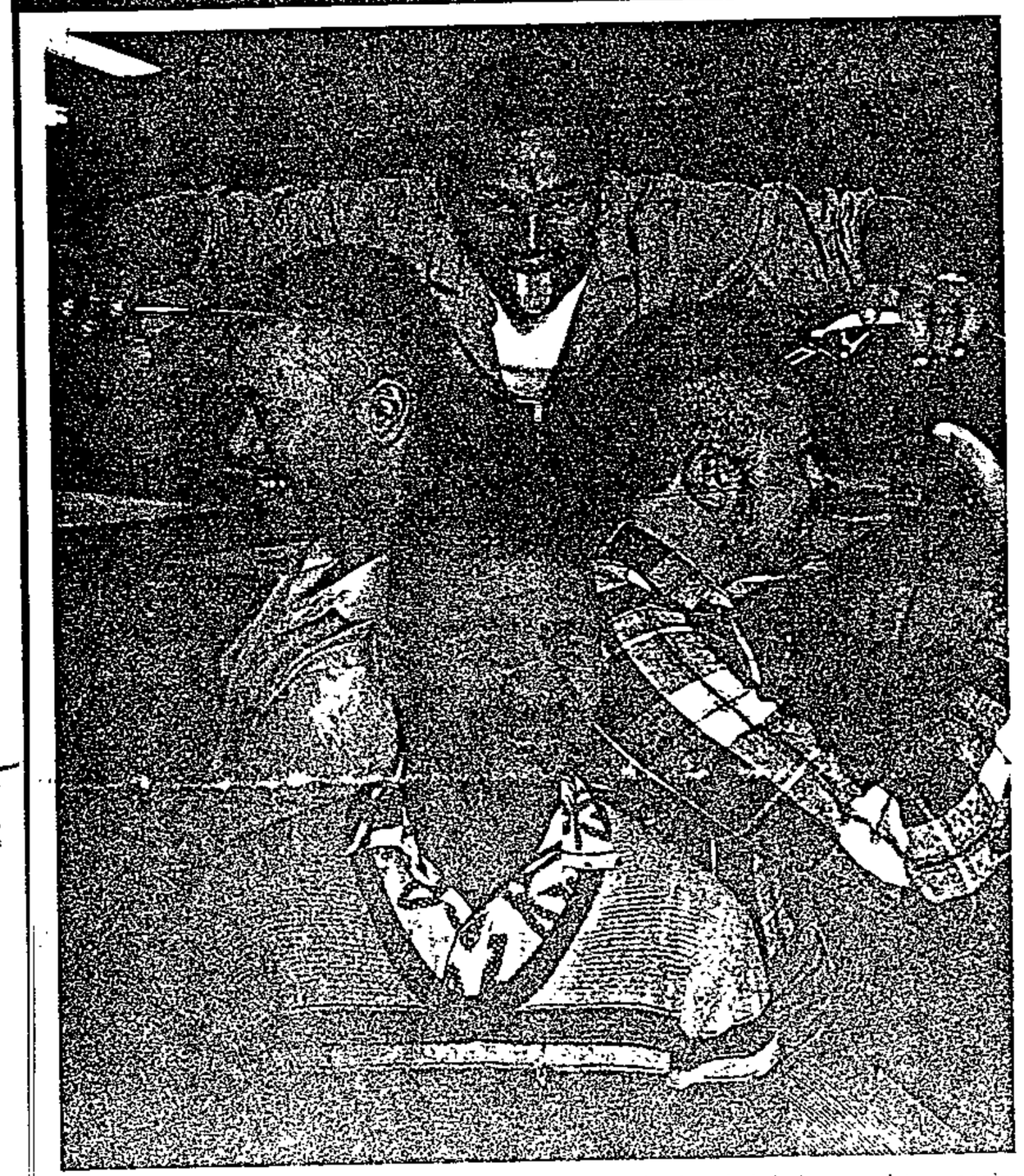
Zimbabwean security police have taken several people into detention since the incident.

Asked to comment, a spokesman for the SADF in Pretoria said: "Although it is not policy to react to unsourced reports like this, we nonetheless deny that any so-called SA commandos had anything to do with this so-called incident." — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

SA 'commando' held in Harare

Cape Times 5/7/88 (327)

WP cost them their hair



The Western Province rugby fans who bet their hair on a victory against

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — Zimbabwe last night claimed to have captured a South African commando and said a young Zimbabwe Air Force officer had defected to South Africa.

The Zimbabwe government also said its security forces were searching for five more South African commandos.

It said the air force officer fled the country after a failed attempt to rescue five alleged South African agents who are on trial for murder and sabotage.

Zimbabwe's Minister of State Security, Dr Sydney Sekeremayi, lifted a four-day news blackout at a press conference last night in which he gave first official details of the raid in which an 11-year-old Zimbabwean girl was wounded.

The South African commandos had aimed to free five Zimbabwean citizens — Mr Guy Bawden, 32, Mr Barry Bawden, 30, Mr Kevin Woods, 35, Mr Michael Smith, 34, and Mr Philip Conjwayo, 54 — as they were being ferried from Chikurubi maximum-security prison to Harare Magistrate's Court for a routine remand hearing on Thursday morning, he said.

Sixth man arrested

The five, all former members of the Rhodesian security forces, were detained in January after a man was killed in a car-bomb blast at an ANC house in Bulawayo. If convicted they face the death penalty.

A sixth man, Rory Burt Maguire, who was arrested with the five, has already been convicted of failing to report the presence of SA saboteurs and is expected to be sentenced next week. He has offered to turn state witness against the five.

Dr Sekeremayi said that last week "two dubious characters" had attempted to enter Zimbabwe at the remote Kazungula border post in the extreme north-west. When suspicious immigration officers called police the men fled into the night, climbing a security fence. A man was later detained in Botswana.

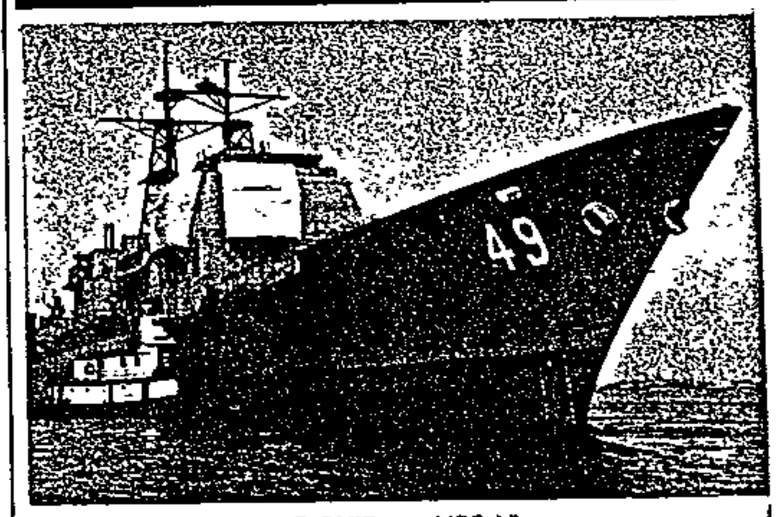
On Thursday morning, said Dr Sekeremayi, Air-Lieutenant Gary Kane, 23, a Zimbabwean-born air force officer, booked out a Zimbabwean Air Force Augusta-Bell helicopter from Harare's New Sarum air force base for a training flight.

After flying the helicopter 220km south, Lt Kane destroyed it with gunfire and wounded an 11-year-old girl. He fled to South Africa in a light aircraft. The girl is now recovering in hospital in Harare after emergency surgery.

A spokesman for the SA Defence Force said last night that the SADF had already "denied that members of the SADF had been involved in the alleged incident".

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department could not comment because they had received "no official communication from the government of Zimbabwe".

— 3



MISSILE SHIP ... USS Vincennes

Ayatollah urges war against US

NICOSIA. — Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini urged Iranians yesterday to join an all-out war against America and its allies.

"We should all rush to the fronts for a fully-fledged war against America and its surrogates," the ayatollah said in his first reaction to the US downing of an Iranian airliner on Sunday.

The United States faced widespread criticism from friends and foes yesterday and Western diplomats in Beirut said they feared American and British hostages held in the Lebanese capital were at greater risk.

Diplomats in the Gulf said they believed international dismay at the attack could increase domestic pressure for America's 30 or so warships in the region to be pulled out or at least reduced.

Many congressmen are expected to call tomorrow for US president Mr Ronald Reagan to invoke the War Powers Act, which would allow the House and Senate to vote within 60 days on withdrawing the fleet.

The United States has not yet formally apologized to Iran. But Mr Reagan, scoffing at Iranian charges that the US intentionally shot down a passenger jet, said yesterday that the attack was "an understandable accident" that does not justify withdrawing US forces from the Persian Gulf.

But as Iran continued to pull victims' bodies from the gulf, the president sidestepped questions about compensating their families.

"I've ordered an investigation and I'm going to wait until I hear the result," he said.

Tehran Radio said at least 168 bodies had been pulled from the Strait of Hormuz.

Shippers said merchant vessels in the Gulf, passageway for one-sixth of the Western world's oil, were moving normally again yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

● How did US ship make mistake? — Page 4

News agencies plan to fight registration

(327) Star 5/7/88

A campaign to oppose the registration of independent news agencies will be launched in Grahamstown today.

Numerous individuals and organisations in the eastern Cape have been invited, including businesses, churches and the media.

The meeting is being hosted by the head of the Rhodes University Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Professor Gavin Stewart, and is being supported by the four independent East Cape news agencies: the Albany News Agency (Ana) in Grahamstown, the Port Elizabeth News Agency (Pen), Veritas in King William's Town and the East London News Agency (Elnews).

● In terms of the latest regulations, no person shall after July 31 carry on a news agency business unless he is registered. — Sapa.

Can you hear a death-knell being sounded for freedom?

Star 5/7/88 (327)

By
HARVEY TYSON

South Africa has reached a moment of truth for press freedom. Whether deliberately intended or not, a register of freelance journalists is a direct, and potentially mortal, blow to all journalists and publications in this country.

Moments of truth should hit one in the face like unfilleted frozen fish.

Yet the South African press, so quick to sense other signals, may have reached its moment of truth without being fully aware of it.

The problem is that truth has little relevance when reality is suspended — and reality has, like normal law, disappeared under successive waves of "temporary" states of emergency.

We have now reached the ludicrous position where emergency regulations, often contradictory of each other, can mean anything to anyone.

So it is that the latest decree, forcing certain news agencies and freelancers to register with the State, can be interpreted as a threat not only to the press, but to every form of information-dispensing organisation, including civic institutes and chambers of commerce. A literal interpretion means that even government press officers and most of the public relations industry must register.

Suspend belief

A reader suggests in The Star today (See Letters Page) that even regular letter-writers to the press will have to register with the State as "news agencies".

On the other hand, it is possible by a stretch of the imagination and suspension of belief, to interpret the new rule as "a mere technicality" bringing informal news agencies into line with established ones.

My own view is that the regulation demanding that certain freelancers register with the State *is* a moment of truth for press freedom. Whether deliberately intended or not, it is a direct — and potentially mortal — blow to all journalists and publications in this country.

It is the single, most dangerous attack on freedom of information.

The nightmare is that I cannot prove it — because truth has vanished; the courts have no powers to decide; and the meaning of words depends on what a Cabinet Minister or his cohorts choose them to mean.

When The Star asked the Minister of Home Affairs whether he was bringing in a register of journalists "by the back door", he denied it categorically. There was no move "to slip in mandatory registration of all journalists", he said.

But he also quoted the new regulations, which stipulate exemptions to a proposed State register. Reporters supplying news exclusively to media by whom they are employed are exempt. So are people supplying information on a casual basis. Thus Sapa, Associated Press, Reuters and most South African journalists now practise "by exemption". But other recognised correspondents are not exempt — and they will therefore be required to register.

If freelancers do register, it means that many fulltime, professional journalists on major newspapers who contribute regularly to other sporting, economic and news journals, will in effect be licensed by the State.

It seems possible that a newspaper may be forced to employ — or fire on principle — State-registered reporters.

If I write regularly for an international professional journalists' magazine, for instance, I would become a licensed reporter.

You may ask: What's wrong with that?

You might as well ask: what's wrong with State thought control?

Obvious differences

There's no space here to spell out the obvious differences between registers supported voluntarily by doctors, dentists, lawyers as opposed to compulsory registers for writers. Suffice to say that a journalists' register is possibly the only instantly recognisable division between a relatively free press and a state-controlled one.

The issue of journalists' registers has been a decade-long world battle between the free nations on the one hand, and a coterie of communist and Third World UN members on the other. Unesco remains the battle-ground where democracies fight against those countries which are intent on enforcing a New World Information Order in which journalists are to be registered "for their own protection".

For the first time in a decade, the move for information control is losing ground, and democracy is beginning to win in Unesco. But among those still pressing for a World Information Order are Congo, Cuba, China, East Germany, Mali, Bulgeria, Somalia and Senegal.

The South African Government has, consciously or otherwise, ranged itself alongside them. Indeed, our Government publicly expressed sympathy years ago with the authoritarian proposals put forward in Unesco. Now it has gone further: It has actually introduced the form of journalists' registration which is anathema to press freedom everywhere.

I believe that most journalists will leave their jobs or leave the country rather than surrender so basic a freedom. So we have reached a moment of truth.

But most newspaper people (let alone the general public) are unaware of it. For all I know, even the Minister is unaware of it. For all I know, he may have been beguiled into thinking that he has found an acceptable device for "licensing the licentious few".

Indeed, there may be the naive and insensitive view that the register is "all right" because it is intended only for those on the fringes of the recognised press. There may be an optimistically fatuous belief that only a few "irresponsibles" will be affected. Shades of Nazi Germany!

We can only hope that the Government, of its own accord, will come to its senses and recognise the reality — the truth — which is: A State register of reporters (or freelancers) is the Rubicon marking, not the suspension, but the death of free speech.

All 'should protest press restrictions'

CAPE TIMES 6/7/88

377

GRAHAMSTOWN. — It was imperative that all people protest against the press restrictions which had been imposed consistently and ominously over the past few years, Professor Andre Brink said last night.

Addressing a press freedom forum organized by the Southern African Society of Journalists, Prof Brink stressed that the freedom of the press concerned "every living person in this country".

"For our own survival we need knowledge — we need to know what is happening in the townships, at funerals and in the detention cells. We need to know what the ANC is about and what the term total onslaught means," he said.

Prof Brink said that not only did one have to strive to fill the vacuum caused by the press curbs, one had to try actively to counter the "deliberate dissemination" of wrong information.

He said the public also had a responsibility to try to penetrate "the blanket of silence, even in small ways".

If newspapers could not report on various events, news of them could be spread by word of mouth.

Clergymen defy Emergency

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. - Twenty-six church leaders last week defied the Emergency Regulations at a press conference called to discuss the October municipal elections.

The churchmen — including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches — took a strong stand on the elections which cannot be reported in terms of the emergency regulations.

This week security police chief General Johan van der Merwe said the 26 church leaders' stand on the October municipal elections seemed to have contravened the Emergency Regulations. The matter was being investigated.

The press conference followed a five-day SACC conference

Apartheid

General secretary the Rev Frank Chikane set the tone for the SACC conference during the opening address when he said the churches had set themselves the aim of positive action against apartheid.

The churches, Chikane said, had declared apartheid a heresy and its structures evil.

The national conference endorsed a decision by the SACC executive to refuse to submit to Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha the council's monthly publication, Ecunews.

The conference decided not to disclose names of donor agencies and for what purposes the funds were being used.

It also resolved to oppose the media restrictions and establish a "vigilance committee" to counteract misinformation about itself.

Frank Chikane

Other resolutions dealt with the release of political prisoners and detainees.

The SACC also urged that the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill be dropped and that the Land and Group Areas Acts be scrapped, and praised trade union bodies' stand on the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

It called on the government to spare the lives of the Sharpeville Six, and called for the abolition of capital punishment in the countries of Southern Africa where member churches were ministering.

Cape Times 7/7/88 (327)

Cape Times, Thursc

Botswana: SA men on trial

GABORONE, Botswana. — The trial of two South Africans for alleged security law infringements started yesterday and, police claim, touched off a spate of anonymous bomb threats tied to demands that the men be freed, police said.

Alleged commandos Mr Johannes Basson, 25, and Mr Theodore Hermansen, 30, were brought into a Francistown court in chains.

Police in Gaborone said seven anonymous callers to a luxury hotel and a school threatened to detonate time-bombs if "our two friends" were not freed. The buildings were evacuated but no bombs were found.

Mr Basson and Mr Hermansen, who were arrested on June 20 after South African commandos shot at a Botswana police patrol, were charged in the Francistown magistrate's court.

The magistrate, Mr Anthony Amstel, declined to allow the trial to be transferred to the capital.

The accused complained they had had to wash wearing chains, eat food with their hands and sleep under lice-ridden blankets. They requested transfer to a better prison in Gaborone.

Police Superintendent Ramsden Ramagola promised to improve their conditions during a 14-day adjournment.

The accused were taken to court about 15 hours after Botswana police acknowledged arresting and handing over to neighbouring Zimbabwe a third alleged white South African commando, Mr Dennis Charles Behan, involved in another incident.

Mr Behan was charged in a Harare court on Tuesday with complicity in a bungled June 28 raid to free five Zimbabweans held on suspicion of spying for South Africa.

Prosecutor Mr Yunus Omerjee said Mr Behan admitted to Zimbabwean police that he had led a commando group to free five Zimbabweans accused of plotting attacks against Zimbabwean offices of the African National Congress.

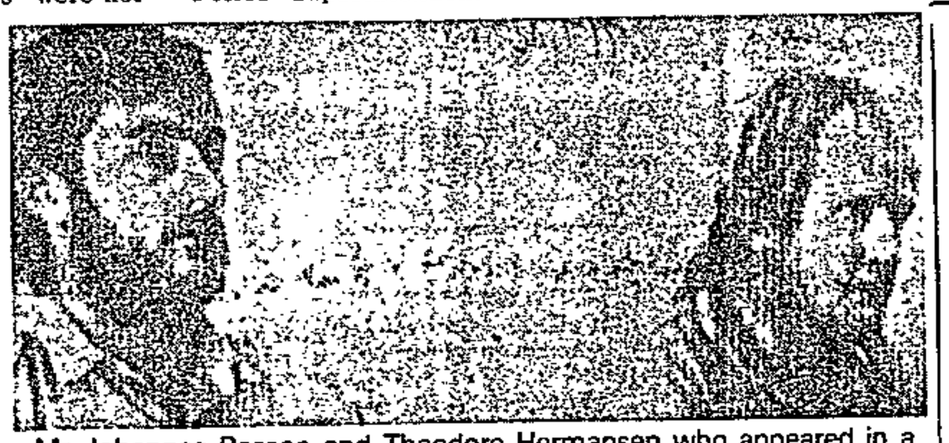
Zimbabwe's Minister of State Security, Mr Sydney Sekeramayi, said on Monday that the South African plot to rescue the "detained saboteurs" was foiled.

Flight-Lieutenant Gary Kane, a Zimbabwe Air Force pilot, allegedly stole a helicopter to snatch the prisoners but abandoned it, shot it up with an automatic rifle and escaped to South Africa "in a plane that was waiting for them".

The SADF acknowledged the Botswana incident but denied involvement in the Zimbabwe incident.— UPI

SHACKLED ... Denis Charles Behan, a British citizen who allegedly led a South African group to snatch six Zimbabwe accused, on his way to appearing in a Harare magistrate's court yesterday. Picture: REUTER

Lieutenant Gary Kane.



Mr Johannes Basson and Theodore Hermansen who appeared in a Francistown magistrate's court yesterday. Picture: REUTER

Nine SA citizens in other countries' jails

JOHANNESBURG. — Nine SA citizens are captive in foreign states because of political and regional conflicts in Southern Africa.

The most recent incident involves the arrests of Mr Andre Swart and Mr Hendrik Steve du Plessis in Zambia last month.

The two men were picked up by police for being suspected SADF members on a mission against the ANC. The SA Police said the two men were wanted by police in connection with various criminal charges. Both are in Zambian police custody.

On June 21, SADF Corporal Johannes Basson, 25, and SA citizen Mr Theodore Hermansen, 30, on national service, were arrested at a roadblock by Botswana authorities after a shooting incident involving SADF members and Botswana police.

Botswana alleged the two were members of a group of seven SADF commandos preparing to mount a raid in Gaborone. An SADF spokesman denied they were members of the commando group although the men admitted to being on national service for SA.

They are in police custody in Francistown where they were charged under Botswana's National Security Act and Penal Code yesterday.

On June 23, former Cape Town resident Mr Barry Jean Vivier, 29, was arrested by Botswana police for being in possession of a handgrenade and for conspiring with Mr Theodore Hermansen. Mr Vivier, who appeared in court on June 28 in connection with the two charges, was refused bail.

Angola announced in May that a black SA soldier known as "Pafuta" was taken prisoner on December 12. His fate is unknown.

On November 27, 1987, Odile Harington, 27, of Johannesburg, was sentenced to 25 years' jail in Zimbabwe.

The fate of Soweto resident Mr Promise Isiah Moyo, 31, a truck driver, is unknown after his arrest in Zambia some time last year.

Another black South African in his fifties, whom Zimbabwe authorities labelled "Mr X", was arrested last September in connection with infiltrating the ANC and plotting to murder its leaders.

SA couple charged

GABORONE. — A white South African couple have been charged in the Magistrate's Court here with treason which carries a maximum sentence of death, the Botswana Press Agency reported.

Mr Olaf Iva Bergh, 33, manager of a Botswana game industries firm in Gaborone, and his wife, Elizabeth Maria, 30, who were arrested on Sunday, have pleaded not guilty.

They were refused bail and will appear before the High Court in Lobatse today to make an urgent bail application.

No details of the charges have been released. — Sapa

The first moment of freedom: Trevor Manuel and Whitey Jacobs after their release.

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

Surprise: Top UDF leader walks free

8-14/7/88 W/Mail 327

By GAYE DAVIS

FIVE prominent Western Cape activists — including Trevor Manuel, former United Democratic Front secretary and the longest-serving detainee in the region — were released from prison yesterday.

Manuel, who was held for just under two years, is the first national leader of the UDF to be released for many months. Coming not long before the October elections, his release was a major surprise, especially since his detention order was renewed less than a month ago when the State of Emergency was repromulgated.

However, the "freedom" given to the five was limited: all were served with restriction orders which bar them from working for the UDF and its affiliates, confine them to magisterial districts and place them under house arrest at night.

In terms of the orders, none of those released may attend meetings where the government is criticised; nor may they call for a boycott of the pending municipal elections.

Manuel, 32, the UDF's Western Cape secretary and former member of the national executive, has also been barred from giving press interviews and having anything to do with compiling publications.

Released were:

- Cape Youth Congress president Whitey Mzonke Jacobs, 27, after 360 days in Paarl's Victor Verster Prison. He may not leave the Wynberg magisterial district and is confined to his Guguletu home between 7pm and 5am;
- UDF Western Cape executive member Mountain Qumbela, after 188 days in Pollsmoor, and the UDF's publicity secretary in the region, Hilda Ndude, who was detained on June 2 this year. Both are confined to their magisterial district and under house arrest at night;
- UDF Western Cape treasurer and Call of Islam executive member Ebrahim Rassool, after more than 400 days in Pollsmoor. He is confined to the Athlone magisterial district and his Gatesville home by night.

However, the UDF leadership remains severely depleted. Of its head office staff, two (Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe) are on trial, two (Mohammed Valli and Murphy Morobe, who replaced Lekota and Molefe) are in detention, and two (Azhar Cachalia and Manuel) are now restricted.

Its two presidents, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede, are also restricted.

●To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted under the Emergency Regulations

P.T.O.

Surprise: Top UDF leader walks free

Only the national chairperson, Curnick Ndlovu, is free, although he has been in hiding for over two years.

Of its other national executive members, the Reverend Arnold Stofile is serving a prison sentence in the Ciskei, at least three others (Jomo Khasu, Henry Fazzie and Edgar Ngoyi) are in detention and two are restricted (Zollie Malindi and Christmas Tinto). The remaining members, Derrick Swartz and Titus Mofolo, are both deep in hiding.

Yesterday, a beaming Manuel, 32, walked out of Victor Verster Prison holding his two-year-old son, Govan, in his arms. The child was only a few weeks old when Manuel was detained on August 15 1986. He had physical contact with his father only once during his detention, at the end of last year on a psychiatrist's recommendation.

Jacobs, the father of a 14-month-old daughter, held her in his arms for the first time yesterday.

Notice of Manuel, Jacobs and Rassool's release was given to their lawyers on Tuesday, just as they were gearing to launch a supreme court application for an interdict restraining Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok from further extending their detention.

Family members said Manuel was relieved to be freed but unhappy at being denied access to a vital force in his life — the struggle — and at having to leave fellow detainees behind.

●From PAGE 1

He was particularly concerned that long-detained *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu had been admitted to hospital for depression, they said. He could understand it happening as — unlike convicted criminals — detainees never knew when they would be freed, if ever.

The restrictions meant that in a sense, his detention continued — he may not leave the Cape Town magisterial district and must be in his Maitland home from 6pm to 5am — but his resolve had been strengthened, they said.

Manuel arrived at his mother's Kensington home to a banner saying "Viva Trevor Welcome Home". Waiting for him in the street stood his mother, sisters —his father died 19 years ago — and nephews. When his mother, Philma, saw her son unfold his long frame from the car which brought him from Paarl she started weeping. "Don't cry," he told her. "You're supposed to be smiling."

Cradling his child in his arms, he first thanked neighbours for supporting of his family.

He was in high spirits, seemed unfazed by his incarceration, teasing children about school and their report cards.

There were jubilant reunions with other activists who started arriving, crowding his living room.

32

W/Mail 8-14/7/87

327

APARTHEID BAROMETER

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ATTACKS

The number of ANC attacks inside South Africa has increased by more than 500 over the past four years, according to figures released by Pretoria's Institute of Strategic Studies.

The number of guerrilla attacks in South Africa last year was 249 (with at least 15 of these in the "independent homelands"), according to the institute's and government figures. The figure for 1986 (excluding the "independent homelands") was 230, compared with 136 in 1985 and 40 in 1984.

The institute said the majority of these attacks were carried out by the ANC.

According to police figures the upsurge in attacks has been met with a 60 percent increase in the number of guerrillas captured and killed by the police.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Wynand Breytenbach, recently said there had been 350 "terrorist" attacks launched "across South Africa's borders" over the past six years.

GROUP AREAS ACT INVESTIGATIONS

Police conducted 1 307 investigations under the Group Areas Act throughout the country last year, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament.

FORCED REMOVALS

A total of 47 617 Africans were "resettled" last year, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, told parliament. He said 46 000 people were moved from Kabah Langa and Despatch in the Eastern Cape, 280 from Ericadeans, 169 from Colchester, 98 from Threescombe, 111 from Fitches and seven from Rocklands. They were all resettled in Motherwell, east of Port Elizabeth. He said 435 people were removed from the Varkfontein plots at Petit, Transvaal, to Etwatwa near Daveyton, and 517 from Noordhoek in the Cape to Khayelitsha.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

AL LENGISI, 49, ANC member and former South African Congress of Trade Unions national executive member, was detained in Transkei on September 26 1968, and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on Robben Island on January 6 1969.

Lengisi, a nephew of Walter Sisulu, grew up in a politically-oriented family in Engcobo. After matriculating in Umtata he joined the ANC Youth League in 1958, and soon became branch secretary. In 1960 he became a mineworker and later a construction worker in Welkom, but was fired for staying away on the Republic Referendum Day. After that Lengisi helped Sactu organise mine workers in the Free State. He later got a job as a male nurse in Welkom and organised a Sactu branch there. He was then elected to the Sactu national executive.

In October 1963 Lengisi was detained and held for weeks. In July 1964 he left South Africa for Tanzania and later the Soviet Union. After returning to South Africa by sea he was detained and tried together with 11 others.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:
Namibia at war, no justice no peace — postcard (not stated); Proof: God's chosen are white Christians — Verboten (Thomas E O'Brein); Der Exhibitionist (Olympia Press Deutchland GmbH and Co Frankfurt); Das Sexkofferchen (Sol-Verlags GmbH); Terflische Lust Sexer Nr 73 and Sex-Nachte in El-Kahira Sexer Nr 19 (both produced by Franz Decker Verlag Nachf GmbH, Stuttgart); Schamlos (Catherine de Premonville); Die Puppen von Nurnberg (Herberg Hauser); Die Liebe, Mein Herr (Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, Hamburg); Poster 2779 High life with cigarette and dagga leaf thereon — poster (not stated); 2311 Matu Jkarweub Abbibcuatuib — poster (Wizard and Genius — Ideal — decor AG 8618 Oetwilam See/Zurich); Alaska Momma Boris 1987 — poster (Verkerke Copyright and Licensing GmbH Nederlands); Azania Frontline no 22 April/May 1988 (Azania Frontline, London).

Banned for distribution and importation:
Remember Namibia, Remember Kassinga (Black Sash, Mowbray, Cape Town); Youth in Exile 1-5 March 1988 (World Alliance of YMCAs Geneva, Switzerland); 10 Years of Heroic Struggle (Nanso, UWC); New Perspectives 3/88 (Information Centre of World Peace Council, Helsinski); Justice and Service no 4 vol 3 April 1988 (Justice and Service, Harare); International Viewpoint issue no 141 May 16 1988 (Press-Edition-Communication, Montreal); Historic tours of Alexandra township — pamphlet (not stated); AWEPAA News Bulletin no 18 April 1988 (AWEPAA, Netherlands); "C" stimulation, his and her series and "P" stimulation, his and her series (both produced by David Anthony); Jalousien (Ane Schmidt); Die Foto-Falle and Die Nymphe (both produced by Gustaf Valentine); Erregende Stille (Olympia Press, Deutschland); Elternabend and Die Parfumierte Falle (both produced by Kirsten Weinreut); Ein Sommer Auf Dem Lande (Gustave Droz); Des Guten Zuviel, erotische kriminal stories (Bastei-Lubbe-Taschenbuch, West Germany); Scharfe Katzen, Wilde Kater Orgas 63 (Terry Shaffer); Beau Valley and Country Club — nine photos of nude girls (Beau Valley Country Club, Warmbaths); Prank vol 1 no 118 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Jeppe, Johannesburg); Human Figure in motion — postcards (General Publishing Company Ltd, Toronto); Secrets of Naughty Susan — film; The Boys in C Company — review.

Conditionally approved/unbanned (confined to legal deposit and university libraries):
Fourteen issues of Muslim News — vols 18 nos 16, 17, 23, vol 19 nos 11, 18, 19, vol 20 nos 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, vol 21 nos 12 and 21 (all produced by Muslim News Publications, Athlone); Southern Africa Report vol 3 no 5 May 1988 (TCLSAC, Toronto); Social Change and Development no 19 1988 (Memorial Co-Operative Society, Harare); Youth Express (Grassroots Publications — only to people over 16, and only distributed by bookshops and libraries).

Unbanned for distribution and importation: Gek nr 50 (Sonskyn Uitgewers, (Edms) Bpk, Johannesburg); Marx's Grundrisse (David Mclellan); The Secret Lemonade Drinker (Guy Belamy).

Unbanned for possession: Leninism (Joseph Stalin); Muslim News vol 18 no 16 (Muslim News Publications, Athlone).

Couple's bail hearing postponed

Cape Times 8/7/88

GABORONE. — An urgent bail application by a South African couple facing two charges of treason and one of possession of arms, which was to have been heard yesterday by the Botswana High Court, was postponed to today.

The two are charged with the possession of an assortment of SADF uniforms which allegedly belonged to Mr Barry Jean Vivier, another South African facing two charges concerning national security, the Botswana Press Agency said.

Mr Vivier is a manager of a local supermarket.

The accused are Mrs Elizabeth Gertruida Maria Bergh, 30, and her husband, Mr Olof Bergh, 33.

Mr Bergh is the manager of a Botswana game industries firm in Gaborone and Mrs Bergh is a housewife.

They have been in Botswana for 2½ years.

According to the charge, Mrs Bergh helped Mr Vivier by concealing the uniforms, a pair of SADF trousers and a jacket from police officers by burning them.

The second accused is alleged to have been found in possession of some SADF uniforms, which included a pair of boots, a raincoat, a belt, a haversack and a kit bag which allegedly belonged to Mr Vivier.

Mr Bergh is alleged to have concealed uniforms and been in possession of two rifle cartridges in Gaborone on July 3. — Sapa

2327 W/Mail 8-14/7/88

Cape news agencies fight the register

By KAREN EVANS, Port Elizabeth

THE Eastern Cape wing of the "Save the Press Campaign" was launched in Grahamstown this week in response to increasingly harsh press regulations, in particular the introduction of registration of news agency journalists.

A committee was set up to take the issue of press freedom into a wide range of constituencies and to coordinate with other areas to form a national campaign.

A statement drawn up by the East Cape News Agencies was endorsed at the meeting saying: "The media plays a central role in democratic societies, providing access to information and ideas which enable citizens to participate in the political process.

"South Africa needs more information, not less, to enable its citizens to help solve its problems. South Africans will become more isolated from each other, conflict will intensify and the chances of a democratic outcome will diminish."

●The issue of the registration of freelance journalists and press agencies was raised at a meeting hosted by the South African Society of Journalists in Grahamstown this week.

"At the moment it seems to affect only a small minority ... but it can be extended bit by bit, until it affects all journalists," said Franz Krüger, an East London News Agency reporter.

Johannesburg media lawyer Lauren Jacobsen said: "the media in South Africa has been crippled. Crucial issues of our time may not and are not being reported.

"The government is raising a generation of political eunuchs, unable to make informed choices." — Pen

Costly loopholes

Rules regulating competitions run by newspapers are full of loopholes. The final decision, which rests with editors, is not always the last word in the matter — and this the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, found out for a second time last week, when it had to settle a R15 000 literature prize to Afrikaans writer Koos Prinsloo.

Both cases involved journalists working for the newspaper. Prinsloo, who was given the literature prize for his novel *Die Hemel Help Ons* is a sub-editor. In the other case, a Port Elizabeth woman was disqualified when she won R17 000 in *Rapport*'s charity competition on the ground that her son, Herman Jansen, works for the newspaper as a reporter, making her ineligible for the competition.

Prinsloo's prize (R15 000 and two overseas air tickets) was held back after the chairman of *Rapport*'s board of directors, Willem van Heerden, announced two days before a prizegiving event in Bloemfontein

FINANCIAL MAIL JULY 8 1988

8/7/88 FM (327)

that it had been cancelled. The board's decision was made in the light of a scurrilous reference to President P W Botha in Prinsloo's novel.

Prinsloo consulted his attorneys and a letter of demand was sent to his employer threatening legal action. Last week *Rapport* settled. As part of the settlement it was agreed that the content of the settlement would not be divulged, but that the paper would report that a settlement was reached — and this was done last weekend.

The *FM* understands that Prinsloo received a very generous financial settlement, but that the two air tickets were not included. However, Afrikaans satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys offered to give Prinsloo two air tickets when it was announced that the prize was cancelled. "I have not spoken to Pieter-Dirk again after the settlement was announced, so I am not sure whether his offer still stands," Prinsloo told the *FM*.

In the case of Jansen's mother, a settlement was reached after legal proceedings. What apparently made the difference with her competition entry was the distinction between the Afrikaans words *gesinslede* (family at home) and *familielede* (family in the broader sense).

Meanwhile, the future of Afrikaans's most prestigious literature award is still being decided. It can be expected, though, that members of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde (writers' guild) will in future not accept the prize unless *Rapport* guarantees that the decision will rest solely with the judges, and that no interference from other sources will be allowed. In Prinsloo's case, the judges unanimously voted his novel the winner. ■

Ban on April Scope lifted

9/7/88 (327) Star 9/7/88

CAPE TOWN — The Publications Appeal Board had lifted the ban on the April issue of *Scope* produced by Republican Press, Johannesburg, the Directorate of Publications announced yesterday.

A Publications Committee has, on review, ruled that possession of "South Africa: The Press and the Politics of Liberation" by Chenhamo C Chimutengwende was no longer prohibited, while "Inside Boss, South Africa's Secret Police" by Gordon Winter was, on review, declared not undesirable.

From yesterday it was an offence to be in possession of two T-shirts — one displaying hammer and sickle and CCCP; and the other with the words "Freedom or Death — Victory is Certain" (producers not stated). The same applied to a publication: "Directory of Dominatrixes Vol 1 Number 1" produced by J Jordan Associates, New York. Persons who possess these T-shirts and publication, should in their own interest, destroy them immediately, unless they have a permit.

Two issues of "Stern Heft" Nr 21 19 Mai and Nr 20 11 Mai 1988 (Gruner and Jahr AG and Co, Hamburg) were declared not undesirable provided they were not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

A publication produced by the International Labour and Information Group, Salt River titled: "Mozambique A Luta Continua" was also declared not undesirable provided it was not sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18 and was only distributed by bookshops and book distributors. A further condition was no distribution through mail order.

It is an offence to import and/or distribute a gramophone record: "Namibia will be free" produced by IDAF Records, London or any other recordings by IDAF Records without a permit.

A Publications Committee has decided that "DE IUS Magazine on the Democratization and Reform of Education '88" produced by the International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia, is not undesirable, although the import of all publications published by this publisher has been prohibited.

However, the Directorate has granted exemption from Section 9(4) of the Act to persons who wish to possess it.

During the past week 19 films were submitted for examination of which eight were unconditionally and 10 conditionally approved. One film, "Sensation", was rejected.

Possession of two films, "Desires within young girls" and "Love play French style", has been prohibited.

From yesterday it was an offence to import/or distribute the following:

Prank: No 146 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg).

Semi-nude, black couple — poster (not stated).

Nude black girl kneeling on red dais — poster (Verkerke Produksies, Holland).

ABC of Dialectical and Historical Materialism (Progress Publishers, Moscow).

Review of African Political Economy: Roape No 40 December 1987 (not stated).

SCI International Solidarity Campaign with Swapo: March 1988 (Service Civil International SEED Co-ordination, Antwerpen).

PCR Information: Special issue: The Way to Namibian Independence UN Resolution 435 (World Council of Churches, Geneva).

Africa Bulletin Nr 47 Marz/April 1988 (Afrika-Komitee, Basel).

Working for Freedom: Report of a Nalgo Delegation to South Africa June/July 1987 (NALGO, London).

Non-stop Against Apartheid (BM City AA, London). — Sapa.

Restrictions: 'Argus papers had testing year'

Cape Times 9/7/88

JOHANNESBURG. — Argus Company newpapers had a testing year in the face of restrictive legislation and the increased authority and discretion granted to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said Mr Hal Miller, in his chairman's statement, assessing the performance of newspapers.

Of the Argus newspapers, only the Sowetan had been "named" in terms of the new regulations and, as far as the company knew, it was not on "the minister's shortlist of problem newspapers", he said.

"Our difficulty is that our newspapers do not know precisely where the minister will draw the line in dealing with particular publications. And in the face of that uncertainty, our editors can only conform to precise law, where that exists, and, for the rest, follow age-old newspaper guidelines which say that facts are sacred and comments must be fair.

"I said last year that our primary task has always been to record facts as comprehensively and as factually as human frailty permits; to convey them quickly to the wide South African audience, which needs them, and to interpret their relevance as objectively as possible in the volatile South African scene."

Mr Miller said all of this remained the primary task of Argus Company newspapers. It could not be stated too strongly, he added, the company's belief that the best interests of South Africa and all its peoples would be served if newspapers were left by the government to meet their task conscientiously, without state interference or threat of it. — Sapa

Dieter Gerhardt may figure in big spy swop report

ARGUS 12/7/88

37

BONN. — A big East-West spy swop involving Soviet agents in Namibia and Israel, several East Germans and about 20 West Germans is being predicted. It is said it would involve Dieter Gerhardt, the former commander of Simon's Town naval base, the Bild Zeitung newspaper reports.

Gerhardt is serving a life sentence for spying for the KGB. Bild also names Shabtal Kalmanovich, a former Knesset aide arrested in Israel in December and accused of treason.

The East Germans, the paper says, are particularly anxious to have back Jan and Rosemarie Hubner, a couple operating from Neun-kirch in Switzerland, who "ran" Margret Hoke, the secretary who was imprisoned for eight years last year for betraying secrets from the West German President's office.

REAL NAME

The Hubners, whose real name is Karamazin, were each given six-year prison sentences by a Lucerne court last year, subsequently reduced to 4½ years.

Bild, which has correctly reported spy arrests and predicted swops in the past, also named Dieter Uhlmann and Gottfried Buhrdell, two mathematicians sentenced to three years and 18 months respectively last year for attempting to spy on an American military base here for the East Germans.

The West German government yesterday refused either to confirm or to deny the report.

In February this year The Independent reported plans for a three-sided swop between the US, Israel and the Soviet Union.

KEY FIGURES

Key figures in the deal were Shabtal Kalmanovich and Markus Kling-berg, a Soviet-born Israeli scientist who disappeared in 1983 and is believed to be held secretly in Israel for spying for the KGB.

Kling-berg, an epidemiologist, had access to Israeli biological and chemical warfare establishments. It is not clear whether the two possible deals are now linked.

Israeli sources said at the time they believed the US wanted to get someone out of the Soviet Union and the Russians would be prepared to pay a high price for their two agents.

The Israelis hoped that in return the US would drop its continuing investigations into the case of Jonathan Pollard, a US naval counter-intelligence officer who was jailed for selling information to Israel. — The Independent News Service.

Case postponed

327

A MAGISTRATE in Johannesburg yesterday postponed the case of two people charged with being in possession of undesirable literature to August 5.

They are Petronella Mabel Mentor (24), of Vergenoeg, Kimberley, and Freddy Mpifikile Vanga (22), who were arrested in Johannesburg on May 17, this year. They pleaded not guilty.

The State alleges they were found in possession of *"Voice of Women"*, *"Year of Advanced People's Power"*, *"Journal of the ANC Women Section No. 2 & 3 1987"* and a document without a heading.

Sowetan 12/7/88

Mandela concert: Approval asked

CAPE TIMES 13/7/88

(327)

JOHANNESBURG. — Police headquarters said yesterday that a planned outdoor concert in honor of Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday will be illegal unless court approval is obtained.

Police visited Mr Krish Naidoo, an attorney representing the concert organizers, on Monday to tell him that such an outdoor gathering will be construed as an infringement of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Naidoo said an application had been sent to the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg seeking permission to hold the event, scheduled for Sunday at a recreation area near Soweto, and that he expected a ruling by tomorrow.

Mr Mandela, who will turn 70 on Monday, has been jailed since 1962, a year after he went underground to lead the guerilla wing of the outlawed African National Congress..

Several of South Africa's top black musicians are scheduled to perform before an expected 25 000 people at the "Concert for Peace".

A smaller concert and other festivities are planned in the Cape Town area this weekend in conjunction with Mr Mandela's birthday. Several activists helping to organize those events were detained last week.

From Lusaka it is reported that the African National Congress yesterday conferred its highest honour, inaugurated in 1955, on Mr Mandela and four other ANC members sentenced with him to life imprisonment in 1964.

The award, known as Isithwalandwe/Searankoe in a local language, was in recognition of the five leaders' role in the fight against apartheid. — Sapa-AP

Manuel 'living for today'

TREVOR MANUEL may be free, but his restriction order makes him a virtual prisoner in his own home, his mother Mrs Philma Manuel says.

She was reacting to the release after almost two years in detention of her son, Trevor, former Western Cape secretary of the UDF. His release was marred by news of further detentions in the Western Cape.

"I still can't believe he is here. Yet the insecurity continues to exist. He's here today, but who knows about tomorrow."

Self-pity

Trevor's wife, Lynne, kept him in touch with family affairs during his detention. She visited him at Victor Vester prison regularly.

"I have played the role of single parent to our son as Trevor was in hiding for a month prior to his detention. Govan is overwhelmed at having his father home.

"Whenever I came close to self-pity, I thought of Delmas trialist Terror Lekota and how little time he has been able to spend with his wife, Cynthia, and their three children."

"Trevor has not yet decided what he plans to do as he is forbidden to participate in the work of the UDF or any of its affiliates. He is still adjusting to life outside prison."

14-20/7/89 Sowetan

Mandela: Police raid organizers

327

Cape Times 14/7/88

POLICE yesterday raided the Cape Town offices of organizations planning music and sports events at the weekend to mark jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

Documents and posters apparently related to the planned festivities were seized in the raids on, among others, the SA Council of Churches offices.

The raids came after the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, announced plans for a cultural festival to be staged at the University of the Western Cape.

A "freedom run" relay race on Saturday from Pollsmoor Prison — where Mr Mandela has been held for the past six years — to the NY49 sports stadium in Guguletu was also announced.

The raids had created the impression that the police "were looking for documents and posters that they could submit to a magistrate as part of their argument for having the Mandela birthday celebrations banned", the SACC said.

Mr Mandela turns 70 on Monday, but most of the celebrations are planned for the weekend.

'We will celebrate'

Speaking at a Cape Town press conference, Dr Boesak said that "in spite of all the intimidation, in spite of the obvious fear of the government, our decision is clear — we will celebrate".

"If we cannot come together in our streets and halls, we will celebrate in our homes and churches, but we will make sure Mandela's birthday does not go by unnoticed."

Police last week detained 13 people associated with the UWC function.

The jailed leader's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, is expected to make an appearance at UWC on Monday.

According to the SACC, police also raided the offices of the Cape Youth Congress, the UDF and the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee.

An attorney for these organizations, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed these raids and two other raids at Allies Press and Esquire Press. — Staff Reporters and Own Correspondents with UPI and Sapa

● '70% want Mandela free' — Page 3

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1434 15 Julie 1988

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOOD-REGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Martin Johannes Rust, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Oostelike Provinsie, hierby die bevel in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

M. J. RUST,

Afdelingskommissaris: Afdeling Oostelike Provinsie.

BYLAE

Klousule 1 van die bevel uitgereik by Goewermentskennisgewing 1119 van 10 Junie 1988 word hierby gewysig deur die omskrywing van "aangewese gebied" deur die volgende omskrywing te vervang:

"aangewese gebied—

(a) in die landdrosdistrik van Port Elizabeth die gebiede bekend as—

(i) New Brighton en kwaZakhele woongebiede, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 2246 van 11 November 1955 en 2684 van 4 Desember 1987;

(ii) Zwide woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1563 van 1 September 1972, soos gewysig;

(iii) Walmer Swart woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1541 van 31 Augustus 1945;

(iv) Motherwell, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 615 van 4 April 1986;

(v) kwaMagxaki woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 163 van 1 Februarie 1985;

(vi) kwaDwesi woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1010 van 23 Mei 1986;

(b) in die landdrosdistrik van Uitenhage die gebiede bekend as—

(i) kwaNobuhle woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 20 van 4 Januarie 1985, 2544 van 5 Desember 1986 en 2504 van 13 November 1987;

(ii) Kabah en Langa woongebiede, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 270 van 25 Februarie 1966, soos gewysig;

(iii) Despatch Swart woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 280 van 24 Februarie 1956;

(c) in die landdrosdistrik van Albany die gebiede bekend as—

(i) Fingodorp woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1904 van 2 September 1983;

(ii) Tantyi, Makannaskop en Joza woongebiede, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 1186 van 17 Junie 1955 en 1677 van 15 Augustus 1986;

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1434 15 July 1988

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Martin Johannes Rust, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Eastern Province Division, hereby issue the order set out in the Schedule.

M. J. RUST,

Divisional Commissioner: Eastern Province Division.

SCHEDULE

Clause 1 of the prohibition published by Government Notice 1119 of 10 June 1988 is hereby amended by the substitution for the definition of "designated area" of the following definition:

"designated area means—

(a) in the Magisterial District of Port Elizabeth the areas known as—

(i) New Brighton and kwaZakhele Townships, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 2246 of 11 November 1955 and 2684 of 4 December 1987;

(ii) Zwide Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1563 of 1 September 1972, as amended;

(iii) Walmer Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1541 of 31 August 1945;

(iv) Motherwell, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 615 of 4 April 1986;

(v) kwaMagxaki Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 163 of 1 February 1985;

(vi) kwaDwesi Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1010 of 23 May 1986;

(b) in the Magisterial District of Uitenhage the areas known as—

(i) kwaNobuhle Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 20 of 4 January 1985, 2544 of 5 December 1986 and 2504 of 13 November 1987;

(ii) Kabah and Langa Townships, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 270 of 25 February 1966, as amended;

(iii) Despatch Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 280 of 24 February 1956;

(c) in the Magisterial District of Albany the areas known as—

(i) Fingodorp Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1904 of 2 September 1983;

(ii) Tantyi, Makannaskop and Joza Townships, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 1186 of 17 June 1955 and 1677 of 15 August 1986;

(iii) kwaNonzwakazi, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1154 van 4 Augustus 1967;

(iv) Ou Lokasie woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 464 van 25 Maart 1938;

(v) Riebeeck-Oos Swart woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 3088 van 5 Desember 1950;

(d) in die landdrosdistrik van Fort Beaufort die gebied bekend as kwaTinidubu, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 751 van 28 Mei 1965 en 1226 van 5 Junie 1987;

(e) in die landdrosdistrik van Humansdorp die gebiede bekend as—

(i) kwaNomzamo, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1497 van 24 Augustus 1973;

(ii) Kareedouw Swart woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 1154 van 18 Augustus 1933 en 481 van 16 Maart 1984;

(iii) Jeffreysbaai Swart woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2429 van 18 November 1949;

(f) in die landdrosdistrik van Hankey die gebiede bekend as Centreton en Weston, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 2616 van 2 Desember 1983 en 531 van 11 Maart 1963;

(g) in die landdrosdistrik van Kirkwood die gebiede bekend as—

(i) Bontrug, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1122 van 26 Julie 1963;

(ii) Nomathamsanqua, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 216 van 12 Februarie 1982;

(h) in die landdrosdistrik van Somerset-Oos die gebiede bekend as—

(i) kwaNojoli, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1523 van 29 September 1967;

(ii) Bongweni, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1643 van 7 September 1973;

(i) in die landdrosdistrik van Bedford die gebied bekend as New Brighton, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 667 van 15 September 1961;

(j) in die landdrosdistrik van Adelaide die gebied bekend as Adelaide Swart woonbuurt, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2306 van 29 Oktober 1982;

(k) in die landdrosdistrik van Alexandria die gebiede bekend as—

(i) kwaZenzele, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 450 van 12 Maart 1954;

(ii) kwaNonkqubela, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 795 van 26 Mei 1961;

(iii) Marselle Swart woongebied, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 812 van 16 April 1987;

(iii) kwaNonzwakazi, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1154 of 4 August 1967;

(iv) Ou Lokasie Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 464 of 25 March 1938;

(v) Riebeeck East Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 3088 of 5 December 1950;

(d) in the Magisterial District of Fort Beaufort the area known as kwaTinidubu, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 751 of 28 May 1965 and 1226 of 5 June 1987;

(e) in the Magisterial District of Humansdorp the areas known as—

(i) kwaNomzamo, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1497 of 24 August 1973;

(ii) Kareedouw Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 1154 of 18 August 1933 and 481 of 16 March 1984;

(iii) Jeffreys Bay Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2429 of 18 November 1949;

(f) in the Magisterial District of Hankey the areas known as Centreton and Weston, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 2616 of 2 December 1983 and 531 of 11 March 1963;

(g) in the Magisterial District of Kirkwood the areas known as—

(i) Bontrug, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1122 of 26 July 1963;

(ii) Nomathamsanqua, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 216 of 12 February 1982;

(h) in the Magisterial District of Somerset East the areas known as—

(i) kwaNojoli, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1523 of 29 September 1967;

(ii) Bongweni, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1643 of 7 September 1973;

(i) in the Magisterial District of Bedford the area known as New Brighton, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 667 of 15 September 1961;

(j) in the Magisterial District of Adelaide the area known as Adelaide Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2306 of 29 October 1982;

(k) in the Magisterial District of Alexandria the areas known as—

(i) kwaZenzele, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 450 of 12 March 1954;

(ii) kwaNonkqubela, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 795 of 26 May 1961;

(iii) Marselle Black Township, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 812 of 16 April 1987;

(l) in die landdrosdistrik van Cradock die gebied bekend as Lingelihle, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 794 van 26 Mei 1961;

(m) in die landdrosdistrik van Bathurst die gebiede bekend as—

(i) Nkwenkwezi, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1826 van 5 September 1986;

(ii) Nolukhanyo, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 2685 van 4 Desember 1987 en 191 van 29 Januarie 1926;

(iii) Kenton-on-Sea Noodkamp, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1142 van 2 Augustus 1963."

(l) in the Magisterial District of Cradock the area known as Lingelihle, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 794 of 26 May 1961;

(m) in the Magisterial District of Bathurst the areas known as—

(i) Nkwenkwezi, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1826 of 5 September 1986;

(ii) Nolukhanyo, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 2685 of 4 December 1987 and 191 of 29 January 1926;

(iii) Kenton-on-Sea Temporary Camp, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1142 of 2 August 1963.".

ALGEMENE KENNISGEWINGS

GENERAL NOTICES

KENNISGEWING 469 VAN 1988—NOTICE 469 OF 1988

DEPARTEMENT VAN POS- EN TELEKOMMUNIKASIEWESE
DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

STAAT VAN INKOMSTE EN UITGAWE: MEI 1988
STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE: MAY 1988

	Begroting Estimates 1988–89	Maand van Mei Month of May		Totaal: April tot Mei Total: April to May		
		1988	1987	1988/89	1987/88	
	R	R	R	R	R	
Bedryfsuitgawe:						***Operating Expenditure:***
Pos-, Geldoordrag-, Agentskap- en Telekommunikasiedienste	4 099 161 000*	260 270 549	222 397 206	583 890 718†	495 048 120†	Postal, Money transfer, Agency and Telecommunications services.
Kapitaaluitgawe:						***Capital Expenditure:***
Telekommunikasie	1 333 000 000	66 704 930	65 527 648	153 523 344	152 914 242	Telecommunications.
Grond, Geboue en Behuising	150 000 000	9 123 908	9 121 465	9 507 006	9 593 619	Land, Buildings and Housing.
Voertuie	52 000 000	205 366	348 461	240 502	364 957	Vehicles.
Kantoor-, Dataverwerkings-, Poshanterings- en Voorraadtoerusting	60 000 000	1 500 488	212 255	1 535 780	212 255	Office, Data Processing, Mail handling and Stores Equipment.
Totaal	1 595 000 000	77 534 692	75 209 829	164 806 632†	163 085 073†	Total.
Bedrae wat uit die bedryfsurplus aangewend staan te word:						***Amounts to be appropriated from the operating surplus:***
Voorsiening vir Leningsdeling en effek van wisselkoersveranderings	284 000 000	—	—	284 065 960	—	Provision for redemption of Loans and effect of exchange rate changes.
Personeelbehuisingskema	1 000	—	—	—	—	Staff Housing Scheme.
Verhoging van Standaardvoorraadkapitaal	49 000 000	—	—	—	—	Increase of Standard Stock Capital.
Bydrae tot Saswitch	250 000	—	19 500	—	47 000	Contribution to Saswitch.
Totaal	333 251 000*	—	19 500	284 065 960†	47 000†	Total.
Inkomste:						***Revenue:***
Telefoondienste	3 635 900 000	300 221 545	240 630 493	608 733 568	416 743 572	Telephone services.
Teleksdienste	165 467 000	12 818 495	12 362 386	26 544 461	25 653 018	Telex services.
Genteksdienste	42 045 000	3 056 963	2 398 207	6 112 888	4 548 332	Gentex services.
Huurverbindings	157 700 000	14 527 524	10 289 344	27 539 857	19 708 640	Leased circuits.
Posdienste	439 158 000	34 275 696	30 559 115	66 247 730	61 667 276	Postal services.
Geldoordragdienste	27 540 000	2 238 473	1 974 165	5 494 608	4 902 127	Money transfer services.
Agentskapdienste	20 043 000	961 502	323 966	1 744 995	399 267	Agency services.
Nie-bedryfsinkomste	177 569 000	3 258 476	5 069 716	4 559 909	9 903 771	Non-operating revenue.
Totaal	4 665 422 000*	371 358 674	303 607 392	746 978 016†	543 526 003†	Total.

Drukkersnota: Items stem ooreen met die 1988/89 gedrukte begroting.
Printer's note: Items correspond to 1988/89 printed estimates.

* Interne heffings nie ingesluit nie.
Internal charges not included.

† Nòg inkomste nòg besteding is gelykmatig oor die boekjaar versprei. Sekere groot bedryfsuitgawebetalings geskied kwartaalliks, halfjaarliks of jaarliks, terwyl kapitaaluitgawebetalings saamhang met die uitvoering van bepaalde kort- en langtermynkontrakte.

Neither revenue nor expenditure is evenly spread over the financial year. Certain large operating expenditure payments are made quarterly, half yearly or annually, whilst capital expenditure payments are related to the execution of specific short and long term contracts.

(15 Julie 1988)/(15 July 1988)

KWARTAAL

QU

Brandmerk Brand	
m RD	Bapela, L. J.
m RE	Botha, T. C.
m RF	Breedt, J. A
m RG	Hoër
m RH	Reyneke, H. J.
m RI	Seodigeng, M. R
m RJ	Grobler, S. J.
m RK	Koelman, J. H.
m RL	Ligthelm, D. F.
m RM	Mzinyane, D
m RN	Van den Heever,
m RO	Joubert, F. J.
m RP	Prinsloo, C. J.
m RQ	Saaiman, D. C
m RR	Van Biljon, G. J.
m RS	Thue, S. M.
m RT	De Jager, F. J.
m RU	Kruger, D. A M
m RV	Van der Walt, I.
m RW	Tsheole, R. J
m RX	Lee, P. B.
m RY	Mekgwe, S. G.
m RZ	Alberts, R. (Dr.)
m SA	Alberts, A. J D
m SB	Setshedi, K. B.
m SC	Erasmus, C. I
m SD	Du Plessis, J. N.
m SE	Erasmus, F. E.
m SF	Vermaak, F. G.
m SG	Geldenhuys, D.
m SH	Du Plessis, G. M
m SI	Diobe, J. M.
m SJ	Van den Berg, R.
m SK	King, N.
m SL	Ligthelm, N. W.
m SM	Masike, L. G.
m SN	Letsebe, A. M
m SO	Tlamelo Prin
m SP	Bosloff, P. C.
m SQ	Van der Walt, F.
m SR	Mofomme, J. A.
m SS	Steyn, D. P. I.
m ST	Kotze, D. N. G
m SU	Van Vuuren, J.
m SV	Van der Merwe
m SW	Swart, W. J. W
m SX	Beneke, P. J. C.
m SY	Pieterse, T. J. C
m SZ	S. I. S. Farming
m TA	Pilane, R. K.
m TB	Botha, G. J.
m TC	Pieterse, C. B
m TD	Pieterse, D. S
m TE	Du Plessis
m TF	Ntshalintshali, F
m TG	Jansen van
m TH	Kühn, H.
m TI	Mpete, T. D
m TJ	Sebuseng, S.
m TK	Hyman, S. & S.
m TL	Swanepoel, L. M
m TM	Van Rensburg,
m TN	Groenewald, I. A
m TO	Mosadi, S.
m TP	Prinsloo, P. R
m TQ	Breetske, S. B. &
m TR	Moloatsi, P. M.

A new Natal challenge to Emergency

327

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

A NEW court challenge to key Emergency regulations has been launched by the Natal Indian Congress.

The application, being brought against the state president, the government, the ministers of home affairs and law and order and the commissioner of police, seeks to declare as unlawful, restrictions which have crippled the United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid organisations, through banning virtually all their activities.

The NIC, an affiliate of the UDF, is also testing the validity of both regulations which outlaw calls for election boycotts as "subversive statements", and those regulations which seek to register and control "news agencies".

NIC president George Sewpershad says in an affidavit forming the basis of the application, that his organisation had planned an extensive campaign "(advising) its supporters and members to boycott and get others to boycott elections of members of a local authority".

He says the regulation declaring such a call a "subversive statement" is invalid because it is vague, outside the contemplation of parliament or "constitutes such manifest injustice or gratuitous interference with the rights of citizens as could find no justification in the minds of reasonable men".

On the "news agency" regulations, Sewpershad says the definition means "if anybody is involved in gathering or preparing any news material regarding events in the Republic and in supplying such news material to any person for publiction in a periodical he needs a licence which can be terminated by the minister if he comes to a certain subjective conclusion".

He argues the matter is urgent because the South Africa Police believe the regulations are valid and will therefore act "not simply in order to institute prosecutions but to take radical and widespread administrative action under them".

He adds that political parties and persons who do not share the NIC's policies and perceptions, have begun their plans to participate in the elections and to publish their policies.

"The (NIC) has the right to be able to do the same. It is being unfairly impeded in the exercise of that right."

Announcing the court challenge, NIC official Farouk Meer said his organisation believed the cumulative effect of the regulations was to "close off all avenues of effective peaceful opposition to apartheid and increase violent conflict in South Africa".

He added, "If the challenge is successful the NIC will publicly campaign for a boycott of the October elections."

The application is scheduled for hearing in the Supreme Court, Durban, on August 8.

Ismail Mahomed, SC, for the NIC, is being instructed by Cheadle Thompson and Haysom.

15-21/7/87 W/Mail

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS OF CHILDREN

A total of 290 children aged 15 or under were detained under the Emergency Regulations last year, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament. Charges against 71 of these children had been laid or "were to be laid", he said. The other 219 had not and would not be charged.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

Last year, a total of 81 people were charged with offences under the Internal Security Act, Vlok told parliament.

POLICE FIGURES

The following figures were released in parliament by Vlok:

- More serious crimes were committed by whites than by blacks. Whites committed 3,4 percent more murders of whites than blacks had, 128 percent more rapes and 115 percent more assaults.
- Special constables were paid R13 a day and received eight paid rest days a month.
- A total of 1 837 policemen of all ranks resigned last year, and there was a shortage of 2 302 policemen as at December 31 1987. In 1987 there were 8 731 new recruits and a further 484 people were taken into service as expert and artisan staff and as re-recruitments.
- Whites comprised 54,5 percent of the SAP, Africans 33,81 percent, "coloureds" 7,87 percent and Indians 3,92 percent.
- The daily average of people detained in police cells in South Africa was 14 017. This average was calculated from figures obtained from 804 police stations last year.
- A total of 63 360 youths aged 17 or under were held awaiting trial in police cells last year.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE

The South African defence budget has risen from R44-million in 1960 to R8 190-million (R8,19-billion) for this year. By 1972 it had risen to R300-million, in 1976 to R1,3-billion and to R3,755-billion in 1984. Since then it has risen by 218 percent.

Over the last two years the security force expenditure has grown at nearly double the rate of inflation. Last year the defence budget grew by 22,6 percent, the police budget by 17,3 percent and the prisons budget by 28,8 percent.

According to the End Conscription Campaign, the defence budget is supplemented by the "mini budget" later in the financial year, and does not include several "hidden" items of defence spending. For example in the 1987 budget, R334-million was allocated to defence housing and building under the public works budget, money budgeted for the South West Africa Territorial Force falls under the finance vote (R198-million in 1987). And it also receives windfalls from time to time: for example the 1986 budget surplus was placed in the Special Defence Account, the size of which is not disclosed.

The SADF is also supported by other government departments, such as the Department of Health which underwrites a portion of military health expenditure. Military research is conducted by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Human Science Research Council. And the defence budgets of the "independent homelands" totalled R57,58-million three years ago.

The ECC estimates that by the end of this financial year total military spending would be over R10-billion. If to this is added the police budget and spending on other security or auxilliary forces, total security force expenditure would be close to R15-billion, or about 28 percent of the national budget.

According to Econometrix director Dr Azar Jammine, the Angolan war is costing the South African tax player R4-billion a year.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

ANTHONY MFENE XABA, 55, African National Congress member, was detained in 1975. In 1987 he was convicted for ANC activities and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Xaba, the fifth of eight children of a domestic worker, joined the ANC in 1957 and the following year was elected vice-secretary of the ANC's Sabantu branch in Pietermaritzburg. Over the following three years he was arrested for political activities on several occasions. In 1961 he joined Umkhonto weSizwe and left South Africa for Botswana in Febuary 1963. He was arrested in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and was deported to South Africa where he was tried and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island for "terrorism".

Xaba was released in May 1973 but in 1975 was arrested and tried with Harry Gwala and others.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:

Grondwet — Swapo (not stated); Africa shall be free (not stated); Literacy promoter's handbook: Swapo literacy campaign (Namibia refugee project, London); Namibia: What now? (not stated); Date set to hand Michael Lucas — pamphlet (not stated); For self-determination and genuine national independence for Namibia, informatin kit (United Nations); Azania Vrij: Jaargang 14 nr 1/2 1988 (Azania Committee, Rotterdam); I don't give a s..t, I don't take any s..t, I'm not in the s..t business (not stated); Your farts are disgusting — display card (Planet greetings, New York); Liebesbisse (Molly Parkin); Facade: Collectors Art no 1164 — poster (not stated); Playboy: April 1988 Chinese — edition (PBI Publications, Hong Kong, Ltd); Kill them all, let God sort them out — sticker (not stated); Woman, a creature created by God when he was tired — sticker (not stated); Nuke all gay whales for Christ — sticker (not stated); It's the depth that varies — sticker (not stated).

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 277 PRETORIA, 15 JULIE / JULY 1988 No. 11433

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1461 **15 Julie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Roelof Petrus Jansen VAN VUUREN, Waarnemende Kommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

R. P. J. VAN VUUREN,
Waarnemende Kommissaris: Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied" die landdrosdistrik van Johannesburg;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling SOWETO;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Michael Patrick BANDA;

"seremoniële byeenkoms" met betrekking tot die teraardebestelling van Michael Patrick BANDA, enige byeenkoms wat met so 'n teraardebestelling gepaard gaan, met inbegrip van 'n roudiens, gedenkdiens of ander diens wat gehou word in verband met so 'n teraardebestelling, en ook 'n begrafnisstoet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1461 **15 July 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Roelof Petrus Jansen VAN VUUREN, Acting Commissioner of the South African Police, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

R. P. J. VAN VUUREN,
Acting Commissioner: South African Police.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Michael Patrick BANDA, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means the Magisterial District of Johannesburg;

"Divisional Commissioner" means the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the SOWETO Division;

"funeral" means a gathering held at the grave of Michael Patrick BANDA.

Propaganda war over Mandela's birthday

Argus 15/7/88 327

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
Staff Reporter

A PROPAGANDA war has broken out in Cape Town on the eve of celebrations planned nationwide this weekend to mark the 70th birthday of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Functions in the city are going ahead as scheduled in spite of the fact that the Government has refused to grant permission for an outdoor music festival in Johannesburg on Sunday — the day before Mr Mandela's birthday.

And today, as plans for the birthday celebrations crystallised, a propaganda war between pro and anti-Mandela factions was hotting up.

Hundreds of posters advertising a Western Cape Teachers' Union meeting tonight, at which a tribute to Mr Mandela is to be paid, have had "cancelled" stickers placed over them.

Chairman of the Western Cape Teachers Union (WCTU), Mr Yusuf Gabru said the meeting would go ahead as planned at the Samaj Centre, Rylands.

He believed the stickers were "a deliberate attempt by somebody to sabotage the event".

He said tonight's meeting would include a tribute to Mr Mandela by advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

Hundreds of anonymous pamphlets, slating Mr Mandela, were distributed in Athlone last night.

The pamphlets said people had to show that they were prepared to suffer with their "big brother" and that they could act "independant" (sic).

Restrictions

No restrictions have been placed on any of the activities planned in the city this weekend to mark Mr Mandela's birthday, according to Mr Essa Moosa, one of the organisers.

Last night the Government banned the outdoor music festival due to be held at Fun Valley, Johannesburg on Sunday, according to an attorney for the organising committee, Mr Krish Naidoo.

The Progressive Federal Party today reacted strongly to the refusal to give permisson for the concert.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on black affairs, said the decision was "a silly, vindictive, spiteful move".

It would have been "much more sensible" to allow the concert to take place, because then the "South African public would have had an outlet which all other nations in the world have".

(Turn to page 3, col 4)

Picture: DANA LE ROUX, the Argus.

FAR FROM CANCELLED: Mr Yusuf Gabru with one of the posters which had a "cancelled" sticker placed on it.

Berg aces shove and jostle in race for hot spot

From ARNOLD KIRKBY
Staff Reporter

PICKETBERG. — Two Springboks almost came to blows in the KWV Berg River canoe marathon today.

Reigning Berg champion Robbie Clegg of Milnerton and Transvaaler Pierre van der Merwe shoved and jostled each other at the portage point at the Misverstand dam on the third leg of the 228km race.

The pair arrived with more than a dozen other top canoeists on the misty dam and dragged their canoes 300m to the entry point below the dam wall.

Clegg and race leader Mynard Marais sprinted to collect the R1 000 hot-spot prize.

Marais took the lead down the slope to the water's edge, with Clegg and Northern Transvaal's Greyling Viljoen in hot pursuit. Clegg put his boat in the water about 20m above Marais and Viljoen.

Robbie Clegg

Gold $438,25

Business Staff

GOLD traded at $438,25 an ounce in London today, against $438,75 at the New York close last night. The rand traded at R2,4160 ($0,4139) to the dollar in Johannesburg, against R2,4065 ($0,4155) yesterday.

● See page 13.

It's not banned . . . it's just not allowed!

PRETORIA. — The Department of Justice issued a statement today saying there was a misconception that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had "banned" the Nelson Mandela concert on Sunday in Johannesburg.

In fact, the statement said, Mr Coetsee had refused to grant permission for the concert, which would be prohibited anyway in terms of a Government notice issued on March 31 this year.

The statement, intended for media which published reports that Mr Coetsee "banned" the concert, said: "We have been informed that you carried a news item with words to the effect that the Minister of Justice has banned the Mandela concert.

"If this is so, there appears to exist a misconception on your part regarding the actual facts of the matter."

SPORT, FUNERAL

In fact, the statement said, any gathering except a gathering for a bona fide sport occasion or for a funeral was prohibited by the Minister of Justice by Government notice 621 of March 31 this year with effect from April 1 this year up to and including March 31 next year.

"Anyone who thus wants to hold such a gathering has to ask permission from the magistrate of the district where the gathering is to be held or from the Minister of Justice.

"In connection with the so-called Mandela concert, permission was asked, but was refused by the Minister." — Sapa.

P.I.O.

Mandela fever

Cape Times 15/7/88 377

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Free-Mandela mania reaches a fever pitch in Europe this weekend as anti-apartheid activists bring to a climax a campaign to publicize the ANC leader's continued imprisonment.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate refused permission yesterday for a Johannesburg open-air concert which was to have been held tomorrow in celebration of Mr Mandela's 70th birthday, and which about 25 000 people were expected to have attended.

Another event is being planned for Cape Town, to take place tomorrow and on Sunday at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Dullah Omar, an advocate and member of the group organizing the Cape event, said last night that preparations were going ahead, as it was an indoor gathering — unlike the banned outdoor Johannesburg concert — and was, therefore, legal.

In London on Sunday, Archbishop Desmond Tutu will address a crowd, expected to number 250 000, at Hyde Park, while in the Netherlands, 150 000 people will send birthday greetings today to the jailed ANC leader.

The British Mandela campaign, which kicked off with a televised rock concert at Wembley Stadium, broadcast to almost one billion people worldwide, has already achieved notable successes, with an estimated 92% of British people now being familiar with who Mr Mandela is and 77% in favour of his release.

Twenty-five marchers, symbolizing the number of years Mr Mandela has spent in prison, who set off from Glasgow several weeks ago will be joined on the final leg of their march, from Finsbury Park to Hyde Park, by anti-apartheid activists and a number of Labour and Liberal MPs.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) says tens of thousands of people in Britain have signed birthday cards to Mr Mandela. They will be delivered to the South African Embassy here.

Events will also be held this weekend in West Germany, Belgium, Norway, Ireland, Denmark and Sweden, as well as in countries spanning the globe from Australia to the US, from India to Japan.

Dutch AAM spokesman Mr Bart Luirink said more than 12 mailbags, containing 50 000 birthday cards, letters and telegrams of congratulation for Mr Mandela, will be sent to the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria today and then handed over to Mr Mandela's family.

The ANC mission in Moscow has received many telegrams of congratulation from Soviet people and organizations.

Mr Mandela will receive two unexpected gifts on his birthday. One is a visit from his entire family for six hours, and the other is a personal copy of Bernardo Bertolucci's epic film "The Last Emperor".

Reuter reports that international machinery was set in place to obtain a copy of the film for Mr Mandela after he expressed a desire to see it.

But a copy could not be obtained in South Africa. British director Sir Richard Attenborough intervened and a copy of the film was produced immediately.

It will be delivered today to Pollsmoor Prison, where Mr Mandela is jailed for life.

● The British Labour Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Gerald Kaufman, says the South African government has barred him from personally delivering a 70th birthday message to Mr Mandela.

Mr Kaufman said he had asked to be allowed to visit Mr Mandela's prison cell, but had been turned down by the South African Ambassador to Britain, Mr Rae Killen.

The birthday message has been framed instead as a House of Commons motion on behalf of Labour's shadow cabinet.

Angola book 'okay'

(327)

Star 16/7/88

CAPE TOWN — A Publications Committee has ruled that Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol's "Angola in the Front Line" was not undesirable, provided it was confined and made available in the normal manner in legal deposit and university libraries only, the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday.

A publication titled "Mozambique: A luta Continua" produced by International Labour Research and Information Group, Salt River, has, on appeal, been conditionally declared not undesirable subject to certain conditions. It may not be sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18 and may only be distributed by bookshops, libraries and book distributors.

No mail-order distribution is allowed.

During the past week 22 films were submitted for examination of which seven were unconditionally and 15 conditionally approved.

From yesterday it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following (names of author/producer in brackets):

The Formum Man, midsummer '78 (Forum International, New York); The Love of a Master (John Preston); Namibia — loose pages (not stated); African Times No 213 Friday 10th June 1988 (Hansib Publishing Ltd, London); Azania Combat, Issue No 6 Quarterly 1988 (not stated).

The Combatant Vol 9 No 7 February 1988 (PLAN Commissariat, Swapo).

Dawn Second Avenue — The comic (Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd, Braamfontein); Justice and Service Vol 3 No 5 May 1988 (Jongwe Press).

The Namibian Woman Vol 2 February 1988 (Swapo Women's Council, Luanda); Swapo Information Bulletin January 1988 (Swapo Dept. Of Information and Publicity, Luanda, Angola).

40 Years of Zionist Repression is Enough (Palestine Islamic Solidarity Committee); Peaceletter 2/88 (Peace Education Institute, Finland). — Sapa.

Mandela 'no' to birthday treat

Cape Times 16/7/88

327

THE imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday asked the SA Prisons Service to cancel an unprecendented six-hour visit with family members on his 70th birthday on Monday.

His dramatic decision, announced by the government, follows a worldwide celebration of his birthday and international calls on the South African government to release Mr Mandela, who has spent the past 25 years in jail.

The Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night: "Arrangements were made for Mr Mandela's family to spend the day with him. Today, however, of his own accord, Mr Mandela requested that the family visit be cancelled.

"Permission for the visit still applies should Mr Mandela change his mind," Mr Van der Merwe said.

Mr Mandela's wife Winnie said she stood by the decision, made in sympathy with family members of other jailed opponents of apartheid.

Mr Mandela called off the six-hour reunion a day after the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, refused permission to stage a celebration concert in Soweto tomorrow. An indoor concert to be held in Durban was banned yesterday.

"Mrs Mandela has taken the decision as both she and Mr Mandela have never sought any special privilege for themselves," Mr Ismael Ayob, the family's lawyer, said.

"She has made this decision to focus attention on tens of thousands of mothers, sisters and daughters and on the fathers, brothers and sons who have never had the privilege of spending the day with their loved ones who remain in incarceration for their opposition to apartheid."

Mr Ayob said Mrs Mandela would "spend the day quietly at home as she has on his birthday for the past 26 years".

He said she would make an ordinary visit to her husband on another day next week. It was not clear last night whether other family members would make to trip visit him at Pollsmoor Prison on Monday.

Mr Van der Merwe, in a statement triggered by "widespread interest" in Mr Mandela's birthday, said the government deemed him "a sentenced prisoner who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment imposed by a court of law after having been found guilty of a serious crime".

Mr Mandela's birthday has drawn tributes from world leaders and anti-apartheid groups.

Canada's Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, said in a message to Mr Mandela: "We profoundly hope that you will soon be free and able to apply your strength, commitment and courage to the peaceful construction of a new, non-racial South Africa."

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said Mr Mandela's release was crucial to the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa and renewed the call for his release.

The ministers of foreign affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden pledged they would continue to demand his release in their greeting.

Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke sent a message praising Mr Mandela as an inspiration to opponents of apartheid adding that "your long, lonely years have not been wasted".

West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl yesterday appealed to President P W Botha to "use this

To page 3

Cape Times 16/7/88

Dispute over venue for celebrations

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

LAST-MINUTE preparations for the celebration of Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday moved into top gear last night, as police banned a second concert for the jailed ANC leader.

While 10 more people involved in the Western Cape festivities were detained by the security police yesterday, a dispute arose over the venue for the city concert.

In a surprise development, a gospel group challenged the Mandela function's right to stage a concert in the University of the Western Cape (UWC) main hall as it had booked it "well in advance".

But last night UWC registrar Mr A F Daniels said the gospel group had "most definitely not" booked the hall for 10am tomorrow.

The hall had, however, been booked from 7pm onwards for a campus gospel group, he said.

"We would never accommodate them with the Mandela concert," he added.

Attorneys acting for the Mandela concert organizers yesterday said the District Commissioner of Police in Bellville had called UWC rector Prof Jakes Gerwel to the divisional headquarters and "cautioned" him about the concert.

Prof Gerwel was warned that if "any problems" arose at Sunday's concert, police would "take action", the attorneys said.

The Durban indoor concert was banned in a notice — a copy of which was left tacked to a wall at the concert organizers' offices.

Page 3

les
NEAR
ROOTE KERK
CAPE TOWN
CASH
5
R695
R250

W/E ARGUS 16/7/88

Mandela rejects family visit

327

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has cancelled a special six-hour family visit which was to have been the highlight of his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison on Monday. And police in Johannesburg and Durban have banned weekend birthday celebrations.

The Mandela's family lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, told reporters that Mrs Winnie Mandela did not want to accept special privileges from the Government and wanted to focus attention on other jailed opponents of apartheid and those on Death Row.

■ MEANWHILE the governments of Britain, West Germany, Holland and Canada were among those who renewed appeals yesterday for Mr Mandela's release.

In Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in a message to President Botha: "Humanity commands that you should not deny him freedom any longer. Show your government's readiness to speak to Nelson Mandela and the other previously outlawed political forces in your country."

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said in a statement: "The release of Mr Mandela is crucial to the prospects for peaceful change within South Africa.

"It would be an important gesture of reconciliation by the South African Government and

W/E ARGUS 16/7/88

327

POLICE FOIL 'MANDELA RUN'

by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Weekend Argus Reporter

SECURITY forces today took steps to prevent Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday from being celebrated in Cape Town without officially banning it.

Police confirmed that they sealed off Pollsmoor prison thereby thwarting plans to start a "freedom run" outside the prison and that they barred people from entering Guguletu stadium where a sports festival was to be held.

However, an improvised run started near the Blue Route Centre in Tokai.

Five runners set off at 9am and headed for Guguletu. Police have confirmed that four were stopped and taken into custody.

Police liaison officer Major Jan Calitz said four runners were arrested adding that a policeman had told him "they would be taken to a police station, questioned and released".

Athlone attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed that runners were detained near Kenilworth.

16/7/88

327

Roadblocks

Police confirmed that roadblocks were erected near Pollsmoor prison, only allowing people with "valid reasons" to go near the prison area.

An Argus car and a vehicle belonging to BBC cameraman Jimi Matthews were stopped at a roadblock.

Both vehicles were searched before police escorted reporters to Kirstenhof police station where Major Calitz explained that a Press presence was barred because security forces were "active in the area'. They were ordered to leave the scene.

■ IN Guguletu security forces stood outside the stadium, and told people they had been instructed not to allow anyone into the staudium.

One of the organisers of the festival, Mrs Bulelwa Tinto, showed police a receipt to prove that she had hired the stadium for the festival, but security forces were adamant that they were following orders.

Police also manned roadblocks on either side of Modderdam Road near the University of the Western Cape where a video of last month's Mandela Birthday concert at Wembley Stadium was due to be shown later today.

Valid reason

Major Calitz said: "Access roads to Pollsmoor prisoner were sealed off. Only people who had a valid reason to be at the prison were allowed to proceed beyond the roadblock."

He confirmed that security forces were on duty outside Guguletu stadium.

"Only people taking part in a bona fide sports meeting will be allowed to use the stadium," he said.

Mr Moosa said that one of the 11 members of the Mandela Birthday Committee, detained for questioning yesterday, had been released, but the others were being held under the emergency regulations. Mrs Tinto was released unconditionally.

Those still in detention are Langa High School teacher Mr Thembikile Plaatjie, Mrs Notobeko Ramncwana, Mr Zuzile Dudenkeni, Mr Whitey Phokwana, Mr Thembikile Mboyi, Mr Peter Hendricks, Mr Dumesani Lupungele, Mr Noshipo Ntwaninei, Mr Sicelo Nkosi and Mr Thabo Hlabika, Mr Moosa said.

Sapa reports that today's concert to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday at the University of Durban-Westville was banned.

In a notice, a copy of which was left tacked to a wall at the concert organisers' offices at the Durban Ecumenical Centre, Brigadier B Henn, the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, said the concert had been banned in terms of Section 10 (1) (C) of the emergency regulations.

would help to create a climate of confidence for peace talks in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides."

About 100 000 letters to Mr Mandela from admirers in the Netherlands were expected in South Africa today.

"The two bags of letters, weighing 230kg, are expected on a flight this morning," a spokesman for the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria said yesterday.

"We will collect the letters and take them in two cars to Mrs Mandela, who will pass them on to her husband."

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting Affairs, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night that Mr Mandela had cancelled his family visit "of his own accord" but that if he changed his mind he would be allowed such a visit.

Commenting on appeals for Mr Mandela's release, he said that Mr Mandela was "a sentenced prisoner who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment imposed by a court of law after having been found guilty of a serious crime".

State versus Press

W/E ARGUS 16/7/88 327

Relations deteriorating, says Media Council

DETERIORATING relations between the State and the Press, generated by the emergency, were likely to continue, the South African Media Council said in its report for 1986 and 1987.

In its second periodical report yesterday, the council, established in 1983 with equal media and public representation, said certain other functions besides settling or adjudicating complaints about alleged violations of its code of conduct for professional journalism, had "brought it directly into the line of fire in the disputes between the Government and the media".

These included reviewing developments likely to restrict the free flow of information on matters of public concern and investigating the conduct of, among others, Government bodies at all levels and reporting publicly on these.

On the other hand, the council also inquired into and reported on specific matters of public importance concerning the good conduct and repute of the media.

The report stated that inclusion of such functions in the council's constitution had led the Government, on one hand, to criticise it for not doing its job properly and sections of the media, on the other hand, to level the criticism that the council was part of the restrictive machinery used against the Press."

The council said both points of view were based on mistaken perceptions of its role and functions. It is an independent organisation.

It had continued to maintain its voluntary, independent and objective stance, "while giving serious attention to both points of view in the public interest".

The report said: "The Government's criticisms of the Media Council are based on the view that the council's constitution requires it actively to monitor the media for contraventions of its code and for what the Government terms 'negative', 'biased', 'subversive', 'revolutionary promoting' and 'climate-creating' reporting."

Against this, the council had said in discussions with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, that "the machinery for bringing such matters under the surveillance of the council is clearly set out in the constitution and can be brought into action by any interested party".

"The council has taken the view that it cannot be expected to play the role of both policeman and judge and, also, that it cannot apply subjective party political criteria in its assessments."

The council, however, of its own accord had set up a special committee to clarify its own role and the feasibiity of conducting an invetigation to lay down guidelines on the "limits of partisanship.".

The council had considered this committee's report on March 21 this year, and it was decided that "at this stage, no specific pilot investigation concerning reporting in the daily Press relating to any particular subject be launched".

It had also decided it was within its power to investigate, in terms of its constitution, any specific matter of public importance concerning the good conduct and repute of the media.

According to the report, the Media Council also took a decision to continue having discussions with the Government. Sapa.

GOVERNMENT departments have lodged 54 complaints with the independent South African Media Council against various media in the four years up to December 1987 since it was established in 1983.

Of these, 29 had been settled, three adjudicated (with Government departments winning two and losing one), 17 had been withdrawn, four had lapsed and one was pending, it was said today in the council's second periodical report for 1986 and 1987. A total of 216 complaints were submitted in the review period.

Of these, 107 were settled, 43 rejected, 34 withdrawn, 26 had lapsed, five were adjudicated and one was pending. The number of complaints from the council's inception was 443.

The council was founded by the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors as an independent body with equal numbers of media and public representatives and a code of conduct aimed at achieving the highest possible standards of professional journalism.

According to the report, complaints lodged with the council against media organisations and bodies which did not subscibe to its code of conduct totalled 58. Of these, 27 were settled, two adjudicated, seven rejected, and 11 each were withdrawn or had lapsed.

Complaints upheld involved the Kwazulu Finance and Investment Corporation against the Sunday Tribune, foreign television networks against The Citizen, Shield Fire Appliances against The Star and the South West Africa Police against the Windhoek Observer.

A complaint against The Argus by the executor of the estate of a man who committed suicide, who claimed the report was sensational and an invasion of privacy, was dismissed. Sapa.

Hector Peterson: why did he die?

I WOULD like to dedicate this poem to Comrade Hector Peterson, the first person to die during the Soweto uprising in 1976.

Young kid of the people
Innocent but at the receiving end
Innocuous but to no avail
Like a flower nipped in the bud
Never to enjoy the morning dew
I can't understand
Dying young
Shattered academy
For no reason
But you died Hector
You sacrificed future
You lost academy
Amidst turbulence
You died Hector
Africa?
Who shot Hector?
Tell me Africa
Who shot Hector?

I am awaiting the answer – **NDO Mangala, Merhwelereng**

Let true leaders taste freedom

MANY South Africans who are not politically aware wonder why blacks refuse to participate in the new forum.

The reason is clear. Any reasonable black would not accept the offer of being a black Cabinet Minister.

The only people who deserve to represent us and who have been fighting most of their lives are jailed, exiled and banned.

Black "leaders" who accept the so-called honour have shamed themselves.

Don't they have a guilty conscience?

Let the true leaders who have suffered, taste freedom first. – **Khanya Mtimkhulu, KwaMashu**

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
Write to:
PO Box 57473 Springfield 2137

327

Argus 17/7/86

Restrictions on Soweto funeral

Cape Times (8/7/88) (37)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mourners at the funeral of Mr Michael Patrick Banda in Soweto yesterday carried cards to limit the numbers allowed into the cemetery to 200.

Police issued restrictions on the funeral at the weekend. These included a ruling that only 200 mourners would be allowed into the cemetery and only an ordained minister would be allowed to speak.

Police said Mr Banda was killed while carrying an explosive, which is disputed by his family and neighbours. — Sapa

Mandela turns 70 — pleas

ARGUS 18/7/88 (327)

Tyson's gift

Heavyweight greetings! Zinzi Mandela dons the boxing gloves sent by world champion Mike Tyson to mark her father's 70th birthday.

Staff Reporters

MESSAGES of support from world leaders have poured in as the 70th birthday celebrations for jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela reach a climax today.

Following yesterday's huge rally at Hyde Park, London, which was addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and attended by more than 30 000 people, activities and celebrations are planned in more than 30 countries.

However, local celebrations have been severely curtailed by a nationwide clampdown by security police and a ban by police on rallies and parties.

An interfaith church service is scheduled today at St Francis Church, Langa.

UCT concert halted

An impromptu concert at the University of Cape Town was halted by police when it was shifted from the University of the Western Cape after celebrations planned by the Mandela Birthday Committee were banned at that venue.

While lawyers obtained a Supreme Court order setting aside the banning of the UWC meeting, a large contingent of riot police moved on to the UCT campus and halted the concert.

The move was condemned by the Mandela Birthday Committee, which said the Supreme Court order applied to all similar meetings yesterday.

Other events restricted by police at the weekend included concerts in Johannesburg and Durban, a soccer match between the Mandela X1 and the Delmas Dazzlers, and a tea party scheduled for after the match.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, said that by banning birthday festivities the Government was making itself look "quite ridiculous", and raised the question "what will they ban next?".

Basic to human life

Celebrating a birthday was a human event "very basic to human life".

"Instead of repressing further what few rights we have left the authorities would do better to join all South Africans in profound reflection on the injustices in our society and on the immnese suffering they cause," Archbishop Naidoo said.

Two Cape Town bishops, the Rt Rev Geoffe Quinlan and the Rt Rev Edward MacKenzie were due to deliver birthday greetings from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, to Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison today.

Dr Runcie said in his message that he and other bishops gathered in Canterbury for the Lambeth conference "send birthday greetings on a day when you and your family are in our prayers".

● The Cape Democrats posted 800 birthday cards and distributed pamphlets yesterday in Tokai (which neighbours Pollsmoor prison) entitled "Do you know your neighbour?" outlining Mandela's life and activities.

● Lone Black Sash members picketed roads in the Southern suburbs this morning with posters saying "Free Mandela" and "Release all political prisoners and detainees". One member was picked up by police and held for an hour before bing released.

Among world leaders who yesterday called for Mandela's release were Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the prime ministers of Ireland, Australia and New Zealand.

Prime Ministers Charles Haughey, Bob Hawke and David Lange said in a joint statement that Mandela's release would demonstrate the genuine desire of the South African Government to take part in a peacefully negotiated settlement between blacks and whites in the Republic.

The Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden paid tribute to Mandela as a man who has "come to symbolise the struggle against this deeply inhuman and unfair system (of apartheid)".

Will continue

The Nordic Ministers add: "We hope that the time is not far off when you will be able to celebrate your birthdays in freedom in a South Africa liberated from the bonds of apartheid.

"We will continue to demand your release from prison as well as the release of all other political prisoners, and we will continue to support the struggle against apartheid in South Africa."

At a chilly, windswept Hyde Park in London yesterday Archbishop Tutu launched a virulent attack on the Thatcher Government.

He charged the British and other Western governments of collaborating with apartheid and asked what more had to happen in South Africa before they took "effective action".

He urged the people of Britain to "send a message to your Government to campaign with us for a reprieve for the Sharpeville Six ... to campaign with us for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political leaders now".

Mrs Thatcher has so far re-

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Now Nat newspaper calls for Mandela's release

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

PRESSURE for the release of Nelson Mandela on his 70th birthday today is now being supported by the National Party Press.

Though the Government has not ruled out the possibility of releasing the jailed African National Congress leader in the future, it is clear it will not respond to the pressure from around the world and from a wide range of opinion in the country.

Today the Transvaal morning newspaper Beeld, a traditional National Party supporter, surprised the Government with an editorial adding its voice to the clamour for the release of Mr Mandela.

Beeld said Mr Mandela was more of a problem to the Government in jail than he would be out of it and warned that history would judge the Government harshly if it allowed "an old man to die in prison while there was still a chance of negotiating with him".

HUMANITARIAN

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said the Beeld editorial was a "hopeful sign".

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, put the Government point of view in a weekend statement in which he said humanitarian considerations were playing a part in the Government's thoughts on whether or not to release Mr Mandela.

But he added that "humanitarian considerations must always be weighed against the possibility that civil uprising, violence and terrorism could follow such a release".

This statement, couched in ambivalent terms, and other sources suggest the Government does not believe the situation in the townships is stable enough to free Mr Mandela yet.

But the Government also does not want to paint itself into a corner by taking up a position which will prevent his release in the future.

ON THE WATERFRONT

An Argus picture essay — page 9.

Nick Price, left, the overnight leader on 206, with Seve Ballesteros, wh lying second two shots off the pace, watch intently as the other membe their three-ball, Craig Stadler (not in picture) putts out the 17th hole of third round of British Open at Lytham St Annes. Full report, page 14.

Pick 6 pools boosted by three carryovers

Racing Staff

RACING punters are in for a treat this week with three Pick 6 carryovers.

The first carryover of R24 194,25 falls due for the meeting at Clairwood tomorrow, and the card, selections and perms for the meeting are on page 12 of today's Argus.

The next two carryovers are due on Wednesday, the amounts being R23 165,25 for the meeting at the Vaal and a tidy R216 992,25 for the local meeting at Durbanville.

There was a similar Pick 6 carryover to the Durbanville meeting last week, and this week's carryover could again boost the pool to the R500 000 mark.

● The jackpot ratings for Wednesday's Durbanville meeting are on page 12, and the fields, selections and perms for the meeting will appear in tomorrow's Argus.

R1-m haul of dagga

Crime Reporter

POLICE seized dagga believed to be worth more than R1-million from a pantechnicon in Epping Industria today.

Major Muller Haggard, head of Cape Town's Narcotics Bureau, said members of his unit and of the dog unit raided the pantechnicon about 1am when it arrived at a transport firm in Bofors Circle.

He said the company had been unaware the pantechnicon was being used to ship drugs.

Police found 62 bags of dagga, weighing about 1 100kg, among furniture in the pantechnicon.

Two men, aged 34 and 36, were arrested and will appear in court soon.

This is the second big drugs seizure in the Western Cape this month. Narcotics agents from Paarl stopped a multimillion rand shipment destined for Cape Town in Sir Lowry's Pass two weeks ago.

SA jumps the gun to put athletics back on the track

ARGUS 14/7/88

LONDON. — South Africa is set to break back into international athletics by buying up the leading Europeans and Americans who fail to make it to the Olympic Games.

South African promoters have finally lost patience with the International Amateur Athletic Federation and are preparing to break their blockade, imposed when South Africa was suspended in 1976.

Agents for the promoters are in Europe and the United States, armed with huge sponsorships and ready to offer them to any top athlete willing to risk suspension by competing in South Africa.

The South African Amateur Athletics Union, who have abided by IAAF rules since their expulsion in the hope of being invited back, deny they are behind the recruiting. But their president, Mr Charles Nieuwoudt, said: "Obviously some provincial and club officials are going ahead with these bold plans.

FRUSTRATED

"Athletes have said they want to come to South Africa to see for themselves and if they wish to compete here we would allow it."

Mr Danie Malan, chairman of the Eastern Province Track and Field [illegible] vice-president of the SAAAU, said: "Athletes and officials here have been frustrated for too long. If the IAAF will not give us a chance to compete, South Africa must go out to find competition."

Senior athletics officials in the Northern Transvaal, home of most of South Africa's best athletes, are believed to be behind the moves. Major corporations, who receive a massive tax rebate on sponsorship used to import foreign sportsmen, are thought to be backing them.

OLYMPIC TRIALS

Mr Malan believes the first top athletes to compete in South Africa since 1974 would fill his 15 000-capacity stadium. "But then they would fill every stadium in the country," he said.

American athletes have already been approached, including blacks, and they have promised an answer after their Olympic trials, which began in Indianapolis at the weekend. An agent will be there talking with others.

Promoters in the South Africa expect the first of those lured by money to compete in their early season meetings in October.

ARGUS 18/7/88 (377)

Ban on Mandela celebration set aside

Staff Reporter

THE Supreme Court has set aside the police prohibition of Nelson Mandela birthday celebrations at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Justice Howie heard an urgent application and 15 minutes after hearing argument he set aside the ban on the UWC celebrations ordered by police Divisional Commissioner Brigadier Roy During late on Saturday night.

Costs were awarded to the applicants, the Mandela Birthday Committee and its convener United Democratic Front patron the Rev Allan Boesak.

The judge reserved reason for his judgment so that the applicants might take advantage of the remaining daylight and the hearing was over by 4 pm yesterday.

Brigadier During said his reasons for banning the proposed UWC event in terms of the Public Safety Act were that "black youths" intended attacking State vehicles and buses according to information he had received.

Counsel for the applicants Mr Les Rose-Innes called this an "absurd illogicality". The police could offer no reasons why the events should not have continued beyond this vague and unsubstantiated information about stone-throwing, said Mr Rose-Innes. This was not sufficient evidence to suggest a threat to public safety, he said.

Mr Rose-Innes pointed out that other birthday celebrations had taken place peacefully and without incident where the police had not intervened. He made this point to counter Brigadier During's argument that 10 000 people were expected at UWC and if there was violence in a crowd of this size the results would be "shocking".

Mr G E Griesel, assisted by Mr C Louw and instructed by C Kohler, appeared for the respondents. Essa Moosa and Associates instructed for the applicants.

Support for Mandela

(Continued from page 1.)

fused to make a public appeal for the release of Mandela to mark his 70th birthday.

She has also declined to meet Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who also addressed the rally.

The crowd at the rally were also shown a "video message" from Mrs Winnie Mandela in which she said a celebration of her husband's birthday was a celebration of "the cause of our people".

Other speakers included Andimba Toiva Ja Toiva, secretary-general of Swapo; and film director Sir Richard Attenborough.

All called for the release of Mr Mandela. A band played two anti-apartheid songs from a stage bedecked in traditional African motifs. ANC and Swapo flags and banners were waved in the crowd.

The rally followed a mass march through the suburbs of London led by demonstrators carrying "Free Mandela" banners.

At the head of the march were the group of 24 who yesterday finished a 35-day march from Glasgow to London to drum up support for the rally.

In Lusaka, students of the University of Zambia were due to march the 7km from campus to the Freedom Statue in central Lusaka today to mark Mandela's birthday.

At the national convention of the US Democratic Party starting in Atlanta, Georgia today, the Rev Jesse Jackson confirmed that there would be a tribute to Mandela.

He said Mrs Mandela had been invited to the convention with Mr Lech Walesa of the Solidarity movement in Poland, but "it does not seem either one of them could make it".

He found it significant that Mandela had had several opportunities to leave jail. "He will not leave unconditionally," he said. "He really is the king of principle politics."

Gold fix $437,65

Business Staff

GOLD was fixed at $437,65 an ounce in London today, against $438,65 on Saturday. It ended at $440 in Hong Kong, against Saturday's $441,86. In Johannesburg the rand traded at R2,4580/4610 to the dollar (40,65 US cents), against Friday's close of R2,4395 (40,99). The dollar closed at 135,15 yen in Tokyo, its highest level in Japan this year.

● See pages 10 and 11.

38 die in crash

SAO PAULO. — (Brazil). — Thirty-eight people drowned and dozens were injured when a bus braked to avoid three cows and was struck from behind by a second bus and pushed into a lake. — Sapa-AP.

Mandela birthday party

CM- Tues 18/7/88

387

700 celebrate at UCT — then police step in

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

ABOUT 700 Capetonians were the only South Africans publicly to celebrate the 70th birthday of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend.

But that was only for a few hours. The impromptu UCT concert, held in the Jameson Hall, evaded a series of nationwide security clampdowns for about four hours until banned by police.

As more than 200 000 people gathered in London for a massive rally honouring Mr Mandela's birthday — which is today — most of the public events planned for the weekend in South Africa fell foul of the security forces.

While city lawyers acting for the Mandela festival conveners battled in the Cape Supreme Court yesterday afternoon to overturn a ban on the University of the Western Cape festivities, a large contingent of riot police moved on to UCT to break up the concert.

On page 3
● Mandela — prisoner or jailer?
● Court gives concert go-ahead
● 200 000 celebrate in Hyde Park

And about 1½ hours after Mr Justice C T Howie's decision to set aside the police order prohibiting Mr Mandela's birthday celebrations, UWC, the original venue for the celebrations, was quiet, with small numbers of students arriving for a gospel concert.

A festival organizer, Moulana Faried Essack, said the conveners had taken a snap decision on Saturday night to shift the festivities to UCT after the UWC ban. About 3.20pm yesterday riot policemen, under command of a Colonel Kellerman and backed by at least seven vehicles, stationed themselves at the foot of the Jameson steps while a police helicopter circled overhead.

Soon afterwards UCT principal Dr Stuart Saunders and vice-principal Professor J V O Reid arrived and told the concert conveners that the divisional commissioner of police had banned the meeting.

"We take the freedom of expressson very seriously here," Dr Saunders said later. "I see no reason why people cannot hold the birthday party. It was a very peaceful, happy gathering."

At 3.30pm the police colonel ordered people at-

To page 3

CM Tues 18/7/88

From page 1

tending the function to disperse within 15 minutes.

Mr Dullah Omar, a member of the Mandela birthday campaign, told the crowd to continue celebrating Mr Mandela's birthday in their churches and homes, saying: "Nothing in the world is going to stop us from rallying to our leaders."

The crowd sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika before peacefully filing from the hall. Dozens of black, green and gold balloons were released as the police helicopter continued circling the campus and a police video crew filmed the departing crowds.

Plainclothes policemen intercepted four Worldwide Television News and Visnews crew members and confiscated a video film.

Police last night confirmed the police presence at UCT yesterday, but declined to comment on police actions.

Earlier, acting in terms of the emergency regulations, police on Saturday flung a cordon around the UWC campus. Later that day police surrounded and sealed off a Guguletu stadium where a Mandela sports festival was to have been held and ordered spectators to leave.

A team of "Freedom Runners", wearing T-shirts with slogans marking the ANC leader's birthday, was briefly detained on Saturday at roadblocks sealing off the main road past Pollsmoor Prison.

Persistent organizers have scheduled a church service in Cape Town today and a news conference in Johannesburg that is expected to include Mandela family members.

Other events also restricted at the weekend included:

● An outdoor concert in Johannesburg was banned.

● An indoor concert at the University of Durban-Westville was also banned. A large contingent of security forces manned roadblocks and sealed off both access routes to the university on Saturday.

● In Johannesburg a soccer match featuring the Mandela XI and the Delmas Dazzlers was banned — as was the tea party to be held afterwards.

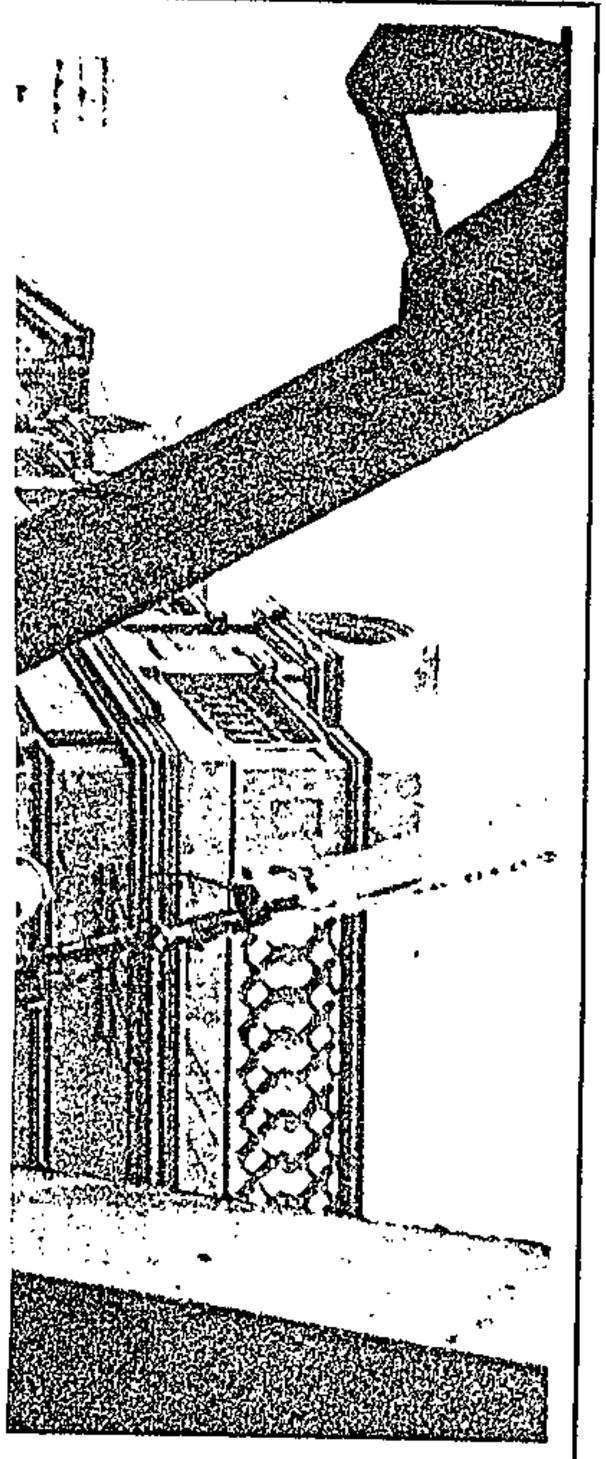
● The Transvaal Indian Congress cancelled a public meeting it had scheduled in Lenasia on Saturday. A TIC official, Mr Ashwin Shah, said the executive had decided to call off the meeting "in the present climate".

Mr Mandela also won't be celebrating today. He and his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, rejected a government offer of an extended family visit to prison to mark his birthday because they would accept no privileges that were denied to other prisoners.

Meanwhile two leading Sunday newspapers, skirting emergency regulations banning any call for Mr Mandela's release, said keeping the ANC leader in jail was not the solution to South African problems.

"The answer is simple — set him free and place the ball in the ANC court," the Sunday Times said.

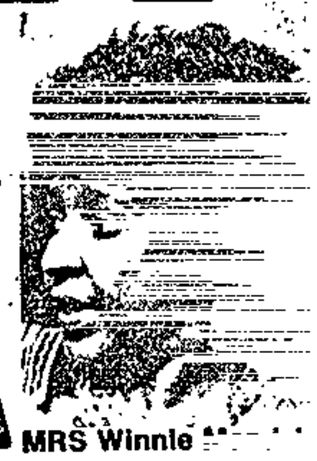
The Sunday Star said: "Starkly put, Mandela must be released if the urgent search for peaceful solutions is not to prove a tragic charade."



Concert defied Govt ban

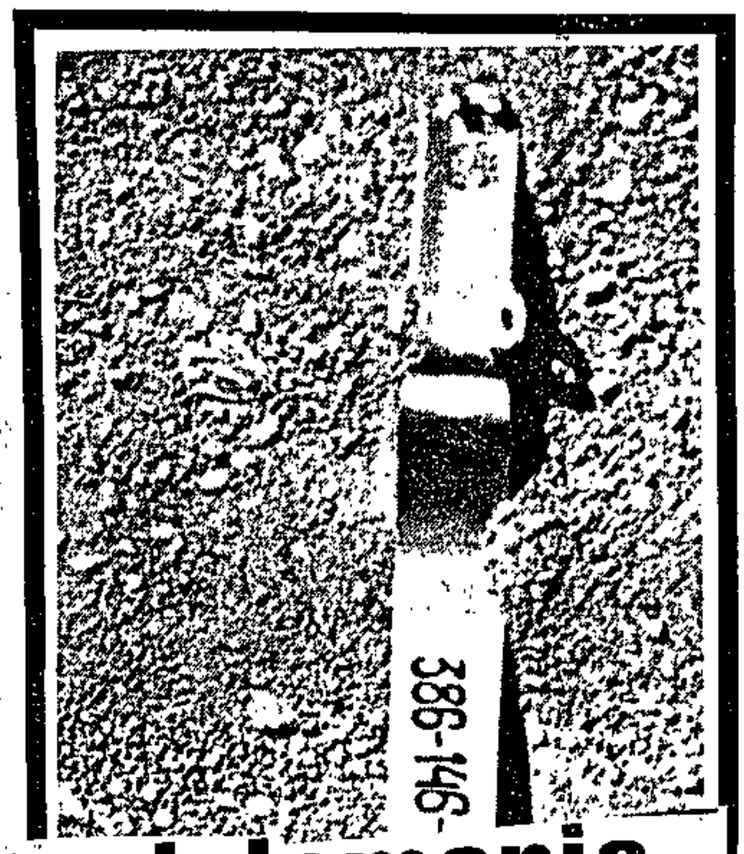
COPS HALT MANDELA SHOW

(327) Sowetan 18/7/88



MRS Winnie

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.



386-146-

SA Press Association

A LARGE contingent of riot police moved on to the University of Cape Town campus yesterday afternoon to halt a cultural festival attended by about 700 people in honour of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

The UCT concert, held in the Jameson Hall, was the only known public celebration inside South Africa to have temporarily evaded a series of security bans on events commemorating Mandela's birthday today.

A festival organiser, Moulana Faried Essack, yesterday said the convenors had taken a snap decision on Saturday night to shift the festivities to UCT following a police ban on a weekend festival scheduled to have been held at the University of the Western Cape.

Banning order

At about 3,20pm riot policemen, under command of a Colonel Kellerman and backed up by at least seven vehicles, stationed themselves at the foot of the Jameson steps while a police helicopter circled overhead.

Shortly afterwards, UCT principal, Dr Stuart Saunders and vice-principal, Professor J V O Reid, arrived on the scene and told the concert convenors that the Divisional Commissioner of Police had banned the meeting.

At 3,30pm the colonel ordered people attending the function to disperse within 15 minutes.

Mr Dullah Omar, a member of the Mandela Birthday Campaign, told the crowd to continue celebrating Mandela's birthday in their churches and homes, saying:

"Nothing in the world is going to stop us from rallying to our leaders."

The crowd, called to discipline by Moulana

• To Page 2

Mandelamania

• From Page 1

Faried Essack, sang Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika before peacefully filing from the hall. (327)

Dozens of black, green and gold balloons were released as the police helicopter continued circling the campus and a police video crew filmed the departing crowds.

Plainclothes policemen intercepted four Worldwide Television news and Visnews crew members and confiscated a video film.

Snatches of "happy birthday" were heard as the people moved towards their buses and the UCT hostels.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant H J Opperman, last night confirmed the police presence at UCT yesterday, but declined to comment on police actions.

eeting

was in progress. The second occurred after a device was hurled from a distance and landed in a yard.

A resident told the *Sowetan* that the explosion went off within a short space of time. "The last explosion caused panic to my children playing outside," she said.

"I just heard a loud

To Page 3 ➔

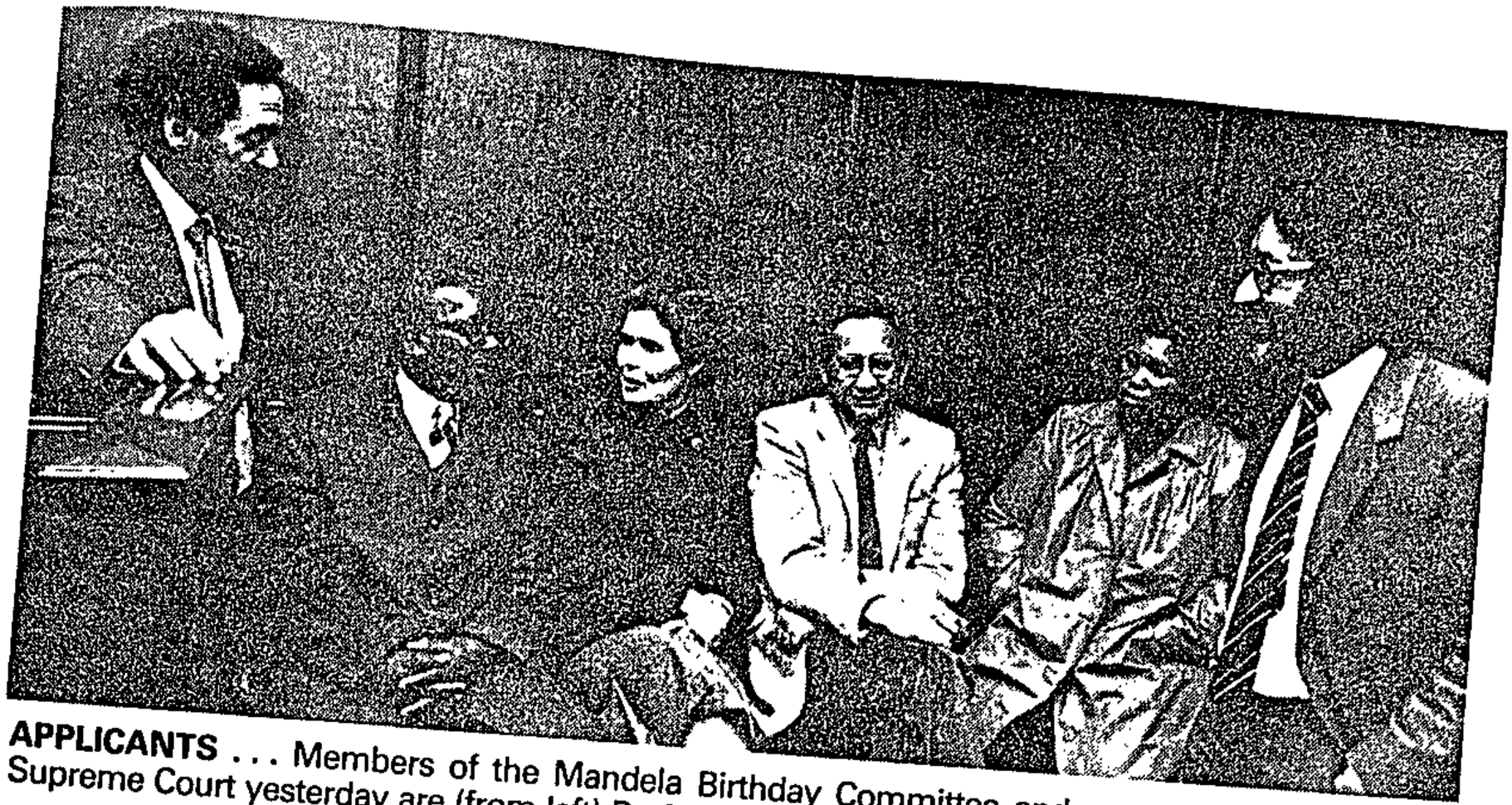
yesterday. No one w
injured.

This is the second ti
there has been an atta
at a Sofasonke Pa
meeting in less than thr
months. Two peop
were killed and sever
injured when gunm
attacked the crowd wi
handgrenades and AK

MOVE MILDN

STAY W
TAST

GREY



APPLICANTS . . . Members of the Mandela Birthday Committee and court spectators in the Supreme Court yesterday are (from left) Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mrs Mary Burton, Mr Franklin Sonn, Mrs B Tinto and Mr Essa Moosa.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Cape Times 18/7/88 (327)

Court overrules ban

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Cape Supreme Court late yesterday granted an urgent application to set aside a police order prohibiting Nelson Mandela birthday celebrations being held at the University of the Western Cape.

After hearing argument for over two hours, Mr Justice Howie took 15 minutes to decide on setting aside the order, issued late on Saturday by police Divisional Commissioner Brigadier Roy During in terms of the Public Safety Act.

Mr Justice Howie also awarded costs to the Mandela Birthday Committee. He reserved giving his reasons to enable the committee to take advantage of the remaining daylight. Counsel for both parties, committee members and senior policemen filed from the building soon after 4pm.

The application was brought jointly by the committee and its convener, the Rev Alan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front.

Submitting his reasons for banning the UWC function, Brigadier During said he had received information that "black youths" had decided to attack state vehicles and buses with stones during the celebrations.

He added that he had "no reason" to believe that the gathering would not be attended by black youths and it was therefore "more than probable" that stone-throwing would take place.

Mr Les Rose-Innes (for the applicants) said that the "vague and unsubstantiated" stone-throwing information was put forward as the "single factor that takes this matter over the brink".

"Except for this jump of absurd illogicality, nowhere does he say why the celebration of this birthday would have any effect on the safety of the public," Mr Rose-Innes added.

Brigadier During also said that according to press statements at least 10 000 people were expected to attend the UWC gathering and that if only a portion of these turned to violence the results would be "shocking".

Mr Rose-Innes said that with the exception of police intervention, all events arranged to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday had taken place peacefully and without incident.

Interrupted video

Eight people taking place in a fun run from Tokai to a Guguletu sports stadium on Saturday were arrested without warning and later released without charge. That morning security forces surrounded the same Guguletu sports stadium where various sporting events were to be held and had prevented anyone from entering. The venue was changed and events had proceeded peacefully, Mr Rose-Innes said.

Police had also interrupted a public screening of a video of the Mandela Wembley Concert at UWC until they were informed that the viewing had been organized by the University of the Western Cape Association of Democratic Educationists, UWCADE.

Mr Rose-Innes said Mr Mandela was revered by millions of South Africans and had received congratulatory birthday messages from throughout the world.

Mr G E Griesel, assisted by Mr Charles Louw and instructed by Mr C Kohler, appeared for the respondents. Mr Essa Moosa instructed for the applicants.

Organizers decided against a symbolic switch of celebration venues from UCT to UWC when it was realized that time had run out and the UWC hall had been booked out by a gospel group from 7pm.

CHARL DE VILLIERS reports that Mr Dullah Omar, vice-president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said last night: "The overturning of the police ban was much more than a moral victory: It showed that the police acted unlawfully on a massive scale.

"Yesterday we tried to persuade and show the police that the Guguletu sports festival was lawful. They, however, merely thrust aside our argument."

Referring to the last-minute ban on the Western Cape functions, Mr Omar said: "I think the police had shown an element of bad faith" by deliberately sabotaging the event at the last minute, "whether we lost the application or not".

Not only was it "terrible" that the concert organizers had no redress to compensation for the losses suffered by the banning, but "terrifying" that the police — because of emergency indemnity — could "happily" act in contravention of the law, he added.

Mr Omar said that the interfaith church service at St Francis in Langa would "definitely" continue today.

Register for news agencies condemned

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Scores of journalists and others in the communications industry could soon face a threat of up to 10 years in jail.

Industrial resources and news organisations here and around the world are preparing to challenge a rule so sweeping that no one can define its limits.

The latest media regulations require all people working for "news agencies" to register before next weekend.

Sources close to the Government say the decree applies "just to a few ANC-sponsored people". But the regulation is so broad that even public relations officers and institutes, businesses and other organisations which provide information for publication may be affected.

What is certain is that a crisis faces all regular correspondents who write in their spare time for specialist publications and newspapers, from art critics, motoring editors and sportswriters, to economists, news reporters and commentators.

"It is a crisis for South Africa as much as it is for journalism," said the editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson in Johannesburg.

"ANOTHER FURORE"

"Despite assurances to the contrary, this regulation violates the very basis of freedom of information and independent journalism.

"If State registration is enforced it will create yet another major international furore, alienating even the most conservative international Press and probably much of the Afrikaans Press.

Already some candidates for the State register have been questioned by the police.

The South African Press Association, Reuters, Associated Press and all the world's major news agencies which are specifically exempted by name from the State register, will find themselves in an untenable position.

Mr Tyson explained: "It will soon become difficult for any agency to justify its existence as a 'favoured party'. No credible news agency will be able to live with an exemption from an order that imposes restrictions which are intolerable to the free Press throughout the world."

ANC leader to stay in prison, says Minister

ARGUS 19/7/88 (32)

THE Government has refused to free jailed black nationalist Nelson Mandela in spite of a chorus of international appeals for a release coinciding with his 70th birthday.

The Information Minister, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "No matter how much international pressure is brought upon us, we have to live with the consequences of our actions.

"The situation at present precludes the Government from considering the release of Mr Mandela."

He said he hoped Mr Mandela could be freed one day and the Government kept the issue under review.

It was the Government's first direct response to pleas from dozens of countries, including the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, Japan and West Germany, to free Mr Mandela.

People attended two meetings in the Peninsula to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday and demand his release.

About 1 500 students gathered in the Main Hall at the University of the Western Cape at lunchtime yesterday and more than 750 people attended an emotion-charged interdenominational service at St Francis Church in Langa.

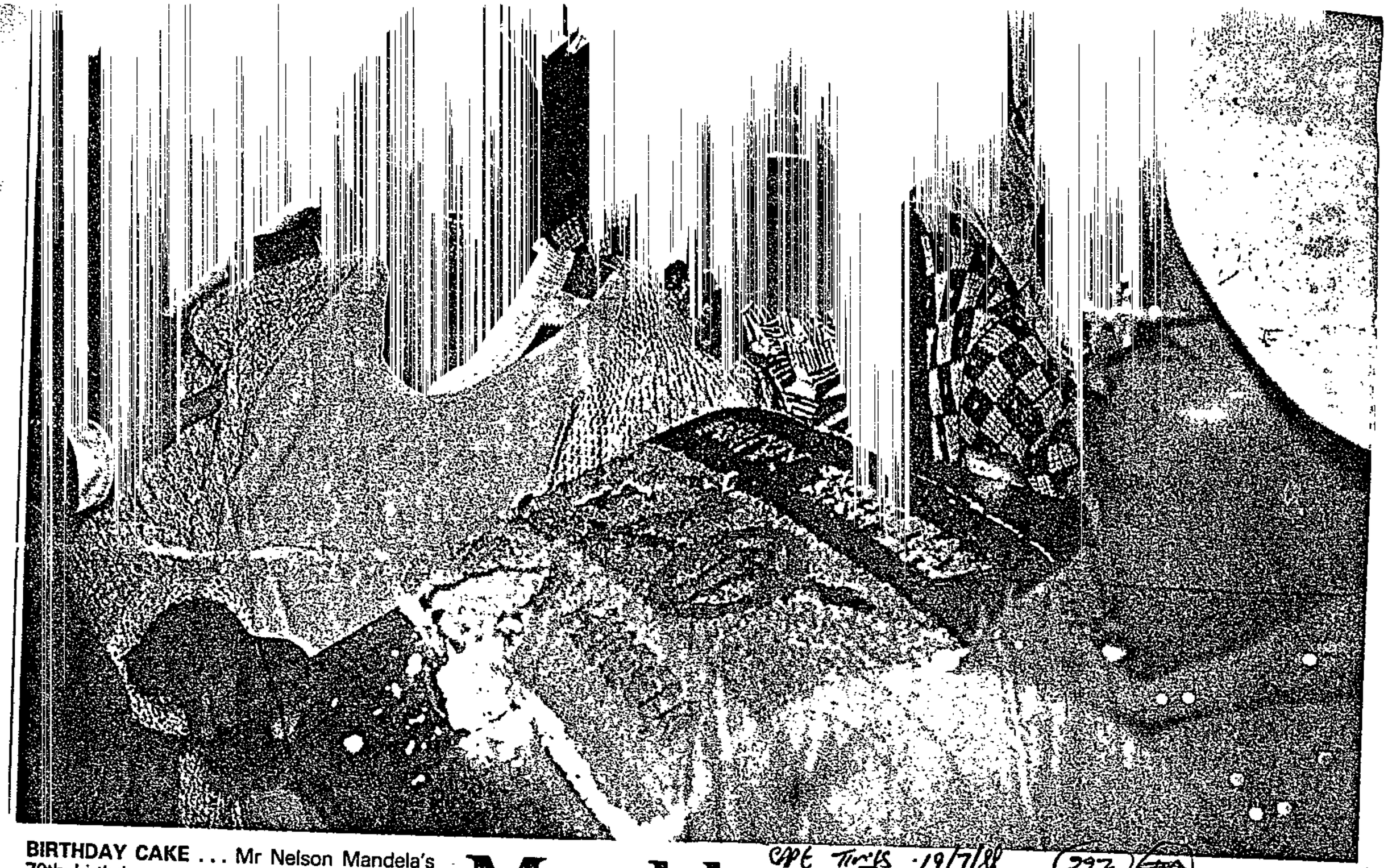
Later yesterday Dr Allan Boesak said in a statement on behalf of the Nelson Mandela Birthday Committee that Mr Mandela's continued imprisonment "means a continued irresolution of the South African crisis".

In London there was a blunt response to an attempt to deliver 32 000 signed cards to the South African Embassy calling for Mr Mandela's release.

An embassy spokesman said it was not policy to receive petitions at the embassy. When Anti-Apartheid Movement representatives were told this they "just dumped them at our front door".

The cards, packed in 25 boxes, were kicked across the pavement by an embassy employee who came out of the building.

Later another man walked out of the embassy and gathered the boxes into a plastic rubbish bag. — Staff Reporters, The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.



BIRTHDAY CAKE ... Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday was celebrated by about 800 people at a church service in Langa yesterday — and there was even a cake, baked by women of the United Women's Congress.
Picture: ADIL BRADLOW

Cape Times 19/7/88 (327)

Mandela release ruled out

THE government has ruled out the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night.

But it was hoped that one day Mr Mandela — who celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday — could be released to participate in the building of a new South Africa.

Dr Van der Merwe was commenting during an SATV interview on calls for Mr Mandela's release, including from the Johannesburg government-supporting newspaper Beeld.

The Mandela case was reviewed regularly with a view to his possible release, but while taking humanitarian considerations into account, the government had to consider the possible consequences of his release, he said.

In Cape Town rallies and celebrations marking Mr Mandela's birthday were held at the universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape with only isolated violence incidents reported.

A heavy police presence was reported during yesterday's celebrations, including a service at St Francis Church in Langa.

During the service, which was addressed by Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Dullah Omar, messages of support were read out from Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, from jailed ANC members at Pollsmoor, the British and the Netherlands Council of Churches and from the Rev Jesse Jackson.

Present at the service were diplomats from Switzerland, the US, the Netherlands, Denmark, Britain, Canada and Greece as well as Sir Richard Luyt, Mr Jan van Eck the MP for Claremont, and restricted UDF leader Mr Christmas Tinto.

At UWC, other messages of support were read out from the SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe

To page 3

From page 1

Mandela

Cape Times 19/7/88 (327)

Slovo, Cosatu, Swapo, foreign governments, including East German Chancellor Mr Erich Honecker, India, Canada, Cuba, Finland, Nicaragua and a number of East European and Caribbean states.

An Anglican Church delegation led by the acting Vicar-General, Dean Edward King, were allowed past three police roadblocks to get into Pollsmoor Prison yesterday and delivered a letter to the head of the prison from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, and the archbishops meeting at Lambeth.

The prison chief assured the clergymen that Mr Mandela would receive the letter, Dean King said.

A Prisons Services spokesman declined to say out of "respect for the privacy of prisoners" whether Mr Mandela had received any visitors.

In one of the few violent incidents reported yesterday, the windscreen of a Transport Services truck was shattered and several cars were dented when a few students marched in Modderdam Road after a rally at UWC.

At UCT, several hundred students sat on the steps of Jameson Hall while an attempt to launch 70 balloons into the sky to mark each of Mr Mandela's years.

Pollsmoor Prison was sealed from the rest of the world by roadblocks manned by policemen.

● New Zealand yesterday introduced a scholarship for the ANC as part of its celebrations of the birthday. The fund would enable a nominee of the ANC to study at a tertiary institution in New Zealand.

● In Harare, police with batons formed a cordon around the SA trade mission when 900 students staged a demonstration to mark the birthday. — **Staff Reporters, Own Correspondents and Sapa**

Soccer star salutes Mandela

AMSTERDAM. — United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar has asked Dutch soccer star Ruud Gullit to an international conference on apartheid in Oslo next month.

Gullit, who led the Dutch team to victory in last month's European championship, and who is an outspoken opponent of apartheid, has dedicated his 1988 Footballer of the Year award to imprisoned South African black nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-Reuter

Angolans in ...

He said the announcement had been postponed to today.

left the Black River Parkway ... like the lid of a sardine can in the ...

ARGUS 20/7/88

Newspaper registration 'pernicious form of control'

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE chief director of media relations, Mr A J Engelbrecht, confirmed today that major South African newspapers would have to register as news agencies under the emergency regulations by July 31 — or face fines of up to R20 000 and prison of up to 10 years.

There has been some confusion in media circles about the definition of a "news agency" under the new regulations promulgated on June 10, but today Mr Engelbrecht confirmed that if newspapers gathered news and relayed it to other organisations for publication or broadcast — as most, if not all, major newspapers do — they would qualify for registration.

In reaction Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on media matters, said it was "horrendous" that major newspapers were subject to this "pernicious form of intimidation and control".

INEXPLICABLE

He said it was inexplicable that major newspapers were obliged to register with the Department of Home Affairs while major news agencies such as Reuters and Sapa had specifically been excluded.

Mr Engelbrecht said that if news agencies did not register by July 31 they would be transgressing the regulations and would be laible for fines of up to R20 000 or 10 years' imprisonment or the prison sentence without the option of the fine.

The regulations required news agencies to provide the department with full lists of all journalists employed by them. This has been criticised as being a form of registration of journalists — something that newspapers have fought against for years.

Mr Soal said: "It is a pernicious form of intimidation reminiscent of countries behind the Iron Curtain where governments have an insatiable desire to control the flow of news.

SC warns papers on registration

Cape Times 20/7/88

327

Mr Sidney Kentridge

Mr Pat Retief

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Major commercial newspapers could be affected by the latest media regulations which demand the registration of all people working for news agencies, according to Mr Sidney Kentridge SC.

Mr Kentridge said this in legal opinion to the SA Society of Journalists (SASJ).

The demand for registration was part of the media emergency regulations promulgated on June 10 under the Public Safety Act. The regulations demanded registration by July 31.

It is Mr Kentridge's opinion that according to the regulations, if a newspaper, in addition to its ordinary business of publication, provided news on a regular basis for other publications, it would fall within the definition of "news agency business".

Civil disobedience

Mr Kentridge found that even though such a wide definition would demand the registration of major commercial newspapers, it would have no effect on the validity of the regulations.

The chairman of Times Media Ltd (TML), Mr Pat Retief, yesterday condemned the media regulations and said he found it disquieting that the regulations came dangerously close to creating a national register for journalists.

Answering questions posed by the SASJ at the TML annual meeting, Mr Retief said the company could not advise or encourage its employees, or indeed anyone, to breach those regulations. To do so, could be an act of civil disobedience on the part of the company and a criminal offence.

Mr Retief said the company had been advised that there were conflicting views among eminent senior counsel on the validity of the regulations.

If advised that there was a real prospect of succeeding in challenging the regulations in court, the company would consider such action, Mr Retief said.

Threat of up to 10 years in jail

WITHIN days, scores of journalists and other people in the communications industry could face a threat of up to 10 years in jail.

The repercussions are likely to be far-reaching. Industrial resources and news organisations here and around the world, are preparing to challenge a rule so sweeping that no-one can define its limits.

The latest media regulations require all people working for all "news agencies" to register before next weekend.

Sources close to Government say the decree applies "just to a few ANC-sponsored people." But the regulation is so broad that even public relations officers and institutes, businesses and other organisations which provide information for publication may be affected.

What is certain is that a crisis faces all regular correspondents.

20/7/86

(327) CAPE TIMES 21/7/88

Crossroads man released from prison

Staff Reporter

A YOUNG New Crossroads father was released yesterday from Robben Island where he had been imprisoned for the past year for failing to report the presence of a trained ANC member to the police.

Mr Mbuyiselo Samuel Hans, 30, spoke to the Cape Times soon after his arrival on the mainland. However, Mr Hans is now a listed person and may not be quoted.

On July 21 last year he and two other men were sentenced to three years' imprisonment, of which two years were suspended for five years.

Mr Hans's family said he was looking for a job to enable him to support his family. At the time of his arrest early last year, Mr Hans worked at a quarry as a driver of earth-moving machinery.

His family said he would like to work as a driver again, but was also qualified to do clerical work.

Mandela speech copies seized

Star 21/7/85

The Witwatersrand divisional police commissioner has ordered, in terms of the emergency regulations, that all copies of "The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial", issued by Learn and Teach Publications, be seized on the Reef.

327

Circulation rise 'due to media laws'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The circulation of the Oudtshoorn community newspaper *Saamstaan* has rocketed since the latest set of emergency regulations were imposed, according to *Saamstaan* journalist Patrick Nyuka.

At a "Save the Press Campaign" meeting at the University of the Western Cape, Mr Nyuka said the newspaper's circulation had risen from about 9 000 copies a week to about 17 000, "thanks to (Internal Affairs Minister) Stoffel Botha".

However, the Government's "continued harassment" of the paper and its staff had recently forced employees to change its name from *Saamstaan* to *Staansaam* to avoid being closed down.

Weekly Mail reporter Gaye Davis said journalists were finding it "very difficult to sustain any kind of concerted campaign around Press freedom".

The editor of *South*, Mr Rashid Seria, said his newspaper would publish news of developments surrounding ANC leader Nelson Mandela's birthday "at the risk of being banned by Stoffel Botha".

I P profits

Much of the snow in Lesotho has melted and, if good weather prevails, life in the mountains will be back to normal by the end of the month. ● Pictures by Dawn Barkhuizen.

estimate the opera
take another 16 day

Housing 'gimmick' alleged

Star 21/7/88

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Campaigns for the October municipal elections have kicked off in Sharpeville with candidates making promises to Vaal Triangle residents and pointing accusing fingers at each other.

Lekoa mayor Mr Esau Mahlatsi said in a television interview this week that he wanted to demolish hostels in Sharpeville and replace them with houses.

Mr S M Kolisang, a Sharpeville councillor and election candidate, dismissed this as a pre-election gimmick.

Mr Kolisang said a site for the construction of houses had been available in Shambo (Sharpeville-Boipatong) for more than 2½ years and yet nothing had been done. The Lekoa council had never discussed the conversion of hostels into family dwellings, he said.

Mr Mahlatsi could not be reached for comment.

Media ruling: 'Never intended to register mainstream papers'

Star 21/7/88

(327)

Political Staff

The Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha said today he had never intended mainstream newspapers to be registered as news agencies, and if necessary he would amend media emergency regulations to make that clear.

He was reacting to the storm that erupted yesterday after the chief director of media relations Mr A J Engelbrecht announced that mainstream newspapers that also relayed South African news to other organisations would have to register in terms of the regulations by the end of this month.

Mr Botha said he had instructed his legal advisers to examine the regulations and said he would issue a statement tomorrow.

'BACK-DOOR REGISTRATION'

Making it clear he had not intended that the regulations imply that mainstream newspapers would have to be registered or that journalists would be registered "through the back door", Mr Botha said: "I merely wanted to ensure that news agencies were kept under control. If need be I will effect an amendment to the regulations."

He noted that the Newspaper Press Union had requested a meeting with him on August 11. He would be happy to grant it.

Mr Botha's assurances came after the newspaper industry was thrown into confusion by the statement of Mr Engelbrecht yesterday, subsequently denied by an official of the Department of Home Affairs.

Managing director of the Argus Company's Newspaper Division, Mr Peter McLean, said the NPU had been asked to organise a meeting with Mr Botha.

It was suggested by the Argus Company and Times Media Limited (TML) that discussions take place on August 11.

In the meantime, said Mr McLean, "I've asked the NPU to request of the Minister that the compulsory registration of news agencies be suspended until we have had the opportunity to discuss the matter with him."

Times Media Limited managing director, Mr Stephen Mulholland said: "It's our company view that if these media regulations come into being, as had been indicated, this would be a very unfortunate and tragic development for the country in the sense that we would be categorised along with Third World and communist countries which we wouldn't want to be characterised with."

Mr Mulholland said that by any standards applied in most advanced countries the South African press was "relatively free".

Reacting to the July 31 deadline, the editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson said: "When the Government finally sorts itself out it will probably offer exemptions to major newspapers — but that will be almost as bad as registration.

"State registration is an abhorrent principle everywhere and needs to be scrapped. Neither the world's news agencies, nor South Africa's press, can live under exemptions from a decree that totally contradicts the basis of freedom of information."

● See Page 11.

Frog catches park on the hop

Govt gives news clamp the go-ahead

Cape Times 21/7/88

327

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday confirmed fears that commercial newspapers which relayed news to other organizations would, under an emergency regulation, have to register by the end of the month as news agencies.

Failure to do so would result in fines of up to R20 000 and jail sentences of up to 10 years.

The chief director of media relations in the Department of Home Affairs, Mr A J Engelbrecht, said that in terms of the regulation it was "quite clear" that if a newspaper gathered news and relayed it for use by another organization it fell under the definition of a news agency, "whatever it may call itself".

Virtually all newspapers as a matter of course circulate news gathered by their reporters to other papers, news agencies and organizations.

There has been considerable debate in media and legal circles in recent weeks over whether newspapers would have to comply with the government's tough new registration laws.

The emergency regulations require news agencies to provide the Department of Home Affairs with full lists of all journalists and photographers who work for them and of all periodicals, television or radio stations which will be provided with news material.

In an apparent anomaly, major news agencies like Sapa, Reuters, AP and UPI do not have to register with the department.

TRANS ORIENTAL CARPET COMPANY
SENSATIONAL OPENING

SOWETAN, Thursday, July 21, 1988

Pernicious form of intimidation, says MP

BIG GROUPS TO REGISTER

THE chief director of Media Relations, Mr A J Engelbrecht, confirmed yesterday that major South African newspapers would have to register as news agencies under the emergency regulations by July 31 — or face fines of up to R20 000 and prison of up to 10 years.

There has been some confusion in media circles about the definition of a "news agency" under the new regulations promulgated on June 10.

But yesterday Mr Engelbrecht confirmed that if newspapers gathered news and relayed it to other organisations for publication or broadcast — as most, if not all, major newspapers do — they would qualify for registration.

In reaction Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on media matters, said it was "horrendous" that major newspapers were subject to this pernicious form of intimidation and control.

He said it was inexplicable that major newspapers were obliged to register with the Department of Home Affairs while major news agencies such as Reuters and Sapa had specifically been excluded.

Mr Engelbrecht said that if news agencies did not register by July 31 they would be transgressing the regulations and would be liable for fines of up to R20 000 or 10 years' imprisonment or the prison sentence without the option of the fine.

The regulations required news agencies to provide the department with full lists of all journalists employed by them. This has been criticised as being a form of registration of journalists — something that newspapers have fought against for years.

Mr Soal said: "It is a pernicious form of intimidation reminiscent of countries behind the Iron Curtain where governments have an insatiable desire to control the flow of news." — Sapa.

Blacks are underpaid

THOUSANDS of black labourers work in the public sector on wages below the minimum living wage.

The more than 1,6 million blacks employed in the public sector earn an average R447 a month with those in some departments earning under R300 a month, according to statistics for the first quarter of this year, released by Central Statistical Services in Pretoria.

SOWETAN Reporter

These wages are below the R526,39 a month minimum living level for a (black) family of six, as calculated by the University of South Africa for the same period.

Blacks in parastatal scientific councils and general affairs departments are best off, with average salaries of R952 and R830 a month respectively in the first quarter. But in own affairs departments, the wages average R295 a month and in other parastatal institutions R349 a month.

The statistics show coloured wages/salaries to average R910 a month and those of Indians R1 512, compared with the R2 070 average for whites.

But the public sector, which has lost thousands of skilled white workers to better-paid jobs in the private sector, is unlikely to forfeit its 1,6 million black workers.

Without strong negotiating powers such as those of the trade unions, with strikes "unthinkable" because of the disruption to essential services, and with little prospect of jobs in the private sector anyway, labourers are often only too grateful for their jobs, even if the salaries are low.

Govt has at last revealed its true purpose

The Government should postpone indefinitely the closing date for registration of news agency businesses, or better still excise all reference to them from the media regulations, Mr Peter Reynolds, a newspaper lawyer, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the announcement by the Government's Information chief, Mr A J Engelbrecht, that mainstream newspapers relaying reports to other organisations would also have to register by the end of the month in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Reynolds' full statement reads: "After many weeks of uncertainty, the Government through its spokesman Mr A J Engelbrecht, has now at last told us the true purpose behind the regulations requiring 'news agency businesses' (as defined in the media regulations) to be registered.

"Mr Engelbrecht's statement that mainstream newspapers will have to register as news agency

> Newspaper lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds says the Government has finally told us the true purpose behind the media regulations — to register all journalists through the back door — despite denials from the Minister that such a register is intended.

Star 21/7/88 (327)

businesses, means that the personal details of nearly every journalist and newspaper photographer in SA will be contained in a statutory register.

"So, the Government may have finally achieved its objective — to register journalists (through the back door) — despite denials by the Minister that such a register is intended.

"Although Mr Engelbrecht has little or no difficulty with interpreting the regulations, others have not shared this experience and have had considerable difficulty in deciding what is to be done.

"For example, a journalist may be exempt from registration if he supplies news by way of 'a casual or isolated act'.

"What is meant by 'a casual or isolated act'? Is it occasionally, if so, what is meant by occasionally? Is it weekly, monthly, annually — who knows?

"As so often happens with emergency regulations, there is substantial confusion as to what must be or need be done — apart from any questions of principle concerning the freedom of the press.

"I believe the Minister would act prudently if he heeded the criticisms being levelled at this piece of legislation, and at the very least postpone the date for registration indefinitely, but better still excise all reference to news agency business from the media regulations. This will avoid possible applications to court to obtain clarity and the patient will be all the better for this minor bit of surgery."

Wits police slap ban on Mandela statement

Cape Times 21/7/86

(327)

PRETORIA. — The Witwatersrand divisional police commissioner has ordered in terms of the media emergency regulations that copies of a publication issued by Learn and Teach Publications, "The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial", be seized.

Police said last night that the publication was apparently being distributed free of charge.

Though Mr Mandela's statement was part of the Rivonia trial court record, its "one-sided" publication did not offer a balanced version of the facts, police said.

Mr Mandela's statement was unsworn and its truthfulness could therefore not be tested.

Police wished to emphasize that Mr Mandela admitted in his statement:

- To being a founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, which was responsible for terror attacks;
- That he planned sabotage and supported violence;
- That he had studied revolution and warfare and had received military training abroad;
- That he had arranged for recruits to receive military training abroad; and
- That there was co-operation between the ANC and the SACP and that he had been influenced by Marxist thoughts. — Sapa

The media net is spread wide

(327) Star 21/7/88

By JOANNE COLLINGE AND ESMARE VAN DER MERWE

The announcement that most mainstream newspapers will have to register in terms of the emergency regulations has caused consternation and anger among media organisations and politicians alike. It has also confirmed the fears held by media lawyers. Here are some of their comments.

The disclosure that most mainstream newspapers will have to register with the Government has been greeted angrily as an all-out attack on the media.

"This confirms the suspicions of journalists that the Minister had no intention of confining registration to only a few 'suspect' journalists but wanted to get his hands on the whole media industry. Forcing all journalists to register — because this is what registration in effect means — will give him the power he seeks," said Mr Raymond Louw, editor of *Southern African Report*, speaking for the Save the Press campaign in the Transvaal.

INTIMIDATORY

"The prospect of being struck off the register which enables one to practise at the whim of a Minister will undoubtedly have an intimidatory effect on journalists, their editors and their managements. It is clear that the Minister, having failed to get his way by banning newspapers such as the *New Nation* because of the uproar it created here and abroad, is now seeking to achieve the same effect by forcing the journalists who have made those newspapers the powerful sources of information that they are."

Mr Louw's views were echoed by a spokesman for the Transvaal region of the Association of Democratic Journalists: "We have said from the outset the emergency regulations were designed to silence the media as a whole. The regulations give the director-general power to stop any journalist — or if necessary all journalists — from working and control absolutely what South Africans and the rest of the world know about this country."

Mr Bob Kernohan, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, commented: "This is confirmation of our worst possible fears. We would hope that, now the intention is clear with regard to mainstream newspapers, individual publishers and the Newspaper Press Union will take urgent action — if necessary through the courts — and use their influence to prevent the provision being implemented."

Mr Raymond Louw ... suspicions have been confirmed.

A Johannesburg media lawyer said: "We've always believed that the regulations were wide enough to cover any newsgathering activity that involves re-publication. The initial impression that they were intended only for news agencies is clearly not right.

"Newspapers will open themselves to exactly the same dangers as news agencies have been up in arms about. They will have to submit details of all their staff members and of their journalistic activities and will be subject to deregistration."

The attorney said she did not believe that journalists could rest assured that they were temporarily shielded from the requirement of registration by virtue of the fact that the Natal Indian Congress had launched a court challenge to the relevant emergency regulations in the Natal Supreme Court. The application is likely to be heard on August 8.

The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said he objected to the measures in the strongest terms.

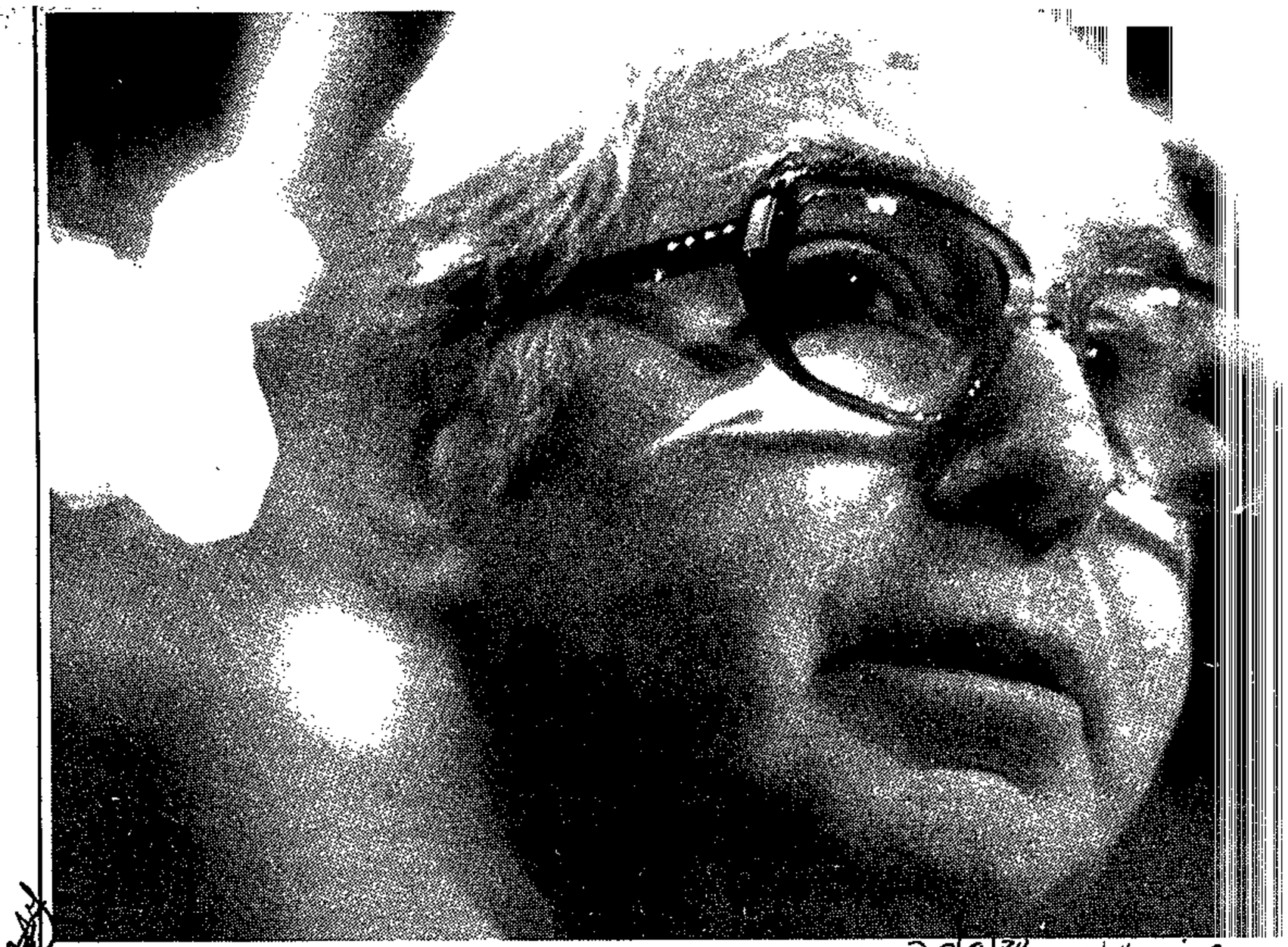
"We regard this as a further effort by the State to gain complete control of the South African media. It also represents a further breakdown of press freedom and, at the same time, it is a step backwards as far as basic human rights are concerned."

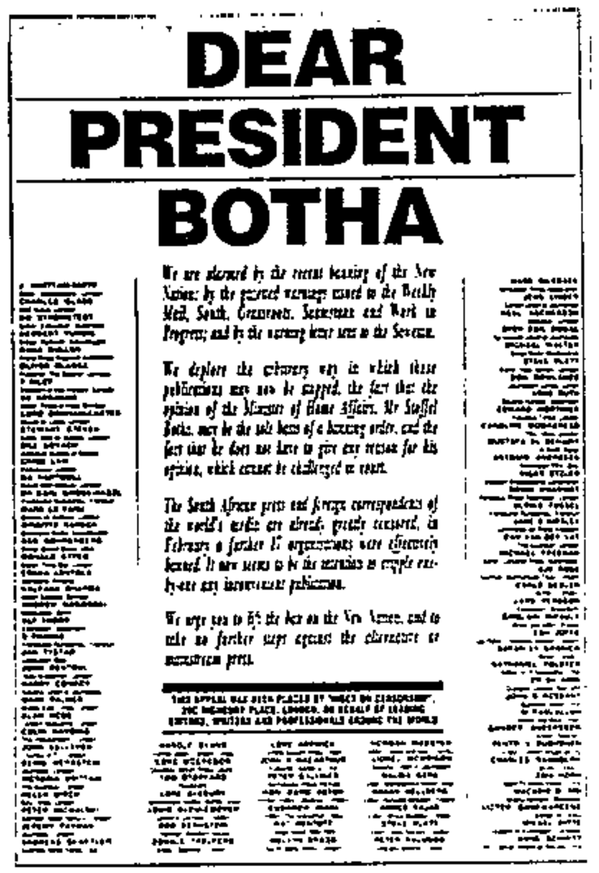
Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said the measures were "deplorable" and a clear sign that the Government did not have any "creative answers" to the present crisis in the country.

The Conservative Party maintained that the Government already had widespread powers to control the "radical" press.

These measures would clamp down unnecessarily on "moderate" journalists.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said the measures were "an easy way to pull the blanket over all journalists". The Government should explore other ways of acting against "the guilty".




DEAR PRESIDENT BOTHA

George Theiner, left, guiding spirit of *Index on Censorship*, and above, the *Index* advertisement, placed in newspapers throughout South Africa, deploring the actions against the 'alternative' press

Picture: IVAN KYNCL

327

22-28/7/88 W/Mail

The scourge of censorship meets the ultimate tyrant

One of the world's leading crusaders against censorship — here and abroad — dies in London

WHEN officials of the Department of Home Affairs briefed their minister, Stoffel Botha, for his meeting with the *Weekly Mail* editors in May, his reading list was topped by a small London-based magazine called *Index on Censorship*.

Index on Censorship has a circulation of a mere 5 000 but its influence is world-wide and its readership includes many who have little reason to be fond of it ... like officials in the South African government.

It was *Index on Censorship*, for example, which was behind the "Dear President Botha" advertisements which appeared in many South African newspapers during May, protesting at the suspension of *New Nation* and *South* and the threat hanging over *Weekly Mail*.

The advertisements appear to have made their mark ... Stoffel Botha complained on television of an "orchestrated" international campaign to vilify his department.

This week, the editor of *Index*, George Theiner, died in London after a long illness.

Theiner enjoyed the distinction of making both friends and enemies on both sides of the political divide, accused of being both pro- and anti-communist and pro-and anti- right-wing.

Theiner was exiled from his native Czechoslovakia twice over: once, during World War II, which he spent at school in England, a second time after the Russian invasion which ended the Prague Spring in 1968.

He also had personal experience of censorship in its harshest form: he was barred from working as a journalist in 1948 when he refused to join the Communist Party and he spent three years, from 1950 to 1953, in a labour camp attached to the Silesian coal mines.

During his second exile in England, he joined up with a group of prominent British writers and scholars who had founded a magazine called *Index on Censorship*, its aim to take up the cause of suppressed and persecuted intellectuals around the world.

First as assistant editor, then editor, Theiner changed the magazine from quarterly to monthly, the only magazine which provides both systematic world-wide information on concrete cases of censorship and a forum for silenced authors to publish.

Playwright Tom Stoppard, one of the magazine's staunchest supporters, has argued that its "main appeal is that it has no political interests of any kind. Its standpoint is moral rather than political".

The 100th issue of *Index* appeared last month, a bumper issue, three times larger than usual, its theme, a favourite of Theiner's, censorship in Russia. Typically, the magazine contained contributions both from members of the Soviet establishment and their underground press opponents.

In mid-June Theiner was able to enjoy formal recognition of his work, which made his end, after a long illness, more merciful. At a public gathering in Stockholm, he received the Freedom Prize, conferred by two of the biggest newspapers in Scandinavia.

A month later, George Theiner met the ultimate censor ... death itself.

327

APARTHEID BAROMETER

TRANSKEI POLITICAL PRISONERS

In March 1988 there were 11 people at Umtata Centre Prison serving sentences for political offences, according to the Prisoners Welfare Programmes publication, *Reporter*, of April 1988. Their sentences ranged between two and 20 years.

LEGAL SUITS AGAINST TRANSKEI SECURITY POLICE

In March this year there were 40 legal suits pending in the "homeland" arising out of the alleged activities of the Transkei security police, according to *Human Rights Update*, published by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University. The suits concerned mainly allegations of unlawful or wrongful detention, unlawful arrest, torture, unlawful assault and malicious prosecution. The total amounts claimed by the plaintiffs amounted to R2 025 500.

POLITICAL PRISONERS ON DEATH ROW

Between December 1986 and March 1988 eight people were executed for politically related crimes, according to *Human Rights Update*. And in March 1988, there were 53 people on death row for politically-related reasons.

SADF DEATHS

Between September 1987 and July 4 1988 the South African Defence Force listed the deaths of 83 SADF and South West Africa Territorial Force members. Of these, 70 occurring in Angola and the other 13 in the "operational area" (which includes southern Angola). A further two have been listed as "missing" and one as having been captured.

The 83 include 67 SADF and 16 SWATF soldiers. The SADF members, all of them white and none of them belonging to the "special forces", are believed to include 53 conscripts and 14 members of the Permanent Force. Forty-one were either officers or non-commissioned officers.

According to figures provided periodically by the Angolan government, about 450 SADF and SWATF soldiers have been killed in Angola since September last year — including more than 300 black troops.

Last month the South West African People's Organisation said its troops had killed at least 52 South African soldiers in Namibia between May 15 and May 30.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

JOYCE MABUDAFHASI, National Education Crisis Committee executive member, was detained under the Emergency regulations in December 1986.

Mabudafhasi, a community leader from Mankweng, near Pietersburg, was a founder member of the NECC. In May 1986, while employed as a librarian at Turfloop University, she was seriously injured when her house was bombed late at night. She left the area and went into hiding. At the time of her detention she was involved with negotiating a return to classes by Port Elizabeth students.

Since her detention her father has died and her mother, who is living in Venda, has suffered a stroke.

Mabudafhasi, who is in her forties, has four children and is being held with five other female prisoners at Pietersburg Prison.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:
T-shirt displaying hammer and sickle and the words CCCP (not stated); T-shirt with words "Freedom or Death — Victory is Certain" (not stated); Directory of Dominatrixes vol 1 no 1 (J Jordan Associates, New York); Desires — film; Love play French style — film.
Banned for importation and distribution:
ABC of Dialectical and Historical Materialism (Progress Publishers, Moscow); Review of African Political Economy: Roape no 40 December 1987 (not stated); SCI International Solidarity Campaign with Swapo: March 1988 (Service Civil International SEED Coordination, Antwerpen); PCR Information: Special Issue: The Way to Namibian Independence UN Resolution 435 (World Council of Churches, Geneva); Africa Bulletin nr 47 Marz/April 1988 (Afrika-Komitee, Basel); Working for Freedom: Report of a Nalgo Delegation to South Africa June/July 19 (NALGO, London); Namibia will be free — records (IDAF Records — or any other records by IDAF records without permit); Deius Magazine on the Democratisation and Reform of Education 88 (International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia — banned only for importation); Non-stop Against Apartheid (BM City, AA, London); Prank no 146 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg); Semi-nude black couple — poster (not stated) ; Nude black girl kneeling — poster (Verkerke Produksies, Holland).

Unbanned for possession:
South Africa: The Press and the Politics of Liberation (Chenhamo C Chimutengwende); Race Propaganda and South Africa (John C Laurence — still banned for importation and distribution).
Unbanned for distribution/importation:
Inside Boss, South Africa's Secret Police (Gordon Winter); The sexual behaviour of young adults (Michael Schofield).

Press register issue hots up as Stoffel agrees: I'll see delegates

(327)

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE issue of press registration reached a critical stage this week when a Department of Home Affairs official announced mainstream newspapers would have to register under Emergency media restrictions.

Yesterday's assurance by Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha that he had never intended mainstream newspapers to be registered as news agencies did little to stem these fears.

The two issues at stake now are:

- Whether Botha will amend the regulations so they specifically exclude commercial newspapers which regularly supply news material to agencies like the South African Press Association.
- Or whether the Newspaper Press Union and Botha will strike a deal which exempts the mainstream press from registration — but not independent news agencies and freelancers — when they meet on August 11.

The *Star's* editor, Harvey Tyson, said offering exemptions to major newspapers would "be almost as bad as registration".

Nevertheless, although it is more than a month since the regulations were passed, a public outcry against them erupted only when Home Affairs' chief director of media relations, AJ Engelbrecht, announced mainstream newspapers would also have to register — or face the penalty of a R20 000 fine or 10 years in jail.

In its editorial yesterday *Business Day* bemoaned the fact that: "It is becoming very difficult to say why the fascist totalitarianism that is overtak-

●To PAGE 2

W/Mail 22-28/7/88

Press register issue hots up

From PAGE 1

ing us is better than the revolution that threatens it."

Botha has so far not responded to a request that he receive a delegation from the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) and Save the Press Campaign — representing the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ), the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), freelance journalists and smaller news agencies.

However, Botha told a Johannesburg newspaper yesterday he would be happy to grant a meeting to the Newspaper Press Union, which represents the Afrikaans and English-language mainstream press, to discuss the regulations.

He said: "If need be I will effect an amendment to the regulations." He had not intended them to apply to mainstream newspapers, Botha said.

Although it is only one week before the July 31 deadline for news agencies to register, confusion reigns in the ranks of freelance journalists.

Several journalists are planning to fight the restrictions in court. But even legal opinion of the implications and scope of the regulations differs.

Some lawyers contend registration applies to all individuals and institutions involved in collecting and disseminating news — apart from those sending news exclusively to one employer, or those who disseminate news only occasionally.

At least one senior counsel, however, believes this is not the case — having examined the regulation's exemption of someone who supplies news material "exclusively to a periodical or television or radio station of which he is an employee". This means, the lawyer argues, that any journalist can send stories — and even the same story — to any number of outlets, provided he or she has an employment contract with each outlet.

Many journalists have adopted a "wait and see" attitude. While most have strong moral objections to registering, others argue for a more pragmatic and strategic approach.

However, the minister of home affairs can deregister any journalist without giving reasons

The Department of Home Affairs' Directorate of Media Relations yesterday did not respond to queries about how many individuals or news agencies had applied for registration.

● A public meeting will be held in Durban on Wednesday, July 27, to highlight the issue of compulsory news agency registration.

It has been organised by the ADJ, Mwasa and the SASJ. The meeting will be addressed by *Natal Witness* editor Richard Steyn, a lawyer involved in the upcoming Natal Indian Congress challenge to the news agency regulations, and representatives of the three press unions.

22-28/7/88 Natal Witness

Commonwealth 'may join fight'

Registration: all journalists to get free legal aid

(327

Star 22/7/88

Staff Reporters

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) has decided to make its legal aid network available to any journalist affected by the new registration legislation.

The national director of LHR, Mr Brian Currin, said yesterday that the organisation's "pro bono" scheme would be available to any journalist prosecuted under the legislation.

Advice will also be available in the event of a journalist being deregistered.

Commenting on the legislation, Mr Currin said that the definition of a "news agency" in the Act was extremely wide.

Hard to believe

"We cannot believe that it was the intention of the legislature to include those persons who appear to have been included."

Mr Currin said because, technically, LHR "processes news" it might also be required to register, something it had no intention of doing.

"One could find oneself in a situation where every bit of news could be tainted by the ideology of the Minister in charge of registration."

The Save the Press Campaign, because of the severe inroads into the freedom of the press which it considered to be implicit in the new legislation, asked for an urgent meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs and Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, early this week, but has received no reply.

The organisation includes the Southern African Society of Journalists, the Media Workers' Association of Southern Africa, the Anti-censorship Action Group (Acag), the Association for Democratic Journalists and representatives of freelancers and the so-called alternative press.

It is also supported by major newspapers.

The new legislation has also brought a response from Canada, where Reuter reported that a senior government official said yesterday in Toronto that other Commonwealth members will be asked to aid the South African-based media to battle censorship and propaganda.

Eight Commonwealth countries represented on a committee dedicated to dismantling apartheid will be asked in Toronto next month to contribute money or technical assistance to help counter Pretoria's ability to control the news.

PRESS GROUPS IN THE DARK

Sowetan 22/7/86

CONFLICTING official statements on the effect of the new emergency regulations on major newspapers has led to confusion and legal uncertainty in media circles.

Sapa requested Government clarification yesterday after several Department of Home Affairs officials gave different interpretations of the regulations.

Argus Group newspapers reported on Wednesday the department's media relations chief director, Mr A J Engelbrecht, confirmed that major newspapers would have to register as news agencies by July 31 or face fines or up to R20 000 and prison terms of up to 10 years.

Commenting on media speculation on the definition of a news agency, he said that if newspapers gathered news and relayed it to other organisations — as most do — they would qualify for registration.

Sister

He said he did not think this would be the case for newspapers who circulated news to sister newspapers within the same corporate group.

However, he also advised newspapers to get legal opinion on the definition of a news agency.

He added registration of news agencies did not seem to be going very well.

Denied

The Citizen yesterday quoted an unnamed Home Affairs official who denied that newspapers would have to register.

Reacting to Mr Engelbrecht's statement, he said it was "totally incorrect" and a clarifying statement would be issued.

22/7/88

Visitors allowed to see Mandela

A JOHANNESBURG couple, Mr and Mrs Yusuf and Amina Cachalia, will see their long-time friend and political ally Mr Nelson Mandela tomorrow for the first time in 26 years when they visit him in Pollsmoor Prison.

The Cachalias yesterday confirmed that they had been granted permission to visit Mr Mandela.

Mr Cachalia, 74, said Mr Mandela had been his close friend and ally for many years and he had applied many times in the past 26 years to visit him in prison but permission had always been refused.

He had however been able to write to Mr Mandela and they had kept up their correspondence.

He had been secretary of the South African Indian Congress, was one of five people who produced the Defiance Campaign plan and served on the national action committee of the ANC and SAIC.

His wife, Mrs Amina Cachalia, 58, said she had known Mr Mandela since 1949 and they had enjoyed a "good and warm friendship".

Mrs Winnie Mandela will also visit her husband tomorrow for the officially allowed 40 minutes after turning down a government concession offering a six-hour birthday meeting on July 18.

Mr Ismael Ayob, the Mandela family's lawyer, said he was unsure if Mrs Mandela and the Cachalias would see Mr Mandela together as he had made arrangements only for the Mandela family.

Cape Times 22/7/88

Stoffel clears up media confusion

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AFTER days of growing confusion in media and legal circles, sparked by conflicting official statements on the affects of the latest emergency regulation on the press, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has finally been forced to step in to clear up the uncertainty.

Contradicting a statement issued just a day before by his chief director of media relations, Mr A J Engelbrecht, Mr Botha said yesterday that he had never intended mainstream newspapers to be registered as news agencies.

Mr Engelbrecht created a storm in the newspaper industry when he indicated that mainstream newspapers that relayed news to other organizations — as most do — would have to register in terms of the emergency regulation by the end of the month or face a fine of up to R20 000 or 10 years imprisonment.

The confusion was compounded yesterday when one Home Affairs official described Mr Engelbrecht's remarks as "totally incorrect", while the director-general of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, would neither confirm nor deny Mr Engelbrecht's statement.

But he was then reported to have added: "I can, however, confirm that the minister has clearly indicated that the registration of news agencies is not a step towards the eventual registration of a journalist per se."

This view in turn contradicts the government's own legal experts who have indicated in the past that the emergency regulations do indeed allow for the registration of individual journalists or freelancers as news agencies.

Yesterday, Mr Botha said he had instructed his legal advisers to examine the media emergency regulations and said he would issue a statement today.

Mr Botha said that if necessary he would be prepared to amend the regulations to make it clear that mainstream newspapers would not have to be registered as news agencies.

Indicating that he had not intended registration for major newspapers or for individual journalists "through the back door", Mr Botha said: "I merely wanted to ensure that news agencies were kept under control. If need be I will effect an amendment to the regulations."

Major news agencies like Sapa, Reuters, AP and UPI are specifically excluded from the registration provisions.

Mr Botha indicated he would grant a meeting with the Newspaper Press Union requested for August 11.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) and the Save the Press Campaign has asked for an urgent meeting with Mr Botha to discuss the proclamation of recent regulations relating to the registrations of press agencies.

The request to the minister notes: "We request an urgent meeting with you to discuss this proclamation and our concerns about its effects on journalists.

Press curbs: groups call to Botha for talks

PRETORIA. — The Anti-Censorship Action Group and the Save the Press Campaign has asked for an urgent meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs and Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, to discuss the compulsory registration of press agencies.

Some freelance reporters and domestic news agencies have said they would refuse to register, courting fines of R20 000 or up to 10 years in jail. — Sapa-UPI

Seized: Mandela speech, 14 300 times over

22-28/7/88

W/Mail

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

Winnie Mandela ... Pensive

POLICE photocopied an invoice book with the names and addresses of people who bought a booklet of Nelson Mandela's speech made from the dock during the Rivonia trial.

The booklet, *The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial,* was published by Learn and Teach Publications to commemmorate Mandela's 70th birthday.

On Wednesday afternoon a squad of uniformed and plain-clothed police raided the Learn and Teach offices and seized more than 14 300 copies of the booklet.

They also confiscated the three remaining copies at Exclusive Books, according to an employee at the bookshop. "And they wanted the description of the person who bought the other copies yesterday, and the photographer who was with him," she said.

Learn and Teach legal representative Kathy Satchwell said the seizure will be challenged in the supreme court next week.

During the search, police copied the invoice book and took the names and addresses of people in the office while a police woman took photographs.

An employee of an insecticide company, there to spray the premises, was refused permission to leave the Learn and Teach offices until the search was over. His name and address was also taken down.

The order for the seizure of the booklet was issued by the South African Police's Witswatersrand Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier Enerst Stephen Schnetler. The warrant was handed to Learn and Teach by Captain SP Miller.

"As far as we are concerned, the speech Mandela delivered at Rivonia trial (on April 20 1964), is a court document which is available for public scrutiny. The seizure of the booklets belies the government's claim that it respects the independence of judiciary in this country," said a representative of the magazine.

A statement from police public relations division in Pretoria said, "The Witswatersrand Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police has ordered in terms of Regulation 9 (2) of the media Emergency regulations that all the copies of a publication headed *The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial,* issued by Learn and Teach, in his division be seized. Apparently the publication would have been distributed free of charge to a variety of people and organisations."

327

Journalists 'could become known as State agents und

Star 23/7/88 (327)

Tainting the SA

Press.

JOURNALISTS and agencies who register in terms of the latest emergency media regulations could be considered Government agents, it was agreed at an urgent meeting of media, political, church, and labour organisations called last night.

Under the regulations promulgated on June 10, news agencies are expected to register by July 31.

The regulations were slated by speakers at the meeting called by the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) and The Save the Press Committee. Speakers included foreign correspondent Mr John Mattison, who presided, Mr John Dugard of the Centre For Applied Legal Studies, Ms Sheena Duncan of the South African Council of Churches, and Mr Irwin Manoim, editor of the *Weekly Mail*.

PAT DEVEREAUX

All agreed that registration of journalists or agencies was yet another Government attack on freedom of the press.

Mr Dugard said he believed it was no mistake that the regulations were so broadly applied.

"Registration is an attempt to force self-censorship," he said, adding: "It is the Government's intention to deprive newspapers of their sources of information instead of closing papers down."

Mr Manoim said registration of journalists could lead to blacklisting.

Outside world

Ms Sheena Duncan said the church had chosen to ignore the Emergency Regulations and journalists and agencies could do likewise and choose not to register.

Speaking from the floor, Editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said: "Any kind or form of registration of any kind of journalist is below the line."

He repeated the point made by the ACAG and the Save the Press Committee that "these regulations will give the impression to the outside world that all journalists who are registered are approved by the Government and therefore act as Government agents or propagandists".

Professor M Shear, Deputy Vice Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr Jay Naidoo of Cosatu pointed out that the media restrictions should be seen as part of a general clampdown by the Government on mass organisations and an attempt to silence protest.

Mr Anton Harber, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail* said representatives of groupings present at the meeting should "give the assurance that they will not register. Secondly, they should not believe others should register and thirdly they should give support to those who follow in their path".

'Unprofessional'

Stressing that local press credibility may be in question, journalist Mr Raymond Louw said: "For journalists to register is unprofessional conduct. Even the mainstream press will be affected (if they collude). The reputation of the South African press will be tainted internationally."

A furore in political and media circles followed confusing statements issued this week by Government officials, the chief director of media regulations, Mr A J Engelbrecht, and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

But the Minister yesterday admitted he had received various representations about the registration of news agencies and had requested his legal advisors to examine the issue in depth.

The groups which initiated last night's meeting confirmed that they had called for an urgent meeting with the Minister.

Bara barometer

Figures reflecting Baragwanath Hospital's bed shortage in the Medicine Department from July 14 to 20 reveal one of the worst deficiencies yet reported by the Saturday Star.

There were 2 024 patients without beds during this winter period. The daily average was 289 patients a ward. On July 19, the worst night, 347 were without beds and there were 117 patients in one 40-bed ward.

PLEASE SIR, MAY I HAVE SOME MORE: The food queue at Leeuwkop's maximum the Saturday Star's visit to the jail and Pretoria Central see page 13.

Star

Prisoner claims maltreatme

CARMEL KNIPE

CONDITIONS at the Krugersdorp Prison for inmates who are supposed to have "maximum privileges" are in fact "primitive and uncivilised", according to a letter apparently smuggled out by a prisoner.

The prisoner, who cannot be named, said that the "head" of the prison, named only as a Colonel Coetzee, ran the institution "by his own rules and does not take orders from the prison department headquarters".

The letter pleaded for "headquarters" to investigate conditions at the prison before "we shall be bound to make our problems known to higher authorities".

In reply, the Department of Prisons says that "prisoners often subjectively relate their perceptions and experiences as if they are facts.

"The S A Prisons Service has repeatedly demonstrated its commitment to high of physical treatment and is satisfi people entrusted to its care are manely and in a responsible man dance with internationally accepted

"The allegation that the head gersdorp Prison runs the institution rules is devoid of all truth."

Other allegations by the prisoner

- Privately owned radios, which at other prisons, are confiscated on Krugersdorp.

The department says, however, are allowed only if the prison has radio system, which Krugersdorp has

Comic ban leaves prof speechless

Star 23/7/88 (327)

SARA MARTIN

THE author of "Down Second Avenue", Professor Ezekiel Mphahlele, has reacted with shock and dismay at last week's banning of the comic based on his popular autobiographical novel.

The comic was declared undesirable by the Publications Committee in terms of section 47 (2) E of the Publications Act and considered prejudicial to safety, peace and good order in South Africa.

The People's College Comic was intended as an educational resource for black pupils, teachers and parents.

The original "Second Avenue" book was described by the *Observer*, when first published in 1959, as an "amazingly unembittered autobiography of a black man growing up in South Africa. No easy indignation, but the reader is closely involved in the boy's realisation of the injustices behind the poverty, brutality and fear. Honest and with an open sense of humour."

According to the publishers of the book, Faber & Faber in London, more than 90 000 copies have been sold worldwide, but as the publishers had no hand in the production of the comic book they had no comment on the banning.

"It shows that censorship has been reduced to a most ridiculous level when the ideas are prevented from reaching our children," said Professor Mphahlele, a retired professor from Wits University.

"To ban a version of the book shows the insanity of the entire system. It leaves me speechless."

Ravan Press, who have referred to the banning as "yet another manifestation of the repressive and objectionable practice of censorship in South Africa", are planning to appeal against the ruling.

Robbins' novel unbanned

CAPE TOWN — A Publications Committee has, on review, ruled that a novel by Harold Robbins entitled "Memories of Another Day" was not undesirable, the Directorate of Publications announced yesterday.

Another Robbins' novel, "The Betsy", was conditionally declared not undesirable provided it was not sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to children under 18.

Three other publications, "China Poems" by Dennis Brutus; "Up The Junction" by Nell Dunn and "From the First to the Second 5-year Plan" (producer not stated) were also declared not undesirable, on review.

A poster depicting the rear view of a semi-nude female with see-through top (producer not stated), has been banned.

A committee has prohibited possession of "The Political Programme of Swapo of Namibia," (producer not stated). It is in the interest of persons who possess copies of this publication to destroy it immediately.

"The Pirelli Calendar Album" produced by Pavilion Books, London, was not undesirable provided it was not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

"Mann, Frau, Eine sexualkunde, Band 2" and "Mann, Frau, Eine sexualkunde, Band 3," were not undesirable provided that they were only displayed and distributed in sealed plastic wrapping.

"Mann, Frau, Eine Sexualkunde, Band 5" (Neuer Tessloff Verlag, Hamburg), was conditionally declared not undesirable, subject to the following conditions:

It may not be sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18, and, for purposes of distribution, may only be displayed and distributed in a sealed plastic wrapping. A further condition imposed was that no distribution through mail order be allowed.

From today it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications (author/producer in brackets).

Namibia: A Unique UN Responsibility (United Nations).

The Late Great Book — The Bible (Nicholas Carter).

Spare Rib No 191 June 1988 (Spare Rib, London).

Umbono CDE Newsletter Vol 1, 1988 (Christian Development Education Programme, Mariannhill).

International Tribune No 5 June 1988 (Tribune International, Paris).

Fight Racism: Fight Imperialism: No 77 April 1988 and No 78 15 May — 15 June 1988 (both produced by Larkin Publications, London). — Sapa.

Media rules in a jumble

Cape Times 23/7/84

Political Correspondent

THE confusion surrounding the media emergency regulations is set to continue until at least next week.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that he was considering "various representations" regarding the registration of news agency businesses in terms of the regulations.

Conflicting official statements on the registration issue have sparked a wave of uncertainty and concern within the newspaper industry.

Cape Times
urday, July 23, 1988

Organizations condemn new govt bills

JOHANNESBURG. — The government was enacting "emergency-type" legislation to deal with the crisis of homelessness it had created with its apartheid policies, a press conference heard yesterday.

The conference was organized by Actstop, the Black Sash, CRIN, PLANACT and TRAC — all opposed to five new land and housing bills scheduled to become law in September.

These are: The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill; the Slums Bill; the Group Areas Amendment Act; the Free Settlement Areas Bill, and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill.

'Sweeping powers'

Mr Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre said the bills had a number of themes in common which caused them to resemble emergency regulations.

They gave "sweeping administrative powers" to government ministers and officials, increased penalties for transgressors and excluded legal control over administrative actions. This was indicative of "emergency-type thinking", Mr Budlender said.

The bills provided for compulsory evictions which removed the discretion of the courts, removed the suspending effect of appeals to a higher court and made it virtually impossible to obtain interdicts against evictions. They transferred the onus of proof from the accused to the state.

He said the effect of the bills was to reverse many of the reforms instituted by the abolition of Influx Control in 1986. The power given to magistrates in fact meant homeless people were considerably worse off in a number of aspects: They could now be removed by administrative action without recourse to the law, without parliamentary checks and without alternative places to live.

They could also not obtain interdicts against evictions unless they could show the action was both unlawful and in bad faith.

Mr Budlender said the bills provided Draconian measures to address short-term problems, but did nothing to solve the fundamental problems of the housing shortage.

Mr Cassim Salojee of Actstop said his organization rejected the bills out of hand after consultation with black tenants in areas like Hillbrow and Joubert Park. He said the overall "sinister purpose" of the bills was to bring back Influx Control.

'Destroy right'

Mrs Josie Adler of the Black Sash said the bills were meant to criminalize even more people, forcing them into hiding and condemning them to live in fear simply because they did not have land or homes.

Ms Aninka Claasens of TRAC said the Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill proposed to destroy the 100-year-old right of certain black people to live on white farms. She said a magistrate could now order the eviction of black people, including 3rd- and 4th-generation labour tenants living in white rural areas, without any checks, without giving reasons and regardless of whether they had permission to live there or not. The families of farmworkers were not exempted. — Sapa

uestion of ou
ia."

Due to the
ure" of the pe
as not able
n whether th
ould constitu
ate ceasefire or
ression pact, he sa

The next phase o
volved coming to
ent on the imple
on of the principl
ould be started
ys, not months"
here in Southern
Sapa

Namibia

wapo winning an ele
you forecasting no
s will be won by S
of water is still t
press that type of
ossibility, Malan sa
question that the
ple should take int
than the South A
apa

24/7/88

used to uphold a racist

Media group plans to challenge action against agencies

By S'BU MNGADI

THE government is heading for a showdown with journalists over the compulsory registration of news agencies – including mainstream newspapers – and freelance journalists.

As the July 31 registration deadline approaches, chief director of media relations in the Department of Home Affairs, AJ Engelbrecht, has shaken the media establishment with his announcement that mainstream newspapers could also have to register as news agencies under the emergency regulations.

Although urged to seek legal advice on their individual positions, these newspapers face fines of up to R20 000 if they are obliged to register and they do not.

The regulations have been criticised as being so wide that even the government's Bureau for Information, columnists, part-time correspondents and public relations officers may be affected.

Media lawyers have said that in practical terms, every journalist operating in SA – whether freelance or full-time – would be affected by the regulations, whether directly or indirectly.

Journalists have responded by forming a loose coalition – the Save the Press Campaign – made up of journalist associations, independent news agencies, anti-censorship watchdogs and freelance journalists. The coalition will challenge the validity of the media regulations.

Papers are expected to be filed on August 1 – a day after the government's deadline on registration – in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

The matter may be heard in tandem with the Natal Indian Congress' application on August 8 against the validity of the current third state of emergency.

Journalists have interpreted the latest clampdown as a "stealthy introduction through the backdoor" of the mandatory registration of journalists, as first mooted in the 1982 findings of the Steyn Commission.

The Commission recommended the drawing up of a register which could exclude journalists convicted of security offences and those who break a statutory code of conduct.

Organistations in the Save the Press Campaign include the Association of Democratic Journalists, the Media Workers' Association of SA, the SA Society of Journalists, Concord News Agency, Eastern Cape news agencies, and the Anti-Censorship Action Group.

Meanwhile, the coalition in Johannesburg is today briefing industrialists on the situation and a Newspaper Press Union delegation meets Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha on August 11.

24/7/88 (37) CPress

Administration of justice impeded

Bar Council's 'deep concern' at Emergency

Star 25/7/88 (327)

By Tim Cohen and Esmare van der Merwe

A motion expressing deepest concern at the reimposition of the state of emergency was adopted unanimously at the annual meeting of the General Bar Council of South Africa in Bloemfontein at the weekend.

The motion said: "This concern stems from the fact that the state of emergency involves a fundamental interference with the normal processes of law.

"The council is strongly of the view that the proper administration of justice is seriously impeded by the state of emergency, during which recourse to the courts is denied to persons detained without trial."

Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said the motion was significant because it was unanimous. Because of the structure of the council, previous motions on similar lines could be blocked by constituent members.

Professor Dugard said the council's concern about the proper administration of justice apparently stemmed from the state of emergency's "serious invasion of human rights, and the wide arbitary powers of the security forces and the executive".

Rule of law

Lawyers, generally, would welcome the council decision, he said.

The Progressive Federal Party today welcomed the Bar Council's strong rejection of the state of emergency.

The PFP chief spokesman on justice, Mr Dave Dalling, said no lawyer could stand back and be silent while politicians enacted legislation which negated the rule of law.

"The Bar Council should be congratulated on its strong stance. One can only hope that the Government takes note of the lawyers' unanimous stance," he said.

The Conservative Party's chief justice spokesman, Mr Chris de Jager, said although the state of emergency was "a violation of human rights", State security was the highest law.

"The state of emergency should not be abolished if it can save one life, be it black or white."

The council's new chairman, Mr Ralph Zulman, SC, of the Johannesburg Bar, said last night that the decision was very important — but he would not expand on his statement because the wording of the motion had been drafted on the basis of unanimous agreement.

Mr Milton Seligson, SC, of the Cape Bar, is the new vice-chairman.

A council statement also noted that in the past year more than 1 000 people charged with crimes which carried a possible death penalty were defended *pro deo* by members of the Bar.

Pro deo counsel act without the assistance of an attorney and are paid R120 a trial day by the State.

In a majority decision, delegates representing about three-quarters of South Africa's advocates also voted for the abolition of the statutory requirement of Latin for admission to the Bar.

A reason for the council's change in attitude about Latin was that it is a major stumbling block for black persons wishing to pursue a career at the Bar.

However, the Bar Associations of Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Pretoria are to ask the Minister of Justice to retain Latin.

Mr Dalling supported the decision.

Mr de Jager regretted the council's stance.

"A further lowering of standards cannot be welcomed as it will not be in the interest of the legal profession."

Rethink curbs, Govt is told

Foreign correspondents working in South Africa appealed to the Government yesterday to reconsider new media curbs which could force many journalists to register with the State or face up to 10 years in jail.

The Foreign Correspondents' Association (FCA), representing about 90 journalists, issued the appeal to the Minister of Home Affairs.

The statement said "registration in any form is a fundamental denial of press freedom".

It said the measures would further narrow the range of views which could lawfully be expressed in South Africa and make it more difficult for journalists to give a truthful account of events.

"Registration in any form is a fundamental denial of press freedom and the Foreign Correspondents' Association urges the Minister of Home Affairs to think again," the association said.

"The FCA has already stated its condemnation of the reinforced restrictions imposed on the media when the state of emergency was renewed on June 10.

"We said then that the plain intent of these measures was to narrow still further the range of views which could be lawfully expressed in South Africa.

"A deadline is now approaching for the enforcement of a particularly pernicious clause of the new regulations, namely that which requires certain organisations and individual journalists defined as news agency businesses to register.

"As things stand, registration, which can be granted, refused or withdrawn at the whim of Mr Botha, will become a compulsory legal requirement for those journalists covered by the clause.

"If they are not registered, they will be liable to heavy fines or imprisonment if they continue to practice their chosen profession.

"Some members of the FCA may be directly affected. Others are specifically exempted. All of us will be compromised.

"Those required to register will face a choice between becoming criminals or accepting the stigma of being seen as journalists licensed and approved by the State. Others will acquire a favoured status they did not seek and do not want."

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

327

Vol. 277 PRETORIA, 25 JULIE / JULY 1988 No. 11440

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 1508 **25 Julie 1988**

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

VERTOË KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 24 (2) (b)

Die Minister van Binnelandse Sake het op 25 Julie 1988 kragtens artikel 24 (1) (b) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, die Appèlraad oor Publikasies gelas om die goedkeuring van die ondergenoemde rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet te heroorweeg. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 24 (2) (b) van die genoemde Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria, ten opsigte van genoemde lasgewing kan rig, word hierby bepaal as vier dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing:

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 1508 **25 July 1988**

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

REPRESENTATIONS UNDER SECTION 24 (2) (b)

On 25 July 1988 the Minister of Home Affairs under section 24 (1) (b) of the Publications Act, 1974, has directed the Publications Appeal Board to reconsider the approval of the undermentioned film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act. The period within which persons referred to in section 24 (2) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria, in respect of the said direction, is hereby determined as four days from the date of this notice:

Inskrywings No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R87/12/13	*Cry Freedom*	United International Pictures (SA).

Bar Council unanimous on state of emergency

Argus 25/7/88

The Argus Correspondent 327

JOHANNESBURG. — A motion expressing "deepest concern at the re-imposition of the state of emergency" was unanimously accepted at the annual meeting of the General Bar Council in Bloemfontein.

The motion, passed at the weekend by all the constituent bars, said: "This concern stems from the fact that the state of emergency involves a fundamental interference with the normal processes of law.

"The council is strongly of the view that the proper administration of justice is seriously impeded by the state of emergency, during which recourse to the courts is denied to persons detained without trial".

The new chairman, Mr Ralph Zulman, SC, of the Johannesburg Bar, said last night the general council's decision on the emergency was important, but he was unwilling to expand on the statement because its wording had been drafted after unanimous agreement. Mr Milton Seligson, SC, of the Cape Bar, is the new vice-chairman.

In a majority decision delegates representing about three-quarters of the country's advocates also voted for the abolition of Latin as a prerequisite to practise as an advocate.

An important reason for this is that Latin is a major stumbling block for blacks.

"The general council is committed to trying to attract more young blacks to the profession," the statement said.

SA whites' main concern is security

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An increasing number of whites believe the police and the army could control unrest for an indefinite period, a survey by the SA Institute of International Affairs shows.

SAIIA director of research Mr Andre du Pisani said the respondents' belief in the ability of the SAP-SADF to control internal unrest "indefinitely" had grown compared to the 1986 survey. In the latest survey this belief was held by 73,4% as compared to 67,8% in 1986.

These attitudes had largely been formed by the implementation of the emergency in July 1986 and the restrictions on the media.

"Clearly, security concerns outweigh all others, including reform and democratization, in the socio-political sphere," he said.

More faith in SAP/SADF

SUSAN RUSSELL

MORE whites believe the SAP and SADF could control unrest indefinitely, a survey by the SA Institute of International Affairs research director Andre du Pisani shows.

He said respondents' belief in the ability of the SAP/SADF to control internal unrest had grown since the 1986 survey — 73,4% compared to 67,8%.

These attitudes had largely been formed by implementation of the state of emergency in July 1986 and restrictions on the media.

"Clearly, security concerns outweigh all others including reform and democratisation in the socio-political sphere," he said.

Du Pisani said hardening of opinions was most evident in questions on negotiations with the ANC and justification blacks may have to take up arms.

He added that ambiguities on domestic social issues were evident. For example, most respondents were opposed to scrapping the Group Areas Act but favoured non-racial sport at school level.

Replies the question of whether the communist threat to SA was exaggerated by government suggested Pretoria's simplistic anit-Soviet propaganda worked on most whites.

B/Day 25/7/88

'Normal process of law affected'

Cape Times 25/7/86

327

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Deepest concern at the reimposition of the state of emergency was expressed by the General Bar Council in an unanimous decision for the four constituent councils at the annual meeting here on Saturday.

It was said that this concern stemmed from the fact that the state of emergency involved a fundamental interference with the normal processes of the law. The council was strongly of the view that the proper administration of justice was seriously impeded while recourse to the courts was denied to people detained without trial.

Abolition of Latin as prerequisite

In a majority decision, about three-quarters of the country's advocates voted for the abolition of the statutory requirement of Latin as a prerequisite for admission to the Bar to practise as an advocate. An important reason for this change in the Bar's attitude is that the requirement of Latin constitutes a major stumbling block to black people who wish to make a career at the Bar. "The General Council is committed to trying to attract more young blacks to the profession in order to provide the best qualified material for future appointments to the Supreme Court bench," said a statement issued after the meeting.

More than 1 000 Pro Deo cases

The Bar Council noted that in the past 12 months more than 1 000 cases in which the accused were charged with crimes for which the death penalty is a competent sentence, had been defended by members of the Bar under the "Pro Deo" system.

Under this system, counsel acts without the assistance of an attorney and is paid R120 a trial day by the state.

"Where junior counsel's monthly expenses, conservatively calculated, amount to a minimum of about R1 200, the burdern of doing this work, which the Bar has traditionally undertaken, weighs heavily on advocates that undertake it (as they are obliged to do under Bar Rules)," said the statement.

The hope was expressed that some relief by way of an increase in these fees would be forthcoming.

Mr R H Zulman SC, of the Johannesburg Bar, was elected chairman in the place of Mr H P Viljoen SC. Mr M Seligson SC, of the Cape Bar, is the new vice-chairman.

● The fact that South Africa has no black judges was highlighted in an article by Prof Charles Dlamini, head of the University of Zululand's Department of Criminal and Procedural Law, in the latest edition of the South African attorneys' journal De Rebus. Prof Dlamini also said that while blacks outnumber whites five to one, white attorneys, advocates, magistrates and prosecutors outnumber their black collegues by more than 10 to one. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Journalists: Govt agents?

Cape Times 25/7/88

327

JOHANNESBURG. — Journalists and agencies who register in terms of the latest emergency media regulations could be considered government agents, it was agreed at an urgent meeting of media, political, church and labour organizations at the weekend.

The regulations, which require news agencies to register by July 31, were slated by speakers at the meeting called by the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) and the Save the Press Committee. Speakers included foreign correspondent Mr John Mattison, Mr John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Mrs Sheena Duncan of South African Council of Churches and Mr Irwin Manoim, co-editor of the Weekly Mail.

Agents

Speaking from the floor, the editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said: "These regulations will give the impression to the outside world that all journalists who are registered, are approved by the government and therefore act as government agents or propagandists."

The groups at the meeting confirmed that they had requested an urgent meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

● Yesterday the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Southern Africa said Mr Botha should "think again" on the registration of journalists.

In a statement the association said: "The plain intent of these measures is to narrow still further the range of views which can lawfully be expressed in South Africa." — Sapa

Big fight looming

Sowetan 25/7/88 (327)

JOURNALISTS, news agencies and a range of organisations supplying information for mass media seem poised to follow the example of the trade unions, churches and "open" universities in refusing to submit to direct government control through registration.

While top government representatives are at odds as to whether or not the registration of mainstream newspapers was ever intended, it has become clear that foreign correspondents are among the main targets of the new control measures.

With the deadline for government registration of news agencies just a week away, a campaign to fight the move is just getting off the ground. It involves:

- A probable legal challenge to the relevant emergency provision requiring that anyone conducting "news agency business" must register with the Department of Home Affairs.
- Refusal by many such organisations and individuals to comply with the registration provision or passively to accept exemption from it.
- Attempts to persuade or press the Government to withdraw the registration requirement.
- Support for those organisations which may be prosecuted for failing to register, including free legal assistance from Lawyers for Human Rights.

A Johannesburg law firm acting for the Free the Press Campaign has notified Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha of likely court action this week.

Police search Chikane homes

Star 26/4/88

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Police yesterday seized two banned publications found at the Soweto home of Miss Salome Chikane, sister of South African Council of Churches general secretary, Rev Frank Chikane, after they searched her house looking for her brother Khotso, a police spokesman said.

Miss Chikane was then questioned at security police headquarters in Soweto and released. She denied knowledge of the publications, "Advance to People's Power — ANC 1912 — 1987" and "The Fruits of Fear", said the spokesman.

SEARCHES

In a statement issued last night, the SAP Public Relations Directorate said the search of the home inhabited by Miss Chikane was made after security police had searched Mr Frank Chikane's Pimville home for the brother.

Khotso's detention had been sought by the SAP for a long time, said the statement.

Rev Chikane accompanied police during their search of his home, the statement said. The banned publications were found in Miss Chikane's room.

Move to ban 'Cry Freedom'

Star 26/7/88 (327)

Staff Reporters

The film on black activist Steve Biko, "Cry Freedom", is due to be screened in South Africa from Friday — but might be banned from cinemas at the last minute.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha yesterday ordered censors to "reconsider their approval of the film".

He said the Publications Appeal Board should do this after allowing four days for representations from the public.

"The notice in the *Government Gazette* is quite clear and I have no further comment," he said.

Mr Gerald Sobel, of United International Pictures (SA), confirmed yesterday that the film would be released on Friday.

South African author Nadine Gordimer said last night: "This is an example of the total confusion and rivalry between the different branches of our oppressors in this Government."

Biko movie shock

Cape Times 26/7/88 (327)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday staged an 11-hour bid to stop the screening of the controversial film on Steve Biko's life, "Cry Freedom", due for national release on Friday.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has ordered the Publications Appeal Board in a government notice gazetted in Pretoria to reconsider the bill of approval for the R32-million film.

The Sir Richard Attenborough-directed film, passed by a six-person publications committee for screening without any restrictions, has been rocked by controversy since its release on the international circuit last year.

The government was tight-lipped last night about its latest move, labelled by the PFP as a bid to "intimidate" the censors.

Approached for comment, a spokesman for Mr Botha's office said: "The notice in the Government Gazette is quite clear and the minister has no further comment."

The spokesman would not say if the planned release of the film was now in jeopardy, nor would he indicate whether the step had been taken to prevent one of the characters in the movie — banned and exiled former Daily Dispatch editor Mr Donald Woods — from being quoted.

All questions were greeted with a

To page 2

From page 1

blunt "no comment". Cape Times 26/7/88

PFP Home Affairs spokesman Mr Peter Soal said yesterday: "Stifle Stoffel has been dragging his feet for months and now that the distributors of the film have taken the initiative, he moves in, in his typically heavy-handed way.

"The film has already been passed by the publications committee. This latest move is an attempt to intimidate the censors into making cuts to the movie or changing their original decision."

Mr Soal said the Nationalist government had "a passion" for interfering in the lives of other people, even in the realm of entertainment.

"Let the market place decide," he urged. "If it's a lousy movie it will flop." (327)

Earlier this year in Parliament, Mr Botha hinted that he might direct the Publications Appeals Board to reconsider its decision not to ban "Cry Freedom".

Replying to a question in March, he said that although the film had not yet been released, "I have received a written complaint from a private individual as well as a number of complaints per telephone".

Later that month, Sir Richard announced that the film's distributors, Universal Pictures, said they were cancelling the film's release in South Africa on their lawyers' advice.

He blamed the threat of legal action against the distributors because the film quoted Mr Woods, a banned person.

Biko film

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has directed the Publications Appeal Board in Pretoria to reconsider the approval of a film on Steve Biko's life, *Cry Freedom.* (327)

This was ordered in a Government notice gazetted in Pretoria yesterday. Sowetan 26/7/87

The Richard Attenborough-directed film has been passed for viewing in South Africa by a committee of censors.

Mr Gerald Sobel of United International Pictures (SA), confirmed in Johannesburg yesterday that the film would be released on Friday this week.— Sapa.

Minister yet to reply on media curbs

Star 26/7/86

(049) (327)

Staff Reporters

As the end-of-month deadline for the registration of "news agencies" in terms of the emergency regulations draws closer, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has given no official indication that he will meet representatives of the Save the Press campaign and the Newspaper Press Union to discuss the media curbs.

A spokesman for the NPU said yesterday that although the Minister had publicly stated that he was attending to the issue and that he would consider representations, no formal confirmation had been received that Mr Botha would meet the NPU on August 11 — the date the NPU had proposed.

POSTPONEMENT?

"We also have not received notice that the Minister will postpone the deadline for registration pending the representations," the spokesman said.

By yesterday afternoon the Save the Press Campaign had not had a reply to its demand that Mr Botha indicate by the end of the day whether he would hear representations from the organisation. Court action was likely to follow if the response was not received by the end of the day, members of the campaign's constituent organisations said.

The Star could not ascertain late yesterday whether the deadline had been met as the attorney was not available for comment.

URGENCY

A spokesman for the Ministry of Home Affairs said yesterday the Minister was giving urgent attention to the matter. He repeated a statement by Mr Botha, which was issued Friday last week, that the Minister was presently being advised on the issue.

A further statement would be released later this week, the spokesman said.

The South African Students Press Union (Saspu) became one of the first organisations to declare that its intention was to ignore registration requirements. Others indicated at a meeting held in Johannesburg on Friday that they would take a similar position.

"Saspu refuses to become an agent of the South African Government," the organisation said in a statement issued yesterday to Sapa.

ANC issues 'election pamphlet'

Star 26/7/85 327

The ANC has apparently entered the fray over the October municipal elections — doing from underground what openly functioning organisations cannot do because of the amended emergency regulations of June 10.

A pamphlet, issued in the name of "the African National Congress: Internal unit RSA", appeared mysteriously in Soweto at the weekend.

Details of the pamphlet may not be given by The Star under the emergency regulations. The penalties for doing so are a fine of up to R20 000 and/or a jail term of up to 10 years.

Unrestricted organisations, which have in the past taken a similar line to that mentioned in the pamphlet, have been angered by the prohibition.

The Natal Indian Congress has launched a court challenge to the validity of the measure. It is understood that the application is likely to be heard in Durban on August 8.

The Transvaal Indian Congress has highlighted the fact that new regulations relating to the casting of special or "priority" votes will make it impossible for the public to scrutinise special votes. It points out that abuses of the special vote system have occurred in the past.

Inquest on Goniwe postponed to next year

CAPE TIMES 26/7/88

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The inquest on Mr Matthew Goniwe, a Cradock community leader and schoolteacher, and three companions was postponed yesterday to February 15 next year for hearing by the Inquest Court here.

Mr H van der Walt, who was to have led evidence, told the court the state and legal representatives of the families of the dead leaders had agreed that the inquest be set down for hearing on February 15 next year to enable the families of the dead men time to brief senior counsel.

The other dead are Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Mr Van der Walt said a more spacious venue for the inquest would be arranged by the state.

At yesterday's brief hearing were the wives and families of the dead men, prominent Cradock residents, members of the Black Sash and the head of the Eastern Cape Murder and Robbery squad, Captain Kobus Jonker.

Mr E L de Kock was on the Bench.

Mr J W Pienaar of the Legal Resources Centre appeared for the families.

More than 500 people attended a church service in Lingelihle on Saturday for Mr Goniwe and his three colleagues to commemorate the third anniversary of their deaths.

The service was attended by the wives of three of the dead leaders with the exception of Mrs N Mhlawuli who could not attend.

The families held lighted candles symbolic of the leaders' spirit.

Canon Mcebisi Xundu, chairman of the Eastern Cape Council of Churches, was the main speaker.

Mr Goniwe and the other men vanished after they left Port Elizabeth for Cradock having attended a United Democratic Front briefing on June 27, 1985.

Their bodies were found five days later in a clearing near St George's Strand outside Port Elizabeth, stabbed and burnt.

Their burnt-out car was found alongside the road to Grahamstown before the discovery of the bodies.

The United Democratic Front offered a R5 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of people responsible for their deaths.

Cape Times 27/7/88 (327)

No show if Biko movie is censored

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The nationwide premiere in 40 South African cinemas on Friday of the Steve Biko epic "Cry Freedom" will be stopped if the censors cut a single centimetre from the film.

The ultimatum was issued yesterday by the world-wide distributors, United International Pictures (UIP), in response to Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha's decision to refer the film back to the censors.

"The ball is now entirely in the court of the South African authorities. But if they cut a single centimetre, we will pull it out of South Africa immediately," said Mr Michael Williams-Jones, UIP's South African-born head of distribution.

Mr Williams-Jones, who was by coincidence raised in "Biko country" in East London, said UIP was standing unshakeably by its own stand against censorship and the wishes of "Cry Freedom's" maker Sir Richard Attenborough and the exiled Eastern Cape author Donald Woods, that there must be no cuts.

Donald Woods's wife, Wendy, who worked on the film, yesterday said she had feared for some time that the government would take last-minute action to prevent the film being shown .

"I feel they don't want white South Africans to see such a straightforward, uncomplicated account of what is happening around them, to decent people. There is too much fundamental truth in Cry Freedom for them to tolerate.

"I hope they don't sabotage it, but I suspect they will, and decent South Africans will be the losers again if they do."

Mr Williams-Jones said: "I am obviously disturbed that Mr Botha has referred the film back to the appellate division of the Publications Control Board just a few days before the premiere in 40 cinemas.

"We have declared our position from the outset. What happens now is beyond our control. It is over to the South African authorities concerned.

"I personally feel it would be a tragedy if South Africans were not allowed to see this most eloquent film. It is, after all, their story.

"Cry Freedom is a reality. It has been seen uncut by dozens of millions of people in 45 countries around the world. It has been endlessly discussed, debated, criticized and applauded in the international arena in the year since its release.

"It received seven British Academy nominations and three Oscar nominations. All it needs is to be seen uncensored in the country it is based on."

Mr Williams-Jones, who has become one of the most influential figures in world film distribution, said it was an "astonishing coincidence" that he had become a central figure in the efforts to have "Cry Freedom" seen uncensored in South Africa.

His father, a vet, had known the Woods family well and even treated their pets.

A spokeswoman for Sir Richard Attenborough said he would regard it as one of the greatest achievements of his career if South Africans were allowed to the film.

Film faces banning under emergency laws

Political Staff

"CRY FREEDOM", the controversial film on the life of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko, may never be free in this country, even if the Publications Appeal Board says it is.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha's request that the board reconsider a committee decision to clear the film for screening is to be heard tomorrow, but a final decision may only be known late on Friday, the film's release date.

This means that theatres with morning shows may have time to put the film on the screen before the Appeal Board's decision is known.

Theatre chains might have to decide whether or not the film contravenes two other laws — the Internal Security Act and the emergency regulations.

Scenes in the film could also be construed to contravene the emergency regulations because the SA police are not shown in a favourable light.

The film also contains quotes by the banned former East London editor, Mr Donald Woods, a firm friend of Mr Biko's.

It is thought that theatres will have to take legal opinion on whether the go-ahead by the Appeal Board will allow them to get around provisions of the Internal Security Act.

Though Mr Botha has declined to comment on his reasons for appealing against the film, there was speculation yesterday that there were fears in some government circles that the film could spark further unrest.

- **The Azania Co-ordinating Committee said yesterday that the problem with the government was that it was afraid to face reality, Sapa reports.**

A statement said that Mr Woods "in his ways and prejudices should be a mirror to South African whites".

Steve Biko movie release goes ahead

Cape Times 31/7/88 (327)

By CHRIS STEYN

PLANS for the release on Friday of the Biko film "Cry Freedom" are going ahead — despite renewed government attempts to have the film banned or cut.

Mr Peter Dignan, managing director of the distributors, United International Pictures (UIP), told the Cape Times yesterday that he was "surprised" by the decision of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Mr Botha this week directed the Publication Appeal Board to reconsider the earlier approval given to the film by the Board of Censors.

Mr Dignan said: "We will continue with the release until we have a decision from the board."

The Publication Appeal Board's ruling on the film's desirability is expected on Friday.

● No show if movie is censored — Page 9

Wednesday, July 27, 1988

BOTHA URGED TO ABANDON CURBS

Sowetan 27/7/88

(327)

Us newsmen send a letter

NEW YORK — Nine US news organisations urged South African President, P W Botha, to rescind new curbs which could force journalists in South Africa to register with the State or face up to 10 years in jail.

The organisations, which group journalists and publishers, said in a letter to Botha that the new regulations would give the State the power to "deregister" a journalist or news agency without notice, appeal or review.

"This means that the Government would exercise the absolute power to decide who may or may not work as a journalist or function as a news agency," said the letter, signed by heads of the nine organisations.

Licencing

"This practice, known as 'licencing' in other countries, has been widely condemned by news media organisations as an unacceptable government abuse of Press freedom and the independence of the news media," it said.

"We call on you and your government to rescind these regulations immediately and to take all further steps necessary to restore freedom of the Press in South Africa."

One of the signatory groups, the Committee to Protect Journalists, said the letters had been delivered to the South African Embassies to the United States and to the United Nations on Monday.

The new restrictions, which reinforce tough emergency media curbs that severely curtail reports of political unrest, were introduced when a national state of emergency was renewed for a third year last month.

Under the new regulations, news agency journalists failing to register with the Government by July 31, will face heavy fines or up to 10 years in prison.— Sapa-Reuter.

Protests to Stoffel over press register

(327)

Star 27.7.88

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The International Press Institute has protested to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, over the proposed introduction of a register for journalists.

And two foreign chambers of commerce in South Africa yesterday urged Mr Botha to reconsider the regulations.

Referring to the new restrictions as being "drafted in vague and ill-defined terms", the IPU condemned them as "a reprehensible step".

UNWARRANTED

The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa and the South African German Chamber of Commerce and Industry noted that in terms of the latest regulations, certain organisation such as chambers of commerce would have to register "due to the extremely wide description".

● The Star Bureau in Washington reports that the US State Department has said the tighter government controls on SA journalists and news agencies "were unwarranted and should be withdrawn".

● See Page 11.

Biko film set for release

THE Biko film *Cry Freedom* is still set for release in South Africa on Friday morning — but the film may be banned or cut later that day.

The Publication Appeal Board's ruling on the film's desirability is expected on Friday afternoon.

Should the Publications Board recommend cuts, it could be withdrawn at the insistence of the Director, Sir Richard Attenborough.

One of the conditions regarding the showing of the film in South Africa was a stipulation by Sir Richard that it be shown without any cuts.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has directed the Board to reconsider a committee of censors' approval of the film.

The Board has set aside time tomorrow and Friday morning for the hearing on the film's desirability in terms of the Publications Act of 1974.

27/7/88

RAIDS BY COPS DISTURB CHIKANE

Sowetan 27/7/88

(327)

He fears for his family

THE Rev Frank Chikane . . . concerned.

THE general secretary of the South African Council of Churches has expressed concern about recent police raids on his family, the discovery of a handgrenade at his mother's Soweto home and what he termed forces of evil which could strike the family at any time.

In an interview yesterday the Rev Frank Chikane said he hoped the police would finish investigating the circumstances surrounding the placing of a handgrenade at his mother, Mrs Erenia Chikane's Tladi house on July 20.

The grenade was exploded by the police after Mrs Chikane found it wrapped in a plastic bag inside a letterbox.

A spokesman for the police in Pretoria yesterday said investigations were continuing and declined to comment further.

The police said in a statement on Monday that they raided Mr Chikane's Pimville house at dawn because they were looking for his brother, Khotso, as they had for a long time wanted to detain him in terms of state of emergency regulations.

Mr Khotso Chikane is the president of the Soweto Students Congress.

The police also confirmed they visited Mrs Chikane's home and alleged that banned publications were found in the room of Miss Salome Chikane who is the Rev Chikane's sister.

Mr Chikane said his concern, especially about the handgrenade incident, was reminiscent of incidents in 1985 during which petrol bombs hurled at his house damaged it extensively.

"We were fortunate that there was no loss of life then, much as my mother would have been killed last week or even a little child who could have discovered the grenade would have been harmed," Mr Chikane said.

MRS Erenia Chikane . . . found handgrenade.

He said the SACC and church leaders had expressed concern about his safety and had been supportive.

"We live by the grace of God and know that the forces of evil could strike our lives anytime," Mr Chikane said.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Regulasiekoerant No. 4236 — *Regulation Gazette* No. 4236

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer — *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 277 — PRETORIA, 28 JULIE / JULY 1988 — No. 11447

PROKLAMASIE
van die
Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 125, 1988

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet 3 van 1953), vaardig ek hierby die regulasies vervat in die Bylae uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Agt-en-twintigste dag van Julie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

1. Die werking van regulasie 11 van die Medianoodregulasies, 1988, word hierby opgeskort.

2. Die opskorting van genoemde regulasie 11—

(a) verval by die herroeping van regulasie 1 van hierdie regulasies, waarop bedoelde regulasie 11, behoudens enige wysiging daarvan, weer van krag word;

(b) raak nie enigiets wat voor die opskorting kragtens bedoelde regulasie 11 gedoen is nie.

PROCLAMATION
by the
State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 125, 1988

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953), I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-eighth day of July, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-eight.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

1. The operation of regulation 11 of the Media Emergency Regulations, 1988, is hereby suspended.

2. The suspension of the said regulation 11—

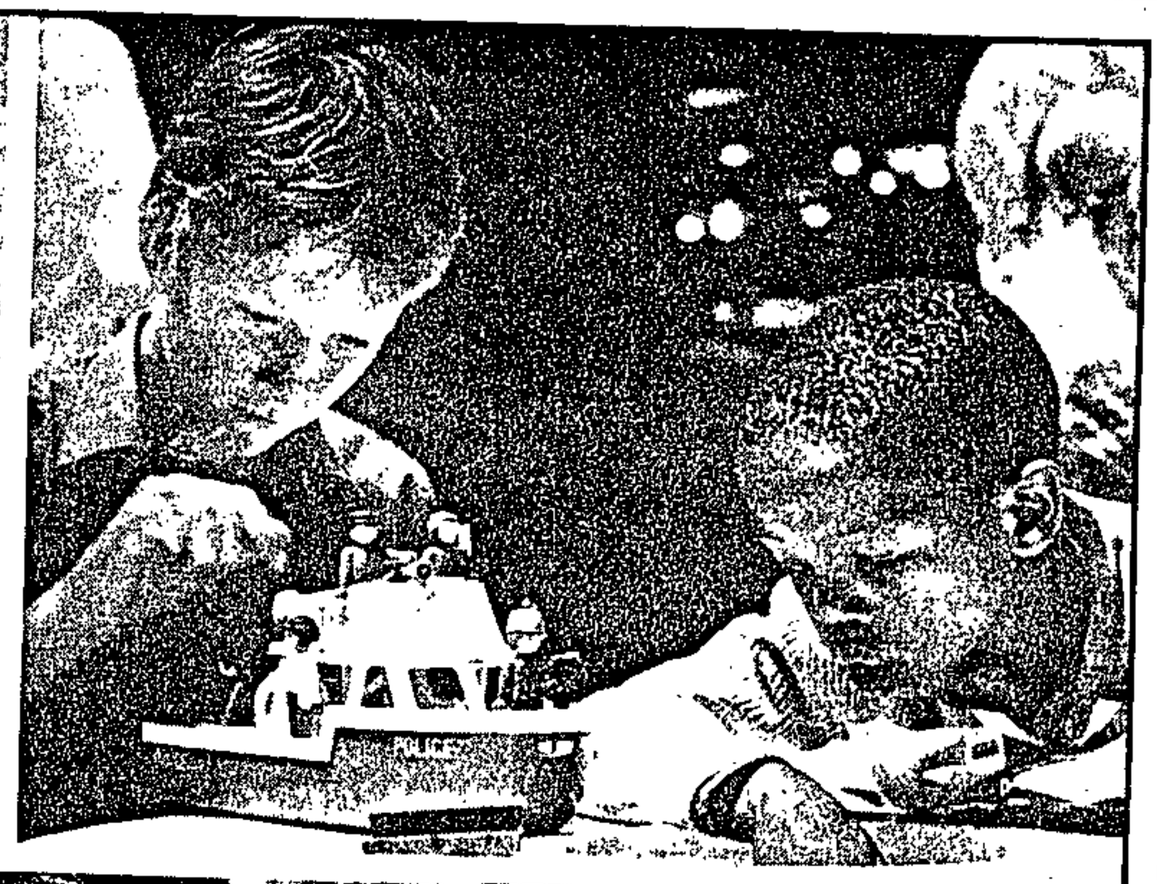
(a) shall lapse upon the repeal of regulation 1 of these regulations, whereupon the said regulation 11, subject to any amendment thereof, shall again become of force;

(b) shall not affect anything done before the suspension under the said regulation 11.

Star 21/7/88

:L TRENDS 1

:hite exclusivity as the only solution for the future



..ii as these arouse strong feelings among white separatists who wish to entrench the polarisation of the races.

military struggle, about the ... of holding the line ... the growing challenge of ANC, is reflected statisti- in a poll commissioned by Afrikaans-language Sunday ...per *Rapport*.

showed that if it came to an ... struggle between the ...ner Weerstandsbeweg- AWB), whose zealots are the ... protagonists of white ...macy, and the ANC, most ... pick the ANC to win.

...all, 38,8 percent of whites ... an ANC victory against ...cent for the AWB. ... Afrikaners, the ANC the nod by a whisker, ...cent against 28,9.

Boshoff writes: "The only ...e of survival for the Afri- people is an Afrikaner ... if he does not want irrevocably sucked in and swallowed (verswelg) in the internal settlement with the black multitudes (menigte) which will be forced on South Africa, then he (the Afrikaner) must secede from South Africa geographically, constitutionally and economically."

He goes on to quote Dr Verwoerd approvingly as saying: "I would rather have a smaller South Africa that is white ... a white nation that can fight for its existence, than a larger state that has already surrendered to black domination."

But Dr Boshoff is not advocating the classical Verwoerdian doctrine of grand apartheid or separate development.

Verwoerd envisaged lopping off bits of South Africa from the periphery and handing them over to the 10 designated "black nations" as their alloted "homelands". The core of South Africa, including its vital industrial centres and ports, would remain under white control as the "white fatherland".

Black people would be linked politically and constitutionally to their supposed "homelands", irrespective of whether they lived permanently in the purported "white fatherland" or not. Through the device of extra-territorial citizenship, blacks were deemed to be citizens of their homelands and stripped of all ties to South African nationality and citizenship when those homelands became independent.

Thus Dr Connie Mulder, one of Verwoerd's ideological disciples, could envisage a South Africa in which there would not be "one black ... African citizenship". There would, however, have been plenty of ex-black South African citizens.

Dr Boshoff concedes that Verwoerd's vision is no longer realisable. Where it was possible to achieve 20 years ago, the chances of implementing it have long since been allowed to "slip through the fingers".

Apart from a constellation of unfavourable forces in present-day South Africa, including the shift by capitalism (geldmag) towards a black takeover, the Afrikaner is spread too thinly (te yl versprei) to rule the whole of South Africa, he says.

What Dr Boshoff is proposing uses the Afrikaans word *afstigting* — meaning secession — by the Afrikaner people and any assimilable whites into an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The fundamental pillar of Verwoerdianism is still there: a smaller state without a black majority is still there. But the route and, in an important sense, the outcome is different.

Verwoerd wanted the "black nations" to accept their "homelands" and secede from South Africa, leaving the bulk of the country under white rule.

Dr Boshoff wants the Afrikaner volk to secede from South Africa, form their own State and bequeath the rest of the land to the blacks and those whites who want to — as he would see it — take their chances with black government.

There are two major problems for Dr Boshoff and the men who share his vision, including two university dons, Professors Swart and Hercules Booysen, both of the University of South Africa.

One is that the Afrikaner volkstaat idea appears to be in conflict with Conservative Party (CP) policy. The CP espouses classical Verwoerdianism. But Dr Boshoff, who is a co-chairperson of the Afrikaner Volkswag, tells the Saturday Star that he is does not think there are insuperable obstacles between his proposals and those of the CP.

What he and the CP have in common is commitment to the "freedom of the Afrikaner". It is the proverbial anvil on which necessary compromises may be hammered out. He believes a CP government may be persuaded to help establish the volkstaat.

The second problem is that there is no magisterial district in South Africa where blacks are not in a majority, only districts where the majority is less substantial.

Even in Morgenzon, the minuscule "white homeland" established as an experimental project by the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers, blacks outnumber whites by four to one.

Dr Bosoff acknowledges that there will have to be negotiations for exchange of populations, in which blacks will leave the "white homeland" in return for whites entering from the hetergeneous hinterland which use once to be white-ruled South Africa.

But the courteous Dr Boshoff says bluntly in the last sentence of his paper: "We must not hestitate to let it be known that forced removals of people will also have to take place."

Unfortunately, however, forced removals and partition — and Dr Boshoff's proposal amounts to a form of partition — generate tension and conflict, the consequences of which can be quite as bla...

Biko film's approval to be reconsidered

Star 28/7/88

The Publications Appeal Board hearing into the desirability of "Cry Freedom" began in Pretoria today amid threats by the distributor, UPI in London, to withdraw the film from the South African circuit if a single centi metre is cut from it.

The board, which has been directed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to reconsider approval of the film, viewed the movie in Pretoria yesterday.

PREVIEW

Legal representatives and members of the press were invited to the special preview.

Chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen said two days had been set aside for the hearing and indicated that the board's ruling could be expected tomorrow, the day of the film's release.

Scenes from the film, which features American actors Kevin Kline as the banned former *Daily Dispatch* editor Donald Woods and Denzil Washington as Steve Biko, include:

A police raid on the Crossroads settlement camp; the destruction of a community centre run by Biko's wife by policemen wearing balaclavas; a scene showing a seriously injured Biko being thrown into the back of a police van; Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, making his "Biko's death leaves me cold" speech; and the Woods children screaming after wearing the acid-soaked Biko T-shirts sent to them.

ESCAPE

A major part of the film is devoted to the escape from South Africa of Donald Woods and his family.

"Cry Freedom" ends with a list of detainees who died in police custody and the official reasons for their deaths, such as "fell against a chair", "slipped in the shower", "self-strangulation" and, in Steve Biko's case, "hunger strike".

Ruth First story is banned for festival

Star 28/7/88

327

By Andrea Vinassa

The South African Directorate of Publications has banned "A World Apart", a fictional film account of activist Ruth First's detention.

She was the wife of Mr Joe Slovo, the leader of the South African Communist Party, who is associated closely with the African National Congress.

The film was to have been screened at the *Weekly Mail* Film Festival next month.

Although the film-makers would not give permission for it to be released on the general circuit in South Africa because of the cultural boycott, special permission was granted by Working Title Productions for it to be shown at the festival.

The film, a semi-biographical story written by the Slovos' daughter, Shawn, is a searing indictment of apartheid.

Film director Mr Chris Menges was awarded the Special Grand Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival this year.

The organisers are to appeal.

Rethink on news agency register

(321)

From FRANZ KRUGER

EAST LONDON. — A belated storm of protest against the new provision requiring news agencies to register has forced a government rethink on the issue..

Ironically, it was the director of media relations in the Department of Home Affairs, Andries Engelbrecht, who lifted the issue out of obscurity and unleashed the current storm.

Engelbrecht last week confirmed that mainstream newspapers would have to register in terms of the regulation.

There was an immediate outcry, with the Newspaper Press Union requesting a meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, and asking that implementation of the measure be delayed until the meeting is held.

Clarify issue

Botha subsequently said it had not been his intention to include the mainstream press, and the regulations would be redrafted if necessary.

He promised to clarify the issue later this week, but at the time of going to press no further explanation had been issued.

The provision requiring news agencies to register with the Department of Home Affairs was promulgated when the national state of emergency was redeclared on June 10, along with the other emergency regulations.

Section 11 of the media emergency regulations created the new register for all persons carrying out a "news agency business."

Initial registration is automatic, if certain details are supplied, but once an agency is registered the minister has sweeping powers to deregister it, effectively closing it down.

Prime target

He can do so "without prior notice to any person, and without hearing any person," if he considers it "necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency".

The provision was seen as targetted primarily at the batch of independent news agencies that have emerged in the past few years.

However, the definition of "news agency" is so wide as to include freelance journalists, mainstream newspapers who syndicate their news, even the public relations divisions of companies and other bodies engaged in some form of information gathering and dissemination.

The large news agencies, like Sapa, Reuters and others are specifically exempted.

There was immediate concern that the measure was the thin end of a wedge which would end with a general registration of all South African journalists - something the government has long sought.

Commentators warned that such a register would mean the government had the power to licence individual journalists, and would use it to weed out those they do not like.

Weed out

Even those allowed to continue working would be tainted by the fact that they were working under government licence, and would suffer a severe loss of credibility.

Save the Press committees were set up in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal to take up the issue,

A call was made at one of these meetings that nobody should register until absolutely unavoidable, and legal opinion was sought on a possible court challenge to the regulations.

By and large, however, the significance of the issue passed with little comment, and there was a deafening silence from most of the mainstream press.

It seemed that they were happy to accept the measure, as long as they were not immediately affected.

But then a legal opinion by one of the country's most respected legal minds, Sydney Kentridge, was published in which he said that mainstream newspapers clearly fell within the definition of news agencies, and would have to register.

Storm erupted

The Newspaper Press Union (NPU), which groups the newspaper publishing companies, sought an interview with Botha, and asked for the measure to be held back until they could see him on August 11.

Almost simultaneously, the Anti-Censorship Action Group also requested a meeting with Botha on behalf of the Save the Press Committee, failing which a court challenge would go ahead.

Among the groups coming out in opposition are foreign governments, sectors of the business community and even some conservative elements in the mainstream press.

There is a hardening of opinion among journalists themselves, with few prepared to countenance registration.

At a public meeting in Johannesburg last Friday, the editor of the Star, Harvey Tyson, said he would not register and would support anybody who also refused.

Another Johannesburg journalist said: "I'm not going to register; I'm just going to carry on and do my job. I've spent too much time and energy bending over backwards to fit in with these restrictions."

Why SA won't see Biko

28/7-4/8/88 Sowetan

327

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The Publications Appeal Board will this week hear the desirability of the film Cry Freedom being released nationwide.

I saw the film in Amsterdam in March. I believe strongly that the emotive effects of Sir Richard Attenborough's movie on the life and death of Steve Biko raises a question mark over whether South Africans will ever see the movie.

The film is a damning indictment of apartheid's naked brutality and its shattering effect on the majority of people in this country.

But if Cry Freedom is passed for screening it could mean that a place like Soweto — until now as distant as Nicaragua to countless South African whites — could become a new reality.

Steve Biko

The film is not directed at those who live in the ghettoes, but rather to whites who are distanced from the townships.

The Publications Appeal Board, chaired by Professor Kobus van Rooyen, has been directed by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha to reconsider the approval of the film by a committee of censors.

The board has set Thursday and Friday morning for the hearing which will be held against the background of a threat by United International Pictures (UIP) in London that the film would be taken off the South African circuit if a single centimetre were cut from it.

The statement by UIP said the nationwide premiere in 40 South African

• TURN TO PAGE 6

Why SA won't see Biko film

• FROM PAGE 1

cinema's this week of Steve Biko's epic film "Cry Freedom" will be stopped if it is cut.

The ultimatum was issued earlier in the week in response to Stoffel Botha's decision to refer the film back to the censors.

UIP confirmed that the film on Steve Biko's life and death in police custody in September 1977 would still go on on circuit.

Van Rooyen indicated that the board's ruling could be expected by the weekend. PAB members and legal representatives who will argue the merits and demerits of the film viewed it at special screenings in Pretoria this week.

Besides recreating in strong visual terms the last chapter of Biko's life and death, and the flight from South Africa of his friend, newspaper editor Donald Woods, and his family, the film depicts a police raid on Crossroads, outside Cape Town, and the police shooting at the height of the student uprising in Soweto on June 16,1976.

The image of a boy shot in the back while clinging to a fence, doesn't leave one's mind easily.

It also shows a police captain involved in smashing up a community centre run by Biko's wife, and several terrorising tactics.

Biko and his friend Peter Jones are being shown apprehended at a police roadblock, and later lying naked writhing in pain on the cold concrete floor of a police cell.

Cry Freedom ends with a list of detainees who died in police custody and the reported official reasons for their deaths, such as suicide, slipping in a shower, falling down a stairwell, and self-strangulation.

28/7-4/8/88

327

TIC to hold first meeting in five years

Star 24/7/87

(327)

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) is to hold its first general meeting in five years and many of its leaders and prominant supporters will be unable to attend.

The meeting, to be held on Sunday afternoon on the West Campus of Wits University, will be addressed by Professor Jakes Gerwel, principal of the University of the Western Cape.

The TIC has made it clear that restrictions imposed in terms of the emergency will severely hamper the meeting.

In the past the arrest and detention of leading members of the organisation led to delays in holding a general meeting.

"Several members of the TIC executive committee will not be allowed to attend. Vice-president Dr Ram Salojee and United Democratic Front (UDF) treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia are banned under state of emergency restrictions from attending. It is also expected that several TIC activists in hiding may not attend."

UDF acting general secretary, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, also a member of the TIC, was still in detention, a TIC statement pointed out.

BIKO FILM SAGA

327

THE Azanian Co-ordinating Committee said this week the Government's threat to ban the film on the life and death of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, *Cry Freedom*, was expected and portrayed a government which did not want to face itself.

Meanwhile, the distributors of the film, UIP, yesterday said they were going ahead with their advertising campaign and plans for its opening at 35 cinemas tomorrow.

Responding to the ruling of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stofel Botha, which ordered the Publications Appeal Board to reconsider its decision to pass the film with no cuts and age restrictions, Azacco said:

"It is interesting to note that the South African Government in a subtle manner threaten to ban *Cry Freedom*, a film which is an attempt to recreate the life of Steve Biko.

"As we have said before the film is about a South African white liberal, Donald Woods, who is said to be in his ways and prejudices to be a mirror of South African whites in general."

Azacco said the film was also about "a radical leader of the black consciousness movement of the 1970s.

"We believe the Government is not afraid of how Comrade Biko is portrayed, but rather it does not want to look itself in the mirror — that is, Donald Woods and the white society in general as portrayed in the film.

"As to what Steve Biko says or depicts, we believe that is being said every day by members of the movement he founded and all other people involved in the liberation struggle," said Azacco.

The managing director of UIP, Mr Peter Dignan, said he was surprised by Mr Botha's move although his actions were not unprecedented. "He referred two films to the Appeal Board last year," he said.

S/Times 28/7/85

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has been urged to make his "temporary suspension" of one of the controversial Media Emergency Regulations "permanent".

Botha yesterday suspended the regulation calling on anyone conducting a "news agency business" to register with his department before the end of this month or face a R20 000 fine or 10 years in jail.

The regulation was published in June but a recent legal opinion indicated that "mainstream" newspapers could also be affected and that government would indirectly have got the "register of journalists" it has been toying with for some time, in

327

Drop media registration, Stoffel urged

spite of strong opposition from the media and other sources.

Botha confirmed yesterday it had never been government's intention to involve "mainstream" newspapers and that the regulation would be suspended pending further investigations.

PFP media spokesman Dave Dalling said yesterday he hoped the suspension would be permanent because it could cause "incalculable harm to SA and the cause of Press freedom".

Southern African Society of Journalists president Bob Kernohan said Botha should "drop the legislation altogether".

In announcing the suspension of the regulation, Botha said the decision had been taken because of "practical considerations" and pending further investigation of the matter.

The regulation evoked fiery criticism that the government was making further inroads into the freedom and the status of the Press.

In Cape Town journalists mounted pickets at rush hour yesterday morning.

They held banners reading "The Press says no to registration", and stood at major roads in the centre of Cape Town, Sea Point and the southern suburbs.

A joint statement by the Southern African Society of Journalists, the Association of Democratic Journalists and the Save the Press Campaign said: "People have the right to know what is happening in their own country. Muzzling the media intrudes upon this right and limits people's ability to make informed decisions." — Sapa.

Govt launches inquiry into film industry

Star 29/7/88

(327)

Political Reporter

A major inquiry into South Africa's film industry was launched yesterday by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister in the State President's Office responsible for the industry.

At the first meeting of a special task group last week, some areas for investigation had been identified, Dr van der Merwe said in Pretoria yesterday.

The group would in future convene regularly, and interested individuals and groups would soon be invited to make representations.

The areas of investigation included the present subsidy system, tax rebates, alternative incentive schemes, local and worldwide marketing and the television and video markets.

Other issues which would receive attention were documentary and educational programmes, target audiences in South Africa, distribution and a plan to boost the audio-visual industry.

INQUIRIES

● Representations can be sent to The Secretary: Task Group (Film Industry), Private Bag X745, Pretoria 0001.

Telephonic inquiries can be addressed to Mr M Coetzer at (012) 314-2313or Ms P van Niekerk at (012) 323-6162.

Biko film passed but axe looming

ARGUS 29/7/88

327

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

CONFUSION still exists over the screening of the controversial Steve Biko film *Cry Freedom*.

While the Publications Appeal Board passed the film uncut with a 2 - 19 age restriction today and the movie opened at cinemas throughout the country, the Government effectively blocked its screening by refusing the distributors permission to quote banned former Daily Despatch editor Donald Woods.

Further action may also be taken by police under the emergency regulations.

The film is based on Woods's book about Biko, the founder of the black consciousness movement, who died in detention in 1977.

"Vague"

The new move to stop South Africans seeing the film was confirmed today by a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Major Dirk de Villiers, soon after the Publications Appeal Board announced its approval.

Major de Villiers said: "Originally a submission was made to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in vague terms."

"This request was later formulated in a request for consent in terms of Internal Security Act 1982.

"To consider the request it was necessary to scrutinise the

Everything's coming up daisies ...

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

Staff Reporter

NAMAQUALAND is preparing for an influx of visitors this spring when a bumper crop of wild flowers is expected after

The park will be open from 9am to 3pm daily throughout the week and braai facilities are available

It's almost flower time in Namaqualand and this season promises to be a bumper one after good rains. Flowers are

'29 killed in Renamo attack on border post'

ARGUS 29/7/88

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — An attack on the Namaacha border post between Swaziland and Mozambique by Renamo has left 29 people dead, most of them rebels, according to a report by Mozambican radio.

The report said the attack was on Sunday night and lasted more than three hours.

The rebels met with "stiff resistance" from a detachment of Mozambican frontier guards who killed 25 of the attackers, the report said.

It added that four civilians had been killed by the rebels who looted several shops and destroyed five vehicles.

Gold $432,45

Business Staff

GOLD was $432,45 an ounce in London today, down from last night's $432,75 New York close. The rand traded at R2,4508 to the dollar in Johannesburg today, down from yesterday's R2,4353 close.

● See page 18

Press curbs

out

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

CONFUSION still exists over the screening of the controversial Steve Biko film *Cry Freedom*.

While the Publications Appeal Board passed the film uncut with a 2 - 19 age restriction today and the movie opened at cinemas throughout the country, the Government effectively blocked its screening by refusing the distributors permission to quote banned former Daily Despatch editor Donald Woods.

Further action may also be taken by police under the emergency regulations.

The film is based on Woods's book about Biko, the founder of the black consciousness movement, who died in detention in 1977.

"Vague"

The new move to stop South Africans seeing the film was confirmed today by a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Major Dirk de Villiers, soon after the Publications Appeal Board announced its approval.

Major de Villiers said: "Originally a submission was made to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in vague terms."

"This request was later formulated in a request for consent in terms of Internal Security Act 1982.

"To consider the request it was necessary to scrutinise the script and other founding documents.

"After various inquiries by the Minister and incomplete replies from the distributors the necessary documents were only presented to the Minister on July 21 1988.

"Before the Minister could reply the film was shown to the media.

No consent

"The Minister has today informed the distributors that he is no longer giving consideration to the matter and that the consent sought has not been given."

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who referred the film to the Publications Appeal Board after initial approval by a Publications Committee, said he had no further comment.

He had done what he needed to do.

Major de Villiers declined to make comment further, saying

(*Turn to page 3, col 1*)

Biko film

(*Continued from page 1*)

the issue now became a police matter.

It is understood that the police will have to decide whether to lay charges and for the Attorneys-General to decide whether to prosecute.

It is understood that the police are looking at the film in relation to the emergency regulations.

No comment was immediately available from Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok.

Sapa reports that earlier it was announced that *Cry Freedom* had been declared not undesirable by the Publications Appeal Board.

Board chairman Professor Kobus van Roooyen said in Pretoria there would be no cuts but an age restriction of 2 - 19 years had been imposed.

The film will therefore go on circuit today. Cinemas countrywide advertised their first showing of the film for 10am and were waiting for the board's decision before opening their doors to the public.

"After a full hearing the board came to the conclusion that the film does not present a risk to race relations or to the security of the State," Professor van Rooyen said in a summary of the board's decision.

"FAILS"

The board accepted the evidence of Professor Pieter Fourie of Unisa, a communications expert, that the film did not comply with the criteria required for a communications medium.

"Therefore, even if it is assumed that the film is intended to evoke a revolutionary response among viewers, it fails dismally.

"The producers fail, mainly on two counts: the structure of the story is poor, and caricature, sensationalism and obvious bias present serious flaws. In the end the film is judged as being a somewhat mediocre product."

The board accepted the view of Professor Fourie that the camera technique used had the effect of distancing the viewer from many of the events on the screen.

"It is the opinion of the board, in any case, that the events portrayed in the film will result in viewer-discussion concerning the question of bias, and the extent to which the events and characters are, indeed accurately portrayed in the film.

Instead of bringing the police into contempt, the "obvious and blatant bias against the police" in the film raised serious questions as to the sincerity of the film-makers.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

HOUSING

The following figures were released in parliament:

- 632 housing units were built for Africans in the Cape Peninsula in 1987;
- The housing shortage for Indians in South Africa in June last year was 48 747 — 39 879 in Natal, 6 332 in the Transvaal and 2 536 in the Cape;
- There were 208 African townships in South Africa where 70 percent or more houses had yet to be supplied with electricity. Of these there were 68 townships in the Orange Free State where over 70 percent of housing had yet to be supplied, 19 townships in Natal where over 75 percent of housing had not been supplied, 74 townships in the Cape Province with 80 percent or more houses without power and in the Transvaal 47 townships where 70 percent or more houses were without electricity;
- The estimated total housing shortage in South Africa's six "self-governing homelands" at the end of 1987 was 151 578 houses;
- Only 42 Africans have acquired full freehold rights since these were extended to Africans in November last year;
- A total of 55 460 99-year leaseholds had been registered in the past three years, with more than half of them registered in the last year;
- About a million homeless people are squatting in urban areas — 914 000 in the PWV area, 11 560 in the Western Cape, 6 700 in the Eastern Cape and 3 350 in Natal.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

JOYCE MASHAMBA, 39, Federation of South African Women organiser, was detained under the Emergency regulations in August 1986 and is still being held.

In 1977 Mashamba was tried, together with her husband, George, for furthering the aims of the African National Congress. Both were convicted — he served 10 years on Robben Island and she served five years in Kroonstad Prison.

After her release Mashamba worked for the South African Council of Churches in the Northern Transvaal, and later for Fedtraw in Johannesburg.

Mashamba was already in detention when her husband was released from Robben Island in June last year. She has three teenage children. The oldest, Nyico, 17, was also detained in August 1986 and released in May last year. Since his release security police have been looking for him and have raided the family home in Pietersburg several times.

Mashamba is being held with five other female prisoners at Pietersburg Prison.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:

The Political Programme of Swapo of Namibia (not stated).

Banned for distribution and importation:

The Combatant vol 9 no 7 February 1 (PLAN Commissariat, Swapo); The Namibian Woman vol 2 1988 (Swapo Women's Council, Luanda); Forum Man, midsummer 1988 (Forum International, New York); Namibia — loose pages (not stated); African Times no 213 Friday June 1988 (Hansib Publications Ltd, London); Azania Combatant no 6 1988 (not stated); Down Second Avenue — the Comic (Ravan Press, Braamfontein); Justice and Service vol 3 no 5 1988 (Jongwe Press); 40 years of Zionist Repression is Enough (Palestine Islamic Solidarity Committee); Peaceletter 2/88 (Peace Education Institute, Finland); Namibia: A Unique UN Responsibility (United Nations); The Late Great Book — The Bible (Nicholas Carter); Spare Rib no 191 June 19 (Spare Rib, London); Umbono CDE Newsletter vol 1 198 (Christian Development Education Programme, Mariannhill); International Tribune no 5 june 1988 (Tribune International, Paris); Fight Racism: Fight Imperialism no 77 April 198 and no 78 May 15 1988 (both produced by Larkin Publications, London); rear view of semi-nude female with see-through top — poster (not stated); The Love of a Master (John Preston).

Unbanned:

Memories of Another Day (Harold Robbins); China Poems (Dennis Brutus); Up the Junction (Nell Dunn); From the First to the Second 5-year plan (not stated).

Conditionally unbanned:

The Betsy (Harold Robbins — not to be distributed to children under 18); The Pirelli Calender Album (Pavilion Books, London — not to be displayed for purposes of distribution); Mann, Frau Eine Sexualkunde Band 2 and Mann, Frau, Eine sexualkunde, Band 3 (Neuer Tessloff Verlag, Hamburg — only to be displayed in sealed plastic wrapping); Mann Frau, Eine Sexualkunde, band 5 (only to be displayed in sealed plastic wrapping, not to be distributed to children under 18); Angola in the Frontline (Michael Wolder and Jane Bergerol — legal deposit and university libraries only); Mozambique: A Luta Continua ILRIG, Salt River — distrubuted only to those 18 and over).

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 277 PRETORIA, 29 JULIE / JULY 1988 No. 11449

327

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1549 **29 Julie 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Barend Hermanus HENN, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie, vir die Adeling Port Natal, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

B. H. HENN,
Afdelingskommissaris: Port Natal.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) die landdrosdistrikte van Durban, Pinetown en Chatsworth soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 501 van 8 Maart 1985;

(b) die landdrosdistrik van Inanda, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1405 van 16 Augustus 1968, soos gewysig, uitgesluit die gebiede bekend as—

(i) KwaMashu, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing R. 462 van 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2651 van 30 Desember 1977;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1549 **29 July 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Barend Hermanus HENN, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Port Natal Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

B. H. HENN,
Divisional Commissioner: Port Natal.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Kenneth Bethuel Themba MAHLABA, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) the Magisterial Districts of Durban, Pinetown and Chatsworth, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 501 of 8 March 1985;

(b) the Magisterial District of Inanda, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1405 of 16 August 1968, as amended, excluding the areas known as—

(i) KwaMashu, as demarcated and described in Government Notice R. 462 of 1 April 1977;

(ii) Ntuzuma, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2651 of 30 December 1977;

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

327

Vol. 277 PRETORIA, 29 JULIE / JULY 1988 No. 11450

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 1552 **29 Julie 1988**

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, die onvoorwaardelike goedkeuring van die ondergenoemde rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet gewysig deur te bepaal—

(a) dat die rolprent nie aan persone in die ouderdomsgroep 2–19 vertoon mag word nie;

(b) dat vertonings tot binnemuurse teaters beperk word; en

(c) dat die video en in-ry teaterweergawes *de novo* aan Komitees van Publikasies voorgelê moet word.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 1552 **29 July 1988**

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Publications Appeal Board has under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, varied the unconditional approval of the undermentioned film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act by stipulating—

(a) that the film may not be exhibited to persons in the age group 2–19 years;

(b) that screenings be restricted to indoor theatres; and

(c) that the versions for video and drive-in theatres be submitted *de novo* to Committees of Publications.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Vertoëmaker Representer
R87/12/13	*Cry Freedom*	United International Pictures (SA).

Restrictions affect polls

The Government could not allow the 17 restricted organisations to discourage voters from going to the polls in the October municipal elections, although it could not be denied that Government restrictions of the 17 had an effect on the elections, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

By limiting these organisations, the Government was "freeing" people to participate in democratic elections if they so wished.

Despite the clampdown on the organisations under emergency regulations, their leaders were free to stand for election as independents.

At a press briefing in Pretoria, Dr van der Merwe said it was the expressed aim of the ANC to discourage and prevent people voting in the local government elections.

The Government's prohibition on boycott campaigns was the "lesser of two evils" when compared with the problem of intimidation. It was compelled to protect people's democratic right to participate in elections.

70 pc of blacks are registered

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

More than 70 percent of black voters had already been registered for the October municipal elections, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday.

This high figure was due to the fact that many blacks eligible for voting "automatically" appeared on voters' lists because they were registered on "various other existing lists of residents", such as official registers of ratepayers.

Dr van der Merwe told a press conference in Pretoria these "extensive methods" were used to ensure that as many voters as possible had the opportunity to participate in the local government elections if they wished.

Four different deadlines for registration applied to the four race groups in the four provinces.

The Government's efforts to simplify these procedures by legislation were nullified because the Labour Party refused to pass the proposed legislation.

Debate rages over 'Cry Freedom'

Biko film likely to affect whites, says professor

Star 29/7/88 (327)

By Melanie Gosling

Whites would be more affected by the film "Cry Freedom" than blacks would be, an expert witness called by the defence said at a Publications Appeal Board hearing in Pretoria yesterday.

The witness, Professor Pieter Fourie of Unisa, predicted the film — on the life of Black Consciousness activist Steve Biko who died in detention in 1977 — would have the same effect on audiences as the television series "Roots" had in the United States. There whites had been more affected than blacks, he said.

The Publications Appeal Board handed down its ruling on whether the film should be banned at 9.30 am today.

Yesterday's hearing followed a decision by Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha to refer the film to the board before its scheduled release in cinemas in South Africa later today.

The film was originally found to be "not undesirable" by the Publications Committee and approved unconditionally.

Professor Pieter Fourie said "Cry Freedom" was not a propaganda film, but a dramatised documentary made specifically for entertainment.

"The subject matter of 'Cry Freedom' is well known to blacks, who may have experienced it first hand. It could alter the perceptions of white South Africans positively because it shows the circumstances in which black South Africans live."

Mr Justus Tshungu of the SABC, called as a witness by the State, described the opening and closing scenes in the film as a recipe for violence. He said it should not be shown to blacks under 40, because the youth were "restless".

Asked under cross-examination why blacks had not been incited to violence by seeing the trailer to "Cry Freedom", which has been screened for several weeks, and which contained both the opening and closing scenes, Mr Tshungu said it was because the young people would have regarded it simply as "an advertisement".

Mr Piet van der Byl, for the State, conceded there was no indication in "Cry Freedom" that Biko advocated violence.

But, he said the film portrays the police in a bad light, and calls for confrontation.

Professor van der Westhuizen said in argument that some scenes were emotive but that was insufficient reason to ban the film.

"The PAB are not police or soldiers. It is not their duty to protect the country."

It was the board's duty simply to decide in terms of the Publications Act whether the film was harmful to relations between people of South Africa, and whether it was prejudicial to the safety of the State.

"If people leave the cinemas singing and saying bad things about the Government, that's not a threat the State security."

"Violence is never advocated in the film. The stereotyped policemen, caricatures with Australian accents, are quite likely to be seen as amusing by South African viewers."

ns over N13 toll plans

ster

ng motorists
o will soon be
zas to get to
nd the city's

between the
ohannesburg
fully backed
uburbs resi-
d by the Win-

The management committee yesterday unanimously rejected the tolling of the N13 and Mr Danie van Zyl, chairman of the tranportation committee and National Party leader in the council, has requested an urgent meeting with Minister of Transport, Mr Eli Louw.

Mr van Zyl, supported by four local NP MPs, has dug in his heels on an issue which he said affected 35 000 residents.

lorrible ® By Dik Browne

Bar speaks with one voice on Emergency

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

THE General Council of the Bar's unanimous condemnation of the reimposition of the State of Emergency marks the first time the council has spoken with one voice on the issue.

The council, the national body representing advocates, passed a resolution at the weekend condemning the reimposition of the Emergency.

Introduced by the Natal bar, the resolution expressed the council's "deepest concern" at the reimposition of the Emergency because it involved a "fundamental interference with the normal processes of law".

The council said it was "strongly of the view" that the proper administration of justice was impeded as long as recourse to the courts was denied to people detained without trial — hardly revolutionary language, but several senior members of the bar council consider it a major step which should send a strong signal to the state.

"The bar council represents senior professionals of widely differing political views," said one. "When even they can reach unanimity on a matter with political overtones, then the authorities must take cognisance.

"Despite their political differences they reached a common ground of criticism. This is very significant and cannot be ignored."

David Gordon, SC, who chairs the Natal bar, said his society of advocates had moved the resolution because "we felt that as representatives of the advocates of South Africa we should express our concern at the continuation of the State of Emergency and the impact on the proper functioning of the principles of justice and fair trial.

"We were delighted that it was passed unanimously."

The newly-elected chairman of the bar council, Ralph Zulman, SC, saw it as "tremendously significant" that the resolution was passed unanimously.

"Maybe it represents a change in traditional thinking," he said. "Up to now the bar council has been very cloistered and people were afraid of speaking out for fear of being accused of touting.

"But I think this is the kind of thing we should talking out about in the bar council and its nine member bars."

An official of the National Democratic Lawyers Association (Nadel) said the advocates' society was now joining the growing trend towards lawyers being more actively involved in such issues.

As evidence of this trend he pointed to Nadel's own formation and commitment to becoming part of the "progressive democratic" movement.

Another sign of this trend was the more assertive role being played by Laywers for Human Rights, which has recently offered to organise free legal defence for Group Areas Act victims and for journalists who fall foul of new Emergency regulations requiring "news agencies" to register with the state.

"The advocates in the bar council are certainly late-comers," said the Nadel official. "However, it is a welcome sign that well into the third year of the Emergency they have expressed themselves on the subject.

Asked to comment on the resolution condemning the continued State of Emergency, a prominent Durban advocate said he wondered whether this meant that his colleagues would now refuse to act for the state in legal action brought to challenge Emergency regulations.

29/7 - 48/88 W/Mail

FM 29/7/88

CENSORSHIP

Register muddle

As the July 31 deadline for government registration of news agencies approaches, confusion reigns as to exactly who is affected. Already, though, a number of organisations and individuals have decided that they will refuse to register on principle.

Lawyers remain unsure about who is covered by the regulation which is so wide-sweeping that, in the opinion of the SA-German Chamber of Commerce's Liesel Quambusch, even they will have to register to ensure that their press releases can be used in the media.

Government officials also appear muddled. Uncertainty about whether the registration of mainstream newspapers is intended arose last week when Department of Home Affairs Chief Director, Media Matters, Andries Engelbrecht said mainstream newspapers *would* have to register in terms of the regulations because they performed "news agency business."

Minister Stoffel Botha later said this was not his intention and that he would amend the regulations if necessary.

The matter is under investigation and, as the *FM* went to press, Botha was expected to make a clarifying statement. Depending on what he says, the regulations could still be challenged in court by the Save the Press Campaign.

A clue as to exactly where Botha's guns are trained was given by a government official earlier this month. He said the decree really only applied to "just a few ANC-supporting people." The "alternative" press agencies are no doubt the targets; but as the regulations stand, the ramifications are immense — affecting not only freelance journalists, but public relations companies and possibly even universities.

In spite of government's qualifications, suspicion remains that any register could well result in a general register of all journalists in time, in line with government's creeping authoritarianism. Offenders would then be struck off and not be able to ply their trade.

At a meeting in Johannesburg last week, media representatives as well as church and labour organisations endorsed the view that journalists and agencies which do register could be considered "government agents." Growing dissent has resulted in a call to

Minister Botha . . . promise to amend if necessary

refuse to register and, among others, a number of foreign correspondents are considering ignoring the call for registration. Only those foreign correspondents who write exclusively for one publication appear exempt. The regulations could, therefore, affect such prestigious journals as the *Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Time* magazine.

One foreign correspondent reckons that, should they comply, registered correspondents of these publications would have zero credibility.

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights has promised free legal assistance to organisations and individuals which may be prosecuted for failing to register. ■

Govt suspends rule on media

CAPE TIMES 29/7/88 (307)

PRETORIA. — The government has decided temporarily to suspend the media emergency regulation which required news agency operators to register with the Department of Home Affairs, the Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

In a statement, he said this decision had been taken because of "practical considerations" and pending further investigation.

"The principle of the problem addressed in regulation 11 (which requires news agency operators to register) remains a matter of grave concern for the government."

Mr Botha's announcement that the regulation was being suspended means that journalists are no longer obliged to register before July 31.

He and his legal advisers had considered various representations on the matter.

It had not been intended to involve the "mainstream newspapers" when the regulation was formulated and he had publicly given this assurance on July 21.

"After publishing the regulations it came to my attention that these 'mainstream newspapers', or certain of them, are involved in activities which may fall within the definition of a news agency business," Mr Botha said.

"I have also received representations from the business sector and other institutions involved with the media."

Regulation 11 was suspended in a Government Gazette yesterday afternoon. — Sapa

You'll know today if you'll be allowed to watch the movie version of this picture

By SHAUN JOHNSON

IF young black South Africans are allowed to see *Cry Freedom* they will "completely lose their heads ... rivers of blood will flow ... there will be uprisings".

This was part of the extraordinary testimony of broadcasting personality Justus Tshungu at yesterday's last-minute Publications Appeal Board hearing in Pretoria.

Tshungu, an SABC employee for nearly 30 years, is now programme organiser for the religious service, Radio Pulpit. He said he "had never seen a better recipe for revolution than showing [the film] to black kids." After seeing *Cry Freedom*, "they would stone every car nearby. And if they saw police — I cannot say what they would do."

The drama over whether Sir Richard Attenborough's film of the Donald Woods/Steve Biko story will be seen in South Africa approached its own climax yesterday. Expert witnesses were led by lawyers as the Board considered the possible consequences of allowing the film — already seen around the world — to go ahead at home.

The Board, instructed this week by Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha to reconsider the decision of a Publications Committee to pass *Cry Freedom* without cuts or restriction, was to due to announce its decision at 9am this morning — an hour before the film's scheduled general release.

Yesterday, Advocate PC van der Byl, acting as *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court"), set out reasons for the banning, or at least restriction, of the previously-approved film. The film could be declared wholly undesirable, he said, or could be cut or restricted.

The scenes most likely to be cut would be the demolition of Crossroads squatter settlement and the recreation of the Soweto shootings of 1976. Restrictions could take the form of age limits, or showings only at selected venues.

Attenborough is on record as saying he will not allow the film to be shown if cuts are imposed.

Van der Byl suggested the Publications Committee had erred in concluding that race relations would not be harmed by its showing, and that it was not a threat to the safety of the state, or peace and good order.

He also argued the Committee had not given proper consideration to the fact that the two books on which the film is based, Donald Woods' *Biko* and *Asking for Trouble*, had been declared undesirable under South African law.

Cry Freedom, he said, was a film which:

- Was politically-motivated, but claimed to be based on fact
- Gave a one-sided and inaccurate account of certain events in the 1970s.

Now you see it, now you don't — a *Cry Freedom* scene

- Portrayed the South African Police as callous, inhumane and brutal
- Would lead directly to, or at least tend to induce, confrontation
- Blamed Afrikaners for violence and oppression in the period.

These were "necessary components of revolution", he said.

Legal experts acting on behalf of the distributors, United International Pictures, contested these claims before the 10-member Board.

Professors J van der Westhuizen and DG Kleyn argued that the original Committee's decision on *Cry Freedom* should be endorsed by the Board. It was a "dramatised documentary" and "black people deserve the opportunity to see a filmic version of a very important period in their history", said Van der Westhuizen.

Some of the portrayals in the film could in fact "have been expected to be far more brutal", added Van der Westhuizen.

"Allowing *Cry Freedom* to be screened unrestricted in South Africa will be a great service ... to the country and to all its people."

Expert witness Professor Pieter Fourie, head of the Department of Communication at the University of South Africa, told the Board the film could not be classified as "propaganda".

Fourie rejected suggestions that films could immediately affect the way people behaved. Films contributed to the shaping of perceptions in the long term, he said.

Responding to questions about alleged inaccuracies in *Cry Freedom*, Fourie said he believed Attenborough had not overstepped the bounds of artistic license.

However Tshungu, who viewed the film on Wednesday, was in no doubt about the dire consequences of showing the film.

Tshungu said the portrayal of the police was inaccurate "as I know so many of them who do humane work."

He said black children would treat the film as "gospel", and would view "Biko as Christ, with Donald Woods as John the Baptist." *Cry Freedom* would cause an uprising in which "I, my black brothers, and our property would not be safe".

Pressed on his political views by Van der Westhuizen, Tshungu said the major problem in South Africa was "a tribal one", and argued that because of "cultural differences" between black and white, young blacks took far longer to break away from group pressures. They could be incited to action by the film because "black people tend to dramatise, to get emotional".

It was worth considering placing a differential age restriction on *Cry Freedom*, he said: 2—18 for whites; 2—30 for blacks.

Stoffel suspends 'register', Clause 11 But what's next?

29/7-4/8/88 (327) W/Mail

Stoffel Botha is embroiled in two major controversies today: the furore over the 'new agency' registration which led him to temporarily suspend the clause, and the international attention focused on whether he will permit the Biko film to be screened

By JO-ANN BEKKER

HOME Affairs and Communications Minister Stoffel Botha's suspension of the controversial regulations requiring "news agencies" to register was widely welcomed yesterday.

But it remains to be seen whether Botha's Directorate of Media Affairs will persist in its efforts to curb the "alternative" media.

Today the directorate's year-old offensive against independent news agencies, freelancers and the "alternative" press is severely dented, following vocal resistance at home and abroad.

Botha announced yesterday that having considered "various representations" and "due to practical considerations, it has been decided to temporarily suspend regulation 11 of the Media Emergency Regulations [requiring all 'news agencies' to register by July 31] pending further investigation of the matter."

New Nation and *South* returned to the streets unhindered in June, after an international outcry against their temporary suspension under Emergency regulations and similar threats to others like the *Weekly Mail*.

A question mark hangs over the future of Andries Engelbrecht, chief director of the Directorate of Media Relations which was introduced with the August media regulations to deal with the "alternative" press.

Engelbrecht committed a serious blunder last week when he said major newspapers which regularly supplied news to other outlets would also have to register. His announcement created an uproar — including protests from the United States government, the American Chamber of Commerce in SA and the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in South Africa, as well as the Inter-American Press Association.

In an attempt to cool things down, Botha publicly repudiated Engelbrecht, saying it was never intended that mainstream newspapers should be required to register.

But Engelbrecht's admission had disturbed a hornet's nest, bearing out lawyers' warnings of the vast range and vagueness of the registration regulations. Speculation is rife that Engelbrecht — who was working for the Department of Information when it was disbanded after the Info Scandal — has botched his return into the information business.

The suspension of registration came as a welcome relief to journalists and media organisations who had campaigned against registration.

"It's a major victory, but we still have a long fight ahead," said Pat Sidley, organiser of the Anti-Censorship Action Group and a member of the Save the Press Committee in the Transvaal.

She said if the regulations — and Botha's power to de-register anyone — had not been suspended, there would have been large-scale civil disobedience as most journalists had decided not to register. In Cape Town, four journalists were arrested and charged during a picket to protest the regulations last month. In Durban, journalists at a public meeting on Wednesday decided not to register.

At a meeting in Johannesburg last week, a number of journalists said they were not prepared to register.

Lawyers for Human Rights had offered free legal assistance to any organisation prosecuted for failing to register, it was announced.

Botha's statement yesterday made clear that the "principle of the problem" addressed in the registration regulation — presumably that of independent news agencies operating without control — "remains a matter of grave concern for the government."

But events over the past week have shown that it is not easy to draw clear distinctions between news agencies, freelancers and the larger newspapers. Many mainstream newspapers use the services of freelancers and news agencies.

A reality with which re-drafters of registration laws will have to deal is that while most newspapers and journalists do not want to be entered on a state register, neither do they want to be exempted from such registration and see their credibility tainted.

Says a censored Slovo: I'm not at all surprised ...

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

THE news of the banning of the fictionalised film story of the Slovo family, *A World Apart*, has been received with little surprise but "bitter disappointment" by its scriptwriter, Shawn Slovo.

The Directorate of Publications has not yet given reasons for the total censorship of the film, which was to have had its South African premiere at the *Weekly Mail's* "Cinema under Siege" festival starting in two weeks. An appeal has been lodged and will be heard on August 9.

Speaking from London, Shawn Slovo said while the ban was half expected in terms of *A World Apart's* subject matter and its politics "as informed by the ANC", the limited function of film had to be considered.

"I am under no illusion about the fact that film alone does not have the power to induce any great changes in society and I think this strong reaction to an art form only goes to show just how weak and frightened the South African authorities are."

The film earned the Special Jury Prize at this year's Cannes Festival and the best actress award was shared by its three leading actresses.

Menges, Slovo and producer Sarah Ratcliffe had dismissed the idea of commercial release for the film in South Africa because, in Menges' words, "we were against anyone capitalising on apartheid", but they considered the possiblity of pushing for general release owing to "pressure from South Africans ... who felt it important that it be shown as widely as possible".

Slovo felt strongly about its being shown at the *Weekly Mail* festival in light of its theme and context. If the appeal succeeds, the first-night proceeds from *A World Apart* will go to the Alexandra Arts Centre.

Foreign Minister to hold sanction talks

327

LONDON — The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa will meet in Toronto next week where a leading item on the agenda will be "a Canadian strategy for counteracting South African propaganda and censorship," the Commonwealth Secretariat in London has announced.

A statement said Ministers would also consider "the progress of a major review of the application and impact of sanctions with a view to recommending action for widening, tightening and intensifying them.

"This review was commissioned by the Foreign Ministers Committee at their first meeting in Lusaka in February this year, and will include an examination of South Africa's trade and its relationship with the international financial system."

The Foreign Ministers Committee was set up by Commonwealth heads of government at their Vancouver summit last year to provide guidance and impetus in furthering Commonwealth objectives on South Africa.

The committee is chaired by Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, and the other members are the Foreign Ministers of Australia, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The statement said the meeting would be held in conjunction with a public forum "on the apartheid regime's censorship and propaganda."

Archbishop Edward Scott, who was a member of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) which visited South Africa in 1986, will chair the public forum, and panellists will include the co-chairman of the EPG, Gen Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria.

Personalities and media representatives from South Africa, United States, Britain and Canada will also attend the forum.

"A cultural festival and an exhibition at Toronto City Hall will bring the issues to public notice, culminating in the lighting of thousands of candles to symbolise action to end apartheid," said the statement. — Sapa.

Black pressure brought about changes in SA

PRESSURE from black people had probably been the most decisive fact in the limited changes that

Reform Revisited, a discussion of current trends in government thinking, said astute

SOWETO ONLY
GARAGE & 2 ROOMS
DEPOSIT FROM ONLY R250
PHONE COMPREMARK ON 331-0001
Compremark CC (Reg. No. CK86/19261/23)
S 19543

BE A WINNER!
JOIN THE CLUB BIG CHARLES
238 JEPPE ST. Johannesburg
★ Special Jackpot Services ★
LATE INFORMATION BY TELEPHONE IS REWARDING
PHONE 23-8901
S 26836

Redrafted version expected from Botha

Press register regulations are suspended

8Ex 29/7/88

327

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Controversial state of emergency regulations requiring all news agencies to register with the Government by the weekend have been temporarily suspended by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha.

The suspension of the regulations follows confusion over whether "mainstream" newspapers, which also serve as news agencies, had to register.

The regulations are, however, likely to be redrafted to exclude mainstream newspapers.

The regulations have been widely condemned both at home and abroad, as they would give the Government power to suspend the operations of any news agency or journalist filing reports on an agency basis.

Notice of the suspension was published in yesterday's *Government Gazette*

The *Gazette* confirmed an earlier statement by the Minister announcing the suspension of the regulations in terms of which all news agencies were to register with the Government.

Govt statement

Mr Botha's full statement yesterday read:

"The media emergency regulations were published on June 10 1988 to counter certain conduct occurring in the media, for the purpose of the state of emergency.

"For this reason provision was made in regulation 11 of the media emergency regulations for inter alia the registration, by not later than July 31 1988, of persons conducting a 'news agency business' as defined in the regulations.

"I considered in conjunction with my legal advisers, various representations made to me concerning the aforesaid registration. In formulating the regulations pertaining to such 'news agency business', it was not intended to involve the so-called 'mainstream newspapers'.

Newspapers

"This assurance was publicly given by me on July 21 1988. After publishing the regulations it came to my attention that these 'mainstream newspapers', or certain of them, are involved in activities which may fall within the definition of a 'news agency business'. I have also received representations from the business sector and other institutions involved with the media.

"The principle of the problem addressed in regulation 11 remains a matter of grave concern for the Government. In view of the aforementioned, however, I hereby make known that due to practical considerations, it has been decided temporarily to suspend regulation 11 of the media emergency regulations pending further investigation of the matter."

Govt's decision is widely welcomed

By Helen Grange

The Government's decision to suspend the regulation to enforce registration of news agencies has been welcomed widely by the media and political and economics spokesmen.

However, fear was expressed that the suspension was only temporary.

The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ), Mr Bob Kernohan, said in a statement that the society was pleased with the move, but was deeply concerned that registration might still be enforced.

"We urge the Minister (of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha) to think again about the whole issue of registration," the statement said.

"Government licensing of journalists represents the most serious threat yet to the freedom of the press in South Africa."

Mr Mike Horsby, vice-chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association, agreed with this view, saying he was pleased Mr Botha was taking time to think again.

On the political front, PFP spokesman Mr David Dalling said he hoped the regulation would be suspended permanently.

"The regulation has created a furore inside and outside South Africa."

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said: "This is typical of this plan-less Government. NP stands for 'no plan'."

Mr Dennis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, welcomed the announcement.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, said: "This is good news. I am delighted."

Assocom welcomed the suspension. Its legal adviser, Mr Ken Warren, said: "We would also have been forced to register because we write and distribute numerous newsletters."

The Star's legal adviser, Mr Peter Reynolds, said in a statement that Mr Botha had acted "prudently" and perhaps the regulations would "die a natural death".

Curbs

CONTROVERSIAL state of emergency regulations requiring all news agencies to register by the weekend with the Government have been temporarily suspended by Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel botha.

The suspension of the regulations follows confusion over whether "main stream" newspapers, which also serve as news agencies, had to register.

The regulations are however likely to be redrafted excluding "main stream" newspapers.

The regulations have been widely condemned both locally and internationally as they gave the power to the Government to suspend the operations of any news agency or journalist filing reports on an agency basis.

Sowetan 21/7/86

327

Opinions conflict on 'Freedom'

PRETORIA. — Conflicting opinions were submitted by a white university professor and a black radio personality at the hearing concerning whether the effects of Richard Attenborough's film "Cry Freedom" would stir up racial hatred and promote a revolutionary climate or not.

At the close of yesterday's proceedings, after both counsels had submitted evidence, board chairman Professor Johan van Rooyen said a ruling would be passed today at 9.30am — just 30 minutes before cinemas plan to screen the film for the first time.

The board had previously passed "Cry Freedom" for viewing without cuts. Yesterday's hearing was the result of a directive by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to "reconsider the approval".

The head of the University of South Africa's Communication Department, Prof Pieter Fourie — appearing for the distributors, United International Pictures (SA), said the film would have a stronger effect on whites, who might be shocked by scenes depicting the violence of riot scenes in black townships, than on blacks, to whom violent conflict with police "could be" part of everyday life.

He said "Cry Freedom" was essentially not a propaganda film but purely a dramatized documentary feature. There was no intentional selectivity of subject material.

The film was structured in such a way that the political manifesto of Biko's black consciousness all but disappeared into the background halfway through and was superseded by the plight of newspaper editor Donald Woods, the man who befriended Biko and took up his cause.

Mr Justice Tshungu, a former television personality well-known to SATV's white viewers for his discussion programmes on black customs, who was called as a witness by the *amicus curiae* team, said of Cry Freedom that he had never seen a better recipe for revolution.

Scenes in which police shot fleeing schoolchildren would inflame hatred.

The film would be interpeted by blacks as the government admitting that the Afrikaner's and police's attitude was exactly as portrayed.

Mr Tshungu said the average policeman was not like the police portrayed in the film. The average policeman went out of his way to be courteous and humane.

He had seen children reacting emotionally to films and "would not like to see what happens" after Soweto saw "Cry Freedom".

Mr Tshungu suggested that, if passed, only blacks over 30 years old should be allowed to see it, whereas whites over 21 should be permitted to see it.

Blacks in the 12-to-30 age group were restless, would take the film at face value and would "lose their heads" after viewing the film.

Biko film seized

Cape Times 30/7/88 (327)

Police raid 'Cry Freedom' cinemas across SA

Biko film

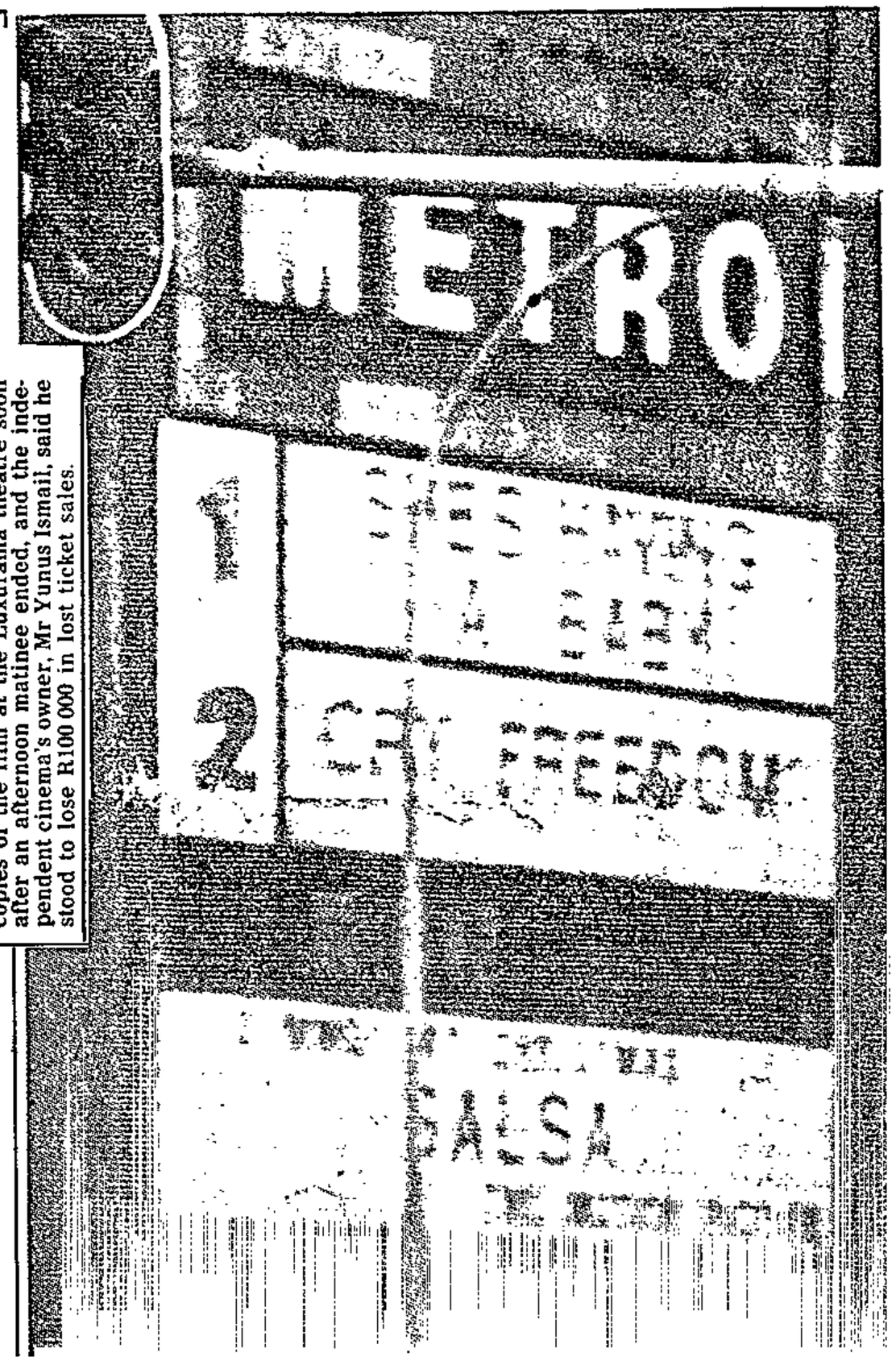
being shown was criticized by Sir Richard Attenborough, Mrs Wendy Woods, the wife of Mr Woods, Mr Michael Williams-Jones, the president of UIP Warner, the Progressive Federal Party and the South African Council of Churches.

Sir Richard said told the Cape Times last night: "This proves they (the SA government) cannot face the truth."

Mrs Woods said from London: "I never really believed they would allow it to go on because it is true and the truth hurts."

The police statement said General De Witt had taken cognisance of the Publications Appeal Board's approval of the film, but the police functioned within the milieu of the state of emergency.

In Cape Town, two plainclothes police seized copies of the film at the Luxurama theatre soon after an afternoon matinee ended, and the independent cinema's owner, Mr Yunus Ismail, said he stood to lose R100 000 in lost ticket sales.



Staff Reporters, Political Staff and UPI

JOHANNESBURG. — Police swooped on cinemas across South Africa yesterday, seizing copies of the film "Cry Freedom" within hours of its morning premiere.

And as the news of the ban dominated all news broadcasts in Britain yesterday, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, lashed out at the film, saying it had been intended as an anti-South African propaganda instrument.

"We do not need that sort of internal disturbance and excitement from people like Richard Attenborough, or that sort of company. How many people have to die before Richard Attenborough is satisfied."

Bombs exploded in two cinemas and several other cinemas were evacuated after anonymous bomb threats. No one was injured.

CONFISCATED ... Two plainclothes policemen remove reels of the film "Cry Freedom" from the Luxurama cinema in Wynberg yesterday.

Police said a bomb exploded on an exit ramp inside the Metro 1 Theatre in Durban moments after hundreds of people were evacuated and another suspected bomb turned out to be an empty packet.

A second bomb exploded outside a vacant cinema in Johannesburg's Alexandra township and another device was found in the toilet at a cinema at Highgate shopping mall on the West Rand.

Numerous bomb threats were made, including an anonymous call to United Press International warning that a bomb would explode at a cinema in Soweto "at any time".

The caller said the film was "white exploitation of our struggle" and claimed allegiance to Black Consciousness leader Steven Biko.

Thousands of people who had already booked seats were prevented from seeing the film after plainclothes police raided cinemas across the country, confiscating copies of the movie under state of emergency regulations despite its clearance earlier in the day by the Publications Appeal Board.

The Ciskei government has, however, cleared screening, according to the homeland's deputy director-general of foreign affairs and information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

Staff Reporters, Political Staff and

JOHANNESBURG. — Police swooped on cin South Africa yesterday, seizing copies of "Freedom" within hours of its morning pre

CONFISCATED ... Two plainclot remove reels of the film "Cry Freed Luxurama cinema in Wynberg

And as the news of the ban dominated all news broadcasts in Britain yesterday, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, lashed out at the film, saying it had been intended as an anti-South African propaganda instrument.

"We do not need that sort of internal disturbance and excitement from people like Richard Attenborough, or that sort of company. How many people have to die before Richard Attenborough is satisfied."

Bombs exploded in two cinemas and several other cinemas were evacuated after anonymous bomb threats. No one was injured.

Police said a bomb exploded on an exit ramp inside the Metro 1 Theatre in Durban moments after hundreds of people were evacuated and another suspected bomb turned out to be an empty packet.

A second bomb exploded outside a vacant cinema in Johannesburg's Alexandra township and another device was found in the toilet at a cinema at Highgate shopping mall on the West Rand.

Numerous bomb threats were made, including an anonymous call to United Press International warning that a bomb would explode at a cinema in Soweto "at any time".

The caller said the film was "white exploitation of our struggle" and claimed allegiance to Black Consciousness leader Steven Biko.

Thousands of people who had already booked seats were prevented from seeing the film after plainclothes police raided cinemas across the country, confiscating copies of the movie under state of emergency regulations despite its clearance earlier in the day by the Publications Appeal Board.

The Ciskei government has, however, cleared screening, according to the homeland's deputy director-general of foreign affairs and information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

The film was attended by large audiences country-wide after the board ruled that it was not undesirable, but put on a 2-to-19 age limit.

One Cape Town audience watched in rapt silence, breaking into applause after the final sequence which shows the names of South Africans who have died in detention.

A close friend of Biko, who is also featured prominently in the film, city accountant Mr Peter Jones, arrived at the Monte Carlo in Cape Town at the same time as the police arrived to seize the film.

'Situation in streets'

"The banning of the movie simply means that thousands of South Africans may lose the opportunity of having a glimpse at one of the greatest human phenomena of the liberation struggle in our country," he said.

In Pretoria last night, Dr Van der Merwe said the government had decided to override the Publications Appeal Board and to have the film seized, because the board was not able to judge "the situation on the streets".

He said the government believed the screening of the film would have seriously disturbed race relations.

The banning followed a flurry of last-minute developments, including a 9.30am approval of screening by the Publications Appeal Board, which described the film as "mediocre" and posing no national security threat.

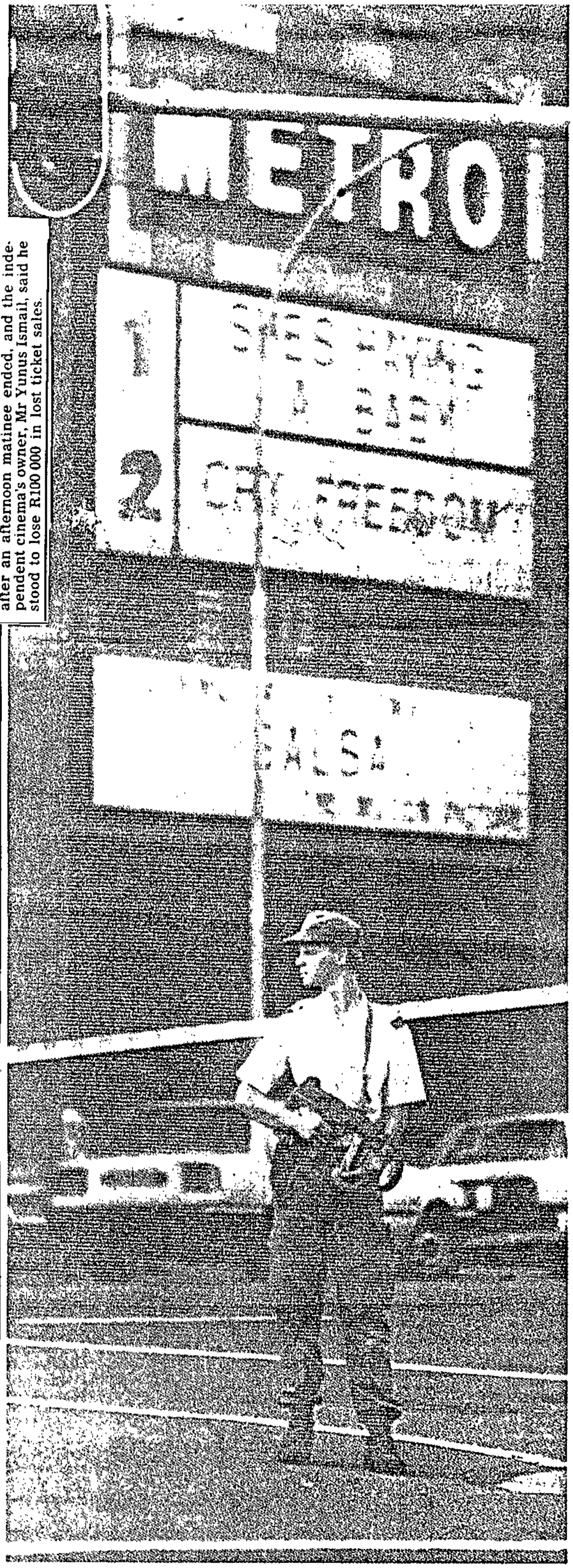
Five hours later the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, denied the distributor, United International Pictures, permission to release the film under the Internal Security Act, which makes it a crime to quote banned people.

One of the characters in the movie, Mr Donald Woods, the former editor of the Daily Dispatch, was banned in 1977 and then listed in terms of the Internal Security Act when he went into exile.

Later, the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, ordered that copies of the film be seized.

The government decision to prevent the film

To page 3



ON GUARD ... A policeman at the scene of a bomb blast in Durban yesterday where "Cry Freedom" was shown.

rue and the truth hurts."

The police statement said General De Witt had taken cognisance of the Publications Appeal Board's approval of the film, but the police functioned within the milieu of the state of emergency.

In Cape Town, two plainclothes police seized copies of the film at the Luxurama theatre soon after an afternoon matinee ended, and the independent cinema's owner, Mr Yunus Ismail, said he stood to lose R100 000 in lost ticket sales.

NOW SA FACES US MOVIE BAN

OUTCRY OVER CRY FREEDOM

W/E ARGUS 30/7/88

327

327

30/7/88

SOUTH AFRICANS are in danger of being denied all American movies following Government action which led to all copies of Sir Richard Attenborough's film *Cry Freedom* being siezed by police under the emergency regulations.

Already battered by a cultural boycott which bars many British films and television programmes, South African movie-goers are under further assault today with the threat that the Motion Picture Association of America might withdraw all films from South Africa.

Sir Richard Attenborough said in London today: "What I do think will happen very probably is that the Motion Picture Association of America will be outraged that this has happened because they have attempted to keep doors open to maintain a dialogue with South Africa.

"I think that what will happen now is that, in the light of this outrageous behaviour — craven behaviour — on the part of the South African Government, they will propose to withdraw all films from South Africa. It wouldn't surprise me at all."

He was "enormously distressed and disappointed, but not surprised".

"After eight months of prevarication, by seizing the film on the very day that it opened, the South African Government has proved yet again that it simply dare not allow people in South Africa to see and hear the truth about apartheid."

Cry Freedom was today replaced by *I was a Teenage Vampire* (Stellenbosch), *Rambo III* (Wynberg Ster Constantia and Mitchell's Plain), *Fool for Love* (Monte Carlo) and *Police Academy V* (Wynberg Luxurama).

Weekend Argus Reporters

■ What cinemagoers who saw the film say
■ Why Weekend Argus critic Derek Wilson gives the movie four stars
■ SEE PAGE 4

Threat to public safety: Stoffel

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said Cry Freedom was seized because it was a threat to public safety.

He said the screening of the film about the relationship between Steve Biko and Donald Woods could have led to violence.

"Although the Publications Appeal Board allowed the screening of the film today, (yesterday) the South African Government has responsibilities for public safety and security — especially during a state of emergency — which transcend those of the PAB.

He said the Government felt the screening of the film could arouse serious feelings in intergroup relations.

"It (the screening) could even lead to violence as is evidenced by the bomb explosions which occurred in Alexandra and elsewhere at cinemas where Cry Freedom would have been screened."

The minister said is was clear that Sir Richard Attenborough, the film's producer, intended making an anti-South African propaganda film.

The Minister said the Commissioner of Police's order that the film be seized was not to be interpreted as the Government doing the PAB's job.

The Minister also said the Government was aware that the seizure and the non-screening of the film would create problems for South Africa abroad.

The ban has led to intense anger in South Africa and has been slammed as "incredibly foolish".

The leader of the National Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, said it was "the action of a clumsy and incompetent Government and yet another example of restrictions on South Africans' right to obtain information.

"One is also left with an inevitable feeling that the State, which is guilty in the Biko affair, does not want that guilt to be publicly examined again. Nothing which Donald Woods ever said, or as a film character says, can endanger the safety of the State."

Dr Denis Worrall said the ban was incredibly foolish. "We know we don't have a competent government, particularly in the field of communications, but its handling of *Cry Freedom* really takes the cake.

"The Government has completely undermined the authority of the public control board, whose chairman and members one would expect to resign in protest.

"The seizure of the film guarantees maximum adverse publicity both locally and internationally."

Police last night swooped on cinemas throughout the country and seized copies of the controversial film following a day of confusion, bomb blasts and bomb threats.

Hours before the Publications Appeal Board rebuffed a Government bid to have the film banned, and confirmed a ruling that the film should be released without cuts for viewing in South Africa.

In a statement, the Commissioner of Police, General H de Witt, said he was acting under emergency regulations.

He said the police had "taken note of the Publications Appeal Board decision", but added: "The SAP, however, functions in the context of the state of emergency in which the country finds itself and administers the emergency regulations in relation to circumstances which change from one minute to another."

Small bombs exploded at cinemas in Durban, Roodepoort and Alexandra township. A petrol bomb was thrown at a cinema in Port Elizbeth and a explosive device was found at a cinema in central Durban.

Damage was slight and nobody was injured.

Bomb threats were received by the SABC and UPI news agency, allegedly from Azapo, against theatres showing the film. Steve Biko, whose life and death are depicted in the film, was a former leader of the movement.

Earlier in the day the distributors of the film announced that they would go ahead with screenings after the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had refused permission to quote Donald Woods, who is banned.

In Cape Town, security policemen seized copies of the film after matinée shows at cinemas in Wynberg, the Foreshore, Sea Point, Stellenbosch, Mitchell's Plain and Rylands.

Govt critics silenced by Biko film

Police seize 'Cry Freedom' after pop-up cinemas show it to 327

BRUCE CAMERON and SATURDAY STAR REPORTERS

CAPE TOWN — Police last night seized copies of the controversial film "Cry Freedom" following a day of confusion, bomb explosions and bomb threats.

After numerous Government-sponsored attempts over the past few days to stop the film's screening, police finally moved decisively late yesterday, seizing all copies. By then it had been screened at two shows in major centres.

Police used Section 9 (2) of the State of Emergency media regulations to seize the copies — pointing at bomb blasts and bomb threats to justify the action.

Last night, many observers criticised the decision as negative, clumsy and leaving the impression the Government, which was embarrassed by the Biko affair, did not want it publicly re-examined.

An academic expert, who would not be named, said of yesterday's seizure that such means of "banning" could destroy the censorship system in South Africa.

He said it proved the Publications Appeal Board, which was appointed by the Home Affairs Minister, was not as independent as a court. He added: "Even though this board has come to be accepted as an independent body, this (assumed independence), its crediblity and that of its chairman have now been destroyed by the fact that Government did not accept the board ruling.

"Now there is not only a conflict between the executive and the court, but between the executive and its own administration."

But a Conservative Party spokesman said the CP fully supported the ban. He said the film "glorified a radical".

Earlier in the day, the film distributors defied the Government, going ahead with screenings after Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee refused to give permission for the banned former *Daily Dispatch* editor, Mr Donald Woods, to be quoted.

Earlier, Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha unsuccessfully referred the film to the Publications Control Appeal Board. The board passed the film for screening, with a 2-19 age limit.

In a statement, the police public relations section said the Commissioner of Police had taken note of the appeal board decision.

"However, the SAP functions in the context of the State of Emergency ... and administers the regulations in relation to circumstances which change from one minute to another.

" 'Cry Freedom' contains propagandistic elements while various themes that are presented in the film bear a marked similarity to the revolutionary onslaught conducted against the Republic.

"The employment of violence and other emotive themes such as those presented in the film have in the past contributed to violence ...

"In 'Cry Freedom' these themes are portrayed dramatically and one-sidedly. At the first showing of the film, threats and incidents of violence occurred.

" 'Cry Freedom' endangers the safety of the public, the maintenaince of public order and will delay the terminatiom of the State of Emergency."

Mr Ayob Mayet, Johannesburg Youth Congress president, said the banning was proof of the Government's destruction of yet another basic tenet of democracy, that of freedom of thought.

Mr Coetsee's decision to overrule the appeal board decision demonstrated Government's commitment to "strong-arm tactics".

National Democratic Party leader Mr Wynand Malan said it was the action of a "clumsy and incompetent government". It was another restriction on South Africans' right to obtain information.

One was also left with an inevitable feeling that the State, which was culpable in the Biko affair, did not want its culpability to be examined again, he said.

"Nothing which Donald Woods ever said, or as a film character says, can endanger the safety of the

● TO PAGE 2

SATYR

CRY FREEDOM

"Told you so, darlings."

Biko film seized

● From Page 1

State. STAR 30/7/88 (327)

"South Africans do not deserve a frightened and clumsy government. If it continues in this way for a little while longer, voters will abandon it in droves.

"There is undoubtedly a new political law in South Africa — when the Government finds the opportunity to shoot itself in the foot, you will hear the bang. If there is no such opportunity, it will find one," Mr Malan said.

Sir Richard Attenborough, director of the controversial film, had the last laugh in the matter, said PFP spokesman Mr Pat Rogers.

"South Africans should know by now that they cannot be trusted to see and hear and make up their own minds. They have been cast in the role of the three wise monkeys by a Government determined to block out the world.

"They should now reflect on how Sir Richard Attenborough was treated here by the SABC and know that he has had the last laugh.

"But let's salute the chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, Mr Kobus van Rooyen, for courage as well as judgment.

"As a further small example of this Government's paranoia I would mention that I had mailed to me from Britain seven weeks ago a video of the BBC production 'Suffer the Children'. Needless to say it has not reached me. An inquiry form as requested from the Post Office has been completed without response. That again is par for the course in Nationalist South Africa."

The SA Council of Churches condemned the banning as illustrating the "real relationship" between the courts and the Nationalist Party.

"The Publications Appeal Board is hailed by the Government," said the statement, "as having the expertise and skills concerning what is and what is not desirable for public consumption.

"The fact that even such a rigourous gauntlet of censorship cannot stand on its own without interference by the Minister of Law and Order, indicates the facade behind which the real decisions are made — that is to say a 'legal process' is created but when it does not suit the Nationalist Government there are always enough all-embracing draconian measures that can be reverted to."

● See Page 5

Now you are allowed to own the first volume of Marx

Star 30/7/88 (327)

CAPE TOWN — A Publications Committee had ruled that possession of "Karl Marx's Selected Works, Vol 1" produced by London Lawrence and Wishart Ltd, was no longer prohibited, the Directorate of Publications has announced.

A committee has, on review, decided that Doris Lessing's "Going Home — 1957 edition", was not undesirable.

Friedrich R Lehmann and Sachbuch Stephenson's "Liebes Rezepte" which is published by Carl Stephenson Verlag, Flensburg and the December 3 1987 (No 169) issue of African Concord produced by Concord Press of Nigeria Ltd, London was declared not undesirable.

It is an offence to import and/or distribute April and May 1988 editions of Sechaba (African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka, Zambia) without a permit.

"Mann en Frau, Eine Sexualkunde, Band 2" and "Mann en Frau, Eine Sexualkunde, Band 3" (Neuer Tessloff Verlag, Hamburg) were declared not undesirable.

From today it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following (name of producer/author in brackets):

Azania Remembers June 16 (Azacco).

Preparing for Power, Oliver Tambo Speaks (Adelaide Tambo).

The National Question in South Africa (Maria van Diepen).

The African Communist No 108, first quarter 1987 (South African Communist Party).

Anti-Apartheid News, June 1988 (Anti-Apartheid Movement, London).

Between the Lines, Vol 5 No 2 1988 (Art Printers and Stationers, Durban)

New Africa News, No 68 March-April 1988 (New Africa News Collective, Australia).

Shoreleave — Land at Last (Alternative Books, Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana). — Sapa.

W/E ARGUS 30/7/88 327

A CRY FOR FREEDOM

WEEKEND ARGUS SPECIAL REPORT

Don't stop expression — censor

Weekend Argus Reporter

PROFESSOR Kobus van Rooyen, chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, has a hot seat as the final arbiter of what South Africa will or won't see or read.

Recent years have seen an easing of South Africa's strict censorship laws and some films — such as *A Clockwork Orange* which was banned for many years — were released for viewing, albeit in "art cinemas" with limited screenings.

The Directorate of Publications stunned film distributors and friends of banned newspaper editor Donald Woods when they passed Sir Richard Attenborough's controversial film *Cry Freedom* without cuts last year.

In spite of pressure from the Government, the Appeal Board yesterday reaffirmed this ruling, although police later seized copies of the film under the emergency regulations.

Setting out the criteria used when viewing political material, Professor van Rooyen said in an interview three years ago that the board had all but adopted the American policy of "clear and present danger".

Safety valve

This meant that a "clear and present danger" had to be proved before an item which made a strong political statement was banned.

He said he believed that expression acted as a safety valve. "If you ban all political expression, people find other outlets and this can create a security risk. So you end up being counter-productive."

With this in mind, the board removed a long-standing ban on a pam-

Mr [illegible] of Star-Kinekor with posters

It's our story, like it or not

by DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

A LONG, long list of those dead in detention scrolls over the plains of Africa. *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika* swells in a chorus of voices and as the screen darkens there is a lone cry.

"Amandla!"

"Ngawethu," answer countless voices in the darkness.

Cry Freedom saw the light with its first public South African audiences yesterday, but in a rather more symbolic darkness there was still confusion as the Government gunned for the freshly approved film on a technicality and invoked the Internal Security Act.

Those of us in the cinema facing up to arguably the first big commercial look at *South Africa: The Horror* didn't at the time know of the Government's actions.

Authorities

But, in spirit, their refusing permission to the distributors to quote one of the film's two heroes, Donald Woods, banned former editor of the Daily Dispatch, was no different from the picture the film painted of the authorities — Jimmy "Dit laat my koud" Kruger *et al.*

Cry Freedom, the story of Black Consciousness activist Steve Biko and his friendship with Woods, is not as bad as I had imagined from all that had been said and written.

The script seems to be enormously banal, to a South African audience at any rate. After all, who needs to be told that a the world which for the most part would find such infringements without legal recourse to be unthinkable.

We indict ourselves by knowing so much and becoming impatient with the telling.

There were those, too, irritated by a landscape so obviously not South African. When prevailing political conditions prevented *Cry Freedom* being made in the land of Steve Biko's birth and death, are we to quibble at aesthetic departures?

Realistic

That the authorities have stopped the showing of *Cry Freedom* is understandable. It's not a great film, if the standards of the international film industry are invoked.

But as a film documentary of a life — and a brutal death — it's quite something to own up to, and the footage showing Soweto June '76 and Crossroads police raids and demolitions are indisputably realistic.

The film gives human face, too, to Biko and to Woods. For those who care and want to know the facts and horrors of South African life, *Cry Freedom* is moving and frustrating to watch.

And for those who don't want to know, the fact that *Cry Freedom* is just another film and a sad and horrible real-life story, like so many others from Hollywood, might give its content just that little bit more of a chance of hitting home in

Engrossing tension — a devastating final statement

by DEREK WILSON
Weekend Argus
Arts Editor

★★★★

THE film *Cry Freedom* is typical of the painstaking style of Sir Richard Attenborough, always at home with a large canvas.

It would be easy to praise the film — I saw it before the police stopped the screening — as documentary drama alone, for the powerful source material speaks for itself.

It is an engrossing film. That one knows how the story unfolds makes no difference. There is a certain tension, a discomfort. It makes a devastating final statement.

Attenborough has not turned the hero of the piece, Donald Woods, into a figure any larger than he was as editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London.

Kevin Kline, looking astoundingly like Woods, is convincing as your typical white liberal. It is a gritty, credible performance but, appropriately, without panache.

Denzel Washington's Biko, who has less screen time, is another convincing portrayal. It is important that he conveys a certain charisma, and this Washington does with a quiet strength.

John Thaw's portrayal of Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, who said Biko's death [illegible] could is a ridiculous

acted as a safety valve. "If you ban all political expression, people find other outlets and this can create a security risk. So you end up being counter-productive."

With this in mind, the board removed a long-standing ban on a pamphlet form of the Freedom Charter, ruling that although the charter formed part of the ANC's credo it held no particular danger for State security.

The book *30 Years Of The Freedom Charter* by Professor Raymond Sutner and Jeremy Cronin was also unbanned after an appeal.

Professor van Rooyen, 45, was born in Durban and matriculated from Kokstad Hoërskool in 1960.

A gifted student, he graduated from the University of Pretoria with a BA with distinction in 1963 and an L LB with distinction in 1965, winning prizes as the best fourth-year student, the best civil-procedure law student and the best final-year student.

Promoted

In 1966 he was appointed senior lecturer in Roman Dutch Law at the University of Pretoria and was promoted to head of the department of criminal law in 1969, obtaining his LL D degree in 1970.

Professor van Rooyen, 45, was appointed deputy-chairman of the Publications Appeal Board in 1975 and chairman in 1980.

Sapa reported from Johannesburg yesterday that the South African Council of Churches said in a statement: "The Publications' Appeal Board is hailed by the Government as having the expertise and skills concerning what is and what is not desirable for public consumption.

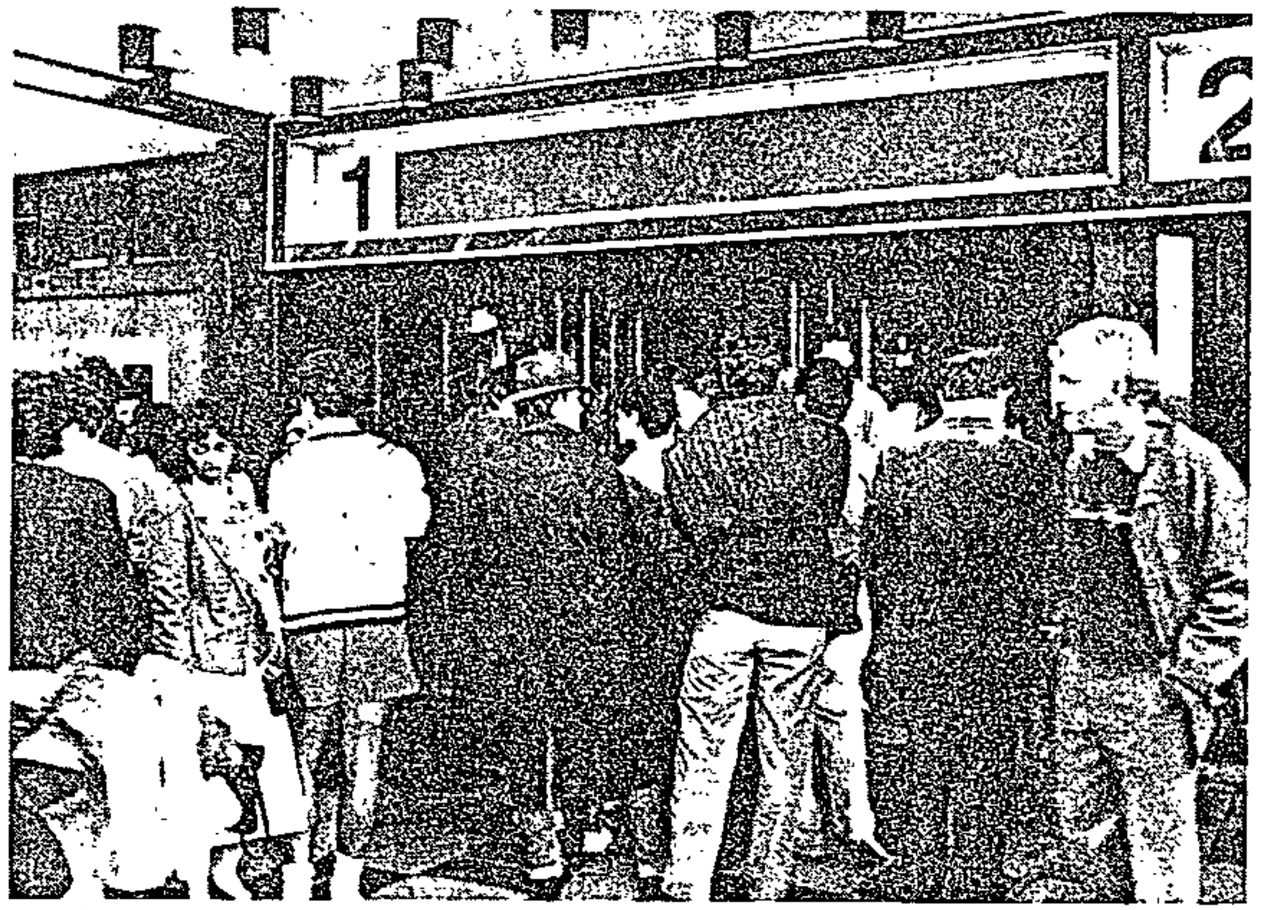
"The fact that even such a rigorous gauntlet of censorship cannot stand on its own without interference indicates the facade behind which the real decisions are made — a "legal process" is created, but when it does not suit the Nationalist government, there are always enough all-embracing draconian measures that can be reverted to."

Weekend Argus Foreign Staff in London reported that the immediate reaction to the South African Government's intervention to block the screening of *Cry Freedom* had made it a Black Friday for South Africa.

Mr Michael Williams-Jones, president and chief executive officer of the distributors, United International Pictures, said: "It's beyond belief. I can only say that I am disgusted, outraged — I find it incredibly cynical and so inconsistent with the fundamental principles of freedom of expression, freedom of speech and freedom of opinion.

"I think it is a black day if this action results in the film not being seen by all South Africans, who absolutely and fundamentally deserve the right to make up their own minds."

Mrs Kathryn Gordon of Ster-Kinekor with posters she was ordered to remove by security police after they seized a copy of *Cry Freedom* at the Monte Carlo cinema on the Foreshore.



Patrons outside a Foreshore cinema complex yesterday after police had seized the film, *Cry Freedom*.

Steve Biko and his friendship with Woods, is not as bad as I had imagined from all that had been said and written.

The script seems to be enormously banal, to a South African audience at any rate. After all, who needs to be told that a banned person may not be in a room with more than one other person at a time? The rest of the civilised world, that's who, to watch.

And for those who don't want to know, the fact that *Cry Freedom* is just another film and a sad and horrible real-life story, like so many others from Hollywood, might give its content just that little bit more of a chance of hitting home in South Africa where, after all, it belongs.

It's our story, like it or not.

other convincing portrayal. It is important that he conveys a certain charisma, and this Washington does with a quiet strength.

John Thaw's portrayal of Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, who said Biko's death left him cold, is a ridiculous caricature.

The dialogue is utterly banal here and there, and one wonders how much time the screenwriter, John Briley, spent in a newsroom.

There are certain attempts at local touches that don't ring true but these would be noticed only in South Africa. Outside they would make no difference at all.

Cry Freedom is essential viewing for any concerned South African not wanting to be caught up in the growing polarisation.

Sir Richard Attenborough

A bumpy ride from the start

by KAREN STANDER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE controversy surrounding *Cry Freedom* is typical of the problems that have plagued the film since its conception.

In South Africa it was first passed by the censors, who were then ordered by the Government to reconsider, but when it was passed again by the censors yesterday it was seized by police under the emergency regulations.

The controversy started in 1984 when Sir Richard Attenborough's low-key visit to South Africa ended in a blaze of publicity.

Before he had even started his film on the friendship between black-consciousness leader Steve Biko and banned newspaper editor Donald Woods, Sir Richard left the country in a rage, accusing the SABC of "a scandalous tissue of distortion and half-truth".

In 1986 there was speculation that the filming of *Cry Freedom* would be suspended, if not abandoned, because of financial problems.

However, Sir Richard flew to Zimbabwe to begin filming only a few months later and the Zimbabwean Government invested R10-million in it.

American actors Denzel Washington and Kevin Kline were cast as Biko and Woods, a move which did not please South African actors. Special security measures were taken during the filming because of the alleged danger of sabotage from South Africa.

The next blow to the R47-million production was a threat by Azapo to drive the film off world cinema screens because it allegedly gave a distorted view of the black-consciousness leader.

The film opened in the United States to largely favourable reviews but that did not prevent a box office disappointment. On video it is doing far better and this week was listed among the top 10.

There were some rave reviews and some pans, but even the favourable reviews often commented that it was not quite what it was expected to be, a story about Biko.

However, long before filming began Sir Richard was quoted as saying that the Biko story would not be central to the film.

He said that a film about recent events in South Africa could not leave out the Biko story but he was not making a film devoted entirely to his story.

In Britain *Cry Freedom* is proving to be an enduring attraction, according to its distributors. More than two million people have seen it.

"It has done extraordinarily well, and not only in Britain," Mr Michael Williams-Jones, president and chief executive officer of United International Pictures, said this week.

"On a worldwide basis it has done business in excess of R90-million at the box office. It has been released in 42 countries."

It was nominated, but failed to take honours, in the prestige Evening Standard British Film Awards.

ENGAGEMENT

MR M GIARDINO **MISS B WINTERBACH**

Des and Perla are delighted to announce the engagement of their youngest daughter Belinda Crane, to Marco, son of Pino and Gina Giardino of Somerset West.

Master Pubs

We custom-build pubs for private homes, offices and recreation rooms. Mobiles also available. Easy terms available.
Please phone 51 3760 for free quotation

(ak7414y)

Facts that don't often register

Star 3/7/88

327

Undercurrent Affairs

Harvey Tyson

JOURNALISTS have no exalted or special role in a free society.

Why then should they not be registered by the State? Why should journalists be different from some of their betters, such as doctors and lawyers, who voluntarily register in order to ensure their standards of practice?

I had hoped never again to have to supply the obvious answers to these questions — yet they keep cropping up, and are adroitly used by censors everywhere.

Well, on the assumption that you read this column only because you've read everything else, there is no need for me to point out yet again to so well-informed a citizen the obvious and clear-cut differences between doctors and reporters, and the separate principles involved.

But in this near-crisis week for the press, perhaps I should remind you that the battle against registration of journalists is, basically, a simple fight for the individual citizen to be able to know — and to speak — without fear.

The Government, all governments, would like newspapers to act as our State radio and TV do: as "positive", unquestioning, obedient bodies. There are newspapers like that. And so there should be. But there are many other kinds of publications; ranging from "non-obedient", questioning papers like this one, to hilariously irresponsible publications and sonorously political pamphlets. Again, so there should be.

But if any journalists — fulltime or freelance (including medical and legal correspondents who might be registered doctors or lawyers!) — are licensed somehow by the State, then all South Africans are ultimately affected. The few freedoms left concerning speech and information in this country will be lost. And, inevitably, a blighted uniformity will soon set in; a style as dreary as it is bland.

In our country, particularly, any attempts to license journalists or force conformity of the press will result in the establishment of "an official" press (believed by nobody, including government supporters) and an "underground press", run by politicised journalists campaigning for causes believed only by the converted.

There can be little doubt that any registered journalist is "a government-licensed" operator. Worse, he or she is then forced to quit; or to defy authority and go underground; or to operate in a way that will never displease the official who is empowered to end a reporter's career at the figurative flick of a bureaucratic pen.

That's what all the fuss is about concerning Mr Stoffel Botha's media regulations.

That's why many of us say, without qualification: "I shall never register, under any circumstances." We believe that to register is to betray the very essence of a philosophy — not a journalist's philosophy, but the basic philosophy of free people.

□ □ □

But can the press demand total freedom to write whatever it likes? The answer, of course, is that the press can demand no more than the very lowest citizen can demand. And any newspaper that seeks more should get what it deserves: the dreaded "special treatment". That is why all normal newspaper people insist on having no special "rights".

In reality, newspapers have to obey every law aimed at every individual — and then some. For there are, despite decades of struggle, many laws specifically controlling the media — quite apart from libel laws and the rest.

Unlike most of Europe and America, newspapers here are not protected legally in any way from State victimisation. Unlike West Germany, Switzerland and many other lands, we do not have a law, or even a convention, that expressly forbids registration of journalists (while insisting on the registration of some scientists and other professions).

□ □ □

But why should the press — and individual reporters — not be punished if they fail to print the truth?

One has to ask in reply: Whose "truth"? The Government's "truth"? The ANC's "truth"? The "truth" of the independent witness on oath whose "facts" may be challenged later by other sworn testimony?

An eminent professor of politics said in Britain this week that "truth, historical truth, is the daughter of time".

I once expressed it less elegantly in relation to current truth: "Current truth can be ascertained only in a river of sequences."

Truth does not necessarily appear in the initial accusation; nor in the initial "public announcement by the Minister" as read so often on TV.

No monthly journal, let alone a six-editions-daily newspaper, can instantly provide "the truth". My own view is that the truth has the best chance of emerging in a newspaper if it provides as many different sides of the story as possible; as soon as possible.

□ □ □

But what about a paper that deliberately prints lies?

Well, its lack of credibility must ultimately penalise it. In addition, the law protects you from the more damaging falsehoods. And the independent Media Council sorts out the lesser ones — the "differences of opinion about fact".

You may say that statistics lie, but let me give you the latest Media Council figures:

Cases lodged in the past two years: 216.
Cases settled (between reader and paper): 107.
Cases withdrawn, rejected or lapsed: 103
Cases adjudicated: 5.

Thus there have been only *five* complaints serious enough to go to trial in two years! One case is still pending and the "score" so far must be about 3 to the complainants, and 2 to the newspapers.

So much for the "irresponsibility" of the press as alleged by government.

Government departments have lodged 54 complaints against different newspapers in the past four years — and in all that time have won only two of them!

I hope those figures register.

□ □ □

Space for only two literary questions:
Was Francis a Sissy?
Was the Acne and the Ecstacy the story of a spotty nymphomaniac?

And one political question:
Is Dukakis a Bushwhacker?

Minister slates 'crude propaganda'

Star 30/7/88 (327)

The film "Cry Freedom" was intended to be an anti-South Africa propaganda instrument, the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in Pretoria last night.

He told a news conference: "We don't need that sort of internal disturbance and excitement from people like (the film's director) Richard Attenborough."

Dr Van der Merwe said Government had decided to override the Publications Appeal Board and have the film seized because the board was not able to judge "the situation on the streets".

He said the police investigation into the bomb threats and explosions which had occurred at cinemas where the film was being screened was still in its early stages. It was not known who was responsible for these incidents.

However, the film was offensive to a variety of groups in South Africa and it was possible that whites had been responsible.

Richard Attenborough clearly intended to make anti-South African propaganda with the film, and it was significant that the Zimbabwean Government had contributed a good part of the cost of the production, Dr Van der Merwe said.

Asked why Government had seized the film on the day of its South African premiere, Dr van der Merwe said: "It did not matter at what stage the South African Government prohibited the film. If it had prohibited the film three months ago, it would still have had a strong publicity effect for the film overseas."

Government realised that its action would create some problems for South Africa abroad, "but we were in a position where we had to choose the lesser of two evils".

Dr Van der Merwe said Government had not considered removing the powers of the Publications Appeal Board to adjudicate in controversial cases.

He said the film portrayed the security forces in a negative light and their public image would be undermined.

"The film's crude propaganda content strongly emerges in the depiction of radical blacks as 'good' as opposed to whites."

"Biko's own rejection of whites and advocacy of violence are underplayed or not depicted at all."

Whites were typified as privileged and surrounded by wealth, while blacks were shown living in great poverty and subject to exploitation and repression.

"This is in sharp contrast with the opening message that the film is based on the truth," said Dr Van der Merwe. — Sapa.

Media registration to be reconsidered

31/7/88 Cape Times 327

THE government has decided to temporarily suspend the emergency regulation which required news agency operators to register with the Department of Home Affairs, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said in Pretoria yesterday, reports Sapa.

He said in a statement this decision had been taken because of practical considerations and pending further investigation.

The principle of the problem addressed in Regulation 11 (which requires news agency operators to register) remained a matter for concern, he said.

Botha's announcement that the regulation was being suspended means that journalists who were obliged to register before July 31 – or face a 10-year jail term – do not have to do so for the time being.

Botha said he and his legal advisers considered various representations on the matter.

The Minister's announcement comes just days before the registration was supposed to have been effected.

It also comes in the wake of moves to challenge the legal validity of the regulations in the Natal Supreme Court, reports S'BU MNGADI.

Durban journalists held a midweek meeting to protest against the regulations.

The meeting, convened by the Association of Democratic Journalists, the Media Workers' Association of SA and the SA Society of Journalists, at Durban's Ecunemical Centre, endorsed the "Save the Press" campaign statement.

In it Transvaal ADJ president Cecil Sols said the media regulations introduced in June – particularly the requirement that many journalists register with the government – represented a massive intrusion on the right of people to be accurately informed.

"By requiring that journalists obtain a licence to practice, and by holding out the threat of arbitrary withdrawal of those licences, the governmenmt is threatening to drastically cut back the quantity and quality of reporting on SA," he said.

OVE TO
LDNESS

at his new que
arriage and ce

Biko: Appeal Board stands by its ruling

By MONICA GRAAFF

THE Publications Appeal Board stands by its decision to pass the controversial Biko film, "Cry Freedom", for public viewing despite the government banning imposed on Friday.

And this decision was likely to be a precedent for the passing of similar films in future, according to Appeal Board assessor Professor S A S Strauss.

He said that in the past the board had undoubtedly been inclined to follow precedents, and there was no reason why this should not be the case in future.

Prof Strauss was invited on to the board as an assessor for his special knowledge of the Biko affair, having been the chairman of the ad hoc committee on the medical treatment of detainees for the Medical Association in 1983.

Cape Times 18/8/8 327

"The government does not have the power to overrule the board's decision, and neither has it. It has merely banned the film in terms of another legislation which is its prerogative."

The Cape Times was yesterday unable to contact the chairman of the board, Professor Kobus van Rooyen, who is under police guard following death threats at the weekend.

Brigadier Leon Mellet declined to say whether the threats were from right-wing quarters. But he did say that police were convinced that extremists of either the right or the left were responsible for planting the bombs at cinemas where the film was to have been shown.

Last week the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, referred the film — which was passed last November without any restrictions — back to the Publications Appeal Board in a last-minute bid to get the board to do the banning.

But the censorship body stood its ground and passed the film with a 2-19 age restriction on Fri-

To page 3

Talk to a wide range of morning comment and pictures in the Cape Times

From page 1

Biko ban

day morning — only minutes before cinema doors opened to the public. The film was shown only once before it was seized under the media emergency regulations later that day.

Ster Kinekor, the largest cinema chain in South Africa, yesterday said it did not believe the effective banning of "Cry Freedom" would affect its supply of films from producers.

Meanwhile the Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, said "the government would have preferred it if the Publications Board had banned it", sparking fresh speculation about the future of the board and chairman, Prof Van Rooyen.

However Mr Stoffel Botha, under whose portfolio the publications board falls, last night dismissed rumours that he was "about to fire" Prof Van Rooyen.

He said he would not prescribe to the board, but a similar situation in which the government banned films already passed by the board in terms of the emergency regulations "could well happen again".

The minister said that when he realized "late in July" that the film was to go ahead, the government had had "to take the wider issues into account". The Publications Act dealt with security matters in only a limited way.

'Extremists responsible for blasts'

By CHRIS STEYN

RIGHT-WING and left-wing extremists are the main suspects in a police investigation following a number of mysterious bomb blasts at cinemas where the film "Cry Freedom" was due to be shown.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet told the Cape Times yesterday that police were "totally convinced" that "extremists" were behind the blasts.

"We are investigating the possibility that extremists from both sides — the right and the left — were responsible for the blasts," said Brigadier Mellet.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche told the Cape Times yesterday that the movement did not involve itself in bomb attacks.

"We relied on the sound judgment of the Commissioner of Police. And he did the right thing to ban the film. If he had not done so, the AWB would have protested strongly. But that does not mean that we would have destroyed property or endangered human lives," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

The "Cry Freedom" debacle was evidence that the government and the Publlications Control Board should be replaced, Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said yesterday. Mr Derby-Lewis said the government should have acted months ago.

● The appeal board passed the movie on Friday with a 2-19 age limit, half-an-hour before it was due to go on circuit.

But within hours, the government had overruled the appeal board and banned the film.

Minister adds top ANC members to new banned list

(327) 1/8/88 Star

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The names of several key members of the African National Congress appear for the first time on the latest consolidated list of people banned or restricted under the Internal Security Act — published by the Minister of Justice — making it impossible for publications inside South Africa to quote them.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, as well as head of information, Mr Thabo Mbeki have been on the list for years and the organisation's chief spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, was added more recently.

But in the new consolidated list gazetted last week additional ANC names are included. They are Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and fellow military leader Mr Steve Tshwete, both of whom were recently appointed to the executive of the ANC, women's head Miss Gertrude Shope, chief of the cultural section, Miss Barbara Masekela and a key spokesman in the information division, Mr Victor Moche.

A total of 417 names appear on the new list — a substantially greater number than in the past. It is an offence in terms of the Internal Security Act to quote any of these people without the permission of the Minister.

Automatic inclusion

The Minister may include people on the list on several grounds:

- They are automatically included if they have been convicted of specific security offences or of treason.
- They are also automatically added to the list if they were ever detained in terms of the "preventive" detention clause of the Internal Security Act, Section 28.
- If the Minister is satisfied that a person of South African origin acts in a way which endangers state security or the maintenance of law and order or that he or she promotes the objects of communism he may place them on the list — even if they live abroad.
- If, at the time of the enactment of the present legislation in 1982, people's names were on earlier lists compiled under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 or the Internal Security Act of 1976, their names may be carried forward.

The names of the Sharpeville Six, of assassinated Cradock leader Matthew Goniwe and of many ANC members convicted of treason, appear on the list.

Writers and journalists — some of them dead for years — remain on the list. They include Can Temba, Lewis Nkosi, Dennis Brutus, Alex la Guma and Bloke Modisane.

The section listing people convicted of security offences and treason — which runs to 240 names — is by far the longest and shows the greatest increase.

● See page 2M.

UK shields SA woman 'spy'

Cape Times 1/8/88

327

By CHRIS STEYN, Own Correspondent and Sapa

THE South African woman who escaped from an ANC "hell camp" in Angola and took refuge in Britain's Angolan embassy could pose a huge diplomatic problem for Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Ms Olivia Forsyth

Ms Olivia Forsyth, 27, who disappeared more than two years ago, turned up in the Luanda embassy early in May, according to a British Foreign Office spokesman in London.

The spokesman said Mrs Thatcher, who is on visit to the Far East, was being kept informed of the incident.

British press reports say that the affair could jeopardize delicate relations with the frontline states. But the spokesman dismissed claims that Britain was on the brink of a major row over granting Ms Forsyth's sanctuary at the embassy.

'No diplomatic row'

He denied the incident had led to a diplomatic row which threatened to bring Britain into a major confrontation with the government of Angola.

He said that because Ms Forsyth held dual British-South African nationality she was entitled to seek aid from the embassy.

The spokesman said he did not know how she escaped from a camp near the ANC's military headquarters at Lubango in southern Angola.

"We have, in accordance with usual procedure, applied for an exit-visa to enable her to return to Britain."

Meanwhile, South African authorities last night disclaimed all knowledge of the activities of Ms Forsyth, a prominent student activist who disappeared mysteriously more than two years ago amid rumours that she had fallen foul of the ANC.

Ms Forsyth is a former member of the Rhodes University SRC and the local committee of the National Union of South African Students.

She now claims she was detained and severely tortured by the ANC for 22 months after she was accused of being a spy.

The Cape Times has established that Ms Forsyth is the sister-in-law of security police Major Derek Brune — who was an associate of former super-spy Major Craig Williamson, now of the President's Council.

Major Brune was exposed as a police spy in left-wing circles while he was active in student politics on Wits campus in the 1970s.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday that Ms Forsyth had not been recruited by — or worked for — the security branch of the SA police.

WP win, but lose key man

Freddie Ferreira out for 6 weeks

By LOUIS VAN WYK

THE Western Province rugby team has paid a heavy price for victory in the Lion Cup final.

Scrumhalf Freddie Ferreira will be out of action for about six weeks after an operation for a broken jaw suffered against Northern Transvaal at Loftus Versfeld on Saturday.

When the WP team arrived back in Cape Town yesterday, Ferreira was taken from the airport to a clinic. X-rays showed his jaw was broken just below the right ear and an operation was performed immediately. He was back home last night.

The WP scrumhalf, who turned in one of his best performances for some time, took several hard knocks to the face during the match.

It is possible the worst damage was caused by his own halfback partner, Michael du Plessis.

Weekly Mail bid fails

SUSAN RUSSELL

AN URGENT application by the Weekly Mail against the Commissioner of Police for the return of copies of the August 5 issue seized on Saturday in terms of the emergency regulations was dismissed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Flemming also dismissed with costs the Weekly Mail's application for an interdict stopping further seizure and an order declaring the minister's notice authorising the seizure invalid.

A full judgment reflecting his conclusions would be furnished later.

Costs are to include the costs of two counsel.

Police seized copies of the Weekly Mail on Saturday after the commissioner issued a notice in terms of 9(1) of the emergency regulations.

He ordered the seizure on the grounds that various articles dealing with conscription and the public refusal of 143 men last week to serve in the SADF or do national service, read collectively, constituted a subversive statement in terms of the emergency regulations which discredited or undermined the system of compulsory military service.

● Cartoon: Page 2

Another article was also said by the commissioner to contravene the prohibition on reporting unrest incidents contained in the regulations.

Articles that led to the seizure were the cartoon and 1915 quote from General Hertzog on page 1, three articles on pages 2 and 3, including the names of the

● To Page 2

Weekly Mail application dismissed

● From Page 1

143 men refusing to serve in the SADF, and an advert on page 22 from an international war resisters' organisation.

Counsel for the Weekly Mail, D Kuny SC, argued that the portions of the newspaper relied on by the commissioner in making his order did not constitute a statement.

Kuny argued that while there were other portions of the newspaper that might constitute a statement, none of those cited by the commissioner did so — either singly or collectively.

Dealing with the article said to contravene the prohibition on reporting security force action in unrest situations, Kuny said the Press was entitled to do so once the police had issued a report.

Counsel for the Commissioner, J Swart SC, argued that not only what was quoted and stated, but also the manner in which it was done, could have no other meaning than to undermine and discredit the system of compulsory military service.

Swart said the newspaper was telling readers with obvious approval that 143 loyal and responsible people had decided to take a public stand not to serve in the SADF or do compulsory military service.

the senior event). With them is Second-Lieutenant Wayne Swanepoel of Group 1.

SA must not allow 'nazi-style' press curbs

Cape Times 2/8/88

Prof Dennis Davis

Mr John Scott

Staff Reporter

ANY society which allowed a government to pass press censorship laws similar to those of nazi Germany was heading for disaster, a UCT law professor told a Save the Press Campaign meeting in St George's Cathedral yesterday.

Noting a parallel — the definition of a "subversive statement" — between laws passed in Germany in 1934 and the current emergency press regulations, Professor Denis Davis warned that government threats to register journalists were not aimed at improving professional standards, but "bringing news in line with what it believed news should be".

The government had jettisoned "rational criteria" of judgment when it banned "Cry Freedom" under security legislation, thereby overriding government-created bodies like the Publications Control Board and Media Council, he added.

"If anything shows where the government's concerns lie in terms of the media controls, it is 'Cry Freedom'," Prof Davis said.

"In 1950 Dr D F Malan and his wife attended the world premiere of Alan Paton's 'Cry the Beloved Country' — could you imagine Mr P W Botha going to the premiere of 'Cry Freedom'?"

This, Prof Davis said, indicated the extent to which the country had retreated from civil liberties since the National Party took power in 1948.

Columnist and freelance journalist Mr John Scott said journalists were opposed to registration since their professional fate was "entirely in the hands of tinpot politicians with a party axe to grind".

"What the government wants," he said, "is a Pravda on the Soviet Russian model — and at this rate they're going to get it."

Ex-attorney's prison

4 000 rail users charged this year

The mysterious career of Olivia Forsyth

ARGUS 2/8/88 327

From PAT CANDIDO of The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth

RHODES University campus is buzzing at the news that former journalism student and alleged "spy" Miss Olivia Forsyth is the centre of diplomatic problems between Britain and Angola.

At Rhodes she was deeply involved in left-wing politics. In 1984 she was elected to the Student's Representative Council and was editor of the student newspaper Rhodeo.

She was elected to the SRC again the following year on a left-wing card.

At the end of 1985 she left Grahamstown, telling friends she had a job with a British research company called Jon Fitzgerald and Associates.

She said her job would entail a great deal of travelling and she often sent friends postcards from Harare, Tanzania and Zambia.

A woman who knew her well said today she often tried telephone her at the number Miss Forsyth gave for company but never managed to reach her.

She was always told by a woman that Miss Forsyth was out or not available.

At this stage she started losing contact with friends in Grahamstown.

The woman described her as fairly bright and well-liked by a wide spectrum of students.

She never mentioned her brother-in-law, Major Derek Brune of the security police.

"But then she wouldn't have, would she?" said the woman.

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Rhodes journalism department described her as a bright student who was deeply involved in student politics.

A classroom photograph showing Olivia Forsyth when she was still a student at Rhodes University

Meanwhile, The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Tory MP John Carlisle is taking up the case of Miss Forsyth.

He said yesterday that he was writing to Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe asking for full details of her case and urging the British Government to press the Angolan authorities to give her an exit visa.

"The poor girl has been stuck there for 10 or 11 weeks, and it would be a nice gesture to let her go," he said yesterday. "After all, the Angolans owe us a favour or two."

The Foreign Office, meanwhile, says it is continuing to intercede for Miss Forsyth with the Angolans, but has so far had no success.

From Pretoria it is reported that the South African Government is prepared to do whatever it can to help Miss Forsyth, who reportedly refuses to leave the British embassy in Luanda for fear of being handed back to the ANC.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said, however, that the South African Government had not been officially approached to help and until it was it did not want to interfere.

Miss Forsyth has dual South African-British nationality.

Reports claim that the ANC suspect her of spying for South Africa. Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, denied today that Miss Forsyth had any links with the South African Police.

When she arrived at the embassy in May, she told officials she was suspected by the ANC of being a South African spy.

In an editorial headed "Odd Silence," the London daily, The Sun, says: "Imagine the diplomatic uproar if a British citizen had been persecuted in this way by the South Africans," it says.

"Yet when the guilty parties are black terrorists and communists, there is no complaint from the Foreign Office.

"What an odd silence."

Gaborone 'raiders' on trial

Cape Times 3/8/88

327

GABORONE. — Two alleged South African "commandos", said to be linked to a foiled raid on Gaborone on June 20, as well as the manager of a local supermarket, are to stand trial in Botswana's High Court.

The three men, Mr Johannes Basson, 25, Mr Theodore Hermansen, 30, who were arrested together, and Mr Barry Jean Vivier, 29, a local supermarket manager, appeared before Francistown chief magistrate Mr Anthony Amstel, a report from the Botswana Press Agency (Bopa) said.

They are facing charges under the National Security Act and the penal code.

Detective Senior Superintendent Ramsden Ramogola informed the court that Mr Vivier, who had been arrested and charged separately, would stand trial with Mr Hermansen and Mr Basson.

Asked whether he would like to apply for bail, Mr Vivier replied "No".

The other two accused told the court they did not have any complaints about prison conditions

Mr Basson and Mr Hermansen were arrested after a Botswana police patrol unit stumbled on SA commandos near the Kgale mission about 6km south of Gaborone in June. The South Africans had been planning a raid on Gaborone, the news agency said. — Sapa.

'in PE hospital'

Commission to dispel notion that PFP is soft on security

327
Cape Times
3/8/88

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA needs a strong and efficient police force as well as a strong, non-racial and motivated defence force, the Progressive Federal Party's security commission has stated.

"The PFP believes that it is essential for society to be protected from crime and lawlessness," the commission said in its report which is to be discussed at the party's federal congress in Cape Town on Friday and Saturday, August 5 and 6.

It also said no organization or individual should be permitted to engage in, foment or advocate violence, terrorism, insurrection or revolution.

Organizations or individuals who engaged in or advocated violence "ought to be dealt with firmly and expeditiously through the courts and in terms of the ordinary law of the land.

"If the ordinary law of the land is insufficient to deal with criminal prosecution of organizations, the PFP would support legislation which would enable the courts to prohibit them from operating," the commission said.

Commanders

It added that in "exceptional circumstances, for example when law and order has completely broken down and the police are no longer able to guarantee the protection of the public", the defence force may be required to act in a supportive role to the police.

"If called upon to render such assistance, the SADF should act as a clearly identifiable structure, under its own commanders. This will reduce the danger that such action will politicize the SADF and damage its reputation, which has already occurred in some instances."

The commission was chaired by Mrs Helen Suzman, the MP for Houghton and the party's spokesman on civil rights. The other members were Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point and the party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Roger Burrows, the MP for Pinetown and the PFP's Natal leader, and Mr Brian Goodall, the former MP for Edenvale and the party's former defence spokesman.

The commission's report is aimed at putting the PFP's policy on security issues into an unambiguous framework to distinguish its approach from that of the government and from that of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups.

By accepting that law and order have to be maintained at all times and that the government has to have the means to do this, the party clearly

unemployment undoubtedly contributed to the crime rate, the PFP believed it was essential for society to be protected from crime and lawlessness.

"In order to achieve this, the party believes in maintaining a strong police force which is well disciplined, well trained, well equipped, well paid, well managed, adequately staffed, and accountable for all its actions."

It encouraged the creation of municipal police because of the breakdown in neighbourhood crime prevention.

The police performed a difficult and dangerous task, "for which they deserve recognition", but were also called upon to implement laws which were widely perceived to be unjust and discriminatory. Because of this, the police were often regarded as oppressors rather than protectors of the public.

"Therefore, it is essential for the police to be, and to be seen to be, involved in their primary task of preventing crime and apprehending criminals, and non-partisan and apolitical in the execution of their duties."

The activities of the police riot units had given cause for concern and some of the activities of the inadequately trained kitskonstabels, or special constables, also brought the police into disrepute.

"While the party accepts the necessity for additional policemen, these must be properly trained and integrated into the ordinary police structures.

"The activities of some members of the police, chronicled in numerous unchallenged affidavits; alleging torture and other malpractices, and excessive use of power, as well as court findings bearing out some of these accusations, do the police force as a whole incalculable harm.

Disrepute

"In particular, the security police need to be properly accountable to the public and instances of abuse of power need to be firmly dealt with."

It was not difficult to escape the conclusion that the government, when it chose, used the formidable apparatus of its internal security machine to act against political opponents, and not only against subversion. The existing security legislation, particularly the emergency regulations, brought the law as a whole into disrepute.

These laws and regulations needed to be overhauled and brought into line with accepted tenets of the rule of law, including the right to an open trial and to habeas corpus, the right of access to legal representatives, safeguards against abuse of power by in-

and order has completely broken down and the police are no longer able to guarantee the protection of the public", the defence force may be required to act in a supportive role to the police.

"If called upon to render such assistance, the SADF should act as a clearly identifiable structure, under its own commanders. This will reduce the danger that such action will politicize the SADF and damage its reputation, which has already occurred in some instances."

The commission was chaired by Mrs Helen Suzman, the MP for Houghton and the party's spokesman on civil rights. The other members were Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point and the party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Roger Burrows, the MP for Pinetown and the PFP's Natal leader, and Mr Brian Goodall, the former MP for Edenvale and the party's former defence spokesman.

The commission's report is aimed at putting the PFP's policy on security issues into an unambiguous framework to distinguish its approach from that of the government and from that of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups.

By accepting that law and order have to be maintained at all times and that the government has to have the means to do this, the party clearly hopes that government accusations that it is "soft" on security will be dispelled.

Its emphatic rejection of violence as a political strategy and its acceptance that the government has to act against people who advocate violence will distinguish it sharply from the ANC's approach.

Violence

In the white election last year, National Party strategies of associating the PFP with the ANC and accusing the party of being "soft" on security contributed to its setbacks in the election.

The security commission report clearly aims at rectifying these misconceptions. At the same time, the PFP's long-standing commitment to civil liberties is re-affirmed by the commission's call for full legal rights for everyone.

So, the commission "rejects violence in all its forms, from whatever source it comes and whatever justification is offered for it. This applies equally to the mindless violence of terrorism and to institutionalized violence on the part of the government."

But at the same time it says the PFP "believes that the rights of individuals must be protected by the rule of law, which means that no person should be deprived of his liberty or property unless charged and convicted in an ordinary court of law after proper defence."

Real and lasting security would only be attainable when new political and social structures are brought about by negotiation and consent.

"Although it is likely that there will always be some who wish to subvert the political system by force, the current political, social and economic injustices which characterize South Africa are a significant cause of revolutionary activity. Therefore, these injustices must be addressed as a matter of urgency."

South Africa had a very high crime rate and while structural problems, such as poverty, poor education and

"While the party accepts the necessity for additional policemen, these must be properly trained and integrated into the ordinary police structures.

"The activities of some members of the police, chronicled in numerous unchallenged affidavits; alleging torture and other malpractices, and excessive use of power, as well as court findings bearing out some of these accusations, do the police force as a whole incalculable harm.

Disrepute

"In particular, the security police need to be properly accountable to the public and instances of abuse of power need to be firmly dealt with."

It was not difficult to escape the conclusion that the government, when it chose, used the formidable apparatus of its internal security machine to act against political opponents, and not only against subversion. The existing security legislation, particularly the emergency regulations, brought the law as a whole into disrepute.

These laws and regulations needed to be overhauled and brought into line with accepted tenets of the rule of law, including the right to an open trial and to habeas corpus, the right of access to legal representatives, safeguards against abuse of power by investigating officers and protection against inhumane and degrading methods of interrogation.

In regard to defence, the commission endorses much of existing PFP policy: it wants conscription phased out and replaced by a regular standing army backed by volunteer reserves.

It said conscription was a wasteful and inefficient means of recruiting manpower, disruptive to family life and careers and promoted the brain-drain from South Africa.

It also recognized the right of individuals to do alternative service but said this should be longer than military service.

"The PFP recognizes that there are legitimate security concerns implicit in the presence of expatriate and foreign forces in large numbers in the frontline states, and of the volume and sophistication of military equipment in such states.

"The PFP respects the territorial integrity of foreign states, and rejects military occupation of foreign territory for any length of time.

"The party recognizes, however, that use may have to be made of limited pre-emptive cross-border operations against forces with demonstrably aggressive military or other violent designs towards South Africa, as well as of hot-pursuit operations in accordance with international practice."

It rejected involvement by South Africa in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states.

The function of the defence "should be primarily to defend the Republic from outside aggression, and to defend our borders and coastlines. It believes that the defence force should be a truly national institution, free of party politics and any form of discrimination".

SA lashes Canada for its criticism

Cape Times 3/8/88 327

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Ronald MacLean, was yesterday summoned to the Foreign Ministry in Pretoria so that the South African government's objections could be made to anti-apartheid activities organized by the Canadian government.

Mr MacLean was called in by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring, so that the government's objections could be made to events currently being staged in Canada under the sponsorship of the Canadian Department of External Affairs.

In a statement last night, the Department of Foreign Affairs said the Canadian government was sponsoring a "public forum on South African censorship and propaganda" and a festival entitled "Rekindle the Light" which featured numerous public events and dedications against South African government policies.

"These events were planned to coincide with and give additional publicity to a conference of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Committee meeting in Toronto."

The statement said Mr Meiring had emphasized that sponsorship of these events by the Canadian government, and specifically its Department of External Affairs, amounted to blatant interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa.

By supporting these events, the Canadian government was acting contrary to established norms of diplomatic relations between states.

"The South African government objected to the biased selectivity of the Canadian government, given the state of affairs in certain of the Commonwealth countries now participating with Canada in the foreign ministers' meeting in Toronto.

"According to Freedom House, five of the eight countries represented at the Toronto meeting have press restrictions equal to or more stringent than South Africa's.

"By these actions, the Canadian government does not contribute in any way constructively towards achieving a peaceful solution to the problems of Southern Africa," the statement said.

Clamp on ECC looms

Argus 4/8/88

327

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

THE government appears set to crack down on the End Conscription Campaign following the publication of the names of 143 people who have refused for political reasons to do military service.

Indications today were that the government was set to use the same emergency regulations used against the UDF and 17 other organisations in February, effectively banning them.

And if it takes action against the ECC, other extra-parliamentary organisations could also be included, sources indicated.

Hard-hitting statement

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said: "The activities of the ECC are being closely monitored but I cannot confirm or deny that any action is being planned."

General Magnus Malan, after a hard-hitting statement yesterday, said he was no longer prepared to deal with the organisation. In the past he had considered submissions from the ECC.

A spokesman for General Malan, Dr D A S Herbst, said those who supported and propagated campaigns against national service "have overplayed their hands".

Criminal offence

He said: "South Africa cannot tolerate that the laws of the land be ignored and jeopardised. The Minister has in the past considered submissions from these people in this regard. This will certainly no longer happen."

General Malan accused the ECC yesterday of threatening the security of the State and warned that evasion of national service was a criminal offence.

"No citizen can decide of his or her own free will which laws to respect," he added.

Inspiration from Jesus

The Argus Correspondent in Durban reports that one of the conscripts who announced yesterday that they would not serve has now challenged General Malan to a public debate.

Mr John Clarke, 31, involved in community development, said: "General Malan has associated the stand with the ECC. The inspiration of my stand comes exclusively from my faith in Jesus Christ.

"I am not and have never been a member of the ECC. I have never attended any of their meetings. In no way has the ECC tried to bring any pressure on me.

"General Malan has disappointed in using smear tactics to discredit the stand instead of facing the challenge of the group squarely and honestly.

"I would like personally to challenge General Malan to a public debate on the issues involved so that the public can make up their minds intelligently.

"The onus should be on those who choose to fight and carry arms to give theological, moral and ethical justification for it, not on conscientious objectors to explain themselves. The norm should be that nobody is forced to carry arms."

● 143 refuse to do national service, page 3.

ARGUS 4/8/88 (327)

'The truth' on detained children — booklet

By VERNON BRENT
Staff Reporter

A GLOSSY publication seeking to justify the detention of children is being distributed by the Bureau for Information.

The booklet, titled *The Young Revolutionaries*, contains gruesome pictures of necklace victims as well as shots of sunlit prison cells and spotless prison kitchens.

More than 30 000 copies of the booklet have been printed at a cost of R28 000.

The booklets would be distributed locally on request and to "contacts" to counter "domestic and international propaganda" on the question of children in detention, a bureau spokesman said.

CRIMES

The booklet says scant attention is paid to the position of children in other countries and says it was recently reported that more than 6 000 children under the age of 10 were being held in the United States in connection with a range of crimes.

It says "a state of emergency and the detention of children are unacceptable to the civilised standards and life which the majority of South Africans seek and desire."

A number of anonymous statements purporting to come from youths involved in necklace murders and other politically related killings are listed.

The booklet argues that no government could allow children who perpetrate such atrocities to roam the streets at will.

The booklet says there is a misconception that children and adults are detained in South Africa for expressing legitimate political opinions.

"This is false. The wording of the emergency regulations precludes the detention of any person on the grounds that he or she is a member of a lawful political organisation or because of political opposition to the government."

The bureau says: "The allegation of torture of detainees while in police detention is widespread. The internal control measures are designed to prevent any possibility of ill-treatment of detainees, whether children or adults."

'Action against ECC and others imminent'

Fears of new clampdown

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Action against the End Conscription Campaign, and possibly other organisations, is imminent.

Sources today indicated that the Government was preparing to restrict the ECC and possibly other organisations in the same way as it clamped down on the United Democratic Front and 17 other organisations on February 22 this year. The organisations have been effectively paralysed by the Government curbs.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan today broke off relations with the ECC. His spokesman Dr D A S Herbst said the Minister had in the past considered submissions from the ECC, but this "will certainly no longer happen".

He said: "Those who support and propagate campaigns against national service have overplayed their hands. South Africa cannot tolerate that the laws of the land be ignored and jeopardised."

General Malan yesterday accused the ECC of threatening the security of the State and said the movement was the "vanguard of those forces that are intent on wrecking the present dispensation and its renewal".

He was reacting to the announcement yesterday that 143 young men were refusing to do national service. Their action today received the support of the ECC.

Actions monitored

The National Party's Cape Town mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, today wrote on its front page that "firm steps are expected against the ECC shortly". Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said such action could not be confirmed or denied. However, activities of the ECC were being monitored closely.

General Malan said: "Any person or organisation disrupting and undermining the responsibility entrusted to the SADF is acting in conflict with the constitution. No self-respecting state can tolerate such subversive action," he said.

Apparently referring to the stand taken by the 143 against conscription, General Malan said the ECC's campaign against the SADF's responsibility to protect the country was a "sick attempt to try to create a martyr image".

"National security is the top priority for South Africa and is above political prejudice.

"Moreover, the SADF is representative of the full spectrum of South African society. Its members have divergent political, ethical, moral and religious convictions but they stand shoulder to shoulder in solid camaraderie in the service of South Africa."

The national secretary of the ECC, Mr Alistair Teeling-Smith said last night that his organisation was not the problem — as the Minister apparently thought — but conscription was.

"The SADF has become a political vehicle because of the role it has played in townships and neighbouring states," he said.

As a consequence, many young South Africans faced a crisis of conscience over participation in the SADF. This concern was evidenced by the group of 143 South Africans who yesterday said they would not serve, he said.

"We certainly do not see ourselves as the vanguard of outside forces and certainly not controlled by those forces," he said.

The ECC says more than 53 000 people have left the country since 1983 — many of them to avoid service in the SADF.

'Freedom' has evoked a painful compound of feelings

Cape Times 4/8/88

327

FOR white South Africans who managed to see it *Cry Freedom* was not a film, it was an emotional experience and the feelings it evoked were a painful compound of shame, anger and dread. Now that it has ceased to be a film and become an issue, the effect is the same.

The shame arises from the knowledge that whatever Richard Attenborough has done to and with the facts, they are indisputable and indefensible, the anger comes from both the way the truth is used and the treatment accorded the result and the dread stems, in part, from the events that inspired the film, the measures taken against it and the repercussions of both.

While it is true that South Africa gave Attenborough the ammunition he needed, it is equally true he used it mercilessly, sometimes even maliciously and mischievously, to make a strong case overwhelming.

Take, for example, some of the early scenes: the rain on Crossroads is depicted "live" yet it stops frequently to present a frozen tableau from which colour is bled. The black-and-white result establishes the authenticity and immediacy of a newspaper photograph.

Polemicist

The opening credits and every caption are hammered out, letter by letter. A kindly interpretation of the accompanying rat-a-tat-tat would be that it simulates a telex machine, but it comes so close to the sound of an automatic weapon that its choice can hardly be termed arbitrary.

And the first time Donald Woods sees Steve Biko the latter is shown as a shadowy figure behind a tree with the sun reflected in a window behind him, giving the effect of a nimbus.

These little tricks are legitimate weapons in the arsenal of a dedicated polemicist/propagandist and should not be condemned, least of all by those whose own attempts at selective, biased reporting have deprived them of the right to moral posturing. And if South Africans are more aware of the way truth can be distorted by emphasis, omission or emotive imagery, it can be only from the thorough training received nightly.

Clearly, *Cry Freedom* was intended as provocative hagiography, not critical biography or even balanced history, yet Attenborough has gone to extraordinary lengths to ensure an authenticity that would impress South Africans whom, he vowed, would never see the film. Thus, for instance, such small details as the public address system at Jan Smuts are nearly perfect, while all the depicted events, right down to the response from the floor to Minister of Justice Kruger's "dit laat my koud", really happened, albeit not quite in the order presented.

Attenborough's penchant for dramatizing for effect, refusing to allow unwelcome facts to inhibit a thesis and selecting only those events and deeds that suit his purpose, made even his *Gandhi* a lopsided iconography that ignored the Mahatma's flaws and errors of judgment.

Attenborough has since further refined the technique of glorification by selective omission that ignored, for example, the possibility that Gandhi's refusal to fight Hitler opened the way for the Muslims, who took a more pragmatic view, being granted their own separate state by the grateful British whose plan to partition India so displeased the Mahatma.

Similarly, whatever his views might have been, Biko's every statement is a model of moderation and reasonableness, but the veracity of this view of his politics is beyond our uninformed judgment.

By coincidence, it was left to the security police, the officials for whom Attenborough has reserved his special contempt, to carry out reluctantly the unhappy task of seizing copies, closing offending cinemas and videotaping departing patrons.

Yet it is remotely possible that the entire incident could have been avoided. Once the board has imposed an age restriction — even in Britain parental guidance was a prerequisite for entry — Attenborough's condition that the film be left uncut and available to all was not met and, being a man of honour, he might well have said that because a substantial proportion of the population had been denied access, it would be withdrawn.

Having forestalled the benefits accruing internationally from an outright ban by passing the film last November when it went on worldwide release, the government has now not only played directly into Attenborough's hands but also confirmed the film's accusation of a highly placed duplicity that condones, if not encourages, thuggery.

The entire dispiriting and depressing affair can be summed up by a quote applicable to all its aspects, from even before Biko was arrested to when government cried "Eikonagraphy": When a soldier is court-martialled for desertion "to encourage the others" in "king and country", a supercilious officer (James Villiers) declares that, everything considered, "it would be amateur to expect justice". — **PHILLIP ALTBEKER**

Police documents 'blocked'

By RONALD MORRIS
Supreme Court Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has again blocked access to documents detailing police orders regarding the use of force and crowd control measures in Crossroads and KTC in May and June 1986.

This follows a request by counsel for the Methodist Church and 21 families in a R200 000 damages action brought against the minister following the destruction of KTC by witdoek vigilantes in June 1986.

During the resumption yesterday of the cross-examination of Major-General Bert Wandrag, Chief Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr H P Viljoen SC said documents were requested from police which would not have required further cross-examination of the general. Instead Mr Vlok served two certificates on counsel for the KTC residents denying access to documents in the interest of state security.

This brings to six the number of certificates issued in terms of Section 66 of the Internal Security Act by both Mr Vlok and the Minister of Defence.

"It seems to us there has so far been a selective presentation of evidence. If the orders with regard to the manner in which the security police should function in an unrest situation are covered by the certificate, then the defendants cannot lead evidence that there was an application of minimum force. That would be selective.

"We have been prevented from seeing the security police reports and we have a policy where the defendants' counsel ignores the Section 66 impediment."

Counsel for the minister chose what they wanted to admit as evidence, Mr Viljoen said.

In affidavits accompanying the certificates, Mr Vlok said he had personally considered books, documents and registers and not only did they affect the safety of the state but would be "to the detriment of state security".

These documents were: Police orders relating to general or specific guidelines or measures about the use of force and crowd control, and specific written instructions or orders by the police or specifically by General Wandrag.

Mr Vlok also blocked access to a document dated 11 December 1985 detailing radio procedures regarding the use of police radio networks; the minutes of the weekly general staff meetings containing references to events at Crossroads/KTC during May and June 1986, and documents and files in possession of the security police regarding events at Crossroads/KTC in May 1986.

The minister further banned access to all training manuals and documents regarding the training of the police in riot and crowd control and counter-insurgency.

With the second certificate, Mr Vlok blocked information regarding the names and models of radios used by police in the past and present; their capacities; an exposition of the police units and divisions equipped with the radios, and the number issued in every instance.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr Viljoen, with Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar, and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the residents. Mr G D Griessel SC, with Mr L Visser SC, with Mr C Y Louw and Mr F D J Brand, and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.

Govt takes hard look at the ECC

Cape Times 5/8/88 (327)

GOVERNMENT action against the End Conscription Campaign could be discussed at cabinet level next week.

The announcement on Wednesday of the names of 143 objectors who have refused to do military service on political grounds has heightened speculation that the government will use the emergency regulations to effectively ban the organization's operations.

But the ECC has categorically denied having anything to do with the announcement.

Its national chairman, Mr Alistair Teeling-Smith, said yesterday: "The real problem is conscription, not the ECC."

He understood the decision to refuse to serve in the SADF was not organized by any group "and certainly not by ourselves".

"However some of us heard about it and decided to be part of it."

He said he was surprised to read that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, would no longer respond to representations from the ECC, seeing that he had agreed in June to meet with the organization.

General Malan accused the ECC of threatening the security of state and said his department would no longer deal with the organization.

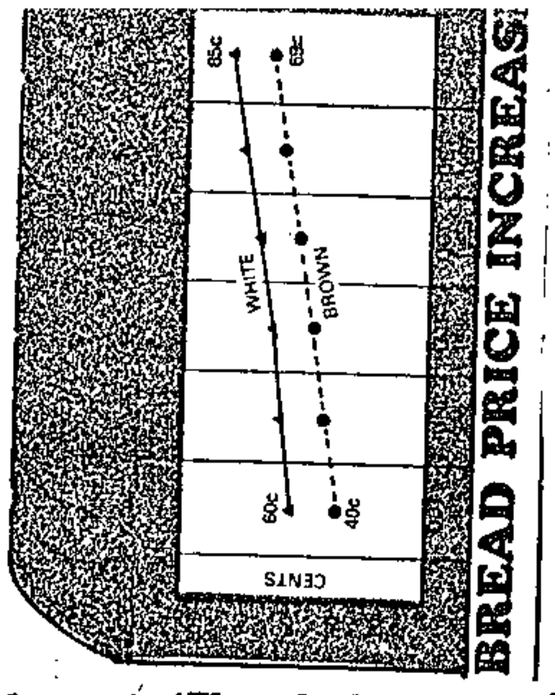
The fact that ECC activities were "receiving attention" was confirmed yesterday by spokesmen for the Department of Defence and the Department of Law and Order.

Neither would confirm that action would be taken, but a government spokesman said the matter was being looked into "at the highest level".

Yesterday it was suggested that if General Malan believed the ECC to be a threat to the state he could not let it go unchecked.

Bread price shock

Cape Times 5/8/89



SHOCK and despair followed the announcement yesterday of steep increases in the price of bread, with many feeding schemes saying the extra burden could cripple their operations.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, announced in Pretoria yesterday that the price of white bread would rise by 4c to 85c, and that of brown bread by 6c to 69c. The new prices represent increases of 4,9% and 9,5% respectively.

Mr Wentzel said the new prices would come into effect on Monday.

The Consumer Council, Housewives League and the Peninsula School Feeding Association have all reacted angrily to the increase, saying it would seriously affect poor people.

Meanwhile the Cape Town Medical Officer of Health, Dr M E Popkiss, said last night the increase would have a dramatic effect on the TB problem in the Cape Flats.

"There has been a 24% increase in TB for the first six months of this year and the bread increase can only make things worse," he said.

'Far below cost'

Mr Wentzel said yesterday the government subsidy for bread had been increased by R32 million, while the wheat industry had been given an additional R20-million subsidy.

If these subsidies had not been forthcoming, the price of white bread would have risen by 6c and that of brown bread by 11c, he said.

Mr Wentzel said the government had considered postponing the price rise until October, but because of increases in costs in the baking and milling industries it had been brought forward.

Bread was selling "far below cost", he said.

Mr Wentzel said the additional funds allowed white bread to be subsidized by 1,9c a loaf and brown bread by 10,7c.

He added that the cabinet had approved a phasing out of the bread subsidy over the next three financial years.

The honorary secretary of the Peninsula School Feeding Association, Mrs Paddy Policansky, described the price rise as "devastating", saying the move would lead to an increasing number of children who would have to be fed.

She said the rise in the price of brown bread would add R81 000 to the association's bread bill this year.

The PSFA feeds about 150 000 children from 378 schools every school day.

The director of the Consumer Council, Mr Jan Cronjé, said in Johannesburg yesterday the body could not condone the increase.

"Bread is an essential foodstuff and to many consumers this will come as a severe blow."

The president of the Housewives League, Mrs Lyn Morris, said in Pretoria that what concerned the organization was the increase most affected the needy.

Cape Times

August 6, 1988 3

Bop ban on Biko movie

MMABATHO. — Bophuthatswana has banned the film "Cry Freedom", Internal Affairs Secretary Mr I S Tire said yesterday.

Mr Tire's statement said cabinet ministers who had reviewed it yesterday feared the movie — based on the life and death of black consciousness leader Steve Biko — would spark hatred among black and white people in Bophuthatswana.

However, the controversial film would probably be shown on Namibian screns in due course, the Minister of Justice, Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi, said in Windhoek. — Sapa

Magnus, ECC at loggerheads over call-up

Star 6/8/88

PAT DEVEREAUX

THE issue of conscription was flung into the spotlight this week as Defence Minister Magnus Malan and the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) reacted to the action taken by 143 young men who had refused to serve in the SADF and had called on the Government to allow the option of alternative service.

Their stand came a week after conscientious objector David Bruce was jailed for six years.

Announcing earlier in the week that he had "broken off relations with the ECC", General Malan yesterday rejected the ECC's alternative-service proposals, formally presented at a meeting between the two.

ECC national secretary Mr Alistair Teeling-Smith said in response: "Instead of attacking our organisation publically, we believe it would be more constructive for Magnus Malan to debate his differences with the ECC.

"At the time of the meeting the ECC genuinely believed the SADF might consider a revised system of alternative service and that talks between us heralded a change in the SADF's approach to our organisation."

Addressing the opening of the Group 36 headquarters in Ladybrand, Free State, earlier yesterday, General Malan repeated threats that opposition to the task performed by the SADF was in conflict with the Constitution and would be countered effectively.

It was the second blistering attack on the ECC made by General Malan. On Wednesday he accused it of threatening State security and described it as "the vanguard of those forces that are intent on wrecking the present dispensation and its renewal".

Mr Teeling-Smith said his organisation was surprised at the sudden emotive and bitter attacks.

"The stand of the 143, taken completely independently of ECC, was an indication of the growing resistance to conscription and the demand for alternatives," he said.

Although the ECC is already restricted by the emergency regulations, speculation this week was that further Government action could be expected against the organisation.

● Dale Lautenbach reports from Cape Town that there was a sharp and heated exchange on the issue of military conscription between Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz and delegates to the party federal congress, which began yesterday.

The exchange took place during broad-ranging debate on a resolution calling for an end to conscription and the setting up of a professional defence force with a reserve force.

The resolution was carried by congress and it was also decided that while conscription existed, the individual's right to perform "productive" military service should be recognised.

Mr Schwarz opposed this resolution.

A number of PFP Youth members made passionate pleas for their party to support them in their fight for the right to do alternative service.

According to Sapa, about 350 Stellenbosch students this week indicated strong support for compulsory military service.

Weekly Mail copies seized in swoop

W/E ARGUS 6/8/89

by VERNON BRENT
Weekend Argus Reporter

THOUSANDS of copies of the Weekly Mail have been seized from street vendors and bookstalls in a nationwide swoop by police acting under the emergency regulations.

The editor of the Weekly Mail, Mr Irwin Manoim, said from Johannesburg today that copies had been confiscated in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town last night and this morning.

The paper's lawyers were informed by police they were acting under Section 9 of the media emergency regulations.

This allows police to seize the paper if they suspect it contains a subversive statement, Mr Manoim said.

However the paper had not been told which article(s) had fallen foul of the police, he said.

The weekly tabloid, well-known for its strong anti-apartheid stance, has already received several government warnings under the emergency regulations.

The circulationm of the Weekly Mail is about 30 000.

Mr Manoim said "relatively few" copies had been seized, as most had been sold or distributed by the time police acted.

A police spokesman, Major Jan Calitz, confirmed that police had confiscated "the latest edition of the Weekly Mail".

CAPE TIMES 8/8/88

327

Mail's application postponed

JOHANNESBURG. — An application to prevent police from seizing copies of this week's edition of Weekly Mail was postponed in the Rand Supreme Court at the weekend.

The application was made after police raided news stands and impounded copies of the Weekly Mail.

Police said "all copies" of the Weekly Mail on sale in Cape Town had been confiscated.

Hearing to continue

Staff at the newspaper's offices said most of the 32 000 copies had probably been sold before the police seizure.

Mr Justice M Fleming said the hearing would continue today at 8.30am to give the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, an opportunity to prepare his case.

The commissioner has not given reasons for the seizures in terms of Section 9 (1) of the emergency media regulations.

Mr Justice Fleming said on Saturday that though the seizure order stood, news vendors and outlets could continue to sell the newspapers.

It is believed there are still copies of the Weekly Mail available at some outlets, specially in country areas.

Counsel for the applicants, Mr Denis Kuny, SC, appealed to the judge for an interim interdict restraining police from seizing newspaper copies pending the application to General De Witt.

Mr Kuny said the Weekly Mail would suffer financially through loss of sales and had an obligation to its advertisers.

It was important, he said, that the application be dealt with as soon as possible as "the weekly's newsworthiness diminished as each day passed".

"The commissioner has had an opportunity to respond to the application, yet he has not done so," Mr Kuny said.

Meanwhile, prejudice was being suffered which should dictate to the judge why he should make a decision. "With every copy sold, potential prejudice diminishes," he added.

Statistics indicated that 50% of the weekly's sales were on Friday, and 40% during the rest of the weekend, Mr Kuny said.

Mr Justice Fleming said that what was regarded by the commissioner as a valid order could be completely undone if numerous sales took place yesterday.

The Weekly Mail has been warned by government twice in recent months that it faced a possible three-month suspension for violating censorship rules.

Lampooning cartoon

Articles in Friday's edition of the Weekly Mail included extensive coverage on the 143 who have publicly voiced their refusal to do military service, prison detainees on strike and a report of black municipal policemen fatally shooting a high school pupil in Soweto.

It carried a front-page cartoon lampooning the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, who on Wednesday warned opponents of conscription they are "anti-South African".

The tabloid was established in 1985. — Sapa and UPI

13-year-old boys already

Cape Times 8/8/88 327

MPETHA TURNS 79 ... Mr Oscar Mpetha, believed to be South Africa's oldest political prisoner, marked his 79th birthday under police guard in Groote Schuur Hospital on Saturday. His children, grandchildren and more than 100 friends celebrated the occasion at a party in Nyanga. One of Mr Mpetha's feet was amputated recently because of diabetes. He was jailed for five years in 1985 for inciting crowds during the 1980 unrest.

Picture: REUTER

'All by design' congress told

IT WAS by design that SADF troops were deployed in black townships only, while the state of emergency remained in force throughout the country, a speaker told the first congress of the National Council of Trade Unions at the weekend.

Addressing about 3 200 delegates and observers at the federation's two-day congress in Johannesburg, Mr Muntu Myeza said it was by design that "the last strike by whites was in 1922 while blacks went on strike every day."

Education

He added: "It was design that whites receive education while blacks receive black education; blacks live in locations while whites live in suburbs; whites settle while blacks squat."

Nactu president, Mr James Mndaweni, said Nactu had achieved its present membership growth "in spite of being left out of the 'unity talks' that resulted in the formation of the Congress of SA Trade Unions."

He said: "One of our guiding principles was uniting the exploited masses, leading them on in their struggle for freedom in the workplace and at home, mobilising them towards repossession of their occupied land."

327

Paper's plea is dismissed

JOHANNESBURG. — An urgent application by the Weekly Mail against the Commissioner of Police for the return of copies of the August 5 issue seized on Saturday in terms of the emergency regulations was dismissed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Flemming also dismissed with costs the Weekly Mail's application for an interdict stopping further seizure and an order declaring the minister's notice authorizing the seizure invalid.

The judge made his order and said he would furnish a full judgment reflecting his conclusions later.

He ruled that police acted within their broadly defined state-of-emergency powers on Saturday when they confiscated thousands of copies of the newspaper's August 5 edition.

Last Friday's edition featured a front-page article on 143 South African men who jointly announced that they would not perform the military service.

During a four-hour court hearing, lawyers for the state did not dispute the facts printed in the story. But they claimed the Weekly Mail story amounted to a "subversive statement" that would encourage other white males to evade military duty.

The Weekly Mail's lawyer, Mr Denis Kuny, noted that all major newspapers in South Africa, including pro-government dailies, reported the same story.

The Weekly Mail also extensively quoted Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan, who condemned the actions of the military objectors.

Judge upholds seizure of paper

A JUDGE yesterday upheld the right of police to seize newsstand copies of the *Weekly Mail*.

Johannesburg Supreme Court Judge H C Flemming, without explanation, ruled that police acted within their broadly defined state of emergency powers when they confiscated thousands of copies of the newspaper's August 5 edition.

Last Friday's edition featured a front-page story on 143 South African men who jointly announced that they would not perform military service.

During a four-hour court hearing, lawyers for the State did not dispute the facts printed in the story. But they claimed the *Weekly Mail* story amounted to a "subversive statement" that would encourage other white males to evade military duty.

The *Weekly Mail's* lawyer, Denis Kuny, noted that all major newspapers in South Africa, including pro-Government dailies, reported the same story.

The *Weekly Mail* also extensively quoted Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, who condemned the actions of the military objectors.

When police confiscated the newspaper they cited the emergency regulations, but gave no specific reasons.

Censorship rules imposed under the 26-month-old emergency ban or restrict reporting about unrest, security force actions, treatment of detainees, most forms of protest and a broad range of statements authorities consider subversive.

Government lawyers complained about several additional items that appeared in the newspaper's August 5 edition. The lawyers cited an unflattering cartoon of General Malan, a report of a municipal policeman fatally shooting a black high school pupil in Soweto, and a quote made in 1915 by a South African general who criticised the lack of civil liberties in the country.

The lawyers argued that the quote by General Barry Hertzog, one of the country's most famous military figures, was taken out of context.

Monday's court ruling applied only to last Friday's edition of the *Weekly Mail*. The paper will publish again this Friday, said editor Mr Anton Harber. — Sapa-AP.

Order to seize Friday's edition invalid, claims Weekly Mail

Judge dismisses urgent application by newspaper

By Cathy Stagg

Mr Justice H C J Flemming yesterday dismissed the urgent application brought by W M Publications (Pty) Ltd against the commissioner of the South African Police.

The judge said he would not give his reasons at this stage and ordered the applicants, the owners of the *Weekly Mail* newspaper, to pay the costs.

According to papers before the court, a co-editor of the newspaper, Mr Anton Harber, had received telephone calls from journalists on Saturday morning, asking for his comment on the commissioner's decision to seize the editions of the newspaper, published the previous day (Friday, August 5).

Mr Harber said he was unaware of the decision. He went to W M Publications' premises and found no notification had been received of the action taken against the newspaper.

In response to a telex sent by the newspaper's legal advisors, the commissioner advised that he had acted in terms of the media emergency regulations.

A further telex was sent asking for more information but no reply was received.

The urgent application was launched over the weekend and postponed by the judge so that the commissioner could reply to the founding affidavit.

The application continued yesterday morning.

Mr Denis Kuny SC, who appeared for the *Weekly Mail*, submitted that the order issued by the commissioner should have contained the grounds and, because it did not, it was invalid.

He said it was not good enough for the commissioner to act after the event: to issue the order on Saturday, then take his time going through the newspaper with a fine toothcomb to list his reasons.

For the order to be valid, it should have contained the grounds when it was issued, Mr Kuny said.

He also submitted there was no room for the judge to substitute his discretion for that of the Minister and to decide whether the newspaper did or did not contravene the emergency regulations.

Mr J Swart SC, who appeared for the Minister, submitted that the interpretation of the portion of the emergency regulations which deals with a "subversive statement" did not mean only one statement or statements in the narrow sense of the word.

He compared a subversive statement with a defamatory statement which could mean an inference or innuendo. He submitted that a cartoon and reports published in the *Weekly Mail* amounted to a subversive statement because they conveyed information which undermined the system of military conscription.

Mr Swart quoted at length from the articles published by the *Weekly Mail*.

He said a public challenge had been issued by a large group, 143 people, whose names and occupations were listed.

He said the mention that some of them came from prominent Afrikaans families was no doubt included because the police and other similar institutions enjoyed large support from Afrikaans speakers.

"The emphasis is on the osten sible responsibility of the objectors. They describe themselves as loyal South Africans.

"The challenge is not on medical or religious grounds. The relevance of this point is that in terms of the Defence Act these are the grounds on which people can be excused.

"At least by implication, the statement is 'whatever the Act requires, we refuse'," Mr Swart said.

During the debate, Mr Justice Flemming asked how the article overstepped the mark and said it was not doing so if it used the tools of propaganda by saying Afrikaans people supported the idea.

Mr Swart replied this could not be approached as if it was a matter of free speech in ordinary times when the ordinary law of the land could be expected to cope.

"It boils down to the fact the newspaper is telling its readers, with obvious approval, that 143 loyal and responsible people have decided to take a public stand, not merely advocating change, but saying they will not serve in the SADF or do compulsory military training.

"They not only present argument or debate as to why not but, at least partly, rely on a number of gruesome details in terms of which the SADF is the aggressor, the murderer and the criminal, apart from being used as a political instrument of the ruling party," Mr Swart said.

The judge said only two out of the 143 quoted these gruesome details and he was sure the critical reader would see that these two did not seem to draw a distinction between what was approved of by the SADF and what was not.

Mr Swart also objected to an advertisement in the *Weekly Mail* because it was ostensibly a broad, unqualified approval of what the 143 had said.

In reply, Mr Kuny said the aim of the emergency regulations was to prevent the media from "ferreting out" information about police action in unrest situations. However, once there had been an official report by the authorities on an unrest incident, the media was enabled to report and comment on it.

He submitted that the six portions of articles in the *Weekly Mail* did not constitute a statement.

"In other words what is being objected to is a conclusion rather than a statement. It is a conclusion which the commissioner chooses to read into it," he said.

After the judge had dismissed the application, the newspaper's legal adviser said they would await the judge's reasons before taking a decision on whether or not to appeal.

Star

'Censors silence church service'

10/8/85

327

By Carina le Grange, Religion Reporter

The South African Broadcasting Corporation has been accused of censoring a Methodist radio service which was due to be broadcast on Sunday.

Dr Peter Storey of the Central Methodist Church said in a statement yesterday that his pre-recorded radio church service was cancelled because of a "threat by the SABC to censor part of the service".

Dr Storey said in his statement that he was told by the SABC after his previous radio broadcast in June that if the "lighting of the Candle of Peace and Justice was included in his next worship, it would be cut".

The Candle for Peace and Justice is lit at each of the Central Methodist Church's services with prayers for those suffering because of oppression and violence in South Africa, Dr Storey said.

The SABC's acting director-general, Mr Wynand Harmse, said that "on request of Dr Peter Storey no recording was done from any Methodist church for the coming Sunday because of points under discussion in the Advisory Committee on August 11."

Dr Storey said that at a meeting between him and the Rev Austen Massey with the SABC's Religious Directorate, it became clear it was not the directorate who had decided to censor the service, but that the decision had been taken by the SABC's acting director-general.

"They were the messengers. But we were being asked to submit to a political censorship of a service of worship. No Methodist Church could be part of that," Dr Storey said.

The section to which objections were raised said in part: "On our altar stands a candle which is surrounded by a coil of barbed wire. The barbed wire symbolises the hurt and oppression in our land."

Survey says whites have been lulled

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The emergency and media restrictions have apparently exercised an influence on white political thinking, especially on security issues, an SA Institute of International Affairs survey has found.

"There are indications many whites have become complacent and lulled into believing that normality has returned to black townships," it said.

The survey found the number of respondents who believed a Namibia-type guerilla war in SA was not likely had increased, as had the number who believed the SADF and police could keep the lid on internal unrest indefinitely.

While more than 50% of respondents believed a Namibia-type war would develop in SA, the percentage was significantly lower than the 1986 figure. The survey also found an increasing belief in the SADF's ability to win a war in Namibia against Swapo.

The institute noted the survey was made before recent military developments in Angola at Cuita Cuanavale and said survey results on this point could be different now.

The number of respondents who believed the cost of defence was high had steadily increased since 1982.

Other findings included that PFP supporters remained the most likely to believe government was exaggerating the communist threat and CP supporters the least likely.

On the whole, however, it said the Reds-are-coming approach had remained government's most effective strategy to legitimise the use of coercive state power.

The survey found there was a growing mistrust of Mozambique and Zimbabwe among whites.

Black group to 'confront' PW

Own Correspondent

SUN CITY. — Black business has directed Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane to select and lead a group of eminent people to confront President P W Botha immediately on the release of political prisoners.

Accepting this conference resolution at Sun City yesterday, Mr Motsuenyane said the mission would make it clear it could not negotiate a constitutional future for South Africa with Mr Botha until political prisoners were freed.

"We will make it clear that talks on the future can only begin when the leaders are free," he said.

(327) Star 11/8/88

Minister is 'satisfied people's activities endanger State'

List of restricted people

The following people have been placed on the consolidated list on the grounds that the Minister of Justice is satisfied that their activities endanger the security of the South African State and the maintenance of law and order or that they advocate or defend the objects of communism.

Adelman, Samuel Elias; Aimsley, Jennifer Rosalynde, alias Roselynde de Lanciole; Baker, Julias; Beck, Godfrey Kenneth, alias Ottie Beck, alias Berg; Bell, Terrrence Albert; Botha, Tozamile; Brown, Brian Joseph; Brutus, Dennis Vincent; Cole, Ernest, alias Kole, alias Levi; Desai, Barney, alias Rissik Hiribai; Gaetsewe, John Taelo; Goldberg, Esme; Goldreich, Arthur Joseph; Gqiba, Samuel Fumanekile; Hani, Martin Tembisile, also known as Chris Hani and Chris Nskosana; Hepple, Bob Alexander; Jordan, Pallo Kbunyeli; Khanyeli, Sefofane Samuel also known as Murdock Ngwanya and Solly Smith; Kotze,Theodore; Kunene, Raymond Fakaza, alias Mazizi James Desiree; Lethalo, Thomas Tou, alias Tom Sebina; Madiba, Moses, alias Mbeki; Mahomo, Nelson Hama, alias Ken Hamilton; Makhatini, Johnstone Fanafuti, alias Johnstone Fanafuti; Makoti, Edwin, alias Letsolo, alias Tom Tsekie; Mamabolo, Jerry Nyamane, also known as Kingsley Xuma; Masekela, Barbara; Maphumulo, Msizeni; Matshikiza, Todd Tozama; Mbeki, Thabo; Mhlambiso, Thamsanqa Winnard, alias Chummy; Mlambo, Johnson Phillip; Moche, Victor Geoffrey Mashigo; Modisane, William, alias Bloke; Modise, Johannes, alias Skmile Snodise; Molete, Zachius Bolthoka, alias Zedbee; Molife, Joseph Saliah, alias Joe Thito, alias H Mackintosh,alias Sally, alias Poonyane; Moposho, Florence Gladys, alias Flora Mphosho; Moroe, Kgophu Isaac; Motsoeane, Ruth, alias Matsoeane; Msimang, Meinrad Themba Bony, alias Mandy, alias Msimanga; Nkobi, Thomas Titus, alias Nkobo; Nkosi, Lewis Phenduke, alias Louis; Nokwe, Philemon Pearce Duma; Nyaose, Jacob Dumdum, alias Ready Jacobs; Nzo, Bathetuxolo Alfred; Petersen, Count Percy; Pieterse, Cosmo George Leopold; Piliso, Mzwandile, alias MacPherson, alias Langweni, alias Mzwai; Pityana, Nyameko Barney; Pityana, Sipho Mila; Resha, Robert, alias Robbie, alias Res, alias Mabiwane; Seedat, Yusuf Mohamed Moosa, alias Tony; Segal, Ronald Michael; Shope, Marks William; Shope, Ntiti Gertrude, also known as Nancy; Stein, Isaiah; Tabata, Isaac Bangani; Tambo, Oliver R; Temba, Daniel Canadoce, alias Temba Dan Can, alias Themba-Dorsay-Can, alias Mvelase; Tshabalala, Adie Josias also known as Sipho Dlamini; Tshenkeng, Pule Isaac; Tshweta, Vukile Stephen, also known as Steve Tshwete; Tsotsi, Wycliffe Mlungisi; Woods, Donald James.

Persons who have been convicted of offences referred to in section 16(1)(b) of the Internal Security Act. These offences include treason, terrorism, sedition and furthering the ends of communism.

Apelgren, Greta Margaret; Bakardien, Baderaan Ismail; Banda, Vronda Zeblon; Bhoya, Herbert; Binda, Sipho Zachius; Bogatsu, Clement; Buthelezi, Norbert Sifiso; Carelse, Andries; Charles, Joseph; Chirwa, Aleck; Cikozani, Mzwakhe Hespro; Curtis, Kevin Lionel; Dhlomo, Sibongiseni Maxwell; Dinca, Siphiwo Wellington; Diniso, Oupa Moses; Ditsebe, Peter Parks Tebogo; Dladla, Mandlenkosi; Dlamini, Zenzele Terence; Dlodlo, Mswazi Victor; Dlomo, Mapiki Aaron; Douries, Jan; Dubasi, James Mncedise Hamilton; Duma, Thamsanqa Forcus; Dumisa, Robert Mfundisi; Du Preez, Antonio Arturo; Esau, Cecil; Faku, Nceba Christopher; Francis, Jude; Gaba, Seth Mpumulelo; Gebashe, Mxolisi Bright; Gerhardt, Dieter Felix; Gerhardt, Ruth; Gqamana, Michael Masana; Gqubule, Duma; Gumenge, Wellington Vukile; Gusha, Andile Wilfred; Gxavu, Ronnie; Hans, Mbuyiselo Samuel; Hart, Maxine Sandra; Hendricks, Titus; Hewukile, Andile; Hina, Sipho Fielden; Hlongwane, Dawid; Hogan, Barbara Anne; Hoko, Madoda Elvis; Jacobs, Clyde; Jacobsz, Hendrik Gerhardus; James, Vincent Churchill; Joyi, Milton Bandile; July, Elby; Kekane, Mathews Dime; Khame, Mzayifani William; Khame, Mzimkulu Temi; Khan, Farieda; Khetye, Mlandeli Morris; Khumalo, Duma Josua; King, Headley Moses; Leepile, Joseph Boltomelo; Lentswane, Abraham; Lesia, Moeketsi Israel; Libazi, Khaya Carmichael; Lourens, Johanna; Maake, Christopher Juventus Maponya; Mabaso, Isaac Thulane; Mabena, Sipho Wilfred; Mabengeza, Gladwin Mthethehihi; Macanda, Norman Siseko; Macozoma, Reed Zwelethu; Madonsela, Nhlanhla Jeffrey; Magwaza, Nkosinathi Edgar;Magxwalisa, Lungile Wiseman; Mahlangu, Johannes; Mahlobo, Sithabiso Edgar; Mahlobo, Vusumuzi Wesley; Mahope, Samuel; Maja, Joseph Themba; Majola, Malusi Israel; Makape, Solomon Moloi; Makhathini, Siphiwe Wilfred; Makhubo, Jabulani Bartholomeu; Makomoreng, Eric Tsietsie; Maku, Needile Godfrey; Makwela, Rejoice Itumeleng; Malamba, Guy; Manthatha, George Tladi; Mapela, Zane Mvula; Maphumulo, Lucky Welcome; Maphumulo, Sipho Nhlanhla; Mapumulo, Wilfred Mhlawumbe; Maqbutyana, Mboniswa de Villiers Richard; Maqubela, Patrick Ntobeko; Marais, Stephen Johannes; Marrand, Thembinkosi Wellington; Martins, Benedict Anthony Duke; Marupeng, James Edward; Maseko, James; Mashego, Jacob; Maserumule, Frans Tlokwe; Masuko, Sibusiso Sehele; Matakata, Michael Mkhuseli; Matiwana, Josef Kwanele; Matosa, Petros Zanemvula; Matshikiza, Patrick Sizwe; Maxase, Mhlabuthini Dennis; Mayite, Zandisile Bethwell; Mazibuko, Patrick Vos; Mbatha, Michael Ntando; Mbelekana, Lindile Patrick; McBride, Robert John; Mciteka, Mncedisi Stuart; Mdlalana, Wiseman Ndodomzi; Mhlanzi, Fika Norman; Mhlophe, Mzingaye Richmond; Michels, Quentin Deon; Mkefa, Lumkile Happy; Mkhize, Moses Jabulani; Mkhulhwa, Joseph Susele; Mkhwamubi, Khahla Daniel; Mkhwamubi, Musk Gayinkani; Mogale, Patrick Elphus; Mogoerane, Thelle Simon; Mokgabudi, Matshwenyego Daniel; Mokgesi, Francis Don; Mokgosi, Benjamin; Mokoena, Reid Malebo; Mokoena, Suzman Nkopane; Mokone, Andrew; Mokope, Motsiri, Gideon; Mokubeng, Motseki Christiaan; Molotsi, Alpheus Zacharia; Morake, Phillemon Modisagareko; Morule, Kasinyane France; Mosololi, Jerry Semano; Motaung, Buti Isaac; Motaung, Daniel Sello; Motaung, Marcus Thabo; Motaung, Vuyani Knowledge; Motha, Desmond Mzimkhulu; Motimele, Malose Stanley; Motsa, Minden Makgene; Motse, Sello Abel; Mphela, Andrew; Mmaphiri Tshegofatso; Mshengu, Philelani Petros Nkosinathi; Msibi, Bhekiyise Paulos; Msikinya, Leslie; Msomi, Frederick Sipho Themba; Msomi, Ordway Qonda; Mthombeni, Enoch Bibi Vusi; Mullins, Claude Elias; Mutheiwana, Azwindini Calvin; Mvubu, Boy Douglas; Myamya, Mthetho Douglas; Myeni, Dumezweli; Myeni, Samuel Vulindlela; Mzukwa, Thembinkosi Theophilus; Naidoo, Derek; Ncivata, Anderson Zingisele; Ndlanzi, Sibusiso Robert; Nduna, Meriman Mordecai Xolani; Newman, Peter William; Ngcobo, Thembinkosi Paulson; Ngidi, Justice Mafa; Ngobeni, Edward Masuku; Ngobese, Marines Jabu; Ngoma, Joseph Malusi; Ngqondela, James; Ngqungwana, Lizo Bright; Nguqu, Bafo Bawana; Ngwenya, Sibusiso Peter Paul; Nhlapo, Ace Abraham; Niehaus, Carl Gerhardus; Nkabinde, Bonise Raymond; Nkosi, Edmund Sipho; Nkosi, Thembinkosi Patrick; Nodlawu, Sipho; Nojoko, Zamuxolo; Nomeva, Lungile; Ntabeni, Cyril Moyisi; Ntshontsho, Sidindi Sydney; Ntsoa, Elias Keathatso; Nxumalo, Gayo Jabulani Walter; Nyawo, Vusumuzi Zeblon; Nzo, Rufus Nato; Patel, Vijaydave Naran Rama; Pelser, Eric William; Petane, Mxolisi Edward; Phantsie, Thembile John; Pharedi, Jerry Matong; Phashe, Steven Mandla; Pindani, Sekelezile; Qaku, Ntsikelelo; Qumza, Mthunzi Bereng; Rabuli, Tshifango Cedrick; Radebe, Jabulani Alfred; Radebe, Jeffry Thamsanqua; Radebe, Rufus; Ramashamola, Theresa; Ramlakan, Vejaynand Indurjith; Ranoto, Frans Madumeetsa; Sebotsa, Patrick Bobby; Sefatsa, Mojalefa Reginald; Shezi, Nthokozisi Nobleman; Shongwe, Frank Sipho; Shope, Regan Ntombi; Sindane, Vusumuzi Lourence; Sisulu, Jongumzi; Sithebe, Nkosinathi Moses; Sithole, Mtunzi Thabani Basil; Sizani, Gerald Sandile; Skweyiya, Khaya; Sokutu, Sakiwo Christopher; Sons, Progress; Sotyelelo, Japan; Sparg, Marion Monica; Spelman, Simon Skelo; Syster, Pieter; Talakumeni, Ntozelizwe Thomas; Thabane, Frank; Tsamane, Khehla Enoch; Tsbabane, Collins Ohm; Tshika, Thuso; Tshikila, Xolisile; Tshiwula, Vukile; Tshoba, Jan; Tungwana, Denmark; Twala, Deliza Lucky Kenneth; Twala, Harold Nkanyezi; Tyutyu, Douglas Mnyisile; Van der Westhuizen, John; Veldtman, Sazi Livingston; Viljoen, Jacob Daniel; Webster, Gordon Christopher; Williams, David Charles; Williams, Mnikeli Seblo; Williams, Rocklyn Mark; Xhayiya, Sivyile Mac-Millan; Xintolo, Andile; Zama, Christopher; Zulu, Cornelius Mzamo; Zwane, Theodore Vusimuzi.

Persons who have been detained in terms of section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Calata, Fort Daniel; Dube, Abel Sgubhu; Goniwe, Matewu Matthew; Goniwe, Mbulelo Terence; Jacobs, Madoda Fezile; Mtobela, David; Tatsa, Mordecai Mothibi.

Persons whose names were entered on earlier lists made in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the Internal Security Act of 1976 and were still on such lists at the time the present legislation was passed in 1982.

Arenstein, Jacqueline; Arenstein, Rowley Israel; Barenblatt, Yettah (nee Melamed); Barnett, Jack Judah; Barsel, Esther (nee Levin); Berman, Montague David; Berman, Myrtle alias Myrtle Canin; Bernstein, Hilda Lilian, alias Hilda Watts, alias Hilda Schwartz; Bernstein, Lionel, alias Rusty; Bernstein (Strasburg), Toni; Bopape, David W; Brooks, Alan Keith; Brown, Babette (nee Kotkin); Brown, Emanuel; Bujela, Richard Herbert; Bunting, Brian Percy; Bunting, Sonia Beryl; Carneson, Fred; Carneson, Sarah; Chele, Abner; Dadoo, Yusuf Mohammed; Dhlamini, Stephen alias Joseph; Dick, Nancy Graham; Dingake, Kitso Michael; Doyle, Molly Irene (nee Anderson); Duncan, Florence Lucella; Du Toit, Elizabeth Sophia alias Betty; Fineberg, Anne (nee Nicholson); Fischer, Abram alias Bram; Fischer, Ilse; Francis, Joseph Michael alias Mickey; Gangat, Ismail Essack; Gounden, Swaminathan Karuppa; Govinder, Soobramoney alias Jack Govinder; Gwala, T H; Hall, Eve Diane Elize (nee Steinhardt); Hall, Martin Anthony; Harmel, Ray alias Ray Adler; Hepple, Bob Alexander; Heymann, Anne; Heymann, Isaac alias Isif; Hodgson, Percy John alias Jack; Hodgson, Rica; Huna, Bernard Mandla; Joseph, Helen Beatrice May; Joseph, Paul,and Joseph Paul Moonsamy and John Verasammy; Kathrada, Ahmed M; Khan, Sam; Kodesh, Wolf; Kotane, Moses; Kunene, Andries alias Andrew; La Guma, Blanche; La Guma, Justin Alexander; Lee-Warden, Leonard Bert; Levy, Norman; Lewitton, Isaac, alias Archie, alias H Oberholzer; Madide, Aaron; Mahlangu, Alfred; Malele, Elman; Malindi, Zollie; Manzi, John Dube; Marks, John Joseph, alias JB Marks; Maseko, Isaiah, alias MacDonald; Matthews, John Edward; Matthews, Vincent Joseph, alias Joseph Gaobakwe, alias Joe; Mbeki, Govan Archibald; Meer, Ismail Chota, alias Ismail Cassim Meer; Mhlaba, Raymond; Mofutsanyana, Edwin Thabo; Motshabi, John; Motsoaledi, Elias; Mtshali, Eric; Naicker, Marimuthu Pragalathan; Naidoo, Mithrasagran, alias Murthie, alias Marthie; Naidoo,Mooroogiah Dhanabathy; Naidoo, Ramsamy Doorsamy;Nannan, Suriaparkash, alias Billy; Ndhlovu, Cleopas Nelayibone; Ndlovu, Muzuvukile Curnick; Neame, Sylvia Brereton; Ntunja, Nonjolo and Samson; Percy, Narain Kassi, alias Cassim Allie also known asKassiemalli Neerputh; Phelane, Morchen, alias Morgan Phetlani; Poonen, Gengan; Poonen, Vera (nee Alberts); Sachs, Albert Louis; Schlachter, Rose (nee Behr); Schoon, Louis Marius; Seperepere, Hosea; September, Reginald; Shapiro, Naomi (now Barnett); Sibeko, Archibald Mcedisi; Simons, Harold Jack; Simons, Rachel, alias Rachel Alexander, alias Ray Alexander; Singh, Debi; Slovo, Joseph, alias Joe; Slovo, Ruth (nee First); Strachan, Jean Clarice (nee Middleton); Tamana, Dora; Tloome, Daniel; Turok, Benjamin; Turok, Mary Elizabeth; Weinberg, Eli; Weinberg, Violet May; Wolpe, Harold Leonard;

CI FISHMANS

Tutu grafitti 'amusing', major tells court

AR643 12/8/88

Supreme Court Reporter

A MAJOR in the police unrest unit told the Supreme Court that he found grafitti smearing Archbishop Desmond Tutu "amusing".

Major Christiaan Loedolff, second-in-command of the unrest team operating in KTC when the area was burnt in June 1986, was giving evidence in the KTC damages trial where residents and the Methodist Church are claiming R200 000 from the Minister of Law and Order.

Major Loedolff was being cross-examined yesterday by Mr H P Viljoen SC about his disposition.

Mr Viljoen read an extract from Major Loedolff's pocket-book which read: "Tutu will break apartheid ... a kaffir will break anything".

Major Loedolff agreed that the entry was in his handwriting and said it had been copied off a wall in Elsies River.

"At that time, grafitti was written all over," he said.

"We would write it down and report it so that it could be erased."

He said he found the grafitti amusing.

"I still find it amusing today."

Asked whether police officers would use terms such as *"ek sal jou donner kaffir"*, Major Loedolff said it was a normal expression used by police officers.

"It is generally not used anymore," he said.

"Police officers are also people, you know."

'DISTURBING EVENT'

The major also gave evidence about a "disturbing" event which occured on May 21.

A group of witdoeke had assaulted a comrade whom they alleged had wanted to shoot them.

The police arrived and managed to rescue the man from the witdoeke.

"The man was already seriously injured when the police arrived," Major Loedolff said.

"The witdoeke were in a difficult mood and we had to force them to hand the man over to us."

Major Loedolff said the police had had to stick their heads out of their Casspir and point firearms at the crowd before the witdoeke agreed to hand over the comrade.

The injured man was taken to the Manenberg police station and later to hospital where he was treated.

Asked why none of the witdoeke had been arrested in connection with the assault, Major Loedolff replied that the police did not know who was responsible for the assault.

(Proceeding).

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 278 PRETORIA, 12 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1988 No. 11470

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1668 **12 Augustus 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Ernest Stephen SCHNETLER, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Witwatersrand, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

E. S. SCHNETLER,
Afdelingskommissaris: Witwatersrand.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied" in die landdrosdistrik van Randburg die gebied bekend as Alexandra, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewings 9 van 24 Januarie 1964, 64 van 22 Maart 1968, 1616 van 17 September 1971, 1830 van 8 Oktober 1971 en 1656 van 15 Augustus 1980;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Witwatersrand;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Tsakane Patrick BALOYI;

"seremoniële byeenkoms" met betrekking tot die teraardebestelling van Tsakane Patrick BALOYI, enige byeenkoms wat met die teraardebestelling gepaard gaan, met inbegrip van enige roudiens, gedenkdiens of ander diens wat gehou word in verband met die teraardebestelling, en ook 'n begrafnisstoet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1668 **12 August 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Ernest Stephen SCHNETLER, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Witwatersrand Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

E. S. SCHNETLER,
Divisional Commissioner: Witwatersrand.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Tsakane Patrick BALOYI, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

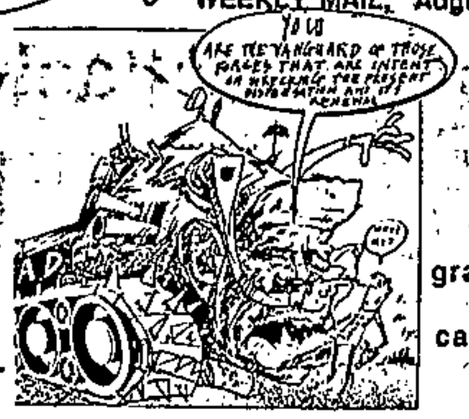
"designated area" means in the Magisterial District of Randburg, the area known as Alexandra, as demarcated and described in Government Notices 9 of 24 January 1964, 64 of 22 March 1968, 1616 of 17 September 1971, 1830 of 8 October 1971 and 1656 of 15 August 1980;

"Divisional Commissioner" means the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Witwatersrand Division;

"funeral" means a gathering held at the grave of Tsakane Patrick BALOYI.

Why your Weekly Mail disappeared from the shelves

Police seized copies of last week's Weekly Mail. Thirty hours passed before reasons were given



The graphic that caused the fuss

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE drama began last Friday with a few brief words from the commissioner of police:

"Under the powers invested in me by Regulation 9(1) of the Media Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Hendrik Gideon de Witt, Commissioner of the SAP, hereby order the seizure of the publication, 'The Weekly Mail', Vol 4, No 30 (Friday August 5 to Thursday August 11, 1988)."

It ended three days later with an equally terse statement from Mr Justice HCJ Flemming. "The application is dismissed with costs, including the costs of two counsel," he said.

The messages may have been brief, but they were laden with significance for the South African press.

The judge had upheld the right of the commissioner to order the seizure of last week's edition of *Weekly Mail* and dismissed an urgent application by the paper for the action to be declared unlawful.

He will write a full judgement at a later stage. The reasons he advances in that document are likely to define the parameters of what can be written in two important areas:

- Security force action. One of the reasons given for the seizure of the newspaper was a page two report of a shooting incident in Soweto in which a student was killed.

Police contended that the incident fell within the definition of "security force action to quell unrest", ruled out of bounds by Emergency regulations.

Weekly Mail contended that because police had dealt with the matter in their daily "unrest report", it was not restricted information. News and comment on the incident was permissible because police had acknowledged it, the paper's lawyers argued.

- The system of compulsory military service.

Media regulations make it illegal to "undermine or discredit the system of compulsory military service". The commissioner of police gave as one reason for the seizure the combined effect of a cartoon and quote on page one of the newspaper, coverage (on page two and three) of the decision by 143 men to object to military service, and an advert placed by War Resisters International (on page 22).

He argued that taken together, these undermined the system of conscription.

J Swart SC, appearing for the commissioner, said the issue "boiled down to the fact that the newspaper is tellings its readers, with obvious approval, that 143 loyal and responsible people have decided to take a public stand, not merely advocating change, but saying they will not serve in the SADF or do compulsory military training.

"They not only present argument as to why not, but rely on a number of gruesome details in terms of which the SADF is the aggressor, the murderer and the criminal, apart from being used as a political instrument of the ruling party," he said.

He objected to the advertisement on the grounds that it gave broad approval to the 143.

Dennis Kuny SC, appearing for *Weekly Mail*, argued there was nothing illegal about criticising conscription or calling for alternatives to it; this did not consitute an undermining of the system. This had been established over time by organisations operating legitimately and legally, such as the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

He said the *Weekly Mail* was carefully scrutinised by lawyers before it went to press and they believed the paper had not transgressed the Emergency regulations.

Kuny also argued that the commissioner was obliged to supply full reasons when issuing his original seizure order.

It was not good enough for the commissioner to act on Friday and then take his time going through the newspaper with a fine-toothed comb to list his reasons.

It had taken *Weekly Mail* almost 48 hours to obtain the commissioner's reasons for the seizure. Attorneys acting for the newspaper had telexed police headquarters early on Saturday to ask for these reasons; when they had not been received by the evening, they went to the supreme court on Saturday night.

Counsel for the commissioner had not yet taken instructions and the matter was postponed to Monday morning.

Justice Flemming declined to give an interim order — stopping the seizures pending the outcome of the application — on Saturday.

The reasons were finally given to the newspaper's attorneys after 6pm on Sunday — and their validity was argued (unsuccessfully) on Monday morning in the Rand Supreme Court. Denis Kuny SC, assisted by Frans Rautenbach, and instructed by Bell, Dewar and Hall, appeared for *Weekly Mail*.

J Swart SC appeared for the commissioner.

Weekly Mail's legal representatives said afterwards they would decide whether to lodge an appeal after the full written judgement was delivered.

Namibia university lecturers join students in a lunchtime protest against the South African Defence Force

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG, Afrapix

As freedom looms, Namibia simmers

While other countries are deciding whether Namibia will achieve independence, there is political turmoil within the territory itself.

By VICTORIA BRITTAIN

AT a time when Namibia's prospects of achieving independence appear better than at any time in the last eight years, the territory is in ferment.

There has been an upsurge in fighting and strikes; meetings between white politicians and the exiled South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) leadership; and flights out of the country by both blacks and whites.

According to Ben Ulenga, general secretary of the Namibian Mineworkers' Union, "three or four years of simmering discontent against the South African military presence has simply boiled over."

The trade unions and newly-created

head. Ulenga was sentenced to 15 years in jail and served nine on Robben Island before being released early in 1985.

His release, like that in 1983 of Swapo general secretary Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, was part of the last United States-brokered attempt towards a settlement of the Namibian problem.

The impact of the group from Rob-

the northern war zone.

In another unprecedented development, 24 Namibian whites, many of them West German or South African passport holders, met Swapo leaders in Stockholm for three days of talks, also in June.

The Stockholm meeting, hosted and funded by the Swedish government, was not the first this year between the exiled Swapo leadership and members of Namibia's 70 000-strong white community. But for many of the 24 at the meeting it was a dramatic encounter. "It blew my mind", said one, previously a supporter of the the South African-backed Transitional Government.

The first day's agenda stuck on the

... There is no way they are likely to go back into those schools without the bases being removed."

This political pressure on some of the northern bases coincides with an eight-month-old military campaign by Swapo which has allegedly destroyed or damaged at least six bases.

Most Namibian leaders both inside and outside the country remain extremely sceptical that South Africa is poised to grant them independence — but with the increased momentum of the peace process after the announcement of a ceasefire, there is a cautious optimism that the changes which have taken place are unlikely to be reversed. — The Guardian, London

(327)

'Six' join silenced

SOUTH Africa's condemned "Sharpeville Six"; several black guerilla leaders; a dead communist lawyer; and a white woman jailed for treason are among 417 people named in a new list of banned people.

The list, published by the Justice Ministry in Pretoria this week, names people who may not be quoted by the South African media.

Jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela and his Chief Lieutenant, Walter Sisulu, are not on the list but lawyers said they were restricted by prison regulations.

Chris Hani, the new ANC commander and senior colleagues Steve Tshwete and Victor Moche were listed for the first time.

Other leaders of the outlawed guerilla movement, including President Oliver Tambo and spokesmen Tom Sebina and Thabo Mbeki, have been banned for some time and remain on the list.

Also included are the so-called "Sharpeville Six", five men and a woman condemned to death for their part in the 1984 murder of a black township councillor.

Women

Among the banned dead people are Bram Fischer, a lawyer who helped to defend Mandela and was once a leader of the outlawed Communist Party, and Ruth First, a writer killed by a letter bomb sent to her home in Mozambique.

Prisoners banned because they are serving sentences for security-related crimes include white women dissidents Barbara Hogan and Marion Sparg.

South Africa's Justice Minister can ban at his own discretion anyone he considers a threat to State security or public safety or who he believes is an advocate of communism. — Sapa-Reuter.

Barnard TV film runs into trouble

(327)

13/8/88

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.— A video film made by Professor Chris Barnard, Shaka Zulu director Bill Faure and a Cape Town millionaire to promote political moderation has run into its first snag it is unlikely to be seen locally.

US citizen and co-financier of the film, Dr Robert Hall, said the film was shown to top Foreign Affairs officials who gave it the thumbs down.

"They have not ordered a single copy," he said.

The three well known figures are worried that their film will get them into trouble with at least three power groupings the African National Congress and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which are heavily criticised, and the Government because of the emergency regulations.

Almost an hour long, the film is highly critical of the ANC, shows several necklacings and indicates ANC approval of this method of executing "informers".

It also analyses speeches by ANC President Oliver Tambo, accusing him of lying and the ANC of hypocrisy for allegedly saying contradictory things to different audiences.

Also slammed for a "pro sanctions stand" are Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Alan Boesak.

Their central message is that the vast majority is in favour of moderate solutions to the country's problems and that these can be worked out if the international community stops sanctions pressure.

They are convinced that major overseas television networks will not screen the video and plan to distribute it through friends and contacts, mainly in the US.

They are trying to get the video cleared for viewing in South Africa but believe the emergency Press restricitions will prevent this.

Festival films in Alex 'can't threaten safety'

13/8/86 (327) Star

DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ORGANISERS of the *Weekly Mail* film festival "Cinema Under Seige" plan to go ahead with screenings scheduled at Alexandra Township despite alleged requests from the South African Police that they drop their programme.

In a statement last night organisers said they had been approached by the Security Branch asking that screenings at the Alexandra Art Centre be halted.

However, the festival committee has decided that it intends to go ahead as planned and to open the festival to an invited audience tomorrow evening.

"The committee believes it is operating entirely legally and that a festival of films can in no way endanger public safety or endanger the state of emergency," the spokesman said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria last night said he was not able to comment.

The film "World Apart" by Shawn Slovo and Chris Meneges, scheduled for the opening night, was yesterday turned down by the Publications Appeal Board and will be replaced with Robben Island, Our University, by Lindy Wilson, Freedom Square and Back of the Moon.

The two-week festival, the second run by the *Weekly Mail*, opens on Monday at the Alexandra Art Centre and the Market Theatre in Johannesburg.

It will feature locally made and foreign films, many of which have not been screened in the country before.

In keeping with the theme "Cinema Under Seige", films which have had censorial and distribution problems have been chosen.

A contentious film still to come before the censors is Jean Luc Godard's story of the Virgin birth, "Hail Mary".

When released on the international circuits in 1984 the film raised a storm of protest and received strong criticism from Pope John Paul II, who denounced it as "distorted" and said it "reviled the spiritual significance of the mother of Jesus."

Numerous irate Catholics yesterday telephoned the Saturday Star expressing outrage at the plans to screen the film locally.

Sources in the Catholic Church said they were "naturally very upset about it".

A festival organiser, who is deeply religious and who has seen the film, said he felt it was not at all blasphemous but deeply religous.

He said the director perceived the film as expressing the following: "The birth of Christ in modern day terms and a meditation on belief, fatherhood, the family and other eternal mysteries."

Weekly Mail's co-editors box on in shadow of Big Brother

FOUNDING co-editors of *Weekly Mail* Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim had to learn one lesson quickly: how to survive in the shadow of Big Brother as he masqueraded as guardian of the public against revolutionary propaganda.

The newspaper's first edition, on June 14, 1985, was threatened with seizure when police stopped the truck as it left the printers with the entire print order. But, fortunately for South African journalism, after some rapid talking the officers allowed the truck to proceed.

Since then the two men and their newspaper have lived through a series of crises, winning fulsome praise abroad and from many people in South Africa, and incurring the enmity of powerful men in high places in Pretoria.

The latest occured only a week ago when police confiscated copies of *Weekly Mail* from newspaper vendors and distribution outlets on the orders of the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt.

He ruled that they contained articles which contravened the emergency regulations.

The two men offer an odd contrast to the fledgling newspaper which they founded with the help of unemployed colleagues after the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express* in 1985.

Both are laid back and understated; the *Weekly Mail* is bold and innovative. Harber (29) is the frontman. But even in that role he tends to make his points quietly.

Manoim (34) is something of a recluse, preferring production and sub-editing to the publicly visible role of reporting.

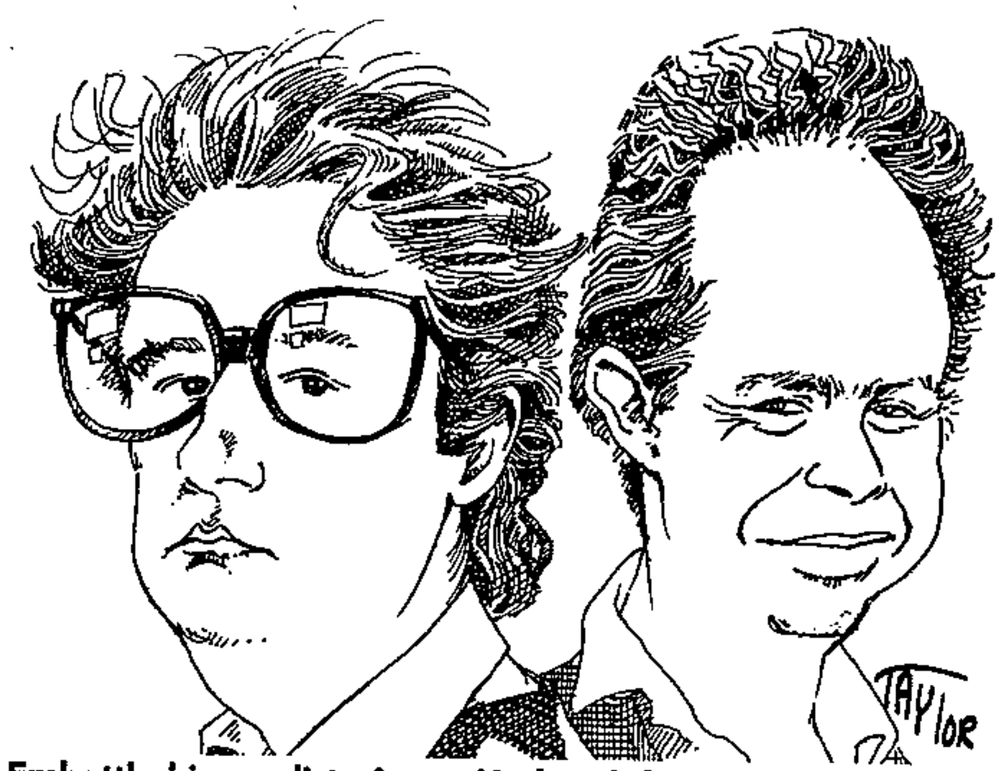
But underneath their shared reticence is a passionate commitment to journalism as a pioneering, invigorating and challenging force pointing the way ahead to a new non-racial South Africa.

As they declared in a statement in May, when their newspaper was under threat of suspension by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha: "We are an independent critical newspaper with ties to no organised group. We have a point of view. We believe in democratic values, in non-racialism and in open debate about the options for a changing South Africa."

Denying Mr Botha's allegation that they were promoting revolution, an offence under statuory law as well as the emergency regulations, they added: "Our real crime is in telling the awkward truths which the Government would prefer not to hear."

Neither man fits the stereotype of a revolutionary propagandist.

The clean-shaven, bespectacled Harber is more akin to a university don rather than a polemicist.



Embattled journalists Anton Harber (left) and Irwin Manoim.

Personality

ANTON HARBER and IRWIN MANOIN

Interviewed by: PATRICK LAURENCE

He is cautious rather than reckless, consistently consulting lawyers in a bid to ensure that *Weekly Mail* remains within the law. Where he takes bold action — the decision to publish a detailed inside account of life on Robben Island comes to mind — it is a calcuated risk aimed at extending the law to the maximum and not contravening it.

Manoim, holder of an MA degree from the University of the Witwatersrand on the history of the black press in South Africa, is pale and slight.

His pallor is the product of long hours under artifical light while plying his superior skills as a production journalist.

It is a source of regret to many of his fellow journalists that he does not write more.

It was he who described Mr Botha's campaign to curb the allegedly revolutionary alternative press as "death by a thousand pinpricks".

He argued that the slow process of written and gazetted warnings to newspapers was meant to inure the public to the fact that sections of the press were being killed before their eyes.

These steps cleared the way for the suspension of newspapers. But as he noted: "Suspension will mean death, commercial death. And the Minister will be free to protest 'My hands are clean. I didn't close them'."

Weekly Mail received a gazetted warning on April 26. As a gazetted warning is the penultimate stage in the steps leading to suspension, it has had to exist on the very edge of permissibility for nearly four months.

Since then there has been no word from Mr Botha, except for a letter after the state of emergency was renewed in June, its co-editors to continue submitting copies to him.

Manoim commented on Mr Botha's penchant for interspering silence after a flurry of activity: "Stoffel Botha is the master of tranquilising silence. He uses it to great effect, sometimes to pacify opponents, sometimes to unsettle them."

The silence was broken last week — by General de Witt's policemen rather than Mr Botha's pen. Articles on conscientious objection, an advertisment by war resisters and a report on security force action were in contravention of the media regulations, the general said.

It was unclear what the latest action signalled. But, commented Manoim in his characteristically wry manner: "This week will demonstrate whether it was a freak accident or part of a plan."

Harber observed that the recurring crises were not without benefit. "The staff is at its most cohesive and working hardest when we are under pressure. And our circulation usually goes up."

But there are heavy costs: legal fees and the problems caused by the seizure of newspapers — *Weekly Mail* has been seized from the streets twice in its brief existence of just over three years — and the intimidating effect of official disapproval on news vendors and cafe owners.

Crises mean sleepless nights. Lawyers have to be consulted urgently and action has to be taken to defend the newpaper.

But Harber and Manoim are used to sleepness nights. For the first few months of the *Weekly Mail's* existence they worked right through the night every Wednesday to met deadlines on Thursday evening.

News in Brief

Cape Times 13/8/86 327

Union official arrested

JOHANNESBURG.— A shopsteward of the National Union of Metalworkers, Mr Wilson Fudukile Mbovane, was arrested yesterday at his home by the Ciskei police.

Bill 'threatens peace'

Star 13/8/88

THE tough American sanctions Bill against South Africa held the potential of sinking the Angola accord, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Pretoria yesterday.

"The recklessness of members of Congress who do not care whether their actions adversely affect the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of southern Africa is astounding.

"It would be ironical if Resolution 435 should reach the point of implementation only to be obstructed because of American legislation imposing extensive restrictions, including those covering financial transactions necessary for the implementation of Resolution 435," he said.

It was remarkable that the House of Representatives continued with this action at a time when there was progress in the peace negotiations.

The sanctions legislation would go before the Senate shortly and the outcome would be interesting, Mr Botha said.

It was obvious that the debate in the House of Representatives was being used for purely internal political aims.

It had no bearing on the promotion of the interests of black people in South Africa.

In fact, members of the House were aware that prominent black leaders in South Africa, as well as the governments of certain neighbouring states, strongly opposed a law which would virtually ban all trade between the US and South Africa. — Sapa.

Cape Times 5/8/88

Prisons deny Mpetha's 'stand'

27

Political Staff

THE Prisons Service denied yesterday that veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha had turned down a conditional offer of release.

They denied that Mr Mpetha, who turns 79 today, rejected conditions barring him from political meetings, talking to journalists and restricting him to a specific area, to secure his release from prison.

Mr Mpetha, the oldest security prisoner in South Africa, was jailed in 1985 for five years after his appeal against a conviction for terrorism was turned down by the Appeal Court.

Yesterday his youngest son, Mr Temba Mpetha, 27, said that early last month his father rejected a conditional offer of release provided he renounced violence and accepted other conditions.

Mr Mpetha said his father, who is in Pollsmoor Prison, was told he would be released if he signed a document denouncing violence, did not attend political meetings, agreed to be restricted to one area in Cape Town and did not talk to journalists.

"We hope he won't be celebrating his next birthday in prison, but he has refused to accept any of these conditions for his release.

"That shows his political conviction and determination — and it shows that the people of South Africa will be free."

But the Prisons Service said: "The allegation that Mr Mpetha was informed that he could be released provided he was willing to be restricted to one area of Cape Town, not to attend political meetings and not to talk to journalists, is not true and is rejected as without substance."

In another statement yesterday, Mr Mpetha's union, the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) called on the government to release him on his birthday today.

In its statement the Prisons Service said: "The release of all prisoners is considered on a continuous basis by the relevant statutory bodies in the process of which a variety of factors such as nature of crime, previous record, length of sentence, portion of sentence already served, health condition, age, and prognoses, etc, are taken into account."

"The question of the denouncement of violence can also be a factor in this process.

"It is the policy of the Prisons Service not to comment on individual prisoners.

"It can, however, be mentioned that the best medical treatment is available in prison and, if necessary, a patient can be referred by a district surgeon for hospitalization and specialized treatment," the Prisons Service said.

Mandela: No cancer

Cape Times 15/8/85 37

By JIM FREEMAN

MR Nelson Mandela last night continued to respond to treatment for fluid on his inflamed left lung, with a Tygerberg Hospital spokesman describing his condition as "more than satisfactory".

His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, visited her husband on Saturday.

Security has been stepped up around Mr Mandela. The jailed leader of the African National Congress was admitted on Friday night. His condition on arrival was described as "comfortable and satisfactory" by hospital medical superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss.

Dr Strauss reacted to reports of suspected lung cancer by saying a medical examination of Mr Mandela had "revealed no evidence of malignancy, only a chronic inflammatory condition of the pleura".

He would not say how long Mr Mandela was expected to remain in hospital.

Mrs Mandela waited for four hours on Saturday after flying from Johannesburg to Cape Town before seeing her husband, said family attorney Mr Ismail Ayob who accompanied her.

Mrs Mandela saw her jailed husband soon after he left the operating theatre, said Mr Ayob. She had been "shocked" by the sight but had not elaborated, he added.

Doctors have described Mr Mandela's affliction as "serious, more so in an older man".

Mr Mandela marked his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison last month. He has been in jail since 1964, when he was convicted on sabotage charges and jailed for life.

Mr Mandela has been taken from prison to hospital a number of times in the past few years, most often with prostrate gland complaints.

The Minister of National Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said Mr Mandela was receiving the best possible treatment.

● The British shadow foreign secretary yesterday called on Mrs Margaret Thatcher to personally demand the immediate release of Mr Mandela.

Mr Gerald Kaufman of the Labour Party called the continued imprisonment an "act of barbarity".

● Woord en Daad, newsletter of the NGK in Potchefstroom, has also called for Mr Mandela to be released. According to a report in the Johannesburg Afrikaans morning newspaper, Beeld, which itself recently called for Mr Mandela's release, Woord en Daad has argued for giving the ANC a "second chance" by, among other things, releasing its leaders.

● New calls for release — Page 3

State of Emergency

327

New call for release of ill Mandela

Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties yesterday renewed calls for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela who was admitted to Tygerberg Hospital at the weekend.

The PFP, the Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM) called on the government to release the ageing ANC leader on humanitarian and political grounds.

PFP civil rights spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman, who has visited Mr Mandela in jail on a number of occasions, said that Mr Mandela's medical condition "certainly adds urgency to the situation and I hope very much that the government will use this obvious humanitarian reason to release him."

Mrs Suzman said she had been calling for the ANC leader to be freed for a long time "but now more than ever the government should be prepared to release him".

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall said: "I definitely support the release of Mandela on humanitarian and political grounds."

He said the continued incarceration of Mr Mandela was serving as a "major obstacle" to black participation in negotiation, even to leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"But were he to be released I have the deep regret that he would not be released into any established negotiating process," Dr Worrall added.

Political developments

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said it had "long been time" for Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Malan said the NDM hoped the ANC leader's illness was not too serious, that he would recover quickly and be given the opportunity to make "a healthy contribution to political developments".

"The government always protests when Mandela is referred to as a political prisoner. If he is not a political prisoner, then he has served more than a life sentence.

"There is no parallel in South Africa for life sentences having exceeded Mandela's (25-year) prison term.

"In any event Mandela's release can only enhance the political process provided, again, the government does not release him into a banning order.

"The NDM calls for his unconditional release and on the government to allow political organizations the opportunity for their leaders to seek mandates in order to participate in the process of political negotiation," Mr Malan said.

SA lashes out at BBC over documentary

Cape Times 15/8/88

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The South African embassy here has lashed out at the BBC over a TV programme which examined the murders of opponents of apartheid at home and abroad, such as Dr Rick Turner, Mr Matthew Goniwe and ANC Paris representative Ms Dulcie September.

The documentary, screened on Friday night on "Ebony", a weekly programme aimed at Britain's black population, examined 10 years of violence against the activists.

It included interviews with the victims, reminiscences by relatives, reconstructions of the murders and comment from intelligence experts on South Africa's "dirty tricks" campaign — which allegedly includes the murder of dissidents. There was also graphic footage of a critically injured Mr Albie Sachs — who was injured in a Maputo car bomb earlier this year — dragging himself along the ground seconds after the explosion, his arm blown off.

Miss Dulcie September

In the statement the embassy accused the BBC of conducting a "continued propaganda vendetta" against South Africa and complained of the "naïve acceptance of the ANC and UDF members as injured innocents".

"The programme failed to draw attention to the intense internecine conflict existing between different factions within the ANC and its supporters which, in the view of serious and informed commentators, is the most likely cause of the events mentioned in the programme."

The documentary did give South Africa a chance to answer the allegations, ending with a live question-and-answer session with President's Council member Mr Craig Williamson.

He flatly denied South African authorities were in any way involved in the incidents shown, saying it was "easy" to make accusations without having anything to back them up.

He drew a parallel between the fact that in none of the cases highlighted had the attackers been arrested and brought to trial and the numerous unsolved murders of civilians and security forces in Northern Ireland — including that of Lord Mountbatten.

Mr Williamson, himself a former undercover BOSS agent who infiltrated anti-apartheid organizations abroad, said South Africa did not get involved in any "cloak and dagger" activities. Action against the ANC was done openly and admitted to, he said.

Mandela: No cancer

Cape Times 15/8/88 37

By JIM FREEMAN

MR Nelson Mandela last night continued to respond to treatment for fluid on his inflamed left lung, with a Tygerberg Hospital spokesman describing his condition as "more than satisfactory".

His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, visited her husband on Saturday.

Security has been stepped up around Mr Mandela. The jailed leader of the African National Congress was admitted on Friday night. His condition on arrival was described as "comfortable and satisfactory" by hospital medical superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss.

Dr Strauss reacted to reports of suspected lung cancer by saying a medical examination of Mr Mandela had "revealed no evidence of malignancy, only a chronic inflammatory condition of the pleura".

He would not say how long Mr Mandela was expected to remain in hospital.

Mrs Mandela waited for four hours on Saturday after flying from Johannesburg to Cape Town before seeing her husband, said family attorney Mr Ismail Ayob who accompanied her.

Mrs Mandela saw her jailed husband soon after he left the operating theatre, said Mr Ayob. She had been "shocked" by the sight but had not elaborated, he added.

Doctors have described Mr Mandela's affliction as "serious, more so in an older man".

Mr Mandela marked his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison last month. He has been in jail since 1964, when he was convicted on sabotage charges and jailed for life.

Mr Mandela has been taken from prison to hospital a number of times in the past few years, most often with prostrate gland complaints.

The Minister of National Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said Mr Mandela was receiving the best possible treatment.

● The British shadow foreign secretary yesterday called on Mrs Margaret Thatcher to personally demand the immediate release of Mr Mandela.

Mr Gerald Kaufman of the Labour Party called the continued imprisonment an "act of barbarity".

● Woord en Daad, newsletter of the NGK in Potchefstroom, has also called for Mr Mandela to be released. According to a report in the Johannesburg Afrikaans morning newspaper, Beeld, which itself recently called for Mr Mandela's release, Woord en Daad has argued for giving the ANC a "second chance" by, among other things, releasing its leaders.

● New calls for release — Page 3

Cape Times 16/8/88

Survey shows effect of emergency restrictions

327

By GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA. — The emergency and media restrictions had apparently exercised an influence on white political thinking especially on security issues, a South Africa Institute of International Affairs survey has shown.

"There are indications many whites have become complacent and lulled into believing that 'normality' has returned to black townships."

The survey also found more people believed a Namibia-type guerilla war in South Africa was not likely and that the SADF/SAP could keep the lid on internal unrest indefinitely.

While more than 50% of respondents believed a Namibia-type war would develop in South Africa the percentage was significantly lower than the 1986 figure. The survey found, too, an increasing belief in the ability of the SADF to win a war in Namibia against Swapo.

Defence

The SAIIA notes the survey was made before recent military developments in Angola.

The number of respondents who believed the cost of defence was high had steadily increased since 1982. It seemed a shift "too high" was likely in the next few years. Other findings included that PFP supporters remained the most likely to believe the government was exaggerating the communist threat and conservative party supporters the least likely.

Mistrust

On the whole, however, the "Reds are coming" approach had remained the Government's most effective strategy to legitimize the use of coercive state power.

Among whites too there was a growing mistrust of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, but almost unchanged attitudes towards the local black population.

Police seize copies of church publication

Argus 16/8/88 (327)

Staff Reporter

ALMOST 30 000 copies of the Western Province Council of Churches' publication *Crisis News* were seized by police at the city's central post office on Friday.

WPCC official Mr Pierre van den Heever said yesterday copies of the six-weekly publication were posted to local churches for distribution.

A Lieutenant van Deventer of the security police had visited the council's offices later on Friday to confirm that police had confiscated the copies under the emergency regulations.

WORTH R7 000

The batch was worth about R7 000.

A council statement said earlier the seizure of the edition, which focused on the October municipal elections, proved there was "no opportunity for democratic discussion" on the elections.

"As Christians standing for the truth we deplore this action."

The council supported a free Press and a free exchange of views.

● Police spokesman Lieutenant Denise Benson confirmed that the copies were seized under the emergency regulations.

Cape Times 16/8/88

Appeal against extradition dismissed

327

Supreme Court Reporter

A MAN alleged to have been a member of an ANC military unit responsible for the bomb blasts which crippled Umtata nearly three years ago had his appeal against extradition to the Transkei dismissed in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Mxwandile Vena, 32, faces charges in the Transkei of terrorism or sabotage in connection with three bomb blasts in Umtata on June 25 and 16, 1985.

Yesterday he appealed against an extradition order granted by Wynberg magistrate Mr P D Theron on May 16.

Evidence in the Magistrate's Court was that Mr Vena had signed a statement admitting that he was a senior member of a special military unit of the ANC and that he and two others blew up the Umtata fuel depot.

The Judge-President, Mr Justice G G A Munnik and Mr Justice L A Rose-Innes presided. Mr J G Gerber, appeared for the State.

Traffic stops for Mandela

Cape Times 16/8/88 327

Staff Reporters and Sapa

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, 70, stopped traffic outside Tygerberg Hospital yesterday — in an indirect way.

At the hospital, where he is still recovering from his pleural inflammation, security at the entrance has been so intensified that it has caused early morning traffic jams.

Every car was stopped by hospital security or a policeman at the main gate, and questioned before being allowed to proceed.

The Cape Times car had to pull off the road because security staff noticed a camera bag on the back seat. A security official accompanied the team into the hospital grounds.

Mrs C Goussard, a public relations officer for the hospital, declined to say whether Mr Mandela, admitted on Friday, is being kept in the white or black section of the hospital.

Meanwhile, doctors said there were three major conditions often associated with pleural inflammation in the elderly — heart problems, kidney dysfunctions and gall bladder infections.

Soldier acted lawfully, says judge

Cape Times 16/8/88

327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday dismissed with costs a claim against the Minister of Defence for R22 000 resulting from a shooting incident at an army roadblock in Jabulani, Soweto, in which two people were wounded.

Mr Justice H P van Dyk found that the soldier, Rifleman H Buitendorp, acted lawfully when he fired a shot at a car which failed to stop at the roadblock.

He said Rfn Buitendorp acted in terms of the emergency regulations.

The soldier had acted to ensure public safety, maintain law and order and to terminate the state of emergency, he said.

The court heard that Ms Barbara Mange had bullet wounds in her neck and right hand. Mr Joseph Nhlabathi was shot in the shoulder.

Mr Nhlabathi said at no stage had the soldier told him to stop.

Mandela • 'has TB'

Cape Times 17/8/88

327

Pick 6 pays R20 171

THE R230 124 Pick 6 carryover sent the gross pool at Durbanville yesterday soaring to R757 047.

The last leg was won by Roll of Glitter, one of champion jockey Felix Coetzee's three winning rides. The filly carried 31 tickets, each paying R20 171.

● Racing — Page 26, 27

Robson: Sack for 'flashing'?

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Bryan Robson, the captain of England's soccer team, exposed himself to a young woman in a toilet, according to a report in the Sun newspaper.

The report said Robson now faced the sack.

The woman, 20-year-old Miss Anna Csondor, alleges that Robson flashed at her in a nightclub ladies toilet

Miss Csondor, a hotel worker, had gone to the nightclub with members of the England squad and later left in the same car as Robson.

REGAL WAVE? . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela gives a clenched-fist salute to the 300-strong crowd awaiting her emergence from Tygerberg Hospital after a visit to her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Picture: ERIC MILLER

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has tuberculosis and is coughing up blood, according to his lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after returning from visiting Mr Mandela with Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi in Tygerberg Hospital, Mr Ayob said that Mr Mandela looked "very thin" and "suddenly looks very old".

By last Friday Mr Mandela was coughing up blood and had lost his voice entirely, said Mr Ayob after his two-hour meeting with Mr Mandela.

"It is clear that his condition has been deteriorating for some time," the lawyer said.

But Professor Attie de Kock, the Tygerberg specialist who has been treating Mr Mandela for his lung ailment, said last night that Mr Ayob's statement on Mr Mandela's condition was "not entirely true" and that the jailed ANC leader was "very well".

Diagnosis withheld

He declined to elaborate, saying said he had nothing to add to statements issued by the hospital on Mr Mandela's condition, officially described as a "chronic inflammation of the pleura".

Mr Mandela's diagnosis was "withheld at his (Mr Mandela's) specific request", said Tygerberg's chief medical superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss.

Mr Mandela had also so far refused the offer for an independent doctor to examine him for a second opinion, said Dr Strauss.

Late last night Mr Ayob confirmed that Mr Mandela had told him that he had TB but was reluctant to have the diagnosis made public.

Mr Ayob said he told Mr Mandela that "by following that course, it would simply add to speculation and he did not forbid me (from disclosing the diagnosis)".

Earlier Dr Strauss said Mr Mandela was "up and about — his pleural drain has been removed and the lung has expanded fully".

Mr Mandela was "satisfactory and improving" after the removal of the drainage tube which on Saturday extracted three litres of fluid from his left lung.

The secretary general of the SA Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, speaking on behalf of the family and the Mandela Crisis Committee, said that an urgent letter had been sent to President Botha, with copies to other relevant ministers.

The letter asked permission for a team of medical specialists of family's choice to visit Mr Mandela in hospital

To page 2

Hundreds mob Winnie and Zinzi after visit

By PETER DENNEHY

MRS WINNIE MANDELA, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, and one of the couple's daughters, Zinzi, were mobbed by hundreds of nurses and patients after visiting her husband in the black wing of Tygergberg Hospital yesterday.

When they came out at about 1pm, the crowd — estimated at about 300 — clapped, cheered and surged forward as cameras clicked and questions were shouted out.

Mrs Mandela did not respond to any questions, but she beamed at the enthusiastic crowd gave two clenched-fist salutes as on-lookers shouted: "Viva Mandela."

Plainclothes and uniformed policemen stood guard outside the hospital.

Ms Zinzi Mandela said before leaving for Johannesburg: "He's fine; we will say something later."

McCartney back with a band

LONDON. — Former Beatle Paul McCartney has formed a new group and is recording an album, due out next year.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport before flying to New York with his family, McCartney said: "The band hasn't got a name yet, but there are a few musicians in it who people will know.

"Hamish Stewart who played in the Average White Band is one of them."

Cape Times 17/8/88

From page 1

and conduct an independent examination "in order to remove any doubts which the family may feel regarding the nature, cause and cure of Mr Mandela's illness".

Meanwhile, the ANC issued a statement in London expressing serious concern at Mandela's health.

The ANC said it had been "reliably informed" that, before his hospitalization on Friday night, Mr Mandela was lying in bed unable to eat and exercise and had difficulties of speech for a whole week.

"Although the prison authorities were obviously aware that he was ill, nothing was done until his condition had deteriorated to the critical point where he had to be rushed to hospital."

The ANC said the international community was entitled to know the purpose behind this "callous neglect".

The prison service, asked for comment, said that during the period preceding Mr Mandela's admission to Tygerberg, he had received frequent visits from family, friends and others.

"Old friends who visited him as recently as July 23 were reported in the press to have remarked on how well he was and how well he appeared. Mr Ayob last saw him on July 27.

"He was attended and treated by general practitioners (and specialists of his choice when appropriate) whenever he had any complaints about his about his health.

"His complaint and condition since July 28 was dealt with promptly. It was in this process that the medical practitioners decided to recommend his admission to hospital on August 13."

● Foreign embassy spokesmen last night expressed concern over Mr Mandela's condition and said statements would follow today.

The disclosure of the apparent nature of Mr Mandela's illness is expected to spark new calls for his release.

● President Botha's office last night declined to comment on any aspect of Mr Mandela's hospitalisation and calls for his release. — **Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent with Sapa-Reuter and UPI**

Minister holds Mandela talks

ARGUS 17/8/88 327

Kobie Coetsee asks prisons chief about conditions for TB-stricken ANC leader

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE jail conditions of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela have been discussed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Commissioner of Prisons, Lieutenant General W H Willemse, and more talks are expected in Pretoria today.

It is now generally accepted in government circles that Mr Mandela has tuberculosis, as announced yesterday by the Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob.

Mr Coetsee said today he knew about the various reports and medical bulletins about Mr Mandela's condition.

He was "deeply perturbed" and steps to ensure a speedy recovery were receiving his personal attention.

The latest bulletin from Tygerberg Hospital said Mr Mandela was "up and about" and improving.

Mr Ayob's announcement that Mr Mandela had tuberculosis was made after he accompanied Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi to see the patient in Tygerberg.

"On his feet"

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela was thin but "on his feet" after fluid was drained from an inflamed lung on Saturday.

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela's condition had been deteriorat-

Mrs Winnie Mandela and lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob after visiting the ANC leader in Tygerberg Hospital.

Acute form of tuberculosis but can be cured — expert

Medical Reporter

AN expert on tuberculosis said today that from reports of Nelson Mandela's symptoms, he obviously had a very active and acute form of TB, but it could be treated.

A pleural effusion — a collection of fluid between the pleural membranes between the lungs and the chest wall — was an unusual presentation of TB in a person of Mr Mandela's age, he said.

Mr Mandela turned 70 last month.

The condition was more common in younger patients.

He said the fluid constricted the lungs and made breathing difficult.

A tube was normally inserted to drain this fluid, enabling the lungs to expand.

"In a patient of his age it is very important to search for other contributing and debilitating factors, especially diabetes.

"Assuming that these factors are found and controlled, and there aren't any complications, with modern drugs he should be cured in six months."

He said it was unlikely that Mr Mandela was in much discomfort now that the fluid had been drained.

In hospital 4 times in 25 years

Political Staff

MR Mandela has been "officially" hospitalised outside prison four times since his incarceration 25 years ago, but a private specialist said today he had treated him in city rooms "at least three times".

The doctor, who may not be named for professional reasons, said minor procedures had been performed on Mr Mandela on at least three occasions since 1986.

The treatment was not linked to Mr Mandela's lungs.

Mr Mandela's first officially-confirmed hospitalisation was in November 1979 when he had a "minor operation on his right heel" at Woodstock Hospital. In February 1983 he was admitted to the same hospital for a "minor operation".

In September 1985 it was reported that Mr Mandela had prostate problems. He was treated by a state urologist and later his family appointed three specialists to see him.

Mr Madela's prostate gland was removed at the Volks Hospital in the Gardens.

gerberg Hospital said Mr Mandela was "up and about" and improving.

Mr Ayob's announcement that Mr Mandela had tuberculosis was made after he accompanied Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi to see the patient in Tygerberg.

"On his feet"

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela was thin but "on his feet" after fluid was drained from an inflamed lung on Saturday.

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela's condition had been deteriorating for some time.

He had been in bed since August 3 with a persistent, and at times bloody, cough and was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Tygerberg Hospital on Friday.

He had been short of breath and his speech had been impaired.

By Friday he had lost his voice completely. Three litres of fluid had been removed from his left lung.

"He is very thin. Suddenly he looks very old."

Mr Ayob would not comment on whether Mr Mandela's life was in danger.

He said the diagnosis had been confirmed by a Dr de Kock in Cape Town yesterday. Dr de Kock had evaded questions from Mrs Mandela, saying further tests were being made.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter, both looking drawn and tired, would not comment and were whisked away from Jan Smuts Airport in a mini-bus.

Mobbed

At Tygerberg earlier Mrs Mandela was mobbed by hundreds of nurses and patients after visiting her husband. She raised her fist in a black power salute as patients shouted "Viva Mandela!".

Mrs Mandela and her family have made an urgent appeal to President Botha to allow a team of specialists of their choice to examine Mr Mandela "in order to remove any doubts which the family may feel regarding the nature, cause and cure" of his illness.

The Rev Frank Chikane, on behalf of the Mandela Crisis Committee, said: "Mrs Mandela and family are anxiously awaiting the reply of the State President and hospital authorities."

But according to Tygerberg Hospital Mr Mandela has refused an offer that an independent doctor to examine him for a second opinion.

(Turn to page 3, col 7)

Renewed calls for ANC leader's release come in from all quarters

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent
and KAREN STANDER
Staff Reporter

CONCERN over the seriousness of Mr Nelson Mandela's illness has led to renewed calls for his release.

A wide range of groupings, from Afrikaner churchmen to opposition political parties, has called on the government to release the ageing ANC leader.

Health and age are among the various factors taken into consideration by the government when considering the release of prisoners.

And Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on civil rights, said today that whatever the medical prognosis Mr Mandela was a man of 70 and his health was obviously not as good as it used to be.

The moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, said today: "It is a serious condition and the government should pay immediate attention to it."

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zac de Beer, said yesterday it would be just and politically advantageous to release Mr Mandela.

The general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, called on President Botha to release Mr Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said this week that the continued incarceration of the ANC leader was a major obstacle to black participation in negotiation.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, said it had long been time for Mr Mandela's release.

Woord en Daad, a Gereformeerde Kerk newsletter, this week also called for Mr Mandela's unconditional release.

A spokesman for President Botha's office in Pretoria said today there had been no change in the policy for the release of security prisoners since this was set out by Mr Botha in August last year.

This was that renunciation of violence was only one factor in a prognosis for release, and that the Government would be guided by statutory release bodies and what it deemed to be in the interests of the country.

Minister in Mandela talks

(Continued from page 1.)

Asked about the plea, a spokesman for the President's office in Pretoria said it was not policy to comment on Mr Botha's correspondence.

Dr J G L Strauss, medical superintendent of Tygerberg Hospital, said last night Mr Mandela had asked that the diagnosis of the condition for which he was being treated be withheld.

"But to counteract any misinformation on the state of his health the hospital has decided to announce Mr Mandela has been improving steadily since his admission.

"He is up and about. His pleural drain has been removed and the lung has expanded fully."

A Prisons Services spokesman said that before being taken to hospital Mr Mandela had had frequent visits from family, friends and others.

"Old friends who visited him as recently as July 23 were reported in the Press to have remarked on how well he was and how well he looked.

"Lawyer Ayob, who has now made public announcements, also visited him. He last saw him on July 27.

"Mr Mandela was attended to and treated by general practitioners, and specialists of his choice when appropriate, whenever he had any complaints about his health or whenever he appeared not to be in normal health, which was not often.

"His complaint, and condition since July 28, were dealt with promptly.

"It was in this process that the medical practitioners decided to recommend his admission to hospital on August 13. The patient is in the care of Tygerberg hospital and its staff.

"All announcements on his medical condition are to be dealt with by the hospital authorities.

"They will obviously deal with inquiries in closest consultation with the patient himself."

Mr Mandela's life sentence was imposed in 1964.

On Friday his condition was described as "chronic inflamation of the pleura".

0.66
2.82
1.34
1.50
1.83
0.78
0.81

Charges against five withdrawn

Sowetan 11-17/8/88

FIVE former trade unionists arrested on charges under the Internal Security Act have had their charges withdrawn.

Mr Stephen Melrewitch, 22, Ms June Esau, 35, Mr Mike Norton, 48, Ms Aziza Charles, 31, and Ms Dawn Adams, 37, appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court last week on charges of furthering the aims of the ANC.

The five, of the Clothing Workers' Union, now work for the Education Advice Health Resource Unit in Woodstock.

The five, detained from July 6 until July 20, were picked up at the time of the Mandela birthday celebrations.

Misuse of power by security forces criticised

Retired judge hits out at emergency laws

Pretoria Correspondent

The emergency regulations "drastically curtailed" the fundamental rights to which every South African was entitled, a retired Appeal Court judge, Mr Justice J Trengove, said last night.

"I refer specifically to the right of a detained person to be informed as to the reasons of his detention and to be granted access to his legal adviser.

"Certain authorities show a surprising lack of understanding and appreciation for the important functions which both the courts and legal practitioners are called to fulfil in these troubled days," he said.

He was delivering atribute to Professor Daniel Pont, who retired in 1960 after a 33-year term in the law faculty at the University of Pretoria.

"Even when an individual's rights are drastically curtailed by emergency legislation, it remains the duty of the court, within the limits of its jurisdiction and in spite of the state of emergency, to protect the individual against unjustified action on the part of the authorities.

"I am firmly opposed to the use of terror, sabotage, arson or any other form of violence committed to the realisation of political aims.

"On the other hand, I am equally opposed to all forms of violence, torture or intimidation, which may be used by members of the security forces against detainees, under the cloak of emergency regulations."

Misuse of power

Regarding kwaNdebele, he pointed out that legal practitioners and the court "have had to intervene frequently" to protect individuals against the misuse of power by the security forces.

Mr Justice Trengove cited two cases in which the police in kwaNdebele had "flagrantly misused their powers" to intimidate and frustrate legal practitioners in the course of their duties.

In one instance, a lawyer was arrested three times under various pretexts and finally informed by the Commissioner that he would not be permitted to visit detainees because he was "disloyal to the government and police force of kwaNdebele".

In the second case, the Supreme Court had to intervene to secure the right of two lawyers to visit a detainee after they had allegedly been refused permission (by the Commissioner) to enter kwaNdebele.

The detainee was subsequently found to have 55 scars and contusions on his body.

Mr Justice Trengove emphasised, however, that he was not criticising police or SADF units.

"I have the greatest appreciation for members of the forces who tend to our safety, often at great danger. My criticism is aimed at those who misuse their powers.

"They do their colleagues a disservice, undermine the trust of the public in the security forces and even place the legal process under suspicion. They are an embarrassment to South Africa.

"However unpleasant it may be, we may not close our eyes to instances of force (geweld) on the part of members of the security forces as failure to act strongly and visibly can be interpreted as condonation."

MANDELA

'Not wise for him to choose to go back to prison'

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

DURBAN. — President Botha today opened the way for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

A top government official confirmed today that Mr Mandela, now in Tygerberg Hospital, had tuberculosis, but that it was not infectious.

Mr Botha told the Natal National Party congress in Durban he did not think it wise for Mr Mandela, at his age and in his condition, to choose to go back to jail.

"I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a humane way and in such a way that we can have peace in South Africa instead of violence," he said.

Mr Botha added: "But I am not going to be told by individual pressmen what I should do. And I am not going to be told by communists what I should do.

"This government will, in a responsible way, consider the whole position on its merits.

Co-operation

"If we get the co-operation we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results," Mr Botha said to loud applause.

Earlier in his opening speech at the congress Mr Botha reminded the delegates that Mr Mandela was found guilty many years ago by a court of law. He was jailed for life.

"I am prepared to release Mr Mandela if he would say he rejects violence as a means to achieve a political end and if he would not start campaigning for a process of violence in South Africa.

"I said this in Parliament and to various leaders of the Western world and I have letters in my possession from Western leaders who agree with me that one cannot talk to people who stand for violence," he said.

Best of care

On the care Mr Mandela is receiving, Mr Botha said: "He is well cared for and under the supervision of some of the best experts in that specialist field of medical care.

"I still maintain the attitude that it is a matter for Mr Mandela and his medical advisers to decide whether independent medical opinion will be called.

"It is not a matter for me or his attorney or the ANC, but for Mr Mandela and his medical advisers, and that is how it is going to be."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, confirmed that he visited Mr Mandela yesterday afternoon.

"Satisfied"

He said Mr Mandela appeared to be comfortable and seemed to have taken the first steps towards recovery.

"He appears to be satisfied with his treatment and surroundings.

"He looks as if he is almost his old self and is already enjoying jokes.

Mr Coetsee arrived at Tygerberg before 3pm, entering the hospital by a side door, four floors beneath Mr Mandela's ward.

After about an hour three men, apparently bodguards, drove off in the Minister's car and a white sedan.

It is understood that the Minister left through a different entrance in another vehicle.

Journalists and television crews staked out the hospital most of the day but were not allowed in.

● See page 7.

It's 3am and there's a banging at the door. THIS is the reality

A personal view by FRANK CHIKANE

General Secretary of the SA Council of Churches

ON THE morning of 25 July 1988, the police of the apartheid state raided my house in Pimville, Soweto.

Although we have a more than 2m high burglar fence with an electric bell at the gate, we were woken up by flashes of torches through our windows and banging on the door by the police.

After announcing their mission under the State of Emergency regulations, the police swiftly moved into our bedrooms. This was 3am.

The State of Emergency had once more woken us and robbed us of our rights and humanity and allowed the police to violate them "legally".

After having gone through the house, the officer in charge informed me that he was leaving part of his unit in the house until they had completed their operation elsewhere. The purpose of leaving them in my house was to make sure we did not communicate with the outside world. They said we were not allowed to use our telephone.

The occupation of the house lasted until about 5am.

We could not leave the house. We were in effect under house arrest for that period. The family would also not go back to bed. Who could do so when a hostile people were occupying one's house?

Two things frustrated me even more seriously. The first is that a few days before this event a handgrenade was planted at my mother's place, threatening the lives of family members.

The police were called at about 11am. By 1.15pm they had not responded.

Of course, if the explosive device threatened the regime, its agents or members of the white minority community whose interests the regime is put in power to secure, the police reaction unit would have been there within minutes.

It was only after engaging a lawyer to call police headquarters that explosive experts were sent to detonate the handgrenade. They took statements and promised to investigate.

A few days later, whilst the family was looking forward to a progress report of their investigations, they raided my home and occupied it. At the same time, they raided my parent's home, harassed them and detained my younger sister, Salome Chikane.

According to the police, they were looking for my younger brother Khotso Chikane, who is president of the Soweto Students Congress (Sosco).

This is the second frustration. Khotso is sought by the police not because he has committed any crime, If this was so, they could have informed our lawyers as we had asked them to do so, so that the case could be taken up accordingly.

No, this is not the case. Instead, the police say they have been looking for him for a "long time" to detain him under the Emergency regulations.

All of us know that about 1 000 peace-loving South Africans have been in detention now for about two years without charges preferred against them. One thinks of the Reverend M Tsele, V Khanyile, I Mogase and many others who are languishing in jail for no crime.

This is the dilemma of being confronted with what Rollo May in his book, "Power and Innocence: A search for the source's of violence", calls violence from above. The South African racist minority regime, threatened by the resolute intention of the black majority to be free in a just, non-racial, democratic society and in a unitary state, strikes with violence to stave off this threat.

The police and army have lost their rightful role of ensuring the security of all South Africans or that of protecting the weak in society. They have been reduced to a force that protects the minority against the majority of South Africans.

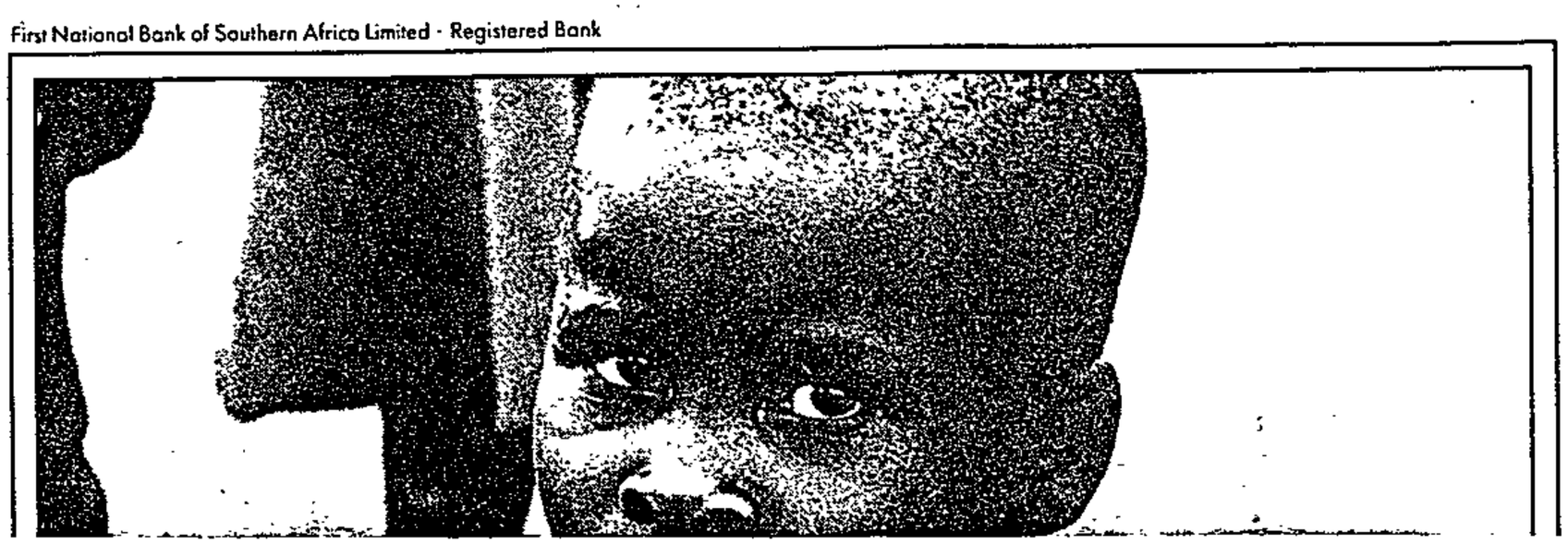
To use May's language, the goverment itself is "reduced to battling on the level of combatants".

This type of state violence, violence from above, is said by students of this field, like Hans Toch, to be regularly "more destructive" than other forms of violence. It leaves its victims completely vulnerable and at the mercy of the perpetrators of this violence.

It is legitimised by violent means: violence against the humanity of the people of South Africa.

This is the reality faced by millions of South Africans OF South A Freedom

First National Bank of Southern Africa Limited - Registered Bank



Blueprint Garlicks
FOR SPRING
SAVE 25% OR MORE
NOW'S THE TIME TO REDESIGN
FINE QUALITY, HIGH
FASHION HOUSEWARES
UNTIL 31 AUGUST
COOKWARE by Pointerware
Priced from R54,99 less 25% R41,25
City, Cavendish Sq, Parow, Paarl, Tyger Valley
(cms87444)

Cape Times

Carfinder Inside

FREWIN TROPHY
BEST DAILY NEWSPAPER 1987

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

FOUNDED 1876 ★ ☎ 208 4911 THURSDAY, AUGUST 18, 1988 50c (45c plus 5c GST)

Mandela 'special', says Botha

Cape Times 18/8/88

327

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, last night said Mr Nelson Mandela was a "special" prisoner and that he was "even more concerned" with Mr Mandela's health than was the SA Council of Churches.

And it was disclosed last night that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday visited the ailing ANC leader in Tygerberg Hospital.

Later, Mr Coetsee said Mr Mandela was on the road to "recovery", and almost "his old self".

The minister spent several minutes with Mr Mandela — said to have TB — before flying to Durban for the Natal National Party Congress.

In the wake of the visit, Mr Botha responded to a letter — sent to him and other government ministers by SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane — in which the President was asked if a team of specialists chosen by the Mandela family could be allowed to take over his treatment.

He said Mr Mandela received special and individual attention from prisons and health authorities, and both Mr Coetsee and the Commissioner of Prisons had made it "their personal business" to ensure that he was properly cared for.

He thanked Mr Chikane for the concern he had expressed and assured him that "we are even more concerned and do wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery.

"About your statement that the family want to introduce a team of medical experts to remove doubts in their (the family's) minds, I am of the opinion that it is rather the needs and interests of the patient that are of primary concern," Mr Botha said.

His reaction came as Mr Mandela's Tygerberg Hospital physician said the ANC leader stood a good chance of a complete recovery.

The hospital's chief medical superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss, last night maintained his silence over a claim by Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, that Mr Mandela had TB.

But, said Dr Strauss, he had a "good prognosis", was "up and about" and was responding well to treatment.

"A definite diagnosis of his illness was made on August 13. Mr Mandela was fully informed thereof and was placed on the appropriate treatment."

The hospital would not object to a request by Mr Mandela for a second, independent, opinion. He had made no such request

Last night Mr Coetsee said he too believed Mr Mandela was satisfied with his treatment.

"He looks as though he is almost his old self and is already enjoying jokes." — Political Staff

'GREATLY CONCERNED' ... Botha speaks on Mr Mande

Mandela receiving 'best treatment'

PRETORIA. — President Botha says he is satisfied that Mr Nelson Mandela is receiving the best medical care.

Mr Botha says this in a reply to a letter from Rev Frank Chikane.

Mr Botha had not received Mr Chikane's letter directly, his office said in Pretoria, but other Ministers who received copies provided Mr Botha with a copy.

The contents of Mr Botha's letter were released by his office.

Mr Botha said in his reply he wished to thank Rev Chikane for the concern he had expressed and wished to assure him that "we are even more concerned and do wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery".

Mr Mandela was a prisoner "in a special category of his own" and received even more special and individual attention than the normal high standard of medical care provided by the prisons and health authorities.

"I know that the Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Prisons make it their personal business to ensure that Mr Mandela is properly cared for," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha had been kept informed of events by the Minister of Health and the Minister of Justice since Mr Mandela was admitted to Tygerberg Hospital.

"About your statement that the family want to introduce a team of medical experts to remove doubts in their (the family's) minds, I am of the opinion that it is rather the needs and interests of the patient that are of primary concern. He is being treated by doctors that are internationally recognised as experts in their fields," Mr Botha said.

"I am therefore of the opinion that the medical team presently in charge of his treatment and Mr Mandela be allowed jointly to decide on whether other medical assistance should be called in. I have nevertheless arranged for a copy of your letter and of my reply to be handed to Mr Mandela.

"I wish to thank you for the concern you have expressed and wish to assure you that we are even more concerned and do wish Mr Mandela a speedy recovery."

The letter was signed by Mr Botha, carried a Union Buildings letterhead and was addressed to the Rev Chikane's post office box in Johannesburg. — Sapa.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik 50c Local
Buitelands 70c Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 278 PRETORIA, 18 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1988 No. 11478

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1710 **18 Augustus 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Johannes Hendrik STEYN, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die afdeling Suidwestelike Distrikte, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. H. STEYN,
Afdelingskommissaris: Suidwestelike Distrikte.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied" die landdrosdistrikte van Knysna, George, Mosselbaai en Oudtshoorn;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Suidwestelike Distrikte;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Freddie BOSCH;

"seremoniële byeenkoms", met betrekking tot die teraardebestelling van Freddie BOSCH, enige byeenkoms wat met die teraardebestelling gepaard gaan, met inbegrip van 'n roudiens, gedenkdiens of ander diens wat gehou word in verband met die teraardebestelling, en ook 'n begrafnisstoet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1710 **18 August 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Johannes Hendrik STEYN, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the South Western Districts Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. H. STEYN,
Divisional Commissioner: South Western Districts.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Freddie BOSCH, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means the Magisterial Districts of Knysna, George, Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn;

"Divisional Commissioner" means the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the South Western Districts Division;

"funeral" means a gathering held at the grave of Freddie BOSCH.

Judge slams emergency laws

CAPE TIMES 18/8/88 327

PRETORIA. — The emergency regulations "drastically curtailed" the fundamental rights to which every South African was entitled, a retired Appeal Court judge, Mr Justice J Trengrove, said last night.

"I refer specifically to the right of a detained person to be informed as to the reason of his detention and to be granted access to his legal adviser.

"Certainly authorities show a surprising lack of understanding and appreciation for the important functions which both the courts and legal practitioners are called to fulfil in these troubled days," he said.

He was delivering a tribute to Professor Daniel Pont, who retired in 1960 after a 33-year term in the law faculty at the University of Pretoria.

"Even when an individual's rights are drastically curtailed by emergency legislation, it remains the duty of the court, within the limits of its jurisdiction and in spite of the state of emergency, to protect the individual against unjustified action on the part of the authorities.

"I am firmly opposed to the use of terror, sabotage, arson or any other form of violence committed to the realization of political aims.

"On the other hand, I am equally opposed to all forms of violence, torture or intimidation, which may be used by members of the security forces against detainees under the cloak of emergency regulations." — Sapa

327

Emergency 'drastically' curtails rights, says judge

PRETORIA — The emergency regulations "drastically curtailed" the fundamental rights to which every South African was entitled, a retired Appeal Court judge, Mr Justice J Trengrove, said last night.

"I refer specifically to the right of a detained person to be informed as to the reason of his detention and to be granted access to his legal adviser.

"Certainly authorities show a surprising lack of understanding and appreciation for the important functions which both the courts and legal practitioners are called to fulfil in these troubled days," he said.

He was delivering a tribute to Professor Daniel Pont who retired in 1960 after a 33 year term in the law faculty at the University of Pretoria.

"Even when an individual's rights are drastically curtailed by emergency legislation, it remains the duty of the court, within the limits of its jurisdiction and in spite of the state of emergency to protect the individual against unjustified action on the part of the authorities.

"I am firmly opposed to the use of terror, sabotage, arson or any other form of violence committed in the realisation of political aims.

"On the other hand I am equally opposed to all forms of violence, torture or intimidation, which may be used by members of the security forces against detainees under the cloak of emergency regulations."

Regarding KwaNdebele, he pointed out that legal practitioners and the court "have had to intervene frequently" to protect individuals against the misuse of power by the security forces.

Mr Justice Trengrove cited two cases in which the police in KwaNdebele had "flagrantly misused their powers" to intimidate and frustrate legal practitioners in the course of their duties.

He emphasised however that he was not criticising police or SADF units.

"I have the greatest appreciation for members of the forces who tend to our safety often at great danger. My criticism is aimed at those who misuse their powers." — Sapa.

W/Mail 12-18/8/88 (321)

Canada puts up a million to beat censors

Weekly Mail Reporter

CANADA has committed $1-million (R2,4-million) to counter "South African propaganda and censorship" in the next year.

A Canadian "Action Plan" was released at the meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers in Toronto last week.

According to a press release, the plan will entail:

- A legal advisory fund "to help the alternative press cope with government-imposed impediments";
- Funding for individual journalists who fall foul of the censorship law;
- The Canadian government working closely with and supporting groups who work "to blunt the effects of South African propaganda and to reduce the effectiveness of the South African government's censorship";
- Convening a major conference in Canada to focus on the issue;
- Mobilising the Canadian sport and entertainment industry to increase public awareness in Canada;
- Establishing a scholarship program for young South African journalists and fellowships for those who want to work in Canada for 3-12 months;
- Establishing a Commonwealth Journalist Award "to be presented to an outstanding South African journalist recongising his/her courage and achievement in maintaining independnet standards in the face of government censorship and propaganda."

"The Commonwealth must confront the fact that news reporting about the reality of South Africa and the apartheid system is being distorted by the press censorship and media restrictions," the committee said in its press tatement.

The committee asked the Commonwealth secretary-general, Sonny Ramphal, to establish a working party "to elaborate an over-all Commonwealth programme for counteracting South African propaganda and censorship".

327

APARTHEID BAROMETER

SECURITY LEGISLATION DETENTIONS

A TOTAL of 175 security legislation detainees were known still to be in detention as at June 30 this year, 94 of them having been detained between January and June, according to the latest "Human Rights Update" report by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University (CALS). The report stressed that this figure reflects only those detainees whose names are known, and that the actual figure of Bophuthatswana detentions is much higher than is reflected in official statements.

Of those known to have been detained this year 17 were detained during May 1988 and 18 during June.

The 94 detained this year were held under the following acts: section 29, Internal Security Act — 65; section 31 ISA — one; Transkei Public Security Act — 16; Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act — seven; Ciskei National Security Act — five.

These detainees came from the following areas: Transvaal — 44; Natal — five; Eastern Cape — eight; Western Cape — nine; Transkei — 16; Bophuthatswana — seven; Ciskei — five.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

A total of 19 white South African men whose conscientious objection was politically-related have been charged for failing to report for military service over the past 10 years and 16 have been convicted. By 1984, when the Board for Religious Objection was introduced, 14 had been charged and 13 convicted. They served sentences of up to two years in jail and/or military detention barracks.

Between 1984 and 1986 no-one was charged, and over the last two years five people have been charged and three convicted. Philip Wilkinson, 23, an SADF corporal, was fined R600 for failing to report for military service in 1986. Dr Ivan Toms, 36, an SADF lieutenant, was sentenced to one year and nine months imprisonment for refusing to report for an army camp last year, and David Bruce, 25, was sentenced to six years imprisonment for refusing to report for national service. Toms' and Bruce's sentences are both on appeal and Wilkinson faces further call-ups.

Between mid-1984 and December 1987, 959 religious objectors had been granted Category 3 (refusal to serve in any capacity) status. By this time over 1 500 conscripts had applied for religious objector status. At least 15 people are known to have been refused Category 3 status because their stands were politically-related or not of a "universal religious pacifist" nature. One of these, Philip Wilkinson, has been charged.

In addition to the stands taken by the conscientious objectors above, there have been at least four public expressions of conscientious objection, involving more than 250 men, over the last two years.

In 1985 a group of Grahamstown academics and professionals publicly refused to register for "Dad's army". The following year about 100 Cape Town men announced their refusal to register for "Dad's army". In August last year 23 Cape Town and Stellenbosch conscripts announced their refusal to serve.

Earlier this month 143 conscripts from around the country announced their refusal to serve. Of these, 39 had completed their military service (17 as officers or non-comissioned officers), 14 had completed or were completing community service as religious objectors, six had served or were serving prison sentences and 84 were liable for their full four years of military service. Of the 143, 60 were professionals, 68 students (including 13 medical students), and there were 15 others. Sixty-six came from Johannesburg and Pretoria, 48 from Cape Town, 19 from Durban and Pietermaritzburg and 10 from Grahamstown.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

ALFRED METELE, 54, Border Council of Churches field-worker and East London United Democratic Front leader, was detained under the Emergency regulations on March 18 1987 and is still being held.

After completing his schooling in East London, Metele worked for an insurance company and later a clothing factory. In 1964 he was detained for several months and the following year was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

A former rugby star, Metele was elected president of the Border Rugby Union in the late 1970s. In 1987 he was employed by the South African Council of Churches' Dependants' Conference as a fieldworker. Two years later he was detained and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to testify against a colleague. In 1983 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for activities connected with the disrupting of the 1982 Fort Hare graduation ceremony. He has since been detained several times, according to his wife, Thembeka.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for importation and distribution:

YCS — Education for Liberation ... In the struggle for justice — T-shirt (not stated); Ilambani Kahle ... the struggle continues — T-shirt (not stated); Zuid-Afrika Nieuwsbrief 3 January 1988 (not stated); Anti-Apartheid Work in Sweden (Isac and Agis); New International vol 2 no 2 fall 1985 (Pathfinder Press, New York); Youth Newsletter no 24 June 1988 (LFW/DCC Youth Desk, Switzerland); World Student News vol 42 no 3 1988 (World Student News vol 42 no 3 1988); Youth as part of the oppressed majority (not stated); Southern Africa: Apartheid, Colonialism, Aggression (Progress Publishers, Moscow); Prime Time (Joan Collins); Prank no 147 (Sonskyn Uitgewers, Johannesburg); Rubber object in the form of a penis (not stated); Big Bad Mama — film.

Mandela's future still riddle

Argus 19/8/88

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha has left his Nationalist MPs mystified about what he intends doing about jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Some are convinced his release is getting closer, but the matter has not been discussed with them. It may be raised at a caucus meeting during the short session of Parliament which starts on Monday.

The issue has arisen again as a result of Mr Mandela's illness.

Some Nationalist MPs today felt there was now more "openness" about Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Botha has declined to elaborate on his statement yesterday that "if we get the co-operation we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results".

MPs said this statement was significant and it showed that if the President could find only a "small opening" for the release of Mr Mandela, this would happen.

"Football"

They said Mr Mandela had become a "political football" and they were hopeful his release could have a positive effect on the efforts to get black leaders involved in consultations in a proposed national council.

Leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have set Mr Mandela's release as one of their pre-conditions for such participation.

Mr Botha also said he did not think it wise for Mr Mandela at his age and in his condition to choose to return to jail.

In political circles there is speculation that some alternative form of detention, possibly in a clinic or a more open jail, could be considered.

The government is seen to be sensitive to international pres-

Blaze kills four-year-old left alone in bedroom

Staff Reporter

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD girl died when flames trapped her in a bedroom on the upper floor of a maisonette in Epping Forest, Elsies River.

Police said the child, Elmarie Standard, was alone in the building in Gillwell Close when the fire started yesterday afternoon. A woman looking after her had gone briefly to a cafe nearby.

Units of the Goodwood fire brigade found the room burning fiercely.

A brigade spokesman said two firemen wearing breathing masks entered the smoke-filled building after being told a child was trapped there.

They found her charred body on the burnt-out remains of a bed.

"The child probably died of asphyxiation after inhaling toxic fumes from the burning bedding before the flames reached her."

Firemen put out the blaze soon after flames burst through the room's ceiling and roof. Heat and smoke damaged the interior of the house.

The cause has not yet been established.

Speed limit could be increased — AA chief

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The speed limit on some roads could be increased to more than 120km/h, the Automobile Association chief executive, Mr Peter Elliott, has said.

He said an AA survey was being undertaken and could be a strong factor in urging for an increase.

There was strong opposition to a change from certain areas but it was ridiculous to travel at 120km/h along one of the new superways, which were of a standard as good as any in the world, then to leave it to find that a secondary road also had a 120km/h limit.

In favour of an increased speed limit on the new toll roads was the factor that because of the high standard of roads, the accident rate had fallen to the point where accidents to date had been virtually eliminated.

Mr Elliott said South Africans were becoming "a nation of scoffers" as far as road regulation enforcement was concerned, due to the shortage of staff, and it might even be necessary to privatise a force to control traffic on toll roads.

Undoubtedly a level of law enforcement was vital while an education process was also required.

Mr Elliott was addressing a Press conference to counter criticism of AA toll road policy.

He said the AA was not instrumental in introducing the concept of tolls, had initially opposed the scheme, and because it was apolitical, criticism should be addressed to one's member of Parliament.

not think it wise for Mr Mandela at his age and in his condition to choose to return to jail.

In political circles there is speculation that some alternative form of detention, possibly in a clinic or a more open jail, could be considered.

The government is seen to be sensitive to international pressures on the issue, but warv of the internal consequences of his release.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe reacted today to a rash of rumours that the government was about to free the 70-year-old ANC leader, now being treated for tuberculosis in hospital.

No indication

Dr van der Merwe would not indicate if the release was imminent or not.

He said the government no longer had reason to hold Mr Mandela for retribution or punishment.

He was being held only because of the "prevailing circumstances."

The circumstances centred on a prognosis of what would happen to the security situation if he were released.

Part of this depended on Mr Mandela's own attitude. This was an important part of the equation and could change from day to day.

He indicated that the next step could be for Mr Mandela to respond to the "conciliatory" statement made by President Botha yesterday when he said he personally did not think it was a good idea for Mr Mandela to return to prison from hospital.

"Co-operate"

Mr Botha said that if Mr Mandela continued to "co-operate" with the government as he had recently, "we might get positive results."

Dr van der Merwe said that this did not mean that Mr Mandela had to renounce violence. But he did not make clear what Mr Mandela was expected to do or say to ensure his freedom.

"What Mr Mandela needs to do now is respond to President Botha's statement and the government will evaluate that response," he said.

"The absence of a statement renouncing violence would not necessarily prohibit the release of a prisoner — it depends on the circumstances."

● Plea to PW, page 3.

outside the Mount Nelson, the hotel of an international tourism drive.
Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

"three respected sons from 'outsid university to en into the presen pute".

Mandela: Botha silent

CAPE TIMES 19/1/88

DURBAN. — President P W Botha yesterday declined to expand on a statement which has increased speculation about the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Addressing the Natal National Party congress here, Mr Botha told delegates that if the government continued to get the co-operation it had got from Mr Mandela up to now, "I believe we will have positive results".

However, he declined to expand on what sort of co-operation he was referring to.

"I have made my statement and I am not prepared to go any further at this stage."

Earlier, Mr Botha repeated his often-stated willingness to release Mr Mandela, now in Tygerberg

● PW ready for poll, PAGE 3
● 'Games' over Mandela's release, PAGE 5

Hospital apparently with TB, if the ANC leader was prepared to reject violence.

He raised expectations about a possible release for Mr Mandela when he said: "I am prepared to release him.

"Personally I do not think at his age and in his condition it would be wise to choose to go back to jail.

"I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a humane way so that we can have peace."

● Sapa last night claimed that according to government sources, the release of Mr Mandela was "imminent".

Argus Times 19/8/88

327

George man's burial restricted

PRETORIA. — Police have imposed emergency restrictions on the funeral of an elderly man who was found dead at Lawaaikamp in George.

Police said Mr Freddie Bosch, 70, was found dead in Lawaaikamp on August 8, shortly after being resettled at Sandkraal.

Police said they suspect "radicals trying to drum up publicity" may have played a role in the episode.

The number of mourners at his funeral has been restricted to 200 and the use of a public address system prohibited. — Sapa

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 278 PRETORIA, 19 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1988 No. 11479

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1724 **19 Augustus 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Johannes Jacobus VIKTOR, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Soweto, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. J. VIKTOR,
Afdelingskommissaris: Soweto.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied"—

(a) die gebiede in die landdrosdistrik van Johannesburg bekend as—

(i) Soweto, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1506 van 17 Augustus 1956, soos gewysig;

(ii) Diepkloof en Meadowlands, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 2603 van 24 Desember 1954, soos gewysig;

(b) die gebied in die landdrosdistrik van Roodepoort bekend as Dobsonville, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing 1551 van 24 Oktober 1958, soos gewysig;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Soweto;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1724 **19 August 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

327

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Johannes Jacobus VIKTOR, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Soweto Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. J. VIKTOR,
Divisional Commissioner: Soweto.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Simon Buti MONAMETSI, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means—

(a) the areas in the Magisterial District of Johannesburg known as—

(i) Soweto, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1506 of 17 August 1956, as amended;

(ii) Diepkloof and Meadowlands, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 2603 of 24 December 1954, as amended;

(b) the area in the Magisterial District of Roodepoort known as Dobsonville, as demarcated and described in Government Notice 1551 of 24 October 1958, as amended;

"Divisional Commissioner" means the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Soweto Division;

Botha critized for 'games' over Mandela release

CAPE TIMES, 19/8/88

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE PFP and the NDM last night castigated President P W Botha for "playing political games" over the possible release of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

It was difficult to take Mr Botha's professed concern for Mr Mandela's health seriously while he was "playing political games and trying to score political points", said PFP law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan called on the NP caucus to ask Mr Botha to resign. He said the President's remarks about Mr Mandela's release were "disturbing and regrettable".

Because of Mr Mandela's illness, his age and his continued imprisonment, the international spotlight was again focussed on SA.

"Mr Botha again wants to force Mr Mandela into a position where he must first renounce violence before he can be released from prison.

"Now it appears that the President first wants to strip an ill and ageing man of his credibility with his own people, before he was freed," Mr Malan said.

Mr Van der Merwe said that what should be of great concern to Mr Botha was that Mr Mandela had contracted TB, a disease commonly associated with inadequate medical care, accommodation and diet.

● The Prisons Services yesterday declined all further comment on Mr Mandela "in view of the content the President's letter to Rev Chikane" and Mr Botha's recent public comments.

SA shows its contempt, says the AAM

LONDON. — By allowing Mr Nelson Mandela to become seriously ill, the South African authorities had demonstrated the "contempt" with which they regarded him and all South Africa's black population, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) claimed yesterday.

In a highly critical statement, the AAM said: "That the leader of South Africa's black majority can develop advanced TB while in prison is a massive indictment of apartheid's prison system."

As a chest X-ray would have shown signs of active or latent TB when Mr Mandela underwent an operation on an enlarged prostate gland in 1985, the indications were that either an X-ray was not taken or it was wrongly interpreted.

US concerned at reports

WASHINGTON. — The United States said yesterday that it was deeply concerned about the health of Mr Nelson Mandela and called on Pretoria to release him from prison. "We are deeply concerned about reports that Mr Mandela's health is deteriorating," said State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley, who added that the US was in contact with the South African government on the issue.

Noting that TB was a infectious disease directly relating to poor living conditions, malnutrition and overcrowding, it quoted estimates from the University of South Africa that at least 10 million South Africans are presently infected. Only 1% of these are whites.

The AAM also said that a "drug of choice as part of the triple therapy treatment" for TB, Rifampicin, was not available to blacks as the South African authorities claimed it was too expensive.

But a Cape Town medical expert on community health said last night: "To my knowledge this drug is available to all TB patients under skilled medical care in SA and for that reason the AAM allegation is a gross over-simplification.

"The drug is costly but these days it is not as expensive as it was and is readily available throughout the country." — Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

327

Botha 'ready' for GAA referendum

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President P W Botha yesterday made it patently clear in the face of rising agitation for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act that it is here to stay.

In a tough opening speech to the Natal National Party congress, Mr Botha also:

- Increased speculation about the possible release of Mr Nelson Mandela;
- Bluntly said black majority rule would not happen under his leadership;
- Said it was time the word "traitor" was reintroduced in respect of South Africans who pleaded for economic action against the country;
- Congratulated South Africa's negotiating teams in the Namibia-Angola peace initiative;
- Criticized black leaders for refusing to participate in negotiations for a new constitution, and
- Appealed for less "negativism" towards government steps to bring about constitutional reform which could not succeed without socio-economic reforms.

On the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha said he was prepared to hold a referendum to test white opinon about scrapping the legislation.

But, he said, he believed 70% would vote to retain it.

This would also apply to coloured people and Indians.

"I invite them to prove the opposite," he said hitting out at what he described as "hypocrisy".

Mr Botha also strongly criticized the Afrikaans-language newspaper Beeld for calling on the government to scrap the act.

He also hit out at growing radicalism in the country and said the ANC had embarked on a subtle campaign to improve its image and there were even attempts to give the Freedom Charter a more acceptable face.

"It remains what it is, a communist attempt to overthrow good order in South Africa," he said.

The government knew what the ANC was up to because it had entries to its inner circles. "That is why so many of them are in jail."

Arrangements could be made, if the ANC laid down its arms, for them to come back to the country to discuss a future constitution in a sensible manner.

In an indirect reference to the Dellums sanctions legislation in America, Mr Botha warned against outside interference in South Africa's affairs.

"If South Africa does not resist interference in its internal affairs, it will become a vassal state of the US," he said. "I am not prepared in my time to allow this."

Govt has master plan, congress told

Vlok: Overcoming onslaught is priority

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

DURBAN — Victory against the revolutionary onslaught had to be the priority of all South Africans, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

He told the Natal National Party congress that victory would not be achieved unless the hearts and minds of the majority of the country's people were won.

"If this revolutionary war which is being waged against us at a variety of levels cannot be stopped and rolled back, then we will lose our country," he told delegates.

Mr Vlok added: "Our opponents are also trying to win the hearts and minds of the people. But they are using intimidation, murder and robbery, while we must try to persuade people."

Some of the Government's actions appeared occasionally confusing and its intentions not very clear.

But the Government was working with a master plan and everything followed a strategic pattern.

This master plan rested on three pillars: security action against the revolutionaries, good government for all the people and the creation of a constitutional dispensation acceptable to most of the people.

Courage

The Government had built up the strongest defence force in Africa, and the police and other security forces were quite capable of protecting the

Mr Adriaan Vlok . . . We could lose our country.

country's people, he said.

The Government had even had the courage to declare a state of emergency so as to grant the security forces additional powers to deal with the situation.

Many people could not be arrested and taken to court, so one had to be prepared to detain them so as to take them out of the community in order to proceed with the other elements of the master plan, Mr Vlok said.

The second element, good government, required money, and South Africans should be ready to make sacrifices.

The Government did not spend money in areas where people lived in poor conditions because it wanted to hand out cash; it did so in order to address needs and grievances as part of the strategy to win hearts and minds.

On the third element, the constitutional dispensation, Mr Vlok said people should appreciate the various structures already created, which enjoyed the support of substantial numbers of the people they affected.

These included the four independent states, the six self-governing states, the tricameral Parliament and now the regional services councils.

Sickly ANC leader's response to Botha keeps all on tenterhooks

MANDELA SUSPENSE

W/E ARGUS 20/8/88

327

by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
Weekend Argus Reporter, and Correspondents

THE question of Mr Nelson Mandela's release has suddenly become more acute than ever — and it seems the answer to what happens next depends on the ageing ANC leader and his family.

The government is still awaiting a response from him to its latest release overtures.

But today the Mandela family were still keeping all in suspense. Mrs Winnie Mandela and their daughter, Zinzi, expected to visit the ageing leader at Tygerberg Hospital where he is being treated for tuberculosis, failed to arrive in the city by noon.

A battery of reporters and television crews were at DF Malan airport to record their arrival and find out whether there was any news from the family side about his possible release.

Contrary to expectation, the Mandela family members were not aboard flight SA303, which was delayed by 25 minutes and arrived at 11.25am, and had not appeared by lunchtime.

Also waiting at the airport, although standing well apart from the Press, were members of the police video unit.

There was a strong police presence at the airport and also at the hospital, especially in the section where Mr Mandela is being treated. Reporters hoping to sneak through the security cordon were turned back.

Latest proposals

It was thought that Mrs Mandela and their daughter would visit Mr Mandela to discuss latest government proposals for his release. In the past, he has responded through his family.

Once, he rejected a conditional offer of freedom in a statement read by Zinzi Mandela.

Government sources last night indicated that all that stood between Mr Mandela and freedom was some conciliatory response from him to President PW Botha.

They were speaking to Weekend Argus at the National Party's Natal congress in Durban.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said that as far as the government was concerned the retribution aspect of Mr Mandela's sentence was over.

Mr van der Merwe said: "There is no reason to punish him further for the crimes of the 1960s. That bit is over with.

"The government is now concerned with the prognosis aspect of Mr Mandela's imprisonment — what the implications would be for the country if he is released.

"The basic principle here is that Mr Mandela must be treated exactly the same as any prisoner with regard to consideration for possible release."

Top-level National Party thinking is that President Botha was most conciliatory in his statement to the congress this week concerning Mr Mandela's possible release.

Mr Botha said he did not think it would be wise for Mr Mandela, at his age and in his condition, to choose to remain in jail.

Hopes of his release were raised this week when President Botha told the National Party congress in Durban: "If we get the co-operation we have so far got from Mr Mandela, I believe we will have positive results."

Yesterday Dr van der Merwe said: "What Mr Mandela needs to do now is respond to President Botha's statement, and the government will evaluate that response."

The Mandela family's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, who accompanied Mrs Mandela on a visit to Tygerberg last week, was in Cape Town yesterday — but not to see Mr Mandela.

He said from Johannesburg last night he had had consultations with another Rivonia treason trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, at Pollsmoor on an "independent" matter.

This consultation was arranged "a while ago, but had to be postponed because of Mr Mandela's illness", Mr Ayob said.

Today's expected visit by Mrs Mandela pointed to the start of negotiations which might decide whether Mr Mandela will leave Tygerberg Hospital a free man or return to Pollsmoor to continue serving his life sentence.

Government concern about Mr Mandela's health was shown by the visit of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to him in hospital this week and his assurance afterwards that Mr Mandela was responding to treatment and was "almost his old self".

Cape Times 20/8/88 (327)

Reasons for paper's seizure

JOHANNESBURG. — Newspapers are prohibited from publishing any details of security action, beyond what appears in official government releases, or which are mentioned in Parliament or court proceedings, according to a judgment given by Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice H C J Flemming this week.

The judge was advancing reasons for his earlier decision, in which he upheld the police seizure of the Weekly Mail a fortnight ago. The Weekly Mail is to apply for leave to appeal against the judgment.

The publication was seized in terms of the emergency media regulations under an order issued by the Commissioner of Police. The publishers of the Weekly Mail went to court in a bid to have the order set aside, but failed.

The order was issued on the grounds that the Weekly Mail had infringed the emergency regulations in two ways.

It had published unauthorized accounts of security action, which is a subject on which news coverage and comment is severely restricted.

It had made subversive statements in terms of the regulations, by publishing statements "by which the system of compulsory military service is discredited or undermined".

In relation to "security action", Section 3 (1) (a) of the media regulations provides that no reports in relation to the matter may be carried except "in so far as particulars of such a matter are disclosed, announced or released or authorized for publication by a cabinet member ... or government spokesman".

Counsel for the Weekly Mail, Mr D Kuny SC, argued that once an instance of "security action" had been announced or confirmed in an official statement, this rendered publications free to comment or report more extensively on the matter.

Mr Justice Flemming ruled that if reports were to be made "in so far" as they were officially given, this was only in so far as the official statement went. — Sapa

PW and Naspers showdown soon?

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President Botha and his long-time political allies, Nasionale Pers, appear to be headed for a serious confrontation.

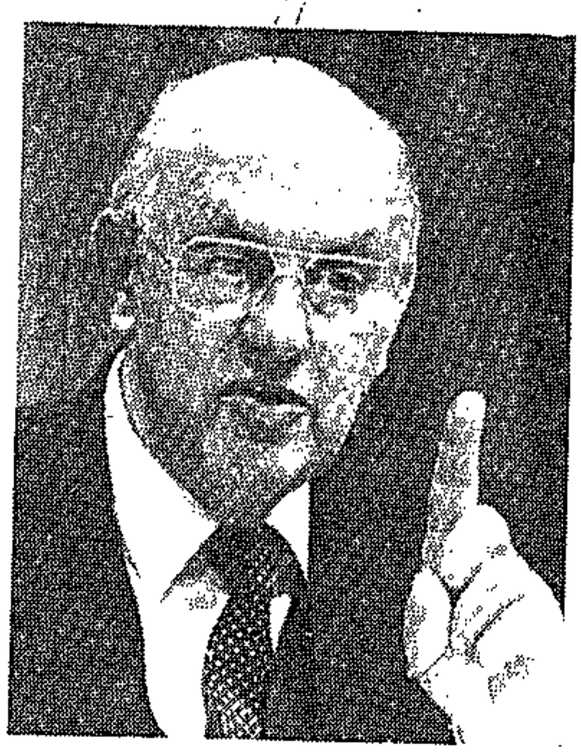
Mr Botha strongly attacked the newspaper group's Johannesburg daily, Beeld, on Thursday, for an editorial in which it called for the scrapping of the proposed controversial legislation concerning the Group Areas Act.

But the group's chairman, Prof Piet Cillie, a personal friend and supporter of Mr Botha's over many years, has virtually dismissed the president's thinly veiled call on the board to take action against the newspaper.

He said the board was not a "super editor".

And, in its main editorial, the newspaper made it clear yesterday that it was totally unrepentant for its editorial and said it only had South Africa's best interests in mind.

In a footnote, printed in bold type, the newspaper said Mr Botha would probably agree that a "short temper" was a common human failing of "even the best of us".



Mr P W Botha

Taking strong exception to the newspaper's Group Areas editorial, Mr Botha accused it of irresponsibility and playing into the hands of the NP's enemies.

He had often stuck out his neck for the newspaper group and spoke of the camaraderie which had existed between them in a spirit of neither one dominating nor embarrassing the other.

But Beeld, whose name he never mentioned, had made a habit of embarrassing the government at short intervals.

Prof Cillie said his board would discuss the "problem" which had arisen between Mr Botha and the newspaper.

"In the meantime I would point out that the board places a high value on the independence and autonomy of its group's newspapers and does not act as a prescriptive super-editor," he said.

The board would therefore like to see the problem which has apparently arisen between the State President and Beeld, to be settled by themselves.

He confirmed the camaraderie between Nasionale Pers and the party in the spirit that neither would dominate nor embarrass each other. It had not always been an easy path to walk but the group would attempt to continue in this vein.

NP laws to be rejected, says LP

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday that his party would reject all National Party legislation during the coming short session of Parliament.

Interviewed yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party caucus would meet on Monday to discuss its role during the session.

He said the Labour Party still stood by its rejection of the three Bills amending the Group Areas Act — due to come before Parliament this session — "and all other legislation proposed by the National Party".

Probed on the issue, Mr Hendrickse agreed it would be a "blanket rejection".

No conflict with 'press' — Stoffel

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — There was no conflict between the government and the "conventional" press, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, said yesterday.

Replying to a resolution at the Natal National Party congress, calling for steps against the "revolutionary role of the alternative press", Mr Botha said that action had been taken in this respect.

But there was great appreciation in the government for the "tremendously important role the conventional press has played in the history of South Africa".

"Generally speaking, the press has made a much more positive contribution than it has been credited with," said Mr Botha.

While there was no conflict between the press and the government, there were "vigorous exchanges" from time to time.

It was the government's duty to ensure that there was a free press in South Africa and the government wanted to lift the emergency media regulations as soon as possible.

They had been devised to deal with a situation of violent unrest, fed by the ANC and supported by the SA Communist Party who wanted to overthrow the government.

The ANC's goal was to get the press to support its aims and the government would not hesitate to clamp down on any publication doing so.

"This is not simply a question of ordinary criticism of the government. It is a question of the violent overthrow of the government," he said.

Govt to deal with street children

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The government was working on a national strategy to deal with "street kids", Dr Willie van Niekerk, Minister of National Health and Welfare, said yesterday.

Several government departments were working on the problem.

"We must get them off the streets. There is a rehabilition problem and they must be trained for some job," he told the Natal NP congress, where several delegates expressed concern about the problem with "street kids" in Durban.

It was not a problem which could be handled by individual city councils, he said.

'Dangers posed by its activities leave no other choice . . .'

Mr Vlok

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE government today effectively banned the End Conscription Campaign.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, acted against the organisation in terms of the emergency security regulations.

In terms of a notice in the Government Gazette, the ECC is prohibited from carrying out or performing any activity or act.

Although not an outright ban, the step will freeze the ECC. The action is similar to that taken against 18 extra-parliamentary organisations earlier this year.

Mr Vlok said in a statement: "The dangers posed by the activities and acts of the ECC to the safety of the public and the maintainance of the public order and the termination of the state of emergency leave no other choice than to act against it and to prohibit the organisation from any activities or acts."

Mr Vlok said the main purpose — basically the sole purpose — of the ECC was to launch campaigns encouraging opposition to military service.

The ECC was trying to discourage the citizenry from supporting the Defence Force and from doing national service in its true sense.

The activities of the ECC were part of the "so-called" struggle against apartheid and the "so-called" national liberation struggle.

At the ECC's national conference in February it was, among other things, decided that there should be closer links between the ECC and the United Democratic Front.

There was abundant proof that the UDF was the tool of the African National Congress for carrying out the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa.

Mr Vlok said the ECC attempted to create an impression of political neutrality.

But it was not difficult to see the organisation's role in the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa.

This year the ANC appealed to white South Africans to join the ECC. The ANC was "most positive in regard to those refusing to do national service".

The ANC's national executive committee had said in a statement on August 17: "The national executive committee also welcomed the decision by scores of young white South Africans to refuse to serve the racist South African army."

Onslaught

Mr Vlok said South Africa was the target of a multidimensional revolutionary onslaught finely orchestrated by the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance.

Terror acts against civilian targets and attempts to render South Africa ungovernable were some of the most important strategies in this drive.

The national executive committe of the ANC issued a statement on August 17 admitting that Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC, had attacked civilian targets in South Africa which caused the death of defenceless civilians.

The public security forces, including the Defence Force, played a decisive role in protecting the inhabitants of South Africa against the deeds mentioned. In addition, the SADF was responsible for safeguarding the borders against terrorism threatening the security of all South Africans.

Influenced

Mr Vlok said that as a result of the ECC's campaigns, many liable for national service were influenced to refuse military service.

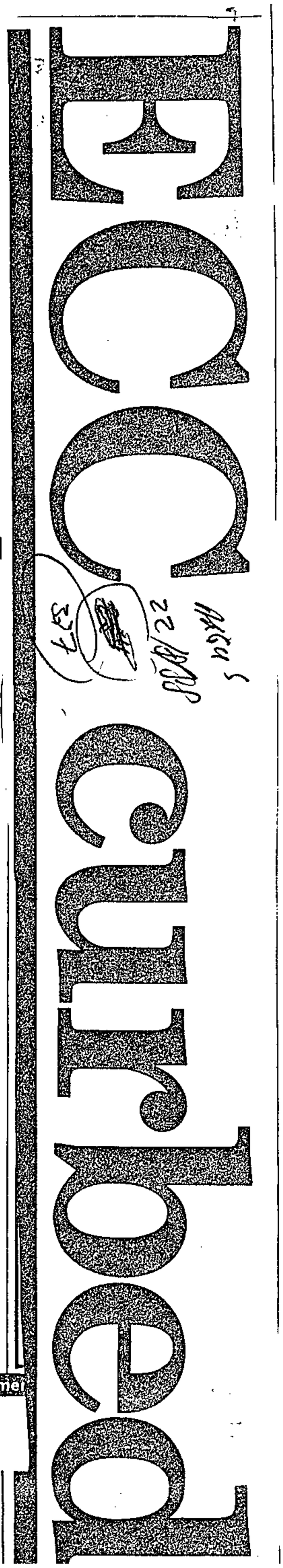
"Their refusal is not necessarily founded on political convictions. The result is that such persons are tried and sentenced in terms of the ordinary laws of the land. This would probably not have happened had it not been for the ECC's campaign against military service.

"It is also known that the ECC actively assists service dodgers who leave South Africa to require residence permits in the United Kingdom. Once such permits have been acquired they are permitted to work in the UK and should they be unable to obtain employment they become entitled to social security benefits.

"In England seminars aimed at politicising military service evaders are held."

ECC patron Sir Richard Luyt said he regretted the government's move.

INSIDE: Finance 8, For Women



	Light industries	
In use	5,4 ha	29%
In construction	0,3 ha	2%
Vacant	2,2 ha	12%
Sub-total	7,9 ha	43%
	General industries	
In use	5,4 ha	29%
In construction	0,2 ha	1%
Vacant	5,0 ha	27%
Sub-total	10,6 ha	57%
Total	18,5 ha	100%

(2) *Margate industrial area* is not under consideration as a development point. Until such time as the investigation of the Regional Industrial Development Scheme is completed, no further development points will be considered.

Grey's Hospital: patients/doctors

1341. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) How many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Indians and (d) Blacks were treated at Grey's Hospital during each of the latest specified five years for which figures are available:

(2) (a) how many (i) White, (ii) Coloured, (iii) Indian and (iv) Black doctors are employed at this hospital and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

Admissions:

	1983	*1984*	*1985*	*1986/87*	*1987/88*
(1) (a) Whites	16 073	16 076	18 177	20 319	23 303
(b) Coloureds	—	—	—	—	33
(c) Indians	—	—	—	—	513
(d) Blacks	—	—	—	—	99
*Total; Non-Whites	—	—	19	88	645
Total:	16 073	16 076	18 196	20 407	23 948

Out-patients:

	1983	*1984*	*1985*	*1986/87*	*1987/88*
(a) Whites	81 940	82 465	90 048	93 322	70 533
(b) Coloureds	—	—	—	—	379
(c) Indians	—	—	—	—	488
(d) Blacks	—	—	—	—	2 321
*Total; Non-Whites	—	—	—	952	3 188
Total:	81 940	82 465	90 048	94 274	73 721

* Prior to the financial year 1987/88, statistics for Coloured, Asian and Black patients were not reported individually but as total non-White patients. A more detailed patient admission analysis has been introduced with effect from the 1987/88 financial year.

(2) (a) (i) 68

(ii) 1

(iii) 3

(iv) none

(b) 27 June 1988

Karl Marx Selected Works, Volume I not undesirable

1344. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he will furnish the names of the persons who requested the Directorate of Publications to set aside a Publications Appeal Board decision that the publication *Karl Marx Selected Works, Volume I* was not undesirable; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The publication *Karl Marx Selected Works, Volume I*, was examined in 1977 by a committee of publications in terms of section 11(2) of the Publications Act, 1974 and found to be undesirable under section 47(2)(e) of the Act. In April 1988 the Directorate of Publications caused this publication to be submitted on

review in terms of section 15(1)(a)(ii) and a committee of publications which examined it under section 15(2)(a) decided under section 15(2)(b) of the Act that it was not undesirable.

Passenger tariffs rail services/air travel: Johannesburg to Cape Town

1345. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What were the passenger tariffs from Johannesburg to Cape Town for (a) rail services and (b) air travel during each of the latest specified five years for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(a)	First-class	Second-class	Third-class
1 January 1983	R111,00	R 74,00	R35,50
1 August 1983	R111,00	R 78,00	R39,00
1 April 1984	R120,00	R 88,00	R46,00
6 February 1985	R156,00	R110,00	R55,00
17 November 1985	R171,00	R121,00	R61,00
1 April 1986	R197,00	R139,00	R70,00
1 July 1987	R230,00	R163,00	R82,00

(b)	First-class*	Business 0 class	Economy class
1 January 1983	R202,00	—	R155,00
1 August 1983	R209,00	—	R161,00
1 April 1984	R222,00	—	R171,00
1 November 1984	—	R197,00	—
1 February 1985	R247,00	R219,00	R190,00
1 October 1985	R272,00	R240,00	R209,00
1 March 1986	R299,00	R265,00	R230,00

The tariffs furnished under parts (a) and (b) of the reply became operative on the dates indicated. Various discounted air and train fares also exist.

* Service withdrawn on 1 June 1987.

0 Service introduced on 1 Nobember 1984.

Telephone services

1351. Mr A E NOTHNAGEL asked the Minister of Communications:†

(1) (a) How many telephones are there in (i) private homes and (ii) business undertakings in Rietfontein, Villieria, Rietondale, Wonderboom South and Riviera, respectively, at present, (b) which telephone exchanges serve each of these suburbs, (c) how many (i) private homes and (ii) business undertakings in each of these suburbs are waiting for telephone services at present and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) whether extensions to the above-mentioned telephone exchanges are envisaged; if so, (a) when, and (b) at what cost, in each case?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

(1) (a) and (b) As subscriber records are only kept in respect of exchange areas, it is unfortunately not possible to furnish the number of telephone services in respect of each of the suburbs referred to by the honourable member. With the exception of a portion of Riviera which is served by the Pretoria Central exchange, all the suburbs referred to are provided with telephone service from the Rietfontein exchange. On the date mentioned in (d) below there were 7 756 residential and 1 240 business telephones connected to the Rietfontein exchange. For the reason already mentioned, the number of telephones in Riviera that are connected to the Pretoria Central exchange is also not readily available;

(c) (i) one each in Rietfontein, Villieria, Rietondale and Wonderboom South and none in Riviera; and

(ii) none;

Cape Times

(327)

Reworded order on ECC ban

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday gazetted a notice prohibiting the End Conscription Campaign from performing any acts or activities.

He said in a statement that an order issued on Monday, restricting the activities of the "End Conscription Committee", had been withdrawn to be substituted by the new order.

The initial order referred to "Committee" on the grounds that this name had been used in a constitution of the organization.

The name in the order had been changed because the organization had filed a Supreme Court application — in connection with another matter — in which it explained that its name had been changed to "End Conscription Campaign", Mr Vlok said.

This name was used in the new order "to remove any possible uncertainty".

The order was published in the Government Gazette number 11484, in terms of emergency regulation 7 (4). — Sapa

Mandela 'making good progress'

ARGUS 22/8/88

327

Staff Reporter

NELSON MANDELA is making good progress in Tygerberg Hospital, the superintendent, Dr J G L Strauss, said today.

However, he said he did not know when the African National Congress leader would be discharged.

The Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, who is to consult Mrs Winnie Mandela later today, said he was "certain Mrs Mandela would want to visit her husband some time this week".

It is reported from London that family and friends of Mr Mandela believe President Botha is trying to divide the jailed ANC leader's support by selective releases of information.

John Matisonn reports in the Observer that this is the interpretation of the apparently inexplicable snippets of information since Mr Mandela's transfer to hospital became known.

They say the only new thing in the speech by Mr Botha last week to the National Party's Natal congress was the statement that if Mr Mandela "continues to co-operate, I believe we will get positive results".

In fact, says the report, neither Mr Mandela's lawyers, his family nor his political allies are aware of any co-operation by him except over his illness. — Staff Reporter and The Argus Foreign Service.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer *Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper*

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 278 PRETORIA, 22 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1988 No. 11481

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. 1732 **22 Augustus 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOOD-REGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 7 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, verbied ek, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die organisasie END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE, vanaf afkondiging van hierdie bevel en behoudens regulasie 7 (4) van gemelde regulasies, om enige bedrywighede of handelinge hoegenaamd te beoefen of te verrig.

A. J. VLOK,
Minister van Wet en Orde.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. 1732 **22 August 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 7 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, hereby prohibit the organization END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE, as from publication of this order and subject to regulation 7 (4) of the said regulations, from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever.

A. J. VLOK,
Minister of Law and Order.

327

Screws tighten on ECC

(327)

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday gazetted a notice prohibiting the "End Conscription Campaign" from performing any acts or activities.

He said in a statement that an order issued on Monday, restricting the activities of the "End Conscription Committee", had been withdrawn to be substituted by the new order.

The initial order referred to "committee" on the grounds that this name had been used in a constitution of the organisation.

The name in the order had been changed because the organisation had filed a Supreme Court application — in connection with another matter — in which it explained that its name had been changed to "End Conscription Campaign", Mr Vlok said.

This name was used in the new order "to remove any possible uncertainty".

The order was published in the Government Gazette Number 11484, in terms of Emergency Regulation 7 (4). — Sapa.

Sowetan

Mandela discharge soon?

Cape Times 22/8/88 327

By CHRIS STEYN

AS medical personnel at Tygerberg Hospital were yesterday waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela's personal physician to give the go-ahead for his discharge, calls mounted for his "immediate" release from prison.

The Tygerberg Hospital superintendent on duty, Dr Robbie Truter, said he did not know exactly when Mr Mandela would be discharged.

"It depends on his personal physician. He not has given us any indication. We won't know until it happens," Dr Truter said.

He told the Cape Times Mr Mandela was "doing fine". "He is up and about, and there is actually no change in his condition," Dr Truter said.

PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday that she would reapply to Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee to visit Mr Mandela.

She called President P W Botha's demand that Mr Mandela renounce violence a "ridiculous" prerequisite, and vowed to press for his earliest release.

"If, upon his release, he is responsible for acts of violence, he will have broken common law and be sent right back to prison. It is an absurd condition for the President to make."

At the weekend, Tygerberg Hospital's superintendent Dr J G L Strauss disclosed details of Mr Mandela's "tuberculous pleural effusion" for the first time.

"Following on a medical consultation Mr Mandela had with Professor Heindrich Hertzog of Switzerland, president of the European Society of Pneumology, yesterday and Mr Mandela's subsequent discussions with Professor M A de Kock, I am now in a position to report fully on Mr Mandela's conditon.

"He was diagnosed on August 13 as suffering from a tuberculous pleural effusion and immediate pleural draining and pleural biopsy was performed and the appropriate medical treatment commenced.

"I am now pleased to report that the effusion has cleared up, the drain was removed on August 15, and that his lung is now fully expanded.

"Professor De Kock is of the opinion that Mr Mandela's prognosis for complete recovery is excellent. There is no lung involvement and he is not infectious. I also wish to quote Prof Hertzog: 'In summary I could totally confirm the diagnoses made by Professor De Kock and I fully agree with the treatment of the malady'."

Meanwhile, the Mandela family has "urgently requested" that the authorities of Pollsmoor Prison provide the family with the medical records relating to the ANC leader's health to enable them to dispel "nagging doubts".

327

33 unlawful groups—Coetzee

Political Staff

THERE were 33 unlawful organizations in South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

These were: The Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African People of SA, Black Parents' Association, Black People's Convention, Black Women's Federation, Border Youth Organization, Communist Party of SA, Eastern Cape Youth Organization, Medupe Writers Association, Natal Youth Organization, National Youth Organization, SA Communist Party, SA Congress of Democrats, SA Students' Movement, SA Students' Organization, Soweto Students' Representative Council, Black Community Programmes Ltd, Christian Institute of SA, Defence and Aid Fund, Transvaal Youth Organization, Union of Black Journalists, Western Cape Youth Organization, Zimele Trust Fund, African National Congress, African Resistance Movement, Dance Association, Football Club, Football League, Pan Africanist Congress, Poqo, SAA Football League, Spear of the Nation, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Congress of SA Students.

Govt places effective ban on ECC

Business Day Reporter

THE End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was effectively banned yesterday with an announcement in terms of the emergency regulations by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The restriction, condemned by a wide range of organisations, was gazetted in Government Gazette No 11481.

It prohibits the ECC from "carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever" from today, subject to provisos that say the order will not prohibit the organisation from preservings its assets, keeping books and records up to date, complying with an obligation imposed on it under any law or by a court, taking legal advice or judicial steps or carrying on such activities the minister may have consented to.

Cape Times 23/8/88 (327)

Ban on ECC a move towards 'dictatorship'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and MONICA GRAAFF

THE government's decision effectively to ban the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was widely condemned yesterday.

The move followed the recent refusal by 143 white South Africans to do military service and was accompanied by a highly significant government admission that as a result of the ECC's campaigns "many South Africans liable for national service are influenced to refuse to do military service".

In motivating the crackdown, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said: "The dangers posed by the ECC to the safety of the public, the maintenance of the public order and the termination of the state of emergency, leave no other choice than to act against the ECC and to prohibit the organization from continuing any activities or acts."

However, a number of organizations and political parties defended the right of the ECC to oppose compulsory military conscription and noted that ECC's views on the issue mirrored their own.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said his party opposed military conscription "until such a time that all South Africans have full and equal political, economic and social rights".

He added: "We therefore believe that the ECC is entitled to oppose conscription while the army is seen as supporting the unjust apartheid policies of the National Party government.

"The party condemns the banning of the ECC as another step on the road of totalitarian government by a government unable to take cognizance of opposing views."

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said Mr Hendrickse's statement on national service evaders was "a reckless and irresponsible manner to deal with matters affecting security and the SADF".

He said that by choosing sides with national service evaders yesterday, Mr Hendrickse, had chosen against the SADF and played right into the hands of "terrorists".

The PFP's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said: "The ECC view that conscription should be done away with, is shared by many other organizations — and certainly also by the PFP — and this view has the right to be promoted.

"The effective banning of the ECC is clear evidence of a government that is becoming more dictatorial.

"There is not one single case on record where a member of the ECC has been charged and convicted of an offence relating to his activities as a member of that organization.

"The banning will give impetus to the view that the government increasingly views the Defence Force as an instrument of their own apartheid policies rather than an instrument for the defence of South Africa," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The Cape Democrats yesterday condemned the banning of the ECC and said it would not stop young men from refusing service in the SADF nor the call for alternative service.

It commended the ECC for its courageous opposition to conscription into an army which invaded neighbouring states, patrolled schools and townships, and was seen by the majority of people as defending apartheid.

Nusas said yesterday that since 1983 the ECC had played a patriotic role in representing the real concerns of conscripts by calling for an end to compulsory conscription.

"Thousands of students on our campuses are leaving South Africa each year because they refuse to serve in an army that defends apartheid. The banning of the ECC will not stem this tide," it said.

NEWS ... Mr Glenn Goosen, a member and office worker of the ECC, telephoning fellow members yesterday to tell them of the action taken against the organization. Picture: REUTERS

23/8/88 327 Star

'Another step on road to totalitarianism'

Sharp criticism of Govt ban on ECC

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party leader the Rev erend Allan Hendrickse has condemned the banning of the End Conscription Campaign.

Yesterday's banning was another step on the road of totalitarian government by a government unable to take cognisance of opposing views, he said.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party opposed military conscription until all South Africans had full and equal political, economic and social rights.

"We therefore believe the ECC is entitled to oppose conscription while the army was seen as under-girding and supporting the unjust apartheid policies of the National Party Government," he said.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil rights Mrs Helen Suzman said the Government's action was an outrageous example of its heavy-handedness.

"The ECC is a perfectly legal single-issue pressure group advocating the end of military conscription as it is practised in South Africa.

"It has done so in a totally peaceful, constitutional and legal manner.

"We believe conscription should be phased out and replaced with a professional army of volunteers to defend South Africa's borders.

"Conscription is wasteful and is a major cause of the brain drain," Mrs Suzman said.

"Until conscription is phased out, we believe alternative community service should be offered to conscriptees who do not want to serve in the SADF."

ECC patron Sir Richard Luyt said he regretted the Government's move.

"Having been close to the ECC since their formation and having taken part in some of their actions, I have acquired admiration and respect for their purposes, integrity and courage," he said.

"Every time opposition against the Government becomes effective, they get hit on the head. All the bannings are dents in democracy."

National Union of SA Students president Mr Steve Kromberg said the banning of the ECC would not stem the tide of thousands of students leaving South Africa each year because they refused to serve in an "apartheid" army.

Mr Kromberg said the Government's attempt to paint all opposition to its policies as part of the revolutionary onslaught was absurd.

Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton said campaigns to end conscription, to get the SA Defence Force out of the townships and to work towards non-military alternatives for national service had not broken any law.

"Instead they have done more to create goodwill and understanding than any action of the Government could do," Mrs Burton said.

The members of the ECC had demonstrated their commitment to building a better South Africa, she said.

The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, called the banning counter-productive. — Sapa and Own Correspondents.

Curbs on ECC

THE Government has restricted the End Conscription Committee, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok announced yesterday.

In terms of the emergency security legislation, the End Conscription Committee (ECC) may not carry out or perform any activity or act.

In a statement issued in Cape Town, Mr Vlok said the main purpose — basically the sole purpose — of the ECC was to launch campaigns encouraging opposition to military service.

The ECC was attuned to discouraging citizens from supporting the South African Defence Force and from doing national service in its true sense.

These activities were a link in the so-called struggle against apartheid and the so-called national liberation struggle undermining an existing state structure.

MINISTER Vlok

327

On Parade

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

ECC ban: Too complex for easy comment

Cape Times 24/8/88

327

IT WILL be interesting to see if the virtual ban imposed on the End Conscription Campaign will have the effect of strangling that organization or merely turning it into a martyr, operating underground and abroad.

I do not believe the banning is necessarily another step on the road to dictatorship, as one politician will have it, but it is certainly a serious affair which is by way of constituting a watershed of some kind.

At first glance it would appear to give stature to the ECC's claim of ever-widening support, but I am sure the situation is too complex for first glances.

Some observers might describe the ban as less unfortunate than it might have been, the thesis being that if Pretoria had opted for the softlee-softlee-catchee-monkee approach and made two fairly minor changes to the existing rules it would have cut the ground out from under the ECC's feet.

This sort of manoeuvre is a constant danger to any one-issue organization, of course, and it would certainly have defused the ECC's effort considerably.

From my own point of view the ban means that I shall probably never discover just how many people are actually involved in the objection business.

The ECC claims thousands of supporters, and says thousands more have fled overseas to evade national service, but it has never issued figures in this regard and I doubt if anyone knows how many of the overseas-goers are objectors and how many are simply seeking better prospects and a sounder exchange rate.

On the other hand, the government has never published any figures either, so I still do not know whether the ban results from personal pique at the ECC's endless nagging or broad agreement with the organization's claims of support.

In one sense the ban has certainly hurt the ECC's overt operations, for example its recent move away from its established image by supplying (as I have noted in this column) generally impartial advice to prospective national servicemen.

This tactic could have helped it to build up a broader following. Is that a clue? I don't know.

Saluting, continued

Last week's blast about rumours of an all-side-same-side SADF salute has struck some responsive chords among readers, I notice — all negative, let me add.

My advice to the generals is: Be wary of this one, if a new salute is really on the stocks. You are going to wreck some ancient traditions and needlessly irritate many of the members without whom you would be leaders without followers.

The fact is that the army-style SADF salute has been deteriorating ever since someone decided in the early 1970s to replace the long-way-up-short-way-down "chop" with a bastardized short-way-up-short-way-down version.

The new version was impossible to define or regulate firmly enough, and soon degenerated into a variety of fly-catching gestures.

The solution is obvious. Admit the original mistake and return to the traditional long-way-up salute, which was both smart and definable.

It was also firmly rooted in tradition. The army/SAAF open-palm salute is a gesture of friendship because it shows there is no weapon in the hand; in the naval salute, on the other hand, the hand is turned inwards because in the masts-and-yards days palms were often tarry from handling ropes.

These are fine traditions. It would be a sin to throw either away, when so many meaningful customs from the past have been brutally abolished already.

● In the early 1980s, somebody at Defence headquarters stepped even further outside traditional SADF usages and introduced a bare-headed salute — never having heard, apparently, of the traditional custom by which an un-head-geared officer returns a salute with a nod and a greeting.

This ghastly custom has never really caught on; today it is used by some Permanent Force members, who have no choice, and ignored by most other people.

● *Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.*

BAN UNDER FIRE

BANNING the End Conscription Campaign told South Africa's critics just a little more of what they liked to hear as they clamoured for tighter and tougher sanctions, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, said in a statement.

"We seem to be right back in the worst days of apartheid's excesses. So much for reform.

"My heart goes out to those young people who have struggled so hard to keep the anti-conscription flag flying," Archbishop Hurley said.

"SA going right back'

Mr Rob Goldman, who has long campaigned for alternative forms of national service, said: "Banning the ECC is a short-sighted action on the part of the Government.

"People are still going to be leaving the country, going into exile, rather than serve in the SADF. And this is still going to damage the economy. People are still going to go to jail."

By banning the ECC, the Government was treating the symptom, and not the urgent need for alternative service for those people who in good conscience could not serve in the SADF, Mr Goldman said.

The Government's ban on the ECC was a response to a public statement made by 143 conscripts around the country recently that they would not serve in the SADF for moral, political and religious reasons.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 278 PRETORIA, 24 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1988 No. 11484

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. 1751 **24 Augustus 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOOD-REGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 7 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, verbied ek, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die organisasie bekend onder die naam of vaandel "END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN", vanaf afkondiging van hierdie bevel en behoudens regulasie 7 (4) van gemelde regulasies, om enige bedrywighede of handelinge hoegenaamd te beoefen of te verrig.

Goewermentskennisgewing 1732, gedateer 22 Augustus 1988 word hierby ingetrek.

A. J. VLOK,
Minister van Wet en Orde.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. 1751 **24 August 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 7 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, hereby prohibit the organization known under the name or banner "END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN", as from publication of this order and subject to regulation 7 (4) of the said regulations, from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever.

Government Notice 1732, dated 22 August 1988 is hereby withdrawn.

A. J. VLOK,
Minister of Law and Order.

327

Cape Times 24/8/88

327

'ANC wants Mandela jailed'

Political Staff

THE African National Congress would prefer to keep its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, in jail, according to a highly-trained former Umkhonto we Sizwe regional commander.

Introduced to the media at a police camp near Cape Town yesterday only as "Mr X", the Savimbi look-alike, who joined the SAP after 10 years on the run, said disillusionment in ANC cadres was rife.

Trained in Angola, East Germany and Moscow, "Mr X" said that Mr Mandela's release would cause "chaos" in ANC ranks and that its current leader in exile, Mr Oliver Tambo, "would not like Mr Mandela to take his job".

"The ANC is pleased with Mr Mandela in jail," he said.

"He is a mobilizing factor for the ANC outside the country while in jail."

"Mr X" said he had left the organization after becoming disillusioned with the movement's lack of successes, time-wasting, the exploitation by its leaders of young women in Umkhonto we Sizwe and the embezzlement of money.

He believed that many of the dissidents now in punishment camps in Angola would return to South Africa if they could.

Morale was also low because of changes taking place in South Africa.

"The ANC did not like the advent of the tricameral Parliament and would love the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to take over because it would oppress blacks and unite them," he said.

He confirmed that more whites were joining the ANC and that "95% of the executive" are members of the South African Communist Party.

In his time with the ANC he had been involved in one direct armed contact with the police and had participated in three bomb attacks.

He said the ANC had been taken by surprise by the 1976 uprising but had used it to further its own aims and had later infiltrated the United Democratic Front (UDF) and organizations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

He said that after mass mobilization of the people the ultimate aim was armed insurrection.

"After this it would be the end of the Freedom Charter and a socialist revolution in its place," he said.

"Mr X" said recent ANC attacks on "soft" targets such as shopping centres was not a change of direction by the organization. They had been approved in 1983, largely as a retaliatory measure in reply to cross-border raids by South African security forces.

He believed the latest statement by the ANC that it was opposed to attacking "soft" targets had been made for diplomatic reasons.

The ANC did not have total control over its men on "long-term" missions in South Africa, in which they set up their own support structures and took their own decisions on what to attack.

Only one showing of Slovo film

Cape Times 24/5/87

327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The film "World Apart", written and directed by Shawn Slovo, daughter of SACP leader and former chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Mr Joe Slovo, has been allowed one showing in SA — at the Weekly Mail Film Festival here.

The Publications Appeal Board yesterday granted "World Apart" festival exemption for one showing. The film will be screened at the Market Theatre Warehouse this week.

Winner of the Jury Special Award and joint Best Acress ward for its three stars at the Cannes Film Festival this year, the film is set in SA in 1963 and focuses on the relationship of a white political activist and her 13-year-old daughter.

The film, which was given a 15-minute standing ovation at Cannes, is said to be an autobiographical account of the relationship between Slovo and her mother, Ms Ruth First, who was killed in a parcel bomb explosion in Maputo in 1982.

13 when jailed, claims girl

18-24/8/88

Sowetan 327

By RYLAND FISHER

THEMBEKA Jacobs, released this week after serving an 18-month sentence for public violence, will return to a house without parents in the rural Eastern Cape town, Molteno.

Her mother, Mrs Eunice Jacobs, was convicted with Thembeka and is serving a five-year jail sentence at Sterkstroom.

Her father worked at a bakery in East London at the time of their arrest. He is not aware of her release and will not be home to welcome her.

The former Standard Five pupil at Lomonde Location, Molteno, walked out of Pollsmoor Prison on Tuesday into a row over her age.

She told journalists at a press conference hours after her release that she was born on December 24 1973 and that she was arrested a few days after her 13th birthday.

"I was 13 when I was sentenced to three years in prison, with 18 months suspended," she said.

Her age was verified by hospital records but denied by the Prisons Service who said she was 17 years old when arrested.

Thembeka Jacobs

Facing a barrage of questions and cameras, Thembeka said she had undergone a heart operation when four years old. She said she had to get medication while in prison.

Thembeka said she had been held in a single cell at Pollsmoor since September last year.

Before that she had been held in Sterkstroom, Burgersdorp Middelburg and Colesberg, she said.

SOWETAN, Wednesday, August 24, 1988

BAN UNDER FIRE

BANNING the End Conscription Campaign told South Africa's critics just a little more of what they liked to hear as they clamoured for tighter and tougher sanctions, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, said in a statement.

"We seem to be right back in the worst days of apartheid's excesses. So much for reform.

"My heart goes out to those young people who have struggled so hard to keep the anti-conscription flag flying," Archbishop Hurley said.

"SA going right back'

Mr Rob Goldman, who has long campaigned for alternative forms of national service, said: "Banning the ECC is a short-sighted action on the part of the Government.

"People are still going to be leaving the country, going into exile, rather than serve in the SADF. And this is still going to damage the economy. People are still going to go to jail."

By banning the ECC, the Government was treating the symptom, and not the urgent need for alternative service for those people who in good conscience could not serve in the SADF, Mr Goldman said.

The Government's ban on the ECC was a response to a public statement made by 143 conscripts around the country recently that they would not serve in the SADF for moral, political and religious reasons.

25/8– 1/9/88

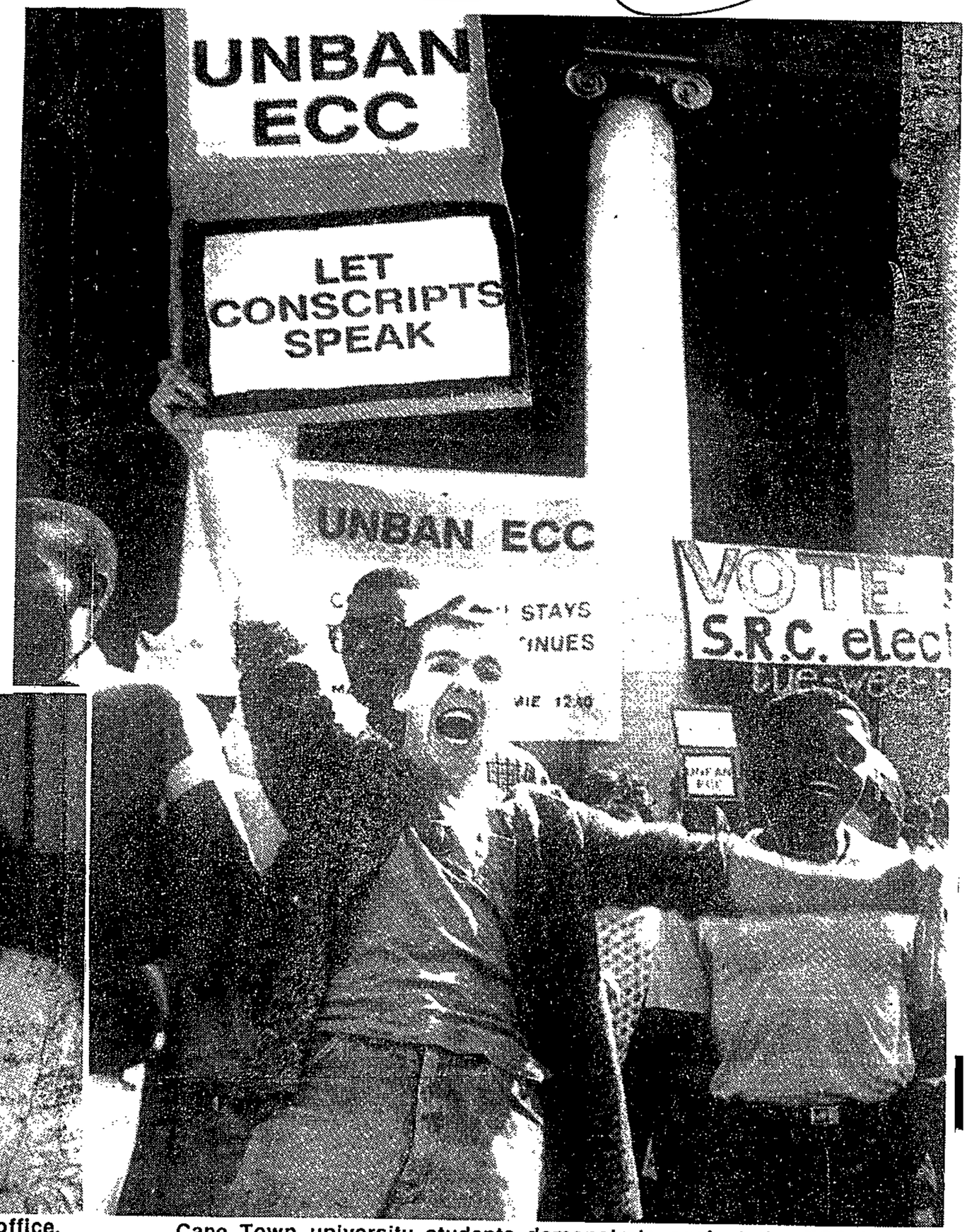
327

FOCUS: THE ECC BANNING

Charge: Undermining a state structure. Sentence: Silence

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok silenced the End Conscription Campaign this week — the first 'white' organisation to be banned in a quarter century. ANTON HARBER reports on the campaign's five controversial years

Glen Goosen, in the ECC office, informs his colleagues of the bannin



Cape Town university students demonstrate against the ECC banning

Pictures: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

25/8-1/9/85 327

The conscription issue was highlighted by the secret invasion of Angola in 1976, but it became most important when troops were sent into the townships to combat unrest in September 1984.

It was that move — rather than anything the ECC had done in the first year of its life — that thrust the organisation onto centre stage.

Suddenly the South African Defence Force's apolitical role was thrown into doubt; it was clear conscripts were being made to take part in some form of civil war — and that led to a new questioning by political organisations and individual conscripts.

The declaration of a national State of Emergency in June 1986, with the concomitant detentions, bannings of meetings and other restrictions, heralded a difficult time for the ECC.

In particular, Emergency regulations made it illegal to "undermine the system of compulsory military conscription" — and therefore removed the ECC's main focus.

The organisation switched tack, putting its energy into campaigning for its right to oppose conscription, rather than actually opposing it.

But, Teeling-Smith conceded, it was a hiatus for the organisation, a period of self-reflection when it lacked direction and focus.

"We got back to the issue in two ways. Firstly, we tried to break down the idea of the ECC as an organisation of objectors. We reached out to conscripts, we had tended to ignore this constituency in the past. We started to publish booklets for conscripts, we held know-your-rights meetings, and so on.

"Secondly, we focused on alternative service."

The ECC called for a change in the Defence Act to recognise non-religious objectors and allow them to do four years of alternative service. "We believed that was a reasonable period. It is long enough to discourage shirkers, but not like the current six-year period, which is punitive," Teeling-Smith said.

This was not a short-term campaign. It started early this year and was due to last up to 18 months. It involved not just protest but research, lobbying and making representations to the government.

Military developments in the mid-1980s led to a new spate of questioning about the role of the military and the position of conscripts.

It was the confluence of ECC campaigning, its unusually populist image and political events in this period that shot the organisation into prominence.

The SADF's repeated incursions into Angola — and particularly its admission last year that its primary purpose there was to defend Unita, rather than South Africa or even Namibia — did more to raise questions about conscription than the ECC's activities.

Even the most ardent conservative and traditional patriot could be thrown into doubt by the prospect of giving his life for what was essentially a civil war in a neighbouring state.

Growing SADF casualty lists meant growing concern among those who were called upon to serve. Inevitably, this ensured the ECC's criticisms of the SADF would be listened to by a growing number of youths facing military service — and their friends and families.

Those were moral questions, but the issue had a simple, practical dimension as well: the number of skilled youths leaving the country to avoid what was seen as a wasted two years in the army. Many had no moral doubts about serving but simply saw it as a career hindrance.

Official figures show that, for example, in the first three months of this year 381 professional or technical people emigrated. Observers believe this reflects only a fraction of the total. The number of new graduates that leave without formally emigrating is believed to be much higher.

Fears of the "brain drain" drew business and other concerns to focus on conscription and support for alternative service spread to some unexpected quarters.

In fairly rapid succession, Dr Ivan Toms and David Bruce received heavy sentences — and much international and local publicity — for refusing to serve in the army. Then 143 others publicly proclaimed they would also not do military service.

All this meant in the last few months the ECC had been more prominent and stronger than "anytime before", according to Teeling-Smith.

It had 14 branches around the country — with those in Cape Town, Durban, Grahamstown and Pretoria showing most buoyancy in recent months.

"We started off (in 1983) largely with a student and ex-student membership," he said. "But we steadily attracted a wide range of members, many of them ex-students, but others as well — people who haven't been to university or come from less privileged groups. We had parents groups in some areas and conscripts groups."

One should not overestimate the ECC's achievements. It remained a relatively small and embattled organisation. Most young whites still report for the army without too much questioning or doubt.

However, the issue of conscription is now firmly on the national agenda — and is likely to remain there.

The continued questioning of the role of the SADF in townships and in neighbouring states — the NGK mouthpiece, *Die Kerkbode*, recently joined the doubters — combined with growing concern about the "brain drain" are enough to keep the issue alive.

It was significant that Vlok, in the statement released with this week's restriction order, justified his action by linking ECC to the "revolutionary onslaught" rather than addressing the issues of conscription and alternative service directly.

"(The) activities of the ECC are a link in the so-called struggle against apartheid and the so-called national liberation struggle undermining an existing state structure," he said.

There are other groups — such as the Objector Support Groups, conscripts groups and parents groups — which will fill some of the functions of the ECC.

The Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches are in the process of setting up a programme of alternative service, which will involve arranging such service for objectors — and giving them legal and moral support if the SADF does not recognise this. Other mainstream churches are considering similiar programmes.

And there are a few objectors due for call-ups — and therefore high-profile court appearances — in the next few months.

So if Vlok believes he has added the issue of conscription to the long list that he can keep hidden from his white electorate he might be in for something of a surprise.

STUDENTS MARCH ON CAMPUS

By GAYE DAVIS

SIX University of Cape Town students made a special declaration at a campus meeting called this week to protest against the banning of the End Conscription Campaign.

However, details of their statement cannot be reported in terms of Emergency regulations which prohibit giving support or encouragement for conscientious objectors.

When the Weekly Mail recently reported on 143 objectors who publicly declared their refusal to serve in the military, the newspaper was seized for contravening this regulation.

The six students announced their intention to the 1 000-strong meeting after UCT student representative council president Cameron Dugmore said the government's action would "not silence calls for an end to conscription".

In what was described as a "spontaneous action", the unnamed students came forward to address the gathering after a motion condemning the clampdown was passed.

The meeting was organised by Nusas and was also addressed by the Western Cape chair of the ECC, Dr Crispian Olver, Call of Islam national co-ordinator Moulana Faried Esack and Namibian Students' Organisation representative Joe Mashibo.

Esack said men imprisoned for their personal convictions reminded people "what non-racialism in the struggle is all about".

After the meeting, police stood by on the highway bordering UCT but took no action as about 500 students bearing placards proclaiming "Let conscripts speak" and "Unban ECC" marched around the campus.

BLINKERED by censorship and isolated from many political developments by residential and social segregation, white South Africans are able to ignore many burning issues.

There is one political problem, however, that impinges too directly on white lives to be ignored: military conscription.

That, in a nutshell, is why Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok this week silenced the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), making it the first "white" organisation to be banned since the Congress of Democrats (COD) in the early 1960s.

The ECC differed substantially from the COD — and from most other "white" extra-parliamentary organisations.

For one thing, it was a single-issue organisation that drew an unusual variety of people together under the broad banner of anti-conscription — religious objectors; universal pacifists; those who would take up arms against, but not for, apartheid, and unpoliticised youth whose major concern was the loss of two years of their lives and careers to the military.

For another, the ECC had a quality few other white anti-apartheid organisations have managed: a trendy, populist and open image that had the potential to take it beyond the traditional student and intellectual circles of white radicalism.

"We tried always to be accessible to people who wanted to join us," said Alastair Teeling-Smith, ECC national secretary who spoke to the *Weekly Mail* in his personal capacity.

"Often people who haven't been to university or been involved in student politics have a perception that politics is dull and boring. So we have tried to do different, interesting things: art exhibitions, film festivals, pavement art — we tried to create a youth culture around the issue (of conscription)."

in the army were from Stellenbosch.

The ECC was only five years old when Vlok this week used Emergency powers to restrict it from "carrying out or performing any activity or act". Those five years have seen high

ECC COURT ORDER TO GO AHEAD

By GAYE DAVIS

THE End Conscription Campaign will go ahead with a Supreme Court application against the South African Defence Force — in spite of the ECC's effective banning this week.

Next week's application will determine whether details of the secret trial in which three national servicemen were found guilty of conspiring to disseminate classified information may yet become public.

The three men were tried by a military tribunal behind closed doors. But judgement in the case was not covered by an *in camera* ruling and the *Weekly Mail* was able to report in February that the "information" was related to anti-ECC activities.

The ECC launched its application in the wake of the three men's conviction. Pending the matter being heard in full, two interim orders were granted by the court.

One was that no details of the ECC application be made public — in response to an application by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, that the entire hearing be held *in camera*.

The other was that the SADF be restrained from harassing and interfering with the ECC.

Argument on both these issues will be heard next Wednesday. Sydney Kentridge QC will represent the ECC.

25/8-1/9/88

327

Minister gives his reasons

THESE were the reasons given by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, for his action against the End Conscription Campaign:

"The ECC is attuned to discouraging the citizenry from supporting the South African Defence Force and from doing national service in its true sense. These activities of the ECC are a link in the so-called struggle against apartheid and the so-called national liberation struggle undermining an existing state structure.

"The ECC attempts to create an impression of political neutrality, but it is not difficult to see the organisation's role in the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa.

"The security services of the Republic, including the SA DF, play a decisive role in protecting the inhabitants of South African against ... (terror acts against civilian targets and attempts to render South Africa ungovernable). In addition, the SADF is responsible for safeguarding the borders of our country against terrorists.

"As a result of the ECC's campaigns, many liable for national service are influenced to refuse to do military service. Their refusal is not necessarily founded on political convictions.

"The result is that such persons are tried and sentenced in terms of the ordinary laws of the land. This would probably not have happened had it not been for the ECC's campaign against military service.

"It is also known that the ECC actively assists service dodgers who leave South Africa to acquire residence permits in the UK."

?: 'THEY START CUTTING WHEN YOU'

he ritual killings.

"I'm afraid," Nevhutalu said. 'Ever since that lady's funeral ind that murdered teacher Mukhosi Mavhina), it's not so easy to move around."

Mushonga or ritual murder — in which the victim's body parts are used to concoct medicine purport- d to bring prosperity.

"During planting season they mixed the body parts with the community's seeds and people would take from the common stock for their own fields.

"Today ritual killing is done for personal luck."

Ordinary citizens engaging in *mushonga* killings was not un-

ics at the root of the corruption and nepotism that plagues Venda.

The main source of employment is the civil service. "To get a job you it impossible to appeal against dismissals from the public sector.

Allegations are so rife that people from former president PRM Mpe-

'Good moral principle'

NATAL churchmen, civic organisations and student leaders have spoken out against the banning of the ECC at a Press conference held at Archbishop Denis Hurley's residence.

It was called by the Black Sash to also focus on alternative forms of military service and the stand taken by 143 conscripts earlier this month who refused to serve in the SADF.

The Rt. Rev Michael Nuttall, Bishop of Natal, said in a statement the ECC stood for a good moral principle, that warfare was never good in itself and that there should therefore be a proper freedom in deciding whether or not to participate in it.

Sowetan 2/8/88

Vlok plugs hole in ECC banning order

25/8/88 (327) B/Day

ROGER SMITH

THE End Conscription Campaign, believed to have been banned by government on Monday, was properly restricted only yesterday.

Monday's order mistakenly described the organisation as the End Conscription Committee.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday withdrew Monday's order and substituted a new one.

He said the initial order referred to the organisation as the End Conscription Committee because this name was used in a constitution of the organisation.

"In view of the fact that this organisation, during the course of an application by way of motion in connection with another matter, filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court in which it explains that the name of the organisation has been changed to End Conscription Campaign, this name is used in the new order to remove any possible uncertainty," Vlok said.

The ECC indicated on Monday that the court case it has brought, for a final inderdict to stop the SADF from harassing it and its members, would still be pursued despite the restriction order.

The ban, which followed numerous statements by government attacking the ECC and accusing it of trying to undermine the SADF, has evoked a wave of protest from a wide range of organisations and political parties.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the post office as a Newspaper

Vol. 278 PRETORIA, 25 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1988 No. 11493

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1768 **25 Augustus 1988**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1988

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, reik ek, Roy Peter DURING, Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie, vir die Afdeling Westelike Provinsie, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

R. P. DURING,
Afdelingskommissaris: Westelike Provinsie.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1988, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"aangewese gebied" die landdrosdistrik van Wynberg;

"Afdelingskommissaris" die Afdelingskommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie vir die Afdeling Westelike Provinsie;

"begrafnis" 'n byeenkoms wat gehou word by die graf van Mncedisi Jackson KETELO;

"seremoniële byeenkoms", met betrekking tot die teraardebestelling van Mncedisi Jackson KETELO, enige byeenkoms wat met die teraardebestelling gepaard gaan, met inbegrip van enige roudiens, gedenkdiens of ander diens wat gehou word in verband met die teraardebestelling, en ook 'n begrafnisstoet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1768 **25 August 1988**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1988

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, I, Roy Peter DURING, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Western Province Division, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

R. P. DURING,
Divisional Commissioner: Western Province.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1988, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"ceremonial gathering", in relation to the burial of Mncedisi Jackson KETELO, means any gathering associated with the burial, including any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service held in connection with the burial, and also a funeral procession;

"designated area" means the Magisterial District of Wynberg;

"Divisional Commissioner" means the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Western Province Division;

"funeral" means a gathering held at the grave of Mncedisi Jackson KETELO.

SAplans to stop foreign funds

By Stephen Sowelan

dropped

PRESIDENT P W Botha

SOUTH Africa, under pressure from Western governments, has quietly dropped plans to cut off foreign funds to scores of anti-apartheid organisations, Western diplomats said.

Pretoria had drafted legislation empowering it to seize foreign funds received by any organisation considered "restricted" — a move that could have crippled projects run by churches, trade unions and educational groups.

Titled the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, the legislation was drafted last March as part of a crackdown on dissident groups, but was not debated in Parliament.

It has been omitted from the schedule of a two-week parliamentary session that began in Cape Town on Monday.

"There is now no imminent danger of the Bill being passed, but our scenario is that they (the Government) might try to find some less controversial way of instituting controls over funds to these organisations," a senior Western diplomat said.

Shelving

Diplomats said the shelving of the Bill was a rare instance of foreign lobbying persuading Pretoria to soften its crackdown on anti-apartheid opposition groups.

Since last February, the Government has used its powers under a 26-month-old state of emergency to effectively ban 19 dissident groups and restrict the activities of dozens of others.

Pressures on Pretoria came from the 12-nation European Community (EC) and diplomatic representations by individual countries.

British, United States and West German diplomats in South Africa mounted a strong lobby against the Bill. It included threats to scale down diplomatic representation here and cancel landing rights for South African Airways, the national carrier.

Projects

Money for many of the projects funded by the EC, individual governments and philanthropic groups is channelled through the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference, both outspoken opponents of the Government.

President P W Botha set out the official view when he told a local newspaper earlier this year: "I say it is subversive to create alternative organisations in South Africa for the education of people, for local government, for economic development, which are designed to subvert the Government." — Sapa-Reuter.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, SOUTH PRESS SERVICES LTD, PRESENTED AT THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS ON 18 AUGUST 1988

THE BANNING

The period since the beginning of the year has been characterised by the banning of the paper and the effects of the repressive actions.

As is common knowledge, SOUTH was banned from May 9 until June 10, becoming the second newspaper after New Nation to be shut down under the 1987 State of Emergency curbs on the press.

Had it not been for the Emergency expiring on June 10, the banning would have been for a longer period.

The ban had been anticipated and a special edition of the paper published three days earlier.

The banning order was, however, dated Monday May 9 - the same day as the special edition.

At great cost, inconvenience and effort, almost 20 000 copies of the paper had to be withdrawn.

The speed with which the government acted was shocking. We submitted our final representations at close of business on Wednesday May 4 and the Minister of Home Affairs had only the next day to consider the matter since a public holiday and the weekend intervened.

The first opportunity the Minister had to publish the Government Gazette notice was on Monday May 9 — and he took full advantage of this.

We seriously doubt if any consideration whatsoever was given to our representations.

In our opinion, to challenge the closure in court would have been a waste of time and money. The court's judgment would, in any event, have come only after our paper was back on the streets.

THE NEW REGULATIONS

The new media emergency regulations published at the beginning of the year proved a double blow to the project.

Besides tightening up measures against papers like SOUTH, a special regulation was promulgated to make it possible to ban our paper for a further two months.

In addition, the new measures made it a legal requirement that news agencies register — thus seriously jeopardising plans by SOUTH to merge with another news agency — the Press Trust — to launch the country's first national alternative news agency.

Regarding the special regulation affecting SOUTH, the Minister advised he would first wait to see an edition of the paper before deciding whether or not to act in terms of the special provision.

In spite of the dilemma of providing the Minister with possible ammunition to act against the paper, the Editor proceeded with publication.

In the end the decision proved to be a correct one — the Minister could not find grounds to act and the people responded enthusiastically to the reappearance of the paper.

SAVE THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

However, in the road ahead, more than skilful editing is required to challenge the State's attempts to curb the free flow of information.

And it is in this respect that the Save the Press Campaign is of such significance to activate as broad a spectrum of people as possible to protest against the suppression of the truth.

In fact, it was an initiative by SOUTH in November 1987 which laid the basis for the launch of the Save the Press Campaign.

After papers like New Nation, SOUTH, Work in Progress and the Sowetan first received letters of warning from the Minister, we initiated discussions locally and nationally among the independent newspapers and media groups to challenge attempts to silence papers.

This initiative escalated with the subsequent warnings to Weekly Mail and Grassroots — and later to news agencies.

Joint actions embarked upon by SOUTH, New Nation and Weekly Mail have strengthened and cemented relations among the independent papers.

The onslaught on the free flow of information in this country is an attack on our right to be kept informed. It constitutes part of a broader design to keep us in the dark about what is happening in our country.

We all, therefore, have to play our small role in ensuring that these regulations are opposed.

We have to make life as difficult as possible for the Minister to implement these draconian measures; we have to defend our alternative papers; we have to support and strenghten the campaign, we have to stand up and make our voices heard.

Only in this way will we be able to create the space for "skillful editing".

There already appears to be confusion within ranks of the State, with the police getting increasingly impatient with the apparent reluctance of the politicians to act more swiftly against alternative papers.

Stoffel Botha, it appears, is buckling to increasing pressures and protests. This seems to be the only logical explanation for increased police harassment of SOUTH's Editor and staff — and the recent confiscation of copies of Weekly Mail

In the case of SOUTH, pressures are also being exerted on our printers, The Argus Printing and Publishing Company, and that company's refusal recently to print a poster of Nelson Mandela can only be attributed to these pressures.

We have an obligation to widen these contradictions — and in so doing we will create additional space that will make skilled editing a meaningful option.

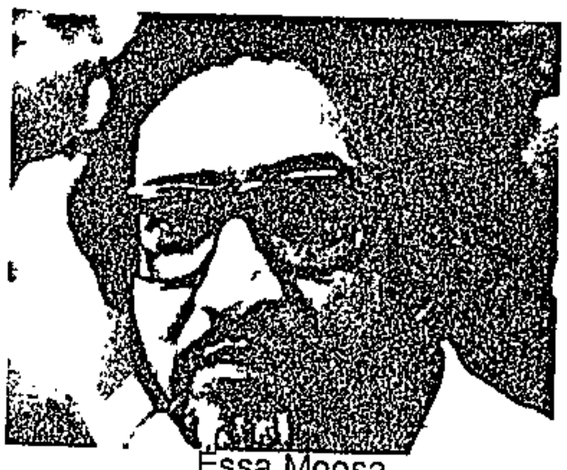
THE EFFECTS OF THE BAN

The ban has affected the newspaper negatively in many respects.

Plans to launch a national news agency with Press Trust have been shelved temporarily.

It appears the State may soon promulgate new regulations specifically requiring certain independent news agencies to register.

The paper itself had been plunged into a state of limbo as a result of the uncertainty caused by State actions and threats.



Essa Moosa,
Chairman of the Board

Firstly, there was the provision to ban the paper for two months. Thereafter, the paper was propelled by events like Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations — and the fifth anniversary of the UDF.

The Editor has certainly found it difficult to tone down the paper in a situation where political activity is on the upswing.

Exacerbating the situation has been an almost deafening silence on the part of Minister Stoffel Botha.

The uncertainty for the future of the paper has heightened anxiety, especially among the staff, and affected the filling of vacancies.

THE EVALUATION PROCESS

The evaluation process launched at the beginning of this year was overtaken by State action against the paper.

The evaluation began with a general meeting at which the Editor presented an annual report reviewing the paper's first year.

The occasion was significant in that it was the first time that an independent weekly newspaper opened its operation for scrutiny.

Thereafter, editorial staffers met with media representatives within organisations.

Before this process was interrupted by State action, the consensus appeared to be that the paper continues with its tough political stand but at the same time broadens coverage of more popular issues.

This issue — termed an identity crisis by the Editor — remains unresolved.

The attitude of the present Editor is that popular and political content cannot be effectively married to the satisfaction of political activists who influence community opinion.

In addition, he has also found it increasingly difficult to tone down the paper's content in a situation where political events are, in fact, propelling the paper to take a much stronger stand.

A good example was the Mandela birthday celebrations where the Editor was prepared to print a colour poster in spite of the difficulties of the Prisons Act.

The Editor's view is that the company should seriously pursue its plans of a mass-circulating paper through other avenues.

NEWSPAPER SALES

Sales of the newspaper remain bouyant in a highly competitive market.

Figures increased appreciably after the banning of the paper. While a drop has been experienced, much higher sales are being maintained than experienced over the corresponding period last year.

Sales continue to be influenced by the ongoing impact of television and, recently, M-Net; a mushrooming of free distribution newspapers; and the State of Emergency's influence on political activities.

Weak areas identified include subscriptions, street sales, rural areas and international sales.

Plans to promote sales in these areas include an ambitious subscriptions package and a drive into the rural areas.

The paper continues to be well received in other parts of the country after national sales were launched prior to the banning.

The potential for growth in national sales remains high in a largely untapped market.

The challenge facing the paper is:

to maintain the sales advances made thus far,
to develop creative plans to promote sales, and
to build a sales base of a minimum

ADVERTISING

Advertising revenue for this year remains higher than the corresponding period last year.

Increases at the beginning of the year and during a gloomy end-of-year financial year period were maintained by a drive for suburban advertising coupled with area sales promotions.

However, support from the small black business sector and from organisations for advertisement supplements around political issues continues to decline. Organisations remain supportative but complain of a lack of funds.

We still rely heavily for the bulk of our advertising revenue on supplements on politically-orientated issues.

In the long-term it is essential that a base for advertising revenue be built on commercial considerations.

In the final analysis advertising revenue is linked to sales. The present sales increases, maintained over a period of time will undoubtedly prove a welcomed boost for advertising.

FINANCES

Our figures remain well within projections for the first two years.

In spite of reduced income figures which remain below projected newspaper and advertising sales, figures remain within projected levels as a result of cuts in expenditure.

Cash flow remains a problem as a result of debtors demanding extended terms. During the banning of the paper, special attention had been given to debtor collections and approximately R50 000,00 collected by the administration staff. For this they deserve a special word of appreciation.

Ongoing efforts to ensure that the debtor balance remains within manageable proportions include more stricter credit control, and a monitoring system of debtors which in turn includes telephone calls, personal visits and swifter legal action.

In spite of our figures being within projections, the long-term viability of the project remains an issue for much concern

In order to improve the overall financial position of the company, the Editor has recommended to the directors the launching of other publications, especially an advertising freesheet.

A feasibility study has been commissioned and the Editor hopes to make detailed proposals soon in this regard.

Certainly, the long-term viability of the project will have to receive the urgent attention of the new directors.

STAFFING

The two-year term of office of the present editor Rashid Seria expires at the end of this year and Mr Seria has indicated that he will not be available to serve the paper in this position in the new year.

The directors, in consultation with the trustees of Ukwaziswa Trust, have decided to invite Mr Moegsien Williams to succeed Mr Seria. Mr Williams assumes his position as from November 1 1988.

Staffing a paper like SOUTH remains a problem. The banning of the paper and harassment creates tremendous insecurity.

An ongoing contradiction remains the aspirations of many staff, on the one hand, for the company to fulfil its obligations in terms of the ideals of a progressive operation — and the inability of the company, on the other hand, to live up to these expectations.

The company has very limited resources and depends on subsidies to cover its losses, making it difficult to implement many of the ideals regarding salaries and working conditions.

Staff are required to make abnormal sacrifices in terms of taking on additional responsibilities, working longer hours, earning below market-rate salaries, utilising their own transport, etc.

A staffing strategy, involving higher salaries, improved resources, restructuring to involve staff in decision-making, creating meaningful avenues to address grievances, continues to receive the attention of not only the directors but also the trustees of Ukwaziswa Trust.

In view of the uncertainty facing the paper, the strategy of the present Editor has been to keep staffing at a minimum, the concern being having to contend with a big salary budget should the paper be banned again.

The Editor has instead explored specialisation — and investigated the employment of part-time writers skilled in particular fields, examples being religion, sport, arts, book reviews etc.

The training programme linked to the newspaper came to an end in June with three cadets being placed at The Star, The Cape Times and the Sunday Times.

Training remains a priority in the newspaper industry where a very serious shortage of skilled professionals exists. The continuation of our training programme will have to be one of the main items on the agenda of the new board of directors.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is no doubt that the challenges facing the newspaper will increase. The major commercial newspapers have been terrified into submission by the government's banning of papers, thus placing added responsibilities on smaller papers like SOUTH.

We face difficult times in which State action against the paper will most likely increase as attempts are made to woo people to vote in the October local government elections.

In charting this difficult course, the Editor and staff need our full backing and support.

In conclusion I would like — on behalf of my fellow directors and all the shareholders — to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to the staff and their families for all their efforts and hard work that have helped in making the paper a success.

I would like to make special mention of the wives of the editorial staff for the sacrifices they made in allowing their husbands to work such inordinate times.

I would also like to thank Mr Patrick Parring, who at the beginning served as a director and assisted in the structuring, and systemisation of the project.

And finally, a few special words of appreciation to the Editor

Had it not been for his vision, planning and hardwork, this project would not have seen the light of day, especially under repressive State of Emergency conditions.

To edit a political newspaper in the Western Cape is not an enviable task. In all the difficulties and problems we experienced, he always conducted himself with the dignity and graciousness becoming his position as Editor

His leadership and direction was instrumental in the newspaper hitting the streets every week; in sales finally moving up out of the doldrums; and in financial figures being kept well within projections.

If we read the balance sheet in terms of the gains and losses of SOUTH, the above issues will in the final analysis count above all else.

I feel it is essential for the long-term survival, advancement and future development of the project that he continues to serve this paper in some or other capacity.

To all the shareholders and the trustees, thank you for all your support, co-operation and assistance. We have particularly valued the contributions made by the trustees.

Anti-conscription group banned

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday gazetted a notice prohibiting the "End Conscription Campaign" from performing any acts or activities.

He said an order issued on Monday restricting the activities of the "End Conscription Committee" had been withdrawn because the initial order referred to "committee".

The name was changed because the organisation had filed a Supreme Court application — in connection with another matter — in which it explained that its name had been changed to End Conscription Campaign. — Sapa.

Booklet ban counsel uses SAP release

28/8/88 Star (327)

By Cathy Stagg

Counsel for Learn & Teach Publications is using an SAP public relations division press release to attack an order in terms of which booklets were seized.

The Divisional Commissioner for the Witwatersrand issued the order in terms of the emergency regulations. About 14 300 copies of "The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial" were seized on July 20.

Arguing the case for Learn & Teach Publications in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, Mr Jules Browde, SC, submitted that the Commissioner did not have to give reasons for issuing the order, but once he had, a court could look at the reasons to see if he had a valid opinion that the publication would have the effect of "promoting uprisings or acts" aimed at overthrowing the State by non-constitutional means.

The press release said publication of Mandela's statement created the impression that it was accepted by the court (which was hearing the charges of treason), that its publication in isolation was calculated to justify Mandela and to place the South Afrcan legal system in a bad light, and that the booklet was to be distributed free of charge.

At the time of his trial, Mandela had the choice of remaining silent, giving evidence under oath from the witness box and being cross-examined to test his evidence, and making an unsworn statement from the dock that could not be cross-examined.

Mr Browde said Mr Justice G Gordon, who is hearing the application to have the order declared invalid and the booklets returned, could look at a booklet to see if those impressions had been created.

The claim that the speech had been published out of context could not be so because everyone knew Mandela had been sentenced to life imprisonment.

The judge asked if an ordinary reader would know that a statement from the dock meant the person had not been cross-examined. He felt he should look at the booklet as an ordinary reader, not as someone familiar with court procedure.

Mr Browde submitted there was no substance to the argument that publishing the statement meant Mandela should not have been convicted.

The hearing will resume today.

injured — five men and men — but residents and ources put the figure as 32.

ment

explosion was the second headquarters of an anti- id organisation's head- s. Last year a massive on severely damaged Cosatu House.

night's explosion was at 10 am at the SACC's De Street headquarters ap- ly in the parking base-

off a fire in the base- fter gas pipes were des-

force of the explosion was that the foyer collapsed basement and a large of the facade was blast- One of those injured security guard who fell gaping hole and suf- uries to his ribs.

blast also severely da- shops opposite Khotso The entrance to Corner- ouse was severely da- and littered with rubble explosion.

burg security police rigadier Gert Erasmus ht inspected the blast did former SACC presi- Rev Peter Storey.

nts of nearby Chiltern said they were woken by explosion which ripped om the hinges and shat- ors and windows.

ker Mr Jan Nortje and wife, Mara (51), were from their beds by the

whole building shook as going to collapse and was ripped away," said tje.

elderly resident, who want to be named, said woken "by the most shocking, shocking

ything caved in. The shattered and the front s ripped off. The force great that it smashed a de my flat," she said.

rey condemned the ex- nd said it was a "tragic tary on our times".

bomb planted by anyone re of a city is a bes- quite unworthy of hu- he said.

House was this morn- ally closed because the structural damage the blast was a dan- Johannesburg Fire Frikkie Kotze.

uilding is out of bounds body. The main reason people who now enter ouse will be in danger. in any case no safe way g or leaving the build- se the foyer floor has

ersrand police spokes- tain Pierre Louw said e would bring in fo- rts from Pretoria to the cause of the blast. tremely intensive" in- was underway.

The explosion punched a hole through the facade of Khotso House and showered shops opposite with bricks and rubble.

Explosion calls to mind Cosatu sabotage

By Jo-Anne Collinge and Jovial Rantao

Although the cause of the massive blast which ripped through Khotso House this morning is not yet known, spokesmen for organisations in the building say the explosion calls to mind the sabotage of Cosatu House in May last year.

Khotso House belongs to the South African Council of Churches — which has its headquarters there — and accommodates the Black Sash, the Transvaal Rural Action Committee and several church organisations.

Until their virtual banning earlier this year, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and the United Democratic Front also had offices there.

SACC general administrative secretary, the Reverend Francois Bill, was on the scene about an hour after the explosion, which blew a hole in the roof of the basement.

"We will not be abandoning our work just because this has happened," said Mr Bill.

He said there were simply not enough facts available yet to assess the meaning of the explosion. But he was doubtful that it might have been a gas blast. "One has to put it in the present context," he said.

About six months ago Community House, which housed the Western Cape Council of Churches and the UDF in the Peninsula, was bombed. More recently a staff member of the SACC was held hostage at gunpoint earlier by a man claiming to be angered by the churches' socio-political role and alleging that he was a police former.

Mrs Laura Pollecutt, co-chairman of the Transvaal region of Black Sash, which has premises in Khotso House, said: "We are appalled at the attack on Khotso House — the "House of Peace".

"Who is to gain by this attempt to disrupt the peaceful work done by the tenants in this building where hundreds of people seek us out daily for advice for their problems as blacks living in an apartheid society? This attempt to silence us will not succeed and our work will go on."

She added: "We question the authorities as to why the perpetrators of the bombings such as those Cosatu House and the offices of the Community Research and Information Centre have never been brought to book."

Mr Bill said it was hoped that SACC officials would be allowed into the building later today when general secretary the Revered Frank Chikane returned from Cape Town.

Many tenants of the blocks of flats around Khotso House said they had woken with the sensation that their homes were being imploded.

The security guard at Chiltern Court, Mr Alfred Ngubane (26), said: "I was sleeping with five visitors when it happened. It was very dark. There were screams everywhere. We tried to find our way out but we couldn't. We had to wait for the smoke to clear."

Mrs Joyce Welkin (45), caretaker of Manhatten Court, directly behind Khotso House, said she and her sister-in-law, Mrs P D White, were sleeping when the explosion occurred. She rushed to evacuate other tenants in the building.

SA troops beat ceasefire deadline

Star 31/8/88 (5) (221)

By Claire Robertson and John Ryan

South African troops poured across the Angolan border in a motorised convoy yesterday in fulfilment of ceasefire and withdrawal agreements reached at the Geneva peace talks.

Yesterday's border crossing completed a withdrawal operation of South African and South-West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) troops.

Sapa reports that yesterday's South African withdrawal, through Rundu and Ruacana, was emphasised as "total" by the SADF's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, at a press conference on the bank of the Kavango River. Fewer than 1 000 troops crossed the river at Rundu yesterday.

At no time since last year had more than 3 000 South African troops been deployed in Angola, he said.

Returning troops were met by members of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) which was established to check possible violations by Cuban, Swapo or SADF forces. In terms of the agreement, these forces may not be deployed between the 16th parallel and the Angolan-Namibian border.

On the bridge over the Kavango River, while remnants of South African artillery from positions east of the last battleground of Cuito Cuanavale were moving across, South African and Cuban officers shook hands.

Cuban Colonel Jesus Falcon told newsmen there was good understanding between the two groups.

He said he believed the JMMC would go about its business in a "very good spirit" in a preventive, rather than reactive, way.

General Gleeson echoed the Cuban sentiments. He said, as far as the ceasefire was concerned, all appeared to be going according to plan. There had been no incidents involving the Cubans or Angolans since June 24 and no violations by Swapo since August 12.

The general said he expected that Swapo forces would adhere to the general ceasefire agreement from tomorrow — the deadline proposed by South Africa for an end to hostilities.

The JMMC, he said, would start its operations in earnest on the same day.

"We must go step by step," he said.

There were almost as many journalists on hand to see the final withdrawal from Angola as there were South African troops crossing the border.

The military hardware from the Cuito Cuanavale region — Ratel armoured cars, Samils, howitzers, trucks and the occasional Buffel — were manned mainly by one or two soldiers.

South Africa's pull-out programme began three weeks ago. It involved 1 000 troops from the Cuito area, who took 11 days to cover the 300 km. They have been coming through the Rundu border in dribs and drabs.

Few of the soldiers showed emotion at the prospect of an end to it all.

Asked if the South African forces had left any armaments behind for Unita to use, General Gleeson said: "We have left no military equipment. We are taking out what we took in."

South African troops have been in Angola intermittently since 1975. They withdrew in 1976 after a major offensive against Swapo of which the South African public was unaware.

There was a formal troop withdrawal in April 1985 but the proposed ceasefire — in terms of the Lusaka Agreement of February 1984 — did not hold.

During talks at Ruacana on August 16 the parties engaged in negotiations over Angola and Namibia agreed on the establishment of the JMMC to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Last Monday, military representatives from South Africa, the SWATF and a joint Cuban-Angolan delegation signed a treaty at Ruacana to end hostilities between the two sides.

● See Pages 3 and 15.

Publisher seeks return of booklets

SUSAN RUSSELL

PUBLISHERS of a booklet containing the unsworn statement given by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, from the dock during the Rivonia trial, applied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday for the return of 14 300 copies seized by police last month.

Learn and Teach Publications asked the court to declare the seizure invalid.

The Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police, opposing the application, ordered the seizure under powers to stop any publication which, in his opinion, promoted *inter alia* revolution or uprising.

Learn and Teach counsel Jules Browde, SC, said reasons for seizure were contained in a SAP statement issued to the media:

- The publication, according to police, was to have been distributed free to a variety of people and organisations;
- It put the judiciary in a bad light;
- The booklet gave the impression that Mandela's unsworn statement was accepted by the court.

Browde said nowhere in the booklet did it deal with the truth or otherwise of Mandela's statement nor that it was accepted by the court.

He said the only reference to the court was in the frontispiece where it said the speech was delivered from the dock.

Argument continues before Mr Justice Gordon today.

327

Campus call for lifting of restrictions on the ECC

B/Day 25/8/88

UNIVERSITIES and organisations yesterday protested against the effective banning of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

At a protest meeting at Wits yesterday, vice-chancellor Professor R W Charlton said the action was unproductive. He called for the ban to be lifted.

Charlton told the rally conscription affected the lives of thousands of young university students and it was a "legitimate subject for debate".

GLEN SHELTON reports that Rhodes University has expressed concern over the detention of four students and reaffirmed its opposition to detention without trial and the banning of the ECC.

Rhodes vice-chancellor Derek Henderson said yesterday the university community had been deeply disturbed by the detention of four students and by the declaration of the ECC as a restricted organisation.

Atrocious

Besides the four members of the Black Students Movement — Mcebese Jonas, Vuyo Poswa, Mvusa Mbebe and Mbusa Mtali — who were detained on Tuesday evening, six other Rhodes students have been in detention for periods varying between one and 15 months.

The Black Sash said yesterday it fully supported the aims of the ECC and said it was "atrocious" that government had seen fit to ban it.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) said yesterday the restrictions on the ECC were yet another example of government's failure to address the root cause of the problems confronting the country.

The SACBC said anyone who had had close contact with white youth in recent years would be only too aware of the increasing soul-searching and anguish that many young men underwent, as they faced the issue of national service and what it entailed. — Sapa.

Judgment reserved on seized booklets

B/Day 21/8/88

(327)

SUSAN RUSSELL

JUDGMENT was reserved in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday in an application by Learn and Teach to retrieve from police 14 300 booklets containing an unsworn statement made from the dock by ANC leader Nelson Mandela during the Rivonia trial.

The booklets were seized on July 20 after the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand ordered confiscation under section 9(2) of the media regulations which deals with acts aimed at overthrowing government.

Learn and Teach asked the court for an order declaring the seizure invalid and ordering return of the booklets because, counsel argued, the reasons given on which the commissioner formed his opinion were not *bona fide*.

(327) W/Mail

Courts face a Catch 22, says judge

26/8-1/9/88

By ADRIAN HADLAND

A RAND Supreme Court judge yesterday said the Emergency Regulations were acting as a "super-censor over the courts" — a phenomenon "that is very disturbing".

Justice G Gordon described the relationship between the courts and the Emergency Regulations as "almost a Catch 22 situation .

"This kind of legislation excludes the courts from things no court is happy to be excluded from. I am hit by the legislation."

He was hearing Learn and Teach Publications' urgent application to reverse the seizure of its booklet *The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial.*

On July 20 this year 14 300 copies of the publication were seized by security police in terms of the Media Emergency Regulations. At the time, the South African Police's Public Relations division said the speech was unbalanced, incorrect and placed the South African legal system in a bad light.

In an affidavit, *Learn and Teach* editor Marc Suttner said it was at the request of readers that Mandela's statement, read out during his trial in 1964, was printed and published.

As extracts from the speech had been printed in a number of publications during the State of Emergency — including *The Star, The Sowetan, Tribute* magazine and the Bureau for Information's pamphlet *Talking with the ANC* — Suttner believed the speech had "never been banned or in any manner restricted from publication or circulation".

Justice Gordon commented that the *Learn and Teach* booklet was "a quotation from court proceedings, proceedings that were held in the open. It is disturbing to find these proceedings are now capable of being restricted. That curtailment in itself is a very drastic one.

Counsel for the Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of the SAP, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, said the onus was on the applicant to prove the commissioner had acted in bad faith, with ulterior motives or had not properly arrived at his decision.

Sash demo 'impressed no-one', says court

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

A JUDGEMENT in the Durban magistrate's court has raised questions about the legality of the traditional placard protest stand, and the Supreme court is being asked to settle the controversy.

Since open-air gatherings were prohibited under security laws, small protest groups have continued to stand with placards. However, protestors have spread themselves out in the belief that if they stood well apart and did not communicate, they would not constitute a "gathering".

This has been the practice countrywide, but it has not previously been tested in court.

In February this year, a group of students and Black Sash members stood along Durban's Berea Road, holding placards protesting at the effective banning of a number of organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Detainees' Support Committee. They were arrested and charged with attending an illegal gathering.

They told the court they were standing varying distances — between 35 and 120m — apart.

This was disputed by the police, who said in their estimation it was more like 25m.

In his judgement last Friday, Magistrate W H Hahn accepted the police distance and said the 14, standing this far apart, were in "relatively close quarters" to each other.

He also ruled they had "common purpose" in their stand.

Hahn was not impressed by the protestors' argument that they lacked the necessary intention to commit an offence, because they had asked a lawyer for a professional legal opinion on the legality of the stand.

Hahn said the court was satisified that the accused were aware the UDF and Descom were prohibited organisations and "their alleged seeking and obtaining of legal advice does not cancel their fundamental knowledge of the unlawfulness of their action".

Hahn said he took into consideration that their stand "did not impress anyone". However, they must have irritated some members of the public since "that is why you were arrested".

In their favour, he said they did not obstruct the traffic or interfere with any member of the public and they cooperated with the police.

All 14 were cautioned and discharged.

They are to take the matter to the Supreme Court on appeal.

Human rights lawyers, commenting on the case, said while the ruling appeared to be a blow to the right to protest, it was not binding on any other court.

Judgment reserved over ban on Mandela speech

26/8/88 Star (327)

By Cathy Stagg

Judgment has been reserved in the application by Learn and Teach Publications to have an order issued by the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police declared invalid and for the return of 14 300 copies of "The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial".

The application was opposed by the commissioner.

Mr Justice G Gordon heard the application in the Rand Supreme Court. He indicated that his judgment would not be handed down until next week.

The booklets were seized on July 20 in terms of the media emergency regulations.

Mr Jules Browde, SC, for Learn and Teach, used the reasons given in a press statement, issued by the SAP public relations department and which formed part of the commissioner's decision, to question whether the commissioner had reached a valid opinion that publication posed a danger of inciting the non-constitutional overthrow of the Government.

Mr Joop Labuschagne, SC, for the commissioner, submitted the publication was "one-sided and not in proper context" because the booklet was aimed at newly literate readers who would not know that a statement from the dock meant Mandela had not been cross-examined on his statement.

397

Ban lifted for trek

By BARRY STREEK

THE government has lifted the ban on outdoor gatherings — but for the Great Trek commemoration only.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced yesterday that he had decided to authorize outside gatherings organized for the 150th commemoration of the Great Trek as long as they were organized by three specific bodies.

Registered political parties were expressly excluded from this authorization.

In a statement, Mr Coetsee said the prohibition on gatherings issued on March 31 this year in terms of the Internal Security Act applied to certain outdoor gatherings.

This ban applies to all outdoor gatherings except bona fide sports events and religious meetings.

Mr Coetsee said: "With a view to the 150th commemoration of the Great Trek, I have decided to authorize outdoor gatherings which are held, organized or convened by, or under the direction of, or in co-operation with, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge, the Afrikanervolkswag or the Voortrekker Movement or an organization associated with any one of these organizations for the sole purpose of commemorating the Great Trek, or which are exclusively connected with the symbolic wagon treks which take place under the direction of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge or the Afrikanervolkswag.

"Every organization which is registered as a political party is excluded from this authorization.

"Should there be other gatherings who, or organizations which, desire to hold outdoor gatherings to commemorate the Great Trek, they are advised to apply in good time to their local magistrate for the necessary permission," Mr Coetsee said.

BANNED by Nationalist decree

W/C ARGUS 27/8/88 327

by ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

IF you can't beat it or simply don't like it ... ban it. That, in a nutshell, is more or less how the Nationalist government has reacted to dissenting views in 40 stormy years of rule.

This week's effective banning of the End Conscription Campaign came unexpectedly to some, considering that "cordial" talks between the ECC and Defence Force, mainly on the subject of possible alternative service, took place earlier this year.

But Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's swift, sweeping steps in terms of the emergency regulations typified the iron-fist approach that has characterised government measures down the years.

The ECC has joined countless organisations and individuals in feeling the full force of the Nationalist whip since the late forties.

Right across the spectrum, from the banning of popular movements and meetings to the deportation of a tomato-thrower, the Nationalists have always made it very clear just who is the boss.

Teachers, doctors, professors, lecturers, advocates, journalists, students, trade union organisers, businessmen and actors — all have been either banned, banished, placed under house arrest or jailed under a multitude of laws for expressing views a little too divorced from those of the government.

Under its regular list of banned publications in the Government Gazette, it has forbidden everything from books, newspapers, pamphlets and stickers to undesirable underwear.

"FROM 1963 onwards, I have closely witnessed the ever-increasing erosion of normal civil liberties," says Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton and veteran government monitor.

"It started well before that, of course, and has never shown signs of letting up.

"The thin red line between 'subversion' and lawful dissent has got more and more faint over the years.

"I know I have said this before, but it can certainly be said again — the government has always encouraged intransigence through its actions; loads of people who could once be described as silent dissenters have become more extreme.

"One of my saddest observations after years of government suppression is that the white electorate is no longer shocked about things like detention without trial.

"In spite of its clear undermining of the rule of law, they accept it as part of the cycle of life in South Africa."

THE Nationalists did not take long to assert their authority after coming to power in 1948.

Bitterly opposed to communism, they set about the task of outlawing both the ideology itself and the Communist Party of South Africa, active since 1921.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 effectively silenced both. The Communist Party went underground and the Act stayed on the statute until its incorporation into the Internal Security Act.

But the government did not always feel obliged to resort to its array of legislation in explaining its actions. In July 1954, the then Native Affairs Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd, served removal orders on two East London blacks, Joel Lengisi and Alcott Gwentshe. They were ordered to leave forthwith for farms in the Transvaal.

Dr Verwoerd's reason? "Their presence in East London is inimical to the peace, order and good government of the Natives in the East London district."

The East London branch of the African National Congress protested their banning to "remote areas of the Transvaal."

In the same year, Police Commissioner Major-General C I Rademeyer referred to the "undoubted success" of the Suppression of Communism Act: "Police vigilance has been largely responsible for reducing Communist opportunities to make propaganda in South Africa.

"The Communist needs a platform for spreading his creed and somehow he seems to have lost it here."

In February 1955, Minister of Justice Mr C R Swart placed a 20-day ban on all public meetings on the Rand.

He said the move was prompted by the fact that young blacks in Johannesburg's Western Areas, "armed with machine guns, pistols, home-made pipe guns, grenades and dynamite bombs," were attempting to resist steps to move them to Meadowlands.

One observer commented: "The government is using a sledgehammer to kill a mosquito."

In May 1959, ANC president-general and Nobel Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli was served with a banning order prohibiting him from attending or addressing gatherings around the country.

In the same month, banned ANC secretary Mr Walter Sisulu was charged with breaking a condition of his order, allegedly having attended a gathering in Bloemfontein "to partake of, or be present whilst others partake of refreshment in the nature of tea and/or some such other liquid refreshment and/or edibles and/or a meal."

A month later, the chairman of the Worcester branch of the ANC, Mr Ben Bartman, was banished to Mngomezulu, Natal, after 18 years in the Boland town and Oliver Tambo, then deputy president-general, banned from meetings for five years.

There was widespread condemnation in October when Mrs Elizabeth Mafekeng, a mother of 11 and president of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, was ordered from Paarl to Southey near Vryburg.

THE tragic events at Sharpeville in March, 1960, led to the first state of emergency and a 12-month ban on the ANC and rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The ban was renewed in 1961 and has never been lifted.

A five-week ban on all gatherings around the country in 1961 led to magistrates being "flooded with exemption applications for activities from political meetings and wedding receptions to rugby matches and braaivleis."

In July that year, the South African Coloured National Convention was banned.

Mr H G Lawrence, then MP for Salt River, in an article titled *This Nationalist banning frenzy*, said: "Why have coloured people been refused the right of free assembly and speech? Surely not because this was to be a gathering of communist-inspired agitators? Is it not because the Prime Minister wishes to prevent the ordered expression by non-whites of views which do not fit into the granite-wall programme of apartheid?"

In 1962 came the banning of the SA Congress of Democrats and the placing under house arrest of Mrs Helen Joseph. The United Party accused Mr B J Vorster (the Minister of Justice) of "usurping the func tions of the courts by imposing punishmen for an undisclosed crime without trial." I was the shape of things to come ...

Four years later, the government acte against an increasingly vociferous foe, th National Union of South African Student (Nusas). Its president, Ian Robertson, wa banned under the Suppression of Commu nism Act. Steps against scores more stu dent leaders would follow, to the presen day.

In April 1968 the Liberal Party, formec in 1953, was forced to disband after the government passed the Prohibition of Political Interference Act which forbade racially mixed membership of parties. Its national president at the time was Dr Alan Paton.

The seventies were characterised by tough new security legislation, including the Affected Organisations Bill and Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill, and the first ban on a major newspaper since the days of President Paul Kruger. It was the late Percy Qoboza's mass-circulation *The World*.

In 1982, Section 6 of the 1967 Terrorism Act became Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which further entrenched the bitterly condemned practice of detention without trial.

Since 1985, when widespread unrest led to President PW Botha declaring the first state of emergency under his leadership, curbs on organisations and individuals have been increasingly toughened.

In April last year, the government banned all campaigns for the release of detainees and, in October, came the Sally Hutchings affair.

Mrs Hutchings was deported for throwing two tomatoes at the feet of President Botha at a meeting at Unisa, Pretoria.

Even Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, described the step as an "over-reaction." He said political leaders all over the world faced this sort of hazard.

IN February this year, restrictions were placed on 17 extra-parliamentary organisations, including the United Democratic Front and Azapo. Like Monday's move against the ECC, it effectively froze all their activities.

MANDELA SUPPORT . . . A group of women with "get well" placards for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela outside Tygerberg Hospital yesterday afternoon. Picture: ADIL BRADLOW

Women take Mandela flowers

CAPE TIMES 27/8/85

Staff Reporter

A GROUP of about 50 wellwishers yesterday visited Tygerberg Hospital to deliver flowers to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela who is recuperating after being treated for TB.

The women, who arrived about noon, were stopped in the ground-floor corridor by security personnel and police.

After explaining the purpose of the visit, one of the women was allowed to hand the flowers to a guard.

They left the hospital bearing placards which read: "Speedy Recovery Nelson", "The Nation is waiting for you" and "Botha we are not disturbing".

Outside the building they sang songs dedicated to the jailed ANC leader before getting into mini-busses for their return to the townships.

A spokesman for the SA Prisons Service said it was policy to provide for expressions of sentiment to be received by the authorities and to be handed to a prisoner in hospital with due regard to personal safety and security.

SA spies in ANC — general

327

W/6

RX645 27/8/88

by JOHN McLENNAN, Political Correspondent

DURBAN.— The SA Security Police has planted spies within the top executive of the ANC.

This was disclosed this week by Lt. General Johan van der Merwe, head of the Security Police, and follows the assertion by President Botha that the Government is well informed on what happens in the "inner circles" of the banned organisation.

General van der Merwe also said that the Security Police had in the past "turned" captured ANC guerillas and sent them back on missions against the organisation in order to test them.

He made the disclosures at a briefing near Cape Town this week where the Press was allowed to interview a former ANC terrorist who came in from the cold to become a constable in the SAP and hunt his old comrades.

As a former operational commander in the Transvaal he was able to provide fascinating insights into the workings of the ANC. Among them:

■ THE ANC long ago committed itself privately to attacking so-called soft targets. Publically, however, it will not admit to these atrocities.

■ IT has little control over its "cadres" in the field. Some are sent in on short term missions after which they return to base. Others have long term objectives and stay in the country indefinitely. The organisation has little communication with them and this is why the ANC cannot immediately stop the series of restaurant blasts, even if publicity is damaging.

■ THE ANC has set up reasonably sophisticated infiltration routes and groups of support personnel right in the cities. Their "border reconnaissance" lead guerillas in and out of the country on previously scouted and safe routes. The support groups, known as "machinery", provide accommodation, security and communication.

■ ARMS and ordinance is brought in mainly through motor cars which have been equipped with special compartments.

The official story of the man, known as Mr X, is that developments such as the introduction of the tricameral system gave him hope and he then gave himself up to the police.

He is now used on anti-ANC operations and is most useful to the police because he knows how they operate.

Many of those captured — and his defection apparently enabled the authorities to net many ANC cadres — were his previous comrades.

He claims many other ANC members would like to return, but are prevented from doing so by the physical difficulties involved and not only the ANC.

Those who change their minds about supporting the organisation, he said, are kept in punishment camps.

ECC pamphlet and a wind-up toy are banned

CAPE TOWN — A wind-up toy called Jolly Jumping Peter produced by SLK Marketing Ltd, and a pamphlet entitled "Why I refuse to serve in the SADF" produced by the COSG, ECC, Jodac and Nusas are among this week's list of publications, objects and pamphlets banned for distribution, the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday.

A Publications Committee has, on review, ruled that Karl Marx's "Civil War in France" was not undesirable, while Edward Muybridge's "The Male and Female Figure in Motion" was also declared not undesirable, provided it was not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

During the past week 22 films were submitted for examination of which eight were unconditionally and 11 conditionally approved. Three of the films, "Screwball Hotel," "Purgatory" and "Angel of Vengeance" were rejected.

From yesterday it was an offence to import and/or distribute the following (name of the author/producer in brackets):

Schwul — Na und? (Thomas Grossman).

Work in solidarity for justice and freedom Res 435/78 now — pamphlet (not stated).

South Africa Youth Day (Urban Sayco Committee).

Sex to Sexty "Wood Pile" No 94; Sex to Sexty "Life on the Farm" No 101; Sex to Sexty "Dung Ho" No 154, and Sex to Sexty "Chicken Plucker" No 157 (all produced by SRI Publishing Co, Texas).

Tricks I and Tricks II (Renaud Camus).

Wrack and Roll (Bradley Denton).

The Chronicles of the Desert Ranch School (Peter Zupp).

Lenin and Trotsky on the Workers' Press (World Socialist Books).

The Student Voice of Namibia June 1988 (Nanso, Namibia).

Workers of the World 2 Bolivia (International Labour Research and Information Group, Salt River).

Fight Racism: Fight Imperialism No 80 August 1988 (Larkin Publications, London).

Azanian Review Vol 1 No 1 June 1988 and Vol 1 No 2 August 1988 (The Azanian Co-ordinating Committee, Johannesburg).

Een man een stem, P W Botha ons man — pamphlet (Swartmamba Organisasie).

Freedom at 70 — pamphlet (not stated).

Update in Solidarity 8 (Edasa, Rondebosch).

We shall never forget ... Long live the spirit of Ashley — pamphlet (Bonteheuwel Youth Movement and Bisco Community House, Salt River).

Wicket Willie's Low-down on Men (Pan Books Ltd, London). — Sapa.

Bid to revoke no-trial order

WINDHOEK. — President P W Botha had acted with "gross unreasonableness" when he stopped the prosecution of six soldiers for the alleged murder of a civilian, the Supreme Court here heard yesterday.

A certificate to indemnify the six soldiers from prosecution was issued on March 22 this year on his authority by the Namibian Administrator-General.

The dead man, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, was killed on November 30, 1986, at a Swapo political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek when members of Ovambo's 101 Battalion disrupted the meeting soon after it started, Mr Jeremy Gauntlett, counsel for the applicant, Miss Hilda Shifidi, the daughter of Mr Shifidi, said in argument.

Good faith

Miss Shifidi seeks a court order to invalidate the certificate. She cites as respondents the Administrator-General, the State President, the Attorney-General of Namibia, the South African Minister of Defence, Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Rifleman Eusebius Kashimbi and Rifleman Steven Festus.

The halting of the trial of the last six respondents was in terms of Section 103 the of the Defence Act which exempts members of the SADF from court action if they act in good faith in combating terrorism in an operational area.

Mr Gauntlett said the Swapo meeting was lawful and openly held. — Sapa

Judgment reserved in Govt appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has reserved judgment in the appeal by the State President, the Government, the Ministers of Law and Order and of Justice, and the Registrar of Affected Organisations against a decision that the proclamation that declared the United Democratic Front an "affected organisation" on October 9 1986 was of no force and effect in law.

INVALID

In the Durban and Coast Local Supreme Court on May 8 1987 Mr Justice J M Didcott found that Proclamation 190 was invalid as the powers granted to the Minister of Justice under the Affected Organisations Act of 1964 had not been validly transferred to the Minister of Law and Order. — Sapa.

Cape Times 31/8/88 (327)

Azapo claims banning invalid

DURBAN. — Judgment on an application by the Azanian People's Organization, which challenged its banning, has been reserved in the Supreme Court.

The party was banned in terms of the emergency regulations proclaimed on June 10 this year.

Azapo claims that the regulations are invalid and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order, who are cited as respondents, dispute these claims and submit that the emergency regulations and the banning of Azapo are valid.

After hearing legal argument, Mr Justice Booysen reserved judgment. — Sapa

AZAPO CHALLENGES EMERGENCY ORDER

President Botha taken to court

THE Azanian People's Organisation has challenged the validity and lawfulness of a section of the emergency regulations under which an order was granted restricting it and 17 other organisations earlier this year.

An application in the Supreme Court, Durban, has sought an order declaring a section of the emergency regulations and the order made under it invalid and of no force and effect in law.

Mr Justice Booysen reserved judgement.

In an affidavit, the national health secretary of Azapo, Mr Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape, said the background to the application against the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, lay in the state of emergency.

He said the purpose of the application was to set aside the regulation and the order made under it which prohibited Azapo and 17 other organisations from "carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever."

Invalid

The section of the emergency regulations which prohibited Azapo and the other 17 organisations is a re-enactment of a regulation under the Public Safety Act which restricted Azapo and 16 other organisations in February this year.

The affidavit claims the regulation under the Public Safety Act is invalid on the grounds that Mr Botha has exceeded the powers conferred on him in promulgating it and that, by virtue of its inherently contradictory nature, the regulation is vague and unenforceable.

In a replying affidavit, Mr Botha said the advancement of the "revolutionary offensive" had made it necessary to take immediate and drastic steps to ensure public safety.

He said he had been advised it was not necessary for him to put forward any answer to the applicants' arguments.

In his replying affidavit, Mr Vlok said the actions had been taken as a result of information received from informants which was then investigated.

He said that it was not possible to reveal the identity of these informants as they and their families would probably be intimidated, have their lives and property threatened and possibly killed.