Newsmen put focus on Press freedom

By MATHATHA TSEDU

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

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

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

The organisation also changed its name into the International Confederation of Journalists and admitted 13 new affiliates.

A training programme for journalists in developing countries was also approved through which both professional and trade union work is to be enhanced. To this end, a week-long training seminar on trade unionism for African journalists is to be held in Lusaka, Zambia, in September.
The Reeva Forman-Caxton saga has finally been settled after the Appeal Court reduced the damages payable by Caxton to the former Dior model by R700,000.

Forman was initially granted R2,125m in 1988 by Mr Justice Curlewis in the Rand Supreme Court; the judge found that Reeva Forman (Pty) and Reeva Success Dynamics (Pty) were labelled by an article which appeared in Style magazine in 1985.

Appealing against the Curlewis judgment were: Caxton; Style editor Marilyn Hattingh; the writer of the article, Lin Sampson; CTP; Web Printers (Pty); National News Distributors; and the Central News Agency.

The initial award was made up of: R250,000 for loss of goodwill; R1,8bn for loss of profit for Reeva Forman (Pty); and R75,000 for loss of goodwill and profit for Reeva Success Dynamics (Pty).

The Appeal Court reduced the amount payable to Reeva Forman (Pty), but dismissed the appeal against the amount awarded to the other company. The reduced amount is still a record damages award.

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

Johannesburg will wake up to a new morning newspaper on Wednesday, June 30, said the Daily Mail, an independent daily newspaper, to be launched on that day by the publishers of The Weekly Mail.

The Weekly Mail will aim to reflect the broader perspective of the 1990s, the hope that South Africa will become a better, more open, more competitive society, as well as the fear that this process could be derailed.

The newspaper will distribute throughout the Transvaal and some surrounding territories. It will also be available at limited outlets in Cape Town and Durban.

Said the publishers of The Weekly Mail: "For too long, most of the PWV will receive hand delivered copies before dawn. The price will be R1.

From Monday to Thursday it will be the Daily Mail, an elegant broadsheet newspaper (the page size of The Star and Business Day). On Friday, there will be The Weekly Mail, published nationally, redesigned to fit the look of the daily, but retaining all the in-depth weekend reading currently available in the PWV.

Both The Daily Mail and The Weekly Mail will be put together by a team of some of the country's best journalists and those journalists, refreshed from the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Express five years ago who founded The Weekly Mail, and have consumed despite financial and political pressure, to bring South Africans news and analysis they can find nowhere else.

With the country in flux and the political climate changing daily, the Mail's editors believe there is a need for a newspaper that will not be afraid to come full circle.

Two years ago, several newspapers, among them The Weekly Mail, were suspended pending for suggesting that the African National Congress consisted of rational human beings with whom the government could and should negotiate.

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

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

Major figures in the newspaper world have come to share the Mail's concern and have joined the Daily Mail Businessman, professional and a range of investors have put their money into the venture.

The Daily Mail will be like no newspaper that the country has seen before. Not only will it have the look and feel of the 1990s, but it will be the only Johannesburg daily paper controlled by its staff and outside of monopoly control — the city's only truly independent newspaper.

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

The paper will stand for the protection of human rights and the environment; the need to set aside time to improve education, housing, health and other social services; the recognition of everyone in South Africa as an equal country with full rights and freedom of speech, dignity and debate, and that good relations with our neighbours.

The newspaper will carry more "editorial" interest news than the current Weekly Mail, the "black" news or "national" news, but the information all thinking South Africans want and need.

It will be a serious newspaper for serious readers but also lively and entertaining, a paper that simultaneously is as serious as educators, that is informative and honest, accessible and interesting.

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

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

News for the serious reader

A Bigger, More Powerful Team

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

The Daily Mail will draw together the existing Weekly Mail team, editors who have gathered a vast amount of experience and skills over the years, and the country's best known and most experienced journalists.

The paper will be edited by the current Weekly Mail's chief editors, Antonio Harper and Irvine Musolin.

Highly experienced journalists in the team include Arthur Malherbe (features editor), Ray Ramgobin (business editor), Denis Malherbe (arts editor), Jorgen Schallberg (pictures editor), Stanfold Daniel (chief theatre critic), Jeff Zerbos (columnist) and Thami Mkhize (editorial director).

The Daily Mail will have a print run of 400,000 copies. The Daily Mail will have a print run of 400,000 copies.

A Special Daily Mail Investigation

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The Star not a threat — Mail

THE managers of the Weekly Mail, due to go daily on June 26, were "flattered" by The Star's decision to sell its morning edition of the paper in Johannesburg from next Tuesday, co-editor Ashton Harber said yesterday.

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

He said the bulk of the capital for the new publication was raised through a private placing of a share-certificate to selected individuals. Investors included Dick Nethven of Hollard Insurance, Peter Wrightson of the Premer Group, David Solomon of Woolrite, former MP Helen Suman and advocates Ismail Mohamed and Sydney Kentridge.

There were also a number of prominent British shareholders.

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

Daily Mail Publications Pty Ltd is wholly owned by the Mail Publications Group Ltd, a newly formed public company.
Great expecta... but economic realities in a new South Africa may not satisfy a hungry black

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

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

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

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

Despite these expectations, the new leader — let’s call him Nelson Mandela — will inherit the problems that plagued the nation all over Africa, and which helped to undermine South Africa's white regime.

The population is growing at 3.3% a year, which means that the need for new houses and schoolrooms will be mushrooming even as it is, let alone with the backing.

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

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

Correcting this inequality should appease blacks' sense of injustice, but it will hardly do black needs. If the 1980s’ classrooms empty in 1987 had opened to blacks, just a fifth of the shortage in black schools would have disappeared. Equally, a few thousand hospital beds will not make blacks healthy.

Next, the bill for housing. The black housing shortage is said to total 1.8 million units. Countrywide, more than 25% of black families in five major cities have no electricity. In 1981 the Government managed to build just 1,500 houses.

The demands on the exchequer will be bottomless. On one estimate, it would cost around R3 billion (about half of the country’s GDP) to bring black housing, health, education and pensions up to the standards enjoyed by whites. That figure will swell with the growth in population.

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

He could save a bit by axing apartheid's parasitic bureaucrats. But he will face pressure to give blacks as much as the South African ones, and that means a social-security network.

He must also keep in mind the basic needs of those who need most.

That will mean compromising standards. If it must use less money, the black Government might have to embrace the white Government's anti-poverty policy, not try to build every home, in train nurses and hospital beds rather than doctors.

By beyond that, he will have to choose New borrowing or higher taxes.

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

All in all, South Africa’s Government collects 37% of the country’s GDP, as against 22% in China and 40% in Britain. That seems to leave room for an increase. But no amount of tax-raising could bring enough into the kitty to meet all the demands that will be made on it. The Black Government will therefore have to abandon any hope of making everyone comfortable and concentrate on making the basic needs of those who need most.

That is why it will need help from abroad. Some in the ANC still favour internationalisation. They are unlikely to prevail, it is only because foreign governments would try to insist on compensation for shareholders, and that — even if that meant only government bonds — the State could not afford it.

Moderate ANC advisors probably talk instead of directing big companies' investments, either through Government appointments to the boards or through control of investment finance.

Some of the big companies own large stakes in the big banks. The second idea implies forcing them to shed control.

The obvious way is that the ANC’s foreign owners are less likely to hit on good investments than the businessmen whose actions they would like to direct. If South Africa’s giant conglomerates seek greener shoots, what they need is competition, not state direction.

The ANC could usefully consider imposing tougher anti-monopoly legislation. Equally, South Africa would profit from rules that make it harder to control companies through minority stakes.

For further, Africa is for... price it should business.

How about... beat to die... ANC’s biggest — minimum wage the movement the short-term wage and unemployment, housing wages, few... jobs. In the last... barely will... black leader... South Africa... is exile or in jail... the unions... left to carry... black —... Now the... of making the... poor... The best... is completely... in... from the... —... A minimum... high enough to...
at expectations

but economic realities in a new South
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Far further down the hoop, if South Africa is to encourage black enterprise it should deregulate small business.

How about sharing the cake out? Next to directing investment, the ANC's fondest wish seems to be a minimum wage. In public at least, the movement does not acknowledge the short-term trade-off between wages and unemployment.

Wages, fewer jobs.

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

Now the unions' effete is in danger of making the ANC overload the truly poor.

The best available estimates suggest that 15% of the workforce is completely unemployed and that another 30% are挣扎ing a living from the informal economy.

A minimum wage, if it were set high enough to change things at all, would change them for the worse.

Already the higher wages won by the unions have prompted talk of mechanisation from South Africa's big companies, which claim that rising labour costs are blunting their competitive edge.

The cost of land reform could be huge. Yet the ANC is led from criers, and Marxism's emphasis on the proletariat has reinforced its urban bias.

It will be hard to escape from this if President Mandela has to face disorder among his own people, he will find, like his white predecessors, that it comes from the people in the urban slums.

So be it to be tempted to please articulate town dwellers first, and to the investment needed to make a success of rural reform take second place. Yet if Mr Mandela neglects the country people, they will flock to desperation to the towns. Then the tiger would be harder still to tame.
Editor gets the sack for Mandela remarks

By ROGER MAKINGS

ANC government and the effect of inflation on pensions

Mr Bridges has apparently resigned from the association

However, the president of SAATCA, Mr Rob Purkis, denied that between 18-20 members of his association had resigned because of the dismissal.

Refused

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Bridges refused to comment on the matter, saying it was an internal affair.
PRESS - 1990

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

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

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

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

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

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

He is scheduled to leave for an extensive six-week tour of 13 countries on Monday.
Subscribers get the chance to buy a share in the news

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

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

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

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

Shares in the Mail Publications Group, a new public company which owns The Daily Mail and The Weekly Mail, are being sold at R1.00 each. The minimum subscription is 100 shares.

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

"We will also allow us to ensure the independence of the newspaper, by putting it in the hands of thousands of ordinary readers, rather than letting any single investor control the company.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Retirement comes as a shock to most people, but, editorially, we like to show it presents an opportunity rather than a threat.”

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

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

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

The country’s largest magazine publisher, Nasonale, investigated the possibility of launching into this market but rejected it. Says Nasonale head of research Barbara Ross. “We are an ageing population but there are still many more whites in the 16-50 category than over 50.”

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

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

But then Nasonale, which publishes Huisgenoot, Fair Lady and Sane, is notoriously cautious about launching new publications. It could well have missed a lucrative boat.
Union officials claim damage

Own Correspondent

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

The five are Mr Frederick Sauls, Mr John Gomo, Mr Elliott Mlwu, Mr Lesley Kettledas and Mr Jurie Harrus of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu).

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

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

They pleaded that the words were defamatory.

The second claim was against Mr Hennekse, Mr Cull and SAAN jointly and separately, and alleged Mr Cull and SAAN had maliciously published the words in an article the next day.

At the start of the hearing, Mr J J Liefberg, SC, for the unionists, informed the court that the claims against Mr Cull and SAAN had been settled. This effectively disposed of the second claim.
THE PVC was under a multiple dock where its foundation was built. The PVC was under an emergency dock where its foundation was built. It was 1969. The PVC was under a multiple dock where its foundation was built. The PVC was under an emergency dock where its foundation was built.
SOWETAN's daily sales soared to a new peak in May, topping the 200 000 for the first time.

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

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

The average daily sale during last year was 173 000.

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

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

The Manager of Sowetan, Mr Rory Wil-
TML's higher tax burden dampens profit increase

By Ann Crotty

A sharp increase in the tax charge — from 34 percent to 49 percent — means that Times Media Limited (TML) was only able to maintain attributable profit at R25.4 million (R23.1 million), despite a 21 percent hike in operating profit in the 12 months to end-March.

An increase in shares in issue resulted in earnings per share dropping five percent to 118c from 123c.

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

The higher dividend has resulted in a reduction in dividend cover from 2.3 times to 2.2 times.

Higher advertising tariffs and acquisitions helped lift turnover by 31 percent to R257.9 million (R191 million). Operating profit was up 21 percent to R39.9 million (R33.1 million), reflecting a drop in margins from 18.3 percent to 16.8 percent.

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

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

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

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

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

The charge for the review year is at the full corporate tax rate.”

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

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

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

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

“However, the company is well positioned to cope with the challenges that lie ahead and to capitalise on any growth potential in the publishing and communications field.”
'Black majority govt in power by end of 90s'

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The Mind of South Africa" is a broad historical survey dealing with the rise and crisis of apartheid.
THE African National Congress does not want an official media or even a “tame press”. Instead it wants vigorous, lively and readable newspapers which enjoy writing about controversy, says the movement’s constitutional guru, Mr Abie Sachs.

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

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

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

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

“There are two factors. One factor is the enormous concentration of newspaper ownership which many countries with a long history of support for press freedom won’t permit because it’s unhealthy for democracy if the control of the media is restricted to a few.”

Domination

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Where it becomes different, of course, is when one deals with organised physical resistance to democracy. In this sense, there are tiny minorities in the country. They might generate a fair amount of support among Africaners, but they are a small percentage of the total population.”

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

He was looking forward to the December 16 ANC conference — to be held in Bloemfontein — because the movement would adopt a new constitution and elect a leadership for the first time in South Africa since 1960.

Mr Sachs said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Enthusiasm

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

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

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

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

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

He said it was nice to have been home, “to be in a country where you can put on your tassels.”
ANC may have daily newspaper.

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

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

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

In the absence of firm action against violence, the entire negotiation process could be set back or even wrecked, she said — Sapa.
The team behind your breakfast news

Dozens of calls about Daily Mail shares

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

The Mail Publications Group (MPG), owners of both papers, has had to limit its share offer to a selected list of Weekly Mail supporters in order to raise the funds needed to launch the paper and ensure its independence.

The publishers believe that by having a large number of smaller investors, no single shareholder will have the power to influence the newspaper's policy for his or her own ends. This is part of a plan to ensure the total independence of the new paper. The rest includes maintaining control in a staff share trust — which will be the single largest shareholder — and limiting the control any other individual may hold.

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

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

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

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

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

The Weekly Mail's acerbic-penned television writer, Charlotte Bauer, will expand her field to cover personalities in the news, interviews and lifestyle issues.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Daily Mail will also have writers in Washington and London. Other international coverage is being syndicated from some of the world's best newspapers, such as The Guardian of London, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times.
How a young black journalist survived a thousand days behind bars

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No one knew where we were. We were denied newspapers, cuts, pens and even clothes to change into. I had to use my T-shirt as a washing on occasion. My jeans and lumber jacket made perfect pajamas.

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

Durant that period, a detention would be called for hours of interrogation. One young detainee, of about 15 years, came back saying, "They've beaten me up," he said. "I also told them I was subjected to electric shocks.

It seems the police were trying to prove that I was a revolutionary journalist who, during the 1986 consumer boycott, took pictures of people who broke the boycott of white businesses. According to police allegations, I took these pictures to "the people's museum".

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

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

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

When you are escorted outside by police, your shackles are taken away. When you try to sleep, you are constantly awakened by police who say they are guarding against you "killing yourself." The strain is tremendous. I suffered from depression and had to be brought back to St Albans.

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

Numerous struggles for our release were waged inside and outside prison. In February of 1995, there was an 11-day hunger strike. It proved to be instrumental in bringing about our release.
Argus posts 9.9% growth in bottom-line earnings

ARGUS Holdings' pre-tax profits showed a healthy rise, but a lower share of retained earnings from associated companies limited growth in bottom-line earnings to 9.9% in the year to March.

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

Earnings excluding retained earnings of associates grew 16.2% to £219.5m (188.9c) a share on a slight rise in the weighted average number of issued shares. But earnings including retained earnings of associates were up 8.6% to 2.76c (250c) a share.

The final dividend of 60c a share increased the total distribution for the year by 17% to 875c (75c) a share.

The bulk of Argus's profits was derived from Argus Newspapers, followed by 46%-held CTP and CNA Gallo, in which it has a 35% stake.

Band said most Argus Newspapers' publications showed steady advertising demand and circulation growth. An 18.3% rise in sales, coupled with tight expense control and efficient working capital management, saw its contribution to the group's pre-tax income improve 28%.

But the time was not considered right for a listing.

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

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

Trading

Times Media (TML), of which Argus holds 40.3%, showed a 32% rise in pre-tax profits, but earnings a share fell 5% because it paid the full tax rate after fully utilising its assessed losses the previous year.

Argus's turnover rose 17.6% to R1.6bn, while trading income grew 15.6% to R1.1bn.

Following a 15% rise in net interest paid to R7.6m, and a 65% jump in income from investments, pre-tax profits were 19% higher at R1.4bn.

However, an increased tax rate at 41.9% (39.9%) resulted in a 15% rise in taxed profits to R1.2bn.

With income attributable to outside shareholders increasing 12%, income before retained earnings of associated companies was 17.8% higher at R4.6bn.

But a 12% fall in the share of retained earnings from associated companies to R1.7bn, led to a 9.9% rise in attributable profits to R5.6bn.

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

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

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

— Sapa
The retribution of...
Sowetan plans Freedom of Press campaign

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

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

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

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

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

With the current inter-organisational violence, freedom of association and of the Press remain endangered. [End of text]
Journalists are still walking a tightrope

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

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

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

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

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

There has been no time to get to the nitty-gritty and with participants conscious of time restraints, they tend to speak faster than they can think, which makes it all inconclusive and frustrating for the viewer. Wednesday evening’s pilot show on the subject of home security was extremely well-researched and balanced.

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

Advertising talking point of the week has undoubtedly been BMW’s new campaign and Mercedes “doing the right thing” by ignoring it all.

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

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

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

A nice thought, but no, it was not intentional — we just goofed.
Let Pressmen do their job, says Mazwai

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But there was also pressure from black community organisations. This pressure was three-dimensional, he said...
23 dead babies: doctor tells of strike crisis

Pretoria Correspondent

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

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

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

The letter, submitted as evidence yesterday, said no cleaning was done in the neo-natal section during the strike and neither were the bodies of dead babies collected for removal to the mortuary. The tiny patients' food was delivered late and on April 10 and 11 none of the babies received medication as their nurses had been "intimidated to join the strike".

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

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

However, Dr van Heerden said yesterday that he was not aware that any of the babies in the neo-natal ward had been evacuated
Development of two new ‘Sowetos’ planned

By Shirley Woodgate

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

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

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

This section comprises 840 ha north-west of Dobsonville, where at least 10 000 stands will be made available by four private developers.

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

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

The developers are Township Realtors, South African Transport Services, Creation Development Production and FHA Homes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Publishers Wending Publikasies are also on trial. — Sapa
Weekblad trial to be behind closed doors

By Celeste Louw

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

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

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

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

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

The Country and the City
Gavin Stewart

The Daily Newspaper in Flux

What a difference a year makes. When the Daily News launched its citywide edition in October 1993, it was hailed as a visionary move to bring local news to readers across the city. However, within a year, the paper faced numerous challenges, including financial difficulties and declining readership. Today, the Daily News is in the process of transitioning to a digital-first model, aiming to adapt to the changing landscape of journalism.

The Daily News was founded in 1913 and has always been a significant voice in the city's media landscape. With its citywide coverage, it has provided readers with a unique perspective on local and national events. However, in recent years, the paper has faced competition from online news outlets, which have gained popularity among younger readers.

The recent decision to transition to a digital-first model is a significant step for the Daily News. By focusing on online content, the paper can reach a broader audience and adapt to the changing media habits of today's consumers. This move is not without its challenges, as the paper must invest in new technology and staff to ensure the transition is successful.

Despite the challenges, the Daily News remains an important voice in the city's media landscape. With its history and legacy, it has the potential to continue to be a trusted source of news for years to come.
SABC journalists want union branch

By Helen Grange

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They include:
1. A brutal assault on a journalist covering the Hemastra Commission of Inquiry by rightwing elements,
2. The sacking of an assistant editor of the university student publication over a satirical column, and
3. The court appearance of a newspaper editor for publishing "sensitive material."

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

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

On May 9, a SABC-TV journalist, Mr Johan Claassen, who covered the Hemastra Commission of Inquiry, was arrested after a spy agency official said he was investigating the newspaper.

On May 28, a sports editor of the Sowetan, Mr Heratio Motawadi, was attacked by a masked man at his farm near Alberton. The man knocked him unconscious and tied him up.

At May 28, the sports editor of the Sowetan, Mr Heratio Motawadi, failed to appear in court after failing to tell his attorney he was ill.

In other incidents of harassment, journalists covering the violence in Thabong township in the Orange Free State were caught in the crossfire after battles between township residents and rightwing groups.

The vehicles of at least two journalists were overturned by angry crowds who apparently mistook them for police vehicles.

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

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

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

Editor Mr Cyril Madala received a phone call last week from a man who said a bomb had been rigged under his car. The caller disconnected after Madala told him he was not interested in disarming bombs.

An unknown gunman earlier shot at the Umgciska home of news editor, Mr Chris Hlongwana.

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

This focus was made possible by the Foundation for Peace and
Media ‘played positive role in Harms Commission’

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

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

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

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

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

Captain Dirk Coetzee, whose allegations regarding the murder of Durban anti-apartheid lawyer Griffiths Mxenge are being investigated by the commission, Coetzee’s allegations, along with a last minute confession by death row prisoner and former policeman, Almond Butana Nofemela, exposed an alleged hit-squad at the farm that abducted and killed people — as well as stole cars and damaged the property of anti-apartheid activists.

Much of the evidence of serving police officers has focused on denying the allegations of Nofemela and Coetzee as well as another disaffected Wasp gun man, David “Spyker” Thokgolane. Nofemela made a statement the day before he was to hang for the murder of a Brits farmer not connected with his squad activities.

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

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

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

Mr Hopkinson, who died on Wednesday in Oxford aged 66, was born in Manchester.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Hopkinson resigned after three years as editor.
Other groups will have to join talks

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Hopefully all who qualify would take hold of it, eagerly and with an open mind," said Die Burger."
Never Forget
An Image Will

-- Joe Nelson
Voice Assistant Editor

A head car print appeared at the bottom of the page, indicating it may be a clipping from another source or a stapled part of a larger document.
South Africans 'too dependent'

By Marjorie Moodus

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

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

"However, in South Africa we are bound together by forces that have been there for a long time and this is why apartheid could never work," he said.

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

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

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

"This would be totally un-thinkable and reaction from the international community would be enormous," Mr Sparks said.

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

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

"Just as South Africa has long been a symbol of racism and a pariah in the world, it has the tremendous potential of becoming a symbol of national reconciliation, racial harmony and of co-existence between black and white," Mr Sparks said.
Finding a ‘no loser’ solution

When Neil van Heerden and Chester Crocker introduced the “no losers” formula into the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations in the late 1980s, they were bringing something new to Africa. The concept of a dispute being solved on the basis that neither party ends up the loser was, if not new, certainly unusual in Africa, where the tradition has rather been one of the supremacy of the strongest power.

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

Deadlock

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

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

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

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

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

These would probably not have been in the constitution had SWAPO—or perhaps even some other party—won a big enough majority to have been able to dictate the content of the constitution.

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

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

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

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

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

Colonialism

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

During their era the colonials held power almost exclusively in their own hands so that when it was relinquished at independence domestic power struggles erupted among the natives, followed almost inevitably by military coups.

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

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

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

Ostensibly, the power-through-the-gun philosophy has been abandoned by the Soviet Union, too, for years its main proponent in Southern Africa (and the chief supplier of the nec-essayary hardness).

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

The organisation’s present attitude must, however, have been influenced not only by the change in the Soviet attitude but also by the failure of its armed wing, MK, to harm the Government seriously through insurgency.

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

Merged

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

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

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

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

But it is not going to be academic in the new South Africa.
Transition crucial for SA

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

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

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

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

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

Symbolic

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

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

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

But the keynote speech was something different.

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

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

He said: "Perhaps an embarrass-

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

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

His paper was complex and academic

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

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

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

Complex

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

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

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

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

He noted that South Africa is in the phase of pact-forming, with pacts between the right-wing parties, between the ANC and NP, and even between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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

Zimbabwe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At that same late dinner, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert made an interesting observation. He said township youth in South Africa appeared to have only four role models: crime, sport, entertainment and political resistance.

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

"Listening to the rest of the conference...."

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

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

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

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

Minorities

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

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

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

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

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

By Guy Jepson and Craig Kotze

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

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

The Vrye Weekblad blast happened at 1 am at the newspaper’s premises near the Market Theatre in Newtown.

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

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

An "alternative" publication, Vrye Weekblad published police but squad allegations by former policeman Dirk Coetzee and details of an alleged plot to assassinate Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.
From MONO BADELA
Johannesburg -
The editor of the Afrikaans weekly, Vrye
Weekblad, Mr Max du Preez received a threat-
ing telephone call at
his house hours after a
bomb blast rocked his
newspaper’s offices in
central Johannesburg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Du Preez said he
received a phone call at
home at 6am. "The man
speaks fluent English. He
did not speak Afrikaans
or a mixture of the two
languages and he just said this the be-
inning. I was the next target, my col-
leagues after me," Du
Preez said.

"It is very clear that it
is the rightwing whether
they call themselves Wit
Wolwe or Afrikaner
Weerstands beweging
(AWB).

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

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

"This is not going to
intimidate us. If any-
thing our resolve is now
much stronger."

Inspecting the damage at the Vrye Weekblad offices

PIC. CECIL SOLS
Death of a killing machine

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

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

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

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

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

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

They must have realised Operation Vula was not an SACP operation, and was nothing new.

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

The newspaper speculates police and N1 botched deliberately to foil negotiations.

"It is disturbing if one realises President F W De Klerk and his government make critical decisions based on information supplied by these gentlemen," it concluded.
THE editor of the Vrye Weekblad newspaper yesterday received a death threat following a blast at the Johannesburg weekly's offices and after "Wit Wolwe" had claimed responsibility for several other recent blasts in Johannesburg.

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

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

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

But this was denied by an AWB spokesman.

The Vrye Weekblad blast occurred at 11am at the newspaper's premises near the Market Theatre in Newtown.

Damage was extensive but windows of several nearby shops were shattered.

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

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

The device had been sent for forensic tests.
SAP probe threats made to Vrye Weekblad editor

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

He said police were aware of a phone call made to Du Preez this morning. The call was made to their office and the caller threatened violence.

"The caller threatened violence and said they would bomb the newspaper," the spokesman said.

A police statement said the bomb threat was "serious" and police were investigating its origin.

The Vrye Weekblad newspaper is one of several South African newspapers that have published stories critical of the government's policies.

The newspaper is popular among those who oppose the apartheid regime.

The SAP spokesman said the bomb threat was a "clear" indication that the newspaper was "under attack".

The newspaper's offices were not damaged, but the call came from a "different" phone number.

The Vrye Weekblad editor maintains that the newspaper is "independent" and "unbiased".

The newspaper's offices were not damaged, but the call came from a "different" phone number.

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Media must not be intimidated – academic

By Stan Hlophe

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

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

Mr Ungar said South Africa was experiencing a transitional period and a number of forces, mainly the Government and African National Congress, were trying to influence the public in subtle and intimidatory ways.

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

Serious trend

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

The SABC control and freedom of the press should be on the agenda on the negotiating table before it was too late to avoid control by a new government, Mr Ungar warned.

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

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

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

By MATHURE MOLOPE

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

If Mabe's death were to serve a purpose, it should be to focus anew on the need to depoliticise South Africa's media. The killing of Mabe, an editor who had worked for the Sowetan for many years, raises serious questions about the safety of journalists in South Africa.

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

**British Embassy**

"We were appalled to hear that Sam Mabe had been killed. We are extremely concerned about the safety of journalists in South Africa and we urge the authorities to take action to ensure their safety."

**Sowetan**

"We are shocked and saddened by the murder of Sam Mabe. Our thoughts are with his family and colleagues."
Birth pangs

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

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

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

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

Coverage lacking

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nationally circulated, The Weekly Mail sells, it says, 16 000 copies in Johannesburg and an equal number elsewhere. The Daily Mail, as the Monday-to-Thursday edition is called, says it is selling around 30 000 copies (though on some days it has sold fewer than 15 000). Almost all have been in Johannesburg.

The paper’s first audited circulation figures will be available in February but will it still be available then?
Killing of Mabe stuns townships

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

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

News of his death sent shockwaves through the townships.

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

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

Mwasa has postponed its national congress, which was to have been held in Cape Town next weekend, because of the killing.
Couple said to have robbed and wounded minibus driver

BY BERENG MTIMKULU

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

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

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

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

When they reached Lombardy East, near Alexandra, Mntambo told the driver they had reached their destination. Buthelezi stopped the minibus and Mntambo got out to offload their luggage. Buthelezi approached him for a R1.50 fare. Instead, Mntambo pointed a firearm at him and demanded money.

A fight broke out and Buthelezi was shot in the stomach and robbed of R330 cash. Later, he was taken to the Johannesburg Hospital where he was treated and discharged.

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

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

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

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

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

The term "exposure" refers to the presentation of information or material to the public, often in a way that is intended to influence opinions or actions. In the context of photography, exposure is the amount of light that reaches the film or sensor and is captured as an image. This can be controlled by adjusting the aperture, shutter speed, and ISO settings of the camera. In a broader sense, exposure can also refer to the amount of time that an individual or group is subjected to a particular event, concept, or environment.

**Exposure in Psychology**

In psychology, exposure is a therapeutic technique used to help individuals overcome fears or phobias. This technique involves gradually exposing the individual to the feared object or situation, typically in a controlled manner, until the fear diminishes. The goal is to desensitize the individual to the fear by repeatedly confronting it in a safe environment.

**Exposure in Law**

In the legal context, exposure refers to the act of revealing private or sensitive information to the public. This can occur in various forms, such as through the media, social media, or other means of communication. The implications of exposure can vary widely, from positive outcomes like increased awareness to negative consequences like defamation or invasion of privacy.

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**Table:**

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<tr>
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<td>Photography</td>
<td>Amount of light reaching film or sensor</td>
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<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Therapeutic technique for fear or phobia management</td>
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<td>Law</td>
<td>Revealing private or sensitive information to the public</td>
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**Diagram:**

[Diagram showing exposure as a process involving light and film or sensor, with arrows indicating the flow of light and adjustments to settings.]
Sunday Star is affected by strike.

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

The workers are demanding a reduction of the workload, an increase in wages and permanent staff status. Some of them have been casual workers since 1963.
Accountability the key

Warning on SA’s ‘secrecy culture’

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

“The National Party, the ANC and the business community must recognise the value of a free and independent press,” he said.

Mr Harber also maintained that the current monopolistic control of the South African press created a situation that was “ripe for nationalisation.”

He said the Zimbabwean experience had demonstrated “how easy it is to take control of the press if power is vested in one or two hands.”

“Take-over becomes very easy,” he said.

South Africans were generally aware of the right-wing threat to the press and extent of monopolistic control over the electronic media.

But the question of the extent of monopoly control within the print media should also be addressed.

He said the ownership structure of the Daily Mail was designed to ensure that the staff working on the publications were the biggest single shareholders “rather than an outsider who can manipulate policy.”
Boost for business journalism

A programme to assist black journalists to evaluate critically events and trends about business and economic matters was launched at a luncheon in Johannesburg on Friday.

The year-long programme was devised by the Centre for Developing Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and is funded by the Australian government.

Programme co-ordinator Raymond Louw said it was vital that arguments about the redistribution of wealth to redress the wrongs of apartheid were presented to black people by knowledgeable black journalists.

Biggest

Mr Louw said in a statement that a lack of business skills was the biggest single deficiency in black journalism.

The course is described as the equivalent of a university first year business diploma course with a bias towards financial journalism.

It consists of lectures and other business-related activities scheduled for two days a week at the centre.

For the rest of the week the 24 trainees on the scheme will engage in practical business journalism or administration at their publications.

Defamation: Dhlomo wins

Johannesburg.—Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who in his capacity as the then secretary-general of Inkatha sued the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and the former editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Latakomo, was yesterday awarded R7,000 damages arising from reports published in April, 1988. Mr Justice MS Stegmann handed down his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court.—Sapa.
Dhlomo gets
R7 000 for
defamation

Sowetan Correspondent

DR Oscar Dhlomo, who in his capacity as the then secretary-general of Inkatha, sued the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and the former editor of Sowetan, Mr Joe Latekomo, was yesterday awarded R7 000 damages arising from reports published in April 1986.

Mr Justice MS Stegmann handed down his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court.

The judge was asked to rule on whether an organisation which is, or resembles, a political party, could sue for defamation.

Stegmann said there was no consideration of legal or public policy to prevent it.

"By publishing the words complained of, the defendants conveyed the implication that Inkatha had been guilty of criminal conduct by inciting its members, or alleged members, and the Amabutho impi, to assault the National Education Crisis Committee organisers and delegates at the Pioneer Hall in March 1986," the judge said.

The reports, published after the weekend conference in Durban, were defamatory, the judge ruled.

The sum of R7 000 was agreed to by the parties before judgment was handed down.

A claim by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was settled before the trial.

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company and Latekomo were ordered to pay the costs.
A row has broken out over the dismissal of a prominent Cape Town photographer by an international news agency allegedly because of his involvement in the ANC.

Last month, Agence France Presse (AFP) informed Mr Rashad Lombard that his services were being terminated because it was not AFP policy to employ people who "simultaneously carried out official duties for a political organisation."

But Lombard said this was the first he had heard about this ruling.

"I have never been informed of any AFP policy regarding employment. I am a member of the ANC but do not hold an official position."

He said he submitted that his sacking was motivated by a statement by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki at a Cape Town Press Club lunch earlier this year where Mbeki introduced him as part of the ANC delegation.

AFP bureau chief in Johannesburg, Mr Marc Huttin, confirmed that the agency had fired Lombard on the basis of Mbeki's statement.

Huttin said that while any AFP employee was free to belong to a political party, it was standard practice that journalists did not hold official posts in such organisations.
TML sees tight conditions ahead

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Tight business conditions would place margins at communications group Times Media Limited (TML) under pressure this year, chairman Pal Retief said in the annual report.

The slowing economy was expected to have “particularly severe effects on staff vacancy advertising which is an important part of our revenue base,” said Retief.

However, he stressed every effort would be made to counteract reduced advertising revenue.

To this end TML was diversifying its revenue base (currently heavily reliant on Sunday Times and Financial Mail), increasing sales efforts in the survey’s markets and improving management focus, he said.

By spreading the revenue base, TML could reduce its vulnerability to the cyclical trends of the advertising industry, said Retief.

Generator

The group had substantial cash resources so was well placed to make acquisitions when opportunities arose.

Reviewing the year's operations, Retief said the margin at major revenue generator Sunday Times fell in real terms — although this publication remained by far the largest profit generator in the group.

Second biggest earner, Financial Mail, achieved real growth. Good results were also recorded by other publications, including Business Day, he said.

The niche publishing field also performed well, and along with electronic products, offered substantial growth potential he said.

TML has an effective 21% stake in M-Net. The pay-TV operation paid its maiden dividend during the year under review, and is to obtain a JSE listing in August.

After the listing TML’s stake in M-Net will fall to 18%.

Reduced

A higher tax charge and an increased number of shares on issue reduced TML’s earnings to 11c (12.5c) a share during the year under review.

However, healthy cash balances enabled the group to increase the dividend by 26% to 54c (45c) a share.

At the end of March, capital employed of R813m comprised only R64m in long-term liabilities.

Current assets of R30.9m (including R57.3m in cash) comfortably covered current liabilities of R75.3m.

TML shares trade at about 725c on the JSE, a substantial premium to net asset value of 349c a share.
Mwasa general secretary granted bail of R25 000

By Celeste Louw

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa), Sihembe Khala, was granted bail of R25 000 by a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday after being arrested on seven charges, including bank robbery.

Mr Khala (32) of Jabulani, Soweto was arrested in May this year following an armed robbery at the Fox Street branch of Nedbank on March 28.

Mr Khala and a co-accused, Mckgwatse Diseko (24) of Sharpeville, are alleged to have robbed the bank of R102 000 and attempted to murder three policemen by shooting at them. The two men allegedly also robbed a certain Carlyie Rupelho of his watch.

Mr Khala has pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The magistrate, I Erasmus, found that Mr Khala had not attempted to escape from the Hillbrow hospital where he had undergone treatment. He was allegedly shot in the leg by police.

The case was postponed to September 13.
2 dissidents accuse Sisulu

TWO ANC dissidents yesterday accused the movement's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, of having a monopoly of the media and misrepresenting the dissidents in Press reports.

Mr Mwezi Twala and Mr Nicholas Djasop told a news conference in Johannesburg they dissociated themselves with recent reports, allegedly by Sisulu, indicating the dissidents had reconciled with the ANC.

The reports were contrary to an agreement between a group of dissidents and ANC officials Mr Wilton Mkwayi reached at a meeting in Soweto in June, the dissidents said.

They also called for the withdrawal of a statement, allegedly by Sisulu, that the dissidents were enemy agents.

Part of the agreement was that violence which had culminated in the recent killing in Transvaal of an ANC dissident, Mr Spho Phunguwa, was to be curbed, said the dissidents.

"With regard to the killing of Phunguwa, we are convinced the Transvaal police are busy with a massive cover-up."

It was agreed a joint statement would be issued on the following:

- The question of the so-called ANC dissidents being attacked by internal agents.
- The cadres will resume their tasks like all ANC members.
- Accusations and counter-accusations by the two parties will no longer be reported to the media.

Inquiry

- The Press will only be contacted for a joint statement after the parties had resolved their differences, and
- After the joint statement no party will go to the Press without the other.

They called for a judicial inquiry into alleged atrocities by the ANC - Saps.
Tributes to the Sowetan official

The Sowetan's editor, Mr. Aggrey Klaaste, described Mr. Mabe as a giant among black journalists. — Sapa
SACP loses GDR support

LONDON. — The South African Communist Party journal, "The African Communist", has shifted publication to London after 21 years of being printed in and distributed from East Germany. Plans are being made to publish inside South Africa next year.

The latest edition of the publication explains that the removal of communists from power in the German Democratic Republic has forced it to move house.
MAIL Publications Group faced a possible R780,000 shortfall after the Reserve Bank's "interim" refusal to allow it offshore investment through the rand. MD Cllr Cope confirmed last night.

The newly formed group, owners of the month-old Daily Mail and the Weekly Mail, had also revised its three-year profit and loss projections, he said.

Cope was commenting on a letter the group sent this week to selected subscribers, inviting them to take up shares.

In the letter, Cope said capital structure figures listed in the group's memorandum were based on the assumption R2.5m would be available "via the financial rand mechanism".

The application for the financial rand has not been approved by the SA Reserve Bank and we are at present making representations to the appropriate authorities for approval. If these representations are unsuccessful, then the effect of this would be to reduce the total cash raised of R476m to R4m and thus shortfall of R780,000 would have to be raised to make the venture viable.

Last night, Cope said the Bank had refused the application "pending further information", but the group's directors hoped a final decision would be reached "within a month".

"If the Reserve Bank still refuses the application and our share offer is oversubscribed, we'll use the overflow to make up for the shortfall."

In a separate move, the group has revised its forecast of a R2.64m loss for 1991 to a R6.57m loss. It has also restated its 1992 taxed profit projection to R280m from R240m and its 1993 profit projection to R609m from R124m.

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS
ANC editor’s ‘yes, but’ to a free press

South 1917 - 257190

Sechaba editor, Francis Meli, says the ANC would approve of a free press - as long as it does not promote racism, he told the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) last weekend. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports:

"But we definitely would encourage a free, critical and argumentative press which would promote progress, and a press which would be free from external influences," he said.

Meli, who has edited the 23-year-old Sechaba since 1977, said the publication’s future looked “pretty dark”.

Political changes in East Germany — where Sechaba’s publication and distribution are handled — had resulted in a reluctance about using public funds there to support the ANC.

The editorship had been given until next January to continue producing Sechaba in East Germany.

It was unclear what would happen after that, Meli said.

It could become a publication produced within South Africa, perhaps with a change in format, appearance or name.

Meli said there was an urgent need for an internal ANC newspaper soon.

He criticised the news agency, Agence France Presse, for dismissing a photographer, Rashid Lombard, reportedly because of his involvement with the ANC.

“I see a stage in South Africa where perhaps 60 or 70 percent of the people belong to the ANC. If these attitudes remain, who will be employed?” he asked.

Also addressing the congress, the group editor of the independent East Cape News Agency, Franz Kruger, said journalists had to make a clear commitment to use their skills to help build a news society.

For journalists, “taking sides” meant actively challenging the news values of the mainstream press whose pages still failed to reflect the reality of South African society.

Journalists working for the “alternative press” had to ensure they developed their level of professionalism and increased their impact rather than simply being prepared to “muddle along.”

Krugar argued that journalists should remain independent “even of popular organisations” and avoid the danger of sliding into a situation when the press becomes “sycophantic.”

Broadcast

It was also important for journalists to take part in, develop and perhaps even lead the debate around future media policy, he said.

Highlighting the enormous power and influence of the broadcast media, Kruger challenged journalists working at radio stations in Ciskei and Transkei to use the space afforded by the authorities in those homelands — ECNA
Call for advocates to aid poor

PORT ELIZABETH — Delegates to the 45th AGM of the General Council of the Bar of SA at the weekend recommended that individual bars create structures to enable advocates to voluntarily represent poor defendants free of charge.

A Bar council spokesman said this would ensure that the poor would not be deprived of specialized legal representation.

The council agreed to "seek an assurance from government that proper legal aid, or at least pro deo defence, will be provided to poor persons".

The council announced its support for the introduction of "a system of independent public defenders to provide legal representation to indigent accused persons in criminal cases in the lower courts".

Delegates expressed concern that accused persons who could be tried for murder in the Regional Courts and sentenced to imprisonment for up to 10 years, might not be afforded legal representation as the pro deo system, operated only in the Supreme Court.

The council also resolved to identify with the ideals, aspirations and challenges of a new democratic SA.

The meeting committed the Bar to the maintenance of an independent judiciary and to ensuring that the Bar was representative of all sections of the population.

Delegates from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Natal, Eastern Cape, Free State, northern Cape, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei attended the AGM.

The AGM resolved to consider methods of combating delays in civil litigation and will make "various concrete proposals" to Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee and the Rules Board for reforms in this regard.

Cape Bar SC Milton Seligson was re-elected chairman of the general council, Pretoria Bar SC William de Vries was elected vice-chairman.

Chief Justice Mr Justice Corbett was again elected honorary president. — Sapa.

ANC is set to launch newspaper

THOBO RAVABA

A NEW local newspaper sympathetic to the ANC was in the pipeline as a result of the uncertain future of Sechaba, the organisation's official organ abroad, the new newspaper would not be a specifically ANC publication.

"It will be an independent newspaper 'gravitating' towards the broader democratic movement. The newspaper is being discussed in the ANC's information department and in the movement." he said. No launching date had been set.

But the ANC was in the process of compiling its own journal — to be called Mayibuye, which would be launched in 16 days time. It would be a continuation of the external publication Mayibuye.

The New Nation reported last week that Sechaba editor Francis Mehl told an Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) meeting that the future of the East German-produced Sechaba looked "pretty dark".

"Far-reaching changes... saw the (East German) authorities reluctant to use public funds to support the ANC," Mehl said.

He said the ANC had been given a year, from January 1990, to continue producing the paper there.

Hospital escaper eluding us, say police

FRAUD suspect Ernest Hewitt, who escaped from the Johannesburg Hospital on Saturday, was still at large yesterday and police had no leads to follow, said police spokesman Capt Pieter van Deventer.

In an interview Van Deventer said Hewitt, who would have stood trial this week on charges of foreign currency fraud involving about R7m, continued to "slide" the Pretoria commercial crime unit.

Van Deventer added that police had not yet identified the three black men who helped Hewitt escape.

Hewitt was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital from Diepkloof Prison with a heart ailment but managed to escape when three armed men wounded one of the two constables guarding him.

A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said yesterday that Const S A Masina, shot in the stomach and shoulder, remained in a "stable" condition.

OWEN MAUBANE

By Charles Schulz

PEANUTS.
For some time now, media people have been thinking about communications in a post-apartheid society.

There have been moves to hold a media summit and, more recently, a conference on the subject urged by the South African Union of Journalists and a media policy workshop to be held by the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University. The delay in getting these initiatives on the agenda may be due to not only organizational but also conceptual difficulties. Post-apartheid media is an extremely complex business.

There is much more to it than demanding freedom of speech and hoping socialism or the free market will do the rest.

At the risk of sounding my nose out in quack-sulphated waters, it may be useful to begin laying down guidelines for a future media policy — even before the talking begins.

Prerequisite

Freedom of information — and more specifically the right to seek, receive and impart information — should be a fundamental human right.

Thus freedom is a pre-requisite for many others. The inherent nature of communications means its fullest possible existence can only depend on the surrounding political, social and economic conditions — the most vital of these being democracy.

It is essential to develop national communications policies that link to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives.

Such policies should come from interdisciplinary consultations with broad public participation. The development of communications policies can no longer be left to chance.

Media policy issues can usefully be considered under several headings:

- The common-held idea of media at the moment is that it should disseminate information to people, preferably in large numbers of them.
- For too long now, the mass media have also been more concerned with the wants and quantity of consumer goods than the quality of life.
- The myth of 'One World', 'Many Voices', 'One World', defines this process as one in which the individual becomes an active partner and not a mere object of communication.
- A new South Africa must have a new order regarding media, freedom of information and responsibilities of journalists to serve the interests of the public. Don PinnoCK traces some of these issues:

**FLASHBACK:** A journalist in Cape Town standing up for freedom of the press.

The formulation of communication policies is usually based on national legislation. Some parts of this policy are generally contained in a Constitution or Bill or Regulation — issues such as freedom of speech, belief and expression, as well as related freedoms such as assembly, the right to hold processions, to travel and to correspond.

In some countries, professional regulations such as journalists' codes of conduct and media council regulations also form part of the legal framework. However, freedom of information is, in practice, not without limits. It is a political and professional ideal rather than a social, economic or cultural one.

Freedoms are often infringed by information monopolies and the establishment of an information technocracy.

At the same time, however, a legal framework should:

- Abolish censorship except in clearly defined cases;
- Encourage pluralism of media sources;
- Promote measures that strengthen educational independence;
- Limit media concentration and monopolization.

- Reduce the influence of advertising on editorial policy and broadcast planning;
- Protect the public from the misuse of data banks and sophisticated information technology; and
- Establish an information technocracy that is free of all harassment.

**Guidelines**

The rights of the public to know are as much a reality in media freedom — of which the professional journalist is only one custodian.

The right of inquiry and expressiveness, including dissent, is essential to the establishment of a more complete trust, both people and nations need in a complex and diverse world.

The right to communicate is dependent on the ability of people being able to communicate effectively. They are often placed, whether they wish it or not, among those who find themselves at the fringes of freedom.

Dissent

The democratic right of the public to know is the essence of media freedom and freedom of expression, which is the right of every individual.

To counter top-heavy media systems, we need to develop group and community media combining traditional means and products with advanced technology to produce media on a human scale.

Communication policies need to take account of interpersonal communication at all levels as well as community information systems and practices.

The right to communicate is not the right to neglect the public interest. It is simply that we need to strike a balance between professional use and democ-

Indeed, we must treat communications and media production as a matter of priority.

To be treated as professionals, journalists need broad educational preparation and specific professional training. New courses and in-service training must expand nationally and regionally.

Several other points need consideration:

- The need for strong national news services to act as the core of the country's news collection and distribution system;
- The consideration of all mass communication systems as integral parts of education and development (with educational components being given equal weight to entertainment);
- The lowering of all transmission and communications charges;
- The expansion of non-commercial media forms.

The right to seek and give information and the right to express opinions should be enjoyed by everyone. But journalists need to exercise these rights as a basic condition of doing their jobs effectively, and they are particularly vulnerable to constraints by authority.

The democratic right of the public to know is the essence of media freedom — of which the professional journalist is only one custodian.

The right of inquiry and expressiveness, including dissent, is essential to the establishment of a more complete trust, both people and nations need in a complex and diverse world.

The right to communicate is dependent on the ability of people being able to communicate effectively. They are often placed, whether they wish it or not, among those who find themselves at the fringes of freedom.

_Don PinnoCK, a lecturer at the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University._
Fine words

If the three guest speakers at the recent opening of the Association of Democratic Journalists' regional congress in Durban are to be believed, the media in a future SA will not be much different from the media of today.

With a few distinctions, of course. For one, all three speakers — the ANC's Patrick Lekota, former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo and former Rand Daily Mail editor Allister Sparks — agreed that a free and unfettered press is vital to the new SA and consequently that all restrictions on the media should be removed. Except, argued Lekota, for laws prohibiting the promotion of discrimination.

The ANC's view of the media in future, as represented by Lekota, is so ideologically liberal that journalists could find their jobs relatively boring. He said criticism of the ANC would be acceptable, there would be a free flow of information and all political parties would have the right to set up their own newspapers — though he urged a policy of social responsibility.

Of course, to some of Lekota's ANC colleagues, "responsibility" appears to mean promoting the ANC line.

What Lekota was not too keen on was the "current monopoly" of the press, something Sparks had raised earlier. Rounding mainly on Anglo American, Sparks said the present set-up would be "so manifestly unacceptable to an incoming (ANC) government that it will amount to an invitation to it to intervene," citing Zimbabwe as an example.

Sparks suggested that a press trust be established, "carefully structured and done ahead of time so that it is not done under any government duress."

The most conciliatory views came from Dhlomo, now a newspaper columnist since his "state of unemployment" after resigning from the KwaZulu government. Praising the media for their efforts in the face of State repression and censorship, he said one new role of the media would be to act as midwives during the birth of the new democratic SA, helping to shed the inter-group conflicts of the apartheid era and helping to re-focus attitudes in the direction of national reconciliation and mutual trust.
Reports on unions inadequate at best

From EBRABIM PATEL,
National Education Secretary, SA Clothing and Textile Workers’ Union (Salt River):

The Cape Times carried a one-paragraph report on July 17, announcing the granting of municipal and magisterial permission for the human chain demonstration and a four-paragraph report on July 18, setting out employer concerns about the human chain.

Your newspaper has failed to carry any articles setting out the reasons for this demonstration, as conveyed in the Press releases issued by our office.

More seriously, the Cape Times has failed to seek the trade union view on employer concerns about the human chain and has accordingly reflected only one view on the matter.

We write to you, though, not merely because of limited coverage of our activities but because we have noticed a pattern of distorted or limited coverage of trade union activities.

Wide coverage is given to strikes, and particularly violence and arrests during strikes — the media then reflect as news only such activities, and in consequence the public view of trade unions is one of strikes, disruption and violence.

Trade unions however, engage in a wide range of activities ignored by the newspapers.

One such activity is the campaign to draft a charter of workers’ rights. The campaign, co-ordinated by Cosatu, seeks to determine from workers the rights which they wish to include in the laws and constitution of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Such rights will include organisational rights (to belong to trade unions, strike, picket, bargain with employers), industrial democratic rights (participation in the management of enterprise, joint appointment of judges to industrial courts) and the right to trade union independence (from the state, political parties and employers).

That one million organised workers (Cosatu’s membership) are involved in such a major and important activity is newsworthy.

That Cape Town’s biggest union, representing 68 000 workers locally, at 500 Cape factories, plans to hold a human chain to show worker support for the charter of worker rights, is newsworthy.

Surely the Cape Times ought to have given more coverage to the planned protest?

WHEN writing to the Editor please be brief, double-space, use only one side of the sheet, sign your name and give your full address. Letters are liable to be shortened and edited.
BRUSSELS. — The fate of the Durban paper, New African, is likely to be sealed here this week as its European Community (EC) funders discuss its future.

A meeting of a committee of "experts" from each of the 12 EC member states is due to meet on Friday to discuss funded projects New African and some other "alternative" papers in South Africa are included on their list.

Complaints

New African has taken a line consistently hostile to Inkatha’s leader, Chief Gasha Buthelezi, and it is common knowledge here that this has incurred the hostility of several member states represented on the committees of the EC.

In addition to this political dimension, the EC has taken a decision to move out of funding media projects in South Africa. It is now asking existing media projects it supports to diversify sources of funding and to adopt a more commercial approach.

The experts’ meeting is the first since the visit to Natal in April of a troika of EC officials, who met Buthelezi and heard his complaints against the newspaper.

Whether this signals the end of New African depends in a large measure on the strategy of the Kagiso Trust, one of the organisations which funnel EC aid to projects in South Africa.

If the Kagiso Trust appeals against a negative decision on Friday, a decision may be delayed again, say sources here.

However, funds are limited and about 60 percent of the funds now on the table have already been earmarked, for instance, for supplying the needs of returnees and for basic rural development.
Some magazines facing hard times

CONSUMER magazines are not attracting their fair share of an expanding advertising expenditure cake, according to The Media Business MD Bryan Gabriel.

This meant some publishers might be forced to "close their doors or trim their more unprofitable publications", he said.

Gabriel was commenting on the latest Advertising figures for the year to end-May, released by Market Research Africa on Friday.

These showed this category's share of total adspend fell to 12.7% from 14.2% a year before.

Adspend during this period climbed to R1.668bn from R1.636bn — an increase of about 20% — but consumer magazines' share grew only 7.2%, if this trend continued, it could precipitate the demise of some titles, Gabriel said.

"Most magazines rely on advertising to pay the bills, but they are attracting a declining share of advertising in an expanding market. If this carries on, some publishers could find themselves in financial trouble. "To reverse this trend, the consumer magazine industry should have a serious look at how it positions itself in the overall communications spectrum, and having established that, look at how it sells its space. "There are too many media owners who make no apparent effort to get advertising, and they suffer because of it."

The figures showed that radio income grew only 10.6% to end-May — negative, real growth of about 9% — indicating that radio's share was also declining.

Gabriel said when TV was launched in SA, radio's share of adspend declined, but the radio industry managed to change that pattern by actively promoting the medium.

"It seems that recently, this pressure on agencies and advertisers has been reduced, resulting in radio once again becoming a bit unfashionable."

Categories which showed growth in excess of the 30.1% industry growth included Weekend Press (39.5%), other Press — including country and community newspapers (27.6%) — TV (27.3%) and cinema (28.1%).

The Advertising figures indicated that sports equipment expenditure was 80% higher and men's clothing expenditure 16% lower during the 12 months, although these changes were off low bases.

Chain stores and retail remained the biggest single category, accounting for more than one-fifth of all advertising expenditure to end-May.
Intimidation cuts Ilanga circulation

DURBAN — Ilanga newspaper has been weathering a storm of intimidation during which its sellers have been threatened and the newspaper’s circulation has dipped by more than 20,000 copies, MD Arthur Konigkramer said yesterday.

Shops where the newspaper was sold were set alight, distribution trucks held up, staff members threatened, and readers intimidated as part of a "well orchestrated campaign", Konigkramer said in an interview.

Konigkramer said he had received numerous death threats and had been forced to employ an armed guard to patrol his home.

He said that prior to the sale of the b-weekly newspaper to Inkatha in 1987, its circulation had shown a consistent downward trend from an average of 121,945 copies per edition in April 1984 to 105,269 in 1997.

The newspaper had confounded its critics who said it would become a "party-political rag" and its circulation rose 11% in 1987 and 16% the following year.

Sales peaked in September last year when an average of 147,854 copies were sold. This peak was almost reached again in February this year when an average of 147,764 copies were sold.

But since then the number of copies sold has dropped steadily from 133,104 in March to 120,232 last month compared with 138,652 in June last year. Konigkramer said the figures for July would probably show a reversal of this trend.

Publishers Natal Newspapers reported that in April alone this year 10 outlets in Umlazi, two in KwaMashu and three in Edendale had refused to carry the publication because of intimidation, he said.

Gang of "faceless people" had entered shops where Ilanga was sold and threatened the owners that their shops would be burnt if they continued to sell the publication, Konigkramer said.

He denied that the drop in sales might be due to a change in reader attitude after the unbanning of the ANC and changing political circumstances.

"At every single outlet where there was a drop-off in sales, the shopkeepers had been intimidated. We checked," he said.

As a consequence, readers were buying their copies in the city, but street-sellers were intimidated, he said.

Incidents where readers had been followed and threatened after buying copies of Ilanga from street-sellers had been reported to the police, he said.
Johannesburg. — Witwatersrand attorney general Mr K.P.C.O von Lieres is suing the Afrikaans weekly Vrye Weekblad for damages amounting to R35,000 following reports in the January 19 and February 23 editions of the newspaper. These reports were "untrue, unjustified and defamatory," said a letter from the state prosecutor to the newspaper. The editor of Vrye Weekblad, Mr Max du Preez, said they would "definitely" not be paying the amount, nor would they apologize. — Sapa
Jo'burg tops with six daily newspapers

By CHARMAINE NAIDOO

JOHANNESBURG with six morning titles a day and eight on Thursdays may have more newspapers per capita than any city in the world.

But newspaper bosses say there is room for all, adding that keen competition keeps the quality of each product high.

Earlier this year the Star, traditionally an afternoon newspaper, turned into a 24-hour operation. Then the Weekly Mail became the Daily Mail and was added to the list of Business Day, Beeld, Sowetan and Citizen.

Has overcrowding in the morning market meant a smaller slice of market share for all?

“We have not noticed any crowding,” says Business Day editor Ken Owen.

Record

“In fact, we have set a record. Our January to June average daily sales were 33 582.”

Mr Owen attributes the financial daily’s success to the fact that it provides a specialized service. Sowetan manager Rory Wilson says the newspaper’s growth has been consistent. Its daily sales average is 185 612.

“When a newspaper comes on the market it sharpens us editorially. The Sowetan has not lost circulation.”

“We have an extremely high readership — at least eight people read one copy of the Sowetan, giving us about 1.5 million readers.”

Richard Steyn, new editor-in-chief of the Star, says the move to the morning market has resulted in a slight increase in circulation. ABC figures exclusively for the morning market are unavailable as yet. Total average daily sales of the Star are 235 128 copies.

Mr Steyn says: “We are moderately satisfied, but there is room for improvement. It has become a highly competitive market. Time will tell if the current economic climate can accommodate so many titles.”

Daily Mail editor Anton Harbour does not have audited figures yet, so cannot comment.

Mr Harbour says: “There is a niche for special interest publications in the morning market, but not that much more room for mass circulation papers.”

Confident

“We are in a niche. Although we are in for a tough fight against the monopolies, we are confident.”

Beeld editor Sale de Swardt says circulation (103 841) has not dropped since the beginning of the year.

“We didn’t expect to be in the battle since we are the only Afrikaans morning paper.”

“I think there are too many newspapers in Johannesburg — from an economic point of view. Can our economy sustain all?”

“Politically, it is good to have many voices in a country hoping to become a democracy.”

Knock

Citizen editor Johnny Johnson says his newspaper is entrenched — as indicated by daily sales of 140 435 copies.

“We don’t regard the Daily Mail as competition and we don’t expect the morning Star to knock us.”

“What the Star might pick up in the morning, it will lose in the afternoon. We can certainly have more than one newspaper in the morning. Each has its own special readership.”

Two morning weeklies are published each Thursday — Vrye Weekblad (it does not subscribe to ABC) and New Nation, with a circulation of 70 539.

The Transvaler is published every afternoon.
The right to freedom of speech and opinions

ARTICLE 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 is very clear "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

As South Africa is grappling with the last vestiges of apartheid and is trying to transform into a new South Africa, the need to ensure that the tradition of intolerance is not dying out. As a contribution to the creation of democracy in our part of the world, South Africa today starts a campaign to make people aware that democracy starts with free speech and an independent media giving the public a full range of opinions and information.

This campaign is part of our Nation Building programme for this year and the climax will be a conference on freedom of speech during the Nation Building Festival in October.

The right to freedom of speech and expression is inalienable and universal.

As South Africa is grappling with the last vestiges of apartheid and is trying to transform itself, it is becoming increasingly clear that the tradition of intolerance is not dying out. As a contribution to the creation of democracy in our part of the world, South Africa today starts a campaign to make people aware that democracy starts with free speech and an independent media giving the public a full range of opinions and information.

This campaign is part of our Nation Building programme for this year and the climax will be a conference on freedom of speech during the Nation Building Festival in October.

**Butchered**

They are important today when people are butchered in our streets simply because they are supporters of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha Freedom Party or IFP. They are important today when people are dying to defend the freedom they are fighting for.

On 20 August, we have a chance to take a leap into the new world. (209) that the international community has defined. A quick glance in the May, June or any other issue for that matter, of the authoritative 'International Defense and Co-operation' indicates that it will not be easy.

The book cover carries the story of a Sri Lankan journalist, Roden de Zoysa. He was only 37 when he died in February.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, February 25, premises suspected to be members of the security forces burst into houses and dragged away.

**Gunshot**

On Monday his body with gunshot wounds was washed away.

On Monday morning, President Ramaphosa addressed the nation's as an attempt to dissolve his government at a time when the United Nations Human Rights Commission was meeting in Geneva.

In an interview with the magazine 'Lankavilam Katha', Rupa Murdhantha said, "Never was a people so terrified and society so paralysed as in 1999, particularly in the last six months. Not even the most repressive regime had produced people to characteristically respond and paralysed."

"Rudolph, the TV anchor, had walked up to the 'terror' and announced, 'Is there an anchor?'" The popular will had made a decision, but the new generation had found a new voice. In another seven pages of three columns, pages 34 to 41, the index lists over 50 countries around the world, mostly violations of Article 19 of the country's new constitution. A number of the countries has been marked with crosses.

The list starts with Allison and concludes with an entry from Tanzania.

The editor of the Westminister parliamentary system, describe the situation in the world before.

A Ndebele police force police report published in February stated that a police officer had sought to illustrate members of the media by showing them violence and that this was a violation of the human rights of freedom of speech.
This compares with 259,811 for the Soweto and 236,764 for the Soweto. The Star's and The Star-Bird's readership growth of 5.4% and 5.7%, respectively, in 1970 was attributed to the projected circulation increase of 15% and 15% in 1971. According to figures released last week, The Star's circulation for the first half of 1971 was 253,186, a gain of 17,711 readers.

English daily newspapers, according to the Star's editor, have been increasing their circulation by more than 10% a month. The Star's circulation growth of 15% was attributed to the newspaper's aggressive promotion and its efforts to expand its readership among the middle-class population. The newspaper's editors believed that the increase in circulation was also due to the newspaper's strong editorial content, which focused on local, national, and international news. The Star's editors were confident that the newspaper's readership would continue to grow in the future.
Important curbs on press to be removed

Political Staff

SOME of the most contentious aspects of the Internal Security Act, notably detention without trial, have not been affected by the government's commitment in the Pretoria Minute to scrap some clauses of the controversial law...

But the four provisions, to which the government said it would give "immediate consideration", will remove some of the major restrictions on the freedom of the press.

These include the provisions for banning the furthering of the aims of communism, listing people so that they could not be quoted, the banning of statements or publications in terms of security legislation and the imposition of deposits before newspapers could be registered.

The government and the ANC did say in the Minute: "In view of the new circumstances now emerging there will be an ongoing review of security legislation."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would issue a statement in this connection which would call for comments and proposals.

Interested parties may submit comments or proposals regarding security legislation in writing, to reach the Director-General Justice, Private Bag X655, Pretoria, by not later than September 15, 1990.
Who safeguards our free speech?

Who is ultimately responsible for freedom of speech in a society? The Government? The man in the street?

This is the third article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media.

The examples we have looked at up to now as we looked at the media internationally give the impression that the government is the only key to Press freedom. It appears as if governments are always violating Article 19: locking up journalists who refuse to toe the line, sending in troops to shoot at unarmed demonstrators, clamping down newspapers.

But government is only one side of the coin. The other is the general public, which independently of the government can silence voices that are different. Families can wake up to find themselves engulfed in the flames after a petrol bomb is hurled through their window.

But the same public can defend freedom of speech against tyrants and other anti-democratic forces.

Free speech, the right to express oneself without fear, is best protected when the man in the street guards it jealously.

The African National Congress acknowledges the two sides of free speech. In an interview published in the Index on Censorship in April this year, Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC’s Constitutional and Legal Department, spoke of protecting freedom of expression in a new constitution.

"From a technical point of view it is not difficult. We envisage having an entrenched Bill of Rights in a constitution which declares certain fundamental rights and freedoms and establishes an independent judiciary to ensure that they are maintained. We could have something similar to the First Amendment. Then, if Parliament were to adopt any law, or if there were some executive act, which abrogated the freedom of speech in any unconstitutional way, a citizen could go to the courts and have the Bill or Act struck down."

Here Sachs was looking at government responsibility. But later in the interview he refers in passing to the responsibility of the general public. "The question of freedom of speech has raised sharp debate. For many people the idea of allowing 'reactionaries' to make their crude propaganda is hurtful and very difficult. And we say that is better that they spout their rubbish than that they go underground.

"People ask if all the other splinter groups in the black movement are going to be allowed to speak as well. And we say yes, of course that is what freedom of speech means."

The implications are that even with the best laws protecting freedom of speech, it is the man in the street who must defend it.

We need to develop a culture of freedom of speech as we emerge from an authoritarian era that did not allow the free flow of ideas.

Anything less will make a mockery of the struggle for liberation that has been fought for all these years.

Albie Sachs continues "It is not simply a matter of freedom of speech but the right to information. The whole colonial racist system meant that to a large extent, knowledge, and information was monopolised not just by a ruling clique but by a racist caste. Part of the struggle against apartheid is to destroy the monopolisation of information and to ensure that information circulates."

President FW de Klerk’s Government appears to be moving in the same direction after decades of eroding freedom of speech.

Since the National Party came into power many political parties have been outlawed, newspapers have been closed down, journalists have been locked up in jail as have been opponents of the Government.

Slowly De Klerk is shedding this past.

He has now asked the Media Council to investigate all existing legislative restrictions on the media and to make recommendations on the removal or relaxation of all those it considers unnecessary and detrimental to the public interest.

Media lawyers have often said that there are more than 100 laws in the Statute Book that interfere with the free flow of information in this country.

The Government side seems to be on the mend. It is the second side, the people’s side, that needs immediate attention particularly now in the face of international (organisational) violence as the organisations fight for hegemony.

* Tomorrow: Press freedom and the man in the street.*
THE term "women's magazine" conjures up the image of one of those glossy publications with a model smiling seductively from the front cover that are sold in corner shops and newsagents.

But "Speak" is a different kind of women's magazine.

Run by an all-woman collective, "Speak" aims at raising awareness among men and women of the battle to win basic human rights for women.

The name comes from the magazine's intention to provide a forum for women to speak and be heard.

Shamim Meer, a founder member of the collective said, ""Speak' gives women a chance to speak without interruption and men have to listen. It starts getting people to take women more seriously."

Karen Hurt, another member of the collective, is more emphatic. "Sometimes I want to call it 'Shout Out'"

The first issue of "Speak" appeared as a four-page newsletter in Durban in 1982 and arose directly out of a workshop of women.

By CHIARA CARTER

From volunteers working from home, the magazine moved towards employing a full-time editorial staff.

Today, the "Speak collective", which meets every six weeks, includes two full-time employees in Durban and three in Johannesburg.

The magazine, which appears six times a year, has a distribution of 10,000 — primarily in Natal and Johannesburg.

The magazine is written in a conversational tone and the articles are short, with extensive use of quotes.

"Even if someone is illiterate, we hope the images of strong fighting women on the cover and inside will stay with them," Hurt said.

"Using slogans means that, even if someone does not open the magazine, the message is still heard," said Meer.

Over the years, the magazine has become closely linked with the trade union movement in input and distribution.

Unexpectedly, the magazine has a high male readership. In fact, more men than women buy "Speak" — a cause for some concern to the collective.

"Speak" sees itself as aimed at both men and women. This is because the collective defines the oppression of women as a "people's problem", not just a women's issue.

"Men must be part of the discussion. Women need to build confidence and strength. Therefore they need women's forums. But men must accept that this is a people's problem," Meer said.

However, the collective is made up of women only as the editorial feels men don't bring the same understanding to the project and because the project is committed to developing women's skills.

The magazine covers health, interviews with women leaders, developments in the struggle in South Africa and moves by women to organise.

It also covers issues that many regard as "sensitive."

These have included topics closely tied to attitudes, culture and tradition such as rape in marriage, wife beating and lobola.
War of words

Nothing sells newspapers like lots of news. Most newspapers took full advantage of the events of the first half of the year and sold more copies, according to Audit Bureau of Circulation figures released this week.

Nearly all English newspapers increased their circulations, both from the same period last year and the second half of 1989.

The three biggest increases over the second half of last year were recorded by The Citizen, the Daily Dispatch and the Pretoria News.

Of the Afrikaans newspapers, Beeld and Volksblad gained circulation over the second half of 1989 but declined over the same period last year.

In the weekend market, the Sunday Star jumped the 100,000-copies barrier for the first time since 1988.

The biggest single newspaper circulation increase was for the Weekly Mail, which sold 19,1% more copies than in the same period last year.

Its Afrikaans equivalent, Vrye Weekblad, which isn't measured yet by ABC, claims a circulation of 12,450, up 7,3% from last year's average of 11,584.

Since the Daily Mail was sold only in the last 10 days of the reporting period, no figures are yet available.
A newspaper must be independent

There are many sound arguments for the defence of a free Press. Most of these arguments are based on our values about society and how it should or should not operate.

But there are also simple business or commercial reasons for having a free Press.

Firstly, let's look at how a newspaper operates. Strange as it may sound, a newspaper is a business like any other business. There is not much difference between running a newspaper and running a shop, a transport company, a mine or a bank. In simple terms it is about providing a service, managing resources, paying costs and pulling in revenue. If the money coming in is more than the money going out of the business, you should make a profit.

Newspapers get their income from two main sources: the money paid by the reader when he buys the newspaper and the money paid by the advertiser when he places his advertisement in the newspaper. Without these two sources of revenue, a newspaper would not make a profit and survive as a business.

Now consider what happens if a newspaper business fails to make a profit. Someone has to come up with the money to pay the salaries of the staff and to settle the bills that are outstanding.

**Interference**

Once a newspaper accepts such support from any quarter, it lays itself open to interference. After all, if you lent a newspaper money to pay its costs, wouldn't you be tempted to tell the editor how to improve his newspaper? And that's interference.

So the first goal of a newspaper is to operate at a profit - because that's the best way to avoid outside interference in the day-to-day operation of the newspaper.

The second major potential threat that faces all newspapers comes from the advertisers. People who spend large amounts of money in newspapers often feel that they have a right to be treated in a special way by newspapers.

They say: “I spend money with your newspaper so you should not criticize me or publish bad reports about me or about my business.” But imagine what would happen if the newspaper gave special treatment to every person who advertised in it.

The abuse of power by people, all kinds of wrongdoing and unethical behaviour would go unreported simply because certain people were advertisers.

Another issue is also at stake. Would you believe any newspaper that reported only good things about their advertisers? Such a newspaper would have no credibility and credibility is essential to the survival of the newspaper. This is because newspapers cannot survive without readers.

We call it the media cycle, the vital link between readers and advertisers. It works like this: Readers buy a newspaper because they believe in what the newspaper reports. Advertisers spend money in newspapers to reach as many readers as they can.

When readers stop buying the newspaper, advertisers stop placing advertisements because they would be reaching fewer readers constrained by the laws of the land. He must abide by the morality of the day. He must be fair by giving both sides of every story.

So there are many good reasons why newspapers should be edited by free and independent editors.

As manager of Sowetan I may not always agree with what the editor and his staff write in our newspaper, but I will defend with all my strength the editorial right to be independent of all commercial and political influences.

I believe this because I am a democrat. I believe this because it is the way to produce newspapers of quality. I also believe this because it is good for business.

Tomorrow, the editor of the Sowetan, Aggrey Klaaste, explains why his newspaper is an independent voice, always trying to be free from commercial and political influences.

**Stalemate**

Indeed, the mission statement of the Argus Company - Sowetan is part of this Company - is very clear about this. It says our mission is "to produce newspapers which tell it like it is", without fear or favour, and to protect their independence by ensuring continuing and improving viability.

Of course, editorial independence does not mean that the editor may write and report what he likes.

He must produce an interesting, newsy and entertaining newspaper. If necessary, he may have to read the laws of the land. He must abide by the morality of the day. He must be fair by giving both sides of every story.

So without credibility you have no readers. Without readers you have no advertisers. Without either readers or advertisers you have no newspaper.

All this explains why the managers of newspapers never interfere in the editorial running of a newspaper and why the editor is regarded as independent from the commercial side of the newspaper business.

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people..."

"Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."
TML wins its appeal in Gwala case

Court Reporter

Times Media Ltd, the Sunday Times' editor Tertius Myburgh and reporter Mandla Tyala yesterday won their appeal against a conviction and sentence which arose from an article which was published on December 11 1988.

The article was an interview with ANC activist Harry Gwala, who had been released from Robben Island on that particular month.

Yesterday it was found the State had not proved that the Harry Gwala quoted in the newspaper report was the same person as T H Gwala, mentioned in the consolidated list of people who may not be quoted.

Judge S W McReath, with Acting Justice DS Levy concurring, handed down judgement of the case in the Rand Supreme Court.
TML wins appeal over quoting Gwala

TIMES Media Ltd yesterday won an appeal against its conviction and sentence of a R2,000 fine for quoting ANC member Harry Gwala in a Sunday Times article in December 1988.

Mr Justice McCreath with Mr Justice Levy concurring set aside both the conviction and sentence in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The judges found the State had not proved that the Gwala quoted in the article and the TH Gwala mentioned in the consolidated list of prohibited persons distributed by Sapa were the same.

Magistrate S P Janse van Rensburg convicted TML on August 31 last year of contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting a listed person, and imposed a fine of R2,000.

Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh and reporter Mandla Tyala were both acquitted on the same charge.

Tyala’s article reflected an interview with Gwala two weeks after the ANC member’s release from Robben Island.

At the trial, the magistrate acquitted Myburgh after finding he could not have stopped publication of the article because he was on holiday at the time.

The magistrate acquitted Tyala, who had filed his report from Port Elizabeth, on the grounds that he was not responsible for the final decision to publish.

TML was convicted after the magistrate found it had acted negligently in relying on the Sapa list and not checking the Government Gazette list.

It was argued on TML’s behalf that the contravention of the Act was not intentional.
Prosperity will follow free exchange of ideas

In 1937 US Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Cardozo said: "Freedom of expression is the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom."

He was expressing a view that has been held for years and is still being argued today.

Last year the American Supreme Court took up this old issue in the case of Texas vs Johnson, which involved the burning of the American flag by Gregory Lee Johnson as a political protest on August 22, 1984.

Johnson was sentenced to one year's jail and fined $2,000 dollars after being charged under a Texas law forbidding the "desecration of a venerated object," which is defined to include the American flag.

This was only one of many such cases heard in America's long history since the American Founding Fathers drew up its constitution in the 18th century.

 Freedoms

The constitution had a Bill of Rights and several Amendments that guaranteed the sovereignty of the individual. Among these was the First Amendment that states:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the Press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

While American and other democratic countries have attempted to uphold the inalienable rights of the individual, it is extremely difficult to do the same in countries that are unfree.

It is even more difficult for those who have lived for up to half a century under a closed system to appreciate the value of an 'Independent Press', and free speech.

The difficulty is confounded by the fact that closed systems force people to react with predictable anger and hostility to state action.

Oppressed and disadvantaged people are used to exercising the extreme option of dissent, as in strikes, boycotts and sometimes violence. They have been conditioned by oppression to react that way.

Abstracts like political tolerance and the respect for different viewpoints are unknown to people who have not lived under democratic systems.

Sowetan has been an opposition paper. It has fought apartheid and oppression with courage and commitment.

Sowetan staff, who have worked on The World and Post, have been constantly put under pressure by the Government. They have been harassed, intimidated, attacked and jailed.

Because of its readership profile and healthy circulation the newspaper has also been seen as a threat by both the Government and other political organisations.

Oppressed people do not have the luxury to appreciate such abstractions as independent newspapers.

Their natural response is to demand and expect a common front against the oppressive system.

Ironically, however, the forces that have been fighting the apartheid system are not united. The clamour to have one voice and one political thrust becomes even more urgent under such conditions.

 Media

In colonised countries, liberation groups expect the media and various pressure groups to help in the struggle to unseat the colonisers.

After independence the media is asked to help the fledgling government to develop the country.

Our readers believe that the Sowetan is their newspaper. It has to reflect their aspirations. But in a country where the people have been divided by the Government, leading to disagreement, hate and violence among them, it is well-nigh impossible to reflect such aspirations to everybody's satisfaction.

We try to uphold the sacred values of good journalism - objectivity, expressing all sides of an issue, being unbiased and without prejudice.

Our commitment to balance and fairness is reinforced by the fact that we are ourselves products of the market we serve. We live, suffer and die with our readers.

We are expected to react like our communities to shared problems. It is a joy to do this, even if ideological differences make the job almost impossible.

Through years of constant pressure from all sides, we have become disciplined to the demands of unbiased journalism.

We have to fight for the removal of apartheid, to fight to remove intolerance and violence.

We have to fight demagoguery of all parties, oppose the privileged, and defend the poor. We should remain drastically independent if we have to succeed.

On the Sowetan we believe that everybody has the right to have his say without fear of interference, even if we disagree with him.

We believe that it is out of the free exchange of ideas and information that we can create a constructive country.

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people..."

"Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."
Johannesburg

Sunday Times editor Mr Albert Tertius Myburgh, reporter Mr Mandla Tyala and Times Media Ltd, which owns the newspaper, yesterday won an appeal against a conviction and sentence which arose from an article published on December 11, 1988.

The article was an interview with ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala, who had been released from Robben Island that month.

Yesterday it was found the state had not proved the Harry Gwala quoted in the newspaper report was the same person as T H Gwala, mentioned in the list of people who may not be quoted.

Mr Justice S W McCreath, with Mr Acting Justice D S Levy concurring, handed down judgment in the Rand Supreme Court. - Sapa
Newspapers seek Coetzee’s testimony

AN APPLICATION by Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail to have evidence taken from former policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee by commission in London was postponed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The newspapers requested that Coetzee’s evidence be taken for the purpose of defending defamation claims of R1.5m brought against them by LA-Gen Leother Paul Neethling of the SAP. 11/2/80 13/8/70
Mr Justice Goldstein postponed the application until next Tuesday as he had not read the court papers, which were not in order when the matter came before him yesterday. However, the judge granted Neethling’s application to have the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad claims consolidated for trial purposes.

Neethling is suing Vrye Weekblad for R500 000 over two articles linking him to alleged police “hit-squad” activities, and the Weekly Mail for R500 000 over a third article on the same topic.

The general claim the articles defamed him by alleging he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation and that he had prepared and supplied poisons to murder and attempt to murder individuals.

Both papers have asked the Supreme Court for an order appointing a commissioner to hear evidence from Coetzee.

Attorney David Hoffer, who is acting for the newspapers, said in an affidavit his clients were defending the action on the basis of truth and public benefit.

The source of the allegations which are in issue in this matter was a certain ex-police captain Dirk Coetzee, a self-confessed ex-member of an alleged death squad. He is presently in exile.

To sustain the defence of truth and public benefit, which is the defence raised by the defendants in this matter, it will be necessary to obtain Coetzee’s evidence.”

Hoffer said Coetzee was apparently unwilling to return to SA as there was a chance he would be arrested because of aspects of his evidence. In the circumstances, Coetzee’s evidence would have to be led in London as this was the most convenient place for all concerned.

Hoffer said the Judge President had set down the trial for November 12. Both parties agreed that the most suitable time for Coetzee’s evidence to be heard was the week beginning October 8.
Media Council testing
‘all press legislation’

Political Staff

ALL legislation affecting the press is being tested by the Media Council, says council chairman Mr Jan Steyn. Just over a hundred laws affected the press in some way, he said in an interview in Leadership.

A working group, representing the white, black and independent press, had been established to examine these restrictions and had identified several major laws which affected the press.

“The Internal Security Act is top of the list. There are the Newspaper Registration, Public Safety, National Key Points, Protection of Information, the Defence, the Police and Prisons acts, the Criminal Procedure Act, the Petroleum Act,” Mr Steyn said.

The working group took as its departure point that South Africa would have a bill of rights, and that one of its fundamental provisions would be the guarantee of free speech, including the free flow of information.

“I cannot believe that in the future South Africa you would not have that freedom enshrined. I don’t believe we would be protected from authoritarianism, no matter where it comes from, without it. A free press is no guarantee of freedom in society, but without that (press) freedom, authoritarianism is inevitable,” Mr Steyn said.

“All countries have some protection of secrecy and it is in that area that one struggles to find the delineation which balances the right of the public to know against the right of the state to protect its secrets, or information which is genuinely essential to the security and integrity of the state.”
Coetzee's testimony wanted in R1.5m case

JOHANNESBURG. — An application by Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail to have evidence from former policeman Capt. Dirk Coetzee on commission in London in defence of a R1.5-million defamation claim against him by Lt.-Gen. Lothar Paul Neethling, was postponed in the Raad Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr. Justice L. Goldstein postponed the application until Tuesday because he had not read the court papers, which were not in order when the matter came before him yesterday.

However, he granted an application by General Neethling to have the two claims consolidated into one for trial purposes.

General Neethling is suing the papers for two articles which appeared in Vrye Weekblad on November 17 and December 1 last year and one which appeared in Weekly Mail on November 24 linking him to alleged police "hit squad" activities.

He claims the articles defamed him by alleging he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation and that he had prepared and supplied poisons to murder and attempt to murder various individuals.

Both newspapers have asked the court for an order appointing a commissioner to hear evidence from Mr. Coetzee for their defence.

In an affidavit, attorney Mr. David Hoffe, for the newspapers, said his clients were defending the action on the basis of truth and public benefit and it would be necessary to obtain Mr. Coetzee's evidence.

Mr. Hoffe said the parties involved had arranged for an early hearing of the trial itself and the Judge President had set it down for November 12 this year.
French lesson

“...In accordance with the Pretoria Minute, please give us back our R29 990” That is the essence of letters from Vyse Weekblad editor Max du Preez to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw (4-2)

Du Preez’s letter followed the historic agreement reached between Pretoria and the ANC last week, when government undertook to consider repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act — including that “for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered.”

When it was first published almost two years ago, Vyse Weekblad was instructed by Coetsee to deposit R30 000 as a registration fee. Normally newspapers are expected to pay R10 as a deposit for registration, at the time it was alleged in government circles that Vyse Weekblad would serve the interests of banned organisations.

“Since then, of course, all organisations have been unbanned Vyse Weekblad, therefore, poses no threat to government,” says Du Preez. (He’s quite happy to pay a R10 fee like other newspapers — hence the claim for the return on R29 990.)

Du Preez admits that his newspaper desperately needs the money. It now looks as if

the French government has reneged on a promise of R1m for Vyse Weekblad’s possible legal costs. The paper is facing a R1m libel claim by SA Police forensic expert Lothar Neethling, following allegations about attempts to poison ANC members.

The French pledge came during a Paris meeting last December, when prominent South Africans met ANC members under the auspices of Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President. Details of the Neethling claim became known at the conference.

“The writer Andre Brink got up during a meeting at the French parliament and appealed for all present to assist the newspaper,” says Du Preez. “I was then personally assured by the French foreign minister that his government would guarantee our legal costs,” says Du Preez (4-2).

This week, however, Vyse Weekblad has learnt that a French claim that the assurances were merely of moral support “They now indicate that it could have been a misunderstanding.” Du Preez agrees that the atmosphere has changed drastically in SA since that Paris meeting and that this might have influenced the French.

In legal circles it is expected that the costs of the case, which has been put down for November 11, could amount to R500 000.

Lothar Neethling has sued Vyse Weekblad in his personal capacity and not as a member of the SAP.

Eddie Botha
THE Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has refused an application by WM Publications (Pty) Ltd - publishers of the Weekly Mail - for condonation of late filing of an application for leave to appeal.

It had wished to appeal against a judgment of Mr Justice H C J Fleming on August 16, 1988, in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court, which dismissed, with costs, its application against the Commissioner of the South African Police that an order to seize the issue of the Weekly Mail of August 18, 1988 was unauthorised. - Supra
Weekblad’s aid hopes crash

By Carina le Grange

A misunderstanding between the independent Afrikaans newspaper, Vrye Weekblad, and the French government over money had caused the newspaper financial embarrassment as a R1 million suit loomed, editor Max du Preez said yesterday.

The chief of the forensic laboratories of the SA Police, Lieutenant-General Lothar Noethling, has sued the newspaper for damages amounting to R1 million. The claim arose from the exposé in November last year in Vrye Weekblad of police hit squads.

The case will be heard in the Supreme Court on November 12. The newspaper has to deposit security of R500 000 to secure counsel.

Mr du Preez said yesterday that the amount in excess of R1 million, which the French indicated at a conference in Paris last December that they would supply to his newspaper, seemed to have been a “misunderstanding.”

“The French government now states that they meant moral support.”

Guarantee

“They did indicate, however, that they would propose that the EC gets involved in supplying the guarantee,” he said. “The money would be used to pay legal fees only.”

In the “process of gathering enough funds to secure legal counsel”, Mr du Preez this week sent an urgent letter to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw requesting him to pay back the deposit of R30 000 the newspaper had to pay on registration.

Mr du Preez said in the letter that the reasons given by Mr Louw’s department for the big deposit — instead of a sum of R10 — was that suspicion existed that the newspaper would promote banned organisations’ interests.

“We would like to put it to you that since February 2 this year banned organisations no longer exist,” the letter said.

Mr du Preez also referred to the Pretoria Minute which mentioned the deposits payable by newspapers for registration as an aspect which could be revoked.
Publishers of Weekly Mail lose their case

BLOEMFONTEIN. The Appeal Court has refused an application by WM Publications — publishers of The Weekly Mail — for condonation of late filing of an application for leave to appeal.

It had wished to appeal against a judgment of Mr Justice HCl Fliemmann on August 16, 1988, in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court, which dismissed, with costs, an application against the commissioner of the South African Police that an order to seize the issue of The Weekly Mail of August 5, 1988 was unauthorised.

The Appeal Court, when it dismissed the application for condonation, ordered that WM Publications should pay costs, including those of the commissioner which related to the application for leave to appeal. — Sapa
Nice to be back, says Woods

JOHANNESBURG—Mr. Donald Woods, the former newspaper editor who escaped from South Africa in 1977 after being banned, returned from exile yesterday.

"I was determined I would never come back here unless I could do so freely," he told journalists.

"I feel terrific. What a nice welcome."

A former colleague thrust yesterday's edition of the East London Daily Dispatch into his hands as he walked into the arrivals hall.

Mr. Woods was the editor of the Daily Dispatch when he escaped in disguise on New Year's Eve 12 years ago.

Mr. Woods said he was here for a six-week "journey of rediscovery" to see friends and family, to work on a book and a television documentary and to write newspaper articles.

He described the current violence as the "problems of recovery" rather than the "problems of decline" which he said caused the 1970s unrest. — Sapa-AP
Blast from the past as press group is ordered from unrest

informing them he had been instructed by his senior, Colonel Tienie Halgren, to order the journalists to vacate the area in 20 minutes.

“We have good reason to believe, and we have photos of this, that you people, or some of you people, are accused of the reason that these riots are happening here,” he said.

The journalists duly left. When Halgren was contacted later he indicated he had not given the specific order but said there was evidence that the journalists had incited people, and police therefore had the right to remove them under a section of the Internal Security Act.

“A colonel and a major saw this with their own eyes. At a railway station a television camera was set up and straight afterwards people started throwing stones at the line,”

A Weekly Mail lawyer said yesterday section 50 of the ISA involved an entirely subjective discretion as to whether an individual’s presence constituted incitement and it was difficult for police to prove this. “Before, under the Emergency if police believed an unrest situation existed they could justify the ordering away of journalists.”

Police did not need proof to make this decision.

“It seems this is going to be the new section used against them in the absence of the Emergency. Journalists must familiarise themselves with this legislation. They must be aware that this involves a subjective discretion. This does not mean a fabrication,” she said.
**Govt must drop race laws**

The government should remove all instances of "statutory violence", **Rapport** said in an editorial last week.

The paper lauded the ANC's dropping of the armed struggle as an "enormous concession"; saying the government should now drop the emergency restrictions and laws which for years have suppressed black aspirations.

It added the ANC should also honour the spirit of the Pretoria Minute by making peace with all opponents like Inkatha.

Mandela and Buthelezi should get together and talk "before much happens that would make it very difficult", said *Beeld* political columnist Willie Kuhn.

This should be followed up by the two getting together with FW de Klerk to form a triangle of power, said Kuhn.

*Vrye Weekblad*, in its latest edition, said the blame for the East Rand violence lay with all leaders: the government, the ANC, Inkatha and the churches.

But "there is little doubt it is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement which is primarily behind the violence", *Citrus*.

The paper said Buthelezi had long maintained he was a man of peace, but had also added the rider he had the ability to cause a lot of bloodshed.

"We can only pray that what is happening now is not this strategy put into practice," it said.

*Beeld* columnist Lood said the NP would probably decide this year whether to open their membership to all races.
‘Crucified’ former columnist threatens to sue SA papers

FORMER Sunday Times columnist Jani Allen made it clear in an interview on M-Net’s Coast Blanche magazine programme on Sunday night that she would not tolerate further “scurrilous” reports linking her romantically to AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche.

The British Evening Standard newspaper is to pay her a “substantial” amount after she sued the publication for saying she had a “liaison” with the “neo-Nazi” leader.

She was discussing taking legal action in South Africa as well, she said.

Local newspapers should reflect on the size of the damages she had obtained and adopt a “softly, softly” approach, she warned.

Speaking guardedly from her London home, a gaunt-looking Ms Allen said she had been “crucified” for saying in public what many others had said in private - that the right wing leader had a magnetic personality.

The resultant unrequited romance link with Mr Terre’Blanche was just “part of being a woman”, she said.

She denied saying the Paardekraal incident where she was found at night in the company of Terre’Blanche was a set up but said it was difficult to believe that circumstances could be anything less.

Union acts over dismissed teachers

THE Mamelodi Teachers Union is to seek an urgent meeting with the Minister of Education and Development, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, following the dismissal of 10 temporary teachers in Mamelodi.

This was announced yesterday by Mr Vincent Moene, Matu’s vice-president. He said five of the dismissed teachers were from the same school.

Mr Tshepo Makiti, president of Matu, is also one of those affected.

Monene said the DET had refused to renew the teachers’ contracts when school reopened on July 10.

A DET spokesman confirmed yesterday that contracts of teachers appointed temporarily were not being renewed.

He said there was no effective teaching taking place at schools and the department could not afford to keep people “who are doing nothing”.

“The department will have to ascertain the work is being done. Inspectors have access to schools and principals are able to make class visits before temporary posts are utilised,” said the spokesman.
Newspaper gears up for libel case

By Carina le Grange

Vrye Weekblad yesterday secured the services of senior lawyers to represent it in the case in which the chief of forensic laboratories of the South African Police is suing the newspaper for R1 million for defamation.

General Lothar Neethling's claim arose from the exposé in the weekly newspaper in November last year of alleged police hit squads and poisoning of political opponents.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez said yesterday Bobby Levine, SC, and Frans Rautenbach, instructed by Bell, Dewar and Hall, will represent his newspaper.

In the process of gathering funds to secure legal counsel, Mr du Preez last week sent a letter to Home Affairs Minister Gena Louw asking him to pay back the deposit of R30 000 the newspaper had to pay on registration.

The case will be heard in the Rand Supreme Court on November 12.
The Supreme Court yesterday granted an application by the Weekend and the Weekly Mail for a commissioner to be appointed to hear evidence from rebel former policeman Dirk Coetzer in London.

This concerns allegations about the role of SAP forensic expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling in alleged hit squad activities.

Neethling is currently suing the Sunday newspapers for R500,000 each following the publication of Coetzer's allegations that the forensic expert provided poison to kill the dogs of Durban attorney Mr. Griffiths Morgen shortly before he was assassinated.

Evidence has been tentatively scheduled to be heard on October 8.

Mr Justice F Ross presided - Sapa
Protesters march on SABC, urge impartiality

JOHANNESBURG — About 800 people marched to the South African Broadcasting Corporation's Auckland Park head office on Saturday morning to present the SABC with a memorandum protesting against planned restructuring and privatization of the corporation.

The march, organized by the Campaign for Open Media, was supported by members of various media associations, the Black Sash and the ANC.

At the SABC's Pret Neyer Building, former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr. Raymond Louw presented the memorandum to SABC Corporate Communications manager Mr. Theo Vorster. He asked that the memorandum be conveyed to SABC chairman Professor Christo Viljoen and that an answer to demands be given within one week.

The memorandum deplored the appointment in March this year of a broadcasting task force chaired by Professor Viljoen and made up of "broader-borders and bureaucrats who represent the interest of minority rule".

It called for the task force's disbandment and the establishment of an independent board of directors to ensure impartiality of the corporation.

Mr. Vorster told reporters the size of the protest indicated that the majority of the 17 million viewers and listeners "must be relatively satisfied." — Sapa, UPI
Press Cape: Where’s Mandela?

News

By and from our Bureau

The 2nd quarter of August 1990

The struggle to end the Apartheid regime in South Africa continues, and the world is watching. The ANC (African National Congress) remains the leading opposition group, and their struggle for freedom and democracy has inspired people around the world. The international community supports the ANC and its fight against the apartheid regime. The ANC has made significant gains in recent years, and their struggle has brought attention to the plight of the South African people. The ANC is committed to non-violent resistance and the pursuit of a democratic and free South Africa. The struggle continues, and the world is watching.
Community projects played a major part in the development of the public image of the company, primarily for marketing purposes.

Star's a pioneer of social projects

The Star newspaper has long been at the forefront of corporate involvement in the community and some projects have shown itself to be a pioneer in the field.

Some of the newspaper's more spectacular successes — often done using only editorial campaigns — have been the restoration of the Brakfontein Spruit, the proclamation of the Magaliesburg mountains as a nature conservation area and saving part of the much-loved Kruger National Park from expropriation for mining.

It has scored many successes on the education front with one of its most spectacular projects being the new R14 million ACE technical centre in Alexandra.

The newspaper's direct access to the public coupled with the fact that it is alert to developing needs has made it well-placed to deal with the issues of the day.

"The Star can really get in at the beginning and help to focus thinking, attitudes and generate support," said general manager Jolyon Nuttall.

Mr Nuttall said the Star had prioritised education and the environment as CSI needs almost two decades ago — two areas of community involvement which are still vital today.

"In the 1970s the Star took its whole social responsibility programme forward in two giant leaps.

The Star general manager Jolyon Nuttall.

"First we established the Teach (Teach Every African Child) fund in 1971 and here The Star itself put money up front as well as encouraging individuals to donate money. So we would have a situation where we acted as a catalyst between children in Std 3 at Parkview Primary and those in Std 3 at say Pomville Primary.

"We encouraged companies to donate the costs of an entire school. Today the Teach Fund has built the equivalent of 45 schools in Soweto and Alexandra."

The second major project, also established in 1971, was the Care campaign, an environmental campaign run by James Clarke. This was done long before "greening" had become fashionable.

The Star began its CSI activities as early as 1917 when it launched the Star Seaside Fund Today more than 100 000 underprivileged children have been given the opportunity to visit the sea as a result of this fund.

"This was our first example of our newspaper encouraging those more privileged to give to the have-nots — something that continues to this day."

Mr Nuttall said The Star was also committed to help entrench the printed word. "If people can’t read, the newspaper will die."

"Therefore we have a vested interest in encouraging literacy. Apart from the fact that it is a social responsibility, it is also an investment in the future."

With this in mind The Star recently launched an educational programme to run in various editions of the newspaper. "Sam, the newspaperman", guides and teaches on anything from science to life skills.

Mr Nuttall said that The Star’s CSI activities were widespread and ranged from charity ventures such as Operation Snowball and the Christmas Hamper Fund to campaigns to deal with critical problems facing society.

Through the years The Star has learnt, however, that chequebook donations seldom work. "When you become involved in education as we have, you learn that you have to stay involved in order to be effective," he said.
Hotelier denies report on sex/drug den
Close Daily Mail

Lack of money may

JOHANNESBURG — The Daily Mail...
ionist planned
dly treasure hunt'

TIM COHEN

A personal column insert told the
man who was to deliver the money —
supposedly one of the firm's staff but,
in fact, a policeman — to go for in-
structions to the reception desk of a
Durban hotel
After receiving the instructions,
the policeman drove to a variety of
destinations, where further instruc-
tions were left
Ultimately the package, which
contained only shredded paper, was
dropped into an excavation near the
accused's Berg Street home.
At this point the police's carefully
orchestrated plan miscarried, the judge
said.
The police waited at an incorrect
location, which looked similar to the
place where the package was
dropped, and apprehended an inno-
cent man whose car had broken down
nearby.
Bran was arrested after a police-
man said he recognised his voice
from the tape-recording made earli-
er. Judgment continues today.

Tutu considers
action on reports

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape
Town Desmond Tutu is considering
legal action against two Perskor
newspapers after they yesterday in-
correctly attributed militant com-
ments to him
The Citizen and Die Transvaler, in
front page articles, quoted Tutu tell-
ing a Soweto funeral for unarmed vic-
tims the ANC would seize power and
take the struggle into white areas.
The remarks attributed to Tutu
were in fact made by SA Youth Congres-
ss leader Peter Mokaba.
The Archbishop's lawyers had ap-
proached The Citizen about an apology
and correction and the question of
further action was being considered,
Tutu's spokesman John Allen said.
Citizen editor Johnny Johnson had no
comment, his secretary said yester-
day. 8 Dec 89, 2[1] 8[10]

Die Transvaler's Johannesburg ed-
tor Gerhard Burger said the newspa-
per took The Citizen's report "as a
genuine report as we would have
done with any reputable newspaper".
He expected Die Transvaler to car-
ry a correction and apology in its
first edition today.

Railnet realises 'need for efficiency'

RAILNET has employed Quality Man-
agement Associates (QMA) in a multi-million
rand "total quality management" pro-
gramme to help it become efficient, pro-
essional and "customer needs driven", a
spokesman said yesterday.
The management consultancy, whose
clients include AECI, Liberty Life, Old
Mutual and Sasol, is to teach Railnet's top
management to be "competitive in a free
market system and customer responsive";
QMA director Peter Gilbert said
yesterday.
"Railnet had "realised the necessity of"
becoming a commercial enterprise which
was efficient in the marketplace."

Gold

selling hasn't been big but nobody feels the
need to buy. The concern about an immedi-
ate war has receded and people prefer to
wait to see what emerges from the talks
between De Cuellar and the Iraqis

Back on the JSE, SAB, AVI, Barlows and
Amic all registered some of the largest
gains of the day. However, dealers were
pessimistic that the relatively positive
mood would last over the long term.
Dealers on the JSE said it appeared that
investors were hanging on, despite earlier
losses, and taking their leads from abroad.
"The market, however, is extremely dif-
cult to read at the moment with institu-
tions not showing much interest.
"Technically gold and platinum shares
should be under immense pressure as both
precious metals come off — but it hasn't
happened. Generally there is an air of con-
fusion abounding and we expect anything
to happen," one dealer said.

See Page 17
**Daily Mail may close due to lack of funds**

The Daily Mail will close at the end of September unless it receives a huge capital injection in the next two days, the newspaper's co-editor Anton Harber said yesterday. 

Harber said in a statement last night that the newspaper, launched just over two-and-a-half months ago, would revert to publishing weekly if money to reach break-even point was not obtained.

The statement was issued on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Mail Publications Group.

Harber said last night the staff was discussing a variety of options they could take if the newspaper closed.

It employs 115 people.

Informed sources said several of the newspaper's original backers had pulled out, Harber declined to comment on this.

He said the Weekly Mail, with audited sales of more than 37,000 in June, would remain a strong base for the company.
Tutu may take action over reports

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu is outraged over militant statements incorrectly attributed to him in two Johannesburg morning newspapers.

The contentious statements - about "seizing power" and "taking the struggle into white areas" - were attributed to the archbishop in both The Citizen and the Transvaler.

In fact, these were excerpts from a fiery address by SA Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba at a mass funeral in Soweto on Monday.

Tutu's office said yesterday that the church would demand an unconditional retraction and apology from The Citizen and would refer the matter to lawyers for "discussion of further steps."

"The address was apparently given after the Archbishop had left the funeral and it does not reflect his sentiments, the archbishop's office said.

At the funeral, Mokaba said the ANC was a government in waiting and was going to "seize power." He said the struggle was only going to be won if it was organized on the ground and taken into white areas.

Based on the erroneous attribution of these remarks to Tutu in The Citizen, the Transvaler - in its front page lead story - expanded on the report to explore the significance of these statements.

The story said that Archbishop's statements had caused an uproar this morning - and speculated that the speech would possibly provoke reaction from the Government.
Tutu irate at reporting slip in papers

By Helen Grange

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is outraged over statements incorrectly attributed to him in two Johannesburg newspapers.

The statements — on "seizing power" and "taking the struggle into white areas" — were attributed to the archbishop in the Citizen and Transvaler.

In fact, these were excerpts from a fiery address by South African Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba at a mass funeral in Soweto on Monday.

Archbishop Tutu's office yesterday said the Anglican Church would demand an unconditional retraction and apology from the Citizen and would refer the matter to lawyers for "discussion of further steps".
Cash-strapped Daily Mail may close

By Julienne du Toit

The recently launched Johannesburg newspaper, The Daily Mail, may close unless enough funding is found by Friday, editor Anton Harber said last night.

If The Daily Mail did close, it would revert to its former weekly edition, which Mr Harber said had grown healthily since the launch of the daily paper in June, and had substantial advertising support.

"The purpose would be a re-
Journalists are told to be honest in criticism

JOURNALISTS with particular political affiliations must have the honesty to publicly criticize their party if it is deserved, South African Communist Party Press officer Bsexop Pahad said yesterday.

Speaking at a conference hosted by the Association of Democratic Journalists, Pahad welcomed the need, expressed by some reporters present, to represent the feelings of particular communities.

Having spent 10 years in Prague and some time in the Soviet Union, Pahad said one lesson to be learned from the Eastern Bloc was that the people saw their media as purveyors of propaganda and had thus become sceptical of anything it said.

"The media should be primarily independent and objective as far as that is possible. Any attempts at official control holds very grave dangers. Any attempt to manipulate the media is totally counter-productive and totally wrong," he said.
Woods set to work in SA

By BARRY STREEK

The once-banned and exiled former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, wants to return home to South Africa and work as a journalist in "an unfettered society" by starting a radio station or a television programme.

He said he had received a warm welcome locally.

"These are wonderful times."

In his first public speech in South Africa since he was banned in 1977, Mr Woods told the Cape Town Press Club he had the former Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, who served banning orders on him, to thank for having converted him from "a small-town editor to someone people wanted to listen to."

The total alienation of young black people in townships and the role of the police were two major problems, he said. He added that there could not be a workable democracy in South Africa unless there was "a totally unfettered media."

He said an independent judiciary also constituted a vital part of democracy.

"Only out of that can we have that watchdog element," Mr Woods said.

He said current problems were "the troubles of recovery, not of decline."

Mr Woods said that during his travels over the last 12 years he had been "moved by the scope and sweep of exiles abroad. South Africans are everywhere and many have learned new skills."

He believed many exiles would come home.
Exiles who were not able to answer back "could be freely slandered" - and this was often done "quite calculatedly", he added.

Mr. Woods said he and others had been convinced that if South Africa "did not have sanctions, our conviction was that many more thousands would have died."

South Africa's present problems were the troubles of recovery, not of decline.

"It may not be good if the gold runs out. Then we will learn to use our real resources, such as manufacturing and skills. We have for too long depended on such bonuses," he said.

He identified two major problems in South African society. The "total alienation of young blacks in the townships who will not listen to Mandela nor anyone else," and the "kind of policing that goes on here."

There were also problems with issues such as housing and education which would need massive state aid.

He wanted to return "to work as a journalist in an unfettered society," and in the new South Africa he would "like to start a radio station or TV channel," he said.

Mr. Woods stressed several times he was hesitant to commit himself to firm statements on the South African scenario until he had been in the country for a few more weeks, but said he was still "developing views" of the situation.

He is in South Africa for six weeks, and is working on five journalistic commissions, for the BBC and Time Magazine among others.

Mr. Woods said he had former Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger to thank for having converted him from "a small-town editor to someone people wanted to listen to." - Sapa.
"A free Press vital"

THERE could not be a workable democracy in South Africa if the media was not totally unfettered, former Daily Dispatch editor and author Mr. Donald Woods said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at a luncheon of the Cape-Town Press Club, in his first public speech since returning to South Africa after 12 years in exile, Woods spoke broadly on the view of South Africa from the outside world and the implications of that view.

Exiles

The outside world's "continuing interest in South Africa had been underestimated over the years and, in fact, people could "not hear enough about South Africa," he said.

"He said there was a "massive deception" over the lifestyle of exiles and he had "often heard rubbish such as, for instance, that the ANC and PAC have been living off the fat of the land while in exile."

Hope

That was simply not true, and he hoped the new South Africa would debunk the "old South African capacity for delusion."

The "soul of South African apartheid", however, had served its purpose well and this was hopeful for the future of the country. -- Sapa.
ANC approached to buy Daily Mail

THE ANC has been approached to buy the Johannesburg-based Daily Mail, which faces closure because of lack of funds less than three months after its launch.

The head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had been approached by newspaper staff to inform them that they were in trouble and needed bailing out.

The suggestion had been made that the ANC buy the paper, he said, adding that that was one of several options being considered by the ANC, which had been looking into the possibility of launching its own newspaper.

In a statement on Tuesday Daily Mail co-editor Anton Harber said that the paper would close if additional finance was not raised by the end of the month. The older, national Weekly Mail would still be published.

Yesterday the Daily Mail was inundated with offers of assistance and enquiries, Harber said.

"There's been an enormous response, including some cheques. But it is not enough to make a real difference."

We will have to watch to see if it builds up over the next few weeks,"

Asked if the ANC had been approached to buy the paper, Harber said: "We are exploring every possible option to save the paper and people's jobs and to ensure the continuation of the ideals embodied in the newspaper."

"We are making no choice at this stage between the options. We are duty bound to explore every possible way."

Confessing that the ANC had no money to launch its own publication, Jordan said other options considered by the organisation were an English national weekly and a multi-lingual national weekly.
ANC asked to consider bailine out cash-strapped Daily Mail
Our crystal ball wasn't too clouded. A view from 1995...
more white elections, says Willemse

NOW that we have had talks with the ANC, what can we expect next?
The last section of the Pretoria
Mount, referring to negotiations about a new constitution, depends on putting deed in word. With the high level of violence, there is concern that that part has to receive special treatment.

You will recall it was agreed to set
up a special working committee to deal with the practical implementation or implications of the suspension of armed activity.

That matter is receiving attention, and the committee is expected to report back by April 15. The speed by which we can move to the exploratory talks will depend on the decisions of the committee. I want to feel positive about it.

The violence you are talking about includes the so-called black-on-black violence, or are you also talking about the white-on-black violence?

All forms of violence are cause for concern. I was rather surprised (to read) the other morning that Pat "Skiet" Rudolph (the fugitive Crawford leader of the Boerhoof Party) is on a sort of a Dusseldorf run for affordability, that he was having serious problems with his conscience.

I wonder if he is serious or this is just a gimmick — but it would appear they, too, want to reconsider their position with regard to violence.

I think basically all people who are in responsible leadership positions have come to realize, from practical experience, that the situation is not the solution.

The situation, if you go back to the stage where the ANC and the government decided on a converging route rather than on a conflicting route, it was because both sides realized they were not going to solve the problem by violence or by force of arms of the state.

There must be a political solution which must be peacefully negotiated. In that regard Nelson Mandela, even from prison, exerted a considerable influence.

But it is clear he is experiencing difficulties even from within his own organisation, with elements who are not easy to reach with the new message. As well, within the political preference and those who, in spite of recovering the message, still prefer the use of violence.

These aspects will have to be dealt with very thoroughly and carefully.

The rightwingyellow negotiations are a feature of the system that are those who believe the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto, could not even start talking about the SADP. Why did you decide to negotiate? did you just have a change of heart?

I think it was the result of practical political experience, with the failure of the former policy.

This matter has to be followed from 1963, after the referendum on the executive parliament. As that stage already, (former) President PW Botha appointed a Cabinet committee, saying we must also start providing for power-sharing with black people, who were excluded at that time.

Looking back we now realise in introducing a new constitutions excluding blacks was one of the biggest mistakes we made.

Although black people viewed the introduction of the presidential system almost as a trap in the face, PW Botha acknowledged immediately after that referendum the need to take the next step — so bring black people in if set up a Cabinet committee to work on it. It worked for three years.

Then he recommended the NP change its policy and accept the permanence of all South Africans — including blacks — and accept solutions which could not be found in geographic terms, in other words — accept apartheid had not worked.

In 1986 a federal congress of the NP accepted unanimously this change in the policy.

Our (white) voters, although a limited part of the population, gave us a democratic mandate.

We get a more than 60 percent majority in the 1989 elections. In the 1989 elections that mandate was repeated.

The way in which a government is elected is vital in the negotiations. You will recall President (PW) de Klerk said the government is not in favour of an unfinished, simplistic mandate.

He accepts one man, one vote. Everybody should have the vote, there must be universal franchise, and the majority should be able to extricate itself.

But it should be balanced within the framework of South Africa, with the protection of political rights for numerous.

We accept a minority cannot govern, but we believe that in power-sharing, the minority should be meaningfully represented.

Restrictions should be built into the constitution to make sure a bill of rights and safeguarding the provisions such as those of civil rights, or conventions (before passing laws).

But the minorities cannot weaken the rights of the majority. We accept one man, one vote in South Africa, building national unity, but ignoring minorities will not help this goal. It will increase the conflict.

There have been problems with the definition of a white. How else do you define minorities except by race? By way of culture, language, or even by way of ancestry.

We made it clear in our last electoral manifesto that the present definition of a white is purely racist, based on colour, cannot survive as a new constitution.

We would therefore argue that of the new constitution, guidelines must be made for minorities as to how to constitute themselves, but it should be a non-racial, constitutional, and also on a non-prescriptive basis.

There must be freedom of association, so people who don't want to function politically through a minority group under which they feel can satisfy we want to be South African citizens.

The present Cabinet has been acclaimed for pushing through a number of reforms within a short space of time. What other reforms can we expect?

The Cabinet has made it clear the Group Areas Act must go in the next session of Parliament.

There are certain supplementary measures that will be required, for example, in the mining-forming.

But the Act has got a life rights sentence. The second area anticipated to come up is the Land Acts. To remove all vestiges of internal limitations for the acquisition of land.

But it could be argued that since the land issue has not been dealt with from the possibility of purchasing land, therefore in financial expan- dence schemes like the Land Bank, the Agricultural Credit Scheme, specific increased provision will have to be made for those people who have not had the opportunity in the past.

There will obviously be a large number of such people, so financial assistance will have to be beyond the present schemes.
Gerrit Viljoen ... we are likely to start real negotiations early next year.  

Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA
The dawn of a national force

FRIDAY'S incisive decision by the National Party in Natal to open up its membership to all races, could cause an upheaval in South African politics. Should the other provincial divisions of the party follow suit, the doors would be open for the creation of a new national force with interests supereeding all colour boundaries, said Beeld in an editorial.

A dispensation would then be entered into in which every South African can apply for membership for what has been an influential white political party for 75 years and in government for 42 years.

If this does not serve as proof of the party's genuine desire for power sharing, then this word has no meaning. What had become the overriding political theme of the NP on a macro level, has now found expression within its own ranks.

In fact, it had become unavoidable. It would not have been possible to oppose discrimination on every possible level while remaining a party for whites only.

This is exactly what it needs to become, a national movement supereeding the colour bar. Because we believe it has the ability and duty to do exactly this, Beeld pleaded for the opening of the National Party on June 11.

This was done because it became clearer after the result in the Umlazi by-election that the National Party had become the main proponent of the values which have brought progress and true democracy all over the world.

Its biggest competitor now is the ANC, a movement which is still trying to find its feet, but due to its alliance with the SACP and as a result of its own radical economic views, it is no torch bearer for true democracy.

It has been a long road since the National Party was founded in Natal on August 15, 1915. State President FW de Klerk must have been very aware of the political risks which he had taken. Nevertheless, he and the party leadership did not hesitate to act courageously and persistently. May they be successful with what has become the NP's most important historic calling the creation of a new constitution for a truly free South Africa.

For all the people.
Apologise, ANC tells editor

THE ANC has demanded an apology from a newspaper editor after a "rightwing" pamphlet was distributed through his newspaper.

The move, which raised eyebrows in Press circles, followed the insertion of a pamphlet in Maritzburg's *The Natal Witness* on Friday. The pamphlet was issued by the pro-conscription Veterans For Victory Organisation from Houghton, Johannesburg.

Headlined "South Africa must come first", the pamphlet criticised the ANC and MDM for "inciting masses to bloodshed and total seizure of power", yet demanding that SADF troops should be in the frontline to maintain law and order in Natal.

"One wonders what would have happened to the lives of many, many civilians in the townships, should the 'Troops Out' campaign have succeeded," the pamphlet said.

"Veterans For Victory made a plea to South Africans to allow our 'tropies' to do their duty and so bring an end to this needless killing, in particular in Natal, so that negotiations may continue in the spirit of friendship and reconciliation."

In a strongly worded statement the Midlands regional convenor of the ANC, Harry Gwala, called on the *Witness* editor to "explain to the public what his own stand on the matter is -- and whether he is going to allow the newspaper to carry such distorted, alienizing and shoddy rightwing material in the future."

The statement said: "We demand that the editor issue a public apology to all who have been subjected to this distasteful, abhorrent as well as totally unsolicited media assault."

He accused Veterans for Victory for having operated in support of military fascism.

"We are astonished and astounded that *The Natal Witness* has allowed such a dubious organisation to publicise its message of hate through its deliveries and sales."

The editor was not available for comment yesterday.
Bombs explode near Afrikaans newspaper office

By Guy Jepsen

Two bombs exploded within seconds of each other outside the Johannesburg offices of the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld last night.

The explosions caused considerable damage but no injuries.

The first bomb, believed to have been made up of commercial explosives, was placed under a blue Volkswagen Citi Golf near the building's entrance in Miller Street, Doornfontein. It detonated at about 11.05, wrecking the car, which is owned by Willem Pretorius, the owner of the paper.

Several windows in the newspaper building were shattered. The second device, apparently placed near a delivery truck in First Street, detonated seconds later, shattering more windows. The explosion caused employees in Beeld's dispatch section, metres away, to feel the tremors.

Mr. Pretorius, the owner of the destroyed car, said: "We heard a helluva bang just after 11 pm and then I looked out of the window and saw it was my car. It happened just on deadline and then the other one went off. We just told everyone to stay in the office as there was another one."

Mr. Pretorius said he believed the explosions, coming in the wake of the recent blast at the offices of the Afrikaans weekly Vrye Weekblad, could be part of a pattern of attacks against the media.

Tyrone Caswell (17), an employee of a security firm, had just walked past the Golf to the security office in the Beeld building when the bomb went off.

"I missed it by about 20 seconds and it felt like an earthquake," he said.
Open SA the all media council

IT WAS the task of the SA Media Council, in addition to mediation and conflict resolution, to be vigilant in protecting and promoting a free and open South Africa, council chairman Mr Jan Steyn said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at the 14th meeting of the council, he said the organisation would debate how to give further and "hopeful permanent content to the process through which a more open society can be secured". "Sowetan 4/9/90"

He said the principles on which such a society was based had been systematically eroded over the years.

"We will be seeking to produce a carefully considered and balanced input to the Government to have all unnecessary constraints on media freedom removed," Steyn said - Sapa
LOA considers social upliftment schemes

A delegation from the Life Office's Association (LOA) met adviser to the Finance Minister, Janie Jacobs, last week to discuss ways in which life companies could invest in social upliftment programmes.

The LOA has appointed a subcommittee to look into the issue, which has become one of concern to the assurance industry, particularly in the light of the investigation by the Jacobs committee into the flow of funds between life offices, building societies and banks.

In the past, the industry has felt constrained from investing in risky, low return social upliftment programmes by the need to uphold the trustee principle and to achieve the highest returns for policyholders.

LOA executive director Dick Geary-Cooke said the delegation expressed its support for the committee's recommendations.

LINDA ENSOR

Jacobs the LOA’s willingness to help with such investments, stressing the need for suitable instruments for such investments to be devised.

While the LOA subcommittee’s work was at an exploratory stage, LOA participation in the securitisation of mortgage bonds by building societies was being looked into.

LOA director Jurie Wessels said it was difficult to respond to views that life assureds should invest in venture capital projects “because we do not know what exactly people are expecting of the industry.”

“Life Offices do not really have the skills to identify and monitor high risk investments. They also do not feel that it is in the interest of policyholders that their retirement and insurance savings should be exposed to high risks.”

FM, Sage accord stops printing of report

An agreement was reached late on Monday between Sage Holdings and the Financial Mail (FM), averting a move by Sage Holdings to obtain an urgent court interdict yesterday against the weekly magazine.

FM editor Nigel Bruce said the FM intended to publish an article on Sage Holdings in today’s edition, parts of which Sage had said were incorrect.

Sage would not specify which parts of the article were wrong, and threatened to bring an interdict to stop publication.

Bruce said the parties had reached agreement late on Monday. He could not elaborate, but part of it was that the FM would not publish the article.

A Sage spokesman said yesterday “I am not commenting at all, except to say there is no interdict.”

EDITH BULBRING
40 journalists retrenched as paper closes

The closing of the independent Daily Mail on Tuesday was a very sad and difficult moment for the newspaper’s journalists and management, co-editor Anton Harber said.

About 40 journalists of a total of 115 were retrenched in the closure, he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

"At this point, our sole concern is to continue with the Weekly Mail as a major voice in South Africa," he said.

The Daily Mail battled for two months and 13 days to produce an independent newspaper, but was eventually forced to close due to financial difficulties.

Reporters only heard on Monday who was going to be retrenched and there were tearful scenes in the newsroom when the final orders came through.

Harber was reluctant to delve too deeply into the exact terms of retrenchment, but said a fund had been established to assist any journalists who found themselves in extreme difficulties.

Management had worked closely with staff and union representatives.
New masters, old dangers?

Arthur Beilis

London
Media clampdown. Back to the Emergency?

Worldwide Television News (WTN) sound recorder Brian Greene was arrested in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Tuesday.

WTN bureau chief Vincent Francis said the news crew had been ordered to leave the area by police. Apparently, Greene was arrested when he was spotted by a policeman who had ordered him to leave five minutes earlier.

Francis reported that Greene had phoned the WTN offices during his arrest screaming: "I'm being hit."

Greene appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday on charges of committing the new regulations and resisting arrest.

His case was postponed to October 23.

Renewed harassment of journalists and regulations allowing for their removal from scenes of unrest are reminiscent of Emergency rule.

Cassandra Moodley reports

and he was granted an emergency bail application of R 5 000 on Tuesday night.

Media lawyer David Dixon said the Unrest Regulations are a duplication of the State of Emergency, which had drastically censored the media for five years.

"If a police officer believes he needs to remove a journalist or anybody else, he has the power to do so — the same regulations they always used against journalists."

He added that the police also had the power to remove anybody from the scene of unrest if they saw fit, to make arrests and remove film from cameras.

Media groupings yesterday slammed the new restrictions, saying "press freedom" experienced since the lifting of the countrywide Emergency regulations in June (except in Natal) seems to have been just a passing phase.

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) said: "It is disappointing that the hull in the storm has ended and it's back to the old game of bashing the media."

The Association of Democratic Journalists said the ban on the media from "unrest areas" indicated a sinister return about 30 youths brandishing stones and petrol bombs advanced on the Mail's car. One threatened to hurl a brick at the car but was stopped by a woman resident. They claimed the press had no right to be there, saying "you people bring the police, take our photos, and then they come and pick us up."

On Wednesday, Weekly Mail journalists were also reprimanded by a hostel committee member for interviewing residents without the committee's permission. "If you want to see action, lady, you will see it now," the man said.

"It's a pity that nobody has effectively taught people the value of having journalists present. They are after all the means by which the public can be informed of abuses."

"Part of the problem is caused by police masquerading as journalists," said Acag, commenting on the attacks on the media by communities.
Free speech vital, says prof

MOST of the participants in the debate about a future constitution for South Africa agreed that freedom of expression should be guaranteed in a new constitution.

But there was a difference of opinion on what the limits to this freedom should be, constitutional expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said yesterday.

Wiechers was addressing a conference on "Communications in a Changing South African Society" at the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria.

Freedom of expression and opinion should not be a play thing in the hands of politicians but should become a democratic institution in itself, Wiechers said.

"Informing citizens is a prerequisite for democracy. Without the dissemination of information and the right to criticize, democracy lacks the element of accountability towards the citizens and the ability of citizens to exercise control over the state is undermined."

"However, the constitutional entrenchment of freedom of expression is only one side of the issue. Freedom without restrictions or specific limits can easily lead to anarchy and profligacy," he said. - Sowetan Correspondent.
THAMI MAZWAI — HEADING FOR OXFORD

It was at Victor Verster Prison that Thami Mazwai developed his interest in business journalism by reading pirated copies of the *FM*. Today he’s the business editor of the *Sowetan* and the recipient of the 1990 Roshoit Fellowship in Journalism named after Mike Roshoit, chairman of Barlow Rand, the fellowship aims to enhance journalists’ knowledge and understanding of business, economics and finance. Mazwai will spend three months at Oxford and concentrate on the study of small-business development.

"I want to create an awareness of business in the black community," he says of his role in the *Sowetan*’s nation-building campaign. "We need black managers and black entrepreneurs. We want to develop black business for the future of SA."

In 1963 he was sent to Robben Island for 18 months for PAC activities at Orlando High in Soweto, where he now lives with his wife and three daughters. He later entered Fort Hare University but was expelled when the administration thought he had led a class boycott. "They told me that my past suggested that I could have been involved."

He joined the *World* in 1972 and stayed until it was banned five years later. From there he went to the *Post* — killed a few years later, he says, "by an industrial dispute and the State."

In 1981 he became the *Sowetan*’s first news editor and that year was detained for eight months for interviewing student leaders. When he refused to give evidence about his interview with them, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison. Denied access to papers and magazines, he swiped *FMs* he found in a storeroom.

"Freedom of the press is indivisible," he told a conference on "Winning Against Apartheid" in June.

"It does not change from situation to situation. Neither is suppression of the media by a black government less severe than that from a white government. Both abuse my rights as a human being."
FAREWELL, DAILY MAIL

It was set up as an alternative to the commercial press, so it was no surprise that The Daily Mail was never a money-spinner. The paper died on Tuesday after only 44 issues because, according to its final leader, "we have not raised the money needed to continue printing."

The deathblow was administered by the Reserve Bank in July when it refused to allow R2.5m of offshore funding to come in through the financial rand. This was because it was earmarked for working capital rather than the purchase of fixed assets. This R780 000 shortfall in funding (when converted through the commercial rand) decided the paper's fate. About half of its 115 staff are expected to lose their jobs.

Nevertheless, the question remains whether investors would have ever seen realistic returns. It was unwise to compete against six other Johannesburg daily newspapers, especially with the most expensive newspaper management behind it.

Mail Publications is determined to keep the Weekly Mail going. Since the launch of the daily, the circulation of the weekly has increased from 27 000 to more than 30 000.

Co-editor Anton Harber says "Our investors decided that their money would be better spent on maintaining and strengthening the Weekly Mail. We've learnt a great deal and intend to build our core publication into an outspoken, independent voice."

Though it never attracted more than marginal advertising, the death of The Daily Mail is much lamented by media planners. "Everybody knew that the Mail would have to bite the bullet and sustain losses for a couple of years, but it needed capital to get over its teething problems," says Bernstein Lofton media director Roger Garlick. "The editorial content was improving. They were beginning to tone down the heavy features and bring in more hard news, but it was too late."

Ogilvy & Mather's John Montgomery says the newspaper was written for intellectuals and the editors overrated the extent to which people would subject themselves to heavy reading in the morning. "It's a tragedy that The Daily Mail closed because it reached a highly focused group with high incomes, many of whom watched little TV and probably read no other newspaper. But unfortunately its circulation never looked as though it was going to reach 30 000. It was struggling to reach 15 000."

Even competing publishers are sorry to see it disappear. Argus Newspapers MD Peter McLearns says "it was a very good newspaper, but a lot more money and newspaper experience were needed to get it going in a very competitive market. There are still opportunities in this market but only for professionals. We would certainly take notice of a Rupert Murdoch or a Robert Maxwell."
The Durban-based Zulu weekly Ilanga seems to have weathered a concerted intimidation campaign against it — but the incident could herald to conflict between papers perceived to be supporting different political organisations.

From the beginning of the year, when the campaign started, to July, Ilanga's circulation dropped 20 000 to 120 200.

MD Arthur Komgkramer says the campaign — which at its height saw attacks on outlets selling Ilanga and on newspaper vendors and threats to journalists and some readers — is losing momentum. He declines to give present circulation figures because they have yet to be audited but reckons they are growing and "should be back to budget levels by the end of the year."

He condemns the financial backers of what he calls the ANC-supporting newspapers that have apparently benefited from Ilanga's circulation dip — mostly Western governments that channel funds through the Kago Trust and Catholic Bishops fund — for "their assault on private enterprise."

Whatever the degree of editorial independence enjoyed by its journalists, Ilanga has been widely viewed as Inkatha's mouthpiece since the organisation bought the newspaper through Mandla-Matla Publishing — from the Argus Group three years ago.

Komgkramer dismisses this criticism by pointing out that since Mandla-Matla bought the newspaper in April 1987, circulation has increased by 40%. Despite its links with Inkatha, readers want the newspaper and about 1.6m people read Ilanga every week. He also dismisses as "total drivel" accusations — made this year mainly by Natal Indian Congress and UDF leaders — that Ilanga was making racially inflammatory and anti-Indian statements.

Fostering an ethos

Former chairman of Mandla-Matla's management committee, Oscar Dhlomo, who has since resigned all positions with the KwaZulu government and Inkatha, has established his own institute free of party politics, says he does not believe accusations that Ilanga has been stirring racial feelings are justified.

"Natal Indian Congress officials had recourse and, in fact, did have a letter published in Ilanga giving their side of the story. If we are to foster a democratic ethos in SA there should be no problem with newspapers taking a line which supports a particular political party."

"The problem is in the response to this and you cannot justify attacks on newspaper vendors and threats to journalists because of a newspaper's political stance," Dhlomo says.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

He adds that the intensity of the campaign against Ilanga showed it must have been instigated by somebody but would not say whom he thought responsible because he had no proof.

ANC southern Natal convenor Patrick Lekota could not be contacted but said at a congress last month the organisation had "no problem" with political parties having their own newspapers and saw it as a part of the democratic process.

The problem now, he seems, is to get supporters of the different political groupings to understand this as well.
Death by natural causes

There is much wailing and gnashing of teeth in the journalistic community this week over the closure of the "new" Daily Mail barely 11 weeks after it first hit the streets.

It is true that the disappearance of a newspaper is not a happy event — attracting more attention, at any rate more publicity, than, say, the shutting down of a factory for making carpet-tiles can also dream, can't they?

But somehow a daily newspaper, such a flimsy and transitory product in the TV age, represents more than just the sum total of its workforce's activities. It is a highly visible, and vulnerable, public purveyor of information and the ideas and visions that spring from the community it serves.

When a paper dies, a voice is stilled, a viewpoint stilled. This is bad for society and bad for democracy. So, at least, runs the conventional argument.

Victim

However, sympathy over the Mail's closure should not blind us to the reasons for it, or the lessons it should teach about the nature of newspapers — even in the "new" South African society which we are constantly assured awaits us.

Assertions that it was merely the victim of an overtraded morning newspaper market are superficial. Put simply, the Mail ran out of money to publish because it attracted few readers and even fewer advertisers.

The bottom line is that Mail was a failure. In commercial terms, it was a product without a market.

Exactly why this should be so is no great mystery, at least not to those of us who have spent much of our lives striving to produce saleable newspapers (and sometimes succeeding).

The Daily Mail is the second Johannesburg newspaper of that name to die within six years. Its namesake, the famous Rand Daily Mail, folded in

1985 Its first mistake was to cast itself in the role of radical heir to the RDM.

It was precisely the RDM's radicalism, combined with managerial inertia and journalistic arrogance, which led to its fatal financial losses.

Though there was no evidence of poor management affecting the new Mail, its radicalism was there for all to see.

Despite promising a more centrist attitude when it began publication in June, it quickly became clear the newspaper's primary purpose was to propagate the leftish point of view.

If developed the trade mark of the radical press — a combination of earnest whining, trendy cyanosis and unrelieved grumpiness and gloom.

At the same time, its handling of bread-and-butter news left much to be desired. It contained some excellent, if occasionally esoteric, feature writing, but there was little for the "ordinary" person — the man in the street for whom politics is perhaps a worrying, though far from overwhelming, fact of life — to identify with.

Just as its politics fell into the you-will-believe-what-is-good-for-you school of advocacy journalism, so its appearance seemed to owe much to the notion that "if it is dull, it must be interesting".

Despite touches of elegance, it was not an easy paper to read — surely the first task of the intelligent typographer. These are serious, but not fatal, flaws. Had the Mail been operating in a strictly commercial environment, its editors could have been sacked and priorities changed.

But since the paper considered itself to be in the vanguard of the "struggle" to change society rather than a vehicle for reflecting events, it would probably have had to be totally reformed under a different title.

The Mail's slogan of "the paper for challenging South Africa" failed to recognize the elementary truth that although society may change, people, on the whole, don't — at least not very quickly. More apt was its rather feeble assertion that "not everybody" would want to read the Mail. Crushingly, it became true — hardly anybody did.

In its valedictory issue this week, the paper retreated to its weekly base, showing little understanding of why it had been a publishing disaster.

Desires

Stirring stuff — but words that properly belong in the manifesto of a political party. Generally speaking, newspapers have no business fighting for anything except the right to carry on publishing without interference.

In the end the paper paid the price of ignoring the needs and desires of tens of thousands.

Byputting politics before people, it flew in the face of well-tried publishing wisdom that unless you try to provide your audience with what they want, rather than what you think they ought to want, you stand a very good chance of losing your shirt.

The Mail's editors are not the first journalists to try to change the world. In the years ahead in South Africa, when rival ideologues will be jostling for a platform, I suspect they won't be the last.

At least, after this, there can be no illusions about the kind of newspapers people are prepared to pay for, and those they aren't. Like its predecessor, the Mail's plight was self-inflicted. But it might be that suicide is too harsh a verdict.

Perhaps we should just call it death by natural causes.
A LOOK INSIDE THE ANC

In a journalistic first, the FM is publishing a Special Survey of the African National Congress on September 28. A complete departure from our usual concentration on business issues, the survey covers neither a company nor a sector of the economy — but a liberation movement in the painful process of adapting to political legality.

A team of writers headed by Peter Wilhelm and Aamarnath Singh interviewed ANC leaders — including Nelson Mandela — for the project, which assesses the history of the movement, its role in negotiations for a new constitution, and its stance on a variety of crucial issues including the economy, sports and cultural policy.

In key areas, the ANC provided departmental panels who were questioned by FM specialists. A wide range of documentary evidence was consulted and experiences were cast back to the Fifties and Sixties and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. There were recollections of prison life and operations and linkages with other movements like PAC, NP and communists were probed.

The influence of the Communist Party on the ANC is specifically addressed — and the number and names of communists on the national executive committee is for the first time given in full.

The survey was conducted with the cooperation of the ANC but reflects solely the FM view of the movement, its credibility and prospects.

Much new information came to light — including Mandela's current position on scoulism, the status of the sports boycott (that is, when it could be lifted) and the extent of pragmatism or otherwise on controversial economic matters such as nationalisation and fiscal policy. The initial response indicates that this could be the best-read survey ever published by the FM — and will remain a reference work for the future.
would be combined with the afternoon Daily News into a 24-hour publication.

Those fears have been put to rest—at least for now Argus Holdings CE and Argus Newspapers chairman Douglas Band says the group is “committed to the concept of keeping The Mercury as Durban’s morning newspaper.” And Ed Booth, MD of Natal Newspapers, the Argus subsidiary that owns the Durban newspapers, says he sees no reason to make any changes and that, personally, he is not keen on the idea of a 24-hour publication.

That still leaves the question of who will succeed McMillan, who has held the post since 1971, when he leaves early next year. Favourite for the editor’s chair is Deon du Plessis, deputy editor of The Argus in Cape Town Band says the Argus board has not decided on McMillan’s successor and a range of candidates is being considered. But he agrees that Du Plessis would be high on the list.

Other names doing the rounds are present deputy editor Miles Mattson and Sunday Tribune editor Jonathan Hobday. But with Band scotching rumours that the Mercury is about to be absorbed by the much larger Daily News, both candidates now seem far less likely than Du Plessis.

The thinking was that if the Mercury was to be part of a 24-hour operation, Mattson, a highly respected senior editor due for retirement in a few years, would have been an ideal caretaker through the transition. Alternatively, Hobday could have taken on dual editorship of both the Tribune and the Mercury.

Two recent developments supported the belief among Mercury staffers that they were heading for a 24-hour publication.

First was Robinson Group Holdings’ sale late last year of its controlling share in former Mercury parent, Robinson & Co, to Times Media Ltd (TML). This firmly entrenched the Mercury in the Argus stable because Robinson & Co had the right to set editorial policy at the Mercury, even though it owned only a minority share of the paper’s parent, Natal Newspapers. With the sale of Robinson & Co to TML, Argus, which owns the major slice of Natal Newspapers, can now appoint The Mercury’s editors.

The second was the more recent change in operations at Argus’s Star, which saw Johannesburg’s major afternoon newspaper virtually operating on a 24-hour basis.

Until 1985, the Mercury was family-owned and independent. It then merged with Argus’s Durban newspapers to form Natal Newspapers, with Argus holding 70% of the shares and Robinson & Co 30%. TML predecessor SA Associated Newspapers held 49% of Robinson & Co TML, which now owns 90% of Robinson & Co, giving it a 30% interest in Natal Newspapers, owner of the Post Natal Tribune, Daily News and Mercury.

The Argus influence seems to have revived the Mercury. After a 3.1% drop in the first half of 1988, its circulation increased by 1.2% to an average of 61,019 copies in the first half of last year, according to ABC figures, and has since picked up smartly. The paper sold an average of 65,690 copies in the first half of this year.

Growth in circulation of the afternoon Daily News has been slower over the past 18 months—though it sells substantially more copies, averaging 103,972 in the first six months of this year.

Scott Harris

**MOTOR INDUSTRY**

**HELP FROM THE EAST?**

Japanese vehicle producers may soon lift restrictions on exports to SA, say local manufacturers.

They’re hoping this month’s talks between US President George Bush and SA President F W de Klerk will clear the way for a resumption of normal trade.

At least one SA manufacturer expects the restrictions, imposed in 1988, to be abandoned completely "by next year." Others expect they’ll be phased out.

Japanese motor companies imposed “voluntary” export restrictions under pressure from their government’s Ministry of International Trade & Industry (Mti) but itself was responding to threats of US trade reprisals if Japanese companies sought to benefit from large-scale US disinvestment from SA.

Since 1988, individual Japanese vehicle producers have restricted SA exports to 1987 yen levels. By pegging the limit at the low-inflation yen rather than the rand, the decision enabled SA companies to maintain orders at relatively stable levels. What it stopped them doing was increasing orders.

Recently, however, Mti quietly changed the rules and pegged levels to 1987 US dollar values. SA manufacturers say the change came as a surprise and they are still trying to assess the longer-term effect.

Though the market decline in the last two years has removed some of the pressure, vehicle sales are still running well above

**AUGUST VEHICLES**

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Source: National Auto
Bombs blast Rand newspaper offices

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Two bombs exploded within seconds outside the offices here of the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld, causing extensive damage but no injuries.

The first bomb, believed to be made up of commercial explosives, was placed under a blue Volkswagen Citi Golf owned by Mr Willem Pretorius, arts editor, that was parked near the entrance in Miller Street, Doornfontein. It detonated about 11.05 last night.

Several windows in the newspaper building were shattered.

A second device, apparently placed near a delivery truck in First Street, detonated seconds later, shattering more windows, including those of an industrial firm across the street.

The explosion caused employees in Beeld's dispatch section miles away to feel the tremor.

Within minutes of the explosion, police had cordoned off streets and were combing the glass-strewn pavements for a possible third device.

The police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, Captain Eugene Opperman, said no motive had been established yet for the blasts.

Mr Pretorius said the newspaper's production was not affected by the explosions.

"We heard a terrific bang and I looked out of the window and saw it was my car. It happened just on deadline... and then the other one went off. We told everyone to stay in the office in case there was another one."

Mr Pretorius said he believed rightwingers were responsible.

PATTERN OF ATTACKS

"We've been threatened by the right several times recently and while it hasn't been confirmed yet, a policeman told me commercial explosives were used.

"We've been constant in our criticism of the right but I can't think of any recent report which would have motivated the attack."

"Mr Pretorius said he believed the explosions, coming in the wake of the recent blast at the offices of the Afrikaans weekly Vry Weekblad, could be part of a pattern of attacks against the media."

RAND BLAST: Police inspect one of the cars damaged in last night's blasts outside Beeld's premises in Johannesburg.
Daily Mail publishes its last edition

TODAY’s edition of the fledgling Daily Mail would be the last, co-editor Aston Harber confirmed last night. (243)

He said the decision to close the newspaper after just three months was taken at a staff meeting yesterday morning.

The feeling among staff was one of “great sadness”.

Harber said he was unable to say how many of the Daily Mail’s 115 staff members would be employed on the Weekly Mail, which had been strengthened by the publication of a daily newspaper.

However, it is believed that up to half the personnel could be retrenched and that employees will be told their fate today.

The Mail warned last week that it had just two days within which to raise sufficient new capital to keep it afloat. The appeal brought in only R150 000.

Asked about reports that a number of financial backers had pulled out, Harber said “no one pulled out per se. Some of them believed that some of the money would be better spent on a weekly than on sustaining the daily”. 

PETER DELMAR
Kerry Swift detects a shift in the ANC away from nationalisation of the Press to a search for subsidies for smaller newspapers

THE debate on how the media will fit into a new South Africa has become pressing as the so-called "Alternative Press" contemplates its future without foreign funding.

It is generally understood that their backers are to withdraw financial support in the not-too-distant future — "not-too-distant" being a euphemism for far sooner than they would like.

Kept newspapers, it would appear, like kept women, rarely endure. Their keepers grow tired of them and, as the publishers of the Daily Mail have learned at considerable cost, newspapers are voracious mistresses.

At the core, the debate on media futures is about who owns and controls the mass media in this country and, by implication, who controls the flow of information.

It is a debate which has ranged from calls for outright nationalisation of all media, so that the State would control the entire information flow, to the passionate libertarian defence of market-driven media which argues that all information must compete in a free marketplace of ideas in which anyone can have access to the market.

Although this debate tends to be somewhat academic, and is being conducted away from the public eye, it is of fundamental importance to all South Africans because the freedom of the media — or the lack of it — is a litmus test for the level of freedom we can expect from the muchvaunted post-apartheid society.

Quality

It is also important because it could greatly affect the future content, quality and price of our newspapers, television and radio, because it is possible that the people debating these points today will be the same people exercising power over our media tomorrow.

And lest we forget, the example of Zimbabwe's disastrous Press Trust, not all "democrats" employ equally democratic means.

So we should take it seriously enough to consider that at about the same time that executives at the Daily Mail were agonising over the decision to close their newspaper, Rhodes University's Department of Journalism and Media Studies was hosting a workshop to address the vexed question of media policy.

It was one of the first occasions on which senior members of the commercial, alternative and State media could grapple with their futures against the background of emerging policy statements from the ANC, the South African Communist Party and other political players, all of which traditionally have eyed the media with keen, if somewhat painted, interest.

Legacy

The first, and most fundamental, view to emerge is that neither the ANC nor the SAPC appears to favour nationalising existing media, although they do tend to make special case of the SABC.

Second, and equally fundamental, is a growing public commitment to a diversity of opinion and dissent in the media, both of which are hallmarks of democratic society.

These views, however, may be governed less by concerns for freedom of the Press than by the realisation that in the glasnost era any attempt by a government espousing democratic values to nationalise media would seriously damage its local and international credibility and, of course, the credibility of the nationalised media.

Who, after all, can seriously argue the virtues of State-controlled media in the wake of freedom's catharsis in Eastern Europe over the past few decades?

Not even the SAPC, with its legacy of loyal consent to Soviet tyranny and obfuscation, can peddle that old ideological baggage any longer. And, indeed, they do not.

In the case of the communists, however, their sudden discovery of the virtues of and diversity of opinion warrants more than a moment's reflection.

On historical precedent alone, communists will have to live for some considerable time with the healthy scepticism of free men.

And, of course, it tends to be a scepticism that washes over the ANC as well because of its "special relationship" with the SAPC.

The old attacks on media monopoly are also tempered by a growing realisation from the broad Left that a major reason for the concentration of media in the hands of only a few companies is because those companies are good at their business and if they were not so good, national newspapers would long ago have closed, even further limiting the public's access to information.

Criticism

His suggestion that alternative newspapers can, for example, "piggish-back" existing newspapers could offer a real contribution to broadening democracy, while bluntly criticising much of the criticism of informational exclusivity levelled at the commercial media by emerging political forces.

While these suggestions are coming from mainstream media are being seen in certain quarters as cynical attempts to circumvent nationalisation, serious media analysts regard them as a positive flowering of the whole debate on the future of the media in this country.

Kerry Swift is a senior lecturer in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
Mail's death puts 40 out of work

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE closure of the Daily Mail had led to 35% of the newspaper group's staff being retrenched, Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

About 40 people, mostly in administrative and office service positions, out of a total staff complement of 115 had received one month's notice.

Newsroom staff were least affected.

The company had set up a special fund with company and staff contributions to help those people who were unemployed and who faced financial hardship once they had formally left the organisation.

Retrenched staff who had found new employment would not be given financial assistance.

Harber said the retrenchment package was worked out in consultation with staff, the SA Union of Journalists and the Association of Democratic Journalists.

The paper was also running a job list to help former employees find new employment.
Sage interdict application postponed

AN APPLICATION by Sage Holdings to prevent the publication of an article in the Financial Mail was postponed until Friday by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday.

Mr Justice M Joffe made this decision in chambers last night.

Advocate John Myburgh SC, acting for Sage Holdings, requested that the application for an interdict be heard in chambers and that the argument about whether it ought to be heard in chambers also be heard in chambers.

Advocate Jules Browne SC said the action was brought against the Financial Mail and four other defendants in order to prevent the journal publishing an article.

He said he intended arguing against the matter being heard in chambers.

He said he also intended arguing that even if the matter ought to have been regarded as urgent at any stage, this was no longer the case.

The judge decided that further argument should be heard in chambers and subsequently ordered that the hearing of the matter be postponed until Friday when it would be heard in chambers.

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PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

These are the four books I read sir. But then I also read this extra one.

The little prince? Oh, well, look how short it is. What's so great about reading this?

I read it in French, sir.
SAVING OTHER VOICES

Two of the country's largest publishing empires are doing their bit to save alternative publications from closure.

On Monday, an agreement was signed between the Caxton Group and The Weekly Mail. Caxton, which prints the paper, has agreed to write off the Mail's debts to it over six months and give it advice and assistance in reaching its financial targets, according to Mail co-editor Anton Harber.

But he stresses 'This isn't a take-over and it won't affect the independence of the publication Caxton agreed that we have a viable business plan. We have doubled the size of our advertising department and are confident it will be able to increase our advertising revenue sufficiently'.

Says Caxton's Noel Coburn. 'We're sympathetic and are looking at ways to help them, but we also believe the paper has a reasonable chance financially — especially with a R1.50 cover price and if it keeps its circulation over 30 000'.

Meanwhile, Frontline appeared as a supplement to The Sunday Star for the first time this week after an Argus group bail-out. The 11-year-old publication will now appear quarterly. It will still be available on subscription to readers outside The Sunday Star's PWV circulation area.

Denis Beckett, editor of Frontline, admits the paper was nearly bankrupt in July, when it started discussions with Argus.

Says Star GM Jolyon Nuttall: 'Frontline adds value to The Sunday Star and is in tune with its positioning. It's important to encourage a diversity of media in the country'.

As an insert in The Sunday Star, Frontline has increased its circulation from 12 000 to 100 000. Beckett says that from July 1987 to February 1989, Frontline was managed by the Argus group under contract, but the agreement was wound up after Frontline accumulated considerable debt with the group. The debt will eventually be paid off as part of the agreement.

Libel loss

Earlier this year, Frontline lost a libel suit to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and was ordered to pay a R12 000 fine and a considerably higher sum in court costs, which threatened to put the magazine out of business. But, in June, a number of institutions and individuals, including the SA Council of Churches, stepped in and paid most of the debt.

The magazine is still owned by a separate company, Saga Press, and Beckett hopes it will eventually become a separate profit centre.

Frontline joins half a dozen other Sunday Star magazine supplements, on issues such as money, wine and eating out. Nuttall says the advertising support for the first issue of Frontline was sufficient to justify the venture from a commercial point of view.

Stephen Cranston
‘Rocky 2’ intervenes, saves day!

ELIAS MALULEKE

A BLACK policeman from Vosloorus on the East Rand has earned himself the nickname “Rocky 2” — after Lt Gregory Rockman of Cape Town — because he intervened between white police and residents in an explosive situation.

Sgt Mosea Mogeshoa of the SAP in Vosloorus became the hero of the residents this week for possibly stopping a bloodbath in the township.

His mainly white colleagues were attempting to disperse a crowd of about 5000 who had gathered near the Sotho hostel to witness its demolition on Tuesday — when he stepped in and appealed to police not to use force.

The crowd had earlier been told by a delegation of women that the hostel would be demolished by 2pm.

Earlier, Vosloorus mayor MM Simukunda told City Press it was not true the Sotho hostel would be demolished that afternoon.

“We told them the hostel dwellers had been given until the 21st of this month to vacate the hostel.”

City Press was at the scene as the crowd started to swell from 1.30pm while black policemen monitored the situation.

As 2.30pm approached, heavily armed white policemen arrived in Casspirs — and took up positions to disperse the crowd.

However, Mogeshoa stepped in and said there was no need to use force against residents. He was supported by several of his black colleagues.

Mogeshoa was heard remarking: “People want the hostel down. They want peace and want to sleep peacefully because they are tired of shedding tears for their dead — the killings must stop.”

Members of the crowd roared with approval and there were chants of “Rocky! Rocky!” — an apparent reference to Rockman — from the youths.

During the chaos, a white police lieutenant came forward, wanting to know why the police were not taking action against the residents.

Mogeshoa came forward to explain — but was told the crowd had only five minutes in which to disperse.

Mogeshoa objected and pointed out five minutes was not enough for such a large crowd to disperse.

He told the lieutenant the black policemen at the scene would personally disperse the crowd — and appealed to white policemen not to interfere.

Mogeshoa then appealed to the crowd to disperse before action was taken against them.

“Please return to your homes before more blood is spilled,” he said, giving the crowd directions and urging them on.

The crowd heeded his appeal and started to move off the streets — and gradually dispersed into their yards. No teargas was fired.

City Press has established that Mogeshoa, a married father of three, has constantly been informing the station commander about the danger of hostels — and asked that hostels be demolished to avoid further deaths.

He has even gone to the extent of asking for a Casspir for use by off-duty black police volunteers — to patrol the streets without pay. This has not been done.

Approached at his home for comment, the police sergeant said he had been told that his conduct at the hostel would be investigated.

“If the department wants to take action against me, they can, but I am only a human being. I am here to serve the community and I must assist them where possible.”

Major RA Crewe of the SAP division of public relations in Pretoria denied as “false” allegations that black policemen prevented their white colleagues from using force to disperse an illegal gathering in Vosloorus on Tuesday.

Asked about possible disciplinary action against black Vosloorus policemen, Crewe said disciplinary action was taken against members from time to time, but this was a “departmental” matter.

Crewe denied as “false” that black policemen had asked for a Casspir to patrol the township while off-duty.

He said a Casspir was in fact dispatched to patrol the streets after information was received that certain houses might be attacked.”
Sent Hosea Mogashoa defuses a tense crowd in Vosloorus this week ... "I'm only a human being. I'm here to serve the community and must assist them where possible," he said after hearing he might face disciplinary action for his effort to prevent violence.

Piot: TLADI KHUELE
Zwelithini lashes out at media

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday that marches and boycotts were unnecessary and intimidation had to end.

He also accused the media of provoking people into killing each other.

After he and Transkei President Tutor Ndimase met State President FW de Klerk, Zwelithini said people had to be free to work.

He thanked De Klerk for security arrangements for the two leaders while addressing peace rallies on Sunday at Tokoza and Soweto.

"Our message to the State President was cordial and we saw him for the first time," the king said.

"The news media is provoking our people to kill each other. It is our black people who are being killed and the media are owned by white people."

Zwelithini said the media had incorrectly reported the Sunday peace rallies and called on the media to help bring peace to strife-torn areas. He did not elaborate.

Sapa
ANC funding: Lonrho mum

LONDON — Lonrho, the multinational conglomerate, has declined to comment on reports that it is considering funding a pro-ANC daily newspaper in South Africa.

The company’s press liaison head has this week declined to respond to inquiries about a report in the latest edition of Africa Confidential, in which it is claimed Lonrho is “toying with the idea” of establishing such a newspaper.

The journal says “The demise of the liberal Daily Mail leaves the ANC with no sympathetic daily at all.”

It notes that “Lonrho has at various times owned newspapers in several African countries.”

The company has also declined to comment on a claim in the same publication that it intends constructing a railway to link the Namibian rail system to that of Zambia.

Africa Confidential says “Lonrho-watchers” had detected the implementation of a strategy to “control the key communication routes of Southern Africa.”
A R20 000 journalism scholarship in honour of the late Mr Sam Mabe, former Assistant Editor of the Sowetan, is being sponsored by Pick 'n Pay. Mabe was slain by two gunmen after he had dropped off people in Jabulani, Soweto in July.

Details of the scholarship for study at the School of Journalism at Rhodes University in Grahamstown were announced recently by Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman.

It is to be named the Sam Mabe Memorial Scholarship and will cover all costs for the full four-year bachelor of journalism degree.

"We have especially requested that the scholarship be awarded to a student, like the late Sam Mabe, from a disadvantaged background," Ackerman said.

"Sam Mabe had a clear vision of a new, better and rehabilitated South Africa and his memory, convictions and values need to be perpetuated."

"He was an outspoken champion of a free Press and, along with his immense contribution to education and the concept of 'nation-building', he left an indelible mark on South Africa in his relatively short life."
Scholarship.

in honour of

Sam Mabe

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A
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perpetuated," he added.
### Sage gets interdict

**SUSAN RUSSELL**

THE Financial Mail was prohibited by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday from using information on Sage Holdings Ltd based on unlawful taps on telephones owned and/or used by the company.

Mr Justice Joffe, after hearing an application by Sage Holdings in camera, interdicted the Financial Mail from publishing, disclosing or in any way disseminating this information.

He also interdicted the financial publication from publicly disclosing or disseminating an Allied Group confidential document which contained information on its relationship with Sage.

Mr Justice Joffe ordered the Financial Mail to pay the costs of the application, including costs of two counsel.

### Arms rewards upped

**LINDEN BRINS**

POLICE yesterday announced significantly higher rewards for the handing-in of dangerous arms and ammunition.

A revised list of arms wanted by police includes SA-7 (SAM-7) ground-to-air missiles, anti-tank rockets and launchers, explosives, detonators, mines and firearms.

Police are also offering R400 for every petrol bomb handed in. Police spokesman Maj Rex Maree said last night strict controls would be enforced to ensure that people were not making these in order to claim rewards.

The latest SAP reward for anyone finding an SA-7 is R10 000 a 50% increase. Police have not yet found any.

Information leading to the arrest or death of a "terrorist" is rewarded with R3 000.
Klaaste dreams of putting it all back together

By JACQUELINE MYBURGH

At the launch banquet of Nation Building in 1988, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan newspaper, referred to the almost endless cycle of violence that was tearing communities and families apart throughout the country.

Sharpeville in 1960, the 1976 riots in Soweto and the outbreak of violence in September 1984 were "terrible explosions" which planted the germ of an idea in Mr Klaaste's mind.

"Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we all lost the innocence of our children," he said in his speech.

He said then that there was a silent preparation by blacks for the next inevitable explosion and that someone had to do something to stop the madness.

The next explosion took place on the Reef two weeks ago.

Mr Klaaste said the outbreak of violence was the result of the destruction of the social fabric in the black townships. However, the carnage had sharpened peoples' desire to rebuild the structures.

Nation Building means picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in the black community.

"We face the prospect of massive political change in South Africa in the short to medium term. Are the people ready to assume the responsibilities that this change will bring?" Mr Klaaste asks.

The visible evidence that Nation Building is preparing blacks for this responsibility comes in the form of various community projects.

A matric rewrite school at the Sowetan newspaper is putting 1,600 pupils through matric this year, and Mr Klaaste expects an excellent pass rate.

Nation Building has also resulted in the creation of a remedial school in Soweto. Previously, children suffering from dyslexia or other learning disabilities were treated as mentally retarded and never given the extra attention they required.

A business school has also been established to train entrepreneurs.

The first event is a talk by a psychologist and a nutritionist on the crisis facing the nuclear family in the township.

Other events include a lecture on the job market, a small business exhibition, a school choir festival, a press seminar, a mass choir festival, a woman of the year luncheon, a business competition, and a soccer day.

Nation Building is "not ideologically based," Mr Klaaste says, but he hopes to get the okay from leaders of all political groupings for the Nation Building initiatives.

Speaking two years ago, Mr Klaaste said Nation Building was something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role blacks would play in this country's future.
Educating the masses

The Star, South Africa's largest daily newspaper, has long played a vital role in education — and is currently expanding its role in preparation for a new South Africa.

Through its TEACH (Teach Every African Child) fund, the paper has already put about 250,000 children through school. And this year its READ educational Trust combined forces in the International Year of Literacy in an exciting project to buy books for schools.

With the launching of the TEACH fund in 1971, The Star challenged businessmen to donate R10 for each black person employed.

In the first two months, the campaign raised R15,000. By January 1975 TEACH had collected more than R1 million and had built 43 schools in the PWV area. Since then TEACH has passed the R2 million mark.
Weekbild wins bid to inspect police general's home
I welcome charges, says Winnie

Dawn Barkhuizen and
Monica Nicholson

Winnie Mandela yesterday welcomed the chance to defend herself on eight charges in connection with the alleged abduction and torture of four youths in Soweto in 1988.

In her first public statement after the announcement that she would be charged with four counts of kidnapping and four counts of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, Mrs Mandela said, "I am unwise to comment about a case that has not yet taken place. I will respond after the trial."

As she left the police station, wearing black leather, Mrs Mandela told pressmen that Phola Park residents had given her the cartridges when she visited the devastated settlement on Monday.

Evidence

She had been intending to show them to her husband, Nelson Mandela, as evidence of the shootings that took place last week.

Police had told her that she had no right to be in possession of empty cartridges, she said.

She said, "Police harassment has never been a surprise to the Mandela family or to myself or to the oppressed people of South Africa. I know that for as long as the present situation exists, I will always be their political barometer through which they can measure the anguish of the people."

She added, "It is quite clear that the dirty methods they have been using are nowhere near being stopped. The one issue is coming to an end, so they must precipitate other issues. It is just a continuing of what has been going on."

Mrs Mandela went on to address some of the homeless

"Mrs Mandela apparently handed the shells to police at a roadblock. There is no crime involved."

Asked if she thought Mrs Mandela's actions were praise-worthy from a police point of view, Lieutenant van Zweel said, "Too late, I believe."

© Picture by Associated Pr
Press duo in broadcasting task force

Staff Reports

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of Sowetan, and Ton Vosloo, chairman of Net and managing director of Nasionale Pers, have been appointed additional members of the task force examining broadcasting in South Africa.

In a statement last night, the minister of Home Affairs and of National Education, Gêne Louw, said Mr Vosloo would be vice-chairman of the group.

The two would complement the collective expertise of group members.
Khala can go to conferences

By Celeste Louw

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) succeeded yesterday in having his bail conditions amended to allow him to attend union conferences. He faces charges of armed robbery and attempted murder.

Sithembele Khala (32) asked permission of a Johannesburg magistrate not to report at the
EARN RIGHT TO BE FREE — Tyson

Chris Moeddy

"Positivistic" and Pollyanna-like, to be constructive and constantly cheerful, is to be misleading — or worse — manipulative. We must guard against that form of weakness, but we should also guard against being party to the aggressive propaganda put out by most interests seeking power or special privilege in an unstable political situation."

This, he said, did not mean that propagandists should not be allowed to run hard-hitting newspapers. It was essential that, from the beginning, all views whether extreme or moderate, should be allowed expression.

Peer pressure

"But we all need to be aware that we can be hard-hitting without being intolerant: critical without being emotionally or misleadingly destructive. These are qualities that cannot be legislated for or against. It requires peer pressure, something journalists need to think more about. But there is a second form of tolerance required in our society if we are to have a free press — tolerance by jour-

Harvey Tyson, retired editor-in-chief of The Star this week.

"Already there is the mystifying spectacle of journalists sling ing mud at one part of the press or another in order to further their own or some political interest. The press, like freedom, is indivisible when it comes to its role in society and its basic rights. If we wish to attain free dom we need to spend more time being supportive of each other, regardless of positions and prejudices."

He said there also needed to be tolerance by newly-formed political parties of any press that opposed them.

"Already there are ominous signs of threat, boycott and violence by some of the newly emerging political parties. Already black journalists are finding themselves worrying far less about state or proprietorial pressure, and much more about the possibility even of death at the hands of people in the community who disagree with their published views."

Tolerance, he said, was the key quality for national peace in the future and "requires priority attention now. "We need to be firm and strong in encouraging tolerance — and intolerant of intolerance."
By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

SUNDAY TIMES editor Mr Torius Myburgh resigned yesterday with immediate effect to accept a plum diplomatic job — strongly tipped to be that of South African ambassador in London.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a statement yesterday that Mr Myburgh had been approached to become a South African ambassador and he had indicated he was available. Mr Botha said no conclusion had been reached as to whether Mr Myburgh would be appointed, but there are strong indications that it will be London."

The current ambassador there, Mr Ray Kileni, is due to retire next year — and Mr Myburgh is expected to take up his new position early in 1991.

Mr Myburgh announced last night to the Sunday Times staff that he was resigning with immediate effect, and did not say where his next job would be taking him.

"Only after that government has given approval will an announcement be made."  "A major shake-up of South Africa's top ambassadorial positions is on the cards, including the possible replacement of Dr Piet Koornhof in Washington. It is also understood that the government has decided to withdraw its role as intermediaries or lobbyists, such as the former FPF MP for Brakpan, Mr Hennie van Rensburg, in Washington and the former SATV announcer, Mr Michael de Morgan, in London because the attitudes towards South Africa are improving to such an extent that they are no longer considered necessary."

Mr Temoua Myburgh
By CHIARA CARTER
THE decision by the Media and Allied Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) to open membership to all races has opened new avenues for organizing workers in the print industry.

This is the view of Mwasa president, Mrs Sandra Nagfael.

Mwasa has about 13,000 members throughout the country.

Nagfael, who works in the Argus mailing room, says she is a "reluctant president" because she finds it hard to juggle national commitments with being a mother of five.

Nagfael began work at the Argus in 1979 as a casual worker and the following year was elected shopsteward in the South African Typographical Union (Satu).

She was one of the first workers to be signed up by the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) and became a shopsteward in the union.

She was involved in the strike for union recognition at the Argus.

Nagfael said removing the word "black" from Mwasa's constitution was part of revamping the constitution, begun at the union's congress last year.

Motivating the change was a view that the clause contradicted Mwasa's commitment to a nonracial, democratic South Africa and was out of step with the changes that had occurred since Mwasa was formed at the height of the Black Consciousness era.

**Unanimous**

She described the debate around the issue as "good", saying regions had done their homework with members. The eventual decision was unanimous.

Mwasa was once viewed as the flagship of the BC movement.

Does the move signal a shift from a BC line in the union and a resolution of political tensions within Mwasa?

"It is untrue to say we are Africanist or BC. No shopfloor is ever 100 percent supporters of any political grouping," Nagfael said.

"It has never been Mwasa policy to align with any political organisation.

She cited a congress resolution that delegates should not wear political t-shirts or sing political songs.

"The workers' struggle comes before our different ideologies," Nagfael said.

"There are tensions. These indicate we are active. We have Africanists, BC supporters and Charterists like myself on the NEC.

"At the end of the day, despite whatever political differences we might have, we take joint decisions."

Nagfael says, although the union is firmly apolitical, individual members may support a particular political grouping.

**Interest**

Nagfael says Mwasa's new nonracial constitution will facilitate this process.

Several white workers had expressed interest in signing up.

Mwasa organises both journalists and print workers.

Is this not a contradiction in view of the organisation's commitment to worker interests?

**Clout**

Nagfael thinks not.

She said there were many interests that both groups share and that, while she understood the reasons for the formation of a journalist organisation like the Association of Democratic Journalists by many former Mwasa journalists, editorial workers were inevitably a small group lacking the collective clout to fight management on either wages or editorial policy.
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Ken Owen is the new Sunday Times editor

KEN OWEN, editor of Business Day and former editor of the Sunday Express, has been appointed editor of the Sunday Times.

Mr Owen, 55, succeeds Tertius Myburgh, who is taking up a diplomatic post abroad. Mr Myburgh relinquished his job on Friday. He is taking early retirement.

Mr Owen, who served as assistant editor of the Sunday Times from 1977-1981, and later for a brief period as managing editor of the Rand Daily Mail, is widely known as a political columnist. He spent 10 years in the United States representing Argus newspapers.

From 1162 until this week he was editor of Times Media’s financial daily Business Day. His column on Mondays quickly became the most talked-about political commentary in any newspaper. Mr Owen said yesterday: “The Sunday Times is a great challenge.

“The role of a newspaper, especially during a time of transforming change such as we are now entering, is to diversify. It offers its readers a unique combination of well-informed judgments.

“However, the Sunday Times is an institution. It is a complex and varied product, and it includes a great deal of entertainment and fun. No one would want to change that.”

LEGACY

Mr Myburgh, also 55, was editor of the Sunday Times for nearly 16 years. During that time the paper consolidated its circulation into the biggest in South Africa.

The Sunday Times’ advertising revenue is an all-time high.

In a statement last night, the Times Media said Mr Myburgh’s distinguished career in journalism began with the Pretoria News in 1970 and culminated in his brilliant editorship of the Sunday Times.

“Mr Myburgh has been with the company for 15 years and leaves the Sunday Times at its peak.”

Mr Myburgh has not yet been replaced.

RECALLING: Ex-editor Tertius Myburgh and wife Helmine in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

Goodbye

When it had, the country’s government would be approached for its agreement — standard diplomatic practice — before any announcement could be made.

Yesterday, Mr Myburgh enjoyed the unusual relaxation of being at home in Johannesburg with his family on a Saturday instead of at his editor’s post.

He said he was not to leave journalism after 35 years. "I am able to leave the newspaper and face the challenge of diplomacy with a clear conscience."

“I am able to leave at a time when there is a government that seeks to understand the importance of the freedom of information and has restored many of the liberties of the press.”

Of his successor he said: "Ken is an excellent professional".
Daily Mail won't be sold to the ANC

THE publishers of The Daily Mail have denied reports that the newspaper is to be sold to the African National Congress. "There have been informal and very helpful discussions with ANC leaders, amongst others, to explain the situation in which the newspaper finds itself. However, there is no discussion about the possibility of ownership.

"The Daily Mail meanwhile continues to explore all possibilities to raise the money to ensure the maintenance of the newspaper as an independent and outspoken voice," co-editor Anton Harber said in a statement. "If the money is not found to save the newspaper, the company is due to return to publishing The Weekly Mail alone. A decision is to be made on September 7."