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Manufacturing Consent in democratic South Africa: Application of the propaganda model

Scott Lovaas

Dr. Nathalie Hyde-Clarke, Advisor

Witwatersrand University
Johannesburg, South Africa

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Contents

List of acronyms and abbreviations 5

Abstract 7

Introduction 8

Chapter 1: Media ownership 47
- The global media and the effects of media consolidation
- South African media
  - *Independent News and Media (Cape Times)*
  - *Johnnic Holdings (Business Day)*
  - *Naspers (Natal Witness)*
- Interlocking capital
- Impacts of corporate media
- Media, markets, and democracy
- Watering down democracy
  - *Decreased competition and diversity of opinion*
  - *Media beholden to advertisers*
  - *Rise of sensationalism*
  - *Protecting self-interest*
- Conclusion

Chapter 2: Advertising 87
- Advertising underwrites and marginalises
- Advertising promotes an economic way of life
- Suppression, self-censorship, and direct pressure
- Conclusion

Chapter 3: Forestry 103
- A brief history of forestry in South Africa
  - *South African forestry today*
  - *Terms*
- Methodology
  - *Sources*
  - *Sourcing methodology and scoring*
- Analysis of sources by category
  - *Workers, unions, and progressive society*

Environmental groups
Community members or representatives
Analysis of sources by newspaper
Business Day
Cape Times
Natal Witness
Range of expressible opinion
Breakdown of articles by genre
Environmental impact
Labour
Community forestry and woodlots
Privatisation and Komatiland
Servicing the North
Conclusion

Chapter 4: New Partnership for Africa's Development 145
What is NEPAD?
Methodology
Sourcing methodology and scoring
Scoring results
Analysis of sources by category
Government and corporations/business/finance
Poor, workers, and unions
Civil society and community members
Academics and think tanks
Environmental groups
Analysis of sources by newspaper
Business Day
Cape Times
Natal Witness
Range of expressible opinion
Breakdown of articles by topic
Poverty and HIV/AIDS coverage
Women and agriculture
Past frameworks and capital flight
Political credentials of African leaders
The case of Zimbabwe
Conclusion

Chapter 5: Terrorism 191
Introduction

Methodology
Sources methodology and scoring
Scoring results
Analysis of sources by category
Government
Academics and think tanks
Terrorists
Who are the terrorists?
Range of expressible opinion: Paired examples
Angola
Chechnya
Colombia
Cuba
Range of expressible opinion: Intellectuals
Greg Mills
John Stremlau
Allister Sparks
Flak in the case of Israel
Conclusion

Conclusion 243
Summary of findings
Media Ownership
Advertising
Forestry
NEPAD
Terrorism
Internalised values
First, second, and third-order predictions
Implications for journalists, academics, and citizens
Conclusion

Appendices 271

Bibliography 305

List of acronyms and abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
AMF	Advertising Media Forum
ANC	African National Congress
BCCSA	Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBS	Columbian Broadcasting System
CNN	Cable News Network
COASTU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPI	Committee on Public Information
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAWF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FSA	Forestry South Africa
FXI	Freedom of Expression Institute
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Service
GEAR	Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
HSIC	Head of State and Government Implementation Committee
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JSE	Johannesburg Stock Exchange
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LSM	Living Standards Measure
MP	Members of Parliament
NALEDI	National Labour and Economic Development Institute
NEC	National Empowerment Consortium
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organisation of African Union
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation
PBS	Public Broadcasting Service
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PM	Propaganda Model
PMSA	Print Media South Africa
RDP	Reconstruction Development Programme.
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFCOL	South African Forestry Company Limited
SAIIA	South African Institute for International Affairs
SANEF	South African National Editors Forum

SANGOCO	South African National NGO Coalition
SAPA	South Africa Press Association
SAPPI	South African Pulp and Paper Industries Limited
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Committee
TRIPS	Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
US	United States
USAID	US Aid for International Development
WAN	World Association of Newspapers
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZAR	South African Rand (currency)

Manufacturing Consent in democratic South Africa: Application of the propaganda model

Abstract: While the end of apartheid in South Africa brought the end of state repression and formal apartheid censorship of the press, new mechanisms have come to replace the old. Market-driven English daily newspapers continue, through a series of new filters, to limit, shape, and censor ideas for the benefit of the elite private and public sectors. The manufactured, one-dimensional, pro-market world view that results restricts both freedom and democracy. As South Africa enters its second decade of democracy, with new freedoms and civil liberties, further evaluation of this relationship between the media, the state, and the market becomes increasingly vital.

The 'Propaganda Model' as laid out by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, in their book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988, updated 2002) represents a significant analysis of media performance in a democracy. The authors question basic premises of democracy and the free press. According to Herman and Chomsky, the US media "serve, and propagandise on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them." This qualitative and quantitative study demonstrates that propaganda and media control continues today within South African English daily newspapers.

To prove this argument, this paper examines how three South African newspapers cover forestry, terrorism, and the New African Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) over a two-year period. The quantitative study surveyed 1797 articles and examined the use of sources quoted and revealed censorship of alternative voices. The qualitative analysis examined the vested interests and various players have in a pro-market, censored representation of NEPAD, the forestry industry, and terrorism. The study revealed that capitalism and the resulting interlocking capital of board members, newspaper owners, advertisers, and the government, cause newspapers to engage in self-censorship and exclusion of threatening voices to advance the interests of the elite.

Manufacturing Consent in democratic South Africa: An introduction

The media has a transcendent quality to it. Its immenseness and ability to rouse, elicit, and change behaviours of individuals, communities, and even nations, is astonishing.[1] In democracies, virtually all public, political, economic, and social decisions go through the media. It is so powerful and so vital in political life that its utilization requires careful regulation and monitoring. This is not a new concept by any means.[2] Leaders, politicians, and corporations have long recognized that control over the media is indispensable. This has often led to undemocratic use and misuse of the media in both repressive regimes and democracies.

While the emotionally charged issues of propaganda and media control may seem to run contrary to notions of individual freedom and proclaimed principles of democracy, control of the media and use of propaganda tactics are arguably just as common in many of today's democracies as they were in past regimes.[3] Yet propaganda, mind control, indoctrination, and the 'duping of the masses' continue to be associated primarily with repressive societies. South Africans, however familiar they are with these practices, often view them as tactics of the apartheid regime, and any remains are vestiges of days gone by. However, the quest to influence, manipulate, peddle, and ultimately win over the 'hearts and minds' of fellow citizens has been with humanity from the beginning of time and does not require a repressive regime.

The 'propaganda model' that Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky lay out in their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988, updated 2002) represents a significant analysis of media performance in a democracy. The authors question basic premises of democracy and the free press. According to Herman and Chomsky, the US media "serve, and propagandise on behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them."[4] Expanding Herman and Chomsky's focus to outside of the US, I will similarly argue that the craft of trying to influence the minds and behaviours of others through the media is not limited to repressive state regimes. Quite contrarily, I will argue that in the case of South Africa, propaganda and media control continues today, under the auspices of a new democracy, within South African English daily newspapers. I will demonstrate this through examining how three South African newspapers cover forestry, terrorism, and the New African Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) over a two year period. I will apply Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model to each of these three coverage areas. As South Africa progresses though its second decade of democracy with new freedoms and civil liberties, further evaluation of the relationship between the media, the state, and the market, and an analysis of the effects of this relationship on society and democracy are both warranted and pressing. The new government insists that the new South Africa is and will be better for all South Africans; freedom of the press is crucial in realising this goal.

This introduction is broken down into three major sections. First, a brief literature review covers how different ideological environments—repressive and

democratic—have utilized the media and propaganda. It also discusses how some democratic elite opinion makers view the media. The second section highlights Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model and its criticisms. Finally, the third section turns to the specific case study of South Africa. It examines the democratic ideals regarding media coverage that emerged in the new South Africa, highlights specific data regarding current South African newspapers, and discusses the methodology and remaining chapters of this study on the manufacturing of consent in democratic South Africa.

Literature review of media and political climates

Jurgen Habermas, a German philosopher and sociologist, has called the coming together to discuss community life in places and forums the 'public sphere.'[5] The 'public sphere' is the arena where ideas and thoughts are debated and subsequent actions taken for the society at large. Newspapers and other media forms are a part of this public sphere, and when they publish a restricted range of opinions, the number of solutions and explanations individuals have at their fingertips to help inform their opinions is diminished. Additionally, the degree communities can be heard, get their opinions voiced, or mobilize themselves is also diminished. When the government or private capital takes over the media, democracy is concretely diminished.[6] Whether in a repressive regime or democracy, a media that is not controlled by government or private interests, but the wider masses, ultimately serves the public best.[7]

This section examines the different uses and understandings of the media in different political climates from repressive to democratic. These illustrations will show the media's importance in disseminating information, forming public policy, and regulating the lives of citizens, regardless of regime type.

Media and repressive regimes

Repressive regimes utilize a variety of methods to keep the population docile and controlled. The use of propaganda and censorship has proven to be an effective tool in this regard. Symbols, words, and stories take on new meanings in such environments. One of the greatest propagandists, Joseph Goebbels, was incredibly gifted in his ability to educate, rally, and mobilize millions of Germans to serve the needs of the Nazi government during World War II.[8] The former Soviet Union was also effective in their indoctrination of its citizens through their own media outlets: *Pravda, Izvestia,* and *Tass*. Today in Cuba the newspaper *Granma* is used to educate the country. In South Africa, the apartheid regime also engineered, shaped, and censored the media. The 'Total Onslaught' campaign aroused fears within South Africa as citizens were told that all resources were needed to combat revolutionary forces operating within and outside of its borders.[9] The states of emergency declared in South Africa between July 1985 and 1991 also brought further limits to press freedoms and civil liberties. Ultimately, the apartheid regime manipulated news and information to present a very limited world to the citizens of South Africa.[10]

The media links private individuals with the larger society.[11] In the aforementioned illustrations, the media helped outline, mould, and enlighten the citizenry, holding different sectors together through fear and propaganda. Furthermore, in these countries, a small group of individuals controlled and regulated the media, readily allowing them to advance what they felt was important and disregard elements that could threaten the state or status quo.

Media and the democratic ideal

The prevailing views among democratic theorists holds that repressive states confine the press while democracies allow and often formally protect freedom of press. A brief historical review will reveal the correlation between a free media and democracy. Through examination of such a correlation, I will argue that press freedom is essential in a functioning democracy. However, actual media performance differs from theoretical and desirous conceptions of media and democracy, a topic I will discuss after this section.

In the early formation of the United States, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison advocated for a free press. Jefferson wrote, "an enlightened citizenry is indispensable for the functioning of a republic." Madison stated, "a popular Government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy or perhaps both."[12] Jefferson and Madison's conception of the media did not include voices of African Americans or Native Americans. First Amendment rights of 'free speech' have been and continue to be at the very heart of the American republic and democracies around the world.[13] Free speech takes on this central role because for a democracy to be effective, citizens need to make informed choices about a variety of options: schools, hospitals, public policies, and ultimately political leaders.

Media forms have expanded significantly since the time of Jefferson and Madison. Newspapers, television, radio, books, and film are all media forms that bring forth images, symbols, and information for individuals to take in and digest. They can then resultantly decide to support or not support certain actions, requests, products, policies, or candidates. Information brought forward should be accessible to large audiences that run the political, social, and economic gamut. In functioning democracies, balanced public information should draw individuals and groups into the political arena to debate, reflect, and engage in public policy and subsequently set forth a system of distribution of goods, services, and burdens within that milieu. Democracy needs a healthy and diverse media in order for this to happen. While in theory, everyone is free to express his or her opinion and thoughts in a democracy, the ability to be heard is often dependent on cultural, political, economic, social, and religious traditions and freedoms.

While a free media is ideally supposed to serve as a democratic sphere for information, debate, and entertainment, the citizens of democracies often question these aims. Within the free press paradigm there is a continuum of beliefs and opinions on the role of the press. US newspaper publishers Horace Greeley (*New York Tribune*) and James Gordon Bennett (*New York Herald*)

believe that in democratic societies the media should be politically neutral.[14] In the US, academic Douglas Cater writes that the press is the 'Fourth Branch' of government, standing alongside the judicial, legislative, and executive branches.[15] This Fourth Branch is not a part of government, but is a check on the other three official branches.[16] Conservative pundits contrarily contend that the media is liberal and partisan with a socialist, anti-business agenda.[17] The commercial media often cite the idea that media forms "give people what they want."[18] They argue that 'the market' ultimately matches the public's demands with a media that serves to fulfil them. Hence if the public wishes more talk radio—the media will serve up more talk radio. Under this theory, the media is not bound by ideology, only the market.

Similarly, people often think of the British press, which has multiple and varied daily newspapers in major cities, as defenders of freedom and liberty and as watchdogs for the public at large.[19] The press is at the forefront of politics in England. Comparable to the 'Fourth Branch' in the US, the British refer to the press as an independent 'Fourth Estate.'[20] Examining the *Daily Mirror*, Maurice Edelman writes of hope, expectations, and social change in Britain arguing, "the history of the *Daily Mirror is* the history of our times."[21] John Pilger highlights in *Hidden Agendas* the fact that the *Daily Mirror* was the only English newspaper to have enemies on both sides during World War II,[22] a clear indication that the press was an important neutral source of information. In both the US and England then, the press has had a fundamental role for its citizens for hundreds of years.

Moving further afield, academics and politicians from other democracies have also proclaimed how free press is crucial in democracy. Speaking on World Press Freedom Day 2004, Brazilian President Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva stated:

> A democratic press has a public commitment to informing society… it is indispensable for promoting economic and social development, in that it feeds public debate by reflecting and disseminating a diversity of views within society.[23]

While Lula speaks of a free press' ability to promote development through a diversification of views, Nobel Prize in Economics winner Amartya Sen, writing in the *Sunday Independent* on World Press Freedom Day, highlights that a free press contributes to the quality of our lives and also functions to give a voice to the disadvantaged.[24]

After the end of the Cold War, the 1990s brought a wave of democracy to many African nations, similarly bringing forth the importance of a democratic press. Wisdom J. Tettey writes, "the media are among the forces that have shaped, and continue to define, the establishment of democracy in Africa."[25] He goes on to add that the private media in Africa are contributing in significant ways towards democratic governance and accountability.

What emerges from these leaders and thinkers is a clear picture that the media in democratic societies is the lifeblood of a republic; it is there to inform and educate citizens about a variety of issues. The media plays such a crucial role that, in short, democracy cannot exist without a free press.

Media as propaganda in democracies

Despite all the clamouring for a free press and its essentialness to democracy, a careful reading of history will show both another understanding and another use of media in democracies. This alternative view is based on the argument that elite planners or owners of capital try to harness the press to suit their interests and needs.[26] Rather than viewing all members of a democratic society equally, this segment sees society as hierarchal, with the people in positions of authority attempting to frame and set the parameters of civil discourse. This is similar to the way repressive regimes saw the importance of harnessing the media to suit their needs, a topic discussed in a previous section. While the majority of the media in any country is directed towards a mass audience, there are certain sectors within each media that are directed towards cultural managers, policy makers, people of wealth and influence, and opinion leaders.[27] These mediums are often called 'agenda-setting' or 'elite' media.

This section on media and propaganda in democracies briefly reviews global historical leaders who have set the stage for today's market-driven press and the management of the public's perceptions and behaviours. Propaganda is used everywhere and has a long, entrenched history. However, because current research about propaganda is most developed in the US, the history of propaganda in the US will be used as a foundation for my study of propaganda in South Africa.

In democratic societies over the past century, public and private elite opinion makers—political pundits, academics, think tanks, and others—have used the media with much success to shape public opinion and ultimately steer the population towards desired ends. Intellectuals in democratic Europe and America during the Industrial Revolution worried about the changes happening with their respective societies and the increased demands by the populace. Some intellectuals and industrialists felt that too much participation from the masses was a recipe for disaster. Ways and means were devised to control this uproar.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon wrote *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind,* which started the process of figuring out ways to control the hearts and minds of the citizenry. Le Bon's work influenced many people in his time, including American President Theodore Roosevelt.[28] Fellow Frenchman and colleague Gabriel Tarde picked up on Le Bon's notions of social control and saw newspapers as the avenue to influence the populace and ultimately contain citizens.[29] A decade earlier German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies also concluded that newspapers could be utilized to help shape public opinion.[30] British political theorist Graham Wallas felt the press could make it "possible for intercommunication of thought to take place without bodily pressure."[31]

The shaping of hearts and minds can be found during World War I when the British Ministry of Information effectively used propaganda to draw America into

the war. Much of the British propaganda about World War I came from the Wellington House under the direction of Charles F.G. Masterman. Later the Department of Information was formed.[32] As all societies developed after World War II, they increased in complexity and the quantity of civil liberties grew, new modalities were needed to maintain the status quo and were not just limited to Europe.

In the US at the turn of the twentieth century, Americans George Creel, Walter Lippmann, Ivy Lee, Edward Bernays, and Harold Lasswell all realised the importance of controlling the media as a way to sway the nation. George Creel, appointed by President Woodrow Wilson to head the United States Government Committee on Public Information during World War I, proudly divulged how he was able to use the principles of advertising to sell an unwanted war to Americans.[33] Creel was so successful in his winning over of American hearts and minds that people—mainly the business community and politicians—took notice of his modus operandi. Adolf Hitler, a notable student of Creel's work, applied his methods to masses of Nazi Germans with tremendous effect, as briefly discussed in the section on media and repressive regimes.[34] For industrialists and politicians, Creel's work was an unexpected windfall in their ability to enhance personal fortunes and power.

The selling of World War I became part of the powerful industrialists' and politicians' larger agenda of engineering consensus on social and political issues. World War I brought uncertainty and fear to much of the population in both Europe and the United States. Sensing this, politicians and leaders directed campaigns to inform the population on how to think, feel, and act on a variety of issues. In 1922, Walter Lippmann, a student of Graham Wallas, argued in *Public Opinion*:

> The common interests very largely elude public opinion entirely, and can be managed only by a specialized class whose personal interests reach beyond the locality….[35] That the manufacture of consent is capable of great refinements…The creation of consent is not a new art….[36] The purpose, then, is not to burden every citizen with expert opinions on all questions, but to push that burden away from him towards the responsible administrator.[37]

The following provides a solid summation of Lippmann's thoughts:

> The public must be put in its place, so that it may exercise its own powers, but no less and perhaps even more, so that each of us may live free of the trampling and roar of a bewildered herd.[38]

In Lippmann's world, the public should simply be passive participants or spectators in the life of the country and the experts should inform and mobilize the citizens on issues.

As the political leaders in both the United Kingdom and the United States were able to rally the United States for an unwanted war, a new profession was born: public relations. Ivy Lee and Edward Bernays became the founding

pioneers of the modern public relations industry. Lee became famous for defending American Industrialist, John D. Rockefeller after the Ludlow Massacre in which 14 striking miners and their families were slaughtered. Lee was able to set in motion a series of public relations events to nullify the incident. For example, Lee produced a circular entitled, "Facts Concerning the Strike in Colorado for Industrial Freedom." He sent bulletins to opinion leaders and he exaggerated the salaries of union leaders all in an effort to change public opinion about the massacre.[39] Edward Bernays was given the title 'Father of Public Relations' for his ability to change the public's mind. Bernays, drawing upon theories of human development from his uncle, Sigmund Freud, broke new ground in how to influence people by understanding the instincts and symbols that motivate individuals.[40] Written in 1928, Bernays' *Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How* discusses public opinion:

> [I]t is the power of the group to sway the larger public in its attitude. Public opinion can be manipulated, but in teaching the public how to ask for what it wants the manipulator is safeguarding the public against his own possible aggressiveness.[41]

An industry was born with the explicit intent of changing the hearts and minds of nations.

Seeing the effectiveness of mustering public opinion, politicians and industrials have utilized public relations and propaganda to further their own ends. In America, on the industrial side, the Remington Rand Corporation's use of the media in mobilizing public support during a labour dispute became known as the "Mohawk Valley Formula." The Iron and Steel Institute, National Association of Manufactures (NAM), and the local Chamber of Commerce utilized radio, outdoor advertising, news, films, and speakers in an effort to undermine strikers. Their tactics were so efficacious that the NAM distributed the Mohawk Valley formula to all NAM members.[42] In South Africa, South African mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer and New York advertising firm N. W. Ayer were similarly able to transform the diamond industry through advertising and public relations.[43]

Ideas about managing the 'bewildered herd' through manipulation of the media can be found in theories several years later. Harold Lasswell states, "[The] masses are still captive to ignorance and superstition." He proceeds to argue that the arrival of democracy in America "[has] compelled the development of a whole new technique of control, largely through propaganda." For Lasswell, 'propaganda' is the one means of mass mobilization that is cheaper than violence, bribery, or other possible techniques. Propaganda is essential in a democracy because "men are often poor judges of their own interests" and must be swayed by propaganda to make choices they would otherwise not make.[44]

In another example, Gordon Wood argues that the Founding Fathers illustrated a "Machiavellian duplicity" in creating the Electoral College because on one hand they publicly illustrated a commitment to democracy, while on the other hand a more private fear of the "unthinking" masses.[45] The Founders did indeed display a concern regarding participatory, majoritarian democracy that today

seems misguided. In a 1787 letter to Madison, Thomas Jefferson illustrates principled commitment to rule by the people with simultaneous concern over how this would affect the nation: "a house chosen by [the people directly] will be very illy qualified to legislate for the Union."[46] Such concerns were similarly voiced during the Constitutional Convention. Delegate Yates, arguing against a popular vote on June 18th, asserted that "the people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge and determine right… you cannot have a good executive upon a democratic plan."[47]

The belief that propaganda is necessary to deal with the masses and uphold an elite-centric version of democracy continues today. Writing in 1975, Harvard professor Samuel Huntington was worried about the 'excess of democracy,' which he terms a crisis:

> The effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and non-involvement on the part of some individuals and groups. In the past, every democratic society has had a marginal population, of greater or lesser size, which has not actively participated in politics. In itself, this marginality on the part of some groups is inherently undemocratic, but it is also one of the facts which enabled democracy to function effectively.[48]

Speaking more recently in 2001, Huntington argues:

> The architects of power in the United States must create a force that can be felt but not seen. Power remains strong when it remains in the dark; exposed to light it begins to evaporate.[49]

Politically, this can be seen in the US when President Reagan set up the Office of Public Diplomacy to manufacture consent for its illegal polices in Central America.[50] George W. Bush's appointment of undersecretary of public diplomacy, Charlotte Beers, a former Madison Avenue executive, to the campaign of *Shared Values, Next Chapter, and Radio Sawa* following 9/11 also illustrates how the government uses the media to elicit responses. Beers was given the task of 'branding' America aboard, especially to Muslims.[51]

Even outside of repressive regimes then, the shaping of 'public opinion' is undeniably vital for politicians, businesses, and institutions holding power. These institutions utilize a variety of means to make it in the self-interest of the media to censor opposition and suppress dissent, while actively trying to generate public support for policy changes, corporate claims, or foreign action. What results is a vision among certain elite members of academic, business, and political communities that the public needs to be swayed or guided to think in certain ways. As a result, many of these privileged elites and institutions exercise tacit control of the media to advance their political goals, protect their economic advantages, and ultimately maintain their financial and political positions of power. Few realise, however, the extent to which the political and corporate elite continue to control the media as a means of manufacturing public consent, whether through propaganda, misinformation, suppression of dissent, or the less

recognized tactic—distraction. In repressive states, when things do not go as planned, propaganda, thought control, and coercion are utilized. While different means are employed to maintain the status quo in a functioning democracy, the goal of managing the public remains the same. Furthermore, it is arguable that the tactics the private sector employs are just as efficient, if not more efficient, in rendering a docile population. These tactics and processes of managing the masses have been documented in the works of Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, to which we now turn.

Literature review of the propaganda model

In the previous section I reviewed how the media has been valued and utilized in repressive regimes, how a democratic ideal exists about the media, and how that ideal is often not met since the media can serve as a form of propaganda in democracies. Furthermore, I highlighted how some elite opinion makers over the last century advanced the idea that a 'special class' of elite experts continue to be needed to manage affairs so as not to 'burden' the commoner or threaten the institution of democracy with the commoner's 'unthinking' ways.

This section engages in a literature review of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model. Evaluating and combining political economic theories of the media with the propaganda model will be relevant for evaluating media performance in South Africa.[52] This is because if South Africa is to embrace democratic values and principles, media performance is vital. This study not only sheds light on the relationships between media, state, and market, but also attempts to show the continued existence of propaganda in a market-dominated 'democracy.' In illustrating this, the thesis will show the transcendent nature of capital and its effects on democracy.

This section will briefly review the propaganda model, its criticism and complaints, and Herman and Chomsky's updated opinions regarding the model.

The propaganda model

Drawing upon the words of Lippmann, Herman and Chomsky state that the media 'manufacture consent' in the interest of the elites, often without knowing it themselves. Herman and Chomsky examine the principal structural conditions that the media operate under. Due to its interlocking relationships with capital and other dominant institutional sectors, the media is self-censoring. While this is quite contrary to the censorship imposed by repressive regimes, the effects are comparable. They write:

> [A]mong their other functions, the media serve, and propagandize on the behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. The representatives of these interests have important agendas and principles that they want to advance, and they are well positioned to shape and constrain media policy.[53]

Expanding on this idea of a constrained media, Herman and Chomsky identify

five filters that raw news goes through before it reaches an audience: media ownership: advertising: use of sources: flak: and anti-communism/neoliberalism. These filters restrict the free movement of ideas that is required in a democracy.

The first filter is media ownership. Media organisations, contrary to all the rhetoric about a free press, are large corporations that are profit-driven businesses. Such corporations are unlikely to criticize the power of the marketplace because they use and benefit from that very market. Additionally, a handful of corporations have come to dominate the media. Globalisation has brought forth higher and higher concentrations of private ownership of the media. In the United States, for example, 50 firms dominated and controlled the majority of the mass media in 1983; by 2003 that number dropped to five. South Africa, media ownership has become similarly concentrated; in 2002-2003, three corporations account for 17 of the 19 main daily newspapers in South Africa (89% of the market), and 12 of the 13 weekly newspapers (92% of the market).

Owners and managers of large corporations are not ideologically free. Besides having enormous resources and market share, corporations seek to influence the 'public sphere.' Ownership, it is generally accepted, entitles the owner to special rights and influence. A former CEO of the now defunct media conglomerate, Hollinger International[54] put it:

> If editors disagree with us, they should disagree with us when they're no longer in our employ(ment). The buck stops with ownership. I am responsible for meeting payroll. Therefore, I will determine what the papers say, and how they're going to be run.[55]

Put simply, the owners of capital are able to set the agenda for others.

While, South African media scholar Keyan Tomaselli has done some initial work on print media ownership in the new South Africa, his focus did not delve into how ownership can affect newspaper content.[56] This thesis will demonstrate that large capital and ownership acts as a filter and censors the news in the interest of the elite in South Africa.

Herman and Chomsky's second filter is advertising. In the past, newspapers primarily received their income from sales, but with the increase in advertising revenue, advertising has become the predominate vehicle for income. Advertisers look for audiences and newspapers deliver audiences. The result is that newspapers have to be careful not to step on the toes of those who are paying the bills—corporate advertisers. There is built-in tension between editorial content that reflects the interest and desires of advertisers and those of the general public.[57] In a market-driven economy is it possible to serve the best interests of both the public and those paying the bills at the same time? The reality is that the media can and will censor itself through pressure from advertisers.[58] The US tobacco industry, for example, was able to manoeuvre around the mountain of evidence showing the danger of smoking. In older democracies advertisers have learned the power they have in exerting control over the media.[59] The end result of this combination of forced and willing self-censorship is that the public receives limited information.

The third filter, dependence on sources, also contributes to restricting media

performance.[60] Today's market-driven journalism forces reporters to get the story fast and quickly. More often than not, reporters rely on elite sources, including government officials, professional experts, and corporate representatives. Sources can frame an issue in a certain light—telling some parts of the story and leaving out others—resulting in a manipulated single view. The growth of public relations firms that craft and contribute information, selling it as 'news' to the media, represents another heavily relied on source. In smaller markets, newspapers must rely on the wire service to get stories from around the world. In the new South Africa, do English newspapers utilize: local sources or foreign authorities and correspondence; governmental or civil society informants? This study will answer these questions through looking at specific issues that affect South Africa and those issues' representation in the media.

Herman and Chomsky's fourth filter is 'flak,' or negative feedback. When journalists report or write stories that threaten economic or political power, structures, or practices, negative flak often comes back to the reporter, editor, or newspaper. This process has a way of containing what is acceptable to report, investigate, and expose. The end result is a decrease in investigative journalism and an increase in stories about sensational crime, love stories, sport, and other things that do not challenge the existing power structures.

The fifth filter was originally anti-communism. Chomsky, commenting more recently on the PM, states that the anti-communism filter is a sub-case of something more general: fear. He states that people have to be frightened to believe that the state will protect the people. The 'war on terror,' the war on drugs, and the fear of losing out economically (free trade) are all examples of attempts to arouse fears, shape understanding, and direct or build support for campaigns. Chomsky comments:

> [A]rtificial fears are created with a dual purpose…partly to get rid of people you don't like but partly to frighten the rest. Because if people are frightened, they will accept authority.[61]

One of the new thrusts is the uncritical belief in free market neoliberalism.

In sum, these five filters serve to reduce any unwanted information or debate about issues affecting the elite consensus. Furthermore, the filters work in an undemocratic way that restricts a free flow of information. This has serious consequences for individuals, the media, and democracy at large, as shall be discussed in the context of South Africa.

Criticisms of the propaganda model

Through their five filters and other theories, Herman and Chomsky question basic premises of democracy and freedom of the press, garnering serious criticism and reflections. What follows are nine critiques of the PM and how this thesis responds or plans to address the raised concerns.

1) Conspiracy theory

US media scholar Robert Entman states that the propaganda model has "serious analytical flaws" and argues that the "hypothesis is too narrow to support the board thrust of the model." He argues that since the authors only provide a few examples of *worthy* and *unworthy* victims the hypothesis is uncertain. He goes on to say "Herman and Chomsky write as if the media wilfully suppressed a self evident truth." When specifically assessing the authors' examination of Indochina he writes, "this comes close to endorsing a conspiracy theory."[62] Philip Taylor, University of Leeds professor of International Communications at the Institute of Communications Studies, also adheres to this position.

It appears that Entman would like to see more examples to determine if the PM is a true model for media analysis; this thesis attempts to do just that. The research will demonstrate and identify the actors (or 'filters') that limit the news.

2) Deterministic

United Kingdom media scholar Philip Schlesinger raises several concerns about the PM. First and foremost, he argues that it is highly deterministic. Schlesinger never defines what he means by deterministic in relation to the media so it is hard to apply this critique to the PM. He proceeds to cite a phrase from the second to last page of the book—the "system is not all-powerful"—that he believes contributes to his argument of determinism. He further contends that Herman and Chomsky do not offer theoretical grounds on how the different filters interact with each other. Schlesinger is also concerned whether the model is *generalisable* (his italics) to other industrial democratic societies.[63] Other critics following a similar line include James Curran, Peter Golding, Graham Murdock, and John Eldridge.[64]

In a study that looks at the US, it is not Herman and Chomsky's primary responsibility to prove the generalisability of their model; however, it is the hope of this study to address that very question—are the filters and trends outlined in the PM generalisable? Specifically, to what extent, if any, does the PM pervade the South African English speaking newspapers? The thesis will not only be the first application of the PM in South Africa, but also the first to apply the PM to any African nation. Through expansion of the model in such new directions, this thesis will attempt to disprove that the PM is deterministic.

3) *Gatekeeper*

The gatekeeper complaint runs as follows: newspaper editors make judgment calls on stories everyday and they, not a propaganda model, are the ones who chose or select stories. Under this model, if one was interested in how the news is formulated and disseminated, one would need to study the psychological profile of editors to determine how they come to believe certain issues are newsworthy while others are not.

The PM argues that the five filters work to sift or 'pick' the news, not editors.

Editors clearly do make decisions on a daily basis, but nuanced variation in individuals' decision-making does not address the pervasive and consistent trends in media performance that the PM accounts for. The PM would put forth the argument that journalists, editors, and owners internalise larger values, rather than make individual choices, and this is what in turn shapes the news.

This paper will demonstrate that economic neoliberalism is a value that the majority of the journalists and editors in South Africa embrace and that as a result evaluation of media performance will reflect this value.

4) Failure to take into account media professionalism and objectivity

US media scholar Daniel Hallin feels that the PM does not understand the maturing nature of professional journalism. Hallin indicates the model does not hold, citing widespread domestic contempt for President Reagan's foreign polices in Central America as an example.[65] Walter Lafeber formulates the same argument in his review of *Manufacturing Consent* in the *New York Times*.

Hallin may be right in pointing out instances in which domestic media criticized elite policies or the status quo; however, this study will attempt to solidify Herman and Chomsky's point. Through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of sources and media coverage in another country, this thesis will demonstrate that such criticism tends to only scratch the surface and fails to address the fundamental problem. By adding to the list of media topics studied and the location of the press, this application of the propaganda model outside the US will further contribute to this debate of professionalism and objectivity

5) Nothing new

United Kingdom media scholar, John Corner writes:

> There is very little by way of new theoretical insight that the propaganda model can bring to European media research. Indeed, there are signs that taking it more seriously as a conceptual framework may actually hinder the cause of critical analysis.… Perhaps the very notion of 'model' is, anyway, an ambitious one for what is in essence a broad checklist of downflow tendencies. … A stronger dialogue with previous and concurrent European work might have proved useful.[66]

Corner does not feel that the relationship between the media, state, and capital interests, as laid out by Herman and Chomsky, breaks any new ground in Europe. While it becomes clear that Corner does not care for the model, and finds it easy to criticize it as overly 'ambitious,' he does not offer any solid contrary evidence to prove his point.

What this study attempts to do is enlarge the applicability of the PM and to acknowledge the interlocking relationships between different sectors of society and their effects on media performance.

6) All-powerful model and unified elite

Some academics and journalists have complained that if the model were accurate then all news would be one-sided. Corner states, "the model projects, if not always explicitly, a totalising and finalising view."[67] The authors note that the model is not all-powerful and that a variety of factors need to be assessed when looking at media performance. The model is not a fixed system that works one hundred percent of the time but is fluid and can lead to predictions—not guarantees—about media performance. Canadian media professor Graham Knight is critical about the existence of a unified ruling class. The PM, he writes,

> tends to take notions like ruling-class interests for granted as given and non-problematic. The only important ideological cleavage is the one between the ruling class and the people. …This not only implies that the people are relatively easily manipulated, it also assumes that their interests are relatively homogenous and non-problematic too.[68]

Despite this criticism, in actuality, the model does not assume that the audiences are a homogenous group. Herman and Chomsky put forth the idea that there is diversity at all levels, both at the top and the bottom. This plays out in South Africa as well, where elite opinions will diverge on various issues, such as on how best to address the AIDS pandemic in Southern Africa, but will unite on the issue of New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

7) Lang and Lang

In a series of five articles in *Political Communication* (January-March 2004), Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang from the University of Washington (US) debate with Herman and Chomsky about the PM. The Langs raise several concerns:

- the PM only has one major function: the "manufacturing of consent"
- the sampling and coding procedures utilized are political and anecdotal
- the model is of a *one-way* flow of content filtered by gate-keepers
- the proofs (paired examples) are selective
- the model does not address media openness and conflicts within modern political parties[69]

Herman and Chomsky respond to the criticisms with detailed explanations of the PM.[70] The Langs' concerns highlight the idea that more information is needed about the PM both within the US and outside the US using clear examples and a more rigorous methodology. This thesis will demonstrate that the PM is not anecdotal or political. Rather, the research will provide a structural explanation of South African news media content as predicted by the model. Furthermore, the paper will demonstrate that the PM filters extend beyond the United States, which will reinforce the utility of the model in media analysis. Finally, the paper will also provide a new set of 'paired examples,' i.e. media coverage of two

similar events during the same time period.

8) Cultural studies

Gabriel Noah Brahm, Jr.'s article in *Critical Studies of Communication,* "Understanding Noam Chomsky: A Reconsideration," asserts that Chomsky is,

> apparently indifferent to the emergence of the field of Cultural Studies… and its range of options for 'understanding media.' …Ideology, Discourse and Simulation offer three more important 'models' to consider, although I am unaware of Chomsky's ever having considered them in any serious way.[71]

While the article lifts up some aspects of Cultural Studies in relation to the media, the main thrust of the article appears to be a personal attack against Chomsky and does little to undermine the tenets of the propaganda model.

9) Expanding the propaganda model

In May of 2007, the University of Windsor (Canada) sponsored a conference entitled, '20 Years of Propaganda? Critical Discussions & Evidence on the ongoing relevance of the Herman & Chomsky Propaganda Model.'[72] Besides Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, academic scholars, journalists and activists from around the world attended and/or presented papers about the PM. One workshop was entitled, 'Expanding the Propaganda Model' and one of the presenters was British media scholar, Colin Sparks.[73]

Sparks is sympathetic to the primary arguments of the PM, but expresses a desire to extend and improve the model for 'radical writers' who often ignore the model. Sparks looks at the PM from a Marxist perspective. Additionally, he argues, 'that the PM requires some revision if it is to fulfil its promise of explaining the performance of the mass media in general terms.'[74] He feels the PM also needs to explain 'media produced by the elite for the masses,' not just for the elite.[75] Sparks offers several ways the PM can be modified, which would allow the model, 'to present a better, and much more comprehensive, account of the news media in a capitalist democracy.' One suggestion is that the PM 'must be able to account for the performance of the mass media elsewhere.'[76]

The purpose of this thesis is not to update, expand, or revise the properties of PM, but rather apply the model to South Africa print media. This thesis examines 'agenda setting' print media and not the mass media. Attempts to look at the mass media and the PM within South Africa would be a separate complimentary research project worthy of study. Finally, at the conference in Windsor, Herman and Chomsky stood by their original positions with only a slight modification of the fifth filter.[77]

Herman and Chomsky respond

The PM model has stood up well over time and its accuracy is even more visible

today with increased media mergers and higher concentrations of wealth. To increase the reliability and validity of the model new avenues need to be explored. While this study will try to respond to these criticisms, testing the PM in a new country and with more rigorous methodology, it is important to review how Herman and Chomsky respond to the criticism regarding their model and general theories.

Herman responds to the charge that the PM is 'deterministic' by arguing that the critics fail to:

> show that the system is not logically consistent, operates on false premises, or that the predictive power of the determining variables is poor. The critics often acknowledge that the case studies we present are powerful, but they don't show where the alleged determinism leads to error nor do they offer or point to alternative models that would do a better job.
>
> The PM deals with extraordinarily complex sets of events, and only claims to offer a broad framework of analysis …the critics stick to generalities and offer no critical detail or alternative model; when they do provide alternatives, the results are not impressive.[78]

Chomsky states that no formal substantive studies of the propaganda model have been able to refute it.[79] In a lecture in April of 1989, he discussed the PM and how only foreign policy examples were studied and how that can give the impression that foreign policy issues are treated differently than domestic issues. He dismissed this notion and stated that the media is the same with domestic issues. In retrospect, he said that they should have used a domestic issue to further clarify their model.[80] In the 2002 updated version of *Manufacturing Consent*, the authors highlight domestic issues such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the US healthcare debate of 1992-1993, and the coverage of US chemical industries. Drawing upon the lessons above, this paper will examine domestic, regional, and international issues covered in the South African press.

Media in post-apartheid South Africa

Herman and Chomsky's observations on democracy, freedom of the press, and their relationship with corporations and government are important for South Africa. While South Africa has been extraordinary in its transition from apartheid to democracy in many respects, all this change is not without serious problems, ranging from 43% unemployment to declining black wages and increased wealth disparity.[81] South Africa is in the early stages of development in relation to its democracy. The citizens have the ability to shape, regulate, and construct new methods and means of media interaction and performance and push it to fulfill a higher and more democratic function. The opportunity for continued media analysis, debate, and reform is not only ripe in South Africa, but needed in order to create a truly free democracy. It is against this crucial backdrop that we turn to

the specific case study of media performance in post-apartheid South Africa.

This section will begin with a review of the ideals regarding a democratic media that abounded as South Africa transitioned to a democracy. It will then move on to discuss South Africa's current newspaper situation and the newspapers chosen for this study. The section will conclude by laying out and summarizing the six remaining chapters.

Democratic ideals in the New South Africa

Just as Madison and Jefferson, Lula and Sen, all emphasized the importance of a democratic media, newly democratic South Africa has similarly embraced the theoretic importance of freedom of the press with leaders publicly committing themselves to freedom of the press and several new institutions committed to the (re)emergence of a free press. While people expected censorship under the repressive apartheid regime, expectations of the media have changed since the lifting of the media ban and the advent of democracy in 1994. After illustrating this change in expectations, it is important to examine the asymmetry between conceptions of change and actual change. Establishing South Africa's expectations of a democratic media must be examined in order to later illustrate that the media has changed very little in relation to the use of propaganda and censorship under apartheid.

Much has changed in South Africa over the past 18 years with the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the subsequent political, social, and economic changes. Democracy, under the mantra 'one person, one vote,' has marched forward with South Africa celebrating 10 years of democracy in 2004. Many aspects of the government that were repressing society have been lifted or extinguished. Overt government media censorship is no longer applied to the press. The new constitution that took effect in February 1997 guarantees that every South African has a right to freedom of expression. Economically, South Africa has been fully received, if not yet fully integrated, into the world economic order.[82] Healing and reconciliation have arguably begun after decades of inequality,[83] discrimination,[84] and injustice.[85] What have these new political and financial conditions meant for the South African press?

Nelson Mandela, speaking in June 2002 at the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, stated:

> South Africa should put the freedom of its press and the media at the top of its priorities as a democracy. None of our irritations with the perceived inadequacies of the media should ever allow us to suggest even faintly that the independence of the press could be compromised or coerced. A bad press is preferable to a technically good, subservient one.[86]

Similar to Mandela's efforts, the democratically elected government of the African National Congress (ANC) has taken the role of the media and democracy very seriously. A "Communication in Social Transformation Indaba" between government officials and the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) highlights the importance of communication as part of transformation:

> Changing our society for the better and in particular addressing the needs of the poor requires that the people are active agents in the process.… An informed citizenry is an essential guarantor of democratic governance.[87]

An informed citizenry is indeed crucial for democracy and it is encouraging that the new government recognizes this principle. At the Indaba, a member of SANEF additionally stated:

> Our role is clear: it is to-inform the public; keep guard over the public interest—be a watchdog; be accountable to our shareholders and the public; and fulfill our role as an indispensable pillar of an open democracy. [88]

Adding his voice to the media debate, business leader Cyril Ramaphosa, writing in *The Financial Mail* prior to the 1999 election, states:

> Democracy requires that the media be independent of government or any other central control. In its totality the media should reflect the broad range of views and interests found in society. …good media should demonstrate a capacity for critical, unbiased analysis of trends in the economy and society independent of its ownership.[89]

Good media should indeed be critical and unbiased, just as these South African leaders argue. But is it? The new South Africa may abound with new freedoms, but how has the role of the media played out?

Journalist Allistar Sparks, in *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa,* speaks about his desire for the press to be balanced and sensitive to the needs of a new nation. Echoing the familiar hallmarks of journalism he states:

> South Africa also needs a free and vigorous press that can play the role of public watchdog and a brake on the abuse of power, for that, too, is an organic necessity in a democratic society.[90]

Encouraged by recent political changes and what the democratic transition meant for South African journalism, Sparks continues:

> As a journalist who spent nearly the whole of his professional life working through the dark days of apartheid censorship and harassment, nothing has excited me so much or filled me with so much hope as the new South Africa's commitment to freedom of expression and of the media… because freedom of the press is not luxury; it is… [a] necessity for the proper functioning of a democratic system.[91]

Building on these new press freedoms, several non-profit media organisations have arisen to train journalists and help defend and protect the freedom of expression. Sparks, seeing the need to have quality journalists, founded The Institute for the Advancement of Journalism. The Institute is committed both to

training a wide range of individuals, especially those of previously disadvantaged backgrounds, and to instilling within the country the value of freedom of speech and professionalism. The Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) was created to "protect and foster the rights of freedom of expression and access to information, and to oppose censorship."[92] FXI is involved in a multitude of tasks, including educating the public, lobbying Parliament, publishing research, monitoring the media, and funding legal cases that advance freedom of expression. FXI's Freedom of Expression Defence Fund has provided support and funding to over twenty-five cases in the quest to bring about "a freer environment for freedom of expression and the elimination of censorship." Additionally, FXI has an Anti-Censorship Programme, which monitors the "environment for freedom of expression violations and lobby against censorship and its causes."[93] In 2002, the South African government created the Media Development and Diversity Agency to help promote media development and diversity. These groups and others like them illustrate the country's new commitment to press freedom.

There is further evidence of increased freedom of the press in South Africa. It can be found in the media coverage of the first democratic election in 1994 where a wide array of political parties vied for office. Additionally, the hidden secrets, lies, and live testimonies of individuals before the Truth and Reconciliation Committee represented a whole new genre for South African openness.[94] The rise of new social movements such as those led by the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), and the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC), and their quest to make demands on the private sector and government, represent further increases in civil liberties and press freedom.[95] Adding his voice to those advocating for and advancing media freedom, Deputy Chief Justice Pius Langa of the Constitutional Court, speaking at the SA National Editors Forum 10 Years of Democracy stated, the "South African media is one of the freest in the world, …[and] is widely praised and envied."[96] Finally, a wounded, divided, and splintered South Africa was brought together as a nation when the country watched, listened and read about their nations Rugby World Cup victory in 1995.[97]

On the surface, it appears "a free and vigorous press" (as Sparks refers to it) has evolved, fulfilling many of the notions outlined by Thomas Jefferson. While these important improvements have occurred, there is more to press freedom than an increase in nation building, media groups, and political activism. But if examining the new institutions and social movements is not sufficient, how does one assess media coverage and performance in the new South Africa?

Multiple and varied assessments of, and *means* of assessing, the press abound. However, certain assessments can be prejudiced, tainted, or limited, depending on the values and/or position in society the assessor holds. For example, former President, Thabo Mbeki often complains that the press only reports bad things about the government and formed his own assessment of the press, stating South African journalists were "uneducated" and deploring a lack of support for the new government.[98] Both liberal and conservative civil society groups can also at times complain that their group receives too little media coverage. The media itself would argue that they are just the messengers of

information.[99] Long time journalist of the *Cape Argus, Rand Daily Mail, and Cape Times* Gerald Shaw states, "In mid-2007 the newspapers were continuing to do an essential job of informing and expressing public opinion and stimulating debate."[100] Media critics and pundits around the world, often providing few facts or empirical documentation, are quick to label or accuse the press of being liberal, conservative, filled with tabloids, written by communists or pro union workers, or that specific articles are 'yellow journalism.' Absent in much of the analysis about the media is how powerful structures within the economy, often anti-democratic in nature, foster the media to serve the needs of the few rather than the population at large.

In democracies, a full range of opinions should be expressed. However, looking at the new South Africa, important questions about media coverage and performance on a variety of issues remain. After fourteen years of democracy has there been an increase in diversity and range of opinions openly and freely expressed? Can South Africa be declared a propaganda-free zone now that freedom has won out? Does a market-driven media restrict or censor press freedom? More specifically, how have democracy and neoliberalism transformed South African English newspapers? These are important questions to answer as the country celebrates fourteen years of democracy and embraces neoliberal economic policies. This paper will attempt to address these questions and will ultimately challenge the basic premises underpinning democracy and freedom of the press in South Africa.

South African newspapers

While a plethora of media forms exist in South Africa, this thesis specifically addresses the media form of newspapers. Since their inception, newspapers have been influential mediums to communicate to large numbers of people. They provide a window into the daily life of communities, nations, and the world. Newspapers also provide a written record of what was important to a given society at that moment in history. Research shows that people's understanding of the world and current events comes primarily from newspapers.[101] However, television and the internet are eroding the dominance of newspapers.

South Africans have many daily and weekly newspapers with varying content and in a variety of languages to choose from. Overall, newspapers sell well within South Africa as the literacy rate for people older than 15 is about 82%.[102] Some English newspapers, like the *Daily Sun* (Gauteng) and *Sowetan* (Gauteng and National) have high circulation, while others, *Business Day* (National) and *The Mercury* (Durban) have more modest numbers and target a narrower readership. Like other forms of media, newspapers are aimed at certain markets or populations.[103] The *Daily Sun* is a tabloid newspaper that has mass appeal and is filled with entertainment, sport, and gossip. *Business Day* is aimed at a different market and promotes itself as:

> South Africa's most influential and respected daily newspaper, offering incisive coverage of business, politics, labour and other current affairs,

> written by the country's top journalists.[104]

The *Cape Times* describes their paper as:

> The dominant and authoritative morning daily newspaper in Cape Town, servicing the needs of upmarket reader, emphasizing business news and providing in-depth coverage of current issues.[105]

In part because Johannesburg is the economic hub of South Africa and Cape Town the legislative hub, these newspapers speak with greater authority and their coverage and opinions help set a more national agenda. Most South Africans assume these papers provide well researched and thoughtful coverage of issues. To determine if the propaganda model applies to South African newspapers, this thesis will study three daily English South African newspapers that help set the agenda in their market.

The three newspapers this thesis will review are: *Business Day* (owned by Johnnic in 2002-2003, now owned by Avusa),[106] *Cape Times* (owned by Independent Newspapers) and *Natal Witness* (owned by Media 24, which is a subsidiary of Naspers). (The *Natal Witness* changed their name in 2004 to *The Witness,* but for the purpose of this study I will continue to use the name *Natal Witness*). The three papers were chosen in part because they represent different locations in South Africa and they all have different publishers. Like many large corporations, these publishers—or 'owners'—share resources with other South African papers. As a result, similar, if not exact, stories can often be found within another paper from the same publisher. For example, *The Business Report* can be found in all the papers of Independent News around the country.

These three publishers—Johnnic (now known as Avusa), Independent News, and Media 24—account for 17 of the 19 main daily newspapers, or 89% of the market, and 12 of the 13 weekly newspapers, or 92% of the market. Picking three papers from three different publishers and from three different regions helps provide a representative sample of media coverage in South Africa.

These newspapers are particularly important in that people of power and influence, whether entrepreneurs, policy analysts, or politicians, read these papers to be informed. These three papers target important decision makers within the country with the exception of the *Natal Witness*, which is a smaller paper in the KwaZulu-Natal area. The *Witness* was chosen because it represents a different publisher. The *Natal Witness* is also located in a province in which extensive forestry takes place, a topic whose media coverage is examined in this study (Chapter 3).

The papers, however similar, also differ in terms of the socioeconomic level of the readers. In the 1980s the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) set out to establish an index for marketing. Initially, a Living Standards Measure (LSM) divided the South African population into 8 categories ranging from 1 (lowest) to 8 (highest) based not on race but rather on urbanization and material ownership of selected items (descriptors). In 2001, SAARF revised and updated the LSM (Universal LSM) with a new list of items and also increased the scale to 10 categories, with 1 remaining the lowest and 10 being the highest. The

scale attempts to differentiate the market sectors. Each section of LSM, a population subgroup, has certain characteristics such as shopping preferences and media consumption and the scale is widely used within South Africa by marketers, advertisers and media owners as a way to define respective markets.[107]

At the time of this study (2002-2003), *Business Day* had an LSM range of 8-10—in other words, the top end of the market. The *Cape Times* reported that 65% of their readers were from LSM 8-10, with the specific break down as follows: 28% in LSM 10, 17% in LSM 9, and 20% in LSM 8.[108] The *Natal Witness*, on the other hand, only had 43.45% in LSM 8-10: 67.68% of readers fell within LSM 6-8, and 26.67% in LSM 9-10.[109] The end result is that *Business Day* reaches or targets the highest LSM category, followed by the *Cape Times,* and then the *Natal Witness.* In contrast, South Africa's largest daily newspaper, Naspers' *Daily Sun* and Independent News' *Isolezwe*, a Zulu newspaper*,* aim for LSM of 4-6*.*

In the sections that will evaluate the use of sources about specific topics it could be argued that newspapers simply reflect and utilize sources from their respective LSM population. For example, since *Business Day* and *Cape Times* target the high end of LSM, they naturally will use those sources that reflect their class and social status: corporate leaders, politicians, and financiers. Conversely, lower LSM categories would utilize and reflect more 'unofficial' sources: local stories, small organisations, gossip, and hearsay.[110] The reliance and domination of sources from a narrow range of LSM categories, high or low, is poor journalism.

Others argue that newspapers would never narrowly target an LSM category because it would run contrary to journalistic ethics and principles. However, this argument ignores several of the current political economic realities of the media. First, this dissertation will clearly demonstrate that some newspapers use sources that echo the views of their readers in LSM 8-10. Second, newspapers are paid by advertisers to deliver audiences to whom they can market goods. Advertisers' desire audiences with wealth and resources; therefore, newspapers will generally aim for a population that can generate the most profit from advertising and they will use LSM classifications to identify the classes that will allow them to do so. Finally, newspapers are owned by large wealthy corporations as will be discussed in chapter one. These corporations have a vested interests in protecting the socio-economic system that protects their profits and position within society. The end result is that 'agenda setting' news will reflect the interests and desires of media owners and those who finance them.[111]

The PM puts forth the idea that newspapers "propagandise on the behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them." To determine if this is accurate, specific case studies need to be defined and subsequently measured. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 will each analyse a specific topic covered in the media to test whether they are covered in a way that does indeed serve the interests of the powerful. The selection of topics should be multifaceted and varied, and topics should furthermore reflect issues that are of importance to

South Africans. I have chosen three topics to determine if the PM occurs in South Africa: forestry, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and terrorism.

Each of these chapters, focusing on coverage of just one issue, will have both a quantitative and qualitative component. One feature of the PM is the examination of "bounds of the expressible," or the range of opinions discussed on certain topics. The model advocates that "the spectrum to be bounded by the consensus of powerful elites while encouraging tactical debates within it."[112] Put differently, debate is well and good, as long as it falls within certain parameters. The recent removal of Saddam Hussein would be a good example: debate focused around how best to remove him from power and not on the fundamental question of whether is was appropriate or justified to remove him.

The empirical side of this study located all articles related to forestry, NEPAD, and terrorism in each of the three selected newspapers over a two-year period, starting 1 January 2002 through 31 December 2003. Each newspaper has online search capability.[113] This online search capacity was employed for this study, as shall be further detailed in each chapter's methodology section.

Upon location of articles, the study next engaged in a rigorous methodology to probe various aspects of media performance and function. In Chapters 3, 4, and 5, particular attention is given to the use of sources. The use of, or lack of use of, sources can act as a filter in shaping or slanting a topic, story, or series of stories. The media's utilization of news sources range widely; however, more often than not 'official' news sources—corporations, government, think tanks, experts, and academics—are more frequently used by reporters.[114] This selection and use of sources is due to both time constraints, financial concerns, and at times, political considerations. Institutional authority carries more weight than alternative or non-mainstream sources, thus limiting the public's perception of an issue, topic, or story. As previously mentioned, Herman and Chomsky identified sources as the third filter in the propaganda model:

> The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest.... Economics dictates that they concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumors and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held.[115]

To determine if the third filter of the PM—sources—applies to South African English newspapers a quantitative count of sources will be categorized concerning the three main topics of study. Once the sources have been tabulated a picture will emerge on the use of sources from each respective newspaper. Do these sources reflect the full range of opinion on forestry, NEPAD, and terrorism? And does the use of these sources in writing stories paint an accurate picture of the issue for the reader?

In order to further ascertain the answer to these questions, it is necessary to qualitatively analyse the different topics and examine the "bounds of the expressible," or the range of opinions discussed. Dissecting various subsections—or 'themes'—that the three newspapers cover regarding forestry,

NEPAD, and terrorism, will serve as the basis of this study's qualitative data. The PM predicts that such a qualitative analysis will demonstrate that the spectrum of opinions expressed on a topic is "bounded by the consensus of powerful elites" even if superficial, 'tactical debates' are encouraged within each topic.[116] Given this overarching methodology, we now move to an overview of each chapter.

Topics of study

Chapter 1 will combine the theories of political economy of the media with the principles of the propaganda model. It will examine print media ownership in South Africa, paying close attention to interlocking social, political, and economic relationships. Inherent within the theories of political economy of the media and the propaganda model is the commitment to classical democratic political theory, which holds that an informed and active population can participate within society through a healthy and vibrant media system for all citizens.[117] Accordingly, this will be followed up by analysis of the apparently contradictory relationship between market-driven journalism and democracy.

Chapter 2 will provide a qualitative study on how advertising affects media performance. Advertising provides social communication about the world and it is wed to the market. Advertising cannot sell social items like love, friendship, family, but it can sell the illusion of those things through consumption. Furthermore, advertising promotes a way happiness can be achieved through spending.

Chapter 3 will examine the South African timber industry (forestry). As already highlighted, some critics of the PM cite that Herman and Chomsky, despite later additions, failed to deal with coverage of domestic issues. To avoid similar criticism it is necessary to pick a domestic issue in South Africa. Forestry in South Africa is a local or domestic issue and is a staple of the South African economy. Large sections of land in the South African provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga are utilized by the timber industry.

To determine if the propaganda model applies to South African newspapers an examination of the timber industry is particularly relevant. The timber industry represents a staple in the South African economy. The industry provides not only jobs but many products from paper to pulp for South Africa and the rest of the world. As with most issues, there are at least two sides of the debate: the timber industry itself and civil groups such as environmentalists and citizens. Are both sides clearly represented in the press?

On one side of the debate there is the timber industry, with well-recognized names such as Sappi (South African Paper and Pulp Industry), Mondi (a subsidiary of Anglo–American), and South African Forest Company Limited (owned and managed by the South African government). These companies/corporations argue that the timber industry creates jobs and brings in needed capital and investments. They underscore their commitment to good stewardship of the land, which benefit birds, animals, and ultimately, communities. Following strict regulations and adhering to international principles

of land conservation, timber companies are model corporate citizens. They lift up their many environmental awards and highlight company commitment to communities. Additionally, the timber industry both provides the paper to the newspaper industry and is also a large advertiser.

However, civil groups, environmentalists, and concerned citizens point out that the industry is not all that it claims to be. They contend that the timber industry misleads the public with the idea that the trees are grown in well-managed 'forests' when in reality they are plantations used for quick and easy profit. They point out the negative effects the timber industry has on the land, including soil erosion, displaced grasslands, destroyed wetlands, and water shortages. The environmentalists raise further concerns about changes in soil with the planting of alien trees. Additionally, environmentalists argue that there is actually a job loss rather than job creation when increased land is set aside for plantations because land is unused for up to fifteen years.

While environmentalists are not the only voices, it is important that theirs get heard on such an issue. Ideally, a plurality of voices and sources should be represented in the press. However, if the propaganda model is correct, it predicts that media behaviour will not be equal and that there will be "bounds of the expressible." It predicts that the media will be heavily weighted in the direction of the timber industry, as shall be examined in Chapter 3.

Thematic areas to be studied under the qualitative section of forestry include: the environmental impact of forestry, job loss/creation, community forestry and woodlots, privatisation of land, and servicing the North. Does the environmental impact of forestry enter in the discussion? What is the relation between forest and a water-stressed South Africa?

Chapter 4 will address media coverage of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Globalisation and trade have also taken up large sections of the press in the last few years. The World Trade Organization (WTO), 'free Trade,' and trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPS), have dominated the world economy for some time. NEPAD is part of this complicated new equation. NEPAD is a regional issue that tries to remedy some of the world's worst social conditions found in parts of Africa.

In 2001, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) was launched with great fanfare as the solution to Africa's persistent predicament of poverty. NEPAD grew out of a directive given to five Heads of State (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa) by the Organization of African Unity (OAU; now the African Union) to develop an integrated socio-economic development structure for Africa.[118] The original NEPAD script reads:

> NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and, at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world.[119]

Listening to the visionaries and advocates of NEPAD one gets the sense that this will be the African Century and that NEPAD will transform all of Africa's social, economic, and political relations. International lending institutions, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and G-7 countries have also indicated support for NEPAD. However, who exactly will benefit from NEPAD? The answer may lie in those who advocate the strongest for it, as shall be examined.

NEPAD was not the product of civil society but rather the product of leaders from selected countries with former South African President, Thabo Mbeki, as a key author. The plan was drafted in secret by many international technocrats and financial wizards who have advocated similar prescriptions elsewhere, with arguably limited success. The leaders pushed for adoption of neoliberal economic principles as a solution to terminal poverty. Yet despite all the hype, almost three years have transpired since the unveiling of NEPAD and only a handful of projects have been implemented.[120] Ironically, forty years ago Frantz Fanon in his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, warned of partnerships that are forged by an elite African leadership. He argues, "the national bourgeoisie will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie's business agent… because the national bourgeoisie identifies itself with the Western bourgeoisie, from whom it has learnt its lessons."[121] If history is a guide, NEPAD will serve those who envisioned it, leaving much of the continent's population behind.

While the Partnership itself should be held accountable for its non-transparent and non-participatory creation process and for its lack of substantive outcome, this paper concerns itself more with media coverage of these issues. How has the press covered NEPAD from creation to implementation? Has it "propagandised on the behalf of the powerful interests," or is there a plurality of voices represented? Chapter 4 will answer these questions.

Like forestry, NEPAD deals with and affects many issues, including trade, governance, and development. However, this paper has identified five thematic areas it will examine media coverage of: poverty and HIV/AIDS, women and agriculture, past development frameworks (e.g. the Lagos Plan of Action) and capital flight, the political credentials of Africans leaders, and Zimbabwe. Particular attention will be given to the "bounds of expressible opinion" allowed within these five issues. For example, how many stories explained or featured concerns about civil input into NEPAD? Were civilians' concerns represented within the press or their arguable lack of representation mentioned? Were alternative options and previous frameworks discussed, such as the Lagos Plan of Action? In addition to qualitatively examining what sources said about NEPAD and whether these five thematic areas were addressed, the analysis will identify and highlight articles that were on the front page or were editorials.

Chapter 5 presents the last case study of this thesis: terrorism. Terrorism, or more specifically, the 'war on terrorism,' is vital for two important reasons. First, it has received worldwide attention in the press since 9/11, and second, it has arguably affected every country around the world. Vast amounts of money, resources, and energies are being used to fight this 'war' in the arenas of immigration, national security, transportation, and others. The current campaign

on terror is arguably ideological and political, serving very narrow interests within the world community. The current labelling of the 'war on terrorism' has a polarizing effect, painting a simplistic black and white world in which, as President Bush stated, "you are either with us or with the terrorists."

However, supporting or opposing terrorism is not so black and white. Earlier in history, Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein were both supported and revered in the US. Once allies for U.S. covert purposes, they are now labelled as 'terrorists,' in addition to other negative adjectives that are ideologically serviceable.[122] Defining terrorism is ideological in nature; in other words, the conception of terrorism is shaped to serve the current political interests. For example, in Central America, the Contras were called "Freedom Fighters" by the US, even as they blew up schools, day care centres, and clinics, serving US ideological and political interests in the region. At one time, the African National Congress (ANC) was labelled a terrorist organisation. World tyrants, including Batista, Bosch, Trujillo, Somoza, Mobutu, Savimbi, Marcos, and Pol Pot, to name a few, all waged campaigns of horror against their own people with help from the West, in the name of weeding out infidels, subversives, or terrorists.

Defining terrorism in a self-serving way can also be demonstrated in South Africa. A clear example of how the South African intellectual elite view terrorism comes from the editorial in the 2003 Winter/Spring issue of the *South African Journal of International Affairs,* which was devoted to the issue of terrorism. The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) National Director, Greg Mills, lists four current trends regarding terrorism: 1) support for terrorism is largely self-generating; 2) terrorism is increasingly linked to religion; 3) there are fewer attacks than in early years, but recent attacks are taking on different forms; and 4) there is a notable 'dispersal' in the geography of attacks. Mills draws upon statistics from the US State Department in his attempt to show how attacks have become more costly in terms of the number of causalities.[123] However, the article does not mention any acts of terrorism committed by the West. The second article in the Winter/Spring issue, "Africa and the War on Terror" was written by Mills and Jeffery Herbst. The two end their article by stating that "the good news is that terrorism is largely self-defeating."[124] I would venture to gain that people in Angola, Libya, Mozambique, and the Seychelles, would not say that terrorism against their governments was 'self defeating.' However, because the term terrorism takes on an ideological flavour determined by those in power, individuals have little say.

A more honest approach to this problem of a self-serving and ever-changing definition of terrorism would be to come up with a single, consistent definition of terrorism and apply it to all perpetrators, not just selected, unsavoury groups or populations deemed subhuman.[125] A universal definition of terrorism has been difficult to define though, as even the UN has not been able to come up with a clear definition. However, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as:

> The unlawful use of force or violence committed by a group or individual, who has some connection to a foreign power or whose activities

> transcend national boundaries, against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objective.[126]

Applying this US definition consistently to all countries, including the US, I will contend in Chapter 5 that the current 'war on terrorism' is an ideological tool used by governments to eliminate unwanted elements of society both at home and abroad. More specifically, I will argue that the press readily follows the government's lead, churning out propaganda, censoring information, and repeating government sound bytes with little historical memory. This will be true for both the country that is leading the fight on terrorism—the United States—and a country that is reporting about terrorism—South Africa.

In regard to qualitative coverage of terrorism, this study will look more thoroughly at two themes: how terrorism has been defined in South African newspapers and who is defined as a terrorist. Particular attention will be paid to who is defining them as such (i.e. sources). Additionally, paired examples will be used. Paired examples refers to the process of looking at how the press covered similar issues but in two separate locations. Looking at how the definition of terrorism varied as applied to two different countries will be important in illustrating the manufacturing of propaganda when politically appropriate.

Chapter 6 will summarize the findings of the research and then further explain and contextualise these findings. The chapter will then predict how journalists, academics, media groups, think tanks, and even citizens will respond to the research findings. The chapter will close with the implications of this study.

Democracy needs a healthy and free media to hold government accountable, cover and promote a wide range of ideas, serve as a forum for a spectrum of voices, highlight and investigate problems, and encourage active citizenship and informed decision-making. South Africa is unique in that it mirrors both the first world and the developing world. Print media in South Africa is diversified and funded to a degree not seen in most developing countries; as a result this study limits itself to South Africa. NEPAD, forestry, and terrorism, are just three issues that would have benefited greatly from a healthier press that served all of these functions. It is the hope that this thesis, through exposing media self-censorship can not only contribute to a more critical discussion of media performance and its concrete consequences, but also challenge the troublesome trends in media consolidation in a market-dominated system.

[1] For this thesis I will use standard democratic theory that advocates society needs a vibrant, diverse press that can act like a watchdog on power and/or abuses of power in order to inform citizens. Jurgen Habermas has called this area of public communication the 'public sphere.' Furthermore, in democractic societies the mass media surround citizens through radio, books, internet, movies, music, magazines, television, and newspapers. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky write, 'The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society.' Edward S Herman and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* Second Edition (New York: Pantheon, 1989; 2002), 1. The power of the media has on society has been well documented by academics, politicians and statesman such as: C. Edwin Baker, Edward Bernays, Noam Chomsky, John Corner, George Creel, James Curran, Robert Entman, Jacques Ellul, Stuart Ewen, Herbert Gans, Glasgow University Media Group, Robert Horwitz, Jurgen Habermas, Edward Herman, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Jensen, Sut Jhally, Nixon Kariithi, Walter Lippmann, James Madison, Nelson Mandela, Robert McChesney, Denis McQuail, David Miller, Michael Parenti, Herbert Schiller, Michael Schudson, Norman Solomon, and Gabriel Tarde.

[2] See Anthony Pratkanis and Eliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1992, 2001) for a very brief history of propaganda that dates back to the birth of humanity with the use of hieroglyphics in Egypt and Latin America. For a historical review of propaganda see, Philip Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day.* (New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); and Oliver Thomson, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda*. (Phoenix Mill, England: Sutton 1999).

[3] Reporters without Borders maintain a country list of press freedom along with regular reports. While there are many countries that restrict press freedom the bottom ten countries for 2007 are: Uzbekistan, Laos, Vietnam, China, Burma, Cuba, Iran, Turkmenistan, North Korea, and Eritrea being last. For more information visit: http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=20 There are several repressive regimes that could warrant attention in relation to the media, some recent ones include: Rwanda, see Kofi Annan. *The Media and Rwanda Genocide.* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). Yugoslavia: David Rieff. *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West.* (New York: Touchstone, 1996) provides a conventional view of what happened in Bosnia. For a more comprehensive review of both Serbian and Western media see, Diana Johnstone, *Fools Crusade: Yugoslavia, Nato, and Western Delusions.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2003), and Peter Brock, *Media Cleansing: Dirty Reporting, Journalism and Tragedy of Yugoslavia.* Second Edition (Los Angles: GM Books, 2005). Uzbekistan: "A repressive regime: The West is far too kind to Uzbekistan's tyrant." *International Herald Tribune* 16 March 2004. Uzbekistan http://www.iht.com/articles/2004/03/16/eduzbek_ed3_.php *BBC Country Profile.* 2 April 2008 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/country_profiles/1238242.stm

[4] Edward S Herman and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* Second Edition (New York: Pantheon, 1989; 2002) xi.

[5] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984) Chapters 1-6. Craig Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere.* (Cambridge, MIT Press 1992) Craig Calhoun has edited a book from individuals who reflect on the works of Habermas from different perspectives such as feminism. In the United States, John Rawls, in his book, A Theory of Justice, lays out a paradigm of justice using the 'original position' and the 'veil of ignorance' to try and get people to see the world and it's social construction of systems and structures.

[6] Robert McChesney, *Corporate Media and the Threat to Democracy.* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997), 10. Also see, John Keane, *The Media and Democracy,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

[7] Edward S. Herman and Robert McChesney. *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism.* (London: Caswell, 1997), 3. Habermas has also highlighted the idea that either the government or the private sector not control the media.

[8] Goebbels was a very astute observer of human nature and was able to tap deep into the psyche of the German people. Goebbels' success can be attributed to his pervasive use of propaganda—it was everywhere. See Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife.* (*C*ambridge: Harvard University Press); Eric Kris and Hans Speier, *German Radio Propaganda.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944); Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945*, (London, Routledge 1979); Raul Kegan and Ian Kershan, *The 'Hitler Myth': Image and Reality in the Third Reich,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979); and Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany*, (London: Croom Helm, 1979).

[9] William Hachten and C. Anthony Giffard. *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa.* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984), 3. The history of the media in South Africa, especially during Apartheid, is very extensive and complicated. During Apartheid a variety of methods (laws, propaganda, structures, intimidation) were employed to neutralize the press and population. Laws and acts, such as: Internal Security Act; Sabotage Act; Defence Act; Terrorism Act; Publication Act; Registration of Newspaper Amendment Act; and State of Emergency July 1985 drawing upon the Public Safety Act, 1953 to name a few, were utilized to curb the press. On the propaganda front, Muldergate tarnished the National Party's reputation for improperly using government funds both domestically and aboard to improve its image. Structures such as the Steyn Commissions, Newspaper Press Union held the media in check. Finally, intimidation was employed against journalists and papers such as the *Rand Daily Mail, World, and Weekend World* . Sadly, similar devices are currently being employed in Zimbabwe to curtail the press freedom.

[10] Gordon Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press. (*Boulder: Westview Press 1993), 22, 27, 127.

[11] David Croteau and William Hoynes, *Media Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences.* Third Edition. (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2002),18.

[12] Robert McChesney, *The Problem of the Media: US Communication Politics in the 21st Century.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2004), 29-30.

[13] The First Amendment in the United States reads, '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.

[14] James Fallows, 1997. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermines American Democracy*. (New York: Vintage, 1997), 48-49. Fallows was referring to the United States, but this principle could be found in many other democracies.

[15] Tim Cook, 1998. *Governing with News: The News Media as Political Institution.* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998), 1.

[16] C. Edwin Baker, *Media, Markets and Democracy*. London: (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 169.

[17] Since the Reagan era in the United States the political right has attacked the media as being 'liberal'. The attacks have steadily moved further and further to the right with the recent outcropping of persons includes: Anne Coulter, Bernard Goldberg and Rush Limbaugh other listed in Eric Alterman's book, *What liberal Media*: *The Truth about Bias and the News.* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

[18] McChesney (2004), 9.

[19] For a good history of the English (UK) media see James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The press and Broadcasting in Britain.* Fifth Edition. (London. Routledge, 1997). John Pilger, *Hidden Agendas.* (London: Vintage 1998).

[20] Curran and Seaton. (1997), 1, 49-51.

[21] John Pilger, *Hidden Agendas.* (London: Vintage 1998), 378.

[22] Ibid.

[23] World Association of Newspapers. 'Lula: free press defends, strengthens and consolidates.' http://www.wan-press.org/article3883.html 3 May 2004,

[24] Amartya Sen, "Free press saves us from our own propaganda," *Sunday Independent,* 2 May 2004. Johannesburg.
[25] Wisdom J. Tettey, "The media and democratization in Africa: contributions, constraints and concerns of the private press." Media, Culture & Society 23(2001):5-31. London, Sage.
[26] Writing about the news in the United States Herbert Gans states, 'In short, when all other things are equal, the news pays most attention to and upholds the actions of elite individuals and elite institutions.' *Deciding What's News* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 61.
[27] Nick Stevenson, in his book, *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication* (London: Sage, 1995) looked at the effects of commercialization on English newspapers and divided them into either 'quality' or 'tabloid' newspapers. 'Quality' papers are smaller but are targeted to a well-informed audience with high purchasing power, which attracts advertisers. 'Tabloid' newspapers attract low-income group and tend not to engage in social/political issues, thus removing that group from political debate. This classification can be found within South Africa newspapers as well. Stevenson information taken from Deborah Chambers, 'Globalising Media Agendas' in *Investigative Journalism: Context and Practice.* Ed by Hugo De Burgh. (London: Routledge, 2000), 110.
[28] Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin*. (New York: Steidinger Press, 1996), 65
[29] Ibid., 69. Tarde writes in *On Communication and Social Influence*, 'Journalism both sucks in and pumps out information, which coming in from all corners of the earth, insofar as the journalist defines what is or appears to be interesting about it, given the goals he is pursuing and the party for which he speaks. His information is in reality a force which little by little becomes irresistible. Newspapers began by expressing opinion, first the completely local opinion of privileged groups, a court, a parliament, a capital, whose gossip, discussions, or debates they reproduced; they ended up directing opinion almost as they wished, modeling it and imposing the majority of their daily topics upon conversation.' (p. 304).
[30] Ibid., 70.
[31] Ibid., 72.
[32] Randal Marlin. *Propaganda &the Ethics of Persuasion.* Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002), 62-76. The Wellington House had six classes of literature that it produced: official publications, speeches of ministers, full texts of which were often translated into the languages of target countries, pamphlets and books, articles in interviews, and finally opinion pieces. Additionally, Wellington House sent out monthly letters to nearly every Catholic priest in the United States and Canada.
[33] George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling if the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe.* (New York: Harper, 1920). Creel states in the very beginning that war was not fought in France alone but, 'It was the fight for the *minds* of men.' Creel highlights how publicists, scholars, historians, artists, actors, advertisers, and volunteers were in conjunction with varied mediums: film, radio, print, and wire service to win the battle 'for the minds of men'.
[34] Pratkanis and Aronson (1992, 2001), 10.
[35] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion.* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1922), 184.
[36] Ibid., 158.
[37] Ibid., 250.
[38] Clinton Rossiter and James Lare, eds., *The Essential Lippmann: A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy* (New York: Random House, 1963) 91-92. For an interesting debate on how Noam Chomsky uses Lippmann see the series of articles in *Political Communication* January-March 2004, Volume 21, Issue 1.
[39] Ewen (1996), 73-81.
[40] Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations.* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 8-9.
[41] Edward Bernays, "Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How*," American Journal of Sociology*, 33 no.6(1928):958.
[42] Alex Carey, *Taking the Risk out of Democracy.* Champaign: (University of Illinois Press, 1996), 25-6. The use of public relations by the National Association of Manufacturers provides good insights in managing the public. Also, see Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin.* (New

York: Steidinger Press, 1996) for the public relations history of American Telephone and Telegraph (ATT).

[43] Edward Jay Epstein, *The Rise and Fall of Diamonds.* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 121-139. N. W. Ayer was able to romanticize the diamond in America by utilizing the US motion picture industry and the Royal Family. They also planted stories within newspapers that featured diamonds. Their advertisements featured reproductions of famous artists like Picasso, Berman, and Dali thus linking the diamond with unique art work. In 1948, a N. W. Ayer employee came up with the slogan, "A Diamond Is Forever." Diamonds do break, crack, chip and discolor yet the notion that diamonds last forever is etched into people's minds. Furthermore, since diamonds are forever, they are generally not resold, which helps the diamond seller. The association with love and diamonds has been a very powerful public relations campaign.

[44] Carey (1996), 81. The original is 1933. *'Propaganda' Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* pp. 521-528 New York: Macmillan. Antonio Gramsci has also written how elites can exercise control (consent) over the population with 'cultural leadership'.

[45] Gordon S, Wood. "Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution," in *Leadership in the American Revolution: Papers presented at the third symposium*. Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1974).

[46] Thomas Jefferson. "Objections to the Constitution," letter to James Madison, Dec. 20, 1787. *Thomas Jefferson: Writings.* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 915.

[47] Robert Yates, June 18, 1787; in Max Farrand, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* Volume 1. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 299.

[48] Alexander George, ed. *Western State Terrorism*. (Cambridge: Polity-Blackwell, 1991), 88.

[49] David Barsamian and Noam Chomsky *Propaganda and the Public Mind.* (Boston: South End Press, 2001), 8.

[50] Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Henry Holt and Co, 2003), 8.

[51] Nancy Snow, *Information War: American Propaganda, Free Speech, and Opinion Control Since 9/11.* New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003),84-105. Also see, Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War On Iraq.* (New York: Penguin 2003), 25-36.

[52] Political economic theory is concerned with the interrelationships between production, exchanges, and consumption of media and related institutions. Most scholar work comes from the United Kingdom (UK) and North America. UK scholars include: J. Curran, N. Garnham, P. Golding, G. Murdock, K. Robins and J. Seaton. UK Journalists include R. Fisk and J. Pilger. UK Journals or publications would include: Index on Censorship, New Internationalist, and Red Pepper. North American scholars include: B. Bagdikian, D. Barsamian, C. E. Baker, D. Bollier, D. Croteau, J. Cohen, L Downie, H. Gans, T. Gitlin, E. Herman, W. Hoynes, R. Kaiser, J. Keane, L. Lessig, C. Lindblom, J. H. MacManus, R. McChesney, V. Mosco, E. Meehan, J Nerone, N. Newman, M. Parenti, E. Riordan, D. Schiller, H. Schiller, G. Seldes, U. Sinclair, D. Smythe, L Soley, N, Solomon, and D. Underwood. North American media journals or publications include: Alternative Radio, Consortium News, Counterpunch, FAIR, Independent Media Center, Media Channel, Quarterly Review of Doublespeak, Rocky Mountain Media Center, Salon, Towards Freedom, ZNet. North American journalists include: E. Alterman, A. Cockburn, J. Fallows, J. Hightower, G. Palast, R. Parry, and D. Schechter.

[53] Herman and Chomsky (1988, 2002), xi.

[54] At one time Hollinger managed 600 newspapers around the world. The Toronto based Hollinger was once owned by Conrad Black. In July 2007, Black was convicted in an Illinois (USA) court for violating his fiduciary obligations as a officer of Hollinger.

[55] Jeffery Klaehn, "Behind the Invisible Curtain of Scholarly Criticism: revisiting the propaganda model," *Journalism Studies.* 4, no.3(2003a): 359-369. New York: Routledge.

[56] Keyan Tomaselli, "Media Ownership and Democratization", *Media and Democracy in Africa.* G Hyden, M. Leslie, and F. Ogundimu, ed (New Brunswick: Transaction Publications, 2002), 129-155. Also see Gordon Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press. (*Boulder: Westview Press 1993) for earlier review of newsprint ownership in South Africa. For East Africa see: Eko,

Lyombe. "Globalization and the Mass Media in Africa," in *The Globalization of Corporate Media Hegemony* Lee Artz and Yahya R. Kamalipour, ed. Albany: State University of New York, 2003.

[57] Baker, 11. Also see, James, Squires, *Read All About It! The Corporate Takeover of America's Newspapers* (New York: Times Books 1993), 60-102.

[58] Lawrence Soley, *Censorship, Inc: The Corporate Threat to Free Speech in the United States.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002), 191, 213.

[59] Ibid., 1-6.

[60] In an earlier period, an ANC submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on media highlights dependence on government sources during the apartheid period. '(English newspapers) …failed dismally to reflect the feelings of "ordinary" South Africans. They relied heavily on government sources of information, no matter how discredited they were, and made very little effort to obtain information from alternative sources. In their coverage of the struggle against apartheid, including the armed struggle, the English-language press relied almost exclusively on information from arms of the state. Contacts with the liberation movement were insufficient, and the paradigm remained the "white world view." This served to entrench the polarization of apartheid, rather than exposing readers to a range of views.' Robert Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa,* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2001), 293.

[61] Peter R. Mitchell and John Schoeffel, *Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky.* (New York: The New Press, 2002), 15 n35.

[62] Robert Entman, "News as propaganda," *Journal of Communication* 40, Winter(1990): 124-127. Jeffery Klaehn (2002a) also cites Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau (n.d.) *American Leadership in World Affairs* Boston, MA: Allan and Unwin as falling into the conspiracy camp in reaction to critiquing the PM.

[63] Philip Schlesinger, "From production to propaganda?" *Media, Culture and Society 11*(1989): 295-302. London: Sage

[64] Edward Herman, "The propaganda model revisited," Monthly *Review* , July, 1996: 4-5. http://www.musictravel.free.fr/political/political7.htm

[65] Ibid., 4.

[66] John Corner, "Debate: The model in Question. A Response to Klaehn on Herman and Chomsky." *European Journal of Communication.* 18 no.3(2003): 367-374. London: Sage Publications. In 2002, Jeffery Klaehn published an article in the *European Journal of Communication* about the PM and some criticisms about it. John Corner then responded to the initial Klaehn article in 2003 and Klaehn responded to Corners criticism in the same 2003 journal.

[67] Ibid., 369.

[68] Jeffery Klaehn, "Behind the Invisible Curtain of Scholarly Criticism: revisiting the propaganda model." *Journalism Studies* 4, no.3(2003a):363.

[69] Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "Noam Chomsky and the Manufacturing of Consent for American Foreign Policy," *Political Communication* 21, Issue 1(2004):93-101.

[70] Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, "Reply to Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang," *Political Communication* 21, Issue 1(2004):103-107.

[71] Gabriel Noah Brahm Jr., "Understanding Noam Chomsky: A Reconsideration," *Critical Studies in Media Communication,* Vol. 23, No. 5 (December 2006): 453-461.

[72] For specific discussions and topics about the PM Conference see: http://www.uwindsor.ca/units/commstudies/propaganda.nsf/inToc/FFE6E02E0C14BB2485257277001B2340

[73] Three papers were presented at this plenary. Dennis Murphy: "Propaganda In and For Today: A Modest Proposal." Cliff Vanderlinden: "A Sixth Filter? The Case for Technology in the Propaganda Model" and Colin Sparks: "Extending and Redefining the Propaganda Model." Murphy addressed government and military propaganda utilizing Jacques Ellul's seminal work on propaganda. Vanderlinden dealt with the importance of technology as a possible new filter. This paper will not address or examine issues raised in either of these papers.

[74] Colin Sparks, "Extending and Refining the Propaganda Model." *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture,* University of Westminster, London, Vol. 4(2) (2007): 81.

[75] Ibid., 71.
[76] Ibid., 71, 76.
[77] Speaking at the Conference Edward Herman stated, 'The PM is stronger now than it was twenty years ago when we published Manufacturing Consent. Each of the filters has changed, rendering them more powerful. (1) Ownership filter has changed because of corporate concentration and the process of globalisation. Public service broadcasting has also declined in its importance and influence. Also, the media conglomerates are much closer to governments now and are consequently much more influenced by them. (2) Advertising filter has changed because of corporate concentration and globalisation. Newspaper sales are in decline and many advertisers have migrated to the Internet. Therefore, their power over the media has increased; the balance of power has moved decisively in their favour. (3) Sourcing filter has changed because media corporations have cut back on their investment in news production in favour of more 'infotainment'. There is also a greater reliance now on pre-packed government sources. Government are now the 'primary definers' of what constitutes news. Governments, in effect, now manage the media, rendering them more dependent and malleable. (4) Flak filter has changed in that governments are more powerful as flak agents. We have also witnessed the emergence of the blogging phenomenon and the growing influence of right-wing bloggers as flak agents [see Eric Boehlert (2006) Lapdogs, Free Press]. (5) The ideology filter has been transformed as anti-communism, although not yet dead, is considerably weaker. It has been replaced by the 'marvel of the market'. The notion of 'terrorism' is also a powerful ideology which is suitably vague e.g., state versus non-state terrorism and the ignorance that the United States (US) is arguably the prime terrorist state in the world today. The rise of the Internet potentially challenges the model. However, it still holds for the operation of the mass media. Also, its impact and emancipatory potential should not be overestimated; research has shown that only six per cent of Internet users are accessing alternative sources with most using existing news outlets. We are also witnessing an attempt by media conglomerates to try and control the Internet - manifest in the current battle over net neutrality for example. In short, new technology is being re-occupied by the old guard. The existence of mass protest movements, which are part of the resistance to the capitalist system, does not alter the PM. The model is focused upon the operation of elite institutions. The PM demonstrates that such resistance, together with the general population, is the target of corporate propaganda. We need to keep these two phenomena - the PM and progressive social movements - separate in our analysis. The PM is a model of class warfare [see Jeff Faux (2006) Global Class Warfare, Wiley]. Faux focused on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the fact that the general publics in North America and Mexico opposed NAFTA, as reflected in public opinion polls. However, as the PM predicted, the media uniformly favoured NAFTA. The book by David Harvey [(2005) A Brief History of Neo-liberalism, Oxford University Press] and the PM fit together beautifully. There is also the book by Thomas Ferguson [(1995) Golden Rule, University of Chicago Press] in which he uses the example of the media obsession with the defence budget when most of the general public wanted greater spending on education. Once again, as predicted by the PM, the media focused on the former at the expense of the latter. The US media has been a perfect accomplice for US foreign policy. Media apologetics have recently reached a new low, with Iran the latest target of US aggression. We are no longer in an age of Orwell; we are in the age of Kafka.' Correspondence sent to participates from the '20 Years of Propaganda' http://www.uwindsor.ca/propaganda
[78] Herman (1996), 5.
[79] Noam Chomsky, Personal correspondence 11 April 2004.
[80] Mitchell and Schoeffel (2002), 15, note 35.
[81] Patrick Bond, *Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms*. (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Press, 2004),14.
[82] See, Patrick Bond, *Against Global Apartheid.* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2001).
[83] See, Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652-2002* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002) for a very detailed and well-documented

history of economic inequality.

[84] Discrimination during the Apartheid period has been well documented. Looking at the present, specifically Labour laws, the democratic government under the ANC has been able to pass significant legislation to combat discrimination in the work place-see Employment Equity Act. http://www.labour.gov.za . Additionally, Labour legislation has also improved working conditions in South Africa, such as the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, Labour Relations Act, Occupational and Health and Safety Act, and the Compensation Fund.

[85] Truth and Reconciliation Commission.1998. Cape Town: Juta.

[86] Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathon Ball Publishers, 2003), 61-83.

[87] Cabinet. Government/SANEF Indaba Journalism Development in South Africa. A briefing document for delegates to the SANEF/Government workshop- June 29- 30, 2001. Section 1.1

[88] Ibid., 5.

[89] Cyril, Ramaphosa, "The Media, The Editors, and the Owners," *Financial Mail,* May 14,1999, 20.

[90] Sparks (2003), 10.

[91] Ibid., 61-62. Mandela, SANEF, Ramaphosa and Sparks embrace a traditional liberal theory of media and democracy in which the media: is a watchdog; informs and facilitates debate; and is the voice of the people. This liberal theory of media and democracy has been updated in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, ed. *Mass Media and Society,* Third Edition, (London: Arnold, 2000), 120-40.

[92] Taken from Freedom of Expression website, http://www.fxi.org.za/

[93] Ibid.

[94] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission final report consisted of 7 Volumes.

[95] Sean Jacobs reviews media treatment of the TAC, SECC, and AEC in chapters 5 and 6 of his PhD thesis; *Public Sphere, Power and Democratic Politics: Media and Policy Debates in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. (London: University of London Birkbeck College, 2004) See Robert Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa,* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2001), 1-25 on how the strength and vibrancy of South African civil society of the 1980's has helped shaped democracy in the new South Africa.

[96] "Media takes stock 10 years after the advent of democracy" *Cape Times* 24 August 2004.

[97] Lynette Steenveld and Larry Strelitz, "The 1995 Rugby World Cup and the politics of nation-building in South Africa," *Media, Culture & Society* 20(1998), 609-629. London, Sage.

[98] During an interview with the *New York Times* Mbeki stated that South African journalists were 'uneducated' and 'deploring a lack of support for the new Government.' In a milder tone, Executive Director of Institute for the Advancement of Journalism at the University of Witwatersrand, Allister Sparks indicated that South African journalists were undertrained and new departments were understaffed. Robert Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa,* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2001), 290, 302.

[99] Fallows (1997), 5.

[100] Gerald Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela-and the Mbeki era.* (Newlands: Ampersand Press, 2007), x.

[101] Baker (2002). 45. It should be assumed that these studies were primarily conducted in the West. It is also assumed that South African elite also read the newspaper to garner information, views and opinions.

[102] United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef), South Africa, Basic Indicators, Dates of measures are given to each statistic. http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/southafrica_statistics.html

[103] The South Africa Advertising and Research Foundation (SAARF) website states 'SAARF main objective is to direct and publish media and product/brand research for the benefit of its stake-holders, thereby providing data for target marketing and a common currency for the buying and selling of media space and time.' One aspect of that research is to categorize people through a program called Living Standards Measure (LMS). They write, 'SAARF Universal LSM® (Living Standards Measure) has become the most widely used marketing research tool in South Africa. It divides the population into 10 SU-LSM® groups, 1 (lowest) to 10 (highest).' The SAARF Universal LSM® is a unique means of segmenting the South African market. It cuts across race and other outmoded techniques of categorizing people, and instead groups people

according to their living standards using criteria such as degree of urbanization, ownership of cars and major appliances and access to basic services such as water and electricity.' The *Daily Sun* would towards the bottom of the ten point scale and *Business Day* towards the top. This proposal will look at those newspapers that are closer to 10 then 1 on the SAARF LSM scale.

[104] In November 2007 Johnnic Communications Limited changed names to Avusa The new website is http://www.avusa.co.za/ For this paper the old website that was utilized was, http://www.johncom.co.za/busnewspapers.asp

[105] Fact Sheet given out by Independent Newspapers in Cape Town on 27 August 2004. The facts sheet quotes the source as AMPS.

[106] Since Johnnic was the parent company at the time of the reseach it will be the name used throughout this thesis. Also see note 97 and Chapter 1, Ownership.

[107] South African Advertising Research Foundation. http://www.saarf.co.za

[108] *Cape Times.* http://www.capetimes.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=311&fSetId=183 Sources AMP 2003B.

[109] Figures were provided by *Natal Witness* staff member Graham Noot and are for 2004a.

[110] The writer is not aware of any studies that have examined media performance and the use of sources in the lower LSM categories.

[111] Herman and Chomsky (1988, 2002), 3-14.

[112] Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies.* (Boston: South End Press, 1989) 48, 59.

[113] Independent Newspaper *Cape Times* starts 1 October 2002. *Business Report* starts 1 Jan 2002.

[114] See, J.R. Brown, C.R. Bybee, S. T. Wearden and D. M. Straughan. 'Invisible Power: Newspaper News Sources and the Limits of Diversity', *Journalism Quarterly* 64:45-54. 1987. Sigal, L.V. 'Who? Sources Make the News', in R.K. Manoff and M. Schudson ed, *Reading the News,* pp.9-37. (New York: Pantheon, 1986); L.V. Sigal, *Reporters and Officials.* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1973);. D.C Whitney, M. Fritzler, S. Jones, S. Mazzarella, and L. Rakow. 'Geographic and Sources Biases in Network TV News 1982-1984'. *Journal of Broadcasting 33(2): 159-174, 1989.* D. Paletz and R. Entman. *Media, Power, Politics.* (New York: Free Press, 1981); and P. J. Shoemaker, 'Bias and Sources Attribution', *Newspaper Research Journal* 5(1): 25-32, 1983.

[115] Herman and Chomsky (1988, 2002), 18-19.

[116] Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies.* (Boston: South End Press, 1989) 48, 59.

[117] Robert McChensey, "The Political Economy of Global Communications," in *Capitalism and the Information Age: The Political Economy of the Global Communication Revolution.* eds R. McChesney, E.M. Wood and B. Foster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998) 8.

[118] Retrieved from NEPAD website, http://www.nepad.org.en.html item 2. More information about NEPAD can be found at http://www.nepad.org

[119] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria

[120] Bond (2004), 119.

[121] Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth.* (New York: Grove Press,1963, 1961), 152-153.

[122] Norman Solomon and Eric Erlich, *Target Iraq: What the News Media Didn't Tell You* (New York: Context Books, 2003) provides analysis of George W. Bush's vilification of Iraq and Saddam Hussein during a speech Bush gave on 7 October 2002.

[123] Greg Mills, "Editorial: Terrorism Issue." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 10 no.2(2003): 7-8. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.

[124] Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills, "Africa and the War on Terror" South *African Journal of International Affairs 10* no.2 Winter/Spring(2003):39. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. Note that in the same journal, Christopher Clapham's, article "Terrorism in Africa: Problems of Definition, History and Development," also delves into the issue of terrorism, but neither article mentions, UNITA in Angola. For an older study of western state sponsored terrorism in Southern Africa see Sean Gervasi and Sybil Wong's article "The Reagan Doctrine and Destabilization of Southern Africa" in *Western State Terrorism* edited by

Alexander George.

[125] There are many legal definitions of terrorism from states and international governmental bodies such as: Organisation of African Unity (July 1999); Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (April 1998); Convention of Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism; United Kingdom, Anti-Terrorism Act, 2000; India, Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, 2001; Russia, Article 205 of Criminal Code of 1997; France, French Penal Code(arts.421-1et seq); furthermore there are many scholars: Wilkinson, Milbank, Jenkins…. who also have also given definitions of terrorism.

[126] William Blum, *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower.* Second Edition (London: Zed Books, 2003b), 32.

Chapter 1
Media Ownership

South Africa continues to experience significant social, economic, and political transformation since the end of apartheid. This transformation is also occurring within South Africa's mass media industries. To effectively evaluate South African media performance requires an examination of the interrelationships between production, exchanges, and consumption of the media—a political economy approach to media performance.

A political economy approach to media looks at the factors that influence the production, exchanges, and consumption of the media and how it interacts with broader structures of society. From government laws to market economics, the institutional and structural forces that affect the media are numerous in any country. Technology, for example, has enhanced media in many ways by increasing efficiency and decreasing costs. International global economics—growth, mergers, acquisitions, and takeovers—has also influenced the media industry tremendously over the past twenty-five years. Government policies can alter the media. The 1996 Telecommunication Act, for instance, transformed US radio through deregulation. Government policies can also detract from the media, such as through censorship, as recent journalistic restrictions in Zimbabwe under the 2002 Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) illustrates.[1] Advertising also influences the media by providing income to help offset the costs of producing a paper, while at the same time placing adverts in front of select consumer audiences. While these external factors are hugely influential, as this paper will discuss in future chapters, it is also important to examine how the composition and ownership of media corporations shape media production and performance.

Examining the US media, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky in their propaganda model argue that ownership is the first filter that news and information go through before they reach an audience. According to the authors, wealthy individuals and corporations own the top-tier, or 'agenda setting,' media. These individuals and corporations naturally have a vested interest in maintaining the current status quo by virtue of their wealth and position within society. These individuals and corporations work tacitly together with the institutional structures of government, international finance, and other businesses to ensure their position within the economy and society. Furthermore, board members, investors, and their business interests share common interlocking social, political, and economic interests with one another, such as their ideal market conditions or degree of government involvement. The end result is that agenda setting news will reflect the interests and desires of media owners and those who finance them.[2]

In this chapter, utilising the political economy theories of the media and the principles laid out in Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's propaganda model, I will highlight globalisation and its effects on the US media market. I will then provide a description of print media ownership in South Africa and its interdependence with other social, political, and economic actors. The section

will close with four observations on the contradictory relationship between market-driven journalism and democracy. In sum, I will demonstrate that in both the United States and South Africa, market-driven journalism's self-serving nature and dependence on advertising decreases competition and opinion, increases sensationalism, and negatively affects journalism, media performance, and democracy.

The global media and the effects of media consolidation[3]

Since the 1980s, economic liberalisation and 'free trade' have allowed corporations to further expand their size and breadth at a considerable rate through mergers, takeovers, and acquisitions.[4] Many corporations are no longer national but international in scope, often expanding across oceans and continents. International trading protocols such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), World Trade Organization (WTO), and Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) have made transnational commerce easier for corporations by deregulating, lowering trade barriers, and restricting government spending.[5] Additionally, post-World War II international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have provided loans to developing countries encouraging them to integrate into the world economy.[6] Well-financed auxiliary players adding their voice to the debate for free trade and economic liberalism include academics, think tanks, and advocacy groups such as the Business Roundtable and Chamber of Commerce.[7]

These economic changes have affected almost every industry around the world. Vandana Shiva from the global justice movement pointed out that under this new world of trade, "every aspect of our lives is up for sale and every aspect of human needs and every form of human activity is being redefined as a tradeable service."[8] These changes in the global economy have affected the media's ownership, consumption, purpose, and quality. In the not too distant past, media ownership was often local, regional, or national in nature, but now large media corporations control large sectors of the media and exert tremendous influence. Economic changes have led fewer individuals and corporations to own the media, also referred to as an increased concentration of media ownership. This is problematic because like most for-profit industries, media ownership is not an ideological-free enterprise. Rather, it works to enhance market share and profit for shareholders. Yet the mass media does not question this model. Instead, it uses its medium of communication to articulate the needs of an integrated global corporate system to the citizenry. Put simply, the mass media itself has not only been affected by these global economic changes, but has also actively contributed to them over the last twenty-five years.

Media scholars, media owners, economists, journalists, editors, and consumers fiercely contest the by-products of highly concentrated media ownership. Some contend that free market ideology and neoliberalism within the media foster an increased level of self-correction, market opening, efficiency, responsiveness to consumer needs, and consumer choice.[9] Others argue that

the consolidation of media ownership negatively affects journalism, media performance, and democracy by reducing the role of the media to a commodity that individuals and/or corporations simply buy and sell.[10]

To determine these positive or negative effects of media ownership on media performance, it is essential that real examples be studied. While the primary focus of this study is South African English daily newspapers, I will also utilise the US market for the following reasons. First, the US has a long history of both democracy and market-driven journalism. Second, scholarship on media studies from the United States is plentiful.[11] Third, the US has the largest economy in the world and as a result often sets global economic trends in a new world order where capital is paramount. Finally, communication systems worldwide are increasingly intertwined in a network of producers, providers, and distributors, with US corporations being leaders in this field. Under the current rubric of free trade and economic liberalisation South Africa is perhaps likely to continue to move towards and mirror a US (or globalising) pattern in terms of media performance and media ownership, making a comparative examination of the United States even more pressing.

The United States, where the vast majority of the media is held in private control away from government, presents an interesting study of media ownership. In the past, media companies often owned only one or two media forms—a magazine, a newspaper, or a radio station. Additionally, there was a multitude of owners from different backgrounds. This resulted in a variety of products and a wide range of opinion on public matters. However, the emergence and expansion of corporations has eclipsed this previous diversity and plurality. The current size and power of these corporations is unparalleled. US media scholar, Ben Bagdikian writes:

> No imperial ruler in past history had multiple media channels that included television and satellite channels that can permeate entire societies with controlled sights and sounds. …Big media corporations] control every means by which the population learns of its society. ...media products are unique in one vital respect. They do not manufacture nuts and bolts: they manufacture a social and political world.[12]

Concentrated media's magnitude and scope in the public arena is extraordinary by modern standards.

Today, in America, there are five corporations—Disney, Bertelsmann (German), News Corporation (Rupert Murdoch), Time Warner, and Viacom—that control the overwhelming majority of the media in the US. These five corporations vie for over one trillion dollars spent each year in the US on media products and advertising.[13] These media giants not only control hefty sections of the market they have also increased their horizontal integration (buying up competitors) and vertical integration (production, distribution, and sales). As a result, cross promoting and cross selling is now very common among media giants. An inspection of News Corporation will demonstrate the sheer size and the economic, social, and political reach of one of the five leading corporations in the US and worldwide. Figure 1 is a partial listing of News Corporation holdings:

NEWS CORPORATION HOLDINGS

Television	**Fox Television Stations in the US (35): Atlanta, Austin, Baltimore, Birmingham, Boston, Chicago (2), Cleveland, Dallas (2), Denver, Detroit, Greensboro, Houston (2), Kansas City, Los Angeles, Memphis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis (2), New York City (2), Ocala, Orlando (2), Philadelphia, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, St. Louis, Tampa, Washington DC (2).** **Fox Broadcasting Company; FOXTEL (25%), an Australia subscription television, over one million homes connected; Fox Sports Australia STAR (300 million viewers in 53 countries across Asia).**
Film	**20th Century Fox; 20th Century Fox Español; 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment; 20th Century Fox International; 20th Century Fox Television; Blue Sky Studios; Fox Searchlight Pictures; Fox Studios Australia; Fox Studios Baja; Fox Studios LA, Fox Television Studios (Three of the five best performing motion pictures of all times—Star Wars, Star Wars Episode 1: The Phantom Menace, Titanic).**
Cable	**Fox Movie Channel; Fox News Channel; Fox Sports Digital; Fox Sports Enterprises; Fox Sports En Español; Fox Sports Net; Fuel, FX; National Geographic Channel (US and Worldwide); Speed Channel; Stats, Inc. (300 million subscribers).**
Newspapers	**In Australia: *Daily Telegraph*; *Fiji Times; Gold Coast Bulletin*; *Herald Sun; Newsphotos; Newspix; Newstext; NT News; Post-Courie; Sunday Herald Sun*; *Sunday Mail*; *Sunday Tasmanian; Sunday Territorian; Sunday Times; The Advertiser*; *The Courier-Mail; The Mercury; The Sunday Telegraph; Weekly Times*** **In the UK: *New International*; *News of the World; The Sun*; *The Sunday Times; The Times*** **In the US: *New York Post* (175 Newspapers total)**
Magazines and Inserts	***InsideOut*; *donna hay*; *News America Marketing*; *SmartSource; The Weekly Standard*; *TV Guide* (partial)**
Books	**Harper Collins (35 divisions); HarperCollins UK; HarperCollins Canada; HarperCollins Australia; ReganBooks, Zondervan**
Direct Broadcast Satellite Television	**BSkyB; DIRECTV; FOXTEL; Sky Italia**
Other Holdings	**News Outdoors; Nursery World; Los Angles Dodgers (sold in 2004); New York Rangers and New York Knicks (20%); Los Angles Kings (NHL, 40% option); Los Angles Lakers (NBA, 9.8% option); Staples Center (40% owned by Fox/Liberty); News America New Media; Fox Sports Radio Network; Broadsystem; Festival Records; Fox Interactive; Mushroom Records; National Rugby League; NDS; News Interactive**

Figure 1

The holdings in Figure 1 do not stand alone; they all interact with other

businesses, investors, and the public. News Corporation is ensconced in both the US and world economic markets and reports ten consecutive years of profits.[14] Corporations like News Corporation wield not only tremendous economic power through their vast holdings, but also political power. While such corporations are technically held to certain governmental laws and regulations, they exercise tremendous influence, which often allows them to circumvent such regulations, lobby for certain favours, or expand their market share. This was evident for instance when Rupert Murdoch was establishing Fox Television and he was granted a first time ever waiver from a US law requiring media firms to be based in the US.[15]

News Corporation uses its enormous economic and political resources to influence the 'public sphere' in order to enhance its own position within the marketplace. News Corp's power, conservative ideology, and subsequent influence over the public sphere can be seen in several areas. For example, News Corporation's Washington DC lobbying budget for the first half of 1997 was $800,000 (ZAR 3.6 million).[16] Instances of media bias and propaganda can be found in Fox's news coverage of the 2000 and 2004 US presidential elections and the Iraq War. Suppression of news and information occurred within a story about Monsanto. Another illustration is the removal of ex-Hong Kong governor Chris Patten's memoirs in order not to offend the Chinese government. Murdoch was hoping to expand into the Chinese market and thus it was in the self-interest of his corporation to withdraw the material.[17] Murdoch's ability to curry political relationships can be found in all the markets where News Corporation is located. In the United Kingdom, Murdoch has a close relationship with Tony Blair. In the United States, Murdoch was able to finesse a $290-million loan from the Export-Import Bank of the United States after having lunch with President Carter in 1980, despite the fact that the bank initially rejected him.[18]

News Corporation is not unique among corporations in its ability to influence politicians, policies, and the public sphere. The Ireland-based Independent News and Media, which will be covered below, has also used its market domination and influence to wield it power over politicians in Ireland.[19] Additionally, Independent News and Media was able to use its influence in South Africa with the ANC when they received support from Nelson Mandela for the purchase of Argus Newspaper Ltd. in January 1994 with the promise to increase black shareholding, which never materialised.[20]

Large corporations generally work on many fronts to ensure their survival and generate profits for shareholders. Given their political and financial ties, media corporations often have the incentive to manufacture news in a way that satisfies politicians, profits, and shareholders.

South African media

South Africa has been far from immune to the global economic and media changes discussed above. Quite contrarily, the same media consolidation seen around the world has occurred in South Africa over the past fifteen years with a series of mergers, consolidations, and takeovers. With change in the air in the

early 1990s, the South African corporate sector in conjunction with international financial institutions and international capital forced the incoming ANC government of South Africa to embrace neoliberal economic policies.[21] This paved the way for even more foreign direct investment (FDI), corporate mergers, and acquisitions in all industries, including the media. In the past, South African media ownership was divided on economic and ideological lines. With the emergence and celebration of neoliberalism, media corporations rallied around global economic assimilation, even if many previous divides in the population remained.[22] During the transformative years of media restructuring, the selling and ownership of media assets continued in the hands of the private, for-profit sector away from the public.

Just as an examination of the News Corporation revealed the depth of consolidation and influence in America, an examination of Independent News, Johnnic, and Naspers will reveal a similar pattern. The sections below will provide a partial list of financial holdings of the parent company for the *Business Day, Cape Times,* and the *Natal Witness*. These holdings range from movie theatres and bookstores to publishing houses and magazines to the internet and outdoor advertising. Like the News Corporation, these firms are very established within the current market system and will generally work to reinforce the socio-economic relationships through filtering the news and information. After establishing the breadth of these corporations' ownership, I will go on to illustrate how consolidation of media directly leads to decreased competition and overdependence on advertising, which in turn leads to suppression of alternative opinion, increased sensationalism, and overall homogenization of the news.

Independent News and Media (Cape Times)

The *Cape Times* (Monday-Friday) had a circulation of 51,285 for the period covering January-June 2004, and a readership of 316,000 according to their own data. They describe the paper as:

> the dominate and authoritative morning daily newspaper in Cape Town, servicing the needs of upmarket reader, emphasising business news and providing in-depth coverage of current issues. [23]

The *Cape Times* is one of 15 daily and weekly newspapers produced by the Independent News and Media Limited, which makes it the largest newspaper publisher in South Africa in terms of the total number of different papers produced. Put simply, it is vital to review Independent News and Media because it is the owner of *Cape Times,* the pre-eminent paper in Cape Town and one of the three newspapers in this study, and because Independent News has the largest number of papers in South Africa.

The growth of Independent News and Media newspapers in South Africa resulted from Irish businessman Tony O'Reilly who saw political change in South Africa in the 1990s and sought to acquire a stake in the Argus group. The group increased to 58% in 1995[24] and is now fully 100% owned by the Independent News and Media. Independent News and Media and its parent company,

Independent News and Media PLC, are based in Dublin, Ireland. Currently, Independent News and Media PLC have 165 newspapers worldwide and magazines titles with weekly circulation of over 13.5 million papers. They also have holdings in radio, advertising (both radio and external advertising), printing, television broadcasting, and the internet. The company's businesses can be found in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United Kingdom. Financial indicators for Independent News and Media PLC for fiscal years 2002-2003 are as follows (Figure 2):[25]

INDEPENDENT NEWS AND MEDIA FINANCIAL INDICATORS[26]

	2003	2002
Turnover **(before tax and exceptionals)**	**€1,388.2 million (ZAR 11,686.6 million)**	**€1,310.3 million (ZAR13, 037.3 million)**
Profit **(before tax and exceptionals)**	**€ 154.6 million (ZAR 1,321.7 million)**	**€ 129.0 million (ZAR1,243.7 million)**

Figure 2

In 2002, *Forbes* magazine named Independent News and Media's CEO, Anthony O'Reilly, the 351st richest person in the world.

In South Africa, some of the holdings of the Independent News and Media group are (Figure 3):

INDEPENDENT NEWS AND MEDIA HOLDINGS

Newspapers	***Cape Argus*** **(Cape Town);** ***Cape Times*** **(Cape Town);** ***Daily News*** **(KZN);** ***Diamond Fields Advertiser*** **(Kimberly);** ***Isolezwe*** **(Gauteng, KZN);** ***Post*** **(KZN);** ***Pretoria News*** **(Pretoria);** ***Pretoria News Weekend (Pretoria); Saturday Star*** **(Gauteng);** ***Sunday Independent*** **(National);** ***Sunday Tribune*** **(KZN);** ***The Independent on Saturday*** **(KZN);** ***The Mercury*** **(Durban);** ***The Star*** **(Gauteng); *Weekend Argus*** **(Western Cape)**
Magazines	***CondeNast; Glamour; GQ; House and Garden***
Other Holdings	**14 Cape community newspapers (Cape Town); Clear Channel Independent (outdoor advertising) 40.3%; www.iol.co.za (internet)**

Figure 3

In sum, Independent News and Media's primary business interests in South Africa lie in newspapers and outdoor advertising. This is important because the *Cape Times* is most likely one of the papers members of the Parliament and their staff read while in Cape Town.

Johnnic Holdings (Business Day)

Business Day (Monday-Friday) has a circulation of 41,591 and a daily readership of over 120,000.[27] The paper describes itself as,

> South Africa's most influential and respected daily newspaper, offering incisive coverage of business, politics, labour and other current affairs, written by the country's top journalists.[28]

Business Day is one of 13 weekly or daily papers published by the parent company, Johnnic Communications which is part of Johnnic Holdings. In 1996, Johnnic was purchased from Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) by the National Empowerment Consortium (NEC), which was comprised of a group of black investors. The deal not only was the biggest cash deal in South African history, but it also increased black shareholders of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) to ten percent.[29] Furthermore, the deal helped diversify the media industry within the country. Johnnic Holdings' financial reports for 2003-2004 ending 31 March are as follows (Figure 4): [30]

JOHNNIC FINANCIAL INDICATORS

	2004	2003
Revenue	**Rm 2,789**	**Rm 12,088**
Profits **(after taxation)**	**Rm 4,307**	**Rm 1,616**
Assets	**Rm 4,406**	**Rm 7,823**

Figure 4

Some of Johnnic Holdings' assets can be found below in Figure 5:[31]

JOHNNIC HOLDINGS

Newspapers	***Algoa Sun*** **(Port Elizabeth);** ***Business Day*** **(National);** ***Daily Dispatch*** **(East London);** ***Go and Express*** **(East London);** ***Ilizwe*** **(Port Elizabeth);** ***Indabazethu*** **(East London);** ***Our Times*** **(Port Elizabeth);** ***Representative*** **(East London);** ***Saturday Dispatch*** **(East London);** ***Sunday Times*** **(National);** ***Sunday World*** **(Soweto);** ***The Herald*** **(Port Elizabeth);** ***Weekend Post*** **(Port Elizabeth)**
Magazines	***Built; South African Home Owner; Computing SA; Drive; Elle; Elle Décoration; Financial Mail; Hospitality; Longevity; M/MS; Pursuit; SA Mining; Site and Road; Soccer Life; The Wedding Collection; Weil;*** **Multiple Commercial Magazines**

Music	**Gallo Music Publishers; Gallo Records; Gallo Distribution; Music for Pleasure; AMD (Associated Music Division)**
Entertainment	**Nu Metro Home Entertainment; Nu Metro Theatres (234 screens); M-Net/Supersport (38.7%); Multiplex Cinema (Kenya)**
Internet Sites	**BDFM (50%); Career Junction; ICT World; MTN Network Solutions (40%); NetAssets (28.5%); PR Newswire; sundaytimes.co.za**
Books and Maps	**Booksite Afrika; Exclusive Books; Map Studios; Random House (25%); Struik; Struik Christian Books; *Caxton/CTP (36.02%)**
Platform Operations	**CDT (Compact Disc Technologies; manufactures CDs and DVDs); ELS (Entertainment Logistics Services; warehousing, distribution and logistics); Nu Metro Distribution; Rights Management**
Non-Core Assets	**Gallagher Estate; Johnnic Properties; Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World**
Additional subsidiaries, associates and investments:[32]	**AFMED P/L (31.2%); African Business Channel (PTY) LTD (31.2%); Allied Media Distributors P/L (18.7%); Allied Publishing LTD (20.6%); Banner News Agency P/L (17.9%); Cell Place P/L (13.1%); Cellular Calls P/L (9.8%); Display Books P/L (25.0%); Durban Add-Ventures LTD; Electronic Media Network LTD (16.3%); Gallagher Estate Holdings LTD (2); I-Talk Cellular (15.4%); Leaf Wireless P/L (13.5%); Magic Company P/L (29.7%); MTN (6); National African Telecommunications (37.8%); New African Communications P/L (37.8%); New Bucks Holding LTD (17.5%); New Holland Publishers (UK) LTD; NMC Holdings P/L (47.5%); Northern Titles P/L (31.2%); Nu Metro (11); Numet Cinemas P/L; OPTI Klerksdorp P/L; OPTI Middleburg; Orbicom P/L (37.8%); Picasso Headline P/L; Pilgrims Booksellers P/L; Pro Dub Publications; Pro Rege-Pers LTD; Radio and Household Appliances P/L; Rand Daily Mail LTD; Riccia Property Managers P/L; Riverbend Learning Systems P/L (34.3%); RMP Record Co P/L; Rodland investments LTD; Route 66 Productions P/L; Schedar Investments LTD; Shosholoza Licensing P/L; Sightlines P/L; Soundprops 1065 Investments; South African Natural History Unit P/L; Southern Book Publishers P/L; Southern Directories P/L; Southmar Investments LTD; Steenberg Vineyards P/L; Ster City Johannesburg; Struik (5); Supersport International Holdings LTD (16.3%); Sweets From Heaven Holdings (2); Symmetrical Investments P/L; Teal Trutone P/L; Temco Investments P/L; The Newspaper Printing Company (21.9%); Thurco Properties 6 P/L; Times Media Cape LTD; Toomstraat investments P/L; Track Machinery Company P/L; Trade Information Services (2); Tradeworld P/L; Trans Limpopo Media LTD; Transaction Management Services (8.8%); Trutone Industries P/L; Tusk Music (4); Universitas P/L; Varied Investments LTD; Vereeniging Amalgamated Theatres P/L; Video Cassette Reproductions P/L; Video Lab Holdings LTD; Warner Home Video P/L**

*Associated Companies **Figure 5**

As illustrated above, Johnnic has a diverse economic portfolio in South Africa with newspapers being only one spoke on a larger economic wheel. In this

portfolio, *Business Day* could be used for cross promoting and or downplaying a story about one of Johnnic's other investments. The importance of these cross-relationships will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Naspers (Natal Witness)

Natal Witness has a daily circulation (Monday-Friday) of 23,741 and reports a readership of 149,000.[33] The *Natal Witness* also publishes *Echo, The Mirror, Village Talk, Greytown Gazette*, and *UmAfrika.* Additionally, it prints, manages, and distributes *Ilanga (Zulu)* (100,000), South Africa's oldest black newspaper. Like other newspapers, the *Natal Witness* is part of a larger corporate structure. Naspers, the parent company, owns 50% of the *Natal Witness* while the other 50% is family-owned. Naspers is a multinational media group that has holdings around the world, including in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Mediterranean. However, over 60% of its operations are found within South Africa. Naspers is also the predominant publisher of Afrikaans language print media in Southern Africa.

Naspers is traded on both the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotation (NASDAQ) stock exchanges. Below are the financial figures for 2003-2004 ending 31 March (Figure 6):[34]

NASPERS FINANCIAL INDICATORS

	2004	2003
Revenue	**Rm 12,804 or $2029 USD (millions)**	**Rm 12,204 or $1546 USD (millions)**
Net Profit	**Rm 371 or $59 USD (millions)**	**Rm 737 or $42 USD (millions)**
Assets	**Rm 13,092 or $2,074 USD (millions)**	**Rm 13,373 or $1,694 USD (millions)**

Figure 6

Some of Naspers' holdings can be found below in Figure 7:[35]

NASPERS HOLDINGS

Newspaper Industry	**Newspapers: *Beeld* (5 Provinces-Gauteng, KZN); *Die Burger* (Eastern, Western Cape); *City Press* (Gauteng); *Wor*ld*; *Daily Sun* (Gauteng); *Rapport* (National); *Sunday Sun* (National) ; *The Natal Witness* (KZN); *Volksblad* (Free State)**
	Digital: Finance24; Food24; Health24; Property24; Subscribe 24; Wheels24; Women24
	Distribution: NND24* (50% interest)
	Printing: Paarl Media Holdings (Pty) Limited (84.2%); Paarl Gravure; Paarl Media; Paarl Print; Paarl Web

	Additional: Several community newspapers; Soccer-Laduma (76%); Son (weekly)
Magazines	***Baba & Kleuter*; Bicycling SA; Blunt; Cosmopolitan*; dit ; Drive Out*; Drum; Eat In*; Eat Out*; Fairlady; FHM*; Finance Week; Finansies & Tegniek; Gold Digest; heat; Huisgenoot; Insig; Kick Off SA; Landbouweekblad; Men's Health; Runners; SA Sports Illustrated; Salt Water Girl; Sarie; Seventeen; Shape*; Surfing; True Love; Tvplus; Visi*; Wegbreek; Woman's Value; YOU; Your Baby*; Your Pregnancy; ZigZag***
Pay Television	**Multichoice South Africa; Multichoice Africa; M-Net and M-Net brands; Netmed (Mediterranean); Supersport and Supersport brands; UBC (Thailand)**
Internet	**M-Web; M-Web (Thailand); Sanook!; SportsCN (China); Tencent (China)**
Book Industry	**Publishing: Collegiums Botswana; Jonathan Ball Publishers; Lux Verbi.Bm; Nasou Via Afrika; NB Publishers; Van Schaik Publishers; Van Schaik Electronic; Via Afrika (Nasboek previously)** **Retail and Distribution**: **Afribooks; Leisure Books; Leserskring, CD; Lux Verbi Bookstores; Music Club, Kalahari; On the Dot Distribution; Van Schaik Bookstores**
Private Education	**Academy for Mathematics and Science; Allenby Campus; Camelot International Health and Skin Care; Career College; City Varsity: Film, Television and Multi-Media; College of Financial Services; Damelin Correspondence College; Damelin Education Group; Educor (private education in South Africa); The H.I.L.L. School for Business; Intec Colleges; Lyceum Advancement College; Midrand Graduate Institute; Milpark Business School; Self Empowerment International**
Other Holdings	**Computicket; Irdeto Access (content protection; 91 clients in 37 countries); Kalahari.net (online shopping similar to Amazon); LeisureworxGRC; Entriq (pay media)** **Additional subsidiaries, associates and investments of Naspers[36]:** **Electronic Media Network LTD Supers (41.3%); IKSC LTD (TH) (26.3%); Internet Knowledge Service Centre Co LTD; KSC Commercial Internet Company LTD(TH) (17.1%); Media 24 LTD; Mindport P/L; Mindport IBS LTD (VG); MNH Holdings (1998) LTD; Netmed BV (NL); United Broadcasting Corp Public Co. (13.1%)**

Figure 7

In sum, Naspers' holdings in South Africa centre around a collection of media products: publishing, newspapers, and the internet to name a few. This background information on the three major corporations—Independent News and

Media, Johnnic, and Naspers—helps contextualise the argument I will make later in this chapter that the concentration of media is detrimental to citizens and democracy.

Interlocking capital

The three newspapers under review, *Cape Times, Business Day,* and the *Natal Witness*, are part of a much larger network of companies with intertwining relationships. Like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the three corporations that own the *Cape Times, Business Day,* and the *Natal Witness*, form a cartel within the South African print media industry and they speak and perform in similar manners. For example, looking at the South African newspaper industry during 2002-2003, the three newspaper corporations Independent News and Media, Johnnic, and Naspers accounted for 17 of the 19 main daily newspapers, or 89% of the market, and 12 of the 13 weekly newspapers, or 92% of the market or virtual control.[37] Since that period Independent News and Media has added a daily tabloid paper in Cape Town, *Daily Voice.* Additionally, these corporations belong to a variety of trade groups, such as South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF), South African National Editors Forum (SANEF), and Print Media SA (PMSA).

Pricing is another mechanism to control the market. These large corporations control vast amounts of media and they do not manufacture nuts and bolts: they manufacture a social and political world for South Africans. They have immense power. We will examine the repercussions later in this chapter, but one only has to recall the former Soviet Union to know that having a centralised media is detrimental to competition, diversity of opinion, and unbiased reporting.

These corporations are not only vast and connected to the corporate world through their holdings, but also intimately connected through their board staff. Board members often come from the same interlocking institutions that run the economy and they tend to be captains of industry, former government officials, bankers, and lawyers who do not criticize the product or market. They generally come from the same socio-economic class. Board members of Independent News and Media, Johnnic, and Naspers are naturally invested in having the company turn a profit for the shareholders. An examination of Naspers' and Johnnic's non-executive board members further reflects this investment in the economy, as board members have relations with the South African economy. Having corporate leaders on the board affects how the news will portray those corporations and broader neo-economic policies in general. For example, a paper may not provide negative media coverage of a fellow board member.

Figure 8 presents the non-executive board members (Independent News and Media non-executive board members were not included because they are primarily located outside South Africa):

NON-EXECUTIVE CORPORATE BOARD MEMBERS

Naspers[38]	**Absa; Anglo American; BMW (SA); BP Southern Africa Limited; Bonatla Property Holdings; Brimstone Investment Corporation; Business South Africa; Cape Philharmonic Orchestra; Cape Town Graduate School of Business Board of Advisors; Cape Town Press Club; Don Caldwell Trust; First Rand; Findevco; Helen Suzman Foundation; Industrial Development Corporation; KWV Group; Loubser Du plessis Inc.; Momentum Life; Murray and Roberts; Rhodes University; Pick 'n Pay Stores Limited; Sanlam; Shoma Education Trust; South African Economic Society; South African Foundation; South African Institute of International Affairs; South African Institute of Race Relations; Stigtingvir Bemagtiging duer Afrikaans; University of Pretoria; University of Stellenbosch; University of Western Cape; World Wildlife Fund (SA)**
Johnnic[39]	**ACCI; African Legends Investment Limited; AngloGold; Anglo American Platinum; Caltex Oils SA; Commonwealth Business Council; Coronation Investments and Trading; Datatec; First Rand Limited; Macsteel Holdings Limited; Millennium Consolidated Investments; MTN; Nedcor Investment Bank Holding; Old Mutual Life Holdings (SA); South African Breweries; Transnet Airports Company South Africa; Snoek Wholesalers (Proprietary) LTD**

Figure 8

Board members tend to be conservative politically, as they have a vested interest in keeping the economic and political system unchanged since they already profit from it. The appointment of university faculty, captains of industry, and well-known figures provides valuable credibility and respectability for corporate image. Furthermore, board members speak on the behalf of the corporation to the larger corporate world and the public at large.[40] In short, managers and board members do not want to upset property or social structures or do anything that will lessen their position within the market and society.

Corporate control of the media results in censorship, skewed news, and propaganda on the behalf of "special interests that dominate the state and private activity."[41] A story to illustrate this point comes from San Francisco, California. In 1999, under legal deposition, a Hearst Corporate executive revealed that the *San Francisco Examiner* would provide favourable media coverage for San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown's re-election, if he would give his support to the Hearst Corporation's purchase of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the other daily paper in town. As predicted, media coverage of the election was positive for Mayor Brown and negative for his challenger.[42]

Like many countries around the world, South Africa has a public

broadcasting system which the state manages, in this case through the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). State managers and politicians have long realized the power of shaping and controlling state media enterprises. Speaking about the role of the media, Minster to the President, Essop Pahad, captures the importance of the media at a May 2008 media conference on South African branding. He states,

> The media are not neutral purveyors of news and voyeurs of facts. They are political actors and political agenda setters in their own right and through the social construction of news… Through a set of values which they secrete…they decide what is important for readers to think about, they in effect structure the thinking of readers.[43]

Also in 2008, there were a series of major turf battles within the ANC about SABC. The Chief Executive Dali Mpofu was suspended several times, the head of news Snuki Zikalala was suspended by Mpofu, board members appointed by former President Mbeki were asked to resign, the minister of communication Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri tried to take control of SABC, and Parliament tried to create laws to fix the personnel infighting. Many of the individuals involved went to court to air their concerns. During the court proceedings people stated that they were being blacklisted and there were even protests outside SABC studios in several provinces. Much of the infighting within the ANC about SABC stems from the leadership change at the ANC conference in Polokwane in December 2007 when former Deputy President Jacob Zuma beat out President Thabo Mbeki as the leader of the ANC.[44] Prior to the Polokwane conference President Mbeki appointed several people to the SABC Board, since then people have accused SABC as being loyal to President Mbeki. The new ANC leadership wants their team inside SABC. With a presidential election slated for 2009, factions within the ANC are vying for control of SABC. It appears that each side is digging in for a long fight. Ironically, the Broadcasting Act No. 4 of 1999 has clear guidelines about politics and the media. In Chapter IV—Public Broadcasting Service and Charter of Corporation, Section 10 –(1) The Public Service provided by the Corporation must…

> [Subsection] (d), provide significant news and public affairs programming which meets the highest standards of journalism, as well as fair and unbiased coverage, impartiality, balance and independence from government, commercial and other interests;[45]

While the Broadcasting Act No. 4 of 1999 is clear that politics has no place within SABC the current battles within the ANC and SABC indicate the power people within those organizations have over the State controlled media.

In democracies, wealth, capital, and power have inordinate amount of influence in shaping economic and political outcomes. Herman and Chomsky write about the first filter of ownership:

> In sum, the dominant media firms are quite large businesses; they are controlled by very wealthy people or by mangers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other market–profit-oriented forces; and they are closely interlocking, and have important common interests, with other major corporations, banks and government.[46]

Independent News and Media, Johnnic Holdings, and Naspers clearly meet the first filter criteria of being large corporations that own media products as outlined by Herman and Chomsky. The other filters: advertising, sources, flak, and neoliberalism will be covered in the subsequent chapters.

Impacts of corporate media

The role of the media has changed as corporations have become more consolidated. Both the media and corporations have evolved dramatically away from what they were originally intended. Historically, it is important to note that the creation of corporations was done by the state as a mechanism to serve national interests and the public good. The Hudson Bay Company and the East India Company were two of England's corporations authorised by the monarchy to serve such purposes throughout the empire.[47] Over the centuries corporations have evolved to almost exclusively focus on the advancement of their own private interests and profits rather than national interests.

It is the state and courts that give corporations their status, rights, and legal standing within societies by enforcing laws, property rights, and setting parameters around global trade. Corporations of today have more rights than the average citizen.[48] This state-led support coupled with the emergence and growth of economic liberalisation has allowed corporations to flourish. For example, the magnitude of corporations can be seen in the fact that the 20 top corporations make more than the GDP of all but five countries. The media has not been immune to this exponential corporate growth. As stated earlier, the press has seen itself as the 'fourth estate' or 'fourth branch' of government by fulfilling a watchdog role and contributing valuable information to citizens. Ideally, this would be true and contribute to a healthy, strong democracy. Yet the realities of neoliberalism have turned the media corporate, thereby weakening the watchdog role of the media.

Both media scholars and the media itself criticise this transformation of the press. James Squires highlights his experiences as an editor for the *Chicago Times*, in his book *Read All About It: the Corporate Take Over of America's Newspapers*:

> Journalism, the mirror through which society has seen itself, has been drastically distorted, its practice commercialized and appropriated for a decidedly different purpose. Without much notice, its role as the information provider for the democracy is being diminished and eclipsed by a successful far more efficient at delivering information but one without brand-name credibility, proven conscience or character references.[49]

Increased globalisation and concentration of the media has had a negative effect

on journalism.

Tom Johnson, former *Los Angles Times* publisher and later president of CNN, also highlights the significant impact of media ownership:

> It is not reporters or editors, but the owners of the media who decide the quality of the news… It is they who most often select, hire, fire, and promote the editors and publishers, top general managers, news directors, and managing editors- the journalists-who run the newsrooms… Owners determine newsroom budgets, and the tiny amount of time and space allotted to news versus advertising. They set the standard of quality by the quality of the people they choose and the news policy they embrace. Owners decide how much profit should be produced from their media properties. Owners decide what quality levels they are willing to support by how well or how poorly they pay their journalists.[50]

Again, as journalism becomes increasingly run like a business, news is diminished as profit takes centre stage.

In the same manner, the board for Independent News Media, Johnnic, and Naspers also set the standard and quality of their respective newspapers. In their book, *The News about the News: American Journalism in Peril,* journalists Leonard Downie Jr. and Robert G. Kaiser of the *Washington Post* evaluated the media in the US and made the following summing statements:

- News is the most important profit center for local stations and profit is more important than news.
- When profits, and thus rating, matter most, the temptation to woo bigger audiences with crime, violence, disasters and celebrities is overwhelming.
- High-tech gadgets and low-tech gimmicks appeal to local station mangers more than money on deeper, more thorough news coverage.
- The rise of tabloid-style celebrity news and the rise of celebrity journalists.
- The substitution of talk, opinion and argument for news.
- News treated as entertainment and entertainment treated as news.
- Government, political, foreign and other news of importance to people's civic lives was largely supplanted by crime, weather, health, consumer, investor, entertainment and other news believed to be of more interest to viewers and readers in their personal lives.
- Covering the news, once seen primarily as a public service that could also make a profit, became primarily a vehicle for attracting audiences and selling advertising, to make money.[51]

The above consequences are the result of corporate control of the board room. These concerns are not limited to American journalists.

A 2004 survey in Canada found that 68 percent of journalists felt that the quality of journalism in all chain-owned newspapers has declined under increased media concentration over the past few years.[52] 'Profit' is the current buzzword and universal organising principle in the economic world order, and is

more important than delivering a solid product to the community. The voices of these journalists raise concerns about the relationship between corporate control of the media, and democracy. What are the specific repercussions of being beholden to advertisers, treating news as entertainment, and increasing opinion and sensationalism? The cultural managers, policy makers, and people of wealth and influence in democracies depend on the mass media for their news and information of the world. Often, they must rely on the "pictures in our head,"[53] which the media predominantly provides, to make sense of the world. News selectively interprets the world and often gives a narrow or limited view that leaders and individuals tacitly accept as accurate and subsequently make decisions based on this information.

Corporations tend not to attack the system that feeds them, resulting in a decrease in the amount of investigative journalism, especially of the corporate sector, and an increase in sensationalism, soft news, and hypercommercialism. I will now briefly explore examples of each of these consequences, beginning with an illustration of how corporate control leads to more positive portrayal of the parent corporation. Between 2002 and 2003, media coverage of forestry in South Africa by *Business Day, Cape Times,* and the *Natal Witness* did not include a single source from a forestry worker (out of 265 articles and 552 sources). Forestry news was slanted to meet the needs of the wealthy not the needs of the workers.[54]

News and information are not ideologically free. Instead, they travel through a series of filters: ownership, advertising, sources, flak, and neoliberalism. US media critic, Michael Parenti writes about the power of the media in shaping world views:

> Even when we don't believe what the media say, we are still hearing or reading their viewpoints rather than some other. They are still setting the agenda, defining what it is we must believe or disbelieve, accept or reject. The media exert a subtle, persistent influence in defining the scope of respectable political discourse, channelling public attention in directions that are essentially supportive of the existing politico-economic system.[55]

It should not surprise anyone that private, for-profit media corporations instinctively carry out those behaviours that serve their own self-interest. Under capitalism, there is no loyalty other than increasing or maintaining market share and profit. Neither would one expect these corporations to be neutral or ideologically free when covering or presenting the news for that matter.

This mantra of profit also explains an increase in tabloid journalism in both print media and television around the world. In South Africa, Independent News and Media has significantly cut staff and editorial resources since it took over the paper in 1994.[56] Corruption, illegal deals, and mismanagement, for instance, are covered in the news but are often reduced down to individual personality flaws or irregular aberrations rather than structural analysis of the underlying socio-economic problems. For example, the downfall of Parliamentarian and ANC Chief Whip Tony Yengeni focused more on his 4x4 luxury Mercedes and personality than on political finance reform.[57]

In addition, there is a range of debate over most issues, but they overwhelmingly tend to fall within certain parameters, mainly from the right to the centre, with an occasional voice from the left. For example, the removal of Saddam Hussein in both the press and on television focused on tactical issues and not on whether it was appropriate or even legal.[58] In a similar manner, South Africa's bid for the 2010 World Cup focused almost exclusively on how it will benefit the economy and the nation. There was little discussion on how the funds needed to upgrade infrastructures, stadiums, and venues for the World Cup could have been used for such things as housing, healthcare, or basic services that might have far outweighed the temporary gain in jobs and tourism. Much of the money spent on the 2010 World Cup will never be accessed by the poor majority, which is odd since former President Mbeki stated, he had 'a pressing duty to eradicate poverty' (see Chapter 4 NEPAD). Media coverage often reflects the needs of power, such as the removal of Saddam, or finance, such as the 2010 World Cup.

In short, corporations are bound by class and adhere to the values and principles that reinforce the current system. Unwanted elements that threaten the system are weeded out by a variety of methods: limiting the discourse, suppression, framing of issues, choice of language, distortion, use of sources and self-censorship. Parenti writes:

> the most important effect of the news media: they set the issue agenda for the rest of us, choosing what to emphasize and what to ignore or suppress, in effect, organizing much of our political world for us. The media may not always be able to tell us what to think, but they are strikingly successful in telling us what to think about.[59]

Stated even more starkly, Parenti continues:

> News manufacturers are more than merely conduits for official and moneyed interests. They help create, embellish, and give life to the news, with an array of stereotypes, often misleading, but well-executed images, tones, evasions, nuances, suppressions and fabrications that lend confirmation to the ruling class viewpoint in a process that is not immediately recognized as being the propaganda it is.[60]

It is self-evident that profit-driven media have their own agenda and will do whatever it takes within the confines of the laws and regulations to maximize market share and ultimately enhance the bottom line.

Corporate media ownership by its very nature and self-interest reduces the range of debate on certain issues. For example, corporate media would not advocate or encourage commercial-free media, as it would simply be a threat to their existence despite the fact that it may meet the needs of the population. The "manufacturing of a social and political world" has significant consequences for the electorate because they receive limited, partial, or inaccurate information, thus making informed decisions more difficult. In a functioning democracy, informed decisions are vital. Citizens must understand the motives, interests,

and aspirations of those collecting and disseminating the information they are receiving, as will now be discussed.

Media, markets, and democracy

I have established that profit is the guiding force, and that media corporations are massive consolidated businesses that have biased boards and have incentives not to alienate advertisers. All this affects the way news is presented, as certain techniques and methods are used to ensure profit and create news that is pleasing to these vested interest groups.

Complaints and criticisms from all sides of the political spectrum about media performance only reinforce (however inaccurately) the notion that the media are doing their job for the public good. This is because such debate gives the impression that the media is serving as the 'fourth estate,' monitoring the actions or inactions of the state and other groups.[61] By theoretically performing these duties, the media serves 'the general welfare' of society through a guiding principle of professionalism that has evolved over time. Moving away from the early days of highly partisan journalism, new rules of conduct were set up as a culture of professionalism developed for journalism.[62] What follows is a list of values, ethics, and principles—the professional standards that journalists espouse. In an analysis of South Africa, these standards are important to hold up against current media performance of South African English daily newspapers. The adherence to professional standards, ethics, and principles is important in any profession in order to separate it from quackery, corruption, or in this case, propaganda.

The American Newspaper Guild Code of Ethics of 1934 spells out seven ideals on how a journalist should behave, five of which are:

> 1. [G]ive the public accurate and unbiased news reports
> 2. [Reporters] should not be swayed in news reporting by political, economic, social, racial or religious prejudices, but should be guided only by facts and fairness.
> 3. [N]ot to mislead or prejudice the reading public.
> 4. That the Guild should work through efforts of its members or by agreement with editors and publishers to curb the suppression of legitimate news concerning "privileged" persons or groups, including advertisers, commercial powers and friends of newspapers.
> 5. That the news be edited exclusively in the editorial rooms instead of in the business office of the daily newspapers.[63]

These well established values and principles are also found in South Africa with the Code of Ethics of the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) (2003):

> Freedom of expression lies at the foundation of a democratic South Africa and is one of the basic pre-requisites for this country's progress and the development in liberty of every person. Freedom of expression is a

> condition indispensable to the attainment of all other freedoms. The premium our Constitution attaches to freedom of expression is not novel, it is an article of faith, in the democracies of the kind we are venturing to create. …News shall be presented in the correct context and in a fair manner, without intentional or negligent departures from the facts whether by: a) distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation; b) material omissions; or c) summarisation.[64]

These overriding principles can also be found in specific South African newspapers, which have their own code of ethics. *The Star* (Independent News and Media) lists 27 rules that all staff members should adhere to at all times; for brevity, I will highlight eight of them:

> #2 *The Star* should aim to give all sides of an issue, but means of balanced presentation without bias, distortion, undue emphasis or omission.
> #3 *The Star* should be independent of government, commerce or any other vested interest.
> #4 *The Star* should expose wrongdoing, the misuse of power and unnecessary secrecy.
> #7 *The Star* should not pander to personal or sectional interests, but be solely concerned with the public interest.
> #8 The public's right to know about matters of importance is paramount. *The Star* should therefore fight vigorously any measure to conceal facts of public interest, any attempt to prevent public access to the news and any effort further to curtail freedom of speech.
> #14 *The Star* should report issues in an impartial and balanced manner. Every effort should be made to reflect all sides of a controversy, if not simultaneously, then in subsequent editions.
> #15 *The Star* should report news without regard to its own interests or viewpoint, and without favour to its advertisers.
> #20 *The Star* should report matters concerning itself or its staff in the same manner as it reports on other individuals or institutions.[65]

Following these principles, the media should serve the 'public good' or 'public interest' by presenting a balanced worldview of issues and events. While these principles are taught in journalism schools around the world, espoused as ideals, or written into codes of ethics, they are not always observed. However, what happens when the principles of journalism are yoked with the mantle of commercialism and neoliberalism?

Before I argue that the effects of the market are detrimental for media, it is important to look at how and when markets can be beneficial as advocates claim. A look at the US, with the richest media market and largest economy in the world, may provide testimony that the market is the best avenue for the media. The guru of the free market, Milton Friedman from the University of Chicago, argues that societies should use the market to solve their problems rather than the government. Robert McChesney summarizes Friedman's thoughts about democracy and freedom:

> Because profit making is the essence of democracy, any government that pursues antimarket policies is being antidemocratic, no matter how much informed popular support they might enjoy. Therefore it is best to restrict government to the job of protecting private property and enforcing contracts, and to limit political debate to minor issues. The real matters of resource production and distribution and social organization should be determined by market forces.[66]

Similar to Friedman, Michael Powell, (former) chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), outlined in his first press conference on 6 February 2001 that he believes in the "reliance on deregulation and markets" and that he is "convinced from the review of historical facts that the optimal environments for innovation and entrepreneurships are capital markets and free markets."[67]

The quotations from Friedman and Powell point to the fact that there is a long and extensive history of neoliberal and free market theory advocacy among academics, politicians, and the business community. Citizens are repeatedly told free markets will create new markets, give customers choices, and create happiness for all (similar to the trickle down theory of the 1980s). Former Federal Communications Commission (FCC) (US) chairman Mark Fowler explains that the government "should rely on broadcasters' ability to determine the wants of their audiences through the normal mechanism of the marketplace."[68] Fowler summed up his understanding of the media with, "television is just another appliance… a toaster with pictures."[69] However, what may be appropriate for the making and selling of toasters may not be appropriate for the media if democracy is part of the equation. National defence and law enforcement are not subject to the market, because it is felt that those areas need to be free to serve the whole population, not selected populations. Media should also be considered as such an area, since it serves an important democratic function.

It is my contention that the market effects on media performance have diminished democracy. As reviewed earlier, there is a strain among elite planners that democracy works best when large segments of the population are relegated to the fringe of public policy issues. Media often acts as a glue holding society together and if there is a constant diversion of serious issues with a steady diet of sex, violence, and light entertainment a de-politicised citizen will emerge. History has shown that a steady diet of gossip, sports, crime stories, and soap operas can divert a population's attention away from national concern. The former head of Mexico's Televisa, Emilio Azcarraga, put the matter succinctly:

> Mexico is a country of modest, very fucked class, which will never stop being fucked. Television has the obligation to bring diversion to these people and remove them from their sad reality and difficult future.[70]

In this view, citizens are seen as passive consumers who are called upon from

time to time to vote on a very narrow range of choices while those with vested interests and power make the real decisions. This phenomenon is evident in many countries around the world with increased voter apathy, lack of public policy awareness, and de-politicised citizens and consumption levels of entertainment.

Regrettably, the media industry is not the same as an appliance industry or one that makes nuts and bolts. The media simply cannot be viewed as a commodity, like toasters, as it has a transcendent quality and a more valuable public service component. National defence is not a commodity to be bought and sold nor is the National Weather Service. Why not the media? It also has an irreplaceable public function to serve. Unfortunately, high concentrations of media ownership echo the values and interests of corporations and dominant political figures at the expense of the de-politicised majority. In the end, it is democracy and journalism that lose out, as only selected stories and issues are brought to the fore. Other issues are dismissed, suppressed, or more likely ignored as citizens are diverted to the latest gossip, scandal, or a story of the latest sports hero that has 'fallen.'

In democracy, decisions need to be reflected in the will and interest of the entire population, not elite special interests. Any meaningful change or policy must be deeply rooted in the desires and wishes of the people. Self-government, or democracy, should draw people into public debates about community life and community well being. People in the public arena should have equal access and weight in the democratic process. All citizens need to be equally informed of decisions that affect their lives. However, the media is less able to fulfil this role when journalism is highly commercialised and sold as a commodity.

Watering down democracy

For the remainder of this section, I will lay out four arguments that demonstrate that large corporate control of the media has anti-democratic tendencies and diminishes representative government by limiting the range of ideas available to citizens. These arguments will have direct correlation to how the media in South Africa has covered forestry, terrorism and NEPAD.

Decreased competition and diversity of opinion

Homogenisation of news and media content results in part because of the high cost of entry into the market. This process inhibits a variety of participants because corporations have a monopoly over production and distribution. Additionally, media boards are filled with corporate leaders as previously discussed.[71] Increased concentration of media ownership has a homogenising effect, drowning out competitors. Free market advocates state that the market is the best mechanism for the media, "convinced from the review of historical facts that optimal environments for innovation and entrepreneurships are capital markets and free markets."[72] But rather than spurring an increase in the number of competitors within the market, highly concentrated ownership of media

products decreases competition and diversity of opinion.[73]

Free market advocates state that there are no barriers to the ability of individuals or groups to enter into the newspaper market. For these advocates, the market is all-powerful and will correct, adjust, and move as market forces converge. More accurately, however, the costs of entering the media industry are enormous. James Curran noted in 1997 that it cost £20 million (ZAR150.6 million)[74] to establish a new national daily, £30 million (ZAR 225.9 million) for a new cable station, and over £500 million (ZAR 3.766 million) to establish a new satellite TV business in Britain.[75] Even when people do have money and resources it does not guarantee a place within the market. This was the case in South Africa when Nigerian businessman Nduka Obaigbena invested $26 million dollars (ZAR 196.8 million) to launch a national newspaper, *This Day,* in October of 2003. For a variety of reasons (poor circulation, management, and cash flow) the paper closed a year later. Regardless of the enormous outlay of money, Obaigbena is still interested in restarting the paper in South Africa and is willing to invest another R50 million in the venture.[76] In other media industries such as music, television, radio, and publishing, the start up costs are also exceptionally high. Entering the media industry requires tremendous amounts of resources and capital, and thus despite all the talk about easy entry into the market place it is simply out of reach for the majority of the population in any country. Those who advocate for 'free trade' and 'economic liberalisation' are those players who already have a strong foothold in the market. Thus, free markets have not brought wealth of new entries, quality papers, or diverse opinions; instead, the increased consolidation has meant the opposite.

Many of the current large media firms around the world resemble that of a cartel in that they control many aspects of media production and distribution, in a similar way that the "Big Three" US automakers controlled 84% of the domestic car market many years ago. In film, Disney can create and subsequently produce a film and control all aspects of production, distribution, merchandising, and franchising of the product. Disney's *Lion King* illustrates this point. *Lion King* was a box office hit that had equally successful soundtracks, international musicals, toys, games, clothing, and cartoons. Johnnic, on a smaller scale, can advertise a seminar in *Business Day* or *Financial Mail,* then put on a seminar at their Gallagher Estates and provide wine from their Steenberg Vineyard, thereby retaining the rights and profits all the way from inception through to production and distribution. The end result is that only a handful of companies benefit and control what is provided, how it is provided, and when it is provided.

Another result of concentrated media ownership is that newspapers and television content tend to look very similar with a homogenizing effect on format, style and content.[77] For example, coverage of labour, environment, and terrorism follow a neoliberal script and tend to look the same, all falling within a narrow range of opinion that does not upset the status quo or political-economic structures. The same phenomenon appears to occur with retail shopping. Over time shopping starts to look the same from city to city with the same stores and the same items for sale, because a cluster of corporations own them all. In the media industry, this process naturally occurs when political and financial capital

interact, as the same news sources are utilized and the same social values are embraced. The end result is that alternative retailers, activist political thinkers, or those outside of the main media framework have much more difficulty getting their voice heard, let alone surviving.

An additional factor that limits journalism and contributes to the homogenising effect of the news is that interlocking financial relationships prevent critical reflection of partners or companies within the corporation. *The Star'*s rules for journalists, outlined above, require that the media strive to be "independent of government, commerce or any other vested interest." However, this is problematic when company holdings and board members are entrenched within the domestic and global corporate landscape. It is highly unlikely that *Business Day* or the *Financial Mail* would run investigative stories about Gallagher Estates, Gallo Records, or Exclusive Books, all owned by Johnnic. Similarly, the media does not cover in a balanced manner the wider media industry itself. News about media companies may detail mergers, acquisitions, takeovers, company profits, or the promotion of the latest product, production, or venture, but criticism and analysis of the media beyond this is lacking. In a market system, these built-in restraints from the concentration of media ownership curb journalism, which negatively affects citizens' informed participation in democracy.

On a positive note, the weekly newspaper the *Mail & Guardian* provides significant commentary and coverage about South Africa, Africa and the world to South African readers. At its origins in 1985 when it was called the *Weekly Mail,* the paper was a vocal critic of the apartheid government, until it was temporarily suspended by the government in 1988. During the years of struggle the paper was a must read for those interested in change and South African politics. In 1995, the majority of shares of the *Weekly Mail* were purchased by *The Guardian* (London) and the paper was renamed the *Mail & Guardian*[78]. The *Mail & Guardian Online* was the first news agency to go online in Africa. In 2002, Zimbabwean publisher Trevor Ncube purchased 87.5% of the *Mail & Guardian.*[79] The *Mail & Guardian* is a weekly paper and is thus not a part of this study. Furthermore, it is not owned by one of the big three newspaper cartels addressed in this thesis. The paper has consistently provided an alternative voice for South Africans informing them of issues that pertain to their lives. For example, the paper has assailed President Mbeki on the issue of AIDS, government services, and Zimbabwe. It has also gone after former Deputy President Jacob Zuma in his corruption and rape trials. The paper is not afraid to tackle difficult issues, nor do they shy away from investigative reporting of government officials, opposition political parties, the environment, civil society, or business practices. Political humor, especially that of Zapiro (Jonathon Shapiro), has also made a valuable contribution to informing the Republic. In brief, the *Mail & Guardian* provides a rich history of what a paper can be and do within a country.

Media beholden to advertising

Since newspapers rely primarily on advertising for revenue, changes in advertising have changed the face of journalism, news, and newspapers. This subject will be covered more fully in the next section. Briefly, however, advertisers sell a philosophy: life's difficulties and shortcomings can be solved through consumption. Advertisers do not want any disruptions or controversy to interrupt this mantra. Newspapers are not selling news but rather they are selling readers and an audience to their advertisers. A statement in 2003 by a US radio giant, Clear Channel's CEO Lowry Mays, confirms this perception:

> We're not in the business of providing news and information. We're not in the business of providing well-researched music. We're simple in the business of selling our customers products.[80]

Besides selling customers products, advertising has altered how editors perform their vocation. Highlighting the changing nature of newspaper editors, Gavin O'Reilly, chief operating officer of Independent News and Media states:

> Gone are the days when editors say "publish and be damned." Today's editors are acutely commercial, inventive, creative and ever-responsive to new product development and change.[81]

These statements represent a clear departure from the code of ethics of journalism outlined earlier that state that the media "should report news without regard to its own interests or viewpoint, and without favour to its advertisers." Since advertisers' revenue makes up the majority of income for a paper, newspapers are beholden to advertisers rather than the needs of public information.

Rise of sensationalism

The increase and proliferation of celebrity gossip, sex stories, and tabloid journalism has lowered the bar of journalism, in turn contributing to an increase in an uninformed citizenry.[82] As newspaper budgets and staff are cut, it is often the investigative reporters or those who probe, examine, or perform the 'watchdog' role that are curtailed in favour of human-interest stories. Thus, as newspapers focus more and more on profit, gossip and sensationalism are a natural progression not only because these subjects are cheaper to write about but also because they reap more profit. This is evident in South Africa as newspapers race to the bottom in search of profits and market share. Naspers led the pack with the advent of the *Daily Sun* and the Afrikaans version, *Die Son*. Independent News and Media introduced *The Voice—Sex, Scandal, Skinner, Sport* in Cape Town in 2005. And Johnnic has started revamping *The Sowetan*, trying to give it more curb appeal. According to the South African Research Foundation, the top three selling magazines in South Africa are: *Huisgenoot*, *You,* and *Drum*; all three have a focus on fashion, celebrity gossip, and entertainment. In sum, tabloid journalism sells well and increased circulation

means higher ad rates and thus higher profits.

The motto 'if it bleeds it leads' appears to be becoming more commonplace as an avenue to sell newspapers or capture the television audience. With this new sensationalism it becomes increasingly more difficult to distinguish the line between news and entertainment. Covering stories about British royalty, Hollywood gossip, fallen political figures, and sports heroes are a predictable evolution of market-driven journalism. Even stories about corrupt politicians are fair game, as everyone loves a good story, as long as the underlying political economic system is not questioned. In South Africa, politician Winnie Madikizela-Mandela made the news in 1989 with the Stompie Sepei murder, as well as for the fraud and theft charges in a loan scandal in 2003. In 2000, highly covered in the press, Hansie Cronje rocked the cricket world with his bookmaking actions on cricket matches he was playing in. Lastly, from October 2004 through June 2005, Durban businessman Schabir Shaik had been in the spotlight for the alleged arms deal with former Deputy President and now ANC President and possible next president of South Africa Jacob Zuma. These stories of corruption or abuse of power are often treated as isolated events. These human-interest stories are inexpensive to cover and there is no real controversy or substance to them. Furthermore, softer news does not antagonize or upset the basic economic power structures that advertisers support.

The *Economist* magazine compared news content for the *Times* of London between 1898 and 1998, and they found that in 1898 there were nineteen columns of foreign news, eight columns of domestic news and three columns of salmon fishing. More recently, in 1998, the lead international *Times* story was about actor Leonardo DiCaprio's new girlfriend.[83] Similarly, in the US, foreign television coverage from the three networks fell from 4,032 minutes in 1989 to 1,382 minutes in 2000.[84] Former editor of *The Atlantic Monthly,* James Fallows reporting on the press, writes:

> The view of public life that comes through today's press is, finally, less like the Super Bowl, or the World Series, or the Olympics than another sporting enterprise: pro wrestling.[85]

The best-selling daily newspaper in both South Africa (The *Daily Sun,* a Naspers paper) and Britain (*The Sun,* a News Corp. paper) are tabloid newspapers that are filled with scandal, sex and sports and occasional bona fide news.

Some media scholars have referred to this new style of journalism as a 'dumbing down' of the citizens, since each medium races to the bottom in search of market share and profit. In the end, it is democracy that loses out. In this info-tainment culture, individuals receive abbreviated stories or one-sided stories that subsequently inform their opinions, perceptions, and decisions. Deborah Chambers provides a helpful summary of some of these effects of increased concentration of media ownership:

> It has led to reduction on independent media sources, the commodifying of media contents and audiences, and the neglect of minority and poorer

> sections of the audience. …these factors lead to the marginalization of activities such as investigative reporting and documentary film-making. [86]

With decreased budgets, journalism suffers further. As journalists are pressed for time and efficiency, they increasingly rely on government and business sources for news information as the next three chapters on forestry, NEPAD, and terrorism will reveal.

Another dilemma in the new era of journalism is that traditional customs and cultures are lost as everything is geared toward a select, affluent, Western audience. Media coverage is based on strategic interests of the West. For example, journals and newspapers in the West generally have limited or only negative coverage of Africa. A group of eleven former African heads of state recently concluded the African Presidential Roundtable 2005, sponsored by Boston University's African Presidential Archives and Research Center, and found that media coverage of Africa was anything but fair and balanced. The group reviewed 2700 newspaper articles from 1994-2004 looking at some of America's most distinguished publications—the *New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal*, and others—and found:

> Coverage of Africa, by leading sources of American media is, at best, dismissive of the continents progress and potential, and thus leading to continued "exotification" and marginalization of the African continent. At worst, coverage disregards recent trends toward democratization, thus betraying an almost contemptuous lack of interest in the potential and progress being achieved on the continent. …negative perceptions lead to negative outcomes, namely, lower levels of aid and lower levels of investment.[87]

This trend in media coverage is particularly worrying for Africa. Media coverage should not and cannot be a commodity or strategic interest. Unfortunately, in the new world order of concentrated media ownership, there are too few voices to give the public accurate and unbiased news reports. Sensationalism sells and makes a profit for corporations, further bolstering the media's shift in allegiance from the public's right to know information to an allegiance to corporate ownership and ideology.

Protecting self-interest

Following market logic, actors in a market system will naturally behave in ways to ensure their continued profit and therefore existence. Microsoft, for example, controls 95% of the market and will continue to set the parameters of future computer development. An example in media is News Corporation's creation of the *Weekly Standard,* an intellectually conservative magazine that advocates a right-wing agenda. Many American conservatives utilise the magazine; US Vice President Dick Cheney receives 30 copies.[88] Corporations work on ways to consolidate market share, limit the competition of others, and enhance profit.

Similar to Microsoft, the media follows a similar pattern. Herman and Chomsky write, "among their other functions, the media serve, and propagandise

on the behalf, of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them."[89] Wealthy groups (e.g. owners and advertisers) can maintain the current economic order while at the same time maximize market share and profit. They can do this through a variety of obvious and subtle means, which will be discussed below, such as: domination, profit orientation, selection of topics, framing of issues, use of language, and public relations. Since media companies control vast sums of money and power they can readily throw their weight around. One News Corporation executive did just that when he stated in 1998, "We paid 3 billion for these TV stations. We will decide what the news is. The news is what we tell you it is."[90] The statement came after two News Corporation employees were fired for investigative reporting on the Monsanto Corporation, a multinational agricultural biotechnology corporation. This process of media owners 'deciding what the news is' presents a setback for journalism because if media owners determine what is or is not reported and it runs contrary to the ideas of a free press. Unfortunately, it appears that journalism standards and ethics are increasingly taking a backseat to power, wealth, and resulting self-censorship.

A profit-oriented media system does not account for the full range of opinions within society because it does not fairly represent all the voices or opinions of society. Rather, profit-oriented media represents the interests of those who fund and support it. Newspapers will try and increase market share and profit to attract advertisers. As a result, decisions about style, format, and content are based on profit, not what citizens need to know about their world. Todd Gitlin, in his book *Inside Prime Time,* chronicles how during the 1980s the three big networks in the US had their eyes focused clearly on the bottom line—profit. If profit is the given bottom line, corporations will do all they can to cut expenses and the use of wire service is cheaper than employing rural, foreign, or investigative journalists. Reliance on predictable, i.e. corporate sources of information, will also naturally follow in an effort to turn a profit.

Profit-driven media will continue to ensure the status quo since media owners and supporting players benefit from such a system. Herbert Gans, in his book, *Deciding What's News,* writes that:

> News supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, and white male sectors of society. Because the news emphasizes people over groups, it pays less attention to the institutionalised social order, except as reflected in its leaders; but obviously, the news is also generally supportive of governments and their agencies, private enterprises, the prestigious professions, and a variety of other national institutions… In short… the news pays most attention to and upholds the actions of elite individuals and elite institutions.[91]

Essentially, the selection of topics generally conforms to the desires and wishes of the elite. Media coverage of AIDS for example was not a priority of President Mbeki, but was clearly an issue for business as it impinges on labour. As a result, it will predictably be at least somewhat featured in media coverage. Likewise, coverage of family life in a township, long medical queues, or wealth inequality does not sell newspapers, unless it is a well scripted human interest

story. Under a free market system that focuses on the profits of selling, who represents these voices, stories, and concerns?

Another technique the news uses to convey a specific message, create a biased slant, or leave out relevant information is framing. For example, when an oil tanker spills oil into the water a newspaper can concentrate on how terrible it is for the environment or praise what the oil company is doing to clean up the spill. By framing issues in a certain light, usually pro-business, newspapers give citizens an inaccurate picture and one-dimensional world view. The coverage of labour/unions is a good example. There have been numerous studies on how the media presents labour and/or unions in a negative light in the press.[92]

The framing of issues can happen on any issue. In South Africa, some issues, and the establishment's subsequent framing of them, include:

FRAMING OF ISSUES

Issue	Establishment	Alternative
Pollution	**How business is doing its part**	**Human effects and consequences of pollutions**
Crime[93]	**What government is doing about it**	**Victims' stories, statistics**
Taxation	**Taxes are too high**	**Poverty, unemployment**
Nuclear Power	**Cheap energy is needed**	**Human cost, environmental impact**
Political Left	**Crazy, 'ultra left,' 'looney'**[94]	**Representative of people**
National Budget[95]	**Growth, GDP, successful programs**	**Unemployment, distribution of wealth**

Figure 9

A careful study of these issues would find a high preponderance of coverage favours big business just as the framing of forestry, NEPAD, and terrorism will reveal later in this study.

Closely related to the framing of issues is the use of language in describing an issue or event. Buzz words like freedom, welfare, government reform, terrorism, insurgents, democracy, entitlement, constructively engaged, and transparency can be applied selectively in news stories depending on the context. For instance, Hamas (Ḥarakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya or Islamic Resistance Movement) and members of Hamas are labeled 'terrorists' by many Western countries[96] while Jonas Savimbi and UNITA were identified as 'freedom fighters' by the West during the Cold War especially by US president Ronald Reagan.[97] Meanwhile, since 2003 the non-Muslim press identifies indigenous

Iraqis fighting against the American occupation, 'insurgents' while US Cuban exiles fighting the Cuban government are not. Words can bring forth images, negative or positive, and are employed to set the tone of an article or issue.

Edward Herman has identified common methods that the media employs in the US. This study underscores that South African media also utilises the same methods. Herman's concepts can be found below, followed in parentheses by my own application of examples from South African headlines:

> ***Purring.*** Purr words are those with positive and warming overtones that create an aura of decency and virtue. Purr words may include: reform, responsibility, accountability, choice, jobs, growth, modernization, flexibility, cost-benefit analysis, national security, stability and efficiency. ("Manuel puts growth first with R11bn tax payback"[98])
>
> ***Snarling.*** Snarling words are those that induce negative reactions and feelings of anger and rejection, like extremist, terrorists, dictator, dependency, welfare, reckless, outlaw and snarling itself. ("Mbeki draws line in dealing with 'ultra-left'"[99])
>
> ***Putdowns.*** Put downs are less aggressive words of denigration that chide rather than snarl. ("Minster of Water Affairs and Forestry, Ronnie Kasrils accused labour of befriending 'looney' organizations"[100])
>
> ***Playing down violence.*** This is when economic or political consequences are watered down. ("Rand's plunge lifts SA's hard-hit gold and platinum sectors,"[101] "State taps into robust forestry assets"[102]
>
> ***Obscuring appeasement of client state.*** This includes key phrases such as "quiet diplomacy," "commercial diplomacy," and "constructive engagement," which are intended to suggest that the appeasing administration is recall bargaining hard for human rights rather than putting a public relations face on its appeasement. (Numerous articles about South African governments response to troubles within Zimbabwe)
>
> ***Facilitating innuendo.*** This is when words and phrases like "linked," "it is reported" and "official claim" permit connections and actions to be presented without verifiable evidence and accountability. ("Iran can make nuclear trigger-opposition"[103])
>
> ***Personification and use of collective words.*** Personification of groups and nations and the use of collective words are other devices commonly employed to get over preferred positions not supported by evidence. ("Canada leads the way in G8 response to Nepad"[104])
>
> ***Falsely imputing benevolent motives.*** This is when words like 'risk' and 'gamble' are used as a way to imply courage in taking on an issue. ("Manuel backs G-7 plan to ease African debt with IMF gold"[105] or "Can [Condoleeza] Rice prevent harvest of death"[106])
>
> ***Removing agency.***[107] This is when interventions or past actions are downplayed. ("ANC reluctant to reopen arms report probe"[108])

Framing issues in a certain manner by using the above techniques strips citizens of valuable information. Citizens are not able to get a full balance understanding

of issues. In the debates of forestry, terrorism, and NEPAD, we will see which techniques are used to protect self-interest and profit.

The use of language and images are powerful forces in our everyday lives, often in a subtle manner. While the above techniques are specific to headlines and articles, they can be applied to the general approach of the public relations industry as a whole. The PR industry of Ivy Lee and Edward Bernays was established for the purpose of 'image building' or 'crisis management.' The evolution of the public relations industry has become very sophisticated that the "best PR ends up looking like news."[109] Public relations firms employ a multiplicity of strategies: relying on third party authorities, reframing issues, and splitting opposition forces.

Successful public relations examples are numerous. The following South African public relations event during the 1980s international boycott years, illustrates the skill and power corporations possess in shaping, framing, and wording the issues. The Shell Oil Company, feeling pressure from activists, such as US faith community, to withdraw business dealings in South Africa, drew up the 'Neptune Strategy.' To counter activist pressure, Shell hired public relations firm Pagan International. The strategy was to develop a task force to discuss the 'post-apartheid plans' that would ensure the continued growth of Shell in both South Africa and the United States. In 1987, Pagan subsidized and organised black clergy in the formation of the Coalition on Southern Africa (COSA) with great splendour to develop black-black business relationships, education, and training between the US and South Africa. However, in the end it was all a window dressing; COSA had no resources to carry out these goals. Shell boycott leader, Donna Katzin, points out that COSA was a deliberate attempt to "divide and weaken the position of the religious community with regard to South Africa." She indicates once the campaign was underway other companies with South African operations began to point out that not all US churches groups supported economic withdrawal from South Africa.[110]

In sum, public relations, the use of language, selection of topics, and framing of issues are mechanisms that the powerful utilize to maintain the status quo. This will be discussed in the following chapters on advertising, forestry, terrorism, and NEPAD.

Conclusion

Because parties in World War II utilised propaganda, studies of this war offer valuable lessons in media and democracy. Writing after World War II in the US, the Hutchins Commission (1947) addressed the problems of media ownership:

> When an instrument of prime importance to all the people is available to a small minority of the people only, and when it is employed by that small minority in such a way as not to supply the people with the service they require, the freedom of the minority in the employment of that instrument is in danger.[111]

Conscious of this threat, after the defeat of Japan, which signalled the end of

World War II, the US insisted that the former government set up a non-commercial, non-political broadcast system that was not contingent on government financing. The US declared that no democracy should be without one.[112] Yet despite this initiative and this post-World War II consciousness of potential threats, today, both in the US and South Africa and in many other parts of the world, the vast majority of owners of media are large corporations with ensconced economic interests within the domestic and global community that censor and filter news and information to suit their needs at the expense of democracy.

Just as post-World War II US had high hopes for an independent media, so too did post-apartheid South Africa. In 1994, South Africa had visionary goals for the media calling for a "free and vigorous" press that "should reflect the broad range of views and interests" while also being a "watchdog" and a media that is "independent of government or any other central control." The Comtask Final Report highlighted the possible threat that the concentration of South African media ownership would have on these visionary goals:

> South African democracy inherited a concentrated media. …Concentration of ownership and control is a matter of concern for all governments. In the case of the media, there is an additional concern: lack of diversity allows for control of information and opinion. Media diversity is thus vital to democracy.[113]

Numerous anti-apartheid activists who were both inside and outside the economic arena during apartheid and fought for a change in South Africa now find themselves in lucrative government, corporate, or NGO sectors within South African society with a new focal point on economics rather than political concerns.[114] While the media in South Africa has expanded and become more diverse since the end of apartheid, previously dissenting voices have now become institutionalised within the political and economic structures of the country.

National identity, politics, or locale does not change the performance of corporate market-driven media. South African media scholar Keyan Tomaselli writes:

> Owners of capital-whether black or white-use media organizations to further their own class interests to secure and enhance their personal strategic positions in the socio-economic order. They do this both in terms of the appropriation of profit, and the creation of new products and alliances.[115]

Under the current economic conditions, the principles of profit take precedence over serving the public sphere. The current media configuration in South Africa appears to have strayed from the idealistic goals outlined in the ANC document "Toward a Media Charter" in November 1991, which states:

> Democracy cannot emerge and flourish without a democratic media. However, declaration of media freedoms on its own is not enough. It has

> to be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the culture of open debate. …Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured.[116]

No matter how grand a vision or how eloquent a speech on justice and equality, the global market forces of trade alter those visions. Despite the historical significance of the socio-economic changes within South Africa over the last 15 years, the principle of capital takes precedence over journalism's code of ethics and the ideal of democracy.

As of September 2006, South Africa continued to experience deep seated structural unemployment which stood at 37% and large sectors of the population continue to live in poverty.[117] Crime and HIV/AIDS continue to ravage individuals, families, and the country. Other social indicators such as the Gini-coefficient, Human Development Index, and life expectancy have worsened.[118] These are pressing issues. Yet newspapers continue to elaborate about market share, free markets, and capital growth, failing to inform society about serious social conditions which could enhance political and social debate and thus enable democracy. A study of forestry, terrorism, and NEPAD coverage in South Africa will verify that sensationalism, decreased competition, and limited range of expressible opinion are ever present in a consolidated press and that this ultimately hinders South Africa's visionary quest for democracy.

[1] "In Zimbabwe, Mugabe signs repressive new media law," *The Committee to Protect Journalists*, January 9, 2005. http://www.freepress.net/news/print.php?id=6215. This Act was updated in 2005.

[2] Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988, 2002), 3-14.

[3] Information for this chapter was taken in July and August of 2004. There have been several changes in media ownership since that time but the principle of interlocking relationships remains the same.

[4] Briefly, economic liberalization advocates three things. First, nations must have strict fiscal control and budget deficits, which lead to less social spending in the areas of health, education and social security. Second, deregulation, which allows for capital to move freely, must be unrestricted, between countries. Third, liberalization of trade, also called free trade, so that tariff and non-tariff barriers are removed so goods and services can move unrestricted across borders.

[5] There are regional trading blocks as well. The three big ones include: Free Trade Area of Americas; the European Union (EU) and Asia-Pacific Economic Co-Operation (APEC). In Africa there are eight regional trading blocs: the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Southern African customs Union (SACU) and Common Market for East Africa (EAC), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS/CEEAC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU/UMA). Many trading blocs are in a state of flux as they renegotiate trading agreements with Asia, Europe and the United States.

[6] Often the IMF and WB prescribe the same remedy to all countries seeking international loans. They are: privatize national assets; repeal laws that slow capital; increase/raise rates on subsidies such as water, food, gas and apply poverty reduction strategy programs (PRSP) while at the same time opening up markets. The down side for countries is that national interests become secondary to international capital. There are many aspects of international trade, disputes, subsidies, services but one area that has received considerable attention is Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Transnational corporations through TRIPS have monopolized and patented intellectual knowledge often outside their country. Currently, in South Africa a legal battle is occurring between a US company and indigenous groups over rooibos tea. The US company claims rights to the name in the US. Another South African case involves pharmaceutical companies and the South African government over the importation of cheaper drugs. The implications of TRIPS for the mass media needs further study.

[7] Patrick Bond, in his book, *Talk Left Walk Right,* provides a table that lists five different ideologies and their players and institutions who influence public policy. From right to left they are: Resurgent Right Wing, Washington Consensus, Post-Washington Consensus, Third World Nationalism and Global Justice Movements. Bond, Patrick. *Talk Left Walk Right.* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), 23-27.

[8] Vandana Shiva. "*GATS/WTO: The Auctioning of Vital Resources and Essential Services,*" 26 March 2001. http://www.urfig.org/sup-eng-gats-shiva-pt.htm

[9] John H. McManus, *Market–Driven Journalism: Let the Citizens Beware* (London: Sage, 1994), 4-5.

[10] Eric Klinenberg, *Fighting for Air: The Battle to Control America's Media* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), Chapters 1-4 highlight US radio consolidation. In America also see Richard McCord, *The Chain Gang: One Newspaper versus the Gannett Empire* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press 1996); Davis Merritt, *Knightfall: Knight Ridder and How the Erosion of Newspaper Journalism, is Putting Democracy at Risk* (New York: Amacom, 2005).

[11] For a review of the affects of media ownership in the United Kingdom see; James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain.* Fifth Edition. (London. Routledge, 1997).

[12] Ben Bagdikian, *The New Media Monopoly* (Boston, Beacon, 2004), 4, 9.

[13] Ibid., 29. Ben Bagdikian's book, *Media Monopoly,* came out in 1983 and subsequently went through six revisions due to the media mergers over the last 20 years. In his revised and updated edition, *The New Media Monopoly*, Bagdikian covers the holdings of the Big Five media corporations and their boards of directors.

[14] "Who Own What" *Columbia Journalism Review*, http://www.cjr.org/resources/index.php?c=newscorp Information was also taken from News Corporation home webpage. http://www.newscorp.com/

[15] Bagdikian (2004), 40.

[16] For more information see Robert McChesney, *Rich Media, Poor Democracy* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 64-65. Financial information was listed in US dollars. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the dollar to Rand ratio was to take the six month average of the exchange rate for 1997. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for 1997 was 4.49293 Rand to a US dollar.

[17] Suppression of a story about Monsanto Corporation can be found in Robert McChensey, *Rich Media, Poor Democracy* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 58. Or the removal of ex-Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten's memoirs found in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, eds., *Mass Media and Society,* Third Edition, (London: Arnold, 2000), 123. Or see *The Guardian,* 26 February 1998; *The Observer,* 1 March 1998.

[18] James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, eds., *Mass Media and Society,* Third Edition, (London: Arnold, 2000), 124. For the US see Ben Bagdikian, *The New Media Monopoly.* (Boston, Beacon, 2004), 40.

[19] Jamie Murphy, *The Case of Sir. Tony O'Reilly,* Independent Media Centre Ireland. May 2, 2004. http://www.indymedia.ie/newswire.php?story_id=64781&print_page=true

[20] Robert B. Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 311-312.

[21] Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652-2002* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 29. Terreblanche points out that that the new economic system between the ANC and corporate sections has been institutionalized and that it 'systemically excludes the poorer half of the population from mainstream economic and political activity'. He also shows how the new ANC government all but abandoned its plans for re-distribution of wealth and resources.

[22] Historically, in South Africa, the mining industry came to dominate the economy ensuing a shift in the economic center of the country from Cape Town to Johannesburg. With the emergence of corporations and increased wealth, large businesses started to swallow independent media firms resulting in five media groups controlling the overwhelming majority of the media in South Africa. See, P. Eric Louw *South African Media Policy: Debates of the 1990's* (Bellville: Anthroppos, 1993). Also see Gordon Jackson, *Breaking Story. The South African Press* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 15-102 for a look at print media ownership from 1976-1990. For a brief history of media ownership from the 1800's to 2002 with an emphasis on the last 60 years see Keyan Tomaselli's "Media Ownership and Democratization," in *Media and Democracy in Africa.* Hyden, G., Leslie, M., and F Ogundimu,.eds., (New Brunswick: Transaction Publications, 2002), 129-155.

[23] Fact Sheet given out by Independent Newspapers in Cape Town on 27 August 2004. The facts sheet quotes the source as AMPS.

[24] Keyan Tomaselli, "Media Ownership and Democratization," Media *and Democracy in Africa.* Hyden, G., Leslie, M., and F Ogundimu, eds., (New Brunswick: Transaction Publications, 2002), 139.

[25] Independent News and Media PLC web page. http://www.inmplc.com/index.php Information about Independent News and Media was taken during the period of review 2002-2003 and part of 2004.

[26] Financial information from the company was listed in Euros. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the Euro to Rand ratio was to take the yearly average of the exchange rate. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for 2002 was 9.94988 Rand to a Euro and

8.54963 for 2003.

[27] Taken from Johnnic Communications website http://www.johncom.co.za/busnewspapers.asp on 27 August 2004.

[28] In November 2007 Johnnic Communications Limited changed names to Avusa The new website is http://www.avusa.co.za/ For this paper old website was, http://www.johncom.co.za/busnewspapers.asp

[29] Tomaselli (2002), 140-2.

[30] See note 26. For this paper the old website was http://www.johncom.co.za

[31] Ibid.

[32] Robin McGregor, *McGregor's Who Owns Whom 2004 24th Edition* (Paarl: Paarl Print, 2004), 348-9.

[33] Taken from Naspers (Media 24) website: http://www.media24.co.za/eng/newspapers/natalwitness.html on 28 August 2004.

[34] Information was taken from the Naspers official website. http://www.naspers.co.za/English/home.asp

[35] Ibid.

[36] McGregor (2004), 403-4.

[37] Prior to October 2003 the percent for daily newspapers controlled by the three corporations would be 94.7% if *ThisDay* is factored out. *ThisDay* newspaper appeared in Oct 2003 with a goal of trying to reach a circulation goal of 100,000 with the first few months. *A Business Day* front page article entitled, "False sales figures leave *ThisDay* down"(1 September 2004) stated, 'The Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) shows that *ThisDay* average daily sale for the second half of 2003 was 20,552. The paper reported sales of 32,401. Sales in the first half of this year averaged 17081 a day, but would have dropped to 13959 if the adjustment had been made to the latest figures rather than to last year's data.' The paper eventually was closed in October 2004. The difficulty that *ThisDay has* experienced is nothing new; it takes tremendous amount of resources to break into a market that is held in the hands of a few corporations.

[38] Naspers official website. http://www.naspers.co.za/english

[39] See note 26. www.johncom.co.za

[40] G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America Now?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 67.

[41] Herman and Chomsky, 1988, 2002, xi.

[42] McChesney (2000), xvii.

[43] Khanyi Magubane, "Media Forum debates SA brand." 27 May 2008. http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/index.php?view=article&catid=49%3Amedia_news&id=456%3Asa-brand-debated-at-media-forum&tmpl=component&print=1&page=&option=com_content&Itemid=54&5920306c3cd3b33555c41d0fdb96d16a=5f9eefea300227a58c288715e1e3ab18 Taken September 2008.

[44] On 21 September 2008, President Thabo Mbeki resigned as the President of South Africa after the national executive committee of the ANC asked him to step down. Nine days earlier on 12 September, former deputy President and current ANC President Jacob Zuma had pending corruption charges against him dismissed by Judge Chris Nicholson in a Pietermaritzburg court. Both Zuma and some leaders within the ANC alleged that President Mbeki led the corruption charges against the former deputy president. Barring any unforeseen circumstances, Jacob Zuma is likely to become the next president of South Africa with elections scheduled for April 2009. Deputy President of the ANC, Kgalema Motlanthe is slated to become the interim President of South Africa.

[45] Broadcast Act No. 4 of 1999. http://www.sabceducation.co.za/VCMStaticProdStage/CORPORATE/SABC%20Corporate/Document/Broadcast_Amendement_Act.pdf

[46] Herman and Chomsky, (1988, 2002), 14.

[47] Joel Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 153-154.

[48] Ibid.

[49] James D. Squires, *Read All About It: Corporate Takeover of America's Newspapers* (New York: Times Books, 1993), 226.

[50] Eric Alterman, *What Liberal Media: The Truth about Bias and the News* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 27.

[51] Leonard Downie Jr. and Robert G. Kaiser, *The News About The News: American Journalism in Peril* (New York: Knopf, 2002), 174-243. The drive for corporate profits also changed American television. US television journalist Bonnie Anderson confirms Downie and Kaiser's main arguments in her book, *News Flash. Journalism, Infotainment, and the Bottom-Line Business of Broadcast News* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2004). Additionally, James Fallows argues that the American television show *60 Minutes* changed TV journalism, since it made money. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermines American Democracy* (New York: Vintage, 1997), 55-59. Furthermore, veteran CBS television news correspondent, Tom Fenton demonstrated the amount of foreign news in the United States due to decreased substantially 1980's and 1990.' Tom Fenton, *Bad News. The Decline of Reporting, the Business of News and the Danger to Us All.* (New York: Regan Books, 2005).

[52] "Journalists say quality down, corporate control up at large newspaper chain, Senate probe told*." The National Guild of Canadian Media, Manufacturing, Professional and Service Workers/Communication Workers of America.* 11 March 2004. http://www.tngcanada.org/EN/news/2004/040311_tng_survey.shtml

[53] See, Walter Lippmann. *Public Opinion* (New York, Free Press, 1922), 3-20.

[54] See, Forestry Chapter-Methodology and Sources.

[55] Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), ix. This process can be confirmed when the Chinese government objected to Rupert Murdoch's satellite news carrying British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which was critical of the Chinese government. Murdoch dropped BBC from its Asian satellite programs. Found in Ben Bagdikian, *The New Media Monopoly* (Boston, Beacon, 2004.), 39.

[56] Kevin Bloom, *The O'Reilly Imperative. Mail and Guardian online.* 1 May 2004.

[57] See *Cape Times: Yengeni found guilty of 4 x 4 fraud,'*14 Feb. 2003 or *Magistrate Slams Yengeni's 'shocking' example*, 20 March 2003.

[58] In the US, media monitoring groups such as Media Matters and FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) have documented limited media coverage of the run up to the war in Iraq and subsequent occupation. Additionally, David Barstow's April 20th, 2008, article, "Behind Analysts, Pentagon's Hidden Hand" in the *New York Times,* documents how former military analysts were groomed, briefed and given privileged information in order to sell an unwanted war to the American public.

[59] Parenti, (1986), 23.

[60] Ibid., 226.

[61] James Curran, "Mass Media and Democracy Revisited," in *Mass Media and Society,* Second Edition, eds., James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (London: Arnold, 1997), 92. Curran revisits the notion of a 'watchdog' press for a large section of his article and states that the model may be outdated with rise of entertainment and contemporary journalism. Curran offers an updated model of Habermas for contemporary society that has not been implemented in any country.

[62] Daniel C Hallin, "Commercialism and Professionalism in the American New Media," in *Mass Media and Society,* Second Edition, eds., J. Curran and M. Gurevitch (London: Arnold, 1997), 243-261.

[63] From the Founding Statements of the American Newspaper Guild (1934), reprinted as an appendix in George Seldes, *Freedom of the Press* (Garden City, NY: Garden Cit Publishing Company, 1935), 370-71. This copy was located in *Our Unfree Press: 100 Years of Radical Media Criticism.* Robert W. McChesney and Ben Scott eds., (New York: The New Press, 2004), 303.

[64] Media Wise Trust. United Kingdom. http://www.presswise.org.uk/display_page.php?id=692

[65] Taken from South African National Editors Forums website under the heading Ethics codes- http://www.sanef.org.za/ethics_codes/the_star/

[66] McChesney (2000), 110-11. Friedman has written several books, his sequel to his seminal work *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), was *Free to Choose* (1980) written with his wife Rose. An earlier advocate of free markets and no government intervention in the economy is Friedrich Hayek who was at the University of

Chicago with Friedman. Friedrich Hayek, *Road to Serfdom* (London: Routledge, 1944) is a classic among conservatives and was supposedly Ronald Reagan's favourite book.

[67] Neil Hickey, "Unshackling Big Media," *Columbia Journalism Review* May/June 2001. Taken from http://archives.cjr.org/year/01/4/fcchickey.asp

[68] Baker (2002), 3.

[69] Ibid, 3.

[70] McChesney, Robert (2000), 113. Cited from *Multinational Monitor,* Oct. 1996, p. 13.

[71] See, Robert Entman, *Democracy without Citizens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[72] Michael Powell.

[73] Curran(1997), 92. Curran gives a long list of others who have documented this phenomenon. But even this list is outdated as mergers and acquisitions continue to occur at a rapid rate worldwide. Additionally, the Hutchins Commission of 1947 in the US also addressed the issue of media concentration writing, 'if these concentrations become so powerful that they are a threat to democracy, if democracy cannot solve the problem simply by breaking them up- then those agencies must control themselves or be controlled by government. McChesney and Scott (2004), 222. Also see, Schiller, Herbert I. *Culture Inc: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[74] Financial information was listed in British Pounds. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the Pound to Rand ratio was to take the yearly average of the exchange rate for 1997. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for 1997 was 7.5320 Rand to a British Pound.

[75] Curran (1997), 93.

[76] *Business Day,* 3 November 2004., p. 9. Financial information was listed in US dollars. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the dollar to Rand ratio was to take the yearly average of the exchange rate for 2003. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for 2003 was 7.57035 Rand to a US dollar.

[77] Walden Bello, "The Conglomerate Threat to Critical Journalism" 17 September 2001. Asia Press Forum, Seoul. http://www.transcend.org/t_database/printarticle.php?=234 In 1979, Herbert Gans identified this in America in his study of the three major networks and *Time* and *Newsweek. Deciding What's News.* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1980), p. 3-5

[78] Taken from the *Mail & Guardian* Website, http://www.mg.co.za/page/history

[79] Taken from the *Mail & Guardian* Website, http://www.mg.co.za/page/about-us

[80] McChesney (2004), 45.

[81] *Weekend Argus,* 25 September 2004, p. 10.

[82] In the United Kingdom see B. Franklin, *Newszak and News Media.* (London: Edward Arnold, 1997).

[83] McChesney (2000), 114.

[84] Downie and Kaiser (2002), 239.

[85] James Fallows, *Breaking News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 181.

[86] Deborah Chambers, "Critical approaches to the media: the changing context of investigative Journalism." In *Investigative Journalism. Context and Practice.* ed by Hugo De Burgh, 89-107. (London: Routledge, 2000), 94.

[87] Marlon Millner, "A survey of American Media Coverage of African Democracies 1994-2004." April 8, 2005. African Presidential Archives and Research Center at Boston University. African Presidential Roundtable 2005, Johannesburg, South Africa. http://www.bu.edu/aparc/resources/studies/mediacoverage062805.pdf

[88] Bagdikian (2004.), 15.

[89] Diverse media ownership would help prevent what is dubbed the "Berlusconi" effect. Silvio Berlusconi used his 45 percent control of the national television along with other media holdings to propel himself into the position of Prime minister in 1994 and 2001 and quite possible 2008. Found in C Edwin Baker, *Media Concentration and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 18.

[90] McChesney (2000), 275.
[91] Hebert Gans, *Deciding What News* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 61.
[92] Lawrence Soley, *Censorship Inc: The Corporate Threat to Free Speech in the United States* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002), 235-37. Also, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's updated version of *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 2002), xlii-xlvi. The updated version features coverage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1986), 76-81. For television coverage of labour in the UK see, Glasgow University Media Group. *Bad News* (Routledge, London, 1976), chapters 6-7.
[93] The ANC felt the newspapers concentrated too much on crime and corruption and were not supportive of the new government.
[94] Mbeki draws line in dealing with 'ultra left.' Battersby and Phahlane http://www.int.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=ct20020927214540389M1208 4 Also see Patrick Bond's *Talk Left, Walk Right.* Specifically chapter 9 Pretoria talk. Exhausted :Leninism and the 'ultraleft' (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004),179-190.
[95] A nice comparison is the number of column inches dedicated to Minster of Fiancé, Trevor Manuel's Budget compared to that of the People's Budget put out by Cosatu, South African Council of Churches, and SANGOCO.
[96] Canada, Israel, Japan and the United States list Hamas as a terrorist organisation. Australia and the United Kingdom list only the military wing of Hamas, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, as a terrorist organization. The European Union lists Hamas as a group 'involved in terrorist attacks' and has implemented restrictive measures against Hamas. Taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamas on July 4, 2008.
[97] Reagan welcomed Savimbi to the White House and proclaimed him a 'freedom fighter' and stated he was America's best friend in Africa. Taken from American journalist Eric Margolis website http://www.ericmargolis.com/archives/2002/03/jonas_savimbi.php on July 4 , 2008.
[98] *Business Day.* 24 February 2005, Front page
[99] *Saturday Star.* 27 September 2002. John Battersby and Charles Phahlane.
[100] *Mail and Guardian. 4 February 2003.* Drew Forrest.
[101] *Business Day.* 29 December 2003..
[102] *Business Day 5 December 2003.* The article refers to the sale of state-owed forests to the private sector.
[103] *Business Day.* 4 February 2005. p. 7.
[104] *Cape Times.* 1 July 2002. Quentin Wray.
[105] *Business Day.* 7 February 2005. Front page.
[106] Ibid., p.7
[107] Edward Herman, "Words, Tricks and Propaganda," *Z Magazine,* June 1997.
[108] *Business Day.* 24 February 2005. p. 3.
[109] Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber. *Toxic Sludge is Good for You: Lies , Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1995), 14. Another book by the authors they highlight the PR taken by the George W. Bush administration over the recent war. One PR consultant referred to himself as an 'information warrior and perception manager'. The Pentagon defines 'perception management' as 'actions to convey and or deny selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, and objective reasoning…In various ways, perception management combines truth projection, operations security, cover and deception and (psychological operations). Rampton, Sheldon and John Stauber. *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2003), 5-6. This sounds like something out of a George Orwell novel or Nazi Germany.
[110] Ibid., 53.
[111] From *A Free and Responsible Press* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947), 1-19. Found in *Our Unfree Press: 100 Years of Radical Media Criticism.* Robert W. McChesney and Ben Scott ed (New York: The New Press, 2004), 220.
[112] Bagdikian (2004), 259.

[113] See, Robert Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2001), 316-317.
[114] Tomaselli (2002), 149.
[115] Ibid., 145.
[116] P. Eric Louw, *South African Media Policy: Debates of the 1990's* (Anthroppos: Bellville, 1993), 330-31.
[117] Cosatu, NALEDI, Sangoco, SACC. *People's Budget: South Africa Civil Society Speaks* Budgeting for surplus in the midst of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. People's Budget Coalition Proposals for 2009-2010 Budget (Braamfontein, February 2008), 10-14. Taken from http://www.sacc-ct.org.za/PB2009.pdf
[118] See *South Africa Human Development Report 2003* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapter 2.

Chapter 2
Advertising

In June 2007, the World Association of Newspapers (WAN) Congress met in Cape Town, South Africa for their annual meeting. WAN chief executive Timothy Balding stated excitedly that "more readers were buying more newspapers and advertisers were devoting more of their budgets to advertising in newspapers."[1] Balding went on to say that 42% of advertising occurs in print media. This means that newspapers are the second largest medium of advertising, trailing only television. The WAN Congress also reported that worldwide print advertising had grown 20% from 2006 to 2007 and had increased 141% over the last five years.[2] This growth has also been seen in South Africa, an emerging market where advertising has played a decisive role. *Business Day* reports that 60% of the paper is editorial and news, while 40% is devoted to advertising. *Business Day*'s top five advertisers are: Standard Bank, Nedbank, Mobile Telephone Network (MTN), Rand Merchant Bank, and ABSA Bank. The *Natal Witness* similarly has 38% advertising content, revealing a startling trend of a media system that is increasingly dependent on advertising. The *Cape Times* reported an even more startling 50/50 ratio.[3]

Advertising-based media, however, is relatively new. During the penny press era of the 1800s, newspapers received their income primarily from sales. With the evolution and increase in advertising revenue, advertising became the predominant source of income for newspapers. With the advancement of advertising as a way to generate income, media companies transformed themselves accordingly in order to better attract advertisers. This has had both positive and negative effects. In an effort to attract more customers, newspapers moved away from being highly partisan to being more objective and homogeneous, thus raising journalism standards and, importantly, circulation. On the other hand, advertising (capital) replaced the old partisan paper with a more powerful force—corporations and those with money to advertise. In essence, the power to influence the media shifted away from a dependence on citizens and politicians to a dependence on wealthy interests. This shift has had negative consequences on media performance that this section will now explore. Advertising is Herman and Chomsky's second filter in the propaganda model, and this chapter will begin with a similar look at how advertising underwrites the media and marginalises smaller papers. The next section will address how advertising promotes a way of life in which happiness can be achieved through the consumption of goods and services. The final section will look at how advertising can suppress news and information.

Advertising underwrites and marginalises

Newspapers are a commodity. The costs associated with the production of a first copy are enormous while subsequent copies are substantially less. To be profitable during the penny press era, the costs of production needed to be less than income generated from sales. With the advent and acceleration of

advertising, the media moved away from a subscription-based newsstand-based arrangement to an advertising-based system which underwrites the cost of production. With the increased income, newspapers could sell papers for less than the production costs and thus increase sales and readership, which in turn pleased advertisers. On the surface this shift appeared to be a win-win situation for both newspapers and consumers. However, under the new economic paradigm only dominant media firms were able to continue to exist; media firms that had strong advertising revenue could survive while new, marginal, or radical newspapers were unable to compete and were often forced out due to lack of advertising. Furthermore, advertisers quickly learned how to use their capital to leverage and manipulate newspaper content for their own needs. In short, advertisers were able to make demands, seek favourable editorial conditions, and create a news environment that met their needs and not the needs of the consumer.[4] Writing in 1935, US media critic James Rorty confirms the shift toward serving advertisers:

> Advertising has to do with the shaping of the economic, social, moral and ethical patterns of the community into serviceable conformity with the profit-making interests of advertisers and of the advertising business.[5]

The shift to a dependence on advertising revenue has forever altered journalism.

The importance, if not necessity, of advertising for a paper's survival can be found all over the world. The United Kingdom, United States and South Africa, provide valuable illustrations about advertising. British media scholars James Curran and Jean Seaton point out the increasing power advertising had on newspapers in the United Kingdom even during the Victorian era. The authors demonstrate that advertising virtually destroyed working class newspapers, such as the *Daily Herald, Daily News*, *Evening Echo, Pall Mall Gazette, People's Paper,* and *Reynolds News*, and negatively affected the papers that survived. In short, the authors argue:

> One of four things happened to national radical papers that failed to meet the requirements of advertisers. They either closed down; accommodated to advertising pressure by moving up-market; stayed in a small audience ghetto with manageable losses; or accepted an alternative source of institutional patronage. …advertising thus acquired a de facto licensing authority since, without their support, newspapers ceased to be economically viable.[6]

Papers that cater to the poor, engage the political fringes, or remain ad-free are at a distinct disadvantage in an advertising-based media system. In the 1960s the *Daily Herald* (UK) had double the combined readership of *The Times, The Financial Times, The Guardian,* and *The Telegraph*, yet the paper shut down because most of the readers were elderly and working class and had little appeal to advertisers.[7]

In the United States, advertising has had a similar effect on newspapers. James T. Hamilton documents how advertising both positively and negatively

transformed American newspapers during the period of 1870-1900. In this period, newspapers became increasingly independent of politics and party affiliation in order to enlarge circulation. While this shift resulted in an increase in journalism objectivity, it also forced partisan papers out of business since they were not able to attract advertising. The shift away from serving customers to serving advertisers can also be seen in American television. As one executive states, "the network is paying affiliates to carry network commercials, not programs. What we are is a distribution system for Procter & Gamble."[8] The CEO of another American television station confirmed this shift further: "We're here to serve advertisers. That's our raison d'être."[9] In an advertising-based media system the primary customer for the media outlet is the advertiser and not the person buying the newspaper. In this new arrangement, the news is restricted and sanitised as it goes through the advertising filter in order to meet advertisers' needs and uphold a singular way of life.

Similar trends can be seen in modern South Africa. In October of 2003, *This Day* was launched in South Africa as a new national English daily newspaper. *This Day*, started by a Nigerian businessman, Nduka Obaigbena, provided fresh, thoughtful political and economic news coverage. However, in November 2004, the newspaper was shut down partially because of the lack of steady advertising dollars.[10] In September 2005, Media 24 (Naspers) launched another English newspaper, *Nova*, in Johannesburg with the tagline "A New World, A New Paper." Circulation for the paper, which was aimed at young urban professionals, never took off and the paper closed four months later. *Die Wereld,* a Sunday Afrikaans newspaper, experienced the same fate and folded in three months, shutting down in June 2005. Even the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has become increasingly dependent on advertising and sponsorship (76% for 2001) for operating revenue despite being owned by the state.

Advertising is the life blood of newspapers. As these examples evidence, without it, a paper will simply shut down. This affects alternative or dissent papers disproportionately since they often have difficulty attracting advertisers. South African journalist and co-editor Anton Harber describes how advertisers did not want to advertise in his alternative *Weekly Mail* which had double the circulation of the specialised *Finance Week.* Harber states, "advertising is a great difficulty because of a prejudice in the advertising community about the alternative press."[11] Big advertisers both during apartheid and today have often been reluctant to be associated with alternative or political papers. This hesitation on the part of advertisers threatens newspapers' ability to act as a neutral watchdog, provider of alternative viewpoints, or medium for dissent.

Advertising promotes an economic way of life

Advertisers attempt to convince the public that something is missing in their lives, and that happiness comes from consumption. Advertising promises to transform mediocre lives through products that can make one attractive, give power over

afflictions, or lift or suppress ones moods and desires—all to make the consumer "feel better than ever."[12] Advertising attempts to draw people into relationship with consumer good and services. Furthermore, it helps shape the people think about illness, transport, love and life itself. Advertising taps into fundamental human concerns—fears, insecurities, and anxieties—and tries to convince the consumer that these feelings can be resolved with the right product or service. US media scholar Stuart Ewen identified this advertising paradigm in reviewing a 1930 piece in *Printer Ink*:

> Advertising helps keep the masses dissatisfied with their mode of life, discontented with *ugly things* around them. Satisfied customers are not a profitable as discontented ones.[13]

Advertising also attempts to divert individuals away from rebellion and protests and foster instead placid consumption as the natural way of life. In the zeal to create an unsatisfied individual who needs to consume, advertisers try to fashion a positive atmosphere of buying and thus seek to be associated with positive images. Therefore, weighty news stories about neoliberal economics, corporate monopolies, or chronic poverty do not facilitate buying.

Contrarily, light news coverage, corruption stories, reality shows, and sensational stories about pop stars, sports heroes, and soap operas provide a good platform for creating a buying mood. As a result, media sponsors will actively shy away from controversy or shows with serious messages. For example, Chrysler withdrew advertising from an American television mini-series about a Holocaust survivor because, "our upbeat product commercials would be both inappropriate and of diminished effectiveness in that environment."[14] In a similar vein, a Coca-Cola vice president stated, "it's a Coca-Cola corporate policy not to advertise on TV news because there's going to be some bad news in there and Coke is an upbeat, fun product."[15] While this is not inherently a bad thing, the fact is that networks are heavily dependent on advertising and thus there is selective pressure for shows that will bring in the maximum amount of potential advertisers. What results is a detrimental decrease in serious or controversial programs, shows, and news.

Another aspect of this economic way of life is that advertisers generally target individuals with disposable income. Hence, news, stories, and information are directed to selected wealthier segments of the population, not the poor and marginalised who make up the majority in developing countries. For example, the *Times* (London) was able to increase circulation only to find out advertisers were not interested in students and lower income intellectuals. In the United States, the *Los Angles Times* directly cut back circulation in low-income areas. The rationale for this action was explained by Otis Chandler, head of the Times Mirror, the parent group of the *Los Angles Times:* "American newspapers publishing is based on an advertising base, not a circulation base."[16] Ultimately, the bottom line is that advertisers will pay more for newspapers with a clientele with higher disposal income.

This trend is seen far beyond papers in London and Los Angeles. Speaking to advertising executives at the International Advertising Association

39th World Congress in Beijing, chief operating officer for Independent News & Media Plc (*Cape Times)*, Gavin O'Reilly, gave a reason why newspapers are still the best advertising medium. O'Reilly states, "Newspapers target and deliver wealthier consumers. As prosperity increases, so does consumption of newspapers."[17] Another example can be found in the 1980s when the *New York Post* exceeded the circulation of the *New York Times* and the *Post* sought an advertising account from a large upscale department store, Bloomingdale's. Bloomingdale's responded, "[The *Times*'] readers are our customers; your readers are our shoplifters."[18] This same selective, if not outwardly discriminatory, pattern was documented in the United Kingdom:

> Once newspapers became identified with the poor, they found it difficult to attract advertising. An advertising handbook cautioned in 1921—you cannot afford to place your advertising in a paper which is read by the down-at-heels who buy it to see the "Situation Vacant" column.[19]

This process of targeting selected groups, whether around wealth, race, or political orientation, was also evident in South Africa during apartheid with the *Rand Daily Mail:*

> The paper's circulation, and especially its readership, were becoming less white and more black, and advertisers found the particular racial mix of the *Mail's* readers increasingly unappealing. The *Mail's* readership was 70 percent black when the paper folded, and most of its white readers were men. The paper seriously lacked the white women readers that supermarkets and other retail advertisers covet.[20]

The lack of advertising revenue played a crucial role in the closure of South Africa's pre-eminent progressive newspaper *Rand Daily Mail* in April 1985. Under an advertising-based media system the wealthy can afford to advertise and thus advance dominant values of the affluent. In South Africa, affluence and wealth have historically fallen along racial lines.

According to Brenda Wortley of the Advertising Media Forum (AMF) and Sue Bolton of AC Nielsen, 68% of advertising money spent on radio, television, magazines, and newspapers in South Africa was spent and directed towards wealthy and upper-middle class sectors, which only comprise 35% of the population. In 2002, AC Nielsen noted that the majority of the South African population was poor and black, yet the majority of advertising money was directed to the white minority.[21] This was confirmed by a SABC submission to the Portfolio Committee on Communication in relation to radio advertising:

> Ukhozi FM, the biggest radio station in the southern hemisphere with an average radio audience share of 25.3% can only mange an 8.0% share of radio ad revenue. [22]

Lesedi FM and Metro FM also have high audience ratings and suffer from the same low advertising revenue. Meanwhile, white, coloured and Indian radio stations such as Highveld Stereo receives 11% share of radio advertising

revenue with only 3.4% of audience share; Jacaranda attracts 10% of advertising revenue while only maintaining 5.3% audience share and 5FMs receives 9.2% advertising revenue with 5.1% of audiences.[23] Advertising acts like a filter to restrict news and information and in South Africa it additionally has a negative effect on race as the majority of the poor are black. Furthermore, as many countries cut back on subsides for public broadcasting services (PBS) they become increasingly more commercialised in an effort to obtain desperately needed revenue.

Neoliberalism argues that the market, not government, will meet the needs, desires, and deficits of consumers. Advertisers often do not advocate for government intervention unless there is money to be made or a problem is too costly for business (e.g. HIV/AIDS, environmental clean-up, infrastructure). Corporations will use public relations firms, pre-written stories, and advertising to sway the public or influence a public policy. Michael Parenti states in *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*, that "one-third of all corporate advertising is directed at influencing the public on political and ideological issues."[24] Conversely, when opposition, dissident, or labour groups seek to place advertisements within the newspaper, often they are simply refused. This was the case of the *New York Times* during the Vietnam War, as one executive said it was not in the "best interest of the country, to let those voices be heard."[25]

Lastly, advertising is not only political and economic, but inherently social in its creation of a "way of life" that is controlled by affluent sectors of society with vested interests. Media scholars William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally write:

> Advertising is not just a business expenditure undertaken in hope of moving some merchandise off the store shelves, but is rather an integral part of modern culture. Its creations appropriate and transform a vast range of modern culture. Its creations appropriate and transform a vast range of symbols and ideas; its unsurpassed communicative powers recycle cultural models and references back through networks of social interactions. This venture is unified by the discourse through and about objects, which bonds together images of persons, products, and well-being. …Advertising is more than a mechanism for communicating product information to individuals: it is a cultural system, a social discourse whose unifying theme is the meaning of consumption.[26]

Advertising communicates images and a way of life that are reflective of transnational corporations and not necessarily the needs or interests of indigenous groups.[27] Advertising is ultimately a socialising agent that allows wealthy corporations to set the tone and agenda for a receptive public. Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o writes about cultural subjugation:

> [T]he biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism, against collective defiance [of the oppressed and exploited] is the cultural bomb. The effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in

themselves.[28]

In South Africa, Tholbela FM had to shorten a traditional religious programme to 15 minutes because the programme did not generate enough revenue. Likewise, Motsweding FM cut back on traditional programming to compete with Metro FM. *Moribo wa Africa* (The Rhythm of Africa), a popular show, was also cut back in play time due to the lack of advertising revenue.[29]

Another negative consequence of advertising subsidizing the media is that some media outlets will provide editorial comment in exchange for advertising. Some newspapers provide positive editorial comment to advertisers in exchange for running advertisements. The Special Projects Division of Independent News and Media was the creation of Terry Meyer in 1990. He describes his division at Independent News and Media as 'a sort of hybrid between editorial and advertorial.' He states,

> We get the editorial focus, then we ask people to support it by advertising. We do this by sending a marketing letter, which is a synopsis of the content of the subject we would be covering editorially. We give this [letter] to a team of sales people who then go out to the market and research the right sort of people that would support that type of survey, and when they get sufficient advertising, we run with the focus.[30]

In an effort to attract advertising revenue Independent News and Media appears to tailor the news to match the needs of advertisers. Does the company do the same for the needs of citizens? Are stories or advertorials run about the lack of health care or shortages of housing? One can discern from Meyer's comments that Independent News and Media newspapers editors would not take on or investigate potential or current customers. Lorain Tulleken is one of the main editorial writers for the Special Projects Division and she indicates that she receives most of her material to write stories from the advertisers themselves. She states, 'I deal with a lot of professional public relations people; I get them to help with the information, so our turnaround time is very quick.' She goes on, 'The trick of special projects is to make it look like it is part of the newspaper.'[31] There is no investigative reporting or critical analysis of these vendors in this Special Projects Division, rather Tulleken and others provides a transmission belt for the sponsors.

The blurring of lines between advertising and editorial content is becoming increasingly commonplace in a market driven media, but it appears that advertising is a driving force in media content. In brief, advertising, like neoliberalism, has a levelling effect on capitalistic societies that is detrimental to the content and quality of newspapers. In this new world order of communication, the commercial interests of the affluent minority have eclipsed journalistic and cultural values. In this new order, the status quo of the wealthy is lifted up and reinforced while critical analysis of both commercialism and the political order is diminished. As a result, as the media becomes commercialized its role within society as a social institution (i.e. serving the public good) becomes severely watered down.

Suppression, self-censorship, and direct pressure

Advertisers' tacit power over newspapers manifests itself in newspapers' suppression and self-censorship. Advertisers look for audiences and newspapers deliver them. In this relationship, the audience becomes a commodity.[32] The result is that newspapers have to be careful not to offend those who are paying the bills, i.e. corporate advertisers. There is built-in tension between editorial content that reflects the interest and desires of advertisers and those of the general public.[33] In a market-driven economy is it possible to serve the best interests of both the public and those paying the bills at the same time? Arguably not. The reality is that the media can and will censor itself through pressure from advertisers.[34] For example, the US tobacco industry was able to manoeuvre around the mountains of evidence showing the danger of smoking through its influence over the media. Dr. Holly Atkinson, for instance, a health writer for *New Woman* magazine was instructed not to write about smoking-related issues and was told "who do you think supports this magazine?"[35] To survive, commercial media need to attract business; they do not have the luxury to offend them. As a result, the media may not just avoid topics but also seek specifically for content that will provide a favourable editorial climate for their advertisers.[36] Erik Barnouw recorded how ITT was able to decrease the company's negative image through advertising and through its sponsorship of the television show*, Big Blue Marble*.[37]

Money paid by advertising is like bribe or 'protection money'; it provides subtle yet effective means to limit negative publicity. For example, in the early 1970s Americans were concerned about automobile seatbelts, air-bags, and auto pollution. During this period the *New York Times* received about 18% of their advertising revenue from the auto industry and as a result, these national issues were marginally covered. A *Times* staff person revealed that many of the auto stories for that period were "more or less put together by the advertisers" and the publisher, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, frankly admitted that he urged his editors to present auto safety issues from the point of view of the advertiser, because it "would affect the advertiser."[38] Another example of direct pressure occurred during the coverage of the Persian Gulf War, when depressing coverage of the war was seen to affect advertising. A then-advertising executive stated about advertising during war coverage, "I just think its wasted money… Commercials need to be seen in the right environment. A war is just not an upbeat environment."[39] It is clear advertising money is selective regarding 'newsworthy items,' which may or may not reflect the needs of a functioning democracy whose citizens may need to be informed about things such as wars. Similar trends can be seen with the current war in Iraq. For instance, despite high ratings for the Iraq war coverage, American television executives from CBS stated the programming was "economically unfeasible for the network." One executive explained it would not be fair to the shareholders to cover the war at a financial loss. In this view, the executive articulates who really drives media performance. Eventually, CBS offered to tailor the war coverage with better lead-ins, upbeat

images, and an increase in patriotic stories to attract advertisers.[40] In this situation, advertisers were able to limit and suppress the full story of the war.

Pressure from advertising and or capital can take many forms, although similar trends can be seen throughout the world, including in South Africa. For instance, in August 2007, the *Sunday Times* ran a negative story about the South African Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, and her stay in a hospital. Several weeks later, Essop Pahad, Minister in the Presidency, suggested that the government should pull all its advertising from the *Sunday Times.*[41] While the issue has not been resolved, the mere threat sent shock waves through the South African journalism community. It clearly sent a warning to all newspapers not to go after or write negatively about members of the government.

Another pressure or constraint that affects media performance in South Africa comes from corporate sponsorship. For instance, Mondi, a large paper and forestry company, provides some of the country's most prestigious and highly coveted journalism awards: 'Mondi Paper Magazine Awards' and the 'Mondi Shanduka Newspaper Awards.' Winners in each area receive a R10,000 prize, a certificate, and the accompanying prestige. For example, in 2003, 15 winners were chosen out of 871 entries to win the magazine award.[42] Likewise there are the 'South African Journalist of the Year Award' and 'Lifetime Achievement Award,' again each with prize and prestige. The sheer number of entrees indicates the degree and desire for the award. While the awards can provide industry with wide support and national recognition, one can also predict that none of the winners wrote, researched, or investigated the negative effects plantation forestry has on South Africa (see forestry chapter for further details).[43] In a similar manner, the South African Breweries (SAB) 'Environmental Journalists of the Year Award' would not likely award a journalist who examines the environmental impact that breweries have on water use, land-soil issues, and the consumption of non-renewable resources. In essence, the Mondi and SAB awards are a small yet effective mechanism to help silence journalists.

While most reporters internalise the value 'Don't offend advertisers,' some, of course, notice the undue influence advertisers have on the media. A veteran reporter shares his experience as a reporter in a mill town:

> He [my boss] cautioned me to report nothing the merchants and brewers didn't like. "We can't live without their good will," he said. "Be careful when you write about the brewery …It is our best advertiser."[44]

This caution comes from the fact that advertisers often pull out due to media content. For example, in 2007 the city council in Grahamstown pulled all advertising from South Africa's oldest independent newspaper, *Grocott's Mail* after the paper ran a story about missing money from the council. The paper was also accused of being anti-transformation.[45] South African media scholar, Eric Louw discusses the pressure on editors from both the market and advertisers:

> In simple terms, no editor running a profit-driven medium can afford to

> alienate those with disposal income. (The latter are a minority in our society.) To alienate this minority would be to lose the adverting life-line. This inherently skews the world-view presented by a market-driven media. The bottom line is profit.[46]

Unfortunately, profit takes priority over journalism and the public's right to learn about their community and world.

Another result of advertising pressure is media's tendency to shy away from controversial subjects. The media industry takes notice when advertisers pull advertisements from controversial American television shows like *Murphy Brown* or *NYPD Blue.*[47] General Motors stopped advertising on the popular reality television show *Survivor* when teams were broken down by race. General motors provided twenty percent of the advertising revenue for *Survivor.* Coca-Cola, Home Depot, Campbell Soups, and United Parcel Service also stated they would not advertise on the show for that season.[48] This is further confirmed by a statement from a *Houston Chronicle* newspaper vice president for sales and marketing: "We do nothing controversial. We're not in the investigative business. Our only concern is giving editorial support to our ad projects."[49] The end result is that the public receives limited information because journalists and editors self-censor in an effort to garner advertiser support.

Another method of advertising control is not just supporting certain types of positive 'buying atmospheres' and withdrawing support from negative or controversial ones, but also directly threatening or pressuring editors or writers. In one survey, 80% of real estate newspaper editors were threatened by advertisers due to negative coverage. In another example, the Washington State Fruit Commission pulled their advertisements from CBS after a story on the hazards of Alar, a chemical plant growth regulator that is sprayed on apples. Sixty-two percent of editors with the American Agriculture Editors Association (farm publications) also reported feeling pressure from advertisers.[50] Cosmetics giant Revlon pulled their advertisements from all Hearst magazines when they failed to get what they wanted from one Hearst magazine.[51] What emerges is a pattern where advertisers want certain conditions in placing advertisements and if there is a hint of negativity, they pull their advertising.

A look at the women's magazine *Ms.* in the United States sheds further light on advertising power. American women's rights advocate and founder of *Ms. Magazine*, Gloria Steinem, chronicles her battles with advertising in an article entitled, *Sex, Lies & Advertising*. In the early years of *Ms.* she shares her skirmishes with cigarette makers (Phillips Morris), food giants (General Mills, Pillsbury, Carnation, Del Monte, Dole, Kraft), airlines (American, Eastern, United), wine and liquor companies, and women's products (Chanel, Clairol, Estee Lauder, L'Oreal, Revlon). She writes:

> In recent years, advertisers' control over the editorial content of women's magazines has become so institutionalized that it is written into "insertion order" or dictated to ad salespeople as official policy.[52]

She proceeds to list many big manufacturers, such as Bristol-Meyers, Dow

Cleaning Products, S.C. Johnson and Son, Maidenform, Procter and Gamble, and De Beers. She states that De Beers "prohibits magazines from placing its ads with 'adjacencies to hard news or anti-love romance themed editorial.'"[53] Steinem and others have articulated the built-in pressure placed on journalists and editors to bow to advertising demands.[54] In South Africa, Ann Donald, the editor of *Fair Lady (*Media 24 and Naspers), reported that she was prevented from featuring a story about beauty products that were ineffective because the magazine had advertisers that were going to be mentioned.[55]

Conclusion

The second filter that restricts news and information in Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model is advertising. On one level, advertising provides a mutually satisfying power-sharing relationship between advertisers and media companies. However, on another level, the previous sections on media ownership and advertising have established how organised private power restricts the free flow of information within the media in democratic societies. In advertising-based media systems, the needs of capital (advertising) take priority over the needs of citizens. In this system, hard working journalists and editors internalise the institutional needs of advertisers and thus self-censor in an effort not to offend those paying the bills. In short, advertising negatively, affects media performance by shifting journalists' and editors' attention towards advertisers needs. In this process, both journalism and democracy are compromised. This will be further evidenced through examination of how *Business Day, Cape Times*, and *Natal Witness* cover the topics of forestry, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and terrorism.

[1] Chris Moerdyk, "Newspapers Prospering Despite Themselves," BizCommunity.com. June 4, 2007, http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/156/15214.html. Speaking three years earlier in Beijing at the WAN, Gavin O'Reilly, chief operating officer of Independent News and Media Plc, stated 'Newspapers are still the best advertising medium.' *Weekend Argus* 25 September 2004.

[2] "Newspaper advertising revenue grows despite online." June 6, 2007, *Mail and Guardian Online, The Media Online* http://www.themedia.co.za/article.aspx?articleid=310499&area=/media_news/

[3] Phone contact on 20 May 2005 for all three newspapers and follow up confirmation via email for *Business Day,* 5 June 2007 and *Natal Witness* , 5 June 2007.

[4] Will Irwin, 'The Advertising Influence' (1911) found in Robert McChesney, and Ben Scott, *Unfree Press: 100 Years of Radical Media Criticism* (New York: New Pres, 2004), 123. Irwin documents the power advertisers had in Boston about public health concerns about breweries (1905) and with the newspaper *Transcript* department store Jordan Marsh (1910) 126-127.

[5] James Rorty, 'The Business Nobody Knows' (1934) found in McChesney, Robert and Ben Scott, *Unfree Press: 100 Years of Radical Media Criticism* (New York: New Pres, 2004), 134.

[6] James Curran and Jean Seaton. *Power Without Responsibility: The press and broadcasting in Britain.* Fifth Edition (London: Routledge, 1997), 33-48. David Croteau and William Hoynes write about the consequences of advertising in Britain, 'Without advertising support, even several high-circulation working-class papers ceased publishing because they could be underpriced by competitors, who also had the resources to produce and distribute a more attractive product. One important consequence of advertising then, was the end of a national radical press in Britain.' Croteau, David and Hoynes, Williams. *Media Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences.* Third Edition. (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2002) 67-69.

[7] Jean Kilbourne, *Can't Buy My Love. How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 35. In the United States "The Beverley Hillbillies" and "Andy Griffith" television shows were dropped from CBS for the same reason. Leiss, William, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally. *Social Communication in Advertising.* Second Edition (London: Routledge, 1990), 113.

[8] Kilbourne (1999), 35.

[9] Ibid., 35.

[10] Phillip De Wet, 'Failure Lessons' *Mail and Guardian Online: The Media Online.* April 1, 2005. http://www.themedia.co.za/article.aspx?articleid=236980&area=/media_insightfeatures/

[11] Gordon Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993) 61.

[12] William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally. *Social Communication in Advertising.* Second Edition (London: Routledge, 1990), 25. Also see Tibor Scitovsky, *The Joyless Economy: The Psychology of human Satisfaction.* Revised Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1992). Tim Kasser, *The High Price of Materialism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002) and Benjamin R. Barber, *Consumed. How Markets Corrupt Children, Infantilize Adults , and Swallow Citizens Whole.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007).

[13] Ibid., 30.

[14] C. Edwin Baker, *Advertising and a Democratic Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 63.

[15] Ibid., 63.

[16] Ibid., 67-68. Kilbourne documents how a number one in its time slot popular American television show among older rural audiences, *Dr. Quinn,* was cancelled because the show could not attract higher paying ad rates for younger audiences. Kilbourne, Jean. *Can't Buy My Love. How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 35.

[17] *Weekend Argus.* 25 September 2004. Independent News & Media Plc a Dublin-based international media group has newspapers in Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa and the United Kingdom.

[18] Baker (1994), 68.

[19] Curran and Seaton (1997), 35.

[20] Jackson (1993), 77.

[21] Console Tleane and Jane Duncan. *Public Broadcasting in the Era of Cost Recover* (Johannesburg: Freedom of Expression Institute, 2003), 69. Specifically, most of the advertising money was directed to people who were in LSM categories 6-10. One In the 1980s the South African Advertising Research Foundation set out to establish an index for marketing. Initially, a Living Standards Measure (LSM) divided the South African population into 8 categories ranging from 1 (lowest) to 8 (highest) based not on race but rather on urbanization and material ownership of selected items (descriptors). In 2001, SAARF revised and updated LSM (Universal LSM) with a new list of items and also increased the scale to 10 categories, with 1 remaining the lowest and 10 being the highest. The scale attempts to differentiate the different market sectors. LSM is not based on income but rather on wealth and each section of LSM, a population subgroup, has certain characteristics such as shopping preferences and media consumption. For more information on LSM see www.saarf.co.za Tleane and Duncan reported one station manager stated, ' Lower LSM listeners do not bring us business." (p. 99)

[22] Ibid., 120.

[23] Ibid., 121.

[24] Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media* (New York: St Martin's, 1986), 67.

[25] Ibid., 71.

[26] Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990), 5, 353. David Paletz and Robert Entman write in a similar vain about capitalist media structures in *Media Power Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1981), 182. 'Capitalist structures alienate people, thereby driving them toward escape in the media and consumption of the products the media push. Yet it is precisely the public's loyal use of the media and continued purchase of products it might not otherwise buy that fortify those structures.'

[27] See, Console Tleane and Jane Duncan. *Public Broadcasting in the Era of Cost Recovery.* (Johannesburg: Freedom of Expression Institute, 2003), sections 'Public Radio: a medium only for the educated Class?' and 'Language' 137-150.

[28] Herbert Schiller, *Culture, Inc. The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[29] Tleane and Duncan (2003), 100-101.

[30] Hadland, Adrian, Lesley Cowling, and Bate Felix Tabi Tabe. *Advertising in the News: Paid-For Content and the South African Print Media.* (Cape Town: HRCS Press, 2007), 37-38

[31] Ibid., 39-40.

[32] Noam Chomsky quotes V.O. Key who observed that "newspaper publishers are essentially people who sell white space on newsprint to advertisers." *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press: 1989), 358 n. 16. Quote cited by Jerome A. Barron, "Access to the Press—a New First Amendment Right, " *Harvard Law Review,* vol. 80, 1967; from Key, *Public Opinion and American Democracy.*

[33] Edwin Baker, *Media, Markets, and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11. Also see James Squires, *Read All About It! The Corporate Takeover of America's Newspapers (*New York: Times Books 1993), 60-102. Another writer about women's' health issues, Elizabeth Whelan was also warned by editors to stay away from the subject of tobacco. Ben Bagdikian, *The New Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004) 254.

[34] Lawrence Soley, *Censorship, Inc: The Corporate Threat to Free Speech in the United States* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002), 191, 213.

[35] Kilbourne (1999), 53. Sometimes when a media company steps over the line, action is swift, as was the case when the American magazine, *Mother Jones* ran a story on the links between health and smoking. Several tobacco companies cancelled their advertising with the magazine. Edwin Baker, *Advertising and a Democratic Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 53.

[36] Ibid., 48.

[37] Erik Barnouw, *The Sponsor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 81-82. In the early 1970's several negative reports surfaced about ITT, such as the company's involvement with the CIA in an effort to overthrow of Allende in Chile, its manipulation of governments, and

political parties. The company embarked on a propaganda campaign to reverse negative public attitudes through *Big Blue Marble* and Daniel Yankelovich, Inc was hired to measure the public's attitudes about ITT and whether the company was thought to 'care about the general public.' Two things occurred during this media campaign: the public's perception about ITT rose in a positive manner and a substantial decrease in the mentioning of ITT in a negative manner. Likewise, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. was able to transform itself from 'merchants of death' to a company concerned with 'better things for better living.' Barnouw, Erik. *The Sponsor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 34.

[38] Parenti (1986), 46.

[39] Baker (1994), 65.

[40] Ibid., 65-66.

[41] "Editors worried about states 'revenge' The *Times,* 11 September 2007.

[42] "Mondi honours the shining stars of South African magazine journalism." *International Federation of the Periodical Press.* http://www.fipp.com/Default.aspx?PageIndex=2002&ItemId=11992

[43] In the United States, newspaper reporter Richard Manning was fired from the *Daily Missoulian* after he wrote a series of articles about Champion International Corporation's forestry practices in Montana. Champion was a large advertiser for the paper. Behan, Richard. *Plundered Promise. Capitalism, Politics, and the Fate of the Federal Lands.* (Washington: Island Press, 2001), 38-40. Also see Richard Manning's *The Last Stand: Logging, Journalism and the Case for Humility* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1991).

[44] Parenti (1986), 49.

[45] *Mail and Guardian.* 'Press teaching politicians democracy' 5 March 2008.

[46] Eric Louw, "Monopoly, Oligopoly or Imperfect Competition: A Reply to Peter Sullivan." *South African Media Policy: Debated of the 1990's.* ed., Louw, Eric. (Bellville: Anthroppos, 193), 189.

[47] Robert McChesney, *The Problem of the Media* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2004), 144. Labelling and marginalizing those who do not conform to prevailing views can and will be punished. These people will be blacklisted or graylisted. See, Lawrence Soley, *Censorship, Inc: The Corporate Threat to Free Speech in the United States* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002), 70-72.

[48] *New York Times* 31 August 2006.

[49] Ben Bagdikian, *The New Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004) 248-249.

[50] Baker (1994), 54. Ben Bagdikian quotes a study from the Housing Research Group of the Center for Responsive Law, "most newspapers' real estate sections serve the real estate industry for better than they serve consumers and general readers…Articles that appear as 'news' frequently are promotional pieces for developers, real estate agents, or industry associations. *The New Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 246-247.

[51] McChesney and Scott (2004), 174.

[52] Steinem, Gloria. *Sex, Lies, & Advertising* (1990) found in found in Robert McChesney and Ben Scott, eds., *Press: 100 Years of Radical Media Criticism.* New York: New Pres, 2004) 172. Others books that look at women and advertising include: Betty Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963); Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1987).

[53] Ibid., 160-176.

[54] See, Pamela J Shoemaker and Elizabeth Kay Mayfield. *Building a Theory of News Content: A Synthesis of Current Approaches* (Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, 1987). P. Meyer, *Ethical Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1987); Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Free Press, 1979): James D Squires,. *Read All About It! The Corporate Takeover of America's Newspapers* (New York: Times Books, 1993); K. Montgomery, *Target: Prime Time: Advocacy Groups and the Struggles over Entertainment TV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Andrew Kohut, "Self Censorship: Counting the Ways." *Columbia Journalism Review,* May/June 2000 and Doug Underwood,

When MBA's Rule the Newsroom: How the Marketers and Managers Are Reshaping Today's Media (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

[55] Hadland, Adrian, Lesley Cowling, and Bate Felix Tabi Tabe (2007), 7.

Chapter 3
Forestry

This chapter on forestry will demonstrate that in post-apartheid South Africa, English daily newspapers serve the needs of elite public and private interests and exclude unwanted information through self-censorship. This measurable occurrence—readily apparent in media coverage of forestry—validates the predictions of Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's propaganda model (PM) that the media "serve to mobilize support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity."[1] This chapter intends to show that rather than upholding and safeguarding journalism ethics and principles *Business Day, Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* restrict debate about forestry issues while at the same time reporting and echoing the actions and needs of the timber industry and not the citizenry. The following qualitative and quantitative examination confirms that the press relies on 'official' sources (government and timber companies) rather than alternative voices. This limits the 'range of expressible opinion'—the outer limits of debate over an issue and the breadth of sides represented. This chapter will prove that *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* diminish democracy by propagandising on behalf of timber companies.

In order to demonstrate these findings this chapter will be laid out in the following manner. First, a brief overview of forestry in South Africa will be given, along with a list of definitions. Second, an explanation of the methodology used for collecting and sorting articles will be provided. This will be followed by a quantitative study of newspaper sources utilized by newspaper writers in the writing of their stories about forestry. Lastly, the section will close with a qualitative analysis of each newspaper regarding the limited 'range of expressible opinion' of forestry issues.

A brief history of forestry in South Africa

The establishment of a provision station in Cape Town in 1652 by the Dutch changed the political, social, and cultural landscape of South Africa by bringing a permanent European presence to the Cape. Over the next century European settlers used and exploited the land, people and natural resources. One consequence of colonial expansion and exploitation of natural resources in South Africa was that forestry products became an increasingly important commodity in the development and growth of trade for European settlers.

Various historical changes throughout this colonial period and beyond have opened the way for growth and expansion in forestry. The first planting of exotic timbers (oak) began in 1875 to satisfy the need for fuel wood and railway expansion. Increasing expansion of the population led to increase needs for wood and raw timber materials. By 1910, 60,000 hectares of Australian Black Wattle had been commercially planted, and by 1938, 150,000 hectares of "commercial" timber plantations occupied the country. Decades later, after World War II, the state had set up the Department of Forestry for the purposes of protecting forests and establishing further commercial timber plantations.

Afforestation of timber continued, with 1.1 million hectares planted by 1975, with 769,000 hectares of those privately owned.[2] During this period both the state and private interests owned and managed timber plantations—a trend that continues to this day.

The first attempts to regulate and protect forests in the Cape occurred in the 1700s and the first Forest Act was promulgated in 1888, and continued up and through the first democratic election in 1994.[3] The 1994 election brought further changes to forestry as the change in government brought, a renewal of international collaboration in the industry. Furthermore, the new governments mantra, "A better life for all," brought an extensive re-examination of many social, political and economic relationships both inside and outside government. Forestry was re-evaluated with such policies as: Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP); Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR); White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (1996); National Forests Act of (Act No. 84 of 1998); and the National Veld and Forest Fire Act (Act No. of 1998). The White Paper expanded the concept of forestry to fall in line with Agenda 21 of the Rio Summit and outlined plans to integrate it into the world economy. The White Paper laid out nine new principles to integrate forestry into the world economy but also reinvigorate the industry in a way that would benefit all South Africans. These principles are:

- forests and forest resources to be treated as a national asset
- policy to be formulated and implemented so as to promote democratization
- gender equality
- people-driven development
- consultation in formation and implementing policy
- sustainable forest development
- recognition of the scarcity of water resources
- a competitive and value-adding forest sector
- decent employment conditions[4]

These re-evaluated policies attempted to broaden the definition and direction of forestry for all South Africans involved in the industry, not just a select minority.

One specific policy that came from the White Paper was the development of community forestry. Community forestry is an attempt to help previously disadvantaged rural communities through forestry by meeting local social, household, and environmental needs. In addition to community forestry, the White Paper highlighted the need to update the Forest Act of 1984 with an emphasis on the sustainable development of all forest resources. In October of 1998, President Mandela assented to the National Forests Act (Act No. 84 of 1998). The purposes of this Act are to:

> (a) promote the sustainable management and development of forests for the benefit of all;
> (b) create the conditions necessary to restructure forestry in State forests;
> (c) provide special measures for the protection of certain forests and trees;

> (d) promote the sustainable use of forests for environmental, economic, educational, recreational, cultural, health, and spiritual purposes;
> (e) promote community forestry;
> (f) promote greater participation in all aspects of forestry and the forests products industry by persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination.[5]

From the brief history above it appears that in the forestry industry there has been a major transformation and progression from colonialism and apartheid to a more democratic sustainable development for all South Africans. However, a review of the evidence found in *Business Day, Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* over a two year period will reveal that such a transformation has been marginal. Instead, consistent with historical practices, the forestry transformation continues to benefit a small number of shareholders and companies in conjunction with the government.

South African forestry today

A brief review of the current laws, figures, and social conditions relevant to forestry provides an important backdrop for a quantitative and qualitative study of forestry coverage and illustrates how forestry affects all South Africans.

- **GDP:** Forestry contributes 1.2% of South African GDP, 7% of manufacturing GDP, and 9.7% of agriculture GDP [years 2002-2003].[6]
- **Jobs:** South Africa estimates the direct number of forestry jobs at 66,000. An additional 396,000 indirect jobs from forestry brings the total to 462,000 jobs. They also report that 1,914,000 people are supported by the forestry industry.[7]
- **Reliance:** In 2001, According to the United Nations Development Programme, 19.1% of the population (2,324,607 people) in South Africa relied on wood for heat and 17.5% for cooking.[8] In 2004, the South African Department of Water Affairs and Forestry stated that 25% of the population primarily relies on wood for energy.[9]
- **Plantations:** In 2003, commercial timber industry stated that plantations comprised an area of 1,371,625 hectares or 1.1% of RSA.[10] Timberwatch and others have put the figure closer to 1,500,000 with an additional 1,700,000 hectares of the country invaded by alien trees.[11]
- **Rainfall:** Much of South Africa is very dry with an average rainfall of 464mm per annum versus a global average of 857mm.[12] Plantations in South Africa are concentrated in areas where rainfall exceeds 800mm per annum.[13]
- **Tree types:** Primary plantation species are: pine (52%), eucalyptus (39%), wattle (7%).[14] These are all alien to South Africa and were introduced during the colonial period.
- **Harvest cycle:** Average harvest cycle for eucalyptus pulp is 9 years; pine pulp, 15 years; and wattle for chip is 12 years.
- **Biodiversity:** South Africa has the third highest level of biodiversity in the world.

These figures begin to reveal how forestry affects workers, shareholders, consumers, government and households through heating and cooking, and the environment. In this sense, forestry arguably affects all South Africans. Because the issue is so paramount, it is important to have unbiased and thorough coverage of forestry in the media.

Terms

Below is a list of six terms that are used in forestry debates and discussions, but which are often misunderstood. All definitions come from the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations,[15] except for the definitions of 'alien species' and 'community-based forest management,' which come from the South African Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.[16]

> ***Afforestation:*** The conversion from other land uses into forest, or the increase of the canopy cover to above the 10% threshold.
>
> ***Alien Species:*** Any living organism occurring outside of its natural range and includes any propagule of such an organism that might survive and subsequently reproduce. "Invasive alien species" are alien species that threaten ecosystems, habitats or species.
>
> ***Community-based forest management:*** The management of forest resources by a local community or group of local communities on the basis of a right to manage and/or to receive benefits from those forest resources.
>
> ***Conservation*****:** The protection, improvement, and use of natural resources according to principles that will assure their highest economic or social benefits for humanity and their environment now and into the future.[17]
>
> ***Forestry:*** Land spanning more than 0.5 hectares with trees higher than 5 meters and a canopy cover of more than 10 percent, or trees able to reach these thresholds in situ. It does not include land that is predominantly under agricultural or urban land use. Forest characteristics are wooded land of naturally regenerated native species where there are clearly visible indications of human activities.
>
> ***Plantations (Forest plantations):*** Forest stands established by planting and/or seeding in the process of afforestation or reforestation. They are either introduced species (all planted stands), or intensively managed stands of indigenous species, which meet all the following criteria: one or two species at plantation, even age, class, and regular spacing.

These definitions will help standardize the discussion of forestry across the three respective newspapers.

Methodology

This study of forestry, along with the studies of NEPAD and terrorism, employed two electronic retrieval systems for the selection of news articles. The primary source for reviewing news content came from the articles retrieved from the data base. Content analysis of each article was conducted and measured against other available information. The first retrieval system was the newspapers' own search engines. The *Cape Times* and *Business Day* report that a hundred percent of their articles can be found online for the years 2002-2003. However, they both noted that special sections, supplements, and surveys are not found on the web. The *Natal Witness* reports that only selected articles are posted on their web site. Thus, while the majority of articles under study were generated from the newspapers' own websites, in order not to miss any articles, or rely solely on each newspaper's web selection, a second electronic retrieval system, Sabinet, was utilized.[18] Using a second retrieval system not only adds additional articles but also enhances the validity of the search.

Since the PM examines actually media performance on selected issues, no qualitative interviews with journalists, editors or owners of newspapers was conducted for the three issues under review. While specific interviews with journalists or editors would have provided another dimension to the research, the focus of this thesis however is on systematic and institutional patterns (filters) within print media and how media professionals adapt, and are adapted, to institutional demands. Additionally, the class position of journalists, and education of journalists was not examined within this study.

To understand media performance of the forestry industry for the years 2002-2003 the following words: *forestry, timber, plantations*, *paper and pulp* were typed into each respective search engine separately and in this order (results listed below in Figure 1. With each successive word search a series of overlaps or cross references occurred as shown in Figure 1. If an article appeared in *forestry* and then overlapped with *timber* and/or *plantations*, it was only counted once. For example, the word search *forestry* under *Business Day* yielded 207 articles, of which 97 were used. Likewise a search in *Business Day* for *timber* yielded 107 articles, and 36 of those articles were found under the *forestry* search and thus were not counted. Because of successive overlap, only eight of the 107 *timber* articles were used. To illustrate the use of Sabinet, the word *forestry* in the *Natal Witness* yielded 24 articles, seven of which were found earlier under the *Natal Witness* search.

BREAKDOWN OF FORESTRY ARTICLES BY NEWSPAPER

	Business Day				*Cape Times*				*Natal Witness*			
	F	**T**	**P**	**PP**	**F**	**T**	**P**	**PP**	**F**	**T**	**P**	**PP**
Newspaper Search	207	107	27	11	240	82	60	87	90	82	25	0
Cross Reference	—	36	20	1	—	17	18	8	—	9	3	0
Sub-Total used	97	8	0	3	77	10	6	9	25	6	0	0
Sabinet Search	46	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	24	10	0	1
Cross Reference	44	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	6	0	0
Sub total used	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**14**	**4**	**0**	**1**
Total # Articles	**99**	**+ 8**	**+ 0**	**+ 4**	**78**	**+ 10 +**	**6 +**	**9**	**39**	**+ 10 +**	**0**	**+ 1**
			111				**103**				**50**	

F= Forestry T= Timber P= plantations P= Paper and pulp

Figure 1

Not all the articles retrieved were used in this study. Sometimes the word *timber* or *forestry* would be used in a context not related to forestry. For example, if someone from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) were speaking about water conservation that article would be listed in a search but would not be used for the study. The same would occur with references to *Timber* Street. Likewise, sugar or rubber *plantations* were screened out of the study. In general, the articles used contained more than a passing reference about forestry. If an article spoke about logging, sawmill production, or selling off State enterprises, then the article was utilised. If a story evolved over several weeks, such as the Komatiland sale, then it was added into the study. In short, when possible articles were put into the study in order to get a large base to measure media performance on forestry issues.

The following group of articles will be used:

Business Day:	111 articles
Cape Times:	103 articles
Natal Witness:	50 articles

Total: 264 articles

These 264 articles provide a representative and thorough statistical sample for evaluating media performance on the issue of forestry. [The specific date, title, and author for each Forestry article and the relevant newspaper can be found in appendices 1-3.]

Sources

Because reporters rarely witness news happening, they rely on information from others, or 'sources.' Sources are vital to the life of a journalist by providing essential background information to write a story, garner an audience, and thus sell a newspaper. A source is generally a quote, reference, or piece of information from an individual, group, or organisation. Many South African journalists cover or are assigned a regular 'beat'—Parliament, mining, health, sport, or others—that allow them to garner sources and receive information from the structures and corridors of influence. These 'beats' provide a steady supply of news and information for journalists: press releases, speeches, company briefings, policy or personnel changes for instance. These sources are generally deemed by reporters to be authoritative and credible. Writing in the 1920s, Walter Lippmann realised the power institutions have on public opinion:

> The established leaders of any organization have great natural advantages. They are believed to have better sources of information. …It is therefore, easier for them to secure attention and to speak in a convincing tone. But they have a very great deal of control over the access to the facts. …every leader is in some degree a propagandist.[19]

Naturally, the higher up from which the information comes, the more authoritative the source becomes. Hence, when the president of a timber company speaks it is deemed more important than a worker or consumer. Likewise, experts and think tank sources provide a sense of clout and certainty in a discussion of an issue or topic. However, workers, unions, and consumers also have extensive experience and knowledge sometimes even more than their managers, depending on the topic. Ultimately to fully understand forestry, all sides are needed as each contributes a perspective the other cannot.

The working relationship between institutional sources and journalists serves and meets additional needs. Institutions and structures of power want to maintain their privileged position within society and the media help that need. Centres of power desire and need to present themselves and their products and/or services in a positive manner and the press often facilitate this task. Trained professionals are able to select what is presented and how it is presented to journalists through a variety of public relation techniques. On the other side, journalists and newspapers needs are met as the reliance on high placed sources decreases the cost of gathering information or conducting investigative reporting. This relationship saves time, which ultimately saves

money. Herman and Chomsky write:

> The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. The media need a steady, reliable flow of raw material of news. ...Economics dictates that they concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumors and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held.[20]

This mutually dependent relationship serves the primary needs of both newspapers and individuals within structures of power. This relationship, however, comes with significant costs.

The use of sources within newspapers helps shape outcomes, perceptions and comprehension of issues. This has consequences because individuals rely on newspaper information about these issues to inform themselves, form opinions, and make decisions. Ideally, journalists glean all sides of an issue and sort out conflicting information, bias, and stereotypes in order to provide the consumer with accurate information. However, the use of sources, or lack of, often acts as a filter in shaping a story and giving only a limited view of the bigger picture. For example, if a journalist wanted to write a series of stories about teenage pregnancy and relied only on parents then the story would be imbalanced. The same is true if the writer only relied on sources from pregnant teenagers; coverage needs to tap many other sources—social services, schools, faith-based groups, prospective fathers, community healthcare providers, and additional research data—in order to be fair and accurate and have a full understanding of teenage pregnancy. Likewise, coverage of forestry should reflect the full range of those involved; otherwise, a limited and restricted view emerges. Leon Sigal identified some costs to relying on official sources arguing that:

> Reporters pay a price for access: they become dependent on their official sources. Dependence combines three elements: some reluctance to offend news sources in the stories they write, considerable willingness to print whatever their sources tell them, and little or no insistence that officials take responsibility for the information they pass along.[21]

In a functioning democracy it is vital that the press report fairly and accurately on matters of concern to the population as well as be aware of their relationship with the source, the accuracy of it, and their reliance on it.

To determine if the third PM filter (sources) applies to South African English newspapers, a quantitative count of the sources utilised in the 264 articles concerning forestry listed above will be performed. I will demonstrate that while the media utilises a wide range of news sources, it relies predominantly, if not at times almost exclusively, on 'official' news sources—government and timber companies—over alternative sources.[22] Moreover, the use of dissident sources is negligible while forestry workers and union representatives have all been ignored. This contributes to limiting the public's

perception of forestry issues to sides that are favourable to government and corporate interests.

Sourcing methodology and scoring

Below is an alphabetical list of 14 players (sources) that are part of forestry debates:

> ***Academics*:** Individuals who serve institutions of higher learning and are called upon for expert opinion on a matter.
>
> ***Community members or representatives:*** Those individual community members who live near or are affected by the timber, paper, and pulp industry. A community representative may also be a community spokesperson or an attorney. Most letters to the editor, for instance, would fall under this category.
>
> ***Civil society (progressive):*** Organizations, institutions, or groups that operate between the individual/family and government. These can range from sports groups to political, religious, or social welfare organisations. The options are endless and political groups often run the gamut from left to right. However, this category is concerned with source representation in the progressive sector of civil society. This sector is often associated with the Global Justice movement and in South Africa includes groups such as Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), and the South African Council of Churches.[23] [Note: Cosatu is coded under progressive civil and not union because it is a cluster of unions.]
>
> ***Corporate/local business:*** This category includes local businesses and corporations that often are not directly related to forestry such as shareholders, steel makers, retail vendors, and manufacturers.
>
> ***Environmental groups*:** Because environmental groups often run along an ideological continuum, I have divided them into two groups:
>
> ***Environmental—mainstream*:** Organisations represent the post-Washington Consensus model. For them, capitalism is the best economic system; minor adjustments, are needed only from time to time to offset imbalances. Examples in South Africa would be: Botanical Society of South Africa, and the World Wildlife Fund SA.
>
> ***Environmental—progressive*:** This group is varied but falls in line with the Global Justice movement. Progressive concerns would include: environmental justice, indigenous rights, labour rights, socialism and anarchism. Organisational examples include: Earth First, EarthLife Africa, Food First, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, groundWork, and Timberwatch.
>
> ***Finance*:** The individuals, groups or organizations that control, monitor and invest capital (relating and not relating to forestry). Examples

include: Ernst and Young, Merrill Lynch, HSBC and the World Bank.

Government: Any local, provincial or national governing representative, employee or official.

Journalists**:** The use of or quoting from other journals or journalists.

Other**:** Some sources do no fall into one of the designated categories or they are unidentifiable. Examples include: analysts, tree experts, political consultants and the Allergy Society of South Africa.

Timber companies**:** Companies that are involved in the growing, raising, harvesting, manufacturing and milling of timber, paper and pulp. [Note: South Africa Forestry Company Limited (SAFCOL) is coded as a timber company and not as government.]

Timber support groups**:** Individuals, groups or institutions that support the forestry industry whether for research, lobbying, educational or other purposes.

Unions: The unions that represent workers in the forestry, paper, and pulp industry.

Workers: The people who plant, tend, fell, saw, and mill trees, paper, and pulp.

These 14 categories will be used to score the sources for each of the 264 articles.

Scoring will be as follows: a tick will be marked in each category below when someone is quoted or referenced in an article. For example, if an article has four separate quotes from four different sources then four ticks will be marked respectively in each category. If a source is quoted twice, only one mark will be given. A source may only receive one tick per article. For example, a quote from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry would fall under the 'government category.' A letter to the editor would fall under 'community representative' unless the person has a title (i.e. from the Forestry Institute or Botanical Society of South Africa). Also, individuals who were suspended, resigned, or on leave were classified in the area in which they came from for a period of one year from the incident. Once the sources have been tabulated a picture will emerge of the use of sources both as a whole and from each respective newspaper. In theory, sources should reflect the full range of opinions on forestry from each category identified above. While distribution of sources cannot be equally split among the various players, they should be reflective and representative.

Analysis of sources by category

Several observations can be deduced from the tabulation of forestry sources found in Figure 2. I will start with general comments and then move to analysis of sources by category. The next section will engage in an analysis of each newspaper and their use of sources.

BREAKDOWN OF FORESTRY SOURCES

	Natal Witness		***Cape Times***		***Business Day***	
# Articles 2002-2003	50	% of	103	% of	114	% of
Number of sources	116	Total	205	Total	232	Total
Academic	2	1.7	0	0	0	0
Civil Society Progressive	6	5.2	2	1.0	3	1.3
Corporate/ Local Business	10	8.6	11	5.4	7	3.0
Community Members/Representatives	8	6.9	15	7.3	1	.4
Financial	1	.9	13	6.3	8	3.5
Government	29	25.0	60	29.3	88	37.9
Journalists	4	3.4	3	1.5	12	5.2
Mainstream Environmental Groups	7	6.0	1	.5	1	.4
Timber Companies	21	18.1	88	42.9	93	40.1
Timber Support Groups	20	17.2	3	1.5	4	1.7
Other	6	5.1	7	3.4	13	5.6
Progressive Environmental	1	.9	2	1.0	0	0
Workers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Union Representatives	1	.9	0	0	2	.9
		100%*		100%*		100%

*rounding

Figure 2

Consistent with the propaganda model, the overwhelming majority of sources come from 'official' sources. Official sources are those from the governmental or corporate world; both worlds support and benefit from the existing neoliberal framework of a hierarchical capitalism and this is reflected in their sources. These sources bestow a certain amount of prestige and objectivity that unofficial sources do not possess. Usually, these sources are trusted and people feel that there is no need to verify or check such information provided to the press. Official sources in forestry are: academics, government, corporations, timber companies, timber support groups, and finance. These six categories represented 82.8% of all the sources. A sizable 406 sources came from just three categories (government, timber companies and timber support groups) and represented

73.6% of all sources. Timber companies and government together represented 68.7% of all sources.

This over-use of highly-placed government officials and corporate leaders as sources appears to validate the findings of Leon Sigal in the US. He analysed 2850 domestic and foreign stories in *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* over five year intervals for twenty years. Sigal found that public officials were the source of 78.1% of the stories.[24] The second largest use of sources was business. Government and business continue today to be the largest contributors of news in the forestry sector in South Africa and are thus the dominant sources of power and ideology within the forestry debate. One creates and regulates laws and policy; the other has capital and attempts to influence public policy. This power over policy and capital creates a perverse incentive for reporters to surrender their objectivity and ethics to please them and support the prevailing ideology

Sources by themselves do not necessarily constitute an article nor do they determine the news. However, government and timber companies are able to shape, contain and control much of the debate and discussion on forestry issues by having the largest percentage of sources. Moreover, news reporters' attention can be diverted with a steady diet of stories and information that fall within certain parameters outlined by the dominant elite and private interests. The powerful elite understand they can set the framework for discussion. Recent examples of such agenda setting in the US include: the US war on drugs in Latin America and the removal of Saddam Hussein. These two issues did not arise from citizen concerns, but rather became top-down issues via government officials. In South Africa, discussions and coverage of Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR), privatisation of states assets (e.g. Telkom) and basic services (e.g. water[25]), arms deal, and the New African Partnership for African Development (NEPAD; covered later on) were set by the dominant elite state and private interests.

By allowing government and business to set the agenda, news companies can reduce production costs by relying heavily on a few sources—Herman and Chomsky write,

> In effect, the large bureaucracies of the powerful *subsidize* the mass media, and gain special access by their contribution to reducing the media's costs of acquiring the raw materials of and producing, news. The large entities that provide this subsidy become "routine" news sources and have privileged access to the gates. Non-routine sources must struggle for access, and may be ignored by arbitrary decision of the gatekeepers.[26]

Both the government and large corporations have considerable resources and trained professionals who package and market press releases and information for the media.

In the case of forestry in South Africa, the high percentage of official sources seems to indicate agreement between political and elite economic forces in forestry. As a result, there is arguably no real public debate; the state will

perform its historic role by helping timber companies realise profits through the sale of State forests (e.g. Komatiland) and necessary regulations and laws (e.g. taxes). Overall, government and timber companies represent only a small fraction of the general public. The majority of South Africans—those not involved in government or forestry but affected by both—are excluded from the insider debates and news.

SUMMARY OF COMBINED FORESTRY SOURCES

	Number of sources	Percent of Total
Academic	**2**	**.4**
Civil Society Progressive	**11**	**2.0**
Corporate/ Local Business	**28**	**5.1**
Community Members/Representatives	**24**	**4.3**
Financial	**22**	**3.9**
Government	**177**	**32.0**
Journalists	**19**	**3.4**
Mainstream Environmental Groups	**9**	**1.6**
Timber Companies	**202**	**36.5**
Timber Support Groups	**27**	**4.9**
Other	**26**	**4.7**
Progressive Environmental	**3**	**.5**
Workers	**0**	**0**
Union Representatives	**3**	**.5**
Total	553	100%*

*rounding

Figure 3

Workers, unions, and progressive civil society

There are 66,000 forestry workers in South Africa, yet not one paper had a single quote or reference (i.e. source) from a worker other than an executive. Additionally, no sources describing working conditions, job security, job benefits or job satisfaction were found. No sources from sawmill operators, truckers, loggers, and factory workers were located either. How is a reader to appreciate the work life of 66,000 forestry workers? Or understand how a recent event in forestry affects them if their voices are never represented? Excluding coverage of the working conditions and struggles of forestry workers serves to unduly minimize their role in society. Newspapers can be a medium for organising and demanding wage increases, job security, and better working conditions, and listing alternatives to capitalism and privatisation. By minimizing their role newspapers are helping corporations both profit more and keep labour docile. Furthermore, by minimizing labour, union and progressive civil society concerns have less public support.

Perhaps journalists think that workers' voices are represented via the unions and progressive civil society. However, only three out of 553 sources (.5%) are from forestry unions. The *Natal Witness* had one sentence from Sipho Khumalo, general secretary for the South African Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union, which dealt with HIV and the labour shortage affecting the forestry industry. *Business Day* had two sources in the same article, one from Sakhiwo Zako, secretary for Eastern Cape, Chemical Energy Paper Printing Wood and Allied Workers Union (Ceppwawu) and the other from Ceppwawu. Both sources referred to the possible job retrenchments at BoskorSawmill. The two Ceppwawu sources had a combined total of four sentences within the article. Add the one sentence from the *Natal Witness* and that brings a total of five sentences from forestry representatives and unions among the entire 264 articles set for 2002-2003.

The voice of workers and unions are almost entirely excluded from the larger civil society sector, making it clear that they are not important sources in media coverage of forestry. Only 11 sources from progressive civil society were used (Cosatu 5; Association for Rural Advancement/National Land Committee [Afra] 3; South African Communist Party 2; Ralph Nader, USA, 1) This represents 2.0% of all sources, revealing again that workers, unions, and progressive civil society are not adequately represented throughout the two years under review. Their voice and concerns have effectively been marginalised.

Environmental groups

Environmental groups, both moderate and progressive did not fare much better than workers, unions, and progressive civil society groups. Out of 553 sources there were 9 mainstream sources (1.6%) and 3 progressive sources (.5%). The effects of forestry on the environment—water depletion, destruction of grasslands, soil nutrient depletion, pollution, and alien plants invasion—are significant. However, because the environmental voice is limited in the forestry debates people's awareness of these effects and therefore their ability to mobilize against them are severely curtailed.

Community members or representatives

A total of 4.3% of all sources were from community members or representatives (24 community members total). Five sources came from South Durban Community Environmental Alliance concerning Mondi's new R220 million multifuel boiler. There were four sources from the Dukuduku land case and two sources from Hilton (KwaZulu-Natal Province) residents concerning black soot from the Mondi plant. Several of the sources were responses to previous letters to the editor. *Business Day* had one community source over the two-year period and it was from Canada. During this same two year period, only 50 sources (9%) came from workers, unions, environmental groups, civil society, and community members combined—the largest segment of the South African population. This exclusion of the majority is consistent with the PM prediction that journalists self-

censor the use of sources in forestry issues. Journalists not only self-censor by excluding most community members, but also by not allowing much in the way of dissenting opinion even among these 50 community sources.

In addition to the cheaper cost of limited sources and the beneficial policy that comes from pleasing prevailing sectors of society, another reason journalists do not use alternative sources and instead surrender to the prevailing ideology is that it is trouble-free. There is no cost in terms of one's career to follow and use long- established sources and protocols. Writing stories that use alternative sources and draw upon alternative economic models do not meet the needs of elite planners, nor do investigative stories about timber malfeasance and government giveaways. Ultimately, journalists protect their careers by choosing to follow established patterns. A consequence of this process is that alternative voices, no matter how valid or accurate, are not given consideration and readers are not given adequate information to make informed decisions.

Analysis of sources by newspaper

Business Day

Timber companies, government, corporate and financial sources represented 84.5% of all sources. Timber companies and government alone represented 78% of all sources while the other ten categories accounted for the remaining 22% of sources. Meanwhile seven categories together: academics, civil society (progressive), community members, environmental groups (2), workers, and unions, represented 3% of all sources. Given the data, it appears that these former categories have little value to *Business Day* reporters.

Since *Business Day* describes itself as "South Africa's most influential and respected daily newspaper," it naturally follows that they would have the highest number of sources from 'official' sources and the lowest number from the seven categories listed above. *Business Day* is simply providing readers what they want: propaganda about timber companies and government actions that may affect business or investments.

Cape Times

Like *Business Day,* the *Cape Times* has abandoned journalism standards and has aligned itself with the dominant corporate forces within the forestry arena. The *Cape Times* had no sources from academics, workers or union representatives. Furthermore, only 11 out of 204 (5.4%) of the sources came from environmental groups, timber support groups, journalists and civil society put together. These groups do not interest 'upmarket readers.' On the other hand, 'upmarket readers' desire to know about the transactions and activity within the timber industry. Therefore, timber companies, government, corporate and financial sources represented 83.9% of all sources. By its use of predominantly official sources, the *Cape Times* is clearly meeting its goal of "servicing the needs of upmarket readers."

Natal Witness

The *Natal Witness* had the widest distribution of sources among the three newspapers. Timber companies and government represented 43.1% of all sources for the *Natal Witness* compared to 72.5% for the *Cape Times* and 78% for *Business Day*. The *Natal Witness* had the highest use of timber support groups at 17.2% compared to the 1.5 % for the *Cape Times* and 1.7 % for *Business Day.* While the *Natal Witness* relied primarily on government, timber companies and timber support groups they did show some level of diversity in the use of sources.

One reason the *Natal Witness* has a better distribution is that it is not aimed at elites like the two other papers. Another reason may be that only 50% is owned by Naspers, a corporation, while the other 50% is still family owned. Despite the *Witness'* slightly better representation, the newspaper still falls within the parameters of the propaganda model.

In the case of forestry, the figures clearly confirm the tenets of the propaganda model: 'official' news sources—timber companies and government—are favoured by reporters and dissident voices are marginalised if they are even allowed at all. This self-censoring selection process by journalists is due to time constraints, financial considerations, internalised values, and resources.[27] Furthermore, there is personal cost to deviate outside the normal range of acceptable sources. Both government and large corporations have dedicated staff to create, produce, and disseminate ready-made information to journalists. There is also a built-in backlash in the relationship between journalists and powerful sources to keep them in line. Herman and Chomsky explain this relationship:

> Because of their services, continuous contact on the beat, and mutual dependency, the powerful can use personal relationships, threats, and rewards to further influence and coerce the media. The media may feel obligated to carry extremely dubious stories and mute criticism in order not to offend their sources and disturb a close relationship. It is very difficult to call authorities on whom one depends for daily news liars, even if they tell whoppers. Critical sources may be avoided…because the primary sources may be offended and may even threaten the media using them. Powerful sources may also use their prestige and importance to the media as a lever to deny critics access to the media.[28]

In sum, the use of sources is a powerful filter in the creation and manufacturing of news.

This study has demonstrated that the use of, or lack of use of, sources can act as a filter in shaping or slanting the forestry debate within South Africa. From this summary of sources it is evident that sourcing shapes public opinion regarding forestry, creates a bias in favour of the corporations, minimizes environmental concerns, obscures labour issues, and ignores a range of

alternatives to privatisation. Journalism and democracy are not well served when the media's serviceability to power interests eclipses the needs of the population or the larger public good.

Range of expressible opinion

The following section is a qualitative evaluation of forestry issues using the content of the articles in order to demonstrate that South African English daily newspapers "serve to mobilize support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity"[29] and that the 'range of expressible opinion' falls within narrow parameters.

Agenda setting newspapers target and speak the language of dominant economic and political constituents. Writing in 1935, American Leo C. Rosten wrote:

> Newspapers are properties. As properties they are dedicated to the making of profit. And as men of property, publishers find their interests coinciding with the interests of other property-holding groups. Their sincere editorial policies may, *without* deliberate intent, mirror the preferences of the economic stratum with which they are identified.[30]

Through continual interaction between other interlocking institutions, newspapers naturally and unconsciously echo and respond to the needs of dominant interests within society. Democratic South Africa is no different. One approach to measure this relationship between dominant interests and newspapers comes from the propaganda model developed by Herman and Chomsky.

The 'range of expressible opinion' or 'the bounds of the expressible' developed out of the propaganda model, can be utilised to evaluate media performance on forestry issues in South Africa. Chomsky writes about the use of propaganda in democratic societies:

> Debate cannot be stilled, and indeed, in a properly functioning system of propaganda, it should not be, because it has a system-reinforcing character if constrained within proper bounds. What is essential is to set the bounds firmly. Controversy may rage as long as it adheres to the presuppositions that define the consensus of elites, and it should furthermore be encouraged within these bounds, thus helping establish these doctrines as the very conditions of thinkable thought while reinforcing the belief that freedom reigns. In short, what is essential is the power to set the agenda.[31]

The current prevailing economic model of neoliberalism stresses: privatisation of state assets, repeal laws that slow capital, increase subsides for basic services and poverty reduction strategies focusing on opening up markets. Looking at forestry in South Africa, debate can 'rage' freely about the privatisation of State forests and possible acquisitions of forests. However, alternatives to selling the land, labour concerns, and the use of contract labour are off the agenda. If the

debate can be restricted to a narrow range of choices the game is essentially over; public opinion is conditioned to think within certain parameters laid out by the forestry industry.

Dominant powers within society generally have two aims: to maintain their dominant position and diminish any unwanted elements that could interfere with that position. During apartheid, the National Party made use of laws, repression and propaganda to maintain their position within society. Under a democratic South Africa, the use of force is no longer employed as a means to reign in the population. However, propaganda still persists and may prove to be as effective as force. Harold Lasswell, writing about the use of propaganda, states:

> The propagandist's task is to intensify attitudes favourable to his purpose, to reverse obstructive attitudes, to win the indifferent or at least to prevent them from becoming antagonistic. In general, his problem is so to control the presentation of an object that a desired act will be elicited towards it on the part of selected persons. He must have a clear working conception of his goal.[32]

Powerful elites in conjunction with the media have effectively done this with forestry issues as will be demonstrated below.

The qualitative analysis of media coverage of forestry will be broken into two parts. The first part will sort the 256 articles into different categories to demonstrate that media coverage of forestry falls within limited parameters. The second part will focus on this 'bound of expressible opinion,' in other words, what was allowed to enter the press and what was conveniently left out.

Breakdown of articles by genre

Like the previous section on forestry sources, I will define ten categories for article content and then review the 265 forestry articles and see their distribution pattern within these categories. Articles usually have a theme or main point and may or may not have auxiliary comments or subjects. For the purposes here, I have selected nine categories or article types that capture the various areas of forestry coverage:

> ***Articles outside RSA*:** Because forestry is not limited to just South Africa, this category deals with articles that focus on forestry outside South Africa. This would include conservation efforts and practices, along with foreign or transnational mergers and acquisitions. Examples would include Anglo purchases in Russia, the Central African Republic fighting corruption, and the state of forestry in Canada.
>
> ***Community forestry*:** The White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development defines community forestry as: forestry designed and applied to meet local social, household, and environmental needs and to favour local economic development.[33] Household needs would include wood for heating and cooking. Environmental issues would include deforestation and land degradation. Economic needs would include income generation via sustainable forestry.

***Conservation*:** The protection, improvement, and use of natural resources according to principles that will assure their highest economic or social benefits for humanity and the environment now and into the future.[34] This category is particularly concerned with land use and/or misuse. Examples of articles in this category would include ones focusing on crime, timber waste, alien plants, afforestation and use of recreational areas.

Corporate concerns: This category deals with specific companies and may include ones focusing on acquisitions, disputes, earnings, company news and reports. [Note: South Africa Forestry Company Limited (SAFCOL) is coded as a corporation and not as government.]

***Environmental impact*:** This category includes articles focusing on the environmental impact forestry has within South Africa. This would include ones focusing on flooding, grassland loss, pollution, soil erosions and degradation, and water use and loss. It also includes what corporations are doing to remedy these problems.

Forestry industry: This category is more general than corporate concerns. This category deals with issues of labour, transport, government, lumber demand, and fires, when they affect timber industries. A key component of this category is that articles focus on how these issues will affect the industry first and the worker and community second, if at all.

Government: This category deals with government action, policy, regulation, or restructuring that directly or indirectly affects forestry. The category does not deal with privatisation, which is a separate category below.

***Labour*:** This category of articles is about labour concerns from a labour perspective not a corporate or forestry industry perspective. It may include issues such as job creation, job loss, working conditions, wages, and the use of sub-contractors.

***Privatisation*:** The South African government has embarked on a path of privatisation for various industries and forestry is one of those. Articles in this category focus on this trend.

Komatiland: During the period of review, 2002-2003, the Komatiland Forest was up for bidding from various private vendors. The first deal was cancelled due to corruption allegations. Due to its prominence in the news, Komatiland has its own category and will be discussed separately.

Each article was read and placed within one of the ten categories above even if several things might have been mentioned. For example, an article on HIV/AIDS affects both workers (labour) and the forestry industry. But the use of sources can help determine the overall direction and tone of an article. Therefore, an article in the *Natal Witness,* "The impact of a dying labour force" (14 Nov. 03) describes the impact HIV/AIDS has on the forestry industry as an industry. Therefore, the article is coded under forestry industry and not labour (even if HIV very much affects forestry labour). An article in *Business Day*, "Yorkcor to

challenge bid process" (28 July 03) is about Yorkcor, a timber company, challenging the government's announcement of a new vendor for the Komatiland forests. The article is about privatisation of Komatiland, and a corporate concern. However, the article states what a specific corporation Yorkcor is doing about a perceived problem for the company. Hence, the article is coded under corporate concerns rather than privatisation. An article in the *Cape Times,* "Forestry bid aims to avoid past woes" (19 May 03) is also about the Komatiland Forestry bid. The article lists the six firms that bid on Komatiland. However, the article focuses on how the government was confident that the bidding process was much improved over the last process. Therefore, the article is coded under privatisation. Once the articles have been categorized, a picture will emerge both as a whole and of each respective newspaper. In theory, articles should reflect all ten categories on forestry identified above.

Several observations can be deduced from the tabulation of forestry articles found in Figure 4. The remainder of this section will start with specific comments about each paper and then discuss media coverage of the following categories: environmental impact, labour, community forestry, subsidies, and Komatiland privatisation.

Forestry Topical Summary

	Business Day		*Cape Times*		*Natal Witness*	
Number of articles	111		103		50	
	Total #	% of total	Total #	% of total	Total #	% of total
Articles outside RSA	8	7.2%	12	11.7%	0	0
Community Forestry	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heating	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cooking	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conservation	2	1.8%	12	11.6%	10	20%
Corporate Concerns	44	39.6%	40	38.8%	4	8%
Environmental Impact	1	.9%	5	4.9%	2	4%
Forestry Industry	7	6.3%	4	3.9%	24	48%
Government	3	2.7%	2	1.9%	0	0
Labour	1	.9%	1	1%	0	0
Job creation	0	0	1	1%	1	2%
Working conditions	0	0	0	0	0	0
Use of subcontractors	0	0	0	0	0	0
Land Claims	0	0	0	0	3	6%
Privatisation	13	11.7%	4	3.9%	0	0
Komatiland	32	28.8%	22	21.4%	6	12%
*rounding		100%*		100%*		100%

Figure 4

In *Business Day*, The majority of articles are concentrated around two subjects: corporate concerns and privatisation, which comprise 80.1% of all articles. When articles focusing on the forestry industry are included, the number reaches 86.4%. The number would rise to 90.9% if five articles from 'outside South Africa' were subdivided into corporate concerns. Almost 91% of all *Business Day* articles fall within three categories, all of which narrowly reflect the

industry. Timber corporations could arguably not ask for better coverage in newspapers.

The five remaining categories: community forestry, conservation, environmental impact, labour, and land claims comprised a total of 3.6% of articles in *Business Day.* These important, large sectors of forestry are simply not discussed or addressed. Ultimately, *Business Day* does not accurately portray forestry issues to its readers, but reflects the neoliberalism ideology, desires, and needs of private capital. Timber companies covet operating with minimal public or governmental interference.

Business Day is performing an important task in their coverage of forestry—they are informing, shaping, and training South African leaders and captains of industry how to think properly about forestry by emphasising some factors and ignoring others. Information and 'the range of expressible opinion' fall within a very narrow range that serves elite interests. The repercussions of this are that nothing really changes; the timber industry carries on like before, with only minor changes instituted under the ANC government.

In *Cape Times*, in-depth coverage is provided but only from a business perspective and this is evident in that the majority of articles are concentrated between the two categories: corporate concerns and privatisation, which comprise 64.1% of all articles. Add 'forestry industry' to the equation and the number increases to 68%. Additionally, factor in the nine articles about corporate concerns from outside South Africa and it rises to 76.7%. Though *Cape Times* statistics are not as high as *Business Day*'s, the paper still heavily favours moneyed interests and concerns.

Community forestry, environmental impact, labour, and land claims comprise 6.9% of all the *Cape Times* articles. Again, large segments of forestry concerns are marginalised and given very little attention. Like *Business Day,* the *Cape Times* provides limited information to the reader thus shaping and conditioning the reader to think within a narrow range of ideas about forestry. This prevailing narrow framework advocates for the transfer of State assets to private control, provides business activity and updates to readers, and celebrates the market. At the same time, such a framework marginalises those voices that may interfere with profit and corporate hegemony—environmentalists, labour, unions and land claims. Both *Business Day* and *Cape Times* illustrate the hallmarks of 'agenda setting' media in that they attempt to frame this particular issue in a specific way that reflects the interests of the wealthy.

Unlike *Business Day* and *Cape Times*, the majority of articles (48%) in the *Natal Witness* focused on the forestry industry itself and not on specific companies. The next largest category in the *Natal Witness* was conservation, 20%, followed by Komatiland, 12%. Conservation coverage was substantially higher than the 11.6% for the *Cape Times* and 1.8% for *Business Day.* The *Natal Witness* had no articles about forestry outside South Africa, community forestry, or government, and had only one article on labour. Additionally, the *Natal Witness* had the fewest number of categories filled at seven out of sixteen compared to nine for *Business Day* and ten for the *Cape Times.* This sparse

coverage in the *Natal Witness* is probably due to the size of and resources available to this paper.

Environmental impact

Timber and forestry industries affect the environment just as making steel, automobiles, or nuclear power create pollution, waste, and potentially dangerous toxins that affect everyone in the community. The by-products of production continually need to be measured against the benefits of production. For example a cost-benefit analysis occurred after the Three Mile Island nuclear incident when there was a near nuclear meltdown at a nuclear reactor plant in the US. After an additional nuclear accident in Chernobyl, many countries felt the production of nuclear power was too dangerous. The point of these illustrations is to demonstrate that there are environmental consequences to production. The environmental impact of forestry and media coverage will now be discussed.

There were five articles in the *Cape Times* under 'environmental impact.' Three of the articles focused in on what timber companies are doing about the environment. Articles such as, "Sugar, timber sectors a source of green power" (20 Aug 02), "Green electricity may be on cards out of sugar, timber" (22 Aug 02), and "Sappi Sailicor gets green approval from ISO" (21 Feb 02), reframe the environmental impact of forestry. Rather than address the effects forestry has on the environment—pollution, loss of biodiversity, water depletion, and soil depletion—these articles turn a potentially negative topic into a positive one for timber companies by focusing on the few positive environmental programs of corporations. This is a good example of how the industry is able to set the terms of the debate and have the press willingly follow along.

There were two additional *Cape Times* articles that dealt with the environment. One article, "SA must plug the gaps in environmental best practice" (10 Sep 02), focused on the smell from a Sappi plant in Mandini and a Mondi plant in Richards Bay. The article highlighted the fact that Sappi has introduced the 'best available' technology to reduce emissions. The article goes on to say, "Sappi is committed to reducing its environmental impact and has a worldwide environmental policy to govern operations." Further on in the article the environmental group, Greenpeace states:

> The most problematic aspect of paper production is bleaching paper with chlorine, which releases dioxins. These are considered to be carcinogenic, are persistent polluters, build up in the food chain and ultimately can be consumed by humans.

The article proceeds to list what Mondi is doing to deal with chlorine:

> However, there are clean alternatives and Mondi recently completed a multimillion-rand elemental chlorine-free (ECF) pulp bleaching process that ensures mill effluent levels meet strict environmental standards. The group has also invested in a R180 million environmentally friendly oxygen delignification plant, enabling the mill to extend its ability to produce 100

> percent ECF pulp and Baywhite white-top liner. Environmental benefits include a 20 percent improvement in water quality and significant reductions in water consumption, and the use of chemicals in the bleaching process.

Note there was only a 20% improvement in water quality and the article did not address the other 80% of the problem. The final section of the article starts with another environmental group, groundWork, and their concern about a waste incinerator in South Durban. The article goes on to quote a commodities analyst:

> Technology is improving all the time, but making paper is a chemical process that produces effluent. If we didn't have paper, there would be no books or knowledge or learning.

There is an illogical jump from making paper to having "no books or knowledge or learning." The article induces unnecessary fear to avoid ever dealing with the issue at hand—the environmental impact of forestry. Additionally, when an environmental concern *was* acknowledged, a clear rebuttal and answer was provided to counter the concern, minimizing the concern and justifying the continued corporate production, if not glorifying its benefits, i.e. 'books,' 'knowledge,' and 'learning.'

There was one article, "Durban residents trump Mondi" (10 Jul 03) that highlighted a recent court decision lodged against Mondi in South Durban. There were no articles prior to the court case decision for years 2002 and 2003 nor any articles as to why the suit was brought before the court. The decision only became news after the fact. Incidentally, neither *Business Day* nor *Natal Witness* reported the story, which is especially odd for the *Natal Witness* as Durban is located in their coverage area.

For all three newspapers there was no investigative journalism, no in-depth reporting, and no exposing the environmental impact of forestry. The *Natal Witness* had two articles; one, a four-sentence letter from a member of the community, entitled "Forest Damage" (08 Jul 02), which three days later was met with a nineteen sentence rebuttal (flak) by Mike Edwards, Executive Director of Forestry South Africa (Don't Slam Expo). The other article, "Hilton residents furious over soot from Mondi operation" (23 Aug 03), dealt with thick black soot that covered scores of houses after a tree-felling operation. The article ends with the Mondi site manger planning to make contact with residents to hear their grievances—another rebuttal giving the corporation the final word.

Business Day had a 513-word article on the environmental impact of forestry, "Need for urgent action to save grasslands" (05 June 03) that had only a brief passing mention of forestry:

> Grasslands are of great importance for crop farming, mining and forestry, but it is industries like these that are destroying them.

There was no further mention of forestry within the article.

These eight articles provide a very limited view of the environmental impact of forestry. An outsider with no knowledge of forestry and its environmental impact would receive a myopic view of the subject for the period covered. There is plenty of information about the effects of forestry and the environment readily available for those with access to the internet, journals, or a library; or the drive to interview hosts of non-profits, environmentalists, or the individuals affected by the detrimental environmental effects of forestry; however such information failed to make it into the paper throughout this two-year period.

Timber plantations are not limited to South Africa, but are found throughout the world, including Brazil, Canada, Chile, Indonesia, Russia, Sweden, Thailand, and Uruguay to name a few. There is a well-documented history of the environmental impact plantations have had within these countries. This study will highlight two forestry-induced environmental issues: water consumption and animal wildlife that did not make it into the newspapers. It will not highlight the well-documented environmental impacts of pollution, soil depletion and decreased loss of grasslands.[35]

First, water consumption is an issue that affects all South Africans. As stated earlier, water is a valuable commodity in South Africa. Both sawmills and industrial timber plantations use enormous amounts of water. Many argue that large plantations alter the water cycle.[36] For example, eucalyptus trees can use upwards of 500 litres of water daily. These trees have deep roots and tap into ground water, thus depleting valuable ground water and drying up streams. It has been reported that in one area where industrial plantations occurred the water table dropped 36 meters.[37] The *South African Forestry Handbook 2000,* states the average number of eucalyptus trees used for pulpwood per hectare is between 1000-1667.[38] The number 1,333 is half way between 1000-1667. To determine water use; 1,333 trees, times 5 litres a day comes to 6665 litres of water a day or 2,432,725 per year per hectare. Reducing the trees' water consumption to 2.5 litres per day still puts annual usage at 1,216,262—an enormous amount of water.

The effects of such irresponsibly high water consumption for a single plant within corporate forestry are numerous. Some effects of industrial plantations soaking much needed water can be found in the town of White River in Mpumalanga Province. Due to increased population and poor town planning, industrial plantations located near town drinking water dams have caused a drought in the entire area.[39] Thousands of residents' lives are altered due to water shortages and restrictions, yet plantations continue to draw water. R. N. Porter also noted that plantations and afforestation had an impact on St. Lucia Wetlands in KwaZulu Natal Province.[40] One would think that in a country with significant water shortages forestry's overuse of water would be a vital topic of discussion; but again, it is simply off the table for discussion within these newspapers because of the corporate interest in maintaining the profitable system in place.

Industrial plantations also affect the biodiversity of plants and animals. In order to prepare for plantation, all existing plant life must be removed either manually, though harvesting, or by chemicals. In this process small ecosystems

are destroyed and replaced with alien plants. In addition to the concern of reducing precious biodiversity, such introduction of alien species leads to a second concern that alien plants spread beyond the borders of the plantation.[41] This presents a problem as alien plants spread across the country and consume large qualities of water, again reducing the quantities available for the South African public.

Animal wildlife is also affected by forestry as indigenous plants and ecosystems are replaced with monocultures resulting in a loss of plant diversity, shelter, and food. Many animals adapt to changing environments. However, bucks depend upon grass and indigenous plants for sustenance. They cannot eat eucalyptus or pines, which totally destroy the indigenous plants in their immediate vicinity. People often observe that inside the thicket of a timber plantation animals are not often found—there is simply no food. Phillip Owen of Geasphere notes there are exceptions to the rule:

> In the Graskop area, where I attended a plantation audit in 1999, reference was made to crop damage from baboons. Diminished habitat had forced the baboons to attempt eating pine. Apparently they derived some nutrition from the bark of these trees, and took to 'ringbarking' some pines, causing the trees to die. The industry had dealt with this problem by obtaining the services of a professional hunter to trap and exterminate the entire troop of troublesome baboons. This example demonstrates that in the rare event that indigenous animals actually utilize the timber for survival purposes they are seen as 'pests' which need to be eradicated.[42]

Birds (Rudd's Lark) and antelope (oribi) are also two animals greatly affected by large industrial plantations. In 1990, studies in KwaZulu Natal Province show that 236 bird, 97 reptile, 57 amphibian, 55 mammal and 13 fish species would be affected by future plantation developments.[43] From a purely economic standpoint, understanding the real cost of such destruction of biodiversity, destruction of animal habitats, and costly water consumption, is vital in evaluating whether forestry profits really outweigh the consequences.

Water consumption and decreased animal life within plantations may not be popular subjects to cover within newspapers, especially when it is the result of an industry that may sit on the board, pay top dollar for advertising, and have ready-made press releases. However, like all industries, the true costs of doing business need to be fairly weighed and honestly presented to a reading public. Other factors must be at play that limits media coverage of the environmental impact of forestry.

The propaganda model argues that debate falls within a narrow spectrum of differing opinions (the range of expressible opinion). Media coverage of the environmental impact of forestry did <u>not</u> adhere to the tenets of the propaganda model in the sense that there was essentially no debate. Media coverage went far beyond what the propaganda model purports. Media coverage of the environment within forestry by *Business Day, Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* was substandard. These newspapers serve to propagate on the behalf of timber companies' interests. Additionally, timber companies are well served when they

do not need to divert valuable time, energy, and resources to the environment, something their successful propaganda facilitates. Their current propaganda efforts have proven to be effective as evident with this study.

Labour

Labour issues and practices have had a tumultuous past within South Africa ranging from slavery, indentured servitude, repression, discrimination, low wages, and continued exploitation. Post-1994 labour legislation and high levels of unemployment have dominated labour concerns. Government, the private sector and labour changed the apartheid system of employment yet the task of changing the economic inequality remains. There are currently 66,000 direct forestry jobs and an additional 396,000 indirect jobs within the larger industry. Given that jobs are so important within the larger economy and given this large number the forestry industry employs, it is important to examine coverage of forestry labour issues.

The *Natal Witness* had one article about labour, "500 Jobs to be created in Estcourt" (17 Jun 03). *Business Day* had one article, "Union tries to stop takeover of Swartland" (19 May 03), which called attention to union concerns about the possible retrenchment of 350 workers at Boskor Sawmill. The *Cape Times* had two articles, "Sawmillers ask state to act on Safcol plans" (20 Feb 03). In this article independent Sawmillers appealed to members of Parliament about privatisation of the state-owned South African Forestry Company (SAFCOL) and possible job losses. The other article, in the *Cape Times* was, "Mondi BEE initiative creates jobs" (27 Oct 03). Basically, all four articles dealt with job creation or job loss within the industry. While it is important to hold corporations accountable for job cuts, this is such a narrow focus that it ultimately only serves to limit the vast array of other difficulties. Moreover, plantations in some locations around the world have a net-loss of jobs[44] and generally do not employ as many people as conventional agriculture.[45] Thus, articles that focus on jobs that will be 'created' are only further disillusioning the reader.

In all three papers there were no articles on working conditions, job security or wages. The International Labour Organisation rates forestry as one of the most dangerous and risky professions. Forestry workers are three to four times more likely to have an accident than agriculture workers.[46] A forestry worker's entire body can be affected: legs, feet, back, neck, arms and hands. Furthermore, forestry workers can also be exposed to noise, chemicals, and UV rays. A study of Nigerian plantations found that on average a worker had two accidents per year. Between one in four and one in ten workers suffered a serious accident in a given year.[47] In the US, it is *the* most dangerous job.[48] Given this, it seems that coverage of such dangerous conditions would be vital for informing South Africans, especially with 66,000 forestry workers.

The International Labour Organisation found the use of sub-contractors had higher rates of accidents then full time employees.[49] However, there were no articles on the use of sub-contractors. Like many industries worldwide, forestry has subcontracted out labour to save costs. Sub-contractors are people who

come from outside and work for a selected period of time, with no benefits and usually lower wages or perform piecework. Timber companies like using contract workers because it decreases costs through: lower wages, smaller workforce, fewer benefits, less training and equipment, and fewer possible labour union issues. Additionally, the use of subcontractors allows timber companies to get around recent labour regulations and laws, such as payment into Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). Forestry labour analysts estimate the number of contract workers to be 35,000, although many consider this figure too low. [50]

Low wages and the use of subcontractors were confirmed at a 2005 forestry sector empowerment charter meeting in East London. Thami Zimu, a sugarcane and timber farmer, reported that forestry workers were paid R20–R22 a day, and added that wages are low because 90% of all forestry activities are outsourced.[51] There is little job security for a job that pays R20-22 a day. Working six days a week, (26 days a month), at R22 a day generates R572 a month. The poverty level in 2001 for a household of four persons is an income of R1 290 per month. For a two person household it is R772.[52] In either case, income for subcontractors in forestry is well below the poverty line. Moreover, workers at this level do not expand their skill set or knowledge base. Another factor in the use of subcontractors is that the workers are a loose mix of individuals with varying degrees of skill and investment in their careers which results in little or no bargaining power. In this milieu workers are not generally organised or represented nor do they have any means to address working conditions. The lack of representation results in timber workers having few advocates to assist their work-induced health issues of dehydration, under nourishment, musculoskeletal and cardiac strain, and HIV/AIDS.[53]

In 2005, Jeanette Clark and Moenieba Isaacs released a study commissioned by the International Institute for Environment and Development on the use of subcontractors called, “Forestry Contractors in South Africa: What role for forestry in reducing poverty.” They found that:

> jobs provided by forestry contracting are not able to lift the vast majority of forestry workers, mainly women, out of chronic poverty, or prevent them from falling further into poverty. Incomes are insecure and inadequate, there are no financial safety nets in the form of health insurance or pensions, and workers are exposed to risk of permanent injury that could further impair their ability to secure a livelihood in future. Workers have little if any power to influence wages or the conditions under which they work, increasing their vulnerability to exploitation.[54]

As citizens of the Republic it is essential to know how labour is being used within the country. Labour concerns are serious issues that communities and workforces face. These issues do not enter ‘the bounds of the expressible’ for the newspapers under review because labour does not pay for advertising, control vast amounts of wealth or represent high-placed government officials. The end-result is that readers of these newspapers receive a one-dimensional view of forestry labour—labour is simply a vehicle for corporate profits.

Community forestry and woodlots

A new government in 1994 sought new government polices and directives in the hopes of redressing past wrongs and updating legislation to be inclusive of all South Africans. This governmental quest is reflected in words of Kader Asmal, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, in the preface to the 1996 White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development:

> The policy directions which you will read clearly break with the narrow and rather parochial concerns of the past. Our new Government is concerned with far wider issues that impact on the lives and wellbeing of all of our people, and new forestry policy must reflect these concerns.[55]

One new policy was the development of community forestry. Section 1.4.6 of the White Paper states:

> Community forestry is forestry designed and applied to meet local social, household and environmental needs and to favour local economic development. It is implemented by communities or with the participation of communities. It includes farm forestry, agroforestry, community or village planting, woodlots and woodland management by rural people, as well as treeplanting in urban and periurban areas.[56]

Despite the new government's emphasis on sustainable forestry development, there were no articles within *Business Day*, *Cape Times*, or *Natal Witness* on community forestry for the years 2002-2003. If media "serve to mobilize support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity," then it is not surprising that the newspapers under review did not cover such topics. Small woodlots, collecting wood for heating or cooking, or planting trees in urban areas are not high on the agenda among prevailing members of society. However, when community forestry policies or actions of individuals infringe on the breadth of corporate interests then it does make it into the paper. This is evident with two stories in the *Natal Witness*, "Tree fellers' summonses 'not issued properly'" (1 March 02) and "Tree probe will now focus on sawmill" (13 May 02). Both stories dealt with two brothers from Mooi River who had cut down yellowwood trees on state-owned land.

Notably absent in the newspapers was any mention that 19.1% of the population (2,324,607 people) in South Africa rely on wood for heat and 17.5% for cooking.[57] Community forestry is meant to address these issues, yet these concerns are not allowed into the 'range of expressible opinion.' It is paradoxical that vast tracts of land would be devoted for timber designated for markets outside South Africa while large sectors of the local population struggle with the most basic of all human needs. It is a distressing commentary on the political and intellectual culture of journalism.

One aim of community forestry is to uplift local rural populations. One such scheme that has increased over the years is small individually owned woodlots that supply raw materials to timber companies. There are

approximately 19,000 households that are involved in small-scale (micro-growers) commercial timber production and most of these are located in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The average size of these small-scale woodlots is two hectares. About 12,000 of the growers are affiliated with a larger company such as Sappi or Mondi.[58] To satisfy global demands for pulp and paper, timber companies are in constant search and quest for useable land. To satisfy this need timber companies often approach community owned land and sponsor small-scale farmers by providing seedlings and other assistance. Timber companies do not pay rent or assume responsibility for any social or environmental damage. Timber companies agree to buy the timber when it is ready to harvest. This process is evident in KwaZulu-Natal on land that is filled with eucalyptus trees belonging to the Ngonyama Trust and Sokhulu tribal area, north of Richards Bay. One result of timber companies sponsoring woodlots is that local farmers abandon using land for traditional things such as for grazing cattle and goats and other subsistence farming.

Community forestry as defined by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry is an excellent concept, but it has not been covered in the press nor does it appear to have been operationalised 'for the lives and wellbeing of all of our people.'

Privatisation and Komatiland

As stated earlier, the 1994 election of the ANC brought a revamping of government policy in South Africa. One aspect of this reform was economic trade liberalisation and privatisation for several state-owned industries, which included forestry. Prior to the 2000 restructuring of state forests, the two largest timber firms Sappi and Mondi, owned 47% of the 1.5 million hectares of plantations. The state owned 30%, smaller farmers owned 22% and an even smaller number of woodlot 'out growers' owned 1%.[59]

The Komatiland forestry package, "the jewel of state forestry assets,' produces close to 1.8 million tons of pulp and saw logs each year. The Komatiland forestry package covered 130,000 hectares in Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces, two sawmills, a veneer-slicing plant and an export facility. In March of 2002, for the purchase price of R335 million, Zama Resource Corporation was awarded a 75% stake in the Komatiland contract that was once managed by state-owned SAFCOL. In July 2002 allegations surfaced that a senior government official unknowingly accepted a R55,000 bribe from Zama Resources Corporation. Over time the deal was cancelled and started anew in 2003.

Seventy-seven articles, or about a third of all forestry articles, were about privatisation and Komatiland. The Komatiland forestry deal alone garnered 60 articles, (22.7%). Consistent with the propaganda model, media coverage of the Komatiland proceeded down a predictable pathway: newspapers supported the privatisation of state forestry assets despite a delay while at the same time provide no analysis of the transaction details.

Natal Witness

Since the *Natal Witness* is the farthest away from the centres of power compared to *Business Day* and the *Cape Times* it had the lowest number of articles (six) and the shortest coverage (8 Jul 02 through 8 Sep 02) of the Komatiland transaction. Initial reporting of Komatiland occurred after corruption charges surfaced in July 2002.

Looking at the 'range of expressible opinion' among the six articles in the *Natal Witness* only provides a brief review of the details of what occurred. Three articles "Corporate corruption" (16 Jul 02), "The terrible twins" (27 Jul 02), and "Tony Yengeni revels his sponsors" (6 Sep 02) had a total of five sentences about the Komatiland deal and simply reviewed the allegations. The three remaining articles were not written by *Natal Witness* staff, but came from the South Africa Press Association (SAPA) and *Business Day*/SAPA. The initial article, "Nkuhlu suspended in cash row" (8 Jul 02), reviews allegations against Chief Director of the Department of Public Enterprises, Andile Nkuhlu and states that the deal might be tainted and may need to be dismissed. The second article, "Zama CEO Mlonzi suspended" (9 Jul 02), shifts the focus to the company that won the contract in March 2002, Zama Resource Corporation and its CEO Mcebisi Mlonzi. The article points out that Mlonzi had recently been involved in controversy earlier around his close friend and former ANC whip Tony Yengeni. Appearing to whitewash the allegation charges the article ends with a quote from Department of Water Affairs and Forestry director general Mike Muller: "We do however, believe that the transaction as finally approved represented good value for the country." The final article, "State cancels tainted deal" (21 Sep 02), highlights the Cabinet's cancellation of the controversial deal with Zama Resources. Jeff Radebe from the Department of Public Enterprises enlarged the problems with the forestry deal beyond the allegations about Zama Resources and included another preferred bidder, Paharpur. Radebe states, "Several incidents which occurred during the bidding process have resulted in the bidding process being tainted." The article closes with comments from various members of Parliament and the Democratic Alliance, New National Party and the United Democratic Movement all throwing their support behind cancelling the deal.

There are notable items absent from *Natal Witness'* reporting. First, the terms of the initial deal were never reported or explained. Citizens reading the paper would not know what was purchased for R335 million or about the length of the deal. Second, citizens would not know if this was a good deal or a fair price, having only the words of Mike Muller. They were simply told it was a good deal. Third, there was no citizen input into the deal. Fourth, no assessment of the purchase was performed; it was simply taken as a done deal with no alternative ideas or options part of the equation. Finally, nothing was written in the *Natal Witness* about the second bidding process in 2003. All these factors provided a very limited view for the reader. Komatiland belongs to the citizens of South Africa and if the people do not have adequate or accurate information about forestry and or the privatisation of Komatiland a grave injustice is served against the citizenry.

Cape Times

The *Cape Times* ran 22 stories (21.4% of total forestry articles) about Komatiland with the first story starting on 9 July 2002 and the last story ending on 4 December 2003. *Cape Times* staff wrote seventeen stories, SAPA wrote four, and one, "In Brief," had no author.

The actual coverage followed a narrow script of allegations, investigations and a promise to do better next time. There was no coverage of the actual deal; no details were given, no terms, no length of contract. The *Cape Times* conducted no investigative journalism and presented no alternative voices. The media simply repeated information that was given them by their sources—government officials and timber companies. People reading the *Cape Times* would get the impression that there was a slight hiccup in the process being investigated, but that the overall process was moving forward, and despite no input from the owners of the land—the citizens. Additionally, readers never learned the results of the investigation into the corruption charges against Andile Nkuhlu and Zama Resources. This is also true for both *Business Day* and the *Natal Witness.* The *Cape Times* support and defence of the forestry industry's quest for privatisation can be found in two techniques used in public relations to offset negative situations: diversion and the use of third parties have long been utilized in propaganda campaigns and were employed in the Komatiland deal. "Forestry sales 'always difficult'" (7 Aug 02) and "UK donors to back new forestry round" (17 Oct 02) provide two examples. The first article minimizes and then reframes the difficulties surrounding the Komatiland deal:

> The difficulties experienced with the privatisation of forestry assets owned by the South African government were not unique. …Privatisation of state forestry assets has proved to be a very difficult exercise all over the world.

The article does not give any specific details about the problems with forestry sales around the world other than a company in New Zealand which may have paid too much for the assets and that the Swedish government was buying back some privatised forests. The journalist did not examine state/private relations of forestry in other parts of the world such as Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and the United States. Further along in the article, the issue gets reframed in a way that makes it seem like a delay in the deal was going to be difficult for South African milling industry:

> Any further delay in the privatisation of the Komatiland package was going to make it even more difficult for the lumber milling industry as the scramble for resources was the next challenge facing the industry.

Naturally, there was no mention of challenges facing the poor, unemployed or those who need to gather wood for heating and/or cooking. Nor was there any mention of how the deal affects citizens. Nor was there any discussion that land

is more than a commodity. Furthermore, the reference incorrectly implies that the issue is all or nothing and that the SA Miller's Association will be left out in the cold if the deal is not executed promptly.

The second article, "UK donors to back new forestry round" (17 Oct 2002) begins with how the British government will help fund a second round of bidding:

> Quick action by the government [South Africa] to cancel the tainted R335 million Komatiland forestry privatisation deal had gained the backing of British donors, who would help fund the second bidding round due to begin soon.

By receiving support from overseas it helps offset any negative feelings people may have about the tainted deal.

Finally, in "State gives forestry package to Bonheur" (4 December 03) Minister of Public Enterprises Jeff Radebe frames the idea of selling state owned forests:

> Government remains convinced that restructuring of forestry is a powerful empowerment tool to uplift the standards of living of historically disadvantaged communities.

He goes on to state that the restructuring of the forestry sectors is beneficial to the poor:

> Government remains committed to finalising the restructuring of the forestry sector and we are confident that we will be able to do that in the near future to ensure that there is a positive shift in the living standards of the communities in those areas.

The statement was taken at face value with no evidence provided to the reader. If a "positive shift in the living standards" occurs when the state sells forestry packages then previous sales of state forestry packages would be indicated.

The *Cape Times* should have provided ample evidence that the sale of Eastern Cape North package to Singisi Forest Products Consortium in August 2001 or KwaZulu-Natal package sale to Siyaqhubeka Consortium in September 2001 did actually "ensure that there is a positive shift in the living standards of the communities in those areas." But they did not; no evidence was offered. In reality, selling off state- owned forestry assets may benefit a few previously disadvantaged individuals by increasing a larger section of the pie but more likely helps wealthy timber companies and investors.

In short, the *Cape Times* coverage of forestry echoes and defends the concerns of government and timber industry over the needs of the majority of the population.

Business Day

Handing out 'the jewel of state forestry assets' is serious business and naturally attracts significant coverage among readers of *Business Day,* especially when

there was a glitch. *Business Day* had the largest number of forestry articles at 32% or 28.8%.

Like *Natal Witness* and *Cape Times,* information followed a similar pattern of reporting the events from official sources. No significant terms of the deal were revealed in the 32 articles. The general picture that emerges from the coverage is that state assets are handed over to private control and this will uplift previously disadvantaged individuals and communities. This idea is confirmed in the selection process with the initial announcement that Zama Resources Corporation had secured the tender on 14 March 2002 with the article "Empowerment groups wins Safcol bid":

> The selection criteria used in the evaluation of the bids were price, downstream investment, creation of opportunities for the communities resident in the areas where the forestry industry assets are located, future management of competition in the forestry industry and active empowerment to previously disadvantaged individuals.

Despite the rhetoric, the overall goal of transferring assets to the private sector is profit, and not helping communities and individuals.

Debate about the forestry deal fell within a narrow range of opinion that was predetermined by state-corporate power. On the very outer edge of the debate was the free market political party Democratic Alliance (DA) spokesperson on public enterprises Rudi Heine's editorial about the transaction in "Zama deal a symptom of deeper malaise" (01 Aug 02):

> In the case of the privatisation of forestry assets, it seems black empowerment is less about social upliftment and more about the awarding of state contracts to companies headed by individuals with personal political capital and strong ties to the ruling party. …What the Zama forestry deal represents is not economic or social empowerment, but rather the growth and enrichment of ANC Inc.

Heine conducting on-going DA research on ANC racial policy and its consequence for the economy of South Africa, is not opposed to the transaction itself but is upset that it was tendered along racial and political lines.

There was one sentence in an article towards the end of 2002 that actually appears to have captured the true essence of the transaction. The article, "Komatiland sale not out of the woods yet" (05 Dec 02), reads:

> While the bidding process may have been tainted, the viability and saleability of the forests has never been in dispute. Government may yet find itself on the winning side with the Komatiland sale—which can only be to the benefit of Safcol and the domestic forestry market.

The true benefactors of the domestic forestry market are Safcol and timber companies—not citizens. Under capitalism and neoliberalism, profit is paramount and the pure pursuit of profits can have negative consequences for the population as a whole. In December 1948 US President Harry S. Truman,

spoke about the need to protect common assets at the inauguration of the Everglades National Park:

> We have to remain constantly vigilant to prevent raids by those who would selfishly exploit our common heritage for their private gain. Such raids on our natural resources are not examples of enterprise and initiative. They are attempts to take from all the people for the benefit of a few.[60]

Business Day's coverage of forestry mirrored that of the *Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* in that it echoed the concerns of the dominant elements within South African society while at the same time filtering out any alternative perspectives. As Truman highlighted, coverage of enterprises that narrowly benefit a top few threatens our natural resources, minimizes democratic participation, and disregards the needs of the majority.

Servicing the North

During 2002-2003 there were no articles on the role the Southern Hemisphere plays in servicing the needs of the Northern Hemisphere. Over the past few decades old growth forests, especially in the North, have been depleted resulting in an increased search for raw materials for the paper industry. With dwindling old growth forests the paper industry turned to forestry plantations as a partial solution to ravenous paper demands. The South is generally renowned for cheaper labour,[61] cheaper land,[62] and more relaxed enforcement of laws and regulations.[63] Additionally, plantations offer uniformity, faster growth and higher yields per hectares than the North. International timbers companies in a quest to secure new raw materials, reduce costs, and increase profits have expanded operations and production in the South.

South Africa is a country of the South that fulfils a number of the criteria listed above. The following table (Table 1) from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry shows the ratio of South African forestry imports to exports:[64]

Value of Forest Products imports and exports 2002-2003 (expressed in real terms)

Figures expressed in 2003 Rand CPI 2003 = 100	2002 94.4			2003 100.0		
	Rand Million			Rand Million		
	Trade			Trade		
Forest Products	Imports	Exports	Balance	Imports	Exports	Balance
Pulp	308.3	3066.1	2757.8	233.3	2831.3	2598.0
Paper	3900.7	4506.6	605.9	3435.8	3584.6	148.8
Solid Wood	1560.8	4004.6	2443.8	1370.7	3312.0	1941.3
Other (matches & tannin extracts)	6.8	290.8	284.0	12.7	192.0	179.3
Total	5776.6	11868.1	6091.5	5052.5	9919.9	4867.4

Table 1

This table indicates that the forestry sector within South Africa exports large amounts of pulp, paper, solid wood and other products. Historically, pulp has been the largest export category and this was true for years 2002 and 2003. Wood pulp is the most common material used to make paper. The largest consumers of paper are the United States, Japan and then Europe (Finland, Germany, Italy and United Kingdom). The South African pulp industry is one of many pulp producing countries of the Southern hemisphere that used to feed markets around the world. Solid Wood exports was the second highest export category and has made steady increases since 1992.

The South African timber industry has access to choice land and inexpensive labour which has served corporate interests and the larger global community well. However, in this North/South relationship, there is a high cost to local citizens, including loss of organising rights, increased environmental damage, displaced communities, increased use of sub-contract labour, and increased food dependence. Media coverage of these issues is very important for the classic reasons—empowerment, making the developing world more aware of social and economic inequality, holding corporations and government accountable.

Much of the best land in South Africa does not go to feeding or helping its people but rather to feeding the pulp and paper needs of the Global North. South Africa is a water stressed country and timber plantations consume enormous amounts of water at the expense of other more widely beneficial alternatives—namely providing free and plentiful amounts of water to South Africa's citizens. South Africa suffers from significant poverty with 48.5 per cent of the population falling below the national poverty line. It is unfortunate that some of the best land in South Africa goes to serving the needs of others rather than meeting the basic needs of the nation. Under the apartheid government, forestry benefited the few, while the majority attempted to eke out an existence. Today internationally

recognized social indicators (unemployment, Human Poverty Index, Gini-coefficient, and Human Development Index) signify that not much has changed since days gone by. The press, now re-trained and conditioned under neoliberalism ideology tutelage, continues to serve and mobilize support for the government and timber companies.

Conclusion

Democratic theory of the press maintains that the media in democratic societies is the lifeblood of a republic, there to inform and educate citizens about a variety of issues. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, in their book on American media, *Manufacturing Consent*, outline the propaganda model and demonstrate through a series of filters that the media do not always inform and educate citizens but rather, the media "serve to mobilize support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity."[65]

This chapter has applied the principles of the propaganda model to newspaper coverage of forestry and found media performance by *Business Day, Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* not only confirmed the principles of the propaganda model as outlined by Herman and Chomsky, but exceeded its predictions. This chapter has also been instructive on the abandonment of journalistic independence, standards and code of ethics. The examined journalists and newspapers sided with or accommodated wealth and power among government and the forestry industry over a more balanced and fair rendering of forestry issues. This was evident in both the use of sources in the writing of stories and the range of issues covered.

South African journalists relied almost exclusively on 'official' sources—timber companies and government—over a myriad of alternatives. This self-censoring process by journalists and newspapers lends itself to tacit support of timber companies and government, allowing timber corporations' work to continue uninterrupted and unexamined. While the use of sources helps the press shape public opinion, this chapter has demonstrated that it is the opinion of the powerful that has been shaping the media. Additionally, the use of 'official' sources confirms the symbiotic relationship between the press and the architects of power highlighted by Herman and Chomsky. A consequence of this process is that environmentalists, workers, unions, and civil groups do not get their voices and concerns heard. In essence, they have been effectively silenced—a product of any effective propaganda system. Civil groups represent a fundamental building block to representative democracy and to deny them a voice diminishes democracy.

Furthermore, these newspapers, representing three different corporations, followed a similar narrow script in their coverage of forestry. Private capital in South Africa requires the state to create and maintain an order that will improve the investment climate and other arrangements to entrench privilege. Neoliberal ideology and institutional pressures on the media train and condition the industry to accommodate and support corporations and institutions in power. Specifically, in relation to forestry, this observable fact is evident in media coverage of labour,

environmental issues, privatisation, and community forestry. In each case, the media echoed the concerns of public and private forces that dominate South African forestry. The interests or concerns of sub-contractors, who make up over half of the direct workforce, were not even mentioned. Nor were there any articles on working conditions, job security, or wages. In short, these newspapers propagandised on the behalf of the timber companies and government while ignoring the needs of the majority of the population.

In the old days of apartheid, force was the instrument of obedience and compliance. In the new days of the new South Africa, capital and power are the tools that render the press docile. This chapter has demonstrated that censorship and propaganda occur around the issue of forestry, helping deliver a passive public which does not interfere with capital, elite domestic management and its exploitation of resources. In this climate, globalisation in the media industry has a single vision of the new economic world order that is pro-business, pro-market. Few, if any, other options are discussed. The end result is that news and information become homogenised reflecting only the values and interests of the business community.

To determine if the propaganda model applies to more than forestry an examination of media coverage and performance of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) will occur in the next chapter.

[1] Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* Second Edition (New York: Pantheon, 1988; 2002), lix.
[2] Owen, D. L., ed., *South African Forestry Handbook*, Vol. 1. (Menlo Park, Southern African Institute of Forestry, 2000), 3-4.
[3] Ibid., 3.
[4] Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. *Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa. The Policy of the Government of National Unity. White Paper.* 1996. Page 21. 2.1 Principles.
[5] Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. National Forests Act (Act No. 84 of 1998).
[6] Forestry South Africa (FSA) is South Africa's premiere and largest forestry Organisation representing growers of timber in South Africa . The association has over 90% of all registered timber growers as members, this equates to over 2500 members. http://www.forestry.co.za
[7] Ibid.
[8] United Nations Development Programme. *South Africa Human Development Report 2003. The Challenge of Sustainable Development: Unlocking People's Creativity* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2003), 272.
[9] Speech delivered by Ms. B. P. Sonjica, MP, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Policy to National Council of Provinces (NCOP), Parliament "Review Debate of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry Speech" 9 June 2004.
[10] Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. Chief Directorate Forestry. *Report on Commercial Timber Resources and Primary Roundwood Processing in South Africa 2002/2003.* (Complied by Forestry Economics Services. Pretoria, 2004), iv. Below are Plantation Area by Province (viii):

	2003		2002	
Province	Plantation Area Hectares	%	Plantation Area Hectares	%
Limpopo	64 326	4.7	66, 84	4.9
Mpumalanga	553 145	40.3	545 747	40.4
North West Province	107	0	107	0
KwaZulu-Natal	543 210	39.6	529 433	39.2
Eastern Cape	150 363	11.0	146 996	10.9
Western Cape	60 473	4.4	62 279	4.6
Total	1 371 625	100.0	1 352 402	100.0

[11] Timberwatch Coalition. Timberwatch was founded in 1995 by a group of concerned members of civil society, but has since developed a volunteer network working together with a Coalition of Environmental NGOs www.timberwatch.org. Their mission is to promote and co-ordinate action by members, organisations and the public, and to keep such bodies adequately informed, in order to ensure that timber plantations are not established on land where food, other crops, and livestock (indigenous or otherwise) could be farmed to the greater benefit of both local communities and South Africa as a whole. http://www.timberwatch.org.za/ Also see Winston Smit and Michael Pitcher. *A Case Study on Ensuring Sustainable Management of Planted Forests. The Economic, Social and Environmental Role of Commercial Plantations in South Africa.* Presented at UNFF Intersessional Experts Meeting on the Role of Planted Forests in Sustainable Forest Management, 24-30 March 2003, New Zealand. http://www.maf.govt.nz/mafnet/unff-planted-forestry-meeting/conference-papers/commercial-plantations-in-south-africa.htm
[12] Forestry South Africa. http://www.forestry.co.za/fsa/showContent.do?content_id=41w
[13] Smit, and Pitcher (2003), 2.
[14] Ibid., 2.
[15] Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. *Global Forest Resources Assessment*

Update 2005. Terms and Definitions. Rome: FAO, 2004. http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/007/ae156e/ae156e00.htm

[16] Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. www.dwaf.gov.za Under documents see *Southern African Development Community (SADC) Forestry Protocols* October 2001, p. 5.

[17] Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations. (2004) http://www.fao.org/glossary/

[18] Sabinet is a South African information technology service. They collect information on a wide variety of topics within Southern Africa. One area of information collection is on South African newspapers. Sabinet collects the stories from all the newspapers within the country and puts them in a database. The *Natal Witness* also selects stories from its own paper and places them on an electronic retrieval system. The *Witness* deputy editor reports that it is up to the discretion of the editor as what goes into the electronic system. http://www.sabinet.co.za .

[19] Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion* (New York: Free Press, 1922), 157-158.

[20] Herman and Chomsky (1988, 2002), 18-19.

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[62] In Indonesia, state land can be rented by plantation firms for about US$0.30 per hectare per year and in Thailand for around $2.50. http://www.wrm.org.uy/plantations/material/problem.html

[63] In 1991. World Bank chief economist, Larry Summers, wrote memo about dirty industries. "Just between you and me, shouldn't the World Bank be encouraging more migration of the dirty industries to the LDCs [Less Developed Countries]?" He goes on to say, "I've always thought the under-populated countries in Africa are vastly under-polluted;" Once the memo was published in *The Economist* on 8 February 1992 the World Bank stated the memo was to only "provoke debate" among bank colleagues. The World Bank helps shape public policy about markets and fiscal policies in the developing world. The discussion clearly places the South in an inferior position. For more information see John Bellamy Foster's, 'Let Them Eat Pollution' in, *Invisible Crises,* eds., George Gerbner, Hamid Mowlana and Herbert I. Schiller (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 221-229.

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Chapter 4

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

The previous chapter on the media coverage of forestry demonstrated that South African newspapers adhere to the tenets of the propaganda model (PM) put forth by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, and that the main stream media "propagandise on the behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them."[1] To determine if this argument is accurate beyond forestry, this chapter will demonstrate the predictions of the PM in relation to media coverage of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The PM predicts that *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* will extol the benefits of NEPAD through the use of experts, politicians, and editorials while at the same time limiting and marginalising the voices of labour, women, unions, and civil society—in short, the majority of the population for whom NEPAD is intended.

In order to demonstrate these findings, this chapter will be laid out in the following manner. First, a brief overview of NEPAD will be given. Second, an explanation of the methodology used for collecting and sorting articles will be provided. Third, this will be followed by a quantitative study of the newspaper sources utilized by *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* writers in the scripting of their stories about NEPAD. Lastly, the section will close with a qualitative analysis of each newspaper regarding the limited 'range of expressible opinion.'

What is NEPAD?

Africa comprises about ten percent of the world's population, yet it accounts for one third of the world's poorest people. Many initiatives such as foreign aid; debt reduction programs; foreign direct investment; institutions such as the African Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations, World Bank, and World Health Organization; private NGOs; and various African programmes such as the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) and the Cairo Agenda (1994) have attempted to address and alleviate poverty in Africa. Yet, half of the continent's population remains in absolute poverty[2] and in sub-Saharan Africa, almost half of the population lives on less than a dollar a day.[3] In 2005, it was estimated that the majority of Africans could look forward to a life expectancy of 48 years or less.[4] Economically the continent has struggled over the past 25 years. Africa exports 30 percent more today than it did in 1980, but receives 40 percent less income from these goods.[5] These current statistics and conditions are sobering and merit attention from the world community and those concerned with development and justice.

NEPAD is an attempt by African leaders to resolve Africa's persistent predicament of poverty and underdevelopment through a vision and a strategic framework that puts forth key social, economic and political priorities for the continent. In October 2001, NEPAD was launched with great fanfare as the solution to Africa's continual state of hardship. NEPAD was the result of a directive given to five Heads of State (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, and

South Africa) by the Organization of African Unity (OAU; now the African Union) to develop an integrated socio-economic development structure for Africa.[6] NEPAD built upon the recent work of the *Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Program* (MAP) developed by the following presidents of African states: South Africa's Thabo Mbeki, Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo and Algeria's, Abdelaziz Bouteflika; and the *OMEGA Plan*, developed by Senegal's President, Abdoulaye Wade. The original NEPAD script reads:

> NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and, at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world.[7]

This grand vision and framework was brought forth in a fifty-nine page document. Some of the principles of NEPAD are:

- Good governance as a basic requirement for peace, security and sustainable political and socio-economic development
- African ownership and leadership, as well as broad and deep participation by all sectors of society;
- Anchoring the development of Africa on its resources and resourcefulness of its people;
- Partnership between and amongst African peoples;
- Acceleration of regional and continental integration;
- Building the competitiveness of African countries and the continent;
- Forging a new international partnership that changes the unequal relationship between Africa and the developed world; and
- Ensuring that all partnerships with NEPAD are linked to the Millennium Development Goals and other agreed development goals and targets.[8]

Additional priorities include policy reforms and investment in agriculture, the environment, and human development with a focus on health, education, science, technology, and skills development. Other features call for: the acceleration of the empowerment of women, an African Peer Review Mechanism, supporting implementation of short-term infrastructure programs, and implementation of food security and agricultural development programs.[9]

In Dakar in 2004, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, one of the authors of NEPAD, laid out some specific objectives. They were as follows:

- By 2005, move toward gender equality and remove gender disparities in elementary and secondary enrolment.
- Over the next 15 years, achieve average GDP growth of 7 percent.
- By 2015, reduce by half the percentage of people living in extreme

poverty.
- By 2015, enroll all children old enough to attend primary school.
- By 2015, reduce infant and post-infant morality by two-thirds.
- By 2015, provide access to reproductive health services for all who need them.[10]

Wade's specific objectives underscore the point that the visionaries and advocates of NEPAD believe that NEPAD will appreciably contribute to an African Renaissance and will forever transform Africa's social, economic, and political relations. Their excitement and enthusiasm has captured the attention of international lending institutions, including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), and G-8 countries who have indicated support for NEPAD. On the surface, for years 2002-3, it appeared that NEPAD would be the final elixir to solve Africa's longstanding quandary of underdevelopment and poverty. In this study of media coverage by *Business Day, Cape Times*, and *Natal Witness,* NEPAD takes on a magical aura in the areas of farming, mineral exploration, construction, tourism, military build up, utilities, and many other ventures by the media. Will NEPAD solve Africa's plight or will it simply pour new wine in old wineskins? If history is a guide, NEPAD will simply be another grandiose idea by politicians and the media will obediently follow the "societal interests that control and finance them." *The Lagos Plan of Action* (1980), for example, was also launched with great fanfare yet failed in part due to poor assessment of Africa's predicament, in which the West and malgovernance were blamed and no clear plan on how to finance initiatives was worked out. Speaking more broadly about past failures, Senegal's President, Abdoulaye Wade, states, "The previous projects were made to be put in drawers. There wasn't even an attempt to implement them. Not even the slightest attempt."[11] Would NEPAD be different?

Methodology

The same methods outlined in the forestry chapter were used in the study of NEPAD. Note that Sabinet was only used for *Natal Witness* in this chapter.

To understand media coverage and performance of NEPAD for the years 2002-2003, the word 'NEPAD' was typed into each respective search engine, the results of which are listed below in Figure 1. The exact number of articles used in the study may differ from the total number listed in a search for three reasons. First, occasionally an article was repeated in a respective newspaper search. For example, "Food and Democracy" in the *Natal Witness* was listed on both 12 June 2002 and 13 June 2002. Second, intermittently an article was not used in the study due to lack of content. For example, a *Natal Witness* article titled "*Local* is lekker, says SA dictionary" (30 September 2002) only mentioned NEPAD in a list of acronyms but did not deal with NEPAD, only a new dictionary. Third, some articles were put aside because they only mentioned NEPAD in passing. For example, a 15 July 2003 article in *Business Day* entitled, "Flexible charter proposal the key to industry's future" is a lengthy article outlining banking within South Africa and had the sentence, "Added to this is the New Partnership

for Africa's Development (Nepad) and the emphasis government has placed on strengthening relations, including business relations, with other African countries."[12]

Below summarizes the number of articles utilized in this study of NEPAD:

Business Day:	468 articles
Cape Times:	372 articles
Natal Witness:	126 articles
Total:	**966articles**

These 966 articles provide an adequate statistical and representative sample for evaluating media performance of NEPAD. [Specific article dates, titles, and author for each paper can be found in the appendices. NEPAD articles are Appendices 4-6]

Sourcing Methodology and Scoring[13]

Below is a list of 13 players (sources) that are part of NEPAD debates. The categories are defined and listed in alphabetical order. Editorials and letters to the editor will also be scored. Furthermore, if an article is written by someone outside the newspaper, SAPA, or established journalism channels then the author was scored as a source, if they are listed or footnoted at the beginning or the end of the article. For example, if Greg Mills, Director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, wrote an article for a newspaper and it was noted at the bottom of the article, then it was scored.

The same definitions used in the previous case study will be applied. They are as follows:

> ***Academics*:** Individuals who serve institutions of higher learning and are called upon for expert opinion on a matter.
>
> ***Community members or representatives:*** An individual from a community. A community representative may also be a community spokesperson or an attorney. Most letters to the editor, for instance, would fall under this category.
>
> ***Civil society:*** Organisations, institutions, or groups that operate between the individual/family and government. These can range from sports, political, religious, or social welfare groups. The options are endless and political groups often run the gamut from left to right. [Note: Cosatu is coded under progressive civil and not union because it is a cluster of unions.]
>
> ***Corporate, business, and finance:*** This category includes corporations, local businesses, and finance firms that affect or are affected by NEPAD such as financiers, shareholders, steel makers, retail vendors, and manufacturers. This category also includes groups like Black Business Council, Chamber of Commerce, and Chamber of Mines.

***Environmental groups*:** This group may lobby, inform, organise, protest, protect, preserve, and educate society about environmental issues.

Government: Any local, provincial or national governing representative, employee or official.

International bodies: Institutions or organisations that are representative of larger political bodies. Examples include African Union, NEPAD, Organisation of African Unity, United Nations, and World Bank.

***Journalists*:** The use of or quoting from other journals or journalists.

***Other*:** Some sources do no fall into one of the designated categories or they are unidentifiable, some examples include: analysts, development worker, consultants, and former political figures.

Poor people: Any poor individual who may be affected by NEPAD.

Think tanks: A think tank is a group of individuals: academics, theorists, former politicians, and/or intellectuals, who are dedicated to research on a variety of subjects and who subsequently produce analyse or policy recommendations. Examples include South African Institute for International Affairs or the F. W. de Klerk Foundation.

Unions: The unions that represent workers.

Workers: Workers who may be affected by NEPAD policies.

These 13 categories will be used to score the sources for each of the 966 articles listed above. Scoring will be as follows: a tick will be marked in each category below when someone is quoted or referenced in an article. For example, if an article has four separate quotes from four different sources then four ticks will be marked respectively in each category. If a source is quoted twice, only one mark will be given. A source may only receive one tick per article. For example, a quote from the Department of Trade and Industry would fall under the 'government.' A letter to the editor would fall under 'community representative' unless the person has a title (i.e. from Oxfam or South African Council of Churches). Once the sources have been tabulated a picture will emerge of the use of sources both as a whole and for each respective newspaper. In theory, sources should reflect the full range of opinions on NEPAD from each category identified above. While distribution of sources cannot always be equally split among the various players they should be reflective and representative.[14]

Before an evaluation begins, a comparison in the number of sources used in the previous chapter on forestry and NEPAD are found in Figure 1:

Average number of sources per article

	Forestry	NEPAD
Business Day	2.1	1.7
Cape Times	2.0	1.6
Natal Witness	2.3	2.1

Figure 1

Note the use of sources in forestry was very similar for all three newspapers with very little deviation. Coverage of NEPAD between the two leading newspapers, *Business Day* and *Cape Times* is virtually identical, while *Natal Witness* is similar to its coverage of forestry. The decrease in the number of sources used in NEPAD can be attributed to at least two factors. First, coverage of forestry often relied on information provided by government and/or timber corporations. Second, coverage of NEPAD is not as concrete and therefore subject to more opinion. Overall, however, the use of sources is similar.

Scoring results

There was a total of 1638 sources in the three newspapers. Figure 2 highlights the results for each individual newspaper:

NEPAD Sources Summary

	Business Day		*Cape Times*		*Natal Witness*	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Academic:	61	7.8%	17	2.8%	15	5.8%
Com Member	18	2.3%	20	3.3%	14	5.4%
Civil Society	51	6.5%	35	5.8%	18	6.9%
Corp/ Bus/Fin:	141	18.1%	91	15.1%	9	3.5%
Environmental:	0	0%	0	0%	2	.8%
Government:	303	38.9%	252	41.7%	112	43.1%
International:	61	7.8%	87	14.4%	11	4.2%
Journalists:	44	5.6%	36	6.0%	58	22.3%
Other:	44	5.6%	34	5.6%	14	5.4%
Poor:	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Think Tanks:	53	6.8%	27	4.5%	7	2.7%
Unions:	3	0.4%	5	.8%	0	0%
Workers:	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	779	100%	604	100%	260	100%

Figure 2

Analysis of sources by category

In terms of *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness,* the propaganda model predicts that: the use of sources pertaining to NEPAD will mirror powerful sectors within society; cultural managers—academics and think tanks—will be used to promote and debate NEPAD; alternative views of NEPAD will be present, but will be marginal; and sources from the majority of the population will be minimal.

Tabulation of NEPAD sources can be found in Figure 3:

Overall Summary of NEPAD Sources

Number of sources = 1643	#	Percent of Total
Academic	93	5.7
Community Members/Representatives	52	3.2
Civil Society	104	6.3
Corporate/ Business/Finance	241	14.7
Environmental	2	.1
Government	667	40.6
International	159	9.7
Journalism/Journalists	138	8.4
Other	92	5.6
Poor	0	0
Think Tanks	87	5.3
Unions	8	.5
Workers	0	0
		100%

Figure 3

Government and corporations/business/finance

The genesis of NEPAD, like virtually every other development program since the 1980s, was drawn up by politicians.[15] One by-product of government initiatives is that government and business will be the primary sources for information about NEPAD. As NEPAD was brought to the public, a variety of South African ministers and corporations highlighted the benefits and principles of NEPAD:

> Eskom Enterprises is fully committed to help realise the objectives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) with its broad focus on the social, political and economic revitalisation of Africa. (*Cape Times* 7 Mar 02)
>
> Expect the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) to include forestry in its deliberations on the stimulation of economic growth, said Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Ronnie Kasrils. (*Natal Witness* 3 Jul 02)
>
> Africans "need to be innovative" in looking for sustainable development solutions, says Deputy President Jacob Zuma…. "we have a powerful

> sustainable development instrument" in the form of (Nepad), a blueprint for the continent's economic revival. (*Business Day* 19 Mar 02)

As anticipated based on the propaganda model, the majority of sources in articles about NEPAD come from 'official' sources. Official sources are those from the government or corporate sector; both sectors support and benefit from the existing neoliberal framework of hierarchical capitalism advanced by NEPAD. Figure 4 highlights that government and corporate/ business/finance represented 55.3% of all the sources (908 sources total). If the 'international' and 'journalism' categories are included the percentage increases to 73.4%. The pattern of using government officials and corporate leaders as sources was clearly demonstrated in the chapter on forestry and is replicated with NEPAD.[16] In a profit-driven media market sources will mirror the interests of power.

As stated earlier, sources by themselves do not necessarily constitute an article nor determine the news. However, government and corporations/business/finance are able to shape, contain and control much of the early debate and discussion on NEPAD issues by having the largest percentage of sources. These sources can help the powerful, 'stay on message' in an effort to roll out a uniform communication to the public. Moreover, news reporters are swept up with a steady diet of grand plans and visions that fall within certain parameters outlined by the dominant elite and private interests. In sum, powerful elites understand they can set the framework for discussion and the majority of the media in this case study happily follows along.

Like forestry, the high percentage of official sources indicates tacit agreement between political and elite economic forces in NEPAD debates. As a result, there is arguably no public debate and no civil input on matters that concern them (except for the case of Zimbabwe which will be discussed later in the chapter). The message is clear, 'NEPAD is in everyone's best interest.' Unfortunately, government and corporations represent only a small fraction of the general public, while the majority of Africans—those not involved in government and corporations—are excluded from the debates, despite the fact that NEPAD is aimed directly at them.

Poor, workers, and unions

The opening paragraph of NEPAD reads:

> This *New Partnership for Africa's Development* is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and, at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world.[17]

Current and past social and economic indicators of Africa are abysmal and well

known. Yet, the very plan to help the poor had zero sources from the majority of the population who are supposed to benefit from NEPAD. Workers did not fare much better; they also had zero sources. Some people who may be fortunate to have a job may still often teeter on the verge of poverty, especially when their salary is used to support extended family or their job is seasonal or part time. Furthermore, there were no sources describing working conditions or how jobs are going to be created under NEPAD and no sources were located from individuals who are underemployed, displaced or unskilled. How is a reader able to put a face, name, or context to negative socioeconomic statistics and NEPAD? Or understand who's intended to benefit from its lofty goals? Newspapers can be a medium for organising and demanding more government programs, job creation, and better working conditions. Newspapers can also be used to tell the facts, both good and bad, about NEPAD and how it will affect workers and/or the poor. Excluding voices of the poor and workers serve to unduly minimize their needs and role in society. Sadly, yet predictably under the propaganda model, these individuals are not close to the centres of power and will thus be marginalised from NEPAD debates.

Although workers were not represented it is possible that unions could have provided an avenue for people to comment on NEPAD. However, unions made up a negligible 0.5% of all sources. Even when union sources are cited, they are limited. For example, the *Cape Times* had five union sources and they all came from outside South Africa. The first source came from Mahlomola Skhosana from the Malawi Council of Trade Unions (24 May 02). He had a total of four sentences in a two-page article. He stated, governments need to "take unions into their confidence" in order to avoid disastrous policies imposed by international financial institutions. A second union source, Juan Somavia from International Labour Union (18 Jun 02) had two sentences about how globalisation has not produced enough jobs for those who seek them or in places where they are most needed. The final three union sources in the *Cape Times* were found in a 6 June 2003 article "Swazi and Zimbabwean crises must be solved first, trade unionists agree." The Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and Bulawayo Union organiser highlighted that more needs to be done by the South African government in their respective countries. The final sentence from a Bulawayo Union organiser reads, "Without a solution to our crisis and the problems in Swaziland, Nepad, peer review mechanisms, and the whole African Union project are dead." Note the critique was about the peer review mechanism and not NEPAD itself; while debate about the mechanism is important, it is insufficient and unable to generate sufficient debate about the premises and process of Nepad.

Cosatu, a South African trade union, is scored under the category of civil society and will be discussed briefly. Adding Cosatu into the mix does not substantially alter the equation. For example, Cosatu was scored 8 times in the *Cape Times* under the *civil society* category. Patrick Craven from Cosatu is quoted (27 Jan 02) in relation to an invitation to a World Economic Forum. Zwelinzima Vavi, Cosatu's general secretary, was quoted five times. In a six sentence article, "Nepad keeps out labour, says Cosatu" (29 Apr 02), Vavi had

four sentences and in "Warning shots have been fired across Nepad's bow" (10 May 02) Vavi had three sentences. In the last article, Vavi refers to NEPAD as "the Africanisation of the Gear [growth, employment and redistribution] strategy." The same statement was re-quoted in a 24 May 2002 article, "African unions ready to take on global economic titans on the behalf of the poor." In the same article a Cosatu's executive committee spoke about the rise of food prices in relation to the CPI. The sixth source from Cosatu is located in a seven sentence article, "Nepad marketing strategy under scrutiny" (30 May 02) and Vavi had six sentences. Finally, Vavi had two more sentences in a 23 July 2003 article and Cosatu had one sentence in a 20 September 2002 article. In sum, out of 372 articles and 604 sources found within the *Cape Times,* Cosatu had a sum total of 19 sentences on NEPAD.

Business Day had three sources from unions. SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union had a one sentence quote in a 28 March 2002 article entitled "Edcon-SARS target cheats in new scheme" which had a focus on fraud. Another source came from a speech given by Thabo Mbeki quoting from a 1999 Organization of African Trade Union Unity statement in the article "Forging New Partnership for the Revival of Africa" (6 Jun 02). The final union source in *Business Day* was an unidentified union source in a 3 July 2002 article "Trade Unions push for consultations structure."[18]

The *Natal Witness* had no sources from either unions or Cosatu. Furthermore, there were no articles written by workers or the poor. The lack of these sources only reinforces a top down approach to poverty and underdevelopment. It is ironic that the authors of NEPAD complain about their uneven relationship with the West, yet the leaders replicate a similar hierarchal approach to the poor within their own country.

Civil society and community members

NEPAD claims to be, "a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty."[19] Naturally, one would assume that civil input would be indispensable in the assessment and subsequent solutions to 'eradicate poverty.' However, this does not appear to be the case. Rather, NEPAD is a top-down agenda set by a minority of male African leaders, prescribing the agenda for the majority of Africans—something that however common in African history has been met with ill and sordid results. Examples of African minority rule include South Africa under apartheid, Democratic Republic of Congo under both King Leopold and Mobutu Sese Seko, Rwanda under both the Belgians and Tutsi, and Northern Rhodesia under Ian Smith.[20] Since its announcement in October 2001, NEPAD has had purveyors, proponents and critics. In theory, newspaper reporting should reflect this full range of opinion. However, the propaganda model demonstrates that in market-driven media, filters naturally weed out unwanted points of views. This principle is confirmed in NEPAD sources and civil society. A review of the sources will illustrate that *Business Day*, *Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* illustrated a failure to fully utilize alternative views on NEPAD, despite

them being readily available, and more importantly, a failure to look at NEPAD from the point of view of the majority. When alternative sources were cited within the newspapers, they were often brief as was demonstrated with Cosatu. In short, these newspapers mirrored the same top down view of poverty and underdevelopment as the authors of NEPAD.

What becomes remarkable in the NEPAD debate is the lack of balance in reporting alternatives. The sheer volume of pro-NEPAD arguments was straightforward, with only minor tactical debate over issues like Zimbabwe and the peer review mechanism. The record will demonstrate that alternative voices have been severely constrained, thus giving a false illusion that the overall arguments of NEPAD are uncontested and accepted by the majority. This process can be demonstrated by looking at how the media covered or did not cover alternative or critical reviews of NEPAD from civil society and individuals.

After the announcement of NEPAD in October of 2001, many civil society groups and individuals commented on some of the shortcomings of NEPAD. Many of these groups represent significant numbers of people who are affected by or are concerned about both Africa's development and NEPAD. While some civil society groups did have marginal coverage, the propaganda model predicts that overall criticism of the powerful will be muted and that unwanted information will be filtered out. The list below represents some civil society groups who commented on NEPAD in 2002 but did not make it into the news. The year 2002 is used to demonstrate that criticism soon followed after the initial pronouncement of NEPAD in October of 2001. The chronological list below identifies the organisation or group, the statement or forum, date, location, and newspaper coverage of the event or statement:

1. **African Social Forum,** "The Bamako Declaration: Another Africa is Possible!!" (9 Jan 02), Bamako, Mali.[21] No coverage.

2. **African Trade Union Conference,** "The Dakar Declaration on the role of African Workers and Trade Unions in the New Partnership for Africa's Development," (20 Feb 02), Dakar, Senegal. [22] No coverage.

3. **World Forum for Alternatives and Third World Forum,** The African Social Forum, Bulletin #3, (Feb 02), Bamako, Mali.[23] No coverage.

4. **African Financing for Development Caucus**, Press Release at the UN International Conference on Financing for Development 18-22 March 2002, Monterrey, Mexico.[24] No coverage.

5. **Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Dakar and Third World Network-Africa,** "Declaration on Africa's Development Challenges," (23-26 Apr 2002), Accra, Ghana.[25] No coverage.

6. **Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG), Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC), Economic Justice Network on the behalf of the South African Trade Strategy Group, "**NEPAD and

Globalisation: Some Initial Thoughts" Brian Ashley (AIDC), (4-5 Apr 02), Cape Town, South Africa.[26] No coverage.

7. **Shelter Rights Initiative (SRI) and Heinrich Boll Foundation, "**Conference on Civil Society and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) –Communiqué" (19 Apr 02), Lagos, Nigeria. Participation was drawn from non-governmental organisations (including representatives of NGOs from Ghana and the Gambia), organised private sector, professional associations and the media.[27] No coverage.

8. **The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu),** "Media Statement on the Cosatu Central Executive Committee."[28] (25 Apr 02), Johannesburg, South Africa. The statement was not covered. However a six sentence article on 29 April in the *Cape Times* covered Cosatu. *Business Day* identified the Central Executive Committee meeting, but not the statement.

9. **Heinrich Boell Foundation, together with the Mazingira Institute and the African Academy of Sciences**, "African Forum for Envisioning Africa: Focus on NEPAD" (26-29 Apr 02), Nairobi, Kenya.[29] No coverage.

10. **Civil Society Indaba,** "Resolution on Nepad" (4 May 02), Johannesburg, South Africa. [30] No coverage.

11. **Canadian International Development Administration, (CIDA)** "Statement by Civil Society Participants in the Canadian International Develop Administration meeting on Nepad" (5 May 02), Montreal, Canada.[31] No coverage.

12. **East African NGO Rio + 10 Coalition,** "Position on the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)" (7 May 02), Mukono, Uganda.[32] No coverage.

13. **CEDREFI (Centre for Documentation, Research and Training on South West Indian Ocean) Workshop on the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD),** "On the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development" (23-25 May 02), Quatre Bornes, Republic of Mauritius.[33] CEDREFI states that the Common Declaration adopted by NGOs, CBOs, trade unions, women's, youth, planters, fisherman, education, and research organisations of the Republic of Mauritius. No coverage.

14. **South African Council of Churches,** "Un-blurring the Vision: An Assessment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development by South African Churches. " Conference Feb 02, Publication June 02, Johannesburg, South Africa. The *Natal Witness* had a five-sentence article on the initial meeting in February, "Church leaders discuss Nepad" (2 March 02).

15. **African Civil Society Declaration on NEPAD**, "We do not accept Nepad!! Africa is not for sale!!" (July 2002), Port Shepstone, South Africa. A cluster of over 40 groups that describes itself as, "...members of social movements, trade unions, youth and women's organisations, faith based- organisations, academics, NGO's and other civil society organisations from the whole of Africa." No coverage.

These voices were readily available to any student of NEPAD or development, yet *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* filtered out these alternative voices within the NEPAD debate. The filtering out of unwanted material is not always a conscious effort on the part of reporters and editors, rather neoliberal values are internalised by reporters and editors for these newspapers which results in the predictably lopsided use of sources for both NEPAD and forestry. The list above represents important interests around the continent and globe and should be part of the debate about Africa and NEPAD. Moreover, NEPAD did not rise out of populist demands but was the brainchild of elite African leaders it is thus all the more important to have grassroots input if it is to be embraced by the continent and international community. Ultimately, democracy is diminished when large sectors of the population are excluded from debates that affect their lives, as occurred for these three newspapers and their audiences.

This exclusion is facilitated by the lack of coverage of progressive civil society by the *Natal Witness*. When progressive civil groups do receive coverage, they are cast in a negative light. For example, in the article, "Protestors at WEF meeting slam Nepad as 'recolonisation of Africa'" (6 Jun 02), the word 'slam' casts the demonstrators in a negative light. Slam conjures up an image of striking hard or to shut noisily, other similar words associated with slam are—blast, clobber, and wallop—all have an overly aggressive tone. Other words or phrases could have been selected—raised concerns, voiced issues, or demonstrated. Edward Herman refers to this technique as a 'snarl'—a word that induces negative reactions and feelings of anger and rejection as discussed in chapter two. Furthermore, they are labelled as protestors: not activists, citizens, or the public. The word 'protestor' is also arguably one-dimensional. There is not a sense of partnership or shared discussion.

A second article, "Anti-WSSD activists ignores warnings" (27 Aug 02) further captures the negative sentiment of progressive civil groups. The article starts by saying groups opposed to the World Summit on Sustainable Development plan on ignoring warnings about organising an unauthorized March from Alexandra to Sandton, despite applying and being denied permission. Further on, the article states, "Ministers have warned protestors not to abuse their right to demonstrate." In the not too distant past, anti-apartheid marchers found themselves in a similar situation and were labelled terrorists or agitators. Besides the immediate choice of negative words in the title, the second to last sentence in the eleven sentence article reads, "Officials said they are aware that professional agitators behind the mayhem at Seattle in 1999 and at the last year's G-8 summit in Genoa are in SA." Conversely the article did not highlight the fact that international business people who may have been in Seattle and Genoa were also in South Africa. Casting progressive civil society in a subtly

degrading manner does not foster democracy, especially when people are being criticized for simply exercising their political rights.

Not only are civil society groups silenced, but individuals are as well. There were several individual critics who have spoken against NEPAD who have also received little or no coverage. The following chronological list for the year 2002 will identify the individual, location, the articles(s), date, and newspaper coverage of the event or statement:

1. **Patrick Bond**, Wits University. Mr. Bond has written extensively on NEPAD, but for brevity only four articles and an edited book are listed:
   - "Thabo Mbeki's New Partnership for Africa's Development: Breaking or Shining the Chains of Global Apartheid." (3 Apr 02). Inter-Church Coalition on Africa, Kairos-Africa. No coverage.
   - "Nepad" (20 Jun 02), ZNet Sustainer Program.[34] No Coverage.
   - "Nepad, no thanks,' say African progressives" (22 Jun 02), ZNet Daily Commentaries.[35] No Coverage.
   - *Fanon's Warning. A Civil Society Reader on the New Partnership for Africa's Development*. ed. Trenton: African World Press 2002. No coverage.
   - "Can NEPAD Survive its Proponents, Sponsors, Clients and Peers?" (Oct 03).[36] No coverage.

   The *Cape Times* had two references for Mr. Bond. First, a 7 April 2002 article had two sentences pertaining to Mr. Bond, the opening sentences of which set the tone: "…Patrick Bond the astute and prolific Marxist theorist." The final sentence is a summary of Bond's views about NEPAD. The second reference is another two sentence quote about NEPAD in a 30 September 2002 article. That is the full coverage from all three newspapers of Mr. Bond's views about NEPAD.

2. **Trevor Ngwane**, Anti-Privatisation Forum, "Should African social movements support Nepad?" (2 Feb 02), World Social Forum, Porto Alegre Brazil.[37] No coverage.

3. **Mohau Pheko**, African Trade Network, "New or old partnership for African women?" (4 May 02).[38] No coverage. Pheko was quoted for debt relief in a four sentence *Cape Times* article, "Africa's civil society calls G8's $6bn pledge a non-starter" (9 Jul 02).

4. **Yash Tandon**, Southern and Eastern African Trade, Information and Negotiations Initiative, Harare.
   - -"NEPAD and FDIS: Symmetries and Contradictions" (29 Apr 02).[39] Presented at Africa Scholars Forum on New Partnership for Africa's Development. Nairobi, Kenya. No coverage.
   - -"NEPAD = Sap+Gats+DSB" (28 Feb 02). Southern and Eastern African Trade, Information and Negotiations Initiative, Harare, Zimbabwe.[40] No coverage.

5. **Ian Taylor**, University of Botswana
   - "We are democrats:' The Crisis in Zimbabwe and the Death of Nepad" (18 Mar 02).[41] No coverage.

- "Is Nepad just a toothless blueprint?" (8 Nov 02). Zimbabwe Independent.[42] No coverage.

There are many other writers and critics who did not enter into the NEPAD debate, but had their voices simply filtered out as predicted by the propaganda model. This performance by the newspapers runs counter to the stated goals of NEPAD in its quest for "broad and deep participation by all sectors of society."

Academics and think tanks

NEPAD represents a specific ideological assessment of Africa and is characterized by a particular solution—neoliberalism. Proponents of NEPAD believe this model will solve Africa's persistent problem of poverty and marginalisation. As with any effective propaganda system, cultural managers—academics and think tanks—are needed from elite schools and institutions to reinforce the prevailing ideology. The propaganda model predicts that newspapers closest to power will rely on cultural managers to promote and debate NEPAD and that these sources will come from local and distant elite universities and think tanks. In the case of NEPAD, this principle is a truism.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of South African academic sources for NEPAD. For *Business Day* and the *Cape Times,* the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) is the leading university quoted with the highest percentage of sources. It is unsurprising that Wits has the highest percentage for *Business Day* and the least for the *Natal Witness*. Furthermore, *Business Day* is located in Johannesburg, the economic hub of Southern Africa, if not the continent providing trouble-free access to the university and other think tanks. The principle confirms the propaganda model that elite opinion managers will inform elite publications.

South African Academic Sources

	Business Day	*Cape Times*	*Natal Witness*
Durban-Westville	1	0	1
Rhodes	0	2	0
Stellenbosch	1	2	0
Technikon North West	2	0	0
UNISA	0	1	0
University of Cape Town	2	1	0
University of Natal	0	0	4
University of Port Elizabeth	1	0	0
University of Pretoria	3	3	1
Wits	32	5	1
Outside RSA	19	3	8
Total	61	17	15

Figure 4

An examination of think tanks reveals a dependence on conservative, pro-market institutions. *Business Day* had 51 think tank sources and *Cape Times* had 27 sources from think tanks. Figure 5 shows the top think tank sources cited in *Business Day* and *Cape Times.*:

	Business Day	*Cape Times*
SA Institute of International Affairs	25	4
Institute for Security Studies	4	3
Africa Institute	6	3
World Economic Forum	4	3
Freedom House	0	2

Figure 5

The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) states that they are "an independent, non-governmental organisation which aims to promote a wider and more informed understanding of international issues among South Africans. It seeks also to educate, inform and facilitate contact between people concerned with South Africa's place in the world and to contribute to the public debate on foreign policy."[43] SAIIA also provides research to its 3,000+ corporate and diplomatic members. Funding comes from both domestic and foreign entities. Members of SAIIA come from interlocking neoliberal interest groups, like the board members outlined in the ownership section in chapter 2. For example, in 2006 members of the SAIIA executive committee included: Elisabeth Bradley, who has sat on the boards of Sasol, Standard Bank Group Limited, AngloGold Limited, and was chair of Toyota SA (Pty); Kuseni Dlamini, who works for AngloGold Ashanti; and Moeletsi Mbeki, who is President Mbeki's brother. Honorary patron of the board is Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, minister of foreign affairs and the current chairperson, Fred Phaswana, is former President of BP Africa and BP Southern Africa and is current chairman of Transnet. In 2003 Phaswana joined the board of media conglomerate Naspers. These socio-economic interlocking connections reinforce business interests around the continent.

Institute for Security Studies has funding from both within South Africa, (i.e. from the government) and from external sources such as the British High Commission, Ford Foundation, the governments of Sweden and Switzerland, Nedcor, Standard Bank, USAID, and the US Embassy.[44] The African Institute also receives money from the South African government. Both the Freedom House and the World Economic Forum are based in the West and follow the Washington Consensus model of political economy.

The top scoring think tanks are ensconced within the economic and political terrain and have a vested interest in the implementation of NEPAD. As a result, debate will exist but be limited to a narrow range of issues within set

parameters.

Environmental groups

The opening sentence of the paragraph of NEPAD addressing environmental concerns reads: "It has been recognized that a healthy and productive environment is a prerequisite for the NEPAD."[45] The section continues to list eight sub themes for priority intervention: combating desertification, wetland conservation, invasive alien species, coastal management, global warming, cross border conservation areas, environmental governance and financing.[46] However, despite NEPAD rhetoric committing itself to environmentalism, coverage of NEPAD's effects or successes relating to the environment have been limited. There were two sources, (0.1% of all sources) both in the *Natal Witness* from environmental groups. The first source came from the environmental group, groundWork. In an article, "Singh calls for KZN 'mini-Nepad'" (18 Apr 02), a groundWork spokeswoman was quoted as saying some pending environmental legislation was a "long time in coming." The second source came from Wildlife Society of South Africa (Wessa) in a *Natal Witness* article, "Environment group warns over Nepad" (25 Jul 02). The six-sentence article outlines problems with NEPAD, the term 'sustainable development,' and how Wessa planned on sending 20 delegates to the World Summit on Sustainable Development. Wessa's regional manager of the Western Cape, Andy Gubb, was quoted several times in this short article.

One explanation for the overall lack of environmental sources is that there is little money to be made protecting the environment. Coastal management and wetland conservation are not big-ticket items and under a market-driven media system they have little value to investors. However, if environmental issues affected investors and corporations, such as closing down gold or diamond mines, it could become an issue.

Analysis of sources by newspaper

Business Day

Business Day, which describes itself as "South Africa's most influential and respected daily newspaper,"[47] has the highest number of sources from 'official' sources and the lowest number from environment groups, the poor, unions, and workers. For example, government and corporations/business/finance sources represented 57.3% of all sources. In contrast, environment groups, the poor, unions and workers had three sources out of 779 sources (0.4%). One explanation for this discrepancy is that *Business Day* has an LSM (Living Standards Measure) range of 8-10—in other words, the top end of the economic market.[48] In short, *Business Day* is simply providing readers with what they want: propaganda about NEPAD in order that business can assess its needs in a new era. In essence, NEPAD is a continent-wide extension of GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) and *Business Day* will actively promote those

sector interests that will benefit from NEPAD influx of aid, contracts and new markets. Moreover, *Business Day* had 61 articles, or 7.8%, from academics and 53 sources, or 6.8%, from think tanks. This is important to note with the roll out of a new economic program that effects the centres of power—government and capital, it is vital to get cultural managers of opinion on the correct side of the equation and this was achieved through the use of sources inside *Business Day.*

On the reverse side, environmental groups, the poor, unions, and workers have little value to *Business Day* reporters and editors despite the fact that NEPAD leaders "have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty."[49] *Business Day,* on the other hand, does not have an obligation to eradicate poverty, rather its task is to deliver tailor-made news, which leaves out large sections of the population. A logical place to talk about poverty and underdevelopment is with those people most affected by such conditions or those non-government institutions that work to address them. For *Business Day,* NEPAD is not about "a pressing duty to eradicate poverty," but rather a duty to expand corporate reach within Africa. Economic expansion and growth within Africa is serious business and it is imperative that an agenda is established from the beginning. *Business Day* and its auxiliary companies will to a great extent benefit from the implementation of NEPAD.

Under NEPAD, South Africa would grow as an important place for investors, being considered one of the last 'untapped markets.' Given how closed the economy was during the apartheid area, the stifled growth meant there was exploding potential. With a GNP of $106 billion in 1994 that was expected to double by 2004 (it actually quadrupled to $491.4 billion), and the extraordinary pent up demand of individuals and the government for goods previously embargoed, multinational corporations and transnational big businesses excitedly reinvested. Not only was there a pent up demand amid a wealthy, constrained upper class, the transition had created a larger middle class and freed up the burgeoning lower classes. As Reebok pointed out, with millions of people owning only one pair of shoes and incomes rising, the potential for profit was immense.[50] Lastly, the end of apartheid meant the unbundling of many state monopolies and corporations and the privatisation of many government services. The resulting prospects for large contracts enticed a good many of multinational corporations.

Also appealing was the fact that South Africa was and continues to be the gateway to Southern Africa. South Africa-based and foreign multinationals alike were ready to take advantage of the South African infrastructure and economy to reach all areas of the continent. Eskom, which provides 95% of South Africa's electricity and has holdings up to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), became the world's fifth-largest generator of power.[51] South African-based multinational corporations are now running the national railroad in Cameroon, managing power plants in Mali and Zambia, dominating the telecommunications industry in Nigeria and Uganda, acquiring massive shares in Ghana's mining houses, and controlling supermarkets from Swaziland to Kenya. This "South Africanization" of the African economy makes South Africa an exciting place of investment for many multinational firms.[52]

NEPAD is much more than the eradication of poverty, it is about increased business interests within South Africa and Africa. Furthermore, *Business Day* serves as a transmission belt for economic and political centres of power under the banner of NEPAD.

Cape Times

The *Cape Times* is clearly meeting its goal of "servicing the needs of the upmarket reader" by its predominant use of official sources in the debate of NEPAD. *Cape Times* had 56.8% of its sources from government and corporations/business/finance. Conversely, environmental groups, the poor, unions, and workers had five sources out of 604 sources, a mere 0.8%. Add in 20 sources from the community members' category and 35 from civil society and the percentage jumps to 9.9%, similar to that of *Business Day.* Like *Business Day,* the *Cape Times* has abandoned some journalism standards and aligned itself with the dominant elements within the NEPAD debate.

The *Cape Times,* like *Business Day,* will benefit from the implementation of NEPAD. Board members have a vested interest in neoliberal economic policies that reinforce investments around Africa and the world. For example, Former Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney sits on the board of Independent News and Media Board. He is also on the JP Morgan Chase International Council which gains insights and perspectives on economic, political, and social trends in key regions and countries of the world. This council has 28 members from 19 countries, which also includes former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, and South African businessman Tokyo Sexwale. JP Morgan is a leading global financial services firm with assets of US$1.2 trillion (ZAR10.86 trillion) and operations in more than 50 countries.[53] Other board members on the Independent News and Media are bankers, stockbrokers, lawyers, politicians and researchers, many of whom serve on other boards.[54] Board members do not come from townships nor are they employees from the factory floor; they come from the upper echelon of society. These elite board members have interlocking relationships as evident with Tokyo Sexwale's interaction with Brian Mulroney at JP Morgan. Board members and large corporations realise the importance of setting an economic framework that enhances their position. Advertisers also want to hop on the economic train proposed by NEPAD. For example, Independent News and Media owns 50% of Clear Channel Independent (outdoor advertising) in South Africa which commands over 55% of the outdoor advertising in South Africa. Clear Channel has also expanded into other markets in Southern Africa such as: Malawi Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, Finally, Independent News and Media South Africa runs Independent Online (www.iol.co.za) which attracts 1.4 million visitors a month.[55] In short, Independent News and Media and its board members have a vested interest in the economic plans laid out by NEPAD.

Natal Witness

Like forestry, the *Natal Witness* had the widest distribution of sources between the three newspapers. Corporations/business/finance and government represented 46.6% of all sources for the *Natal Witness* compared to 57% for the *Cape Times* and 57.3% for *Business Day*. The corporations/business/finance category was surprisingly low at 3.5%. The *Natal Witness* had the highest use of government sources at 43.1%. While the *Natal Witness* relied primarily on government sources they did show some diversity in the use of sources. This is evident with the following groups: community members, civil society, environment, the poor, unions and workers, which made up 13.1%.

One reason the *Natal Witness* had a better distribution of sources is that it is not aimed at elites like the two other papers. Another reason may be because only 50% is owned by Naspers, a corporation, while the other 50% is still family owned. Despite the *Witness'* slightly better representation, the newspaper still falls within the parameters of the propaganda model with environmental organisations, the poor, unions, and workers having a mere two sources out of 260.

Like the previous chapter on forestry, the above analysis on sources reinforces the tenets of the propaganda model in relation to the use of NEPAD sources among *Business Day, Cape Times* and *Natal Witness*. Official sources—namely, government and corporations—had the highest exposure among newspaper sources thus helping shape the initial debate about NEPAD while alternative voices received marginal coverage. Sources did not come from "broad and deep participation by all sectors of society,"[56] but rather from a narrow group that reinforces already pre-exiting structures, policies and institutions. Corroborating the corporate and government line academics and think tanks provided extra support in the roll out of NEPAD.

Range of expressible opinion

In order to further determine if newspaper coverage verifies the predications of the propaganda model it is important to examine the range of expressible opinion on certain aspects of NEPAD. This final section examines key aspects of NEPAD and is broken down into six segments: NEPAD articles by topic; poverty and HIV/AIDS coverage; women and agriculture; review of past frameworks and capital flight; political credentials of African leaders; and the study of Zimbabwe.

Breakdown of articles by topic

If NEPAD's long-term objectives (paragraph 67) are 'the eradication of poverty' and 'the empowerment of women' through a path of 'sustainable development,' then hypothetically a large quantity of articles should reflect these concerns. This section will quantify NEPAD articles by dividing them into 14 categories (Figure 6). Ten of the fourteen categories come from the table of contents found

within NEPAD.[57] An additional four categories were added: general NEPAD coverage, NEPAD coverage outside Africa, women, and eradication of poverty. Some categories were combined for example, peace and security was combined with democracy and good political, economic, and corporate governance.

Each article was given only one mark and placed within one of the fourteen categories. Articles may have addressed many issues, but only the section or sections that applied to NEPAD were scored. For example, in a *Natal Witness* article, "Gov't: pay hikes could stem brain drain" (21 Jan 03) deals with healthcare workers' salaries. Yet, Public Service and Administration Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moloketi stated, "We need to look for mechanisms whereby developing countries in Africa can share the resources of other developing countries. We see this as a commitment to our continent in the spirit of Nepad and the African renaissance." The article will be scored under Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative, because NEPAD was not mentioned earlier in the article and was only mentioned in relation to other developing countries. Once articles have been categorized a picture will emerge both as a whole and of each respective newspaper.

		Business Day N=468		*Cape Times* N=372		*Natal Witness* N=126	
Conditions for Sustainable Development							
1.	Peace, Security, Democracy, Political Gov. Init.	134	28.6%	87	23.4%	48	38.1%
2.	Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative	28	6.0%	17	4.6%	4	3.2%
Sectoral Priorities							
3.	Building Infrastructure Gap	9	1.9 %	11	3.0%	1	.8%
4.	Human Development Initiative	4	.9%	9	2.4%	1	.8%
5.	Agriculture	5	1.1%	3	.8%	0	0%
6.	Environmental Initiative	4	.9%	2	.5%	2	1.6%
7.	Culture	0	0%	0	0%	3	2.4%
8.	Science and Technology Platforms	7	1.5%	2	.5%	2	1.6%
Mobilising Resources							
9.	Capital Flows Initiative	27	5.8%	20	5.4%	3	2.4%
10.	Market Access Initiative	74	15.8%	38	10.2%	3	2.4%
Other							
11.	General Nepad coverage	162	34.6%	148	39.8%	51	40.5%
12.	Nepad coverage outside Africa	11	2.4%	31	8.3%	6	4.8%
13.	Women	0	0%	3	.8%	1	.8%
14.	Poverty	3	.6%	1	.3%	1	.8%
			100%		100%		100%

Figure 6

Figure 6 shows a similar distribution of NEPAD articles among the three newspapers with minor differences in a few categories. While some articles may have wavered between one or two sections within a category, i.e. capital flows and market access, the overall breakdown reveals significant gaps in coverage for the stated long-term goals of NEPAD.

Paragraph 67 lists two long-term objectives of NEPAD:

- To eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and thus halt the marginalisation of Africa in the global process;
- To promote the role of women in all activities.[58]

A review of articles about the long-term goals of poverty and women will be instructive in terms of propaganda about both NEPAD and coverage of NEPAD.

Poverty and HIV/AIDS coverage

If poverty is the inability of individuals or families to acquire a varying combination of adequate food, clothing, potable water, education, work, shelter, and medical care, then it is reasonable to think that there are a variety of anti-poverty approaches and strategies. However, only one poverty-alleviation method is outlined by NEPAD—a top-down approach that argues poverty will decrease with an increase in trade. Using South Africa as a model does not support this theory. Trade increased substantially for South Africa since the end of apartheid in 1994, yet negative social indicators like poverty and unemployment are essential unchanged.[59] Clearly, the South African neoliberal economic model under the ANC has not lifted millions out of poverty. And this is only part of the story. The larger story is the lack of honest engagement concerning poverty and HIV/AIDS for both NEPAD and media coverage of NEPAD. HIV/AIDS, poverty and poverty alleviation programs should be front pages stories in the newspaper.

A total of five articles, or 0.5%, of all articles had specific information about poverty. The distribution was as follows:

Business Day:

1. "Nepad's entry is timeous one: Beating poverty with basic liberties is ticket that nations backing initiative require" (12 Apr 02);
2. "In different world" (14 Jun 02) (About World Food Summit held in Rome);
3. "Partnership, commitment needed to beat poverty" (5 Aug 03).

Cape Times:

4. "Nepad's fires the first salvo to fight hunger" (15 Jul 03).

Natal Witness:

5. "To empower the youth is to fight poverty" (12 Nov 03).

While these articles provided minor information about poverty in Africa there were no articles that dealt with poverty in a serious manner. Absent in any media coverage of poverty was the perspective of the poor. There were no specific

articles from orphans, widows, or people lacking shelter. There were no exclusive articles on successful methods to alleviate poverty in relation to NEPAD, except increased trade. No definitions of poverty were given. Some articles, not listed above, had passing references to poverty or how NEPAD was the elixir to remedy poverty without any specifics. Additionally, there were a few passing references to social conditions of poverty, the effects of poverty and the need to address it scattered throughout the 966 articles on NEPAD. Coverage was grossly sub-standard given the stated goal to eradicate poverty.

Media coverage of NEPAD and poverty was not sub-standard if eradication of poverty meant the expansion of business opportunities within Africa as reflected in the number of articles about 'market access.' This is confirmed with a closer reading of NEPAD's ideas of how to eliminate poverty:

> To eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and thus halt the marginalisation of Africa in the global process.[60]

Poverty is more than simply being left behind in the world of globalisation. Overall articles addressed the collective or corporate aspect of paragraph 67 as well as a path of sustainable growth and development for business not the poor or marginalised.

NEPAD lists different means to implement its poverty-elimination strategies. One section—Sectoral Priorities and Human Resources Development Initiative—lists four areas: poverty reduction, bridging the education gap, reversing the brain drain and health. However, specific media coverage of these areas was minimal. There were 14 articles from the Human Development Initiative category listed above, ten on healthcare, and four on education (The *Cape Times* had all four articles about NEPAD and education). Nine of the ten articles on healthcare focused on HIV/AIDS. Despite an emphasis on health within NEPAD, there was no other coverage of health issues other than an article on the Red Cross Children's Hospital in the *Cape Times.* No stories of medical care in rural settings, or about access to clinics and medications were located.

There is little money to be made in treating disease and meeting the medical and health needs of the poor. Profits from AIDS drugs in the developing world are negligible (South Africa is less than 1% of the drug market).[61] Medicines for tropical and infections diseases have been serious market failures. Even diseases like malaria, which kills more than a million each year, have markets that would yield so little profit that there is little incentive to investigate drugs or a vaccine. This market failure has continually affected the quantity of drugs produced for tropical diseases over the last thirty years. From 1975 to 1997 only 13 drugs from tropical disease were produced and of those most were veterinary, military, or slight modifications of old drugs, with only 4 being truly new agents.[62] Given the small amount of profit to be made off private sector health development in Africa, it is unsurprising that newspaper coverage of life saving drugs for the poor is excluded.

The complete absence of all other health issues relating to NEPAD within

Business Day, Cape Times, and *Natal Witness* needs to be noted given the stated goals of NEPAD. While it appears that the countless health needs wants of millions of Africans did not fall within the interests of upmarket readers, HIV/AIDS does present a serious challenge to these readers and the economic sector they represent. HIV/AIDS cuts into the workforce through sickness, job absenteeism and inefficiency. In Africa, HIV/AIDS directly relates to and contributes to poverty for individuals, families, and nations through decreased workforce and increased social spending to prevent combat, and treat the illness. While HIV increases poverty, poverty increases the chance of diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis.

NEPAD only marginally attempts to address HIV/AIDS and this is reflected in the small pool of articles about the subject. Anglican Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane had a passing reference to NEPAD in a *Natal Witness* article by about HIV/AIDS (22 Jul 02). The *Cape Times* had four articles on HIV/AIDS and NEPAD and the first article listed an Eskom Holdings initiative to address HIV/AIDS, which had a passing reference to NEPAD (26 Feb 03). Three other *Cape Times* articles took NEPAD to task around the issue of HIV/AIDS. One article, "Afropessimism camouflages the opportunities in adversity" (29 Jan 02) had one sentence about HIV/AIDS and NEPAD:

> Nepad, is deficient—and therefore not credible—is in recognising the profound challenge to all aspects of continental progress represented by the Aids pandemic.

Another article, "Professor spells out dangers of epidemic on an unprecedented scale" (1 Aug 03), is similarly critical:

> The government should stop politicizing and racialising its discussion of HIV/AIDS and should realize it is dealing with a health crisis that could make a mockery of Nepad.

The final nine-sentence *Cape Times* article, "Catastrophe looms' because Nepad is paying scant attention to pandemic" (7 Nov 03), lists concerns from an AIDS strategist who is "highly regarded in the corporate world."

Business Day had four articles on HIV/AIDS and NEPAD. Two health articles, "Imperative to address health issues" (21 Aug 02) and "It is time for us to bridge HIV/AIDS rift" (20 Mar 02), only mention NEPAD in passing. An article on 5 July 2002 by a Wits professor quotes United Nations special envoy on HIV/AIDS in Africa Stephen Lewis who is concerned about HIV/AIDS and NEPAD:

> Unless [HIV/AIDS is] brought under control, real gains in human development will remain an impossible hope.

The final *Business Day* article, "Will SA lead Africa's AIDS war?" (11 Aug 03) explains that South Africa is a "stern but loving midwife" in the development and birth of the African Union and NEPAD. The article continues on to argue that

despite this:

> the bold and brilliant SA leadership seems to sputter inexplicably, becoming languid and tepid when it comes to the greatest development challenge facing the continent, HIV/AIDS. Even the sure-footed and brilliant Mbeki becomes publicly defensive on HIV/AIDS.

The remainder of the article raises questions about South Africa's leadership in addressing and combating HIV/AIDS. Throughout these articles there were no comments from one of the millions of Africans infected with HIV/AIDS, nor were there any clinic staff interviewed. HIV/AIDS was seen through an economic filter not a human lens.

While HIV/AIDS was mentioned briefly other places within the 966 articles selected, this represents the bulk of HIV/AIDS and NEPAD. HIV/AIDS is by far the biggest single threat facing Africa; yet, NEPAD only marginally deals with the issue and the press equally provides limited coverage of NEPAD and HIV/AIDS. Newspapers did not reflect on or critique NEPAD and its stance or approach to HIV/AIDS. NEPAD states a 7% growth rate is needed to lift Africa out of poverty and to meet United Nations Millennium Development Goals of halving poverty by 2015. However, the World Bank and UNAIDS reports HIV/AIDS in the hardest hit countries will be responsible for an annual loss of 0.5-1.2% GDP. Additionally, by 2020, these same countries may lose up to 20% of GDP due to HIV/AIDS. In Botswana, a quarter of households can expect to lose a breadwinner within 10 years.[63] USAID estimated that Kenya's GNP will be 14.4 % smaller in 2005 due to AIDS.[64] Households affected by HIV/AIDS see a 20-40% reduction in primary school enrolment along with a 15-30% reduction in food.[65] Mozambique will lose 17% of their teachers to AIDS by the end of this decade.[66] These everyday realities are working against the goals of NEPAD, which has not adequately adjusted its growth goals or approach. It is arguably impossible to achieve 7% growth and meet United Nations Millennium Development Goals with current rates of HIV/AIDS in Africa.

HIV/AIDS is only mentioned four times throughout the document. NEPAD offers little or no strategies on how to combat HIV/AIDS other than international aid.[67] Newspapers could and should have unmasked the preposterous claims of NEPAD regarding poverty eradication and HIV/AIDS given the lack of substantive strategies or dedicated analysis in its body. In today's world, HIV/AIDS is the greatest factor preventing the implementation of NEPAD goals, yet newspapers were relatively silent and uncritical on the subject. Not raising the seriousness of HIV/AIDS within the NEPAD debate only fosters false illusions of NEPAD's potential windfall.

Women and agriculture

The face of HIV/AIDS is increasingly female across the continent and just as NEPAD and HIV/AIDS received marginal coverage from *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* women faired even worse. There were no women on the steering committee that drafted NEPAD. Women, like the poor and civil

society, were denied a voice in decisions that affect their lives. The assessments and solutions found in NEPAD do not represent the interests of the majority, but rather they reflect the interests of a small elite minority of men. Africa has a long history of patriarchy and NEPAD reflects this continued world-view.

Postcolonial Africa has been marked by neopatrimonialism. A traditional patrimonial system can be defined by lack of difference between private and public relationships within ruling relationships. Neopatrimonialism distinguishes, verbally or in writing, separation between public and private relationships; however in practice patrimonialism continues. For example, the handing out of state contracts and appointments should in theory be transparent and fair to all, yet the procurement of public tenders are often political in nature.

Even Thabo Mbeki's former Vice President, Jacob Zuma, is implicated in an embarrassing corporate scandal. While Zuma maintained his innocence even after he resigned his position, he stands trial for his associations with his long-time friend and "financial advisor" Shabir Shaik. Shaik was accused of making payments to Zuma in exchange for political favours and was found guilty of accepting illegal contributions from a French arms corporation that sought to exploit Shaik's influence with Zuma to help secure a government tender worth $4.8 billion (ZAR 31bn) Documents have revealed that in 2004, Shaik made payments totalling $178,000 (ZAR 1.15 million) to fund the Vice President's lavish private lifestyle.[68]

Specifically, in Zambia top-level governmental posts rose from 184 in 1967, to 865 in 1971 and 11116 in 1974 a 600% increase. In 2000, 39% of African rulers had been in power for over ten years, and 28% percent had been president for fifteen years or more, and 19% had sat for over thirty years.[69] Hence, when African heads of state speak about a 'mandate from the people' and 'broad and deep participation by all sectors of society;' it is not rooted in civil society, the poor, or women, nor democracy for that matter.[70]

Today, African poverty has a woman's face. Looking at the issue of women and NEPAD Sara Hlupekile Longwe comments,

> Contrary to such principles of democracy, and good governance, women throughout the continent of Africa live in extremely patriarchal societies, where men control the decision making process in the government and in the home. Male domination of the decision making process serves to ensure that women get most of the work, and men collect most of the rewards arising from this work. The huge gender gaps in literacy, education, wealth and access to power are the result of discriminatory practices. These practices do not exist only at the social and traditional level. To different degrees, in all African countries, these discriminatory practices are entrenched in law, in the administration of the law, and in the general regulation governing government and corporate bureaucratic practice. It is the governments who are the principle *perpetrators* of discrimination against women, and the *enforcers* of their continued oppression.[71]

Expanding on this is Hellen Akwii Wangusa's assessment of NEPAD in a speech before the All-African Conference of Churches:

> NEPAD fails to attack the fundamental structural causes of women's poverty and inequality. These are discriminatory laws and cultural norms, limited access to land, skewed public expenditures and macroeconomic polices. NEPAD needs to better recognize the interrelatedness of such problems as poverty, clean water, agriculture policy and HIV/AIDS and to bring a gender-based analysis to seeking solutions.[72]

Around the world, political leaders are usually quick to jump on the bandwagon making commitments to help the poor and needy, but meager on actually doing anything about it. Women's issues within NEPAD are no different.[73] NEPAD, in its current form, reinforces decades old social, political, and economic structures that have been dominated by men within Africa, it is the poor, mainly women and children, who continue to see little hope for change despite the enormous amount of rhetoric and propaganda. Women suffer more marginalisation from the current economic system than any other sector within Africa. This is reflected and mirrored in NEPAD coverage of women's issues within *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness*. The lack of honest reflection from these newspapers reinforces negative stereotypes and values and perpetuates an unequal system.

While newspapers did not debate these issues within their pages, it is not because such debate did not exist. There were ample gender critics after the release of NEPAD in 2001. These critics are readily accessible among civil society sectors of Africa. Below, in chronological order, is a list of gender critics of NEPAD none of which received any coverage within the canon of NEPAD articles studied for years 2002-2003.

1. **"The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) – Implications for women and poverty eradication."** Panel discussion and strategy session presented by Women in Law and Development (WiLDAF) during the 46th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) United Nations, New York 4-15 March 2002.
2. **Delport, Elize.** "The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) – raising issues of gender equality and HIV/AIDS." 29 April-1 May 2002 Pretoria, South Africa.
3. **World Economic Forum.** "The Role of Women in the Nepad." African Economic Summit 2002. 6 June 2002.
4. **Longwe, Sara Hlupekile.** "NEPAD Reluctance to Address Gender Issues." Presented at NGO Forum, 14-16 October 2002, organised by African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (ACDHRS), that preceded the 32nd Session of the African Commission of Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR), 18-23 October 2002, Banjul, The Gambia.
5. **Randriamaro, Zo**. "The NEPAD, Gender and the Poverty Trap: The Nepad and the challenges of financing for development in Africa from a gender perspective." 15 December 2002.
6. **Ahmed, Nilla**. "Women demand major say in Africa's development." 7 April 2003.

7. **Wahu Kaara**. "NEPAD, Women & Poverty." *Khanya: A journal for activists.* No. 4. November 2003.
8. **Wanyeki, L. Muthoni**. "The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD): A brief gender critique." 15 December 2003.

Additionally, there was no specific coverage of NEPAD and already existing frameworks that deal with women's issues, such as African Charter on Human and People's Rights , Beijing Platform for Action, Cairo Action Plan, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Dakar Platform for Action, or the UN Millennium Development Goals. The Beijing Declaration highlighted the fact that men and women experience poverty differently and strategies need to take this into account.[74] Rather than reinventing the wheel, it is often better to strengthen already existing frameworks—this seems to have eluded NEPAD creators. NEPAD, and those newspapers that covered NEPAD, almost completely disregarded previous frameworks or strategies that dealt with poverty and women. No newspapers provide any serious reflection on women, poverty and NEPAD. The above approaches provided a gendered understanding of poverty and also laid out measurable indicators as evident in paragraphs 182, 190, 191 in the Beijing Platform.[75] NEPAD lays out one measurable gender indicator—increased enrolment of girls in primary and secondary school (paragraph 68). Grassroots organiser and Zambian Sara Hlupekile Longwe goes on to say:

> NEPAD is better understood as being in the category of empty lip-service to principles of gender equality. *In principle* Nepad is much in favour of equal rights for women, but *in practice* it proposes almost nothing in the form of action to realise these principles.[76]

Business Day, Cape Times, and *Natal Witness* perpetuated the problem with coverage of women and NEPAD consisting of only four articles among the 966 total articles. They were:

- "Women discuss changing the face of Africa" (3 July 03)
- "Fuelling women's empowerment" (7 Aug 03)
- "League president says unity is needed to tackle Africa's challenges" (1 Sept 03)
- "African leaders are blind to women's struggles" (8 Aug 02)

The first three articles, located within the *Cape Times,* contained only three sentences that referenced NEPAD. There were no references about women's poverty or the conditions women face on a daily basis. The article "League president says unity is needed to tackle Africa's challenges" (1 Sep 03) had a passing reference to the ANC Women's League four day national conference, hoped to "address the needs of all women, especially the weakest." The *Natal Witness* article elaborated on how Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni, preached that the increased market access through NEPAD will result in more jobs that will lift women out of poverty. The remainder of the article addressed

difficulties that women around the world face on a daily basis.

If the long-term goal of NEPAD is the empowerment of women—women must have a say in the matter—otherwise, it is a replication of domination structures. A successful approach to eradicate poverty would mean the dismantling of values, structures, and processes that maintain women's subordination and justify inequality in access to political, social, and economic sectors.[77] Longwe comments,

> If strategies of action for women's rights are based on the benevolence and generosity of males, to voluntarily give away their present domination and privilege, then it is based on complete folly. Equal rights of oppressed people are never given; they always have to be taken.[78]

Ultimately, NEPAD reinforces the structures, power relations and paradigms that underpin the neoliberal model.[79] NEPAD does not attempt to overturn such structures or systems for the betterment of women, or the poor for that matter. The real life problems of gender issues cannot be solved within this document but there were simple and logical ways participation by women could have been improved. The Governor of the Bank of Botswana, Linah Mohohol for instance, suggested setting quotas for women's representation on NEPAD decision-making bodies at 50%.[80] Such participation by women would have improved the chances that gender issues were raised, various solutions to poverty debate, and perhaps some programs even implemented.

To conclude this section and solidify the evidence, I will review media coverage of women and agriculture within NEPAD. Women represent between 50-80% of the agricultural workforce in Africa. Additionally, half the people living with HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa live in rural areas. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that in the worst-hit African countries seven million agricultural workers have died from AIDS since 1985. The pandemic could kill an additional 16 million more by 2020.[81] If NEPAD wanted to honestly address poverty and empower women, this group clearly rises to the top, next to orphans. However, the record reveals a predictable outcome—both NEPAD and the coverage of NEPAD provide "empty lip-service to principles of gender equality." Examination of the media's coverage of women and agriculture confirms this. The *Cape Times* had only three articles on agriculture and none specifically pertaining to women:

- "UN report shows Africa at the mercy of forces it cannot control" (25 July 03)
- "Nepad urges buy-in for crops to alleviate hunger" (22 Aug 03)
- "National resources being sold off in the name of free market" (2 Dec 03)

Business Day had five articles on agriculture:

- "Farming organisations give backing to Nepad" (2 May 02)
- "SA, Egypt to use Nepad to eradicate poverty" (16 May 02)

- "Agriculture seen as a key building block in Nepad" (28 Nov 02)
- "Africa to push for reforms at Cancun" (22 Jul 03)
- "Africa gears up for green revolution" (1 Dec 03)

There were zero references to women in these articles, despite the fact that women do much of the agricultural work in Africa. The articles looked at trade, markets, and subsidies, but not at land ownership, or division of labour, or conditions of agricultural workers. L. Muthoni Wanyeki writes in her critique of NEPAD:

> Under the basket on agriculture, there is no recognition of African women's roles as primary producers. And the need to assure African women's access to and control over land (and benefits from land) as an economic is not addressed.[82]

What emerges throughout this section is a descending order of media coverage of poverty eradication, with woman with HIV/AIDS receiving no coverage. The population most in need of services receive the least amount of media coverage.

NEPAD authors want to change the unequal relationship within the international community that has created a marginalised Africa, yet they leave unequal gender relationships uninterrupted and unchanged. The goal outlined earlier by Senegal President Wade of "moving toward gender equality and removing gender disparities in elementary and secondary enrollment" appears to be only rhetoric and has not been matched by concrete actions.[83] Absent in both NEPAD and media coverage is a human face. Media coverage failed to look at the most elementary aspect of NEPAD—the eradication of poverty and the empowerment of women; rather, newspapers followed along and churned out what was handed them as a cure for poverty without giving or discussing any specifics about how this would be achieved. *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* are culpable in the neglect of these populations in relation to NEPAD.

Past frameworks and capital flight

Reading and listening to the purveyors of NEPAD gives one the impression that this is the first authentic time Africans have collectively attempted to resolve the issues confronting Africa. However, there have been numerous plans to deal with Africa's development in the past, such as the *Lagos Plan of Action* and the *Abuja Treaty.* Paragraph 42 of Nepad reads:

> The New Partnership for Africa's Development recognizes that there have been attempts in the past to set out continent-wide development programs. For a variety of reasons, both internal and external, including questionable leadership and ownership by Africans themselves, these have been less than successful. However, there is today a new set of circumstances, which lend themselves to integrated practical implementation.

There is no specific mention of any previous programs in the above paragraph. What is of interest to this thesis is the idea that newspapers failed to seriously review previous frameworks and highlight the aspects that were redeemable. *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* simply received information from government leaders and provided little reflection or historical context. Newspapers also did not encourage implementation of exiting frameworks such as the *Lagos Plan of Action*. One reason for this is the neoliberal perspective advocated by NEPAD. South African newspapers and their various business interests would benefit from NEPAD policies. Additionally, it would take some work and research to go over past frameworks and determine their benefits and shortcomings. Market-driven media does not allow for lengthy exposés, the market generally filters out such analysis.

Below is a list of six previous economic frameworks "developed in" Africa, in alphabetical order, along with a brief description and subsequent coverage among the three newspapers (Figure 7):

1. **Abuja Treaty** (1991). Established the African Economic Community (AEC). AEC established regional trading blocs, free trade areas, and the possible establishment of a single currency within Africa. Currently, there are eight regional blocs in Africa.[84]
2. **African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation** (AAF-SAP)(1989). Desired an increase in capital investment in Africa to spur economic growth while not being fully accountable on how the money shall be spent since African leaders knew what was best. This was formulated with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.
3. **Cairo Agenda for Action** (1994-5) Claimed to "relaunch" Africa's political, economic, and social development.
4. **Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa** (CSSDCA)(1991)(Also known as the Kampala Document). Peace, security and stability are vital for development and cooperation in Africa.
5. **Lagos Plan of Action** (LPA)(1980). Claimed to promote autocentric development and greater cooperation within Africa.
6. **The African Charter for Popular Participation for Development** (1990), A collaborative venture between African NGOs, African Governments, and the UN.[85]

Previous Frameworks referenced in NEPAD

	Business Day	*Cape Times*	*Natal Witness*
AAF-SAP	0	0	0
Abuja	4	0	1
Cairo	0	0	0
CSSDCA	1	1	0
Lagos	3	0	1
Africa Charter for Popular	0	0	0
Total	8	1	2

Figure 7

For both *Business Day* and the *Cape Times* previous frameworks were limited to passing references. For example:

- "or an All-African free trade area as envisaged in the *Abuja treaty*" (*Business Day* 28 Feb 02).
- "It should be able to be fitted within the 1994 *Abuja Treaty* establishing the African Economic Community" (*Business Day* 30 Jul 02).
- "Nepad becomes incorporated in the AU as a programme aligned with the *Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation for Africa*" (*Business Day* 9 Jul 02).
- "Some Nigerians view Nepad as a usurped *Lagos Plan of Action*" (*Business Day* 27 May 03).
- "Nepad's lineage is the *Lagos Plan of Action* updated to address the challenge of Africa's indebtedness" (*Business Day* 3 Sep 02).

The *Cape Times* had two sentences about CSSDCA in a 30 Oct 02 article quoting Jackie Cilliers from the Institute for Security Studies (which receives South African government funding). The *Natal Witness* had two lengthier references about previous frameworks with one article highlighting that there have been "some 40 such attempts since 1963" to move Africa away from the mendicant relationship with the First World ("Critical Mass" 11 Nov 03). Both articles within the *Natal Witness* attempted to put NEPAD within a historical context, while the more prestigious papers did not. NEPAD is not the first time African leaders have proclaimed a new era is about to begin for Africa; however, *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* appear to suffer from historical amnesia in relation to previous frameworks.

Ian Taylor writes about these and other plans in *Nepad: Toward Africa's Development or Another False Start?*:

> The failure of the previous plans is largely due to the lack of capacity and resources *and* a systematic lack of political will on behalf of African leaders to seriously attempt to implement what they have agreed to.[86]

It was rare to come across references or articles that addressed "a lack of political will" except around the issue of Zimbabwe.

Africa's Marshall Plan and capital flight also reflect a pervasive pattern of historical amnesia by newspapers. Upon the launch of NEPAD some scholars, politicians, and observers of Africa called NEPAD Africa's Marshall Plan, alluding to post-World War II construction in Europe by America. In such a comparison, Africa simply needs a large influx of cash to get started on the road to sustainable development. Initial linkage of NEPAD and the Marshall Plan started with Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo calling upon all African leaders "to show total commitment to a new 'Marshall Plan' for the impoverished continent."[87] Others followed suit saying "Nepad is modelled on the US Marshall Plan."[88] Insurance giant chairman of Sanlam stated, "On the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad), Vosloo said the programme clearly outlined the aspirations for Africa's rebirth. Though the objectives had been described as too ambitious by some, this idea of a Marshall Plan for Africa set out a clear framework for development."[89] The association between NEPAD and the Marshall Plan was confirmed in the West with, "When Nepad was launched it was hailed by the West as Africa's Marshall Plan."[90] Furthermore, Essop Pahad, South African Minister in the Presidency, made a connection between NEPAD and the Marshall Plan in a Chatham House address: "we now seek in Nepad a Marshall Plan for our times and our continent."[91] Pahad was quoted from a lengthy pro-NEPAD article, "Making Nepad Africa's Marshall Plan" (4 Dec 03) by Kuseni Dlamini of Wits University and South African Institute for International Affairs. Dlamini believes that Marshall type plans offers the "best way to turn basket cases into breadbaskets and strategic partners."[92]

While the linkages between NEPAD and the Marshall Plan vaguely exist and are used for romantic or propaganda purposes, reality offers a different portrait. Ian Taylor removes the rhetoric and hype about the NEPAD/Marshall Plan debate in his book, *Nepad: Toward Africa's Development or Another False Start?*:

> Indeed, Africa has already received aid equivalent to six Marshall Plans. …It has long been fashionable in certain circles to advocate a "Marshal Plan" for Africa…but in fact Africa's dismal performance has come in the context of a substantial flow of aid resources…[Aid increased] by an astounding annual average of 5 percent in real terms between 1970 and 1995….At their peak, the Marshall Plan resources accounted for some 2.5 percent of the GDP of countries like France and Germany. By 1996, excluding South Africa and Nigeria, the average African country received the equivalent of 12.3 percent of its GDP in ODA (overseas development assistance), an international transfer…unprecedented in historical terms.[93]

Business Day ran a 369 word letter from Taylor in response to the 924 word article by Dlamini above. Taylor's letter specifically deals with the Marshall Plan and NEPAD:

> If Nepad's promoters think that Africa has missed out on an equivalent Marshall Plan, then the project is based on faulty assumptions, for it ignores the huge amount of capital that has already flowed to Africa. It is estimated that between 1970 and 1996 sub-Saharan Africa received a net inflow of aid of $408,2bn at constant 1995 prices. This ignores the massive amount that flowed into Africa in the 1960s and the continued flow of aid post-1996 to date.

There were no other dismissals or critiques of the NEPAD/Marshall comparison within *Business Day.*

NEPAD is based on the notion that an influx of money ($64 billion annually) will partially cure Africa's persistent problems of development. In addition to the large, existing influx of capital into Africa that was not discussed, there is a large amount of capital *leaving* the continent that was also not discussed. For example, a 30-country study estimated that capital flight between the years 1970-1996 amounted to $187 billion. Factoring in earnings, the stock of Africa's capital flight stood at $274 billion, an amount that is equal to 145 percent of the debts owned by those countries.[94] These untidy facts about Africa's Marshall Plan and capital flight are simply not part of the range of expressible opinion. Minor incursions or deviations from the standard line do occur, but they are rare and often short. Unfortunately, donors, country recipients, and citizens are falsely led to believe that everything has changed within Africa with the magical inception of NEPAD.

Political credentials of African leaders

NEPAD hopes to attain $64 billion dollars from the West in exchange for good governance, respect of human rights, and democracy. NEPAD states that "bold and imaginative leadership" (paragraph 6) is needed and that a "new set of circumstances" (paragraph 42) lends itself to a new approach. This approach can be realised through "the African Union (AU), which has shown a new resolve to deal with conflicts and censure deviation from the norm" (paragraph 45). We have already established that claiming a 'new set of circumstances' is euphemistic if not outright false. Is new leadership any more likely to bring about change and reform? Who are the 'bold and imaginative leaders' of NEPAD? This section will begin by examining the African leaders who are responsible for the implementation of NEPAD, their credentials, their history of governance, and their respect of human rights and democracy.

Located in central Africa, Cameroon enjoys a blemished reputation for democracy. Paul Biya has been President of Cameroon since 1984 when he won a miraculous 99.98 percent of the votes. In the 1988 Presidential race his support dipped to 98.75 percent. Authoritarian rule, intimidation, and suppression have been used by Biya to prevent any opening of democracy over the decades.

Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and others have noted that elections have been marred by fraud, irregularities, and repression of the opposition. Violence, beatings, intimidation, torture, harassment of opposition have been well documented. In the late 1990s, the business organisation Transparency International gave Cameroon the non-flattering classification as 'the most corrupt country in the world.' The 2003 Corruption Perception Index, Cameroon scored close to the bottom at 126 out of out of 133 nations surveyed with Obasanjo's Nigeria scoring second to last at 132.[95] Cameroon's record on human rights, good governance, and democracy is appalling under the tutelage of Paul Biya and represents the antithesis of NEPAD ideals, yet he is on the HSIC to implement the standards he has actively worked against for most of his political career.

Moving south from Cameroon to Congo-Brazzaville is another aficionado of democracy—Denis Sassou-Nguesso. Sassou-Nguesso was a Marxist dictator of Congo-Brazzaville from 1979-1992. In 1997, he overthrew the democratically elected government with military force, which resulted in political and ethnic unrest. The 2001 presidential election, Sassou-Nguesso won a staggering 89.41 percent of the vote, which was marked by irregularities and fraud. The army has been blamed for rapes, murders, beatings, and torture. Again, international groups like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have highlighted human rights abuses in the Republic of Congo. Women and children have suffered substantially under the leadership of Sassou-Nguesso. Press freedoms have also been under attack during his presidency.

Egypt is also part of the NEPAD Head of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSIC) and was on the Steering Committee of the five Initiating States (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa). A 2003 Human Rights Watch report on Egypt states,

> The government intensified its crackdown on real or suspected political opponents, tightened its control over civil society institutions, and clamped down on freedom of speech and expression. Thousands of political suspects remained in prolonged detention without trial under emergency legislation in force almost continuously since 1967, and there were a series of grossly unfair trials before military or state security courts in which defendants had no right of appeal to higher tribunals. The torture and ill-treatment of political detainees remained common, and the government continued to impose the death penalty.[96]

President Hosni Mubarak has been President since October 1981 and has ruled Egypt with strong control and minimal opposition. In 2005 Amnesty International reported torture and ill-treatment of citizens in detention centres was systematic.

Finally, Africa's longest ruling leader, Gabon's Omar Bongo, also serves on the NEPAD HICS. Gabon has had its share of corruption, election fraud, and patronage since 1967 when Bongo came to power. Like other African leaders, Bongo has changed the country's constitution allowing him to run for re-election as many times as he wishes. Besides the usual tools to maintain and stay in power, Bongo has also accrued a significant amount of wealth through bribes,

kickbacks, and corruption.

What is of interest for this thesis is that newspapers did not point out the hypocrisy of appointing questionable leaders to implement NEPAD, despite an avalanche of information proving their crimes. Figure 8 represents the number of references about the lack of good governance, human rights abuses, and corruption of the five leaders or countries above.

References on human rights, good governance, and corruption

	Business Day	*Cape Times*	*Natal Witness*
Cameroon	1	0	0
Congo-Brazzaville	0	1	0
Egypt	2	0	0
Gabon	0	1	0

Figure 8

Business Day, drawing upon the US think tank Freedom House, draws up a list of countries that are 'not free' in terms of human rights and civil liberties practices which includes the countries of Cameroon and Egypt. The second reference to Egypt was a passing fragment: "Egypt, no democracy itself…"[97] This represents the summation of article about the above leaders and their leadership history. Another point of interest is an article on Egypt by Greg Mills of the SA Institute of International Affairs entitled, "African or Arab: Egypt's dilemma?" (15 Oct 02). The lengthy 887-word article does not mention Egypt's record on democracy, human rights or good governance. Rather Mills states Egypt and South Africa "can contribute to the furtherance of Nepad objectives of good governance, stability and development." Mills vaguely hints that "economic and political reforms domestically in line with Nepad objectives" are needed in Egypt. It is remarkable that Mills acquiesces to the power of NEPAD and disregards authoritarian history. This is reflective of the intellectual amnesia of both newspapers and think tanks.

While *Natal Witness* had zero references, the *Cape Times,* like *Business Day,* had passing references to the above data. For example, in an article about corruption, James Wilmot of University of Cape Town encourages people to "face up to the ire of the powerful, those leaders in Angola, the Congo, Zimbabwe and elsewhere who have no moral difficulty in lining their pockets at the cost of their people's welfare."[98] The *Cape Times* had an editorial about term limits which mentioned Gabon's Omar Bongo and the need for leaders to have just two terms; otherwise, "the longer they stay, the harder they become to dislodge, as they accumulate a growing catalogue of crime."[99] While it is positive that the articles mention the democratic dilemmas, neither article provides specifics, but makes general comments, nor points out the hypocrisy of appointing such people to NEPAD's HSIC.

A critique of African leaders need not be limited to those on NEPAD committees, other countries such as, Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Kenya,

Nigeria, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Togo would have fulfilled similar criteria for thuggery, corruption, and abuse of power. Newspapers had ample opportunities to highlight the facts of the past and present; however, ideological and market pressures filter out unwanted residue for investors or politicians with an aim of increased market share and international aid.

Finally, Ian Taylor and others raise a fundamental concern about NEPAD and the request for $64 billion dollars in exchange for *not* undermining human rights and preventing democracy.[100] In an ideal and moral world, leaders should strive towards these principles for their own sake and not be rewarded for doing them. States do not pay parents *not* to abuse their children; doctors do not pay their patients *not* to smoke. Taylor quotes two sources that put NEPAD in context,

> Nepad's subtext is: "We African leaders, having failed to consolidate democracy, to ensure sound economic management, and to bring about people-centered development in our countries, come before you chaps in the G-8 to enlist your support. If you give us money, we promise to honor the commitments we made to our people. We need to be rewarded for what we should have been doing in the first place."[101]

A Zambian writer also reframes NEPAD plainly:

> The Africans [promoting Nepad] are asking the rich countries to bribe them to practice democratic governance and to pursue policies of economic and political stability…There is no reason whatsoever for the people of Africa to be proud that their leaders are now offering to sell their 'good governance' commitment for a few billion dollars… Why should our leaders be paid to do the right thing? Don't they have a conscience of their own to simply know that it is wrong for them to tolerate corruption and general bad governance, without development aid for the rich? Why can't they simply be [good leaders] even when it does not involve any money?[102]

The fundamental principle of paying people for not creating problems is cause for serious reflection yet does not fit into the 'range of expressible opinion.' *Business Day, Cape Times*, and *Natal Witness* turned a blind eye to a mountain of evidence and failed to point out the elementary issue of questionable credentials of African leaders and their ability to carry out the lofty goals of NEPAD. A notable exception to this media performance is coverage of Zimbabwe.

The case of Zimbabwe

Between 2002-2003, Zimbabwe received considerable attention both in the press and the international community on a range of topics: triple digit inflation, food shortages, suspension from the Commonwealth, International Monetary Fund (IMF) membership, political violence between the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for Democratic

Change (MDC), the presidential election of 2002, the take over of commercial farms, decreased press freedoms, and the Peer Review Mechanism of NEPAD. Looking at media coverage of Zimbabwe/NEPAD among the three papers reveals considerable debate. Earlier in the chapter, Figure 7 tracked the distribution of NEPAD articles and the section of "Peace, Security, Democracy, Political Governance Initiatives." Figure 9 shows the number of articles from Figure 7 and the subsequent number of articles that dealt with Zimbabwe and the percentage.

	# of Articles	Articles about Zimbabwe	Percentage
Business Day	134	51	38.1%
Cape Times	87	31	35.6%
Natal Witness	48	26	54.2%

Figure 9

Debate about NEPAD and Zimbabwe was significant and vigorous at times as evidenced by some article titles:

- "ANC leads cheers for Mugabe's 'convincing victory'" (*Business Day* 14 Mar 02)
- "Harare's suspension 'saved Nepad at G-8'" (*Business Day* 10 Apr 02)
- "Leaders of Africa must act now to save Zimbabwe" (*Business Day* 6 Aug 03)
- "Amnesty International urges Mbeki to take stand on Zimbabwe" (*Cape Times* 21 Oct 02*)*
- "Nepad's litmus test" (*Cape Times* 7 Nov 03)
- "Trashing Democracy" (*Natal Witness* 22 July 02)
- "Impotence and farce" (*Natal Witness* 16 May 03)

For many years Zimbabwe has been mired down in multiple allegations of corruption and abuses of power—election tampering, persistent human rights violations, illegal confiscation and redistribution of land. These actions along with the 2002 suspension from the 54 nation Commonwealth presented real challenges to NEPAD. At one point, South African Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Irwin, advocated a double standard or exemption from the G-8 by stating, the West "should not hold Nepad hostage because of mistakes in Zimbabwe."[103] Deputy President Jacob Zuma similarly commented on G-8 funding arguing that a withdrawal of aid for Nepad would be "collective punishment" for the situation in Zimbabwe.[104] This double standard weakened NEPAD and the credibility of its framers.

This chapter will not delve into the specifics of the debates, but rather make brief general comments. Under Mugabe there is no doubt that political opponents of the government, landowners, and the general population have suffered tremendously. However, the concern surrounding the debate stems

mainly from policies that could spill over into South Africa (there are plenty of other tyrants within Africa with equally extraordinary record who have not nearly received the same degree of attention). The proximity to South Africa is of concern to owners of capital and international financiers. This is confirmed in the article, "Nepad's litmus test" (*Cape Times* 7 Nov 03) which states, "African and foreign well wishers, including potential investors are growing impatient with Nepad." In brief, South African capital and foreign investors are worried that the policies of Zimbabwe will come to pass in South Africa thus the lively debate within the press. This process is confirmed with an examination beyond Zimbabwe.

By comparison, looking at a paired example of similar events (government mismanagement, corruption, and human rights abuses) in another country yields interesting results. Equatorial Guinea has an equally impressive record of human rights abuse, mismanagement, and corruption yet there was minor coverage in *Business Day* or the *Cape Times. Business Day* had a few sentences about Equatorial Guinea and NEPAD, one being the Freedom House reference mentioned above. The *Cape Times* also had a few sentences that mentioned the corruption and human rights abuses of the Equatorial Guinea President Teodore Obiang Nguema.[105] If NEPAD is truly about democracy and good governance then coverage of Equatorial Guinea and other countries should have been highlighted. Zimbabwe clearly represents something different for both newspapers and the authors of NEPAD. There appears to be a different standard in the application of NEPAD principles to countries further away from South Africa, who have equally dismal record of abuse and corruption. The framers of NEPAD did not want to be punished for a few bad apples, yet newspapers coverage mirrored a similar spotty record in their coverage of 'bad apples' throughout the continent.

Conclusion

Case after case and illustration after illustration of NEPAD articles verify the tenets of the propaganda model: *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* "propagandise on the behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them." This chapter has clearly demonstrated the over-reliance on official sources—government and corporations—at the expense of civil society, women, and the poor. The range of expressible opinion also excluded the majority of the population. Within the canon of NEPAD articles there was discussion about Zimbabwe, but other relevant topics like past frameworks or leader qualifications were simply left off the agenda. Moreover, newspapers were never at a loss to point out potential business opportunities for investors. Additionally, the press did not point out the hypocrisy of appointing certain African leaders to NEPAD committees. NEPAD claims to espouse the virtues of democracy and transparency, yet up until now, neither NEPAD nor newspaper coverage of NEPAD provided either accurately. Noam Chomsky, writing about honesty and ideology, states:

> We live entangled in webs of endless deceit, often self-deceit, but with a

> little honest effort, it is possible to extricate ourselves from them. If we do, we will see a world that is rather different from the one presented to us by a remarkably effective ideological system, a world that is much uglier, often horrifying. We will also learn that our own actions, or passive acquiescence, contribute quite substantially to misery and oppression, and perhaps eventual global destruction.[106]

Newspapers had selective memory due to ideological constraints and market forces.

Writing 47 years ago, in 1961, Frantz Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth* described current neoliberal economic trends in Africa:

> The national middle class discovers its historic mission: that of intermediary. Seen through its eyes, its mission has nothing to do with transforming the nation; it consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the nation and a capitalism, rampant though camouflages, which today puts on the mask of neocolonialism. The national bourgeoisie will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie's business agent, and it will play its part without any complexes in a most dignified manner.[107]

Today, NEPAD serves as the intermediary for African leaders. NEPAD does not change the socio-economic or political relationships within countries, nor does it change anything for women and children. NEPAD is simply old wine in new wine skins. For the initial role out of NEPAD in years 2002-2003, *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* provided a remarkable service to the State and private sector through their coverage of NEPAD. However, the ideas of NEPAD were placed on the back burner by the G-8 with the US events of September 11th. The events of September 11th dramatically shifted limited G-8 resources away from aid and development to the 'war on terrorism.'

The past two chapters on forestry and NEPAD have confirmed that *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* exceed the predictions of the propaganda model. The newspapers functioned as a conduit for 'powerful societal interests.' Moving beyond the boundaries of Africa, to the global 'war on terror,' it is predicted that these newspapers will continue to stay close to and follow the dictates of 'powerful societal interests'—namely these of the United States and United Kingdom. We now turn to a review of South African media performance in the 'war on terrorism.'

[1] Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* Second Edition (New York: Pantheon, 1988; 2002), xi.
[2] Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference and the South African Council of Churches. *Unblurring the Vision: An Assessment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development by South African Churches* (Johannesburg: June 2001), 9.
[3] Saleh M. Nsouli, ed., *The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Macroeconomics, Institutions, and Poverty* (Washington: International Monetary Fund, 2004), 10.
[4] BBC News. "Life expectancy still falling in Africa," 11 February 2002. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/1814609.stm In contrast the European average is 74.9 years for men and 81.2 years for women.
[5] Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference and the South African Council of Churches. *Unblurring the Vision: An Assessment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development by South African Churches* (Johannesburg: June 2001), 9.
[6] Information about NEPAD can found at http://www.nepad.org. Reference comes from 'What is Nepad: What are the origins of Nepad.'
[7] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria.
[8] Nepad website, http://www.nepad.org 'What is Nepad: What are the principles of Nepad' #2.
[9] Nepad website, http://www.nepad.org 'What is Nepad: What are the priorities?' #7 and 'What are the key priority action areas?' #9.
[10] Nsouli (2004), 18.
[11] Taylor, Ian. *Nepad: Toward Africa's Development or Another False Start?* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 43.
[12] An electronic search within *Business Day* yielded 598 articles, but only 468 articles were used for the study. The *Cape Times* electronic search yielded 425 articles and 372 were utilized. All the articles were used for the *Natal Witness* site plus some additionally articles from Sabinet.
[13] See forestry chapter for a more thorough discussion of the importance of sources.
[14] If an article was written by two authors from the same group then one tick was given. If an article was written by two authors from different organizations or locations then two ticks were given.
[15] One notable exception is the *African Charter on Human and People's Rights.* See Ian Taylor, *Nepad: Toward Africa's Development or Another False Start?* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 43.
[16] In the forestry chapter, 73.6% of all sources came from timber companies, government, and corporations. See Figure 3 in forestry chapter.
[17] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria paragraph 1, page 1.
[18] Cosatu was scored 13 times under *civil society* category. Within Cosatu there were five sources from Cosatu in general, four from Zwelinzima Vavi, Cosatu's general secretary, three from Cosatu spokesman, Patrick Craven, and one from President of Cosatu Willy Madisha. In contrast, professors from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Francis Kornegay and John Stremlau (an American), had 17 and 8 full articles, while Eskom had 15 sources.
[19] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria paragraph 1, page 1
[20] For the Democratic Republic of Congo see Adam Hochschild , *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998); Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr Kurtz* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000).
[21] Patrick Bond, *Fanon's Warning: A Civil Society Reader on the New Partnership for Africa's Development*. Second Edition (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005), 54.
[22] Ibid., 44.
[23] Ibid., 49.
[24] Ibid., 42.
[25] Ibid., 35.
[26] Brian Ashley, "NEPAD and Globalisation: Some Initial Thoughts" Presentation to The Trade and World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) strategy workshop, held 4-5 April

2002,
Cape Town. For more information see
http://www.worldsummit2002.org/texts/wkshpPresentationNepad.rtf

[27] Shelter Rights Initiative and Heinrich Boll Foundation. "Civil Society in Nigeria and NEPAD," World Summit 2002 Workshop. Lagos, Nigeria. 18-19 April 2002. For more information see http://www.worldsummit2002.org/regions/africa/nigeria/index.htm

[28] Bond (2005), 40.

[29] Heinrich Boll Foundation World Summit Johannesburg 2002. "African Forum for Envisioning Africa: "Focus on Nepad," International Conference April 26-29 Safari Park, Nairobi, Kenya Organised in co-operation with the Mazingira Institute and the African Academy of Sciences. See http://www.worldsummit2002.org/index.htm?
http://www.worldsummit2002.org/activities/nepadforum.htm

[30] Bond (2005), 32.

[31] Ibid., 31.

32 East African NGO Rio + 10 Coalition, Position on New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) 7 May 2002, Mukono, Uganda. See
http://www.worldsummit2002.org/texts/NepadResolutionsUganda.rtf

[33] 'On the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD),' CEDREFI Workshop on the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) 23-25 May 2002, Quatre Bornes, Republic of Mauritius. See www.worldsummit2002.org/texts/DeclarationNEPADMauritius.rtf

[34] Patrick Bond, "NEPAD," *ZNET* Sustainer Program. 20 June 2002. See
http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=2062

[35] Patrick Bond, "Nepad, no thanks,' says African progressives" 20 June 2002. See
http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2002-06/20bond.cfm

[36] Patrick Bond, "Can NEPAD Survive Its Proponents, Sponsors, Clients and Peers?" October 2003. See http://www.ossrea.net/publications/newsletter/oct03/article10.htm

[37] Bond (2005), 59.

[38] Ibid., 64.

[39] Yash Tandon, *"Nepad and FDIS: Symmetries and Contradictions"* 29 April 2002.
See http://www.geocities.com/ericsquire/articles/tandon-nepad.htm

[40] Bond (2005), 69. Also see
http://www.aidc.org.za/?q=book/view/186&PHPSESSID=c2ceb4721a217424bfff1e45338f7c43

[41] Taylor, Ian. "We are democrats:' The Crisis in Zimbabwe and the Death of Nepad," 18 March 2002. See http://www.fpif.org/outside/commentary/2002/0203nepad.html

[42] Taylor, Ian. "Is Nepad just a toothless blueprint?" 8 November 2002 *Zimbabwe Independent*. Posted on the web 11 Nov 2002. See
http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/nov14_2002.html#link8

[43] The South African Institute for International Affairs is located in Johannesburg at the University of Witwatersrand. Website:
http://www.saiia.org.za/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=208

[44] Taken from Institute for Security Studies website. See http://www.iss.co.za/about/Funders.html

[45] NEPAD document. Oct. 2001, Abuja, Nigeria or see http://www.nepad.org Environmental section are paragraphs 135-139.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Originally Taken from Johnnic Communication website. In November 2007 Johnnic Communications Limited changed names to Avusa The new website is:
http://www.avusa.co.za/ Information about *Business Day,*
http://www.avusa.co.za/aboutus/brands/default.aspx?pageid=302511

[48] For a discussion of LSM see Living Standards Measures under the forestry section.

[49] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria paragraph 1. See http://www.nepad.org
www.nepad.org

[50] McCune, Jenny C. "Into South Africa: is there long-term potential for U.S. companies in of the last remaining untapped markets—or are there just pitfalls?" *Management Review,* vol. 83 no.7 (July 1994): 51(6).

[51] "South Africa: Preparing for a Global Future," *The Economist.* 31 March 2001.

[52] John Daniel, et al. "Post-apartheid South Africa's Corporate Expansion into Africa," Review of African Political Economy, no.100 (June 2004): 343(6). Also see, Ishmael Lesufi, "NEPAD and South African Imperialism." Feb. 2006. Jubilee South Africa. http://www.jubileesa.org.za/article.php3?id_article=59

[53] "JP Morgan Chase International Council Convenes in Moscow," See http://www.prnewswire.co.uk/cgi/news/release?id=155824 Financial information was listed in US dollars. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the dollar to Rand ratio was to take the six month average of the exchange rate for 2002-2003. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for those years was 9.05048 Rand to a US dollar.

[54] Retrieved from Independent News and Media Website. See http://www.inmplc.com/main.php?menu=menu2&mb=ned

[55] Retrieved from Independent News and Media Website. See http://www.inmplc.com/main.php?menu=menu3&mb=sa www.iol.co.za

[56] Nepad website, http://www.nepad.org 'What is Nepad: What are the principles of Nepad' #5.

[57] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria. See http://www.nepad.org.

[58] NEPAD document Oct 2001 Abuja, Nigeria. Paragraph 67. See http://www.nepad.org.

[59] For more information see United Nations Development Programme. *South Africa Human Development Report 2003. The Challenge of Sustainable Development: Unlocking People's Creativity.* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2003), See Patrick Bond*, Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms*. (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Press, 2004); Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652-2002.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002): and Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: How we can make it happen in our lifetime.* (London: Penguin Press, 2005).

[60] http://www.nepad.org

[61] Merrill. Goozner, "Medicine as a Luxury." *The American Prospect*. Volume 13, Issue 1. January 2002.

[62] Michael Kremer, "Pharmaceuticals and the Developing World," *Journal of Economic Perspectives,* Autumn 2002, 16(4): 69.

[63] Chinua Akukwe, "Africa And Nepad: What About HIV/AIDS?" Speech delivered at The Perspective, Atlanta, Georgia, 23 April 2002. Available at Kairos-Africa: http://www.web.ca/~iccaf/debtsap/nepadaids.htm

[64] Taylor (2005), 136.

[65] Delport, Elize. "The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) – raising issues of gender equality and HIV/AIDS." Check Against Delivery. Forum de participation des ONG a la 31 eme session ordinaire de la commission Africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples (29 Avril-1 Mai 2002 Pretoria Afrique du Sid), 10.

[66] Stephen Lewis, "Nepad and HIV/Aids," (June 2002), 4. Available at Southern African Regional Poverty Network. http://www.sarpn.org.za/NEPAD/june2002/nepad_hiv/index.php

[67] Paragraph 127 of the original NEPAD document. See http://www.nepad.org

[68] Geoff. Hill, "Vice president fired in corruption scandal," *The Washington Times*. 15 June 2005. Financial information was listed in US dollars. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the dollar to Rand ratio was to take the six month average of the exchange rate for 2004. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for 2004 was 6.45881 Rand to a US dollar.

[69] Taylor (2005), 2-5.

[70] What is democracy? Robert Dahl. *Democracy and Its Critics.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), has provided the most widely accepted list of the "procedural minimum" needed to classify as a modern political democracy, or as he puts it, "polyarchy":

1) Government decision-making is constitutionally vested in elected officials.
2) Elections are free and fair.
3) Suffrage is practically all-inclusive.
4) Adult citizens have the right to run for office.
5) Citizens have freedom of expression.
6) Citizens have the right to alternative sources of information, protected by law.

7) Citizens have the right to form independent, autonomous organizations, including independent political parties and interest groups.

While this list has been used since the 70s to classify liberal democracies, Dahl himself says that polyarchy is "insufficiently democratic and should be made more so." Polyarchy runs the risk of slipping into electoralism—the tendency to focus on democratic elections while omitting other democratic necessities. To avoid this, Karl and Schmitter (Karl, Terry Lynn and Philippe C. Schmitter. "What Democracy is—and is not," in Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) add some important qualifications to the definition of democracy:

8) Citizens must be able to influence policy between elections.
9) The elected government must be able to operate without obstructions of control by unelected officials, such as the military.

These additional classifications help distinguish between a liberal, rights-based or 'substantive' democracy, the hope in South Africa, versus a "formal," electoral, or "minimal" democracy.

[71] Sara Hlupekile Longwe, "NEPAD Reluctance to Address Gender Issues" Presented at NGO Forum, 14-16 October 2002, organised by African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (ACDHRS), that preceded the 32nd Session of the African Commission of Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR), (18-23 October 2002, Banjul, The Gambia), 2. Available at: http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000088/index.php

[72] Carol Fouke-Mpoyo, "NEPAD risks deepening African women's poverty, Wangusa says," All African Council of Churches. 22 November 2003. Yaoundé, Cameroon. Available at: http://www.districtnet.org.uk/orbital/news/ncc/2003/november2003/20.htm

[73] Longwe (2002), 1. There have been many initiatives and unfilled pledges by leaders such as 1978 "Health for All by Year 2000;" "African [Banjul] Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights" in 1981; or the "World Summit on Children" in 1990.

[74] Delport (2002), 5.

[75] Longwe (2002), 6-7.

[76] Ibid., 2.

[77] Delport (2002), 6.

[78] Longwe (2002), 11.

[79] Zo Randriamaro, "The NEPAD, Gender and the Poverty Trap: The Nepad and the challenges of Financing for development in Africa from a gender perspective." (15 December 2002), Part 1, 4. Available at: http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=921 Also see the impact of neoliberalism upon women in Mozambique James Mittelman *The Gloabization Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 80-85.

[80] World Economic Forum. "The Role of Women in the Nepad" African Economic Summit 2002. (6 June 2002), 2. Available at: http://www2.weforum.org/site/knowledgenavigator.nsf/Content/The%20Role%20of%20Women%20in%20the%20NEPAD_2002ae74.html?open&topic_id=300300000&theme_id=300

[81] Food and Agriculture Organization. "Agricultural response to AIDS crisis urgently needed" (30 June 2003, Geneva/Rome), 1. Also available: http://www.fao.org/english/newsroom/news/2003/19743-en.html

[82] L. Muthoni Wanyeki, "The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD): A brief gender critique," (15 December 2003), 3. Available at: http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=3690

[83] Nsouli (2004), 18.

[84] See Chapter two, note 6 for a list of African trading blocs.

[85] Taylor (2005), 15-43.

[86] Ibid., 32. Francis Nyamnjoh highlights the need to put issues in a historical context in his chapter on state and media, "Media and the State in Africa: Continuities and discontinues," found in Peter Kareithi and Nixon Kariithi, *Untold Stories: Economics and Business Journalism in African Media* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2005), 32-27.

[87] 'Obasanjo Urges Support for African 'Marshall Plan'. Reuters. October 23, 2001. Also see http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/develop/2001/1024marshall.htm

[88] *Cape Times* 15 July 03.

[89] *Cape Times* 24 Oct 02.
[90] *Business Day* 23 May 03.
[91] *Business Day* 4 Dec 03.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Taylor (2005), 91.
[94] Ibid., 58.
[95] Transparency International. *Corruption Perceptions Index 2003*. Berlin, Germany http://www.transparency.org/policy_and_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2003
[96] Human Rights Watch. *World Report 2003: Egypt*. New York, New York. http://www.hrw.org/wr2k3/mideast2.html
[97] *Business Day* 19 Nov 02, 6 Aug 02.
[98] *Cape Times* 7 Nov 02.
[99] *Cape Times* 6 Jun 03.
[100] Taylor (2005), 157-9.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Taylor (2005), 112.
[104] *Business Day* 3 April 02.
[105] *Cape Times* 27 Jan 03
[106] Noam Chomsky, *Turning the Tide: Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace* (Boston: South End Press, 1985), 1.
[107] Bond (2005), 1.

Chapter 5

Terrorism

Terrorism has received an extraordinary amount of attention since the attacks on September 11th, 2001, and the subsequent outpouring of financial and military contributions for the 'war on terrorism.'[1] Both 9/11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have affected global trade, immigration, and national security. Subsequent terrorist attacks in Bali, Casablanca, Istanbul, Jakarta, London, Madrid, Moscow, Najaf, and Riyadh have all contributed to a new international focus on security and terrorism. History has shown that terrorism is not homogenous but comes in many forms; however, a singular view of terrorism has emerged and prevailed since 9/11, a view in which insurgents, extremists, and religious fanatics are the sole merchants of terror. This singular definition is due in part because the war on terrorism serves the ideological and political interests of those who orchestrate it. The United States, the world's leading superpower, and its ally, Britain, set the tone and define the terms of terrorism. This US-UK definition of terrorism is advanced through media outlets worldwide. This study will show how in South Africa, *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* mobilize and shape public opinion for the West while ignoring other forms of terrorism, such as state-sponsored terrorism.

In order to demonstrate the unbalanced media coverage of terrorism in South Africa and how it follows the predictions of the propaganda model, this chapter will be broken down into six sections. First, an introduction will be given and terrorism will be defined. Second, a selection of articles and a review of sources from *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* will be scored and evaluated. Third, a list of who South African English daily newspapers consider terrorists will be enumerated. Fourth, a list of 'paired examples' will be discussed. This process involves looking at how the South African press covered terrorism in Angola, Chechnya, Colombia, and Cuba. Fifth, intellectual and political commentators' thoughts on terrorism will show that most commentators have selective memory about past abuses of the powerful and that they are subservient to power. Lastly, the final section will look at fourth filter of the propaganda model—flak. Flak is the negative responses to media coverage of alternative opinions. Case studies of South African media coverage of Israel and terrorism will illustrate how flak functions to minimise debate.

Introduction

The post-World War II rise of national liberation groups presented significant problems for American hegemony and the countries that enjoyed the favourable investment climate, cheap labour and access to raw materials their dependencies provided. In order to preserve the lapsed profitable system and political hegemony direct intervention was needed (notable examples include, Brazil, 1964; Chile, 1970; Dominican Republic, 1963; Guatemala, 1954; Iran, 1953; and the Philippines, 1972).[2] With the US election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 came a new priority in foreign policy—terrorism. Secretary of State,

Alexander Haig announced in January 1981 that "terrorism" was going to replace "human rights" (which had been large on President Carter's agenda) as the central concern of US foreign policy.[3] As this new agenda took hold, the Soviet Union was identified as orchestrating and coordinating terrorism through its mercenaries: Arafat, Castro, Qaddafi, Tambo, Mandela, and countless others in Asia and Latin America. The Reagan policy framed a dualistic world in which one was either an evil communist or a freedom-loving democrat. Reagan went so far as to argue that the Soviet Union "underlies all the unrest that is going on" in the developing world.[4] A tacit formula was established: any individual or group that opposed Western centres of power or had anti-capitalist leanings (whether through land reform, redistribution of wealth, union formation or nationalistic thoughts) was labelled a communist, while those who fought against communists were labelled freedom fighters. This world view has arguably been followed by every US president since Reagan.

In 1998, US President Clinton's bombing of the al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan was justified by the pretext that the plant was producing chemical weapons, although this was later disproved, making the bombing an act of terrorism.[5] We can see this self –serving formula recycled in George W. Bush's 'war on terrorism' with his statement, "either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists."[6] Under Bush's definition of terrorism, the West and its allies never commit acts of terrorism but only take a defensive stand to fend off the evil empire (as US president Reagan called it) or Al-Qaeda (in the case of Bush) for the survival of the 'free world.' Bush exploited a similar formula in an address to Asian leaders in November 2006 as he highlighted the need to eliminate the latest threat facing humanity:

> The greatest danger facing the world today is for the terrorists to obtain weapons of mass destruction. The terrorists would use those weapons to coerce democratic countries to bow to their aims, or simply employ them to kill people on a massive scale. This threat poses a risk to our entire civilization, and we're working with our partners in the Asia Pacific region to defeat it.[7]

George W. Bush and his predecessors define terrorism by selectively applying it to certain groups like Al Qaeda, Hamas, PLO, and Islamic militants, while at the same time performing the very acts against which they protest, i.e. supporting efforts to destabilize Cuba, Haiti, and Venezuela to name a few. This hypocritical process is not uncommon for people in power and is familiar within Africa and South Africa.

The election in 1948 of the National Party in South Africa ushered in a system of racial segregation known as apartheid. The new white minority government erected new restrictive laws and utilized religion, force, and propaganda to justify an undemocratic two- tier economic, social, and political system.[8] As with most undemocratic political systems, enemies are needed to raise fear within the population and help consolidate power. In South Africa it was trade unions leaders, the Black Consciousness movement, political groups and communists that presented a threat and provided an opportunity for the

minority government to justify their rule. Like in the war on terrorism today, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha made the most of the communist card, raising fears of a 'total onslaught' to rally white South Africans with his 'total strategy.'[9] Mr. Botha, speaking to members of Parliament, said, "the total onslaught exists in that there is, under Marxist guidance, an onslaught on our institutions which, if they were to be destroyed, would cause chaos in this country. It is in view of this that I advocated a total national strategy." His views were reinforced a few years later with the 1982 Steyn Commission Report, which aroused further fears, stated:

> The Soviet Union's aim was world domination. Its methods included subversion, disinformation, psychological war, espionage, diplomatic negotiations, military and economic aid programmes, terrorism and guerrilla warfare. The surrogate forces the Soviets were employing included the ANC, SWAPO, the SACP and other related organisations.[10]

This bi-polar or Cold War worldview is manifested in the West's and South Africa's treatment of African nationalists such as Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, "the foster father of terrorism,"[11] Sam Nujoma and South West Africa People's Organizations (SWAPO) in Namibia and Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress in South Africa. They were all labelled terrorists while in Angola, Jonas Savimbi and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) in Mozambique were not, even though the destruction these leaders inflicted on their respective civilian populations was far more extensive.[12]

US political leaders and the former South African government have used the pretext of 'security' to limit and infringe on civil liberties while expanding their illegal military presence both within and outside their respective borders. For both countries, the media played a decisive role in advancing the state's agenda by arousing fears, eliciting support, and disseminating selective views of terrorism in an effort to manage the population ideologically. During the apartheid years, the South African media was largely government-owned, and subject to a range of censorship laws and State propaganda, whereas the US media followed the tenets of the propaganda model and functioned essentially as stenographers for the government. Briefly, in one system, the state controls the press directly while in the other capital controls the media more indirectly. The current 'war on terrorism' under US George W. Bush and subsequent media coverage by *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* reveal a lot about propaganda in a globalised world. If any country should second guess or be hypervigilant about propaganda it should be South Africa given its history of apartheid-controlled media; however, this chapter will demonstrate that the power of neoliberalism/ capitalism has nearly eliminated critical thought as expressed through the media and erased many of the lessons learned from history.

Before methodology is discussed, a definition of terrorism needs to be established. While there are many definitions of terrorism by both terrorologists and various organisations, the best approach to defining terrorism would be to come up with a single, consistent definition and apply that standard when

examining the evidence against any perpetrators, not just selected unsavoury groups that are deemed undesirable.[13] Since the United States made terrorism an international issue under US Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush then it is logical that a definition from the US is utilized and then consistently applied, including to the US. The US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as:

> the unlawful use of force or violence committed by a group or individual, who has some connection to a foreign power or whose activities transcend national boundaries, against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objective.[14]

This will be the working definition for this study.

Terrorism, in any form or venue, has depressingly affected countless lives all around the world regardless of ideology or politics. The physical and emotional losses are immeasurable to individuals, families, cultures, and countries. While the events of 9/11 are a terrible tragedy, there are other stories around the world and throughout history of people who have been victims of terrorism. Most often, however, these stories are unrecognised in the main stream press, reinforcing the vital need to move beyond conveniently selected cases when studying terrorism.

Methodology

As in the chapters on forestry and NEPAD the same methodology was used in the study of terrorism. The *Natal Witness* reports that only selected articles are posted on their web site.[15]

To understand media coverage and performance of terrorism for the years 2002-2003, the word 'terrorism' was typed into each respective search engine (the results are listed below). The exact number of articles used in the study may differ than those listed in a search for two reasons. First, occasionally an article was repeated in a newspaper search. Second, intermittently an article was not used in the study due to lack of content or a mere passing reference to terrorism.

Business Day:	216 articles
Cape Times:	247 articles
Natal Witness:	104 articles
Total:	**567articles**

These 567 articles provide an adequate statistical and representative sample for evaluating media performance of terrorism. [Specific article dates, titles, and author for each paper can be found in the appendices. Terrorism articles are in Appendices 7-9].

Sourcing methodology and scoring[16]

Below is a list of nine players (sources) that are part of the terrorism debate. The categories are defined and listed in alphabetical order. Editorials and letters to the editor were also be scored. Furthermore, if an article was written by someone outside the newspaper, SAPA, or established journalism channels, then the author was scored as a source. For example, if Greg Mills, Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, wrote an article for a newspaper and it was noted at the bottom of the article, then it was scored.

The same categorizations of sources used in the previous case study of NEPAD will be applied with a few changes. They are as follows:

> ***Academics*:** Individuals who serve institutions of higher learning and are called upon for expert opinion on a matter.
>
> ***Community members or representatives:*** An individual from a community. A community representative may also be a community spokesperson or an attorney. Most letters to the editor, for instance, would fall under this category.
>
> ***Civil society:*** Organisations, institutions, or groups that operate between the individual/family and government. These can include sports, political, religious, or social welfare groups. The options are endless and groups often run the gamut from left to right.
>
> ***Corporate, business, and finance:*** This category includes corporations, local businesses, and finance firms that affect or are affected by NEPAD, such as financiers, shareholders, steel makers, retail vendors, and manufacturers. This category also includes groups such as the like Black Business Council, Chamber of Commerce, and Chamber of Mines.
>
> ***Government:*** Any local, provincial or national governing representative, employee or official from any government around the world. This also includes former government employees.
>
> ***International bodies:*** Institutions or organisations that are representative of larger political bodies. Examples include the African Union, NEPAD, Organization of African Unity, United Nations, and World Bank.
>
> ***Journalists*:** The use of or quoting from other journals or journalists.
>
> ***Other*:** Some sources do no fall into one of the designated categories or they are unidentifiable, some examples include: analysts, development worker, consultants, and former political figures.
>
> ***Terrorist:*** Any group or individual who claims to be a terrorist.
>
> ***Think tanks:*** A think tank is a group of individuals—academics, theorists, former politicians, and/or intellectuals—who are dedicated to research on a variety of subjects and who subsequently produce analysis or policy recommendations. Examples include South African Institute for International Affairs or the F. W. de Klerk Foundation.

These nine categories will be used to score the sources used in each of the 567

articles listed above. Scoring will be as follows: a tick will be marked in each category below when someone is quoted or, referenced, in an article. For example, if an article has four separate quotes from four different sources then four ticks will be marked respectively in each category. If a source is quoted twice, only one mark will be given. A source may only receive one tick per article. For example, a quote from the Department of Trade and Industry would fall under the 'government category.' A letter to the editor would fall under 'community representative' unless the person has a title (i.e. Director of Oxfam or South African Council of Churches) in which case it would fall under the organisation. Once the sources have been tabulated a picture will emerge on the use of sources both as a whole and from each respective newspaper. In theory, sources should reflect the full range of opinions on terrorism from each category identified above. While distribution of sources cannot be equally split among the various players they should be reflective and representative.[17]

Before an evaluation begins, a comparison of the number of sources used in the previous chapters on forestry and NEPAD, versus terrorism can be found in Figure 1:

Average number of sources per article

	Forestry	NEPAD	Terrorism
Business Day	2.1	1.7	2.0
Cape Times	2.0	1.6	2.4
Natal Witness	2.3	2.1	2.3

Figure 1

Note the use of sources in forestry was very similar for all three newspapers. Coverage of NEPAD between the two leading newspapers, *Business Day* and *Cape Times* is virtually identical, while *Natal Witness* is similar to its coverage of forestry. The decrease in the number of sources used in NEPAD can be attributed to at least two factors. First, coverage of forestry often relied on information provided by government and/or timber corporations. Second, coverage of NEPAD is not as concrete and often spills over to other areas such as economics and development. However, the overall use of sources is similar.

Scoring results

There were a total of 1265 sources in the three newspapers combined. Figure 2 highlights the categorical break down of sources for each newspaper:

Terrorism Sources Summary

	Business Day		*Cape Times*		*Natal Witness*	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Academic:	31	7.1%	20	3.4%	12	5.0%
Com Member	17	3.9%	56	9.5%	29	12.2%
Civil Society	21	4.8%	28	4.7%	10	4.2%
Corp/ Bus/Fin:	24	5.5%	54	9.2%	1	0.4%
Government:	244	55.8%	301	51%	115	48.3%
International:	10	2.3%	22	3.7%	2	0.8%
Journalists:	39	8.9%	56	9.5%	45	18.9%
Other:	24	5.5%	24	4.1%	12	5.0%
Terrorists	4	0.9%	8	1.4%	5	2.1%
Think Tanks:	23	5.3%	21	3.6%	7	2.9%
Total	437	100%	590	100%	238	100%

Figure 2

Analysis of sources by category

The importance of the use of sources was discussed in greater detail in the chapter on forestry and will not be reviewed here. Like the previous chapters, what is of interest in the discussion of sources and terrorism is the selection and use of sources. In this section, the use of sources by *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* will validate and expand the predictions of the propaganda model, which are:

- the use of sources pertaining to terrorism will mirror powerful sectors within the world community, i.e. the United States and United Kingdom;
- cultural managers—academics and think tanks—will be used to promote and validate the 'war on terrorism;' and voices and views of terrorists will be negligible and alternative views of terrorism will be present, but marginal.

The use of sources will help define a one-dimensional view of terrorism

Government

An overwhelming majority of sources came from government for all three newspapers in relation to terrorism. Government sources revealed unsurprising patterns, increasing in quantity as the economic status for each paper increase. Hence, *Natal Witness* had 48.3% of all their sources from government, while *Cape Times* had 51% and *Business Day* had almost 55.8%. In sum, government sets policy and the media, the wealthier papers especially so, gladly echo their concerns.[18]

The *Cape Times* had the highest number of total sources for the three papers at 590. One explanation for this is the fact that the *Cape Times* is more international than the other two papers. The *Cape Times* is owned by a European who has papers in many parts of the world. Naturally, the *Cape Times* would be concerned about terrorism due to its role within the world community. As the other papers do, the *Cape Times* follows the lead of the US/UK 'war on terrorism.' This is evident in the use of US/UK government sources: 130 or 44% of the 295 sources came from the US/UK, despite the fact that the newspaper is based in South Africa. The end-result is that the US/UK alliance is able to set the parameters on what constitutes terrorism and who are the terrorists. It should also be noted that there were no major terrorist attacks in either the UK or the US for the years 2002-2003, yet these two countries exert tremendous power in defining the terms in the terrorism debate. Add Israel and Australian government sources to US/UK ones and the number of sources from exterior governments' jumps to almost 50%. Thus, for the *Cape Times,* four countries control half of all government sources in South Africa. This is not the first time a developing country follows or takes cues from powerful nations.

South Africa has long followed the dictates of foreign powers and institutions. In 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) campaigned on a platform, "a better life for all" with a strong emphasis on social, political, and economic reforms and programs for all South Africans. This campaign promise manifested itself in the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). However, by 1996 the RDP was abandoned and replaced with a "Washington Consensus"-modelled programme called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). The new programme did not originate or develop from the people, but was rather co-written by the World Bank. GEAR advocated a neoliberal economic model that advocated a cut in government spending on social welfare, decreased corporate taxes, and increased privatisation of state assets, forestry being one example. The World Bank and the corporate sector have long advocated this model in many developing countries, such as Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile with mixed or negative results at best. NEPAD is another example of South Africa taking its cues from the powerful. These economic policies are not rooted within Africa or South Africa but are advocated for and encouraged by larger capital forces outside the continent. Since South African media are large,

profit-driven enterprises ensconced within the global economy their primary allegiance to profit takes priority over the needs of the many. Regarding the war on terrorism as advanced by the powerful, South Africa, once again follows the West.

Academics and think tanks

Policies, such as 'the war on terrorism' or 'total strategy' are set by government leaders and third parties, while experts, think tanks, and institutions are needed to justify and reinforce government actions. One of the first effective propaganda campaigns came with the use of the "Four-Minute Men" by US President Woodrow Wilson's Committee of Public Information (CPI). Each week,150,000 businessmen, lawyers and other professionals stood up in front of moviegoers to raise support for the war effort against Germany during WWI. The use of the "Four Minute Men" was only a small fraction of the techniques employed by CPI to mobilize and rally Americans. CPI established its own newspaper, *Official Bulletin,* wrote human interest stories, targeted public officials, developed contacts with six hundred foreign language papers, and created posters; in short, all media mediums were used in the campaign with tremendous success to change a passive society into one that fears and despised the Germans.[19]

In more recent times, public relations firms are employed as experts to further a cause. Few forget the public relations campaign led by Hill and Knowlton, Citizens for a Free Kuwait and various others in the run up to the first US invasion of Iraq, specifically the emotional testimony of 15-year old Nayirah before the US Congress that Iraqi soldiers were emptying out incubators at al-Addan hospital. It was later determined, however, that the stories were false and the Nayirah was the daughter of the Kuwaiti Ambassador to the US. Similarly, the use of public relation campaigns has also played a role in the recent war in Iraq as is evident with both the Lincoln Group and Rendon Group's $57.6 million contract from the US government to help plant and sell stories in Iraqi newspapers as well as help propaganda efforts in the US and abroad. It should be noted that $57.6 million dollars is greater than any American news outlets total budget to cover the entire world.[20] Third parties such as these often share a similar world view and are interlocking through shared information, funding (governmental and private), and conservative right wing ideology. This has been recently evidenced in the US with Armstrong Williams, a conservative black political commentator, and his promotion of George W. Bush's education policy, "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB). It was discovered that Williams was paid by the government to write favourable stories about NCLB.[21]

Edward Herman writes about just such links between institutes, think tanks, and experts:

> With the aid of their sponsoring organisations, these experts attend one another's conferences and seminars, serve on the editorial advisory boards of one another's journals, review and write forewords for their colleagues' books, and cite one another copiously. Through this mutually supportive network, these experts establish their facts as true and their

> similar assumptions and opinions as mere common sense. They validate themselves by echoing one another in an information market which they dominate.[22]

In essence these scholars and writers form a special exclusive club and only people who echo the standard line are accepted. Those who deviate outside the range of opinion are labelled, dismissed, and marginalized.

The current view of terrorism espoused by George W. Bush is echoed in South Africa in an editorial in the 2003 Winter/Spring issue of the *South African Journal of International Affairs,* which was devoted to the issue of terrorism. The journal comes from the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), the most important international think tank in South Africa. Like most think tanks, SAIIA receives corporate and foreign government donations.[23] SAIIA National Director, Greg Mills, lists four trends of terrorism: 1) self-generating support; 2) religion-linked terrorism; 3) fewer attacks than in early years, but taking on different forms; and 4) a notable 'dispersal' in the geography of attacks. Mills, echoing Western views of terrorism, draws upon statistics from the US State Department in his attempt to show how attacks have become more costly in terms of the number of causalities.[24] As expected, the article does not mention any acts of terrorism committed by the West. The second article in the Winter/Spring issue, "Africa and the War on Terror" was written by Mills and Jeffery Herbst. They end their article arguing that, "the good news is that terrorism is largely self-defeating."[25] This argument is largely in contrast to the one made by Roy Stacey, a US State Department official, who speaking about the war in Mozambique stated it was "a systematic brutal war of terror against innocent civilians through forced labor, starvation, physical abuse and wanton killings…one of the most cruel holocausts against ordinary human beings since World War II."[26]

Between the years 1980 and 1988, the fruits of these policies (US and South African support for RENAMO) resulted in over a million deaths and untold damage to the infrastructure, in large part due to the millions of landmines many of which are still unexploded.[27] These government- sponsored terrorism policies were not 'self-defeating,' but brought significant change to Mozambique. The leading South African think tank's framing of terrorism in Western terms and the omission of state-sponsored terrorism not only limits any meaningful debate but also allows the powerful to dictate the rules of engagement. Alternative views or unacceptable views of terrorism are largely omitted from the record. This was evident by a statement from the Namibian government official, Theo-Ben Gurirab MP Minister, on the death of Jonas Savimbi in February 2002. He writes:

> Savimbi's death is a case of an object lesson in human tragedy. He had a talent to serve the Angolan people and development in his country. Instead, Savimbi chose the way of terrorism and turned Angola into a land of many killing fields: That's called terrorism. Savimbi became a witting and shameless tool of foreign interests and lived by the brutish law of the jungle, killing and maiming innocent civilians, in pursuit of his blind ambition. Savimbi and his UNITA waged their war of terror, death,

> destruction and darkness for 27 long years after Angola's independence in 1975. With ill-gotten cash, Savimbi bought huge quantities of modern and sophisticated weapons to level villages to the ground, bombard civilian homes, trains and buses, as well as school buildings, hospitals and clinics across the country.[28]

Gurirab accurately frames the magnitude of Savimbi's terrorism. Citizens, mainly women and children, in Angola, Libya, Mozambique, and Seychelles may not view terrorism against their governments as 'self defeating.'

After examining the broader trend of South African think tanks supporting the US/UK war on terror, it is important to examine concrete trends found in individual papers. The propaganda model predicts cultural managers—academics and think tanks—will be used to promote and validate the 'war on terrorism' and that these groups will come from similar interlocking groups, a predication this study of terrorism validates. *Business Day* had 54 sources from academics and think tanks. What is notable is that 36 (67%) came from either the US or UK/Europe, while only 17 (31%) came from Africa. Only one came from the Middle East, despite the prevalence of terrorism there. Again, it is the West that frames the issue.[29]

Not only did sources come from a small handful of countries, they came from a small handful of institutions within those countries. Twenty-three sources came from the following think tanks:

- Atlantic Council of the US
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)
- Chatham House (UK)
- Council for Foreign Relations (US)
- Freedom House (US)
- Institute for Security Studies (RSA)
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (UK)
- Rand Corporation (US)
- Royal United Services Institute (UK)
- South African Institute of International Affairs
- World Economic Forum (EU)

These think tanks follow a Washington or post-Washington Consensus philosophy. These interlocking institutions, which are underwritten by corporations and governments, attempt to explain how nations should think and respond to Western views of terrorism and capitalism. The media takes these sources at face value with little regard for historical facts or the underlying motives of these institutions. For example, the *Cape Times* follows a pattern similar to *Business Day,* having 21 sources from think tanks and 12 (57%) from either the US or the UK. Add Australia and Singapore and the number jumps to 17 (81%). The *Natal Witness* had 19 sources from academics and think tanks and faired slightly better than the other two papers with US/UK sector and the African sector each having 42% of the sources. A pattern emerges in these newspapers: sources outside Africa were given higher priority and were utilized

to shape and colour the view of terrorism. These statistics highlight the fact that in 2002-2003 there was not an independent, indigenous view of terrorism from these newspapers. Instead, these papers arguably acted as a medium for propaganda from wealthy nations in the West who have a vested interest in getting their 'war on terror' supported. A closer look at the academic sources the papers relied on will reveal that it is not just the interest of the country the think tank represents that is being promulgated, but also the corporations behind them.

Figure 3 demonstrates the interlocking relationship between the cited think tanks, showing the large quantity of overlapping board members, corporate members, advisors, and donor corporations:[30]

	Board/Advisors	**Donors/Members**
Atlantic Council	**James Baker III**, Former US Secretary of State	BP
	Frank Carlucci II, Former US Secretary of Defense	ChevronTexaco
	Warren Christopher, Former US Secretary of State	ExxonMobil
	Gerald Ford, Former US President	General Dynamics
	Alexander Haig, Former US Secretary of State	Raytheon
	George Schultz, Former US Secretary of State	Occidental Petroleum
	Brent Scowcroft, Former US National Security Adv.	US Government
Carnegie	**William Donaldson,** Frm. Chair, Securities + Ex, Com.	AIG
	Roger Ferguson, Jr., Vice Chair, Fed. Reserve Bd	Boeing
	William Lewis, Banking	Citigroup
	J. Stapleton Roy, Kissinger Associates	General Electric
		Yukos (Russian oil)
Chatham House	**Tony Baldry,** Member of Parliament	Deutsche Bank
	Sir Brian Crowe, Career Diplomat	ExxonMobil
	Deanne Julius, (BP, Roche, Lloyds TSB, Serco)	GlaxoSmithKline
	Michael Moore, Member of Parliament	Ministry of Defence
	Elizabeth Padmore, Partner Accenture	Saudi Petroleum
CFR	**Madeleine Albright**, Former US Secretary of State	Alcoa
	Thomas Pickering, Former US Ambassador	ChevronTexaco
	R. James Woolsey, Former Director of Intelligence, CIA	ExxonMobil
	Carla A Hills, Former US Trade Representative	GlaxoSmithKline
		Lockheed Martin
		Freedom House
	Carly Fiorina, Former President, CEO Hewlett-Packard	Bradley Found.
	Steve Forbes, CEO *Forbes*	Lilly Foundation
	Anthony Lake, Former National Security Advisor	USAID
	Carlos Pascual, Brookings Institute	US State Depart.
ISS	**Saki Macozoma,** Chairman STANLIB	Business Trust
	Lt Gen L M Fisher, Com. Botswana Defence Force	RSA Government
	Adv Selby Bagwa, Nedbank	Standard Bank
	Thandi Modise, Speaker, NW Province Parliament	USAID
IISS	**Carl Bildt,** Former Swedish Prime Minister	Corporate
	Robert Blackwill, Former US Ambassador	Governments
	Sir Ronald Cohen, Apax Partners	Members
	Moelesti Mbeki, Chairman, KMM Review Publishing	

Rand	**L. Paul Bremer**, Former Presidential Envoy to Iraq **Zbigniew Brzezinski,** Frm. US National Security Adv, **Frank Carlucci II**-Former US Secretary of Defense **Paul O'Neil,** Former US Secretary of the Treasury	ARCO Frank Carlucci Paul H O'Neil ExxonMobil General Electric General Motors The Carlyle Grp.
RUSI	**Vice Admiral Sir Jeremy Blackham** KCB BA **Lt Gen The Hon Sir Thomas Boyd-Carpenter** KBE **Admiral of the Fleet Sir Julian Oswald GCB**	unavailable
SAIIA	**Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma,** RSA Min. of Foreign Affairs **Fred Phaswana,** Chairman Transnet, **Moelesti Mbeki,** Chairman, KMM Review Publishing	Anglo-American Bradlow Found. USAID
WEF	**Josef Ackermann**, Deutsche Bank **Peter Brabeck-Letmathe,** Nestle **Michael Dell,** Dell Computers **Henry McKinnell**, Pfizer **Peter Sutherland,** Goldman Sachs International **Ernesto Zedillo**, Former President of Mexico	Accenture BP Deutsche Bank HP Merrill Lynch Siemens

Figure 3

The donors and members of these think tanks—some of the largest corporations in the world—have interests they want to protect. Many of the major Western oil companies, for instance, support these think tanks in an effort to co-opt intellectuals and encourage pro-oil policies. Corporations are not moral agents but exist to maximize profits, which may include influencing public opinion and policy analysts in order to do so. Conversely, the majority of the population in developing countries, do not have their own plethora of think tanks, experts, and institutions underwritten by government and the corporate sector.

There are alternative views and understandings of terrorism, as well as of forestry or NEPAD, but they are often excluded from meaningful debate. This paper asserts and demonstrates that it is the powerful that set the terms and range of opinion on important matters and it is the weak and marginal that have few resources to be able to enter the debate and therefore influence it. In hypocritical style, George W. Bush preached to the world on the day he started bombing Afghanistan, "If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril."[31] Meanwhile, one of the largest terrorist training camps for the past 60 years, the School of the Americas (SOA) in Fort Benning, Georgia, which is sponsored and run by the American government goes unmentioned in any talk about terrorism. Since SOA's inception in 1946, some 60,000 military personnel have graduated from the school including many notable leaders, such as the following: Guatemala's Rios Montt, who destroyed 448 Mayan villages in an anti-insurgency campaign that resulted in the murder of tens of thousands of citizens; El Salvador's Robert D'Aubuisson, who was the

leader of the infamous death squads which also killed tens of thousands along with Archbishop Oscar Romero; and Chile's secret police leaders under Pinochet. There are many other outstanding SOA alumni who have served in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, and Peru each with an impressive record of repression, torture and human rights violations.[32] The victims of such actions—campesinos in Guatemala, labour workers in Mexico, or nuns in El Salvador—often spoke about being on the receiving end of terrorism; however, despite their voices and despite the massive quantities of dead, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any mentions of this terrorism in the mainstream press.

In essence, terrorism becomes what others do to the powerful, not what the powerful do to the marginal. Edward Herman writes:

> There are other individuals knowledgeable about the issues terrorologists address, but they start from the wrong premises, are not funded by institutions and think tanks of the terrorism industry, and are thus not properly accredited. Furthermore, their discordant views do not mesh well with the commonsense understanding of the issues established by the government, industry members, and press, and they are generally excluded from serious discussions in public forums that reach large numbers of people.[33]

Discordant views must not be ruled out but taken in and used to formulate universal standards we apply to ourselves the same we do to others.[34] Unfortunately, however, South African journalists, editors, and publishers take their cues from a pool of one-dimensional domestic and foreign 'experts' in the field of terrorism and then transmit these views to the South African public through talk shows, conferences, and newsprint. The propaganda model predicts that in the marketplace of ideas and values, dominant firms will attempt to control and influence public debate and will act as a filter to control and regulate information. This filter process has no national boundary but is driven by the market and is proving to be a more effective way to control the population than force or state intervention.

Terrorists

As the forestry chapter indicated, the people who actually perform the work (whether logging, or in this case, carrying out terrorism acts) score exceedingly low. A terrorist source is any group or individual who claims to be a terrorist or is part of a group that appears on a terrorist list. Terrorist sources were the least used for the *Business Day* and the *Cape Times* and third to last for the *Natal Witness*. Terrorist perspectives did not enter into any discussion or understanding about terrorism, root causes of terrorism were not discussed at length, and poverty was discussed only in passing (as something that provides 'oxygen' to pre-existing terrorism). Little socio-economic investigative work was performed by newspapers and very little of the background, motives, beliefs or values of the terrorists were exposed to help shape the debate or facilitate

understanding of terrorism, resulting in a one-dimensional, homogeneous view.

The three newspapers appear to have strayed from journalist standards such as fairness, accuracy, truthfulness, and objectivity. Journalism emphasizes the fact that the press should inform readers, not perform or echo interests of the government. Furthermore, media coverage about terrorism should 'give all sides,' and put information and events into context. For example, 2003 was, like many other years, filled with plenty of terrorist acts outside South Africa: Casablanca (May); Gaza (October); Istanbul (November), Jakarta (August); Riyadh (May and Nov) to name a few, yet there was a void of both background information and terrorist sources as evident below.

Business Day had four sources attributed to terrorists. Combined these totalled eleven sentences out of 216 articles. The first source was a spokesman from an unidentified Islamic militant group which denied involvement in a bombing in India (23 Jan 02). The second was an email sent from a South African group, the Boer Nation Warriors, claiming responsibility for the Soweto and Bronkhorstpruit bombings (17 Dec 02). The third source was Dries Kriel, a South African right winger who knows about the Boeremag[35] but is not considered or identified as a terrorist, although some consider him culpable by association. The final terrorist source was a letter to the editor identifying and quoting Abdul Aziz Rantisi, the leader of Hamas.

The *Cape Times* had eight sources from terrorists, totalling eleven sentences out of the 247 articles. Four of the sources came from the 2002 Bali bombing; three were from alleged leader of the Indonesia group, Jemaah Islamiah, Abu Bakar Bashir (October, 14, 17, 21) and the other was Imam Samudra (13 Oct 03). Two other sources came from individuals participating in events that occurred in South Africa in 1993—former SADF chief, Constand Viljoen on his role in sabotage in South Africa and Ramzi Youssef, the convicted bomber of the World Trade Centre. Another was Muklis Yunos' confession to a December bombing in 2000 in Manila (3 Jul 03). The final source came from Adriaan van Wyk, an alleged leader of the Boeremag. The *Natal Witness* had five sources, four from Boeremag (10 Nov 02; 16 May 03; 12 Nov 03; 13 Nov 03), and one from an Al-Qaeda operative via email (13 May 03).

In brief, little if any understanding about terrorism or terrorist motives is revealed in these sources. Terrorists are consistently seen as 'militants,' 'extremists,' 'religious fanatics,' 'despicable' or part of an 'evil cult.' They are dehumanized and drained of all human emotions or motives.[36] Ultimately, such portrayal of terrorists facilitates Western policies against these so-called terrorists and the nations they come from.

There are some journalists, politicians and terrorologists who feel that the media should not publish, write or provide information about certain terrorists or terrorist acts, even during wartime. The basic theory about limiting terrorist coverage is that terrorists seek attention and legitimacy and that they are masters of the use of media. In this view, terrorists manipulate the media to communicate messages in an effort to capture the public's attention and to cast themselves as liberators, freedom fighters, martyrs or soldiers. If and when journalists write of terrorist acts they are simply unwitting accomplices or

propagandists for the terrorists' goals of media attention and justification. Former US Marine Corp officer and *Washington Post* correspondent Peter Braestrup asserted, for instance, that the media played a negative role in covering the Tet offensive in Vietnam by casting the war in a negative light. Terror expert, Paul Wilkinson writes,

> The media in an open society are in a fiercely competitive market for their audiences, are constantly under pressure to be first with the news and to provide more information, excitement and entertainment than their rivals. Hence, they are almost bound to respond to terrorist propaganda of the deed because it is dramatic news. [37]

In the market place of ideas, terrorists draw in unsuspecting journalists into their deceitful web. Another terror expert, Walter Laqueur states, 'The media are the terrorist's best friend. The terrorists act by itself is nothing; publicity is all.'[38] In this view, governments and or journalists may therefore need to be censored otherwise the terrorists have the detrimental ability to manipulate the media.

This writer does not ascribe to this view outlined by Wilkinson and Laqueur. The terrorist groups they identify do not have the resources to run successful media campaigns through the use of experts, think tanks and institutions.

Who are the terrorists?

It is instructive from both a propaganda and a journalism perspective to examine which terrorists or terrorist actions receive media attention and coverage within *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness.* First, from a propaganda perspective, some terrorists have more appeal than others and subsequently receive more media coverage. Much of the appeal is based, not on crimes or actions but rather on who is on the receiving end of the actions or who is not complying with certain demands and policies by the powerful. Since 9/11, Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda are the current poster children for terrorism since they attacked America and global corporate structures. Likewise, Iran, Iraq and North Korea are part of the 'axis of evil,' while other 'rogue' states like Cuba, Libya, and Syria are just 'beyond the axis of evil.' At the same time, labour leaders, campesinos, teachers, and farmers in Colombia and citizens in Cuba and Angola and many other places around the globe receive little media coverage for horrific actions committed against them, often on a greater scale. These civilian groups have little access to the media and thus are unable to control or even contribute to the coverage of the events which affect their lives. Journalists ideally should 'give all sides' of an issue and be 'independent of government, commerce, or vested interest.' Yet this section will demonstrate that *Business Day, Cape Times*, and *Natal Witness* follow the dictates and rhetoric of the West on who is a terrorist.

Each of the 567 articles on terrorism were read and scored by the following standard. If an article mentioned who performs, supports or upholds terrorism they received a tick. For example, a sentence within a *Cape Times*

article, "Australia has listed the East Asian Islamic group Jemaah Islamiah as a 'terrorist' group…" (28 Oct 02). Or a reference may be as simple as, "Chechen rebels" (*Cape Times,* 29 Oct 02) or 'Islamic terrorism' (*Natal Witness,* 20 Jul 03). If a group was identified as an 'axis of evil' they were scored, since those countries were alleged sponsors of terrorism. If an article identifies 'suicidal bombers,' 'extremists,' 'radicals,' 'militants,' 'religious fanatics,' and 'rogue states,' they were also scored. The following groups were linked and scored together:

- Afghanistan/Taliban
- Al-Qaeda/Osma bin Laden
- Islamic/Muslim
- Libya/Gaddafi
- Palestinian Liberation Organization(PLO)/Arafat/Hamas
- Within South Africa (RSA) two groups: Boeremag and white right wing fringe groups were linked together.

Through this scoring process a picture will emerge on who is considered a terrorist within these three newspapers. Additionally, it will show how the powerful are able to set the parameters of the definition of terrorism within South African newspapers while at the same time the South African media self-censor other notable examples of terrorism. Figure 4 shows the most referenced groups defined as terrorist and the percentage from each newspaper.

Business Day

Group	Total	%
1. Al-Qaeda	40	20.1%
2. PLO	29	14.6%
3. Islam	27	13.6%
4. RSA	24	12.1%
5. Iraq	17	8.5%

N=199

Cape Times

Group	Total	%
1. Al-Qaeda	72	25.3%
2. Iraq	36	12.6%
3. Islam	22	7.7%
4. PLO	22	7.7%
5. RSA	20	7.0%

N=285

Natal Witness

Group	Total	%
1. Al-Qaeda	33	22.0%
2. RSA	19	12.7%
3. PLO	16	10.7%
4. Iraq	15	10.0%
5. Islam	12	6.0%

N=95

Figure 4

Ironically, each list contains the same five groups with differing degrees. Four of the five are the current 'terrorists' of the West. Removing South Africa (RSA) yields some interesting results. For *Business Day,* the four other groups comprise 56.8% of all terrorist references, *Cape Times* 53.3%; and *Natal Witness* 48.7%. It is hard to imagine that these four groups could comprise over half of all terrorism around the world. However, if two countries are leading the 'war on terrorism' then it may be a logical outcome as it is based on these countries' own definition. The United States State Department and United Kingdom's Foreign and Commonwealth Office websites highlight the latest villains and countries that sponsor state terrorism.[39] The list mirrors the grid above and adds an additional

few terrorists, such as: Abu Sayyaf (Philippines), Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA, Spain), Irish Republican Army, Islamic Great Eastern Raiders-Front (Turkey) and Jemaah Islamish (Indonesia and Philippines).

In propaganda campaigns that create enemies, villains, and terrorists it is necessary to portray the person/country as abnormal or even subhuman. Propagandists have used this technique for centuries. What is different today is the ability and precision with which the powerful can manufacture consent and arouse tacit support for state actions. This is evident with the US build up, invasion, and occupation of Iraq. For example, the US Pentagon sought out former US military personnel, many of whom work for military contractors, and provided them with special briefings, trips and talking points for the public all in an effort to shape the perception of the war.[40] These individuals subsequently filled the airways, television stations, and print media with the administrations talking points without revealing their contact with the administration or their association with military contractors. The lead up to the war focused in on an unstable Saddam Hussein's possession of chemical and biological weapons and his development of nuclear weapons. The attributes and/or behaviours of the enemy are framed in a way to illicit fear, suspicion and paranoia thus creating the need for the state to protect the citizenry and thereby eliminate or remove the threat. The state thus sets up a duality in which:[41]

We are innocent.	↔	They are guilty.
We tell the truth—inform.	↔	They lie—use propaganda.
We only defend ourselves.	↔	They are aggressors.
We have a defence department	↔	They have a war department.
Our missiles and weapons are designed to deter.	↔	Their weapons are for a first strike (weapons of mass destruction, dirty bombs)
We are law abiding.	↔	They are criminals, outlaws.
We respect the rule of law.	↔	They are lawless.
We are peace keepers.	↔	They are violent, gangsters from rogue states.
We stand for justice, liberty, and human rights.	↔	They brutalize, repress both neighbours and their own people.
We give foreign aid.	↔	They export revolution and terrorism.
We stand for democracy.	↔	They are tyrants, thugs dictators.

This process of demonizing others is by no means a new phenomenon. In South Africa, the Khoikhoi encounter with white settlers in 1652 resulted in the subsequent labelling of the Khoikhoi as 'ugly,' 'shameless,' 'beastly,' 'thievish,' and 'puny and ill formed.' In Grahamstown, British military commander Harry Smith notes about the Xhosa that the British need, "...to teach everyone to view and treat the Kafir as a beast." The San and Bushmen were branded 'incorrigible banditti,' 'uneducable' and 'unassimilable.'[42] Some recent notable villains who have recently been demonized by the West include: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Yasser Arafat, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Bashar al-Assad, Hugo Chavez, Ho Chi Minh, Islamic militants, Kim Il Sung, Aytollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Manuel Noriega, Slobodan Milosevic, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, Evo Morales, Daniel Ortega, Muammer Qaddafi and the Taliban.[43] Another notable by-product of 9/11 is that almost any violent action is linked to al-Qaeda. This is evident with the Chechnya takeover of a theatre in Moscow in October 2002; the Bali bombing in October 2002; the bombing in Zamboanga, Philippines in October 2002 bombing; and Kenyan bombing in Mombassa in November 2002. A sample of the newspaper language linking terrorists to Al-Qaeda include:

Business Day

- "Islamic militants want to 'sow terror so that everybody will realise and to make people feel that being sympathetic to Americans will not work.'" (5 Feb 03)
- "Al-Assad runs a state that has much in common with Iraq and Iran, both deemed by George Bush to be part of an 'axis of evil.' Syria does not intend abandoning terrorism as a way by which a militarily weak state can harass Israel." (8 Dec 02)

Cape Times

- "terrorists skirt the formal banking system" (15 Sep 02)
- "A few days later it emerged that another, 'rogue state,' North Korea was already in possession of nuclear weapons." (21 Oct 02)
- "poverty does provide much of the oxygen in which terrorism thrives" (28 Oct 02)
- "The eyes of the world are focused on Saddam Hussein and the very real threat posed by his weapons of mass destruction. Hussein has spent years trying to build up his stores, he certainly strives to add nuclear capabilities to that arsenal. If we cannot ensure his disarmament, he will eventually succeed." (31 Oct 02)
- "Russian President Vladimir Putin ruled out talks with rebel Chechen President Asian Maskhadov, describing him as a 'murderer' and saying Maskhadov had 'opted for terrorism' after signing an August 1996 peace treaty." (11 Nov 02)
- "Al-Qaeda is bringing forward operations in areas where it has partners, such as Jemaah Islamiyah in southeast Asia, or where it

has an existing cell structure, as in Kenya. Somalia, the 'failed state' where United States investigators believe the Mombasa attacks were planned, is as ideal for al-Qaeda to work as Afghanistan once was." (2 Dec 02)
- "Yemen is seen in the West as a haven for Muslim militants, including the al-Qaeda network." (31 Dec 02)

Natal Witness
- "Carla del Ponte has likened Milosevic's actions to that of 'medieval savagery' that included cruelty far beyond the bounds of legitimate warfare." (19 Feb 02)
- "Yasser Arafat an 'enemy of the free world'" (31 Mar 02)
- "Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom." (quote from George W. Bush) (9 May 02)
- "[Khalid Shaikh] Mohammed actively recruited terrorists for new attacks against American at home and abroad and is alleged to have worked to develop radioactive 'dirty' bombs." (2 Mar 03)
- "Iraqis… will control their own future once the 'nightmare' of Saddam Hussein is over." (10 Apr 03)

Powerful Western forces are able to define and identify who is considered a terrorist and South African newspapers follow their dictates. For example, earlier in history, Osma bin Laden and Saddam Hussein were both supported and revered in the US as allies for US covert purposes; now they are labelled as 'terrorists' or some other negative label that is ideologically serviceable.[44] In 1998, activist and scholar Eqbal Ahmad captured the power of the United States in the English-language newspaper *Dawn*:

> Who will define the parameters of terrorism or decide where terrorists lurk? Why, none other than the United States, which from the rooftops of the world sets out its claim to be sheriff, judge and hangman, all at one and the same time.[45]

South African newspapers fail to 'give all sides' of the terrorism issue and to be 'independent of government, commerce or vested interest.' It is important to examine how activist voices like Ahmad's may get through to mainstream media and how alternative perspectives of terrorism, such as views which include state terrorism, are received.

Range of expressible opinion: Paired examples

The previous section illustrated that selected terrorists were routinely lifted up and vilified in an ideologically serviceable way and that this was conveyed in media coverage. In an effective propaganda system, enemy crimes will be elevated while the crimes of the powerful will be minimized or will simply go down what George Orwell dubs 'memory hole'. This section will demonstrate that *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness,* conform to the interests of the

powerful by omitting serious acts of aggression by the powerful. This will be done by examining media coverage of state-sponsored terrorism in Angola, Chechnya, Colombia and Cuba.

Angola

After independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola became a place of substantial conflict with the number of deaths ranging from a half million to two million people and the number displaced ranging from 400,000 to four million. During the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa, the US, Zaire (Democratic Republic of the Congo), and other western countries supported efforts to destabilize the new government though the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), while on the other side, Cuba, the Soviet Union, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Eastern Bloc supported the government-led Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—Party of Labour (MPLA). The 1987 Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, "Africa's largest land battle since World War II," resulted in foreign forces' withdrawal from Angola and set the stage for an election between José Eduardo dos Santos (MPLA) and the 'freedom fighter' Jonas Savimbi (UNITA). Prior to the election Jonas Savimbi both threatened and foreshadowed Angola's future with, "If I don't win, I won't accept the result."[46] José Eduardo dos Santos won the September 1992 election, Savimbi protested, and the civil war continued. The West and its allies created and supported Jonas Savimbi until his death in February 2002. His nefarious war of terror against civilians, the environment and the government is long and impressive.[47] He was able to wage war against the population through various funding sources: governments (Israel, South Africa, US, and Zaire), think tanks (Heritage Foundation), and the selling of diamonds to South African diamond conglomerate De Beers. While the pretext of the Cold War was removed in the late 1980s, Savimbi's voracious campaign continued through the 1990s often creating tremendous humanitarian crises not reported in the press.[48]

There were zero references to the terrorist carnage of UNITA and Jonas Savimbi in *Business Day, Cape Times* and *Natal Witness.* However, *Business Day* had an article about the death of Savimbi entitled, "Fresh start for Angola and its diamonds" (26 Feb 02) with a by-line of—"Savimbi's death opens investment opportunities for companies, but no one is keen to rush to unstable country." The focus of the article was not about what had transpired over the previous 27-year civil war supported by the West, but rather future business opportunities. Furthermore, a LexisNexis search of *Business Day* was conducted typing in the words 'Angola' and 'UNITA' for years 2002-2003 and four articles were found, that were not a part of the original search listed in the appendix. The first article, "Angola offers chance for new start in region" (10 Sep 02) is by Greg Mills, National Director of South African Institute of International Affairs, and extols the visit of US Secretary of State Colin Powell to Angola. While the article highlights the plight of the Angolan people, Mills whitewashes any culpability of the current conditions in Angola by South Africa, the United States or UNITA. Instead, he blames the Angolan government:

> A country ranked the world's 13th most underdeveloped. More than 4-million, a third, of it population is displaced, and nine out of 13 million-million live on less than a $1 a day (R10 for 2002). This is all the most striking in mineral rich Angola—the second- largest African oil producer after Nigeria and fourth-largest diamond producer worldwide. It is a land of huge contrasts, with about 2 million refugees living in appalling conditions on Luanda's surrounding hills. …Only 40% of the population has access to safe water and sanitation; and life expectancy is only 44 years. …Most important, it has meant the war no longer serves as a "national" issue, simultaneously deflecting attentions away from government mismanagement and lack of delivery.

A cheerleader and advocate for the West, Mills states the real reason for Powell's visit: "US policy is shaped primarily by its strategic economic interests, with Angola now supplying about 10% of US oil imports."[49] The brutal terrorist acts that left the country in tatters is simply not stated.

The second 363 word article, "Angolan reconstruction creates opportunity" (26 Sep 02) also underscores US oil needs. The third and fourth articles were written by *Business Day* correspondent Claire Keeton, "Angola picks up the pieces after decades of war" (3 Mar 03) and "Angolan rulers battle to integrate former foes into a scarred society" (4 Mar 03) and participate in a similar blame game and denial of the past. The opening sentences of the 4 March 03 article sets the tone:

> UNITA soldiers returning after a decades-long civil war find that the infrastructure and commitment form the government to support them is inadequate. The Angolan government has largely failed to keep the promise it made following last April's cease-fire and if it does not act to defuse mounting dissatisfaction of almost half a million UNITA former combatants and their dependents, this could threaten the restoration of peace.

Note that UNITA members are soldiers, not terrorists, and they find both the infrastructure and government support inadequate. Keeton fails to mention that UNITA had a 27-year campaign to destroy the infrastructure, blowing up buildings, power plants, bridges, roads, and schools.

Chechnya

In the 1990s Chechnya, rich in material wealth, attempted, like other states within the former Soviet Union, to break away and gain independence. Attempts by Chechens to seek independence were met with military force and brutality. During the first Chechen war it is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 people died, mostly civilians. In 1996, the Russian army meeting strong resistance signed a cease fire.

In the fall of 1999 a series of night time bomb blasts killed almost 300 people in Moscow and immediately Chechen rebels were blamed, providing a

pretext for Russian intervention.[50] It was estimated that 200,000 to 500,000 people died or went missing in action as a result of the two wars. The number of displaced persons was enormous in this mainly Muslim republic. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Open Democracy, Médecins Sans Frontières, and the World Health Organization documented the torture, rape, indiscriminate killings and illegal detentions committed by Russian troops, none of which appeared in *Business Day*, *Cape Times*, or the *Natal Witness*. The World Health Organization report in February of 2003, "concluded that 86 per cent of the Chechen population was suffering from physical or emotional 'distress.'"[51] As Russian repression escalated, Chechen rebels selected targets outside Chechnya as evident with the mass hostage taking at a Moscow theatre in 2002 and the Beslan school hostage crisis in September 2004. However, the attacks by Chechen rebels increased the justification and consolidation of Russian state interventions. After the October 2002 Moscow theatre killings, Putin, like George W. Bush and Tony Blair, sounded the trumpet that Russians' very survival was at stake. Blair defines the issue in support of Russia, "terrorism coming from extremists operating out of Chechnya….I have always taken the view that it is important that we understand the Russian perspective on this."[52] The pattern of lifting up an enemy to consolidate powers is a familiar refrain by powerful states and this case is no exception.

Media coverage of Chechnya falls within a predictable framework of identifying Chechen crimes while minimizing greater crimes against the civilian population. A website search of the *Cape Times* indicated 44 articles about Chechnya with the majority of articles focused on Chechen rebel actions or Russian responses to Chechen actions. One article, "Lives of tens of thousands have been lost in Chechnya" (25 Oct 03), addressed the number of displaced and dead while another article, "Atrocities in Chechnya mirror Moscow drama" (29 Oct 02), had eight sentences about Russian crimes, including the gang rape of an eight-year-old girl and her mother, the killing of the girl's father and two brothers. The eight sentences also mentioned mass graves, extrajudicial killings, detentions, torture and sexual abuse by Russian forces. This was the total sum of Russian aggression from 44 articles within the *Cape Times.*

The *Natal Witness* had six specific articles about Chechnya that dealt with the take over of the Moscow theatre by 50 Chechens and the subsequent death of both the rebels and over 100 hostages.[53] Several articles spoke about President Putin's firm support of the US and the 'war on terrorism.' There was little context given about the relationship between Chechnya and Russia other than it was 'a bloody conflict.' On the outskirts of the debate, London correspondent Gwynne Dyer offered criticism about the media in "Covering terrorism" (28 Oct 02). However, her comments were more about media coverage of terrorism than the political context of Chechen independence. *Business Day* had a total of 15 articles about Chechnya and followed a similar pattern of providing little context for the conflict and lifting up Chechen crimes. To preserve and justify state power, blame is a device that is used to deflect attention away from state abuses. For example, Russian prosecutor general Vladimir Ustinov stated that a June 2003 bombing had nothing to do with Russia

but came from the outside: "We did not have suicide attacks in Chechnya before. This came from other countries," and that Chechen tactics "are increasingly reminiscent of the suicide attacks used by Palestinians."[54] Further justification of the war comes from Anatol Lieven, from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "The only real option for Russia…was to hang on for as long as it took to wear down the other side until it abandoned terrorism and accepted a solution within the frontiers of the existing state."[55] Ultimately, regardless of the author or the newspaper source, the trend was to ignore the state's role in sponsoring terrorism against Chechnya or acknowledge the legitimacy of any Chechen claims.

Colombia

Colombia has a very similar socio-economic history comparable to South Africa during apartheid. Colombia, comparable in size and population to South Africa, has high levels of poverty paired with massive inequality, a government run by the few, and active state repression, all comparable to apartheid. The social and economic indicators below are telling for the period in review (2002-2003):

- **Poverty:** In 2003, 67% of the population lived below the poverty line.[56]
- **Division of wealth:** In 2003, Colombia had the ninth most unequal division of wealth in the world.[57]
- **Oil:** Colombia is the 7th largest oil seller to the US and has vast reserves.[58] British Petroleum (BP) has extensive oil investments [£2 billion (ZAR 25.5 billion rand)] in the Casanare department of Colombia.[59]
- **Military aid:** Colombia is the third largest recipient of US military aid, behind Israel and Egypt.[60] Britain is the second largest military supporter of Colombia behind the US.[61]
- **School of Americas:** Colombia has sent more students to the School of Americas than any other Latin American nation.[62]
- **Human rights:** Colombia is the leading human rights violator in the Western hemisphere.
- **Forcible displacement:** Between 2000-2002, 2.75 million people were forcibly displaced.[63]
- **Union leaders:** In 2002, 85% of all union leaders killed worldwide were in Colombia.[64]
- **Political violence:** Between July 2002 and July 2003, 6,978 people were murdered or disappeared for political reasons, while the numbers were 7,426 and 6,621 for the same period ending in 2002 and 2001.[65] Paramilitary groups committed 75-80% of the crimes.[66] In September 2003, 80 human rights groups in Colombia accused President Uribe of promoting terror against civilians.[67]

The US has long considered Latin America its backyard and has intervened over 80 times in various countries. When direct interventions were not used, the US attempted to de-stabilize governments that did not follow US dictates.[68] US

involvement with Latin America and Colombia has been justified through a series of mythical, biblical, and rhetorical veils: the cold war, the war on drugs and the new war on terrorism. In Colombia and elsewhere, the US has propped up and advocated for strong military states that attempt to eliminate unwanted challenges to neoliberalism and top-down democracy.[69] The end result is that anyone who works to change the lopsided political and economic equation is branded subversive, similar to conditions in South Africa under apartheid. Teachers, union leaders, human rights workers, church leaders, investigative journalists, environmentalists, social workers, and others who criticize the government are all suspect of aiding and/or supporting communists, drug lords, narco-guerrillas, narcoterrorists, or now, just 'terrorists.' One of US statecraft's traditional tools to maintain the status quo is supporting and training of counter-insurgents to fend off challenges from the population.[70] In such a manufactured world, all too familiar to South Africans, a country can declare a state of emergency and basic human rights can be subjugated to an expanding military in the name of democracy and/or security. Meanwhile, violators of human rights stand outside the spheres of justice. Doug Stokes, lecturer in International Politics at the Department of International Politics, University of Wales, Aberystwyth summarizes:

> The new US war of terror in Colombia performs the same function as the earlier war on drugs: it provides a propaganda pretext for the continuing militarization of Colombian society so as to destroy armed groups and progressive elements of civil society that are seen as a threat to US interests.[71]

In the US and Colombia, the press echo government assertions that it is the guerrillas or subversives who are the plague within Colombia, when in reality the vast majority of crimes committed against the populace are done by the government or their proxies, which are heavily subsidized by US taxpayers.[72]

South African media coverage of terrorism in Colombia for the three newspapers consisted of five sentences out of 567 articles; three sentences were in the *Cape Times* about a bombing attributed to the guerrilla group FARC (2 Feb 03) and two sentences were in *Natal Witness* identifying a popular terrorist group in Colombia as being anti-capitalist.[73]

This is the sum total a South African is going to learn about the plight of Colombia despite horrifying conditions for large sectors of the population. The carnage and long-term damage in Colombia is just as great if not arguably greater than what occurred on 9/11, yet it is removed from public debate and memory altogether. When it is discussed the 'range of expression' about terrorism is defined so narrowly that it benefits the powerful and not the majority.

Cuba

Cuba has suffered more terrorism than any other country on the planet. For almost 50 years, the island and its inhabitants have been engaged in a constant vigil from both US aggression and US-sponsored hostility, which is unmatched in

contemporary history. The extensive acts committed and/or supported by the US government against Cuba are extraordinary.

Besides direct military attacks and the covert plans of Operation Mongoose, Cuba has experienced biological and chemical attacks, kidnappings, bombing of Cuban foreign embassies and numerous assassination attempts against Fidel Castro and other members of the Cuban community.[74] Further violence includes the US imposed travel restrictions for US citizens and an illegal economic embargo against Cuba, which has been condemned by almost every major international body.[75] Additionally, the US government has threatened companies that trade with Cuba.[76] Recently, paramilitary groups, based in the US have targeted Cuba's infrastructure and tourism sectors. Throughout this period of antagonism, the US government and various exile groups have broadcasted Radio Martí, TV Martí, and other broadcasts into Cuba in an effort to undermine the current Cuban government, which is in violation of International Telecommunication Union regulations. Multiple forces, mainly in South Florida, have been supported and mobilized in an effort to overthrow the Cuban government.

Anti-Castro groups, based in the US, vary widely in scope and actions and receive money from a variety of sources, including individuals, institutions (National Endowment for Democracy), think tanks (Freedom House), and the US government (USAID).[77] George W. Bush has advocated for increased funding for a "transition from repressive control to freedom" and the US State Department set up a US Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, which has put out several reports, one of which was 500 pages and included 21 federal agencies. In July 2006, George W. Bush approved $80 million dollars (ZAR 568.5 million) for "fostering democratic change in Cuba."[78] While George W. Bush stated on many occasions that "anyone who shelters a terrorist is a terrorist,"[79] he himself is facilitating the fostering of terrorists in South Florida, and using his brother, Jeb Bush, the governor of Florida, to facilitate such policies. It was Jeb Bush who was able to deliver Florida to the Republicans in the 2000 and 2004 US national elections as he elicited support from anti-Castro voters.[80]

The story of the Cuban Five sheds further light on the hypocrisy of the US 'war on terrorism.' Cuba, tired of relentless attacks by mercenaries from the exile community in South Florida, decided to send five Cuban nationals to America to infiltrate exile groups. The five Cubans were never armed nor did they seek state secrets; their task was to monitor mercenary activities and report back to the Cuban government. Eventually, the Cuban Five traced evidence to terrorist activities of several exile groups and subsequently reported their findings to the US in the hope that the US government would respond, since the US was fighting a war on terrorism. The US government's response was not to take action against the exile groups, but rather to arrest, try, and sentence the Cuban Five to long prison terms for espionage conspiracy against the United States and other related charges.[81]

This segment will not deal with the illegal detention and human rights violation of 'enemy combatants' on the US military based in Guantanamo, Cuba. Democracies around the world pledge and attempt to adhere to various civil and

human rights treaties and protocols such as: the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, Nuremberg Trials, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, the writ of habeas corpus, UN Convention Against Torture and rules outlined in the Geneva Convention yet the worlds only superpower selectively adheres the principles.[82] Additionally, Cuba did not implement the Bush Doctrine of 'pre-emptive strikes' against people who may represent a sufficient threat to national security. The US has been and continues to be a real threat to the Cuban people and Cuba has, like plenty of other nations, tried to use the international community to assist with the relentless hostility and provocation.

This sordid history of aggression is readily available and known to the world community. However, *Cape Times* and *Natal Witness* had zero references to the above actions in the articles reviewed. *Business Day* had three sentences on how the US had successfully used sanctions to deter and contain the Soviet Union while the success of sanctions against Cuba were 'unclear.'[83] In short, this lack of discussion and coverage of Cuba is self-censorship.[84]

The above illustrations demonstrate a pervasive pattern of both terrorism and self-censorship about serious terrorist acts. These individual and state-sponsored terrorist acts create far greater humanitarian problems than lone and sporadic acts of terrorism. The human face and cost—countless Angolans, Chechens Colombians and even Cubans being killed, the destruction of infrastructure, and the intimidation and fear within each country—is beyond comprehension. The carnage and misery is even worse in Afghanistan and Iraq. British author and journalist Mark Curtis uses the term 'unpeople' to refer to those who are "deemed worthless, expendable in the pursuit of power and commercial gain." They are modern day equivalent of 'savages.'[85]

Sadly, the propaganda model predicts a similar pattern of self-censorship in media coverage of: Afghanistan, Brazil, Egypt, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Despite the rhetoric, terrorism is not just a weapon of the weak; it is also a weapon of the strong. Furthermore, the above acts, and countless others around the world, have gone on with impunity. Meanwhile, the West has appropriated the term in a selective manner and South African journalists have swallowed the storyline, diminishing the term and more importantly the human tragedy. It is notable that the above interventions, direct military attacks, aiding of regimes and funding of terrorists are direct violations of internationally recognized agreements such as the Treaty of Versailles, Nuremberg Principles, and Geneva and Hague Conventions. Chief US Counsel Justice Robert H. Jackson powerfully reminded the world during the Nuremberg Tribunal the need for a universal principle of international law:

> If certain acts of violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them, and we are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us. …We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow. To pass these defendants a

> poisoned chalice is to put it to our own lips as well.[86]

Stated slightly differently, Chomsky asserts:

> Among the most elementary of moral truisms is the principle of universality: we must apply to ourselves the same standards we do to others, if not more stringent ones. [87]

The previous two sections, "Who is a terrorist?" and "Paired examples," demonstrate the use of a two-tier system of applying the definition of terrorism. On one hand, there is the propaganda's use of the word, which exempts the West and was embraced by market-driven South African media. On the other hand, there is the expunged, literal definition, which is significantly greater in scope and magnitude when applied universally. The latter conception of terrorism is forcefully excluded by the powerful, who are able to utilize a vast network of resources to frame select villains, exonerate their own role in terrorism, and limit opposition to these actions.

Range of expressible opinion: Intellectuals

Self-censorship and the lack of objective voices reveal much about the current state of journalism and intellectual culture. In the modern era, two contrasting views of the role of intellectuals have emerged. The first view emerged from Edward Bernays, the father of modern public relations, in his 1928 work, *The American Journal of Sociology*:

> Public opinion …is the power of the group to sway the larger public of its attitude. Public opinion can be manipulated….Group adherence is essential in changing the attitudes of the public. Authoritative and influential groups may become important channels of reaching the larger public.[88]

Bernays helped develop and master the use of experts to sway public opinion for corporations and governments.[89] While Bernays may have been one of the first to speak and write about the role of intellectuals, the notion that intellectuals provide service to power has been closely been followed for the beginning of time.

The second, less common view of the role of intellectuals comes from Noam Chomsky. Chomsky states, "It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and to expose lies."[90] For Chomsky, intellectuals should not fall prey to corporate or social pressures, but rather speak the truth and uncover falsehoods even though he has pointed out that there can be considerable personal and professional costs for speaking the truth.[91] Therefore, on one hand, intellectuals can be utilized to reinforce the status quo or justify actions by the state or powerful, on the other hand, intellectuals can rip away the veil of abuse, untruths, and in the case of terrorism—propaganda.

This section will examine two leading intellectuals and one political

commentator and their views on foreign policy and terrorism during 2002-2003. These three individuals are well respected public intellectuals and they were in positions to influence the public sphere. In a democratic society, it is vital for citizens to evaluate the comments of political pundits and address specific contents, highlight omissions, and address biased assumptions and/or conclusions. This section will demonstrate these commentators had selective memory in relation to history and they were subservient to the prevailing power structures. The point of the section is not to prove that they were simply misinformed or that they were charlatans but rather to highlight the systematic intellectual bias that existed in the South African English press during the period under review and the subsequent consequences it had for the country's understanding of terrorism post 9/11.[92]

Greg Mills

In 2002-2003, Greg Mills was the National Director of the South Africa Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).[93] Mills' article, "Coalition Campaign myths need to be debunked" (11 Apr 03) lays out and attempts to refute five myths related to the war in Iraq:

1. The US president is an intellectually-challenged warmonger, with little idea of what he is getting into, hell-bent on finishing what his father started.
2. This is about oil.
3. This represents some sort of holy war led by the US and UK against Muslims.
4. The US-led coalition would be sucked into a military quagmire, not unlike Vietnam.
5. The post-1945 international political system has been ruptured with serious and negative implications.

In 2007, it is clear that all the myths that Mills tries to counter actually were not myths at all. George W. Bush had no clear idea of what he was getting into nor did the administration have a plan for reconstruction. Iraq has since turned into a 'quagmire,' which was confirmed and documented even by conservative elements within the US, such as the Iraqi Study Group (Baker-Hamilton Commission). Contrary to Mills' assessment, the war and occupation were about oil. Iraq has the second largest reserves in the world and US policy planners have prioritized interests in the Middle East since the end of WWII. The US State Department described Saudi Arabian energy resources as "a stupendous source of strategic power, and one of the greatest material prizes in world history." US President Eisenhower also described the area as the "most strategically important area of the world." The importance of this area was echoed by Britain in 1947 as "a vital prize for any power interested in world influence or domination."[94] The final myth Mills tries to dispel is that US unilateral actions are reasonable and may in fact "strengthen the world body, making it more decisive in terms of addressing human rights violations within nations and so redefining

sovereign norms." Setting aside the legal implications of such a statement, the UN has been clear about aggression toward Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Palestinians.[95] Additionally, when the US illegally invaded Iraq a month earlier in March 2003, Mills fails to state that this violated Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter. The international laws, ratified by the majority of world's powers present clear guidelines on the use and misuse of force and clear definitions of what constitutes 'aggression.' As outlined by the United Nations and the Nuremburg Principles of 1950 the US invasion is an act of aggression.[96]

A second article, "September 11 attacks put Africa on US policy map," (08 Jul 03) demonstrates Mills commitment to America. The article reviews George W. Bush's visit to Africa in 2003 and then quotes a US National Security Strategy source stating how 9/11 taught the US that weak states can pose a great danger to the US. Mills goes on to define terrorism as "violent acts against a civilian population by nonstate actors," then lists several African suspects. The most notorious UNITA terrorists, however, are conveniently left off the list. The article further suggests that weak African states "offer sanctuary and succour to terror movements." Simon Mann's quest, however, to overthrow the government of Equatorial Guinea in March of 2004 was financed by Western interests not weak African states. Mills also believes that:

> widespread conditions of conflict and poverty create a breeding ground for alienation and radicalisation, offering recruits to the cause of terror groups. 40% of Africa's 700 million people are Muslim, highlighting the danger posed by the pathology of violent, fundamentalist Islam to western interests. …Africa's 250 million Muslims could make the continent ungovernable.

To reinforce his point, he quotes an American who says, "Africa is unfortunately the world's soft underbelly for global terrorism."[97] This narrow one-dimensional view of terrorism—that terrorists are poor Muslims—borders on religious discrimination and is simply inaccurate. Finally, Mills states that, "the good news is that terrorism is largely self-defeating." South Africa's proxy wars against Angola, Mozambique and much of Southern Africa were anything but self-defeating in the eyes of South Africa at the time. American wars and interventions in Vietnam, Nicaragua, Panama, Grenada; Russia's conflict against Chechnya; or Turkey's confrontation against the Turkish Kurds are also not self-defeating in the eyes of the terrorists or aggressor.

A third article by Mills, "Critics who say US faces new Vietnam can think again" (22 Sep 03), is concerned with the growing trend of US-targeted terrorism. Mills quotes terrorism trends and statistics from the US State Department, including the number of attacks, the number of casualties per incident, the 'dispersal' in geographic attacks, and the increasing link with religion. Parroting an America script Mills conveniently leaves out terrorist acts in Angola, Central and Latin America and parts of Asia.[98] He similarly fails to deal with the devastating effects of the Vietnam War which left the country obliterated and bankrupt.

The final article, "Suicide Bombings" (27 Nov 03), deals with issues

between Israel and Palestinians and regurgitates the standard US view of the Middle East. Mills lists the number of successful suicide attacks against Israel since the Intifada began in 2000. It appears that Mills is incapable of seeing actions against the Palestinians as violence or recognizing that Israel has consistently violated UN resolutions. Over one hundred UN resolutions have been passed to encourage Israel, the largest recipient of US aid, to comply with basic principles of international law as embodied in the UN Charter. Many of the resolutions denounce activities taken by Israel and call upon Israel to comply with previous resolutions that Israel disregarded and continues to ignore to this day. For example, on 5 December 2001, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) wrote:

> In accordance with the number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and the by International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, which reflect the view of the international community, the ICRC has always affirmed the *de june* ["as a matter of law"] applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the territories occupied since 1967 by the State of Israel, including East Jerusalem. This convention, ratified by Israel in 1951, remains fully applicable and relevant in the current context of violence.[99]

The ICRC called upon Israel to end its "grave breaches" of the Geneva Convention.[100] The UN General Assembly and Security Council also reaffirmed the Fourth Geneva Convention and the need for Israel to follow international law in a 20 December 2001 Resolution in which they expressed their full support of the ICRC declaration:

> *Reaffirm* that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949 [Fourth Geneva Convention], is applicable to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967;
>
> *Demand* that Israel accept the *de jure* applicability of the Convention in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and that it comply scrupulously with the provision of the Convention.[101]

The international community (except the US and Israel) is quite clear that Israel needs to follow previous UN Resolutions.

In short, Mills, representing the leading intellectual think tank on foreign affairs in South Africa, lacked independence in his thinking and instead echoed US views on terrorism. His views are ultimately used in a way Bernays outlined earlier—"public opinion can be manipulated. …Authoritative voices [Mills] and influential groups [SAIIA] may become important channels of reaching the larger public." Napoleon learned two centuries earlier that it was not necessary to repress the news, it was only necessary to delay it until it no longer mattered.[102] Mills was able to help shape the initial debate within South Africa about the war

on terrorism despite being misinformed. Both Mills and SAIIA have the appearance that they provide careful research, well thought out arguments and sound judgments. However, it is apparent that Mills was simply a transmission belt for the powerful. There was an opportunity for the leading intellectual think tank to speak out about the war, and possibly help prevent immeasurable carnage, but in this case it failed to do so. Building upon Bernays, Mills words are reminiscent of Orwell's famous maxim: "In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible."[103]

John Stremlau

John Stremlau, an American, was the Head of International Relations at Witwatersrand University and Co-Director of the Centre for Africa's International Relations in 2002-2003, Stremlau has worked for the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, the Rockefeller Foundation, the World Bank, and the US State Department. He had twelve articles in *Business Day* that addressed terrorism. While living and working in South Africa, Stremlau's articles skilfully reflect his host country's support of US unilateralism and the pre-emptive strike principles advocated by George W. Bush:[104]

> This [George W. Bush's new foreign policy] marks [Bush II new foreign policy] a change in US national security strategy that has sought to deter threats at least since the onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s. …SA [South Africa] is right to remain wary of US unilateralist tendencies. (12 Jun 02)
>
> America's radical new doctrine of "preventive" war, adopted after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, fundamentally alters traditional norms allowing the use of force only in self-defence. Washington regards Iraq as only the first battle in another epic struggle in which traditional doctrines of containment and deterrence no longer work. (18 Mar 03)

During the frenzied debate and hype about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction many nations advocated using the United Nations to resolve the issue. South Africa was one of the voices in this large choir. Stremlau, again repeats South African wishes, "Pretoria's defence of the UN serves the nation's interests and shows international leadership" (8 Oct 02). Slightly more centrist than Mills, Stremlau joins the bandwagon about the threats of terrorism and echoes the West when determining what he sees as a threat:

> But in an era when most countries oppose terrorism and back the disarmament of Iraq—but also worry about the implications of the US doctrine of pre-emptive military action—Pretoria's defence of the UN serves the nation's interest and shows international leadership. (8 Oct 02)
>
> [T]he unexpected attacks against the US on Sept 11 has reinforced interest in Nepad, as it promises to address the political and economic conditions in Africa that breed and feed global terrorism. (12 Feb 02)

> [Bush II and his advisors] agree on three strategic assumptions. Future terrorism against the US could involve weapons of mass destruction; States hostile to the US that possess or seek such weapons could use them to intimidate neighbours and empower terrorists to attack the US; and "preventative war" may be a necessary and legitimate response to this threat. …Most governments including SA [South Africa] acknowledge the US is under threat. (22 Jan 03)
>
> The US's second mission will be to strengthen US co-operation with all the major powers, including Russian and China, to solve regional conflicts, defeat terrorism and better manage the forces of globalisation. (12 Jun 02)
>
> Voluntary international backing for America's global grassroots campaign against international terrorism will be crucial. (8 Jul 03)

Stremlau conveniently leaves out Russian terrorism against Chechnya or China's attacks in the northwestern province of Xinjiang, or how the US and China have both intimidated neighbours economically, politically, and militarily.[105] Implicit in his remarks, just as in Mills', is that acts of terrorism are committed by the weak not the powerful. If Stremlau is really concerned about stopping terrorism, then the best place for him to start is his own country. While Stremlau hesitates about US unilateral intentions, he clearly sees the need for a strong US to resolve international issues:

> Rarely does the global media refer to a country's foreign policy as grand doctrine. The most famous and successful was the US strategy to contain the Soviet Union. (13 May 03)
>
> During the Cold War US interventions typically produced friendly autocratic governments able to repress weakly rooted communist forces. (30 Apr 02)
>
> In retrospect most would now regard armed interventions as justified if Germany's Adolf Hitler could have been deposed before the Second World War, or to prevent more recent acts of genocide in Cambodian, Rwanda and the Balkans. (22 Jan 03)
>
> Bush's visit to former Nazi death camps reminds the world of the best case for preventive intervention, but without admitting to recent US failures to prevent genocide in Bosnia, or worse Rwanda. (3 Jun 03)

Stremlau never condemns the invasion and occupation of Iraq. Furthermore, his statements above about the Cold War and preventing genocide could also be true in areas where the West has substantial influence and/or has supported slaughter, such as, Angola, East Timor, El Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, and Vietnam, to name a few.[106] Stremlau adheres to the conventional model, as laid out by George Kennan after WWII that the US had to 'contain' the Soviet Union.

Also, the sheer number dead, missing, and tortured during the Cold War is substantially higher in areas of Western control (250,000 dead in Guatemala; 80,000 dead in El Salvador; 200,000 dead in East Timor, and so forth).

Although Stremlau may not be as quick as Mills to advocate and justify US military intervention, he does follow the standard understandings of power and terrorism. Looking solely at Southern African, Mills and Stremlau completely whitewash the devastating long-term consequences of South African/US supported terrorist interventions in Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Allister Sparks

South African Allister Sparks is a political commentator and journalist.[107] Sparks he was worked tirelessly for a free press and a democratic South Africa. During the apartheid years his political writings took on a combative tone against the government and abuses of power. He has won many distinguished international awards and honours. While he was editor for the *Rand Daily Mail* he helped expose the Muldergate Scandal in 1979.[108] In 1992, he founded the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism which has trained thousands of journalists. However, despite his enormous contribution to South Africa his writing about terrorism during 2002-2003 are unexpected.

Sparks accurately lists several things wrong with the current war on terrorism: creation of more terrorists, 'sexed up' reports, and post-war construction. He also advocates that all nations, especially the US, need to follow the rule of law and UN mandates and believes the US erred in killing Hussein's sons. He also points out the hypocrisy of US treatment of prisoners of war at Guantanamo, Cuba, but fails to mention, the much larger and greater crime of the US terrorist campaign against the island. Three times Sparks states, "terrorism has always been the weapon of the weak," which fits with the conventional thinking about terrorism, even if he is somewhat more critical of the US. Sparks does not mention any terrorist activities by the powerful. Furthermore, he argues that terrorism is:

> a powerful new dialectic between the forces of globalisation and those who fear and hate it, and are lashing out in a despairing rage. Globalisation and a religious and ethnic fundamentalist reaction against it: that defines the world we now live in, the world of September 11, of the war on the Taliban and the war on Iraq, of George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden[109]

This one-dimensional view of terrorism does not hold up to the most elementary of conflicts, even the ANC's campaign against apartheid was not about globalisation. The article "Another Vietnam" attempts to show that the current situation in Iraq is similar to Vietnam with one slight variation, "the jihadists know no boundaries."[110] The article indicates that Americans can defeat any power with straight military force, but they are not adept at fight a 'guerrilla-style' war and that has resulted in the inability to win over the 'hearts and minds' of the Iraqi

people. While there are some similarities between Iraq and Vietnam which Sparks does not address—such as, half truths, outright lies, human rights violations, secret bombings, and little popular support for the occupation—there are considerable differences that are left out. Vietnam was bludgeoned and bombed by the United States almost to the point of extinction. Setting aside, the millions of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian deaths and displacements that ravaged the countries, and the even larger numbers affected by the spraying of chemical weapons, the countries' infrastructure was left in tatters. The US was not going to allow Vietnam or other areas of Southeast Asia to be affected by a 'virus' or 'rotten apple,' i.e. nationalism. This resulted in the virtual destruction of three countries. Sparks' "Another Vietnam" analogy may be a great lead, but it barely scratches the surface regarding the abuse of power both at home and aboard.[111]

These three writers within the terrorism search fall within the acceptable 'range of opinion,' or as Chomsky would argue, the 'bounds of the expressible' regarding the discussion of terrorism. The writers fall within "the spectrum to be bounded by the consensus of powerful elites while encouraging tactical debates within it."[112] Through remaining within these bounds these writers have contributed to misinforming South African citizens and denying them of valuable information needed to make informed decisions.

Flak in the case of Israel

Israel, the largest recipient of US aid, is an ally in the 'war on terror.' The propaganda model predicts that media coverage of Israel will follow similar blueprint of having an identified villain(s) who does terrible deeds while the similar if not worse actions of the powerful are minimized or justified. Of the twenty-six articles pulled from the pool of terrorism articles in *Business Day* for years 2002-2003, sixteen of the articles described events and conditions in the Middle East and ten articles involved flak.[113] Herman and Chomsky write:

> "Flak" refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. It may take the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches and bills before Congress, and other modes of complaint, threat, and punitive action.[114]

The majority of the sixteen articles were sympathetic to Israel and focused on Palestinians' aggression and hostility. The first four stories in 2002 highlight this sympathy.

The first article, "Third suicide attack in Israel in a week" (28 Jan 02), states:

> A Palestinian suicide bomber wounded dozens….Two days ago a Palestinian suicide bomber killed himself and wounded 25 people in Tel Aviv. Last Tuesday, a Palestinian gunman killed two Israeli women. ...US President George Bush said: "I am disappointed in Yasser Arafat. He

> must make a full effort to root out terror." The explosion occurred near…where a Palestinian suicide bomber killed 16 people in August. …At least 821 Palestinians and 248 Israelis have been killed in the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation.

Over three times more Palestinians were killed, yet the thrust of the story is about what Palestinians have done to Israel.[115] The next article, "Sharon vows to push ahead with campaign" (12 Mar 02) similarly sides with Israel:

> Israeli has pounded Palestinian security compounds from the air and conducted large-scale ground operations over the past week in what it calls an antiterrorism campaign as Israelis reel from a wave of bombings and shootings that has hit their cities. At least 1022 Palestinians and 333 Israelis have been killed since the uprising.

Almost two months later the same three-to-one ratio the first article mentions exists. However, the attack on Palestinian security areas goes without comment or consideration of international law. Six days later another article appears, "Attacks in Israel upset peace efforts" (18 Mar 02) which states, "…Arafat was still wedded to terrorism." The fourth article, "Envoys seek Israeli withdrawal" appears on 2 April 02 and states:

> In diplomatic reaction to the rising conflict, Saudi Arabian leaders blasted Israel's 'barbaric' offensive against Palestinian towns and Arafat's offices, charging the Jewish state with having rejected the Arab peace initiative. …"Arafat is in isolation, and he is going to remain so until the end of the terrorist threat."

While the propaganda model shows tendencies toward self-censorship and exclusion of alternative voices, it does not exempt the possibility of alternative viewpoints seeping into the discussion, as is evident with the Saudi comment. But the overall thrust and the majority of viewpoints fall within an acceptable 'range of opinion.'

For example, in the section, "Who are the terrorists," *Business Day* had identified 199 terrorists from 216 articles. Many of the identified terrorists were recognized and coded several times with Al-Qaeda receiving the most references. Looking at the Middle East the PLO had 29 or 14.6% of the total references attributed to being terrorists while Israel had 3 or 1.5% references of being a terrorist. For *Business Day* the PLO was referenced almost ten times more than Israel. The *Cape Times* the PLO had 22 or 7.7% from 284 terrorist references and Israel had 6 or 2.1%, a 3.7 ratio. The *Natal Witness* had 16 or 10.7% references out of 150 for the PLO compared to 4 or 2.6% for Israel for a 4.1 ratio. It is not surprising that there is an inverse relationship with the three newspapers despite the killing and carnage indicates the complete opposite.

A similar pattern of coverage continued in the remaining articles, underscoring the point that flak became a tool to counter the slightest indication or accusation of Israeli misdeeds. The ten articles of flak included comments by Shimon Peres, Israeli Foreign Minister; Bheki Khumalo, Presidential Spokesman

defence of President Mbeki; Jewish Board of Deputies; SA Zionist Federation; and citizens. Four of the ten flak articles responded to articles/letters that were outside the 216 articles collected for this study. Musa Sithole, Research Director for Global Justice Foundation writes:

> As Israel continues its current genocide against a captive civilian population, I am concerned about the safety of more than 1000 Palestinians detained by Israeli Defence Forces.[116]

Sithole continues on to list the international human rights treaties and protocols that Israeli actions violate and laments the lack of action by the United Nations. The first emotive response to Sithole comes from David Saks, SA Jewish Board of Deputies:

> Musa Sithole's letter…is depressingly indicative of how far finger pointing, distortions and shrill invective have clouded the reality of what is going on in Israel and Palestinian territories. …The facts are clear: brazenly, and quite cold-bloodedly, the Palestinian leadership has abandoned the negotiations table and embarked on what can only be called a systematic campaign of mass murder to achieve it goal.[117]

The second flak letter comes from David Woolf, legal counsel for EMET SA. Woolf attempts to defend Israeli actions by Palestinian actions, an eye for an eye understanding, while also stating that Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Jordan attacked Israel in May of 1948. While it is nearly impossible to come up with justifiable reasons why international standards should not be applied to all nations, neither Saks, Woolf, nor the US are able to justify not following and adhering to international law and treaties.

The second set of flak letters addresses an article by Shannon Field, Deputy Director of the Institute for Global Dialogue, an independent South African non-governmental organisation broadly concerned with how key issues in international affairs affect South Africa, southern Africa, and Africa as a whole. In the article, "Get more Middle East mediators" (10 May 02), Field is concerned about water supplies, the destruction of the West Bank's Jenin refugee camp, and a sovereign Palestine. Field logically raises the question why one nation (the US) facilitates and mediates the peace process, especially when it operates out of self-interest. Field suggests a principle, advocated by Mandela that a coalition of big powers broker a peace deal. Bev Goldman from SA Zionist Federation does not deal with Fields' ideas or particulars, but lashes out against Arafat and then resorts to outright lies:

> Investigations have discovered that 90% of the terrorist acts in the Middle East have been carried out by groups directly responsible to Arafat and the 10% the work of Islamic groups that are affiliated to him but not under his direct control.[118]

The second response to Field comes from David Woolf. Adapting an eye for eye mentality Wolf states, "Palestinian ambulances were stopped because they were

found to be conveying arms (against the Geneva Convention.)" Woolf's claim's about ambulances is rather dubious if one was to read human rights groups.[119] In his justification of Israeli force, he lists how Palestinians, "triggered off homicide bombs," "used children as human shields," "booby-trapped dead bodies," and how they butchered their suspected collaborators. Woolf ends his article justifying Israeli actions based on Arafat's 'path of terrorism.' The litany and language of Woolf and Goldman are remarkable, but as Mahatma Ghandi, argued "an eye for an eye makes the world blind." The United Nations, Human Rights Watch, International Committee of the Red Cross, B'Tselem (Israeli Human Rights group), and Amnesty International have all written reports about Israeli military action in Jenin. While the reports vary and cover the aggression on both sides the main concerns of the reports are Israeli actions.[120] Newspapers, however, only modestly covered Israeli actions, omitted reports from international recognized groups, and failed to mention the principles outline in the Fourth Geneva Convention.[121]

Flak serves to counter allegations, undermine claims, and/or provide pertinent information. This process puts writers on the defensive and conditions them to be selective on how they word or put together stories in fear of being attacked or vilified for speaking out. This is evident in the United States where the political right deliberately and successfully attacked the 'liberal' media in an effort to move coverage to the right. In South Africa, this study shows a similar trend.[122] Flak, along with selective coverage that implicates Palestinians as purveyors of terrorism implies that Israel is taking the moral high road and is doing all that it can to preserve and maintain peace while it occupies and destroys land in the occupied territories. Missing from much of the South African coverage of Palestine is what living conditions are like under occupation—lack of water, poor healthcare, unemployment, discrimination, detentions, beatings and the destruction or dismantling of houses. Sadly, there are numerous personal testimonies from Palestinians and international aid organisations that rarely make it into South Africa news.[123] The lack of omission about suffering and injustice is not unique within world history.

A 2002 report by an Israeli human rights group, B'Tselem, addresses the issue of settlements in the West Bank:

> Israel has created in the Occupied Territories a regime of separation based on discrimination, applying two separate systems of law in the same area and basing the rights of individuals on their nationality. …This regime is the only one of it kind in the world, and is reminiscent of distasteful regimes from the past, such as the apartheid regime in South Africa.[124]

The negative consequences of a two-tier system are well known to older South Africans and should be addressed loudly and clearly within the media. When the death rates run 4 Palestinians to 1 Israeli or even 3 to 1 it is impressive that coverage defended the powerful and minimized the lost lives and social conditions of the Palestinians.[125]

Conclusion

We live in a world where citizens are tortured, suspects are held without charges, governments tap phones, international law is marginalised, and powerful governments churn out record amounts of propaganda. Since 9/11, all these actions have occurred with the re-emergence of the 'war on terror.' As in prior wars, fear and prejudice were instruments used to drum up radical shifts in both domestic and foreign policies in a variety of countries. The 'war on terrorism' has thus become an organising principle of all aspects of daily life in society, allowing the states and the US to roll back civil rights, abandon certain human rights, and consolidate power, all in the name of security. For the powerful, the war has no definable end, thus allowing continued strengthening and militarization of state powers, which has eroded centuries of democratic gains.[126] Yet the world is not safer.

All this propaganda is reminiscent of South Africa's 'total strategy' but on a much larger scale. The South African media, with its extensive history, would expose distortions and lies and lift the veil of secrecy and report about the propaganda machine. Surely, the post-apartheid South African media would be a watchdog on abuses of state power and the erosion of civil rights. As the propaganda model predicts, in a market-driven media, this will in all likelihood not happen; instead, the media serves as a conduit to whip people into submission for significant global changes. There were moments when the hypocrisy was partially exposed, but for the most part the South African media followed the directives of the world's largest economy through the use of sources and through the defining of terrorism. The media was not able to show the hypocrisy of simultaneously promoting terror in one location and fighting it in another.[127] Rather, the South African media played an instrumental role in negatively shaping public opinion by reinforcing stereotypes, ignoring substantial aggression by the powerful (as illustrated in paired examples), and echoing propaganda created/issues by those organising the 'war on terror.' While there is a supposed free press in South Africa, when it comes to reporting serious issues, one begins to see limits therefore restricting the publics understanding.

American media critics John Nichols and Robert McChesney state one measure of an authentic media system in a democracy is the ability of journalism and the media to accurately and fairly cover elections and monitor government's war making powers. These two media critics argue that "War is the most serious use of state power: organised, sanctioned violence."[128] The burden of proof necessary to justify war is high and rarely satisfied, yet this chapter has demonstrated that intellectuals, reporters and editorial boards jumped on the US 'war on terror' bandwagon with little regard to history, international law or the definition of terrorism. This chapter has demonstrated that in a market-driven economy, anti-western 'scoundrels' were lifted and identified as the only sponsors of terror.

This is not the first time in history that people (terrorists) have been feared, demonized, and then subsequently destroyed. The Aborigines, Incas, Khoikhoi, Kurds, Māori, Mayan, Native Americans, Xhosa, and Zulu have all been in a

similar spot as those who are currently identified as terrorists. The 1946 words of Nazi war criminal Hermann Goering are hauntingly familiar:

> Why, of course, the *people* don't want war… But, after all, it is the *leaders* of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a Parliament or a Communist dictatorship…[V]oice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country.[129]

Like WW II, the financial and human cost of the 'war on terror' is staggering. While the US has created much of the disaster, choices were made and new choices can still be made. Africa and much of the developing world suffers from poverty, disease, environmental degradation and a host of other social ills. Despite the United States' 'war on terror,' another world is possible if nations join together and collectively organise for new priorities that move beyond fear, destruction, and narrow self-interest. The media can play an instrumental role in that transformation by reclaiming journalism standards, challenging existing power structures, exposing lies, and supporting activities and endeavours that foster democracy.

[1] See Naomi Klein, *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007) for illustration on how the US has used disasters to usher in new socio-economic and political regimes around the world.

[2] Edward Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan, *The "Terrorism" Industry: The Experts and Institutions that Shape our View of Terror* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), 13. The tradition of extending the powerful's political and military tutelage to developing countries continued through 1980's and 1990's with attacks in Grenada, 1983; Haiti, 1991, 2004; Iraq 1991, 2003; and Kosovo,1998. The policy continues to the present day with an increased focus on the 'axis of evil'— Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. Venezuela's Hugo Chavez has also arguably been added to this list.

[3] Ibid., 22.

[4] Stephen Shalom, *Imperial Alibis. Rationalizing US intervention after the Cold War* (Boston: South End Press, 1993), 1.

[5] Norman Solomon, *War Made Easy* (Hoboken: Wiley and Sons, 2005) documents how every US President since John Kennedy has used a standard formula for US intervention aboard. He shows how presidents and pundits build an agenda for war through a series of rhetoric and framing of issues. Some of the techniques used for setting the stage for military interventions aboard include: America is a fair and noble superpower; interventions involve saving American lives; American leaders will do all they can to avoid war and would never lie to the public; the recipient of American intervention is demonized; the United states is simply defending human rights, and final techniques used for interventions aboard is that the US is taking a defensive position.

[6] George Bush, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People." Washington, DC: September 20, 2001. Retrieved from: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html

[7] Gerry J. Gilmore, "Bush: Terrorism threatens U.S., Asia," *American Forces Press Service*. 19 November 2006, Washington. Retrieved from: http://www.defenselink.mil/news/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=2163

[8] The use of religion to justify the separation of races in South Africa was not invented in 1948 with the election of he National Party. In 1857, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) passed a synod resolution which permitted the separation of racial religious services. Over the next 91 years the DRC played a pivotal role in the lives of Afrikaners by providing teachings and leadership of the culture and tradition which resulted in an Afrikaner identity and nationalism. Since Afrikaners suffered from British rule, their identity was linked to that of the Israel in Egypt. In 1948, Dr. D. F. Malan became prime minister and stated, 'Our history is the greatest masterpiece of the centuries. We hold this nationhood as our due for it was given to us by the Architect of the universe. [His] aim was the formation of a new nation among nations of the world. …The last hundred years have witnessed a miracle behind which must lie a divine plan. Indeed, the history of the Afrikaner reveals a will and a determination which makes one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the work of men but the creation of God.' Thus, the DRC church provided the fuel for both identity formation and nationalism which resulted in an ideology of superiority and separation. The secret society of the *Broederbond* also provided well argued intellectual positions to maintain the Afrikaner identity and the fulfillment of God's will. John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 1-1-99. For further information on the DRC and race see *Human Relations in South Africa,* adopted by the General Synod in 1966 and *Human Relations and the South African Scene in Light of Scripture,* adopted by the General Synod in 1974. For a history of South Africa see Leonard Thompson, *The History of South Africa,* Third Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[9] 'Total Strategy' was a series of domestic and regional policies that attempted to preserve Apartheid and fight off those forces (communism) that opposed Apartheid, particularly communism.

[10] The SANDF NODAL POINT. *Submission IRO The Former SADF*. Presented by Maj. Gen B. Mortimer SA Defence Force Involvement in the Internal Security Situation in the Republic of

South Africa. Retrieved from: http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/submit/sadf.htm

[11] Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, *Apartheid Terrorism: The Destabilization Report* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 74.

[12] Ibid. Also see Tony Gifford, *South Africa's Record of International Terrorism* (*London*: A joint SWAM/AAM publication, 1981); Sean Gervasi, "Secret Collaboration: US and South Africa Foment Terrorist Wars," *CovertAction Information Bulletin, no. 22 (Fall 1984)*, *36-42;* and Joseph Hanlon, *Beggar Your Neighbors: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986). For example, in the 1980's, in Central America, the Contras were called "Freedom Fighters" in the US, as they blew up schools, day care centres, and clinics because it advanced US ideological interests in the region. See Holly Sklar, *Washington's War on Nicaragua* (Boston: South End Press. 1988). For information about the United Kingdom's role within the world see Mark Curtis, *Web of Deceit. Britain's Real Role in the World* (London: Vintage, 2003).

[13] There are many legal definitions of terrorism from states and international governmental bodies, including: Organisation of African Unity (July 1999); Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (April 1998); Convention of Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism; United Kingdom, Anti-Terrorism Act, (2000); India, Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, 2001; Russia, Article 205 of Criminal Code of 1997; France, French Penal Code(arts.421-1et seq). Furthermore there are many scholars: (Wilkinson, Milbank, Jenkins) who also have also given definitions of terrorism.

[14] William Blum, *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower,* Second Edition (London: Zed Books, 2003b), 32. The British definition is similar, 'Terrorism is the use , or threat, of action which is violent, damaging or disrupting and is intended to influence the government or intimidate the public and is for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.' Mark Curtis, *Web of Deceit. Britain's Real Role in the World* (London: Vintage, 2003), 93.

[15] *Business Day* and *Cape Times* both noted that special sections, supplements, and surveys are not found on the web. The electronic retrieval system for the *Natal Witness* had an abnormality for the search for February 2002. During the search 101 articles appeared; however, almost all the articles were from 5 Feb 02. It was evident that not all the articles were written on that day, many were from 2001. Four articles were selected from Feb 02. The first article 'Anthrax scares' appears to come from 2001, as the anthrax scares in Washington occurred starting the week of 18 September 2001and lasted several weeks. The article is useful for its reflection on terrorism.

[16] See forestry chapter for a more through discussion on the importance of sources.

[17] If an article was written by two authors from the same group then one tick was given. If an article was written by two authors from different locations then two ticks were given.

[18] Solomon (2005), 43, 50, 106-107. Solomon highlights how the American media habitually relies on official US sources in any run up to a war. Specifically, The Tyndall Report shows how the reliance on agenda setting sources framed the most recent war in Iraq. The Tyndall Report examined the media coverage of the war six months prior to the launch of the war by the three main US television markets ABC, CBS, and NBC. They found that 90% of the 414 stories about Iraq had originated at the US State Department, the Pentagon or the White House.

[19] Stuart Ewen, *PR: A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 102-127.

[20] Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber, *The Best War Ever: Lies Damned Lies, and the Mess in Iraq* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 29-35.

[21] Michael McManus and Maggie Gallagher were also paid under the table by the White House to write favourable stories. See, Robert McChesney and John Nichols, *Tragedy and Farce: How the American Media Sell Wars, Spin Elections, and Destroy Democracy* (New York: New Press, 2005), 52.

[22] Herman and O'Sullivan (1989), 142-143.

[23] South African Institute of International Affairs. Annual Financial Statement for year ending 30 June 2005. Retrieved from *South African Institute of International Affairs* website: *http://www.saiia.org.za/images/upload/AR2006Financials.pdf*

[24] Greg Mills, "Editorial: Terrorism Issue." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 10

no.2(2003): 7-8. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.

[25] Jeffrey Herbst, and Greg Mills, "Africa and the War on Terror," South *African Journal of International Affairs 10* no.2 Winter/Spring(2003):39. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. Note that in the same journal, Christopher Clapham's, article "Terrorism in Africa: Problems of Definition, History and Development," also delves into the issue of terrorism, but neither article mentions, UNITA in Angola. For an older study of western state sponsored terrorism in Southern Africa see Sean Gervasi and Sybil Wong's article, "The Reagan Doctrine and Destabilization of Southern Africa" in *Western State Terrorism* edited by Alexander George (Cambridge: Polity-Blackwell, 1991), `212-253.

[26] Sean Gervasi and Sybil Mong, "The Reagan Doctrine and the Destabilization of Southern Africa," in *Western State Terrorism,* ed., Alexander George (Cambridge: Polity-Blackwell, 1991), 244-245.

[27] Shalom (1993), 146.

[28] Theo-Ben Gurirab, *Governments Reaction to Jonas Savimbi's Death.* Windhoek 25 February 2002. http://www.grnnet.gov.na/News/Archive/2002/February/Week5/savimbi_rpt.htm

[29] John Stremlau, taught at Wits University, is an American who worked for both the US State Department and the Rockefeller Institute. Francis Kornegay, who also taught at Wits, is also an American. In this evaluation of sources both these people were scored as American sources, not as African sources.

[30] All information was taken from the think tank's own website in February 2007.

[31] George Bush, "Presidential Address to the Nation," October 7, 2001. http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html

[32] "Backyard Terrorism: The US Has Been Training Terrorists at a Camp in Georgia for Years—and Its Still at It," Guardian *of London,* 30 October 2001. Also see, http://www.commondreams.org/views01/1030-02.htm

[33] Herman and O'Sullivan (1989), 143.

[34] Noam Chomsky, *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), 3.

[35] Boeremag (Boer Force) was an alleged group of white South Africans separatists who wished to overthrow the current government.

[36] Solomon (2005), 203. Solomon draws upon the work of US media scholar Dan Hallin's study of media performance in Vietnam and how the Vietcong were viewed in television coverage as 'fanatical,' suicidal,' 'savages,' 'halfcrazed.' They were viewed as lower than criminals…they were vermin. Television reports routinely referred to area controlled by the NLF as 'Communist infested' or 'Vietcong infested'.

[37] Brigitte Nacos, *Mass-Mediated Terrorism. The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism.* Boulder, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 29.

[38] Walter Laqueur, *Harpers.* "The Futility of Terrorism," (March *1976*), 104.

[39] Taken from the following websites: United States, Department of State is required to inform Congress of foreign terrorist groups, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/45323.pdf United Kingdom, Foreign Commonwealth Office http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/ct_strategy.pdf

[40] *New York Times,* 20 April 2008. David Barstow's article, "Behind Analysts, Pentagon's Hidden Hand" described that analysts who did not echo the Bush administrations points were denied access to further special meetings. He goes on to state, 'These records reveal a symbiotic relationship where the usual dividing lines between government and journalism have been obliterated.'

41 Adapted from Sam Keen. *Faces of the Enemy. Reflection of the Hostile Imagination* (New York: Harper Row, 1986), 16-51.

[42] Emile Boonzaier, Candy Malherbe, Andy Smith and Penny Berens. *The Cape Herders. A History of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996) 59. Lester, Alan. "Reformulating Identities: British Settlers in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, Vol. 23, No 4 (1998): 524. Shula Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteen Centuries," The Journal of African History Vol. 13, No 1(1972): 55. Also see, Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and*

the founding of White South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985).

[43] Demonizing US adversaries has been a staple of US foreign policy since 1950 with National Security Council NSC 68 or sometimes referred to the Nitze Doctrine. Andrew Bacevich writes, '[Nitze] demonstrated the advantages of demonizing America's adversaries, thereby transforming trivial concerns into serious threats and serious threats into existential ones. He devised the technique of artfully designing 'options" to yield precooked conclusions, thereby allowing the analyst to become the de facto decision maker. He showed how easily American ideals could be employed to camouflage America ambitions, with terms like *peace* and *freedom* becoming code words for expansionism, Above all, however, Nitze demonstrated the inestimatable value of sowing panic as a means of driving the policy-making process.' Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalsim.* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008) 113.

[44] Norman Solomon and Eric Erlich, *Target Iraq: What the News Media Didn't Tell You* (New York: Context Books, 2003) provides analysis of George W. Bush's vilification of Iraq and Saddam Hussein during a speech Bush gave on 7 October 2002.

[45] David Barsamian, *Eqbal Ahmad: Confronting Empire* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2000), 94.

[46] Karl Maier, *Angola: Promises and Lies* (London: Serif, 1996), 74.

[47] Piero Gleijeses, *Conflict Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa.1959-1976* (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2001) provides a good history of Cuba and Washington in Africa, especially Angola.

[48] See Sean Healy, "Angola The Crisis You Aren't Hearing About," June 01, 2001 http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=1373. Saul Landau, "Remember Angola," June 17, 1999, http://www.zmag.org/Sustainers/content/1999-06/june_17landau.htm. *Doctors without Borders* December 30, 2002. http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=2811.

[49] *Business Day* 10 Sept 02

[50] Several groups have alleged that it was the Russian secret services that planted the bombs. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_apartment_bombings

[51] World Health Organization "The mental scars of Chechen children," 6 February 2003 http://www.hrvc.net/news2-03/7c-2-2003.htm; Amnesty International http://www.amnesty.org/russia/chechnya.html; Medecins Sans Frontieres "Chechens: forced to return," 28 June 2003, Open Democracy http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-caucasus/article_1388.jsp; Human Rights Watch "Recommendations to UNHRC—Chechnya," at the 56th "UN Session on Human Rights. See, www.hrw.org/campaigns/geneva/chechnya.htm Also see, "Justice for Chechnya: European Court of Human Rights against Russia," May 2007. Human Rights Watch http://www.hrw.org/eca/2007/justice_for_chechnya.pdf

[52] Mark Curtis, *Web of Deceit: Britain's Real Role in the World* (London: Vintage 2003), 171.

[53] Using the *Natal Witness* website a new search was conducted with the word Chechnya, which produced six articles: Tension mounts a hostages crisis lengthens (24 Oct 02); Horror of the poison gas (27 Oct 02); Pyrrhic Victory (28 Oct 02); Covering terrorism (28 Oct 02); Chechnya (letter)(28 Oct 02); Terror attacks (letter)(31 Oct 02)

[54] *Business Day 6* June 2003.

[55] *Business Day* 31 Oct 2002.

[56] Mario Murillo, *Colombia and the United States: War, Unrest and Destabilization* (New York: Seven Stories Pres, 2004), 195. Increased gloablisation has made things worse for the majority of the population as evident with the 1999 poverty rates, which 55% of the population was below the poverty line and 79.7% in the rural areas. The UN states that 10% of Colombia rich have 46.1% share of the national wealth, while the bottom 10% have 1.1%. Grace Livingstone, *Inside Colombia: Drugs, Democracy and War* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 76, 4.

[57] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_income_equality. Colombia had the same rating in 2000. Grace Livingstone, *Inside Colombia: Drugs, Democracy and War* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004) 78.

[58] Murillo (2004), 137.

[59] Curtis (2004), 149. Financial information was listed in British Pounds. The number in

parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the Pound to Rand ratio was to take the yearly average of the exchange rate from 2000-2003. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate for was 12.77989 Rand to a British Pound.

[60] Colombia received $3.67 billion dollars in US assistance between 1997-2004 of that $3.01 went to military and police. Washington Office on Latin America "Plan Colombia 3 year Anniversary Report Card." http://www.wola.org/Colombia/plan_col_report_card03.pdf

[61] Mark Curtis, *Unpeople: Britain's Secret Human Rights Abuses* (London: Vintage, 2004), 148.

[62] Livingstone (2004), 5.

[63] Murillo (2004), 86. Another 105,000-125,000 are living as refugees in neighbouring countries.

[64] A 184 union workers were killed in 2002. In 2003, 123 trade unionists had been murdered in Colombia. Doug Stokes. *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia* (London: Zed Books, 2005), x. The Colombian trade union congress, *Confederacion Unitaris de Trabajadores* (CUT), estimates that since 1986, 3,800 union leaders and activists have been assassinated. Many others have fled their homes due to death threats. Grace Livingstone, *Inside Colombia: Drugs, Democracy and War* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 12.

[65] Ibid., 203. There were 7,426 and 6,621 for the same period ending in 2002 and 2001. Note that the total for the three years is 21,025 or seven times that of those killed on 9/11, yet little is reported in the press. This lack of publicity indicates that some victims are more worthy than other victims. See, "War Without Quarter: Colombia and International Humanitarian Law," *Human Rights Watch*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1998), 18 for previous years. Amnesty International estimates that 60,000 have died in Colombia between 1985 and 2003 as the result of internal conflict, 80% of them are civilians. Grace Livingstone, *Inside Colombia: Drugs, Democracy and War* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004) x. For worthy and unworthy victims see Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 37-86. For further human rights abuses visit the websites of Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch.

[66] Doug Stokes, *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia* (London: Zed Books, 2005), 128. Mario Murillo (2004) writes the military was responsible for 70-75% the killings and disappearances in the 1980's and now it is paramilitary groups that are 70-75% responsible. Hence, there was a shift from the military to paramilitary groups over the past two decades.

[67] Isabel Hilton, "Terror as Usual," *The Guardian.* 23 September 2003. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/sep/23/colombia.comment

[68] Ibid., 147.

[69] There are numerous Latin American examples of top-down democracies: Chile, Dominica Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, Nicaragua, and Panama.

[70] After WWII, the chief US architect of containment was George Kennan. Doug Stokes, in his book on Colombia, examines many declassified US documents. He writes this about Kennan, '… in dealing with communism in Latin America the final answer "may be an unpleasant one" but the USA "should not hesitate before police repression by the local government." Kennan considered this repression not only to be strategically necessary but also to be ethically correct, as "the Communists are essentially traitors." He continued, it "is better to have a strong regime in power than a liberal government if it is indulgent and relaxed and penetrated by Communists." Doug Stokes, *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia.* (London: Zed Books, 2005) 1. Kennan's words have been heeded through out much of the developing world as evident with such leaders as Somoza, Batista, Marcos, Papa Doc, Trujillo, and Mobutu Sese Seko.

[71] Stokes (2005), 109. Stokes also draws on the work of George Monbiot speaking about the US 'is now involved there in a "war on terror." Before September 2001, it was a "war on drugs;" before that, a "war on communism." In essence, however, US intervention in Colombia is unchanged: the remains, as it has always been, a war on the poor.' Stokes (2005), 11.

[72] Former US Attorney General John Ashcroft designated one Colombia guerrilla group, FARC the 'most dangerous international terrorist group based in the Western Hemisphere.' Colin Powell, former US Secretary of State compared FARC to Al-Qaeda by suggesting there is no 'difficulty in identifying [Bin Laden] as a terrorist, and getting everybody to rally against him.

Now there are other organizations that probably meet a similar standard, The FARC in Colombia comes to mind. Stokes, Doug. *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia* (London: Zed Books, 2005) 106. Mario Murillo (2004) also documents how the US press echoes the desires of the US government.

[73] Natal Witness 13 May 03.

[74] William Blum, *Killing Hope* (London: Zed Books. 2003), 188-189. The US has contaminated Cuban sugar, infected turkeys, released African swine fever which resulted in the killing of 500,000 pigs on the island, and released swarms of specially bred mosquitoes that carried the dengue fever. Furthermore, CIA declassified documents show that the Agency has maintained a clandestine anti-crop warfare programs. Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World* (Boston, South End Press, 2002), 131.

[75] Since 1961, the US has had the longest embargo in the world and is even unique in that it bars medicine and food. Over the years, as US politicians move to the political right in search of votes the sanctions have increased. In 1992 Bush I signed the Torricelli Act or the 'Cuban Democracy Act. In 1996, Clinton signed the Helms-Burton Act or the 'Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996.' Bush II had further tightened the embargo and recently released in May 2004, a 454-page report entitled "Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba," written by then Secretary of State Colin Powell. Sanctions have cost Cuba undue hardship and about 70 billion dollars. Ironically, Cuba was seen as a Soviet proxy during the Cold War and sanctions were justified, now that the Soviet Union is no longer, the sanctions are tighten under a different rubric. Additionally, George W. Bush spend eight times more to track Americans travelling to Cuba than tracing Al-Qaeda financing. See Salim Lamrani, ed., *Superpower Principles: US Terrorism Against Cuba* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 2005) 101-2, 133.

[76] Eliza Barclay, "No hospitality for Cubans at Hilton hotels," *Fortune Magazine.* February 10, 2007. http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/2007/02/05/8399194/index.htm Also see Cuba's response to the embargo at: ww.cubavsbloqueo.cu/Default.aspx?tabid=95

[77] There are a plethora of proxy groups with various plans and actions against Cuba, some of the groups include: Abdala, Alpha 66, Brothers to the Rescue, Coordinacion de las Organizaciones Revolucionarias Unidas, Cuban American National Foundation, Cuban National Front, F-4 Commandos, Movimiento Insurreccional Martiano (MIM), and Omega 7. In 1980, the FBI characterized Omega 7 as 'the most dangerous terrorist organization in the United States.' William Blum, *Killing Hope* (London: Zed Books, 2003), 189. Saul Lamrani ed., *Superpower Principles: US Terrorism Against Cuba.* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 2005) 51. Alpha 66's website states the group 'was created with the intention of making commando type attacks on Cuba to maintain the fighting spirit of the Cuban people after the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion.'

[78] Voice America website: http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2006-07/voa-2006-07-102.cfm?CFID=130646325&CFTOKEN=65306153 Also see, BBC: //news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/5166806.stm For alternative view of the blockade see the Cuban Website: http://www.cubavsbloqueo.cu/Default.aspx?tabid=1012 For information about National Endowment for Democracy and USAID see, Interhemispheric Resource Centre article, "Third Decade of Regime-Change AID: Washington Tightens Economic Noose and Increases Support to Groups Planning Post-Castro Transition," Tom Barry, June 25, 2004. http://americas.irc-online.org/reports/2004/0406castro_body.html Financial information was listed in US dollars. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the dollar to Rand ratio was to take the month of July in 2006 currency exchange. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange was 7.10688 Rand to a US dollar.

[79] *Sun-Sentinel,* 10 February 2007. See former chief of US Interests Section in Havana, Wayne Smith's article, "*Shelter Terrorists and we damage credibility.*" http://www.ciponline.org/cuba/cubainthenews/021007ShelterTerrorists.htm

[80] See "The Bush Dynasty and the Cuban Criminals," December 2, 2002, Guardian/UK http://www.commondreams.org/headlines02/1202-05.htm or Ann Louise, *Cuba Confidential* (Bardach. New York: Vintage, 2003).

[81] See articles about the Cuban Five from their attorney, Leonard Weinglass; Wayne E. Smith,

former chief of US Interest Section in Havana, South African author, Nadine Gordimer and others in Saul Lamrani ed., *Superpower Principles: US Terrorism Against Cuba* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 2005) 114-189 For more information on the Cuban Five see; http://www.freethefive.org/

[82] For more information about the US occupation of Guantanamo, Cuba through (US Treaties and the Platt Amendment 1903), the treatment of 'enemy combatants and US Executive rational for not follow prescribed protocols see Michael Ratner and Ellen Ray, *Guantanamo: What the World Should Know* (White River Junction: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2004).

[83] *Business Day* 19 Mar 03

[84] In May 2002, former US President Jimmy Carter visited Cuba. James Winter and Robert Everton reviewed 36 articles in the Canadian press about Carter's visit to Cuba. Their findings concluded that the corporate media in Canada reinforced long standing clichés and biases about Cuba and Fidel Castro such as the lack of democracy in Cuba and the natural right of George W. Bush to interfere in the affairs of Cuba. Winters and Everton noted there was not much difference between media content and the US State Department. James Winter and Robert Everton, "How Jimmy Carter Spent His Cuban Vacation: Media Coverage and Ideological Bias," in Jeffrey Klaehn ed., *Bound by Power* (Montreal: Black Rose Press, 2006), 150-187.

[85] Curtis (2004), 2.

[86] Noam Chomsky, *Failed States: The Abuse if Power and the Assault on Democracy* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006), 66. Also see, Telford Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

[87] Ibid., 3. Also see, Noam Chomsky, "Moral Truisms, Empirical Evidence, and Foreign Policy, " *Review of International Studies,* October (2003) *29, 605–620.* John Rawls, *The Laws of People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[88] Edward Bernays, "Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How*," American Journal of Sociology*, 33 no.6(1928) 958.

[89] For example, Bernays was hired by Beechnut Packing Company, a bacon producer, to lift sagging sales. Bernays sought a famous New York doctor to write that a big breakfast was best, which usually meant bacon and eggs. Sales took off and the technique of using experts was embraced by business. Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 51-75.

[90] Noam Chomsky, *The Chomsky Reader.* James Peck ed., (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 60. Also see Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual* New York: Vintage , 1994).

[91] Two examples in democratic America include *New York Time* reporter, Ray Bonner and PhD student Norman Finkelstein. Peter Mitchell and John Schoeffel, eds., *Understanding Power: the Indispensable Chomsky* (New York: New Press, 2002) 21, 22 and 245-47. Finkelstein also has written powerful critiques of the Holocaust Industry, *The Holocaust Industry,* Second Edition (London: Verso, 2003) and Anti-Semitism, *Beyond Chutzpah* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 2008). Another is Gary Webb, in his 1996 articles "Dark Alliance" in the *San Jose Mercury.* Furthermore, there are numerous church leaders, social workers, teachers, union leaders, and other activists in the developing world who have paid the price of speaking the truth. In repressive regimes, the individuals are deemed heroes, in democracies they are forgotten. For worthy and unworthy victims see, Edward Herman, and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 37-86. For further human rights abuses visit the websites of Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch. South Africa has a long extensive history of intellectuals speaking the truth, especially during Apartheid. Bayers Naude, Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko, Desmond Tutu and Oliver Tambo all ripped away the veil of Apartheid, and all paid a personal price.

[92] See Norman Finkelstein *Beyond Chutzpah* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 2008) regarding intellectual issues around Israel and Anti-Semitism. Finkelstein pays particular attention to the work of Alan Dershowitz, *The Case for Israel* (Hoboken, John Wiley and Sons, 2003).

[93] During the search on terrorism, Mills had five articles in *Business Day* and *Natal Witness,* with three of the articles repeated in the *Natal Witness.* One article dealt with President Bush's visit

with President Mbeki and their concern over Zimbabwe and will not be evaluated.

[94] Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2003), 150.

[95] For example, the World Court in The Hague convicted the US for aggression against Nicaragua in 1987 and the UN condemned the Cuban embargo, which has gone on for over a decade.

[96] Howard Friel and Richard Falk, *The Record of the Paper: How the New York Times Misreports US Foreign Policy* (London, Verso, 2004), 144-5.

[97] Mills views are typical of scholarship on terrorism and can be found in the work of Tatah Mentan, *Dilemmas of Weak States: Africa and Transnational Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) Mentan, Mills and the US State department appear to have the same ideology. Mentan writes, 'The great majority of African citizens exit in poverty and are locked under corrupt leaders who maintain control through tribalism, fraud, corruption, prebendalism and violence. In this perspective, Africa can be seen as a giant experiment in the genesis of terrorism. The seed are being sown everywhere. Africa is the soft underbelly for transnational terrorism (p.2). Mentan also lists the usual suspects of state sponsored terrorism: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Cuba, North Korea and Sudan (p 68) without mentioning the West, South Africa's or Russia's role in terrorism. What passes for academic reason is always surprising in light of all the evidence. Bridgitte Nacos' suggests that the media are often duped by media savvy terrorists in her *Mass Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002) 29.

[98] See, Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, *Apartheid Terrorism: The Destabilization Report* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989). Tony Gifford, *South Africa's Record of International Terrorism* (London: A joint SWAM/AAM publication, 1981).

[99] Friel and Falk (2004), 151.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., 192. Friel and Falk show additional affirmations of the Fourth Geneva Convention to Israel's occupation: A/RES/59/122, January 25, 2005; A/RES/58/97,December 17, 2003; A/RES/57/125, February 24, 2003;A/RES/55/131, December 8, 2000; A/RES/54/77, December 66, 1999; A/RES/53/54, December 3, 1998; A/RES/52/65, December 10, 1997; A/RES/55/132, December 13, 1996.

[102] Solomon (2005), 114.

[103] George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/orwell46.htm 1946.

[104]

12 Feb 02	G-8 leaders show support for Nepad
22 May 02	SA pressed to take stance on Saharawi conflict
12 Jun 02	Keeping eye out for US's unilateral tendencies
08 Oct 02	SA's defence of UN serves national interest
22 Jan 03	'Preventive war' policy a nettle UN must grasp
18 Mar 03	US cannot broaden goals on its own
30 Apr 03	US record of regime change is dismal
13 May 03	The 'Mbeki doctrine' may offer US a lesson
03 Jun 03	Global jury still out on US agenda for world
08 Jul 03	Mbeki has the edge in talks with Bush
19 Aug 03	Democracy under attack in the US
26 Aug 03	Historic chance for new Iraq mandate

[105] Chien-peng Chung, "China's 'War on Terror:' September 11 and Uighur Separatism," *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2002. http://www-stage.foreignaffairs.org/20020701facomment8515/chien-peng-chung/china-s-war-on-terror-september-11-and-uighur-separatism.html

[106] See Alexander George, ed., *Western State Terrorism* (Cambridge: Polity-Blackwell, 1991).

[107] Sparks had eleven articles from the terrorism search in the *Cape Times* and *Natal Witness.* However, five of the articles first appeared in the *Natal Witness* and were later reprinted in the *Cape Times* under a different headline. Sparks articles:

22 Apr 03	Bush's bitter pill	*Natal Witness*
03 Jun 03	New walls dividing the world	*Natal Witness*
15 Jul 03	A crisis of credibility	*Natal Witness*
26 Aug 03	Another Vietnam	*Natal Witness*
23 Sep 03	Sharon in the wilderness	*Natal Witness*
*23 Apr 03	'Roadmap' to defuse Arab anger	*Cape Times*
*04 Jun 03	Understanding the causes of terror	*Cape Times*
*16 Jul 03	Coalition losing war for hearts and minds	*Cape Times*
30 Jul 03	Killing Hussein's sons lost US a precious chance	*Cape Times*
*29 Aug 03	Bush losing war against terrorism	*Cape Times*
*25 Sep 03	Settlements block road to peace	*Cape Times*

**Appeared in Natal Witness earlier under a different title.*

[108] See note 9 in the introduction.
[109] *Natal Witness* 3 June 2003.
[110] *Natal Witness* 26 August 2003.
[111] Blum (2003), 122-145. Noam Chomsky, *The Chomsky Reader*. Edited by James Peck (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 221-313. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988, 2002,),169-297.
[112] Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 48, 59.
[113] *Business Day* articles about the Middle East, * indicates flak articles and author.

28 Jan 02	Third suicide attack in Israel in a week
12 Mar 02	Sharon vows to push ahead with campaign
18 Mar 02	Attacks in Israel upset peace efforts
02 Apr 02	Envoys seek Israeli withdrawal
03 Apr 02	A clear pattern
03 Apr 02	*Mbeki's view is misrepresented (Letter) Bheki Khumalo, Presidential Spokesman
05 Apr 02	Greatest Challenge on home front
10 Apr 02	ANC protest, prays for Palestinians
12 Apr 02	*Unfair to condemn Israel (Letter) David Saks SA Jewish Board of Deputies
15 Apr 02	*Israeli are victims in this war as well (Letter) David Woolf, Legal Counsel for EMET SA
17 Apr 02	Lines of peace less easily drawn
18 Apr 02	A hopeless case
14 May 02	*Arafat acted only under duress of US (Letter) Bev Goldman SA Zionist Federation
16 May 02	*It is unfair to criticize the US and Israel (Letter) David Woolf Legal Counsel for EMET SA
07 Jun 02	Second Take (London)
28 Jun 02	Bush takes sides
22 Jul 02	*Arafat cannot be absolved (Letter) Harry Joffe
08 Aug 02	Zanu (PF) tilts at Jerusalem
30 Aug 02	*Terrorism foe of Israeli and Palestinians, Shimon Peres, Israeli Foreign Minister
04 Dec 02	Put Middle East peace before war in Iraq
03 Feb 03	Can Sharon offer hope?
14 Apr 03	Sharon says victory in Iraq boosts Palestinian peace bid
20 Jun 03	*Made Bomber (Letter) David Woolf, Legal Counsel EMET SA
21 Aug 03	* Bad Neighbours (Letter) David Saks
08 Oct 03	*Cycle of terror (Letter) Peter Baker

04 Dec 03 EU unveils new route to peace in Middle East

[114] Herman and Chomsky (1988, 2002), 26.

[115] For more information about Israeli to Palestinian killings see, "On the Preeminence of State Terrorism, Past and Present," Edward Herman, Z Magazine February 2006. B'Tselem, an Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, notes that from September 29, 2000 to November 30, 2006 Israeli security forces killed 4,032 Palestinians and for the same period 1017 Israelis were killed by Palestinians. This is almost a 4 to t ratio (3.96). Turning to children under the age of 18 that were killed the ratio is significantly higher, 6.79 to one, with 808 Palestinians children killed compared to 119 Israeli children killed. Found in Howard Friel and Richard Falk's book, *Israel-Palestine on Record* (Verso: London, 2007), 25.

[116] *Business Day* 11 April 02 'Detainees Cause Concern.'

[117] *Business Day* 12 April 02 'Unfair to condemn Israel."

[118] *Business Day* 14 May 02

[119] Norman Finkelstein provides extensive documentation about the issue of ambulances and medical workers and the abuse that is rendered towards Palestinians in *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuses of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 124-130. He draws upon the following reports: Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, *Medicine under Attack: Critical Damage inflicted on Medical Services in the Occupied Territories* (April 2002); Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, *A Legacy of Injustice: A Critique of Israeli Approaches to the Right of Health of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories* (November 2002); B'Tselem, Harm to Medical Personnel: The Delay, Abuse and Humiliation of Medical Personnel by Israeli Security Forces *(December 2003);* Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, Medicine under Attack: Critical Damage Inflicted on Medical Services in the Occupied Territories (April 2002); Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, *A Legacy of Injustice* (November 2002); B'Tselem, Harm to Medical Personnel *(December 2003).* All these reports were in 2002-2003 and were not found within the newspapers reviewed.

[120] See United Nations Report: http://www.un.org/peace/jenin/ Human Rights Watch Report: hrw.org/reports/2002/israel3/israel0502-01.htm#P49_1774 Amnesty International Report: http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGMDE151432002 The Anti-Defamation League condemned the reports stating the international ground pre-maturely made false judgments against Israel. See, for example, http://www.adl.org/Israel/jenin/

[121] In another form of self-censorship, a *Cape Times* editorial about Iraq highlights that the Fourth Geneva Convention. The article states that occupying powers 'are legally responsible for providing the civilian population with food, water, shelter and safety.' There was no mention of the Fourth Geneva Convention in relation to occupied lands. of the Middle East. *Cape Times* 9 April 2003 Second Opinion: Food for Thought. Another *Cape Times* article about the Geneva Convention was, "US captives shown of by Iraq' (24 March 2003). The article quotes US Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfield and US President George W. Bush concern about captured US soldiers and the need for Iraq to observe the Geneva Convention. At no point in the article did the *Cape Times* point out US violations of international law.

[122] See, Robert McChesney, *The Problem with the Media: US Communication Politics in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2004), 98-123. Additional flak about Israel can be found with the 2002 EMET SA lawsuit against M-Net brought before the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa. http://www.bccsa.co.za/templates/judgement_template_17.asp The *New York Times* coverage of Israel falls a similar pattern to that of *Business Day.* See Howard Friel and Richard Falk, *Israeli-Palestine on Record: How the New York Times Misreports Conflict in the Middle East* (London: Verso, 2007).

[123] Friel and Falk (2007) provides several testimonies by who were victims of Israeli actions and their stories never made it into the *New York Times,* nor did it make it into either the *Cape Times* or *Business Day*. For example, in August 2002, Uthman al-Hajin spoke on how his land was shelled by Israeli tanks which killed his sons Ashraf and Nihad, his wife and his Nephew Muhammed. Aref Daraghmeh, also stated in 2002, that an Israeli helicopter fired missiles near his house and at a silver Mitsubishi killing several people. One can imagine if Palestinians had

a helicopter and fired into Jewish settlements. Other notable omissions in 2002-2003 by the papers include endless reports by an Israeli Human Rights group B'Tselem. B'Tselem is a group of prominent academics, attorneys, journalists, and Knesset members whose goal is to document and educate the Israeli public and policymakers about human rights violations in the Occupied Territories. Additionally, they attempt to combat the phenomenon of denial prevalent among the Israeli public, and help create a human rights culture in Israel. Friel and Falk list over 30 articles in the years 2002-2003 by B'Tselem, a sampling includes: "Soldiers Abuse of Palestinians in Hebron," December 2002; "Medical Personnel Harmed: The Delay, Abuse and Humiliation of Medical Personnel by Israeli Security Forces: A Joint Report with Physicians for Humans Rights—Israel," December 2003; "IDF Causes Death of Infant by Preventing Mother's Evacuation to Hospital," April 2002; Hebron : Border Police Officers Beat Three Palestinians," December 2002; "Tulkarm District, Zeita: Border Police Officer Forces Man from 'Attil to Commit Sexual Act with a Donkey," June 2003; "Surda Checkpoint, Ramallah District: IDF Soldiers Beat Muhammad 'Omar, Age 16," September 2003 For more information visit http://www.btselem.org

[124] Friel and Falk (2007), 73.

[125] Also see Norman Finkelstein, *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuses of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S Foreign Policy* (New York, Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007).

[126] Henry Giroux, *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2006), 8-30. Giroux points out that the US has '725 official military bases outside the country and 969 at home thus contributing a militarization of the world. Also see, Chalmers Johnson, "America's Empires Bases," http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0115-08.htm. During the Reagan years, terrorism was also used to organize society. See Neil Livingstone and Terrell Arnold. *Fighting Back. Winning the War Against Terrorism* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1984). Nancy Snow writes, 'The phrase "War on Terrorism" is itself a propaganda message. By design, it elevates the language of conflict, suggesting that all other options (negotiation, international courts of justice, international policing) have been exhausted, when the reality is that they were never seriously considered. Once war has been declared, it is unlikely that dialogue around root causes can occur until the war mission has been completed and deemed successful.' Nancy Snow, *Information War: American Propaganda, Free Speech, and Opinion Control Since 9/11* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), 63.

[127] Activist and scholar, Eqbal Ahmad stated this before 9/11. Norman Solomon, *War Made Easy: How Presidents and Pundits Keeping Spinning us to Death* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2005), 176.

[128] Robert McChesney and John Nichols, Tragedy and Farce: How the American Media Sell Wars, Spin Elections, and Destroy Democracy (New York: New Press, 2005), 37.

[129] Solomon (2005), 234.

Conclusion

Writer, poet, and physician Oliver Wendell Holmes once quipped, "Only bread and the newspaper we must have, whatever else we do without."[1] Everyday, millions of people around the world and in South Africa receive sustenance through reading newspapers which allows them to understand, interpret, and respond to their world. Newspapers and the media provide citizens a fundamental link to the larger society and to the structures and institutions that shape their lives. In repressive societies, the state dictates, monitors, restricts, and censors news and information in order to control and manage the population. This was most recently evident in Myanmar in September 2007 when Buddhist monks, students, and activists staged anti-government rallies. The government crackdown on these protestors included the shut down of websites about Myanmar, emails, and the internet, all in an attempt to control the news about the protests.[2]

Advocates and champions of a free press assert that democracies encourage and promote a free, if sometimes cantankerous, press in which the press will act as a 'watchdog' or the 'fourth estate' in order to monitor and check on abuses of power. This supposedly enhances the democratic process. However, the previous chapters have demonstrated that market forces, including media ownership, advertising, and the use of sources, restrict and filter news content and media performance. Frequently, these market forces reinforce the views and concerns of prevailing power sectors of society (government and corporations) while also weeding out dissident voices. Utilizing the propaganda model that Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky develop in *Manufacturing Consent*, this thesis has examined how *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* not only confirm the predictions of the model, but also exceed them.

This final chapter will begin with a section reviewing the empirical chapters of this thesis: media ownership, advertising, and the three case studies on forestry, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and terrorism. The next section will put forth explanations on why journalists internalise and report about the concerns of the powerful at the expense of the marginal of society. This section will be followed by three predictions that will likely occur from the findings of this paper. The final section will explore the implications of this research for journalists, academics, citizens, and South Africans.

Summary of findings

Media ownership

From the 1880s until World War I, European powers struggled for territorial and economic control in what was known as the 'Scramble' or 'Race for Africa.' The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) partitioned Africa among several European countries, including Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, while the First and Second Anglo-Boer Wars further increased divisions within South Africa. By the early 1900s over 90% of Africa was controlled and

regulated by a handful of European countries. Local autonomy was virtually eliminated and the socio-economic consequences for the native populations were evident for decades. The concentration of wealth and control by minority interests has manifested itself once again a hundred years later with the same effect. After the 1994 election in South Africa, the mass media in the country witnessed a series of mergers and acquisitions, and its subsequent expansion into Southern Africa occurred at accelerated rates for telecommunication industries. The 2001 NEPAD agreement provided further political backing for private investment and ownership of the mass media.

Tokyo Sexwale—a former political prisoner, Gauteng Premier, businessman, and possible 2009 South African presidential candidate—wrote in 1995 about the importance of diverse media ownership:

> We need a truly South African media to tell the South African story, and South African ownership and control is the best way to make sure this happens. …Because of the influence of the media in shaping opinions, we must guard the concentration of ownership in the hands of a small group of people. It is precisely because we need a diversity of ideas that we need a diversity of ownership. And that principle extends both to the number of institutions which are able to publish and broadcast, and to the ownership structure if those individual institutions. ...And we hope it will do so by empowering the maximum number of people to publish or broadcast without fear if being pushed out of the market or of being swallowed up by a multi-media giant.[3]

These words were written soon after the African National Congress had political control of South Africa and Sexwale had become the Premier of Gauteng. In 1998, Sexwale left politics and entered the corporate world, where he made a tremendous amount of money in mining, energy, diamonds, and other ventures, which resulted in him becoming one of South Africa's richest individuals. His financial success also landed him on several large corporate boards—Absa Bank, Allied Electronics, and Gold Fields to name a few—and arguably changed his commitment to diversity of media ownership. In September 2007, Sexwale and another possible presidential contender, Cyril Ramaphosa, made a joint offer to buy a 25% stake in OpCo, which owns the *Sunday Times* and *Sowetan* newspapers, among other media assets.[4] As two of South Africa's richest men who also own, represent, or are on the boards of some of South Africa's wealthiest corporations, it is hard to imagine that Ramaphosa and Sexwale can accurately 'tell the South African story' that is inclusive of all South Africans. Increasing corporate ownership in an already corporate world is also unlikely to lead to an increase in the 'diversity of ideas.' Ultimately, institutional constraints like advertising, capital, and ownership limit newspapers' ability to provide a complete view of the world.

Today, a handful of media corporations control and own the majority of print media within South Africa. Three media firms have come to dominate print media in South Africa: Naspers, Johnnic, and Independent News and Media. These three corporations account for 17 of the 19 main daily newspapers (89% of the market) and 12 of the 13 weekly newspapers (92% of the market).

Furthermore, each of these corporations has other economic holdings both inside and outside South Africa and board members come from the same interlocking economic structures, as is evident with Sexwale and Ramaphosa's OpCo bid discussed above. Poor rural women do not serve on corporate boards, nor do woodcutters or saw mill operators; rather, other wealthy corporate leaders serve on media boards with vested interests.

Chapter 1 on media ownership demonstrated that for-profit media corporations are beneficiaries of neoliberal economic policies and that they naturally protect and prioritize their own self-interest over that of the public. Large media corporations are able to regulate the flow of information, limit competition, and control forms of expression and distribution. What results from concentrated media ownership is that the diversity of opinions is decreased while topics, discussions, and editorials frame issues for the benefit of powerful societal and economic structures. Trade agreements, foreign aid, and government policies strengthen this ever-increasing concentration of media ownership. For instance, NEPAD reinforces neoliberal business practices. Paragraphs 104-108 of NEPAD specifically address how to close the digital divide in Africa and invest in information and communication technologies. Paragraph 108 of NEPAD states:

> Work with development finance institutions in Africa, multilateral initiatives (G-8 Digital Opportunity Task Force, UN Task Force) and bilateral donors to establish financial mechanisms for mitigating and reducing sector risks.[5]

NEPAD seeks public-private partnerships (e.g. International Monetary Fund and World Bank) that historically benefit the private sector over the public good. In short, large media firms (capital) have replaced the old, colonial-like relics of the past (domination and exploration of labour and resources, usually through force) in muzzling the media. In the past, political powers were able to control the population through the media and force; today, concentrated capital (as seen in media ownership), along with interlocking capital (as seen in media companies' boards), diminishes media performance by filtering out news and information necessary in a functioning democracy.

These patterns support the first filter of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model: media ownership. Over the past several decades the mass media around the world has become increasingly concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. A 2007 report by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation-South Africa singled out this increased concentration of media owners as the biggest threat facing press freedom in South Africa.[6] For-profit mass media is seldom, if ever, owned by poor people, workers, or communities; rather, for-profit media are owned by large transnational corporations. These corporations, created by states, have more rights than individuals. For example, individuals can be sued in court while shareholders have limited liability. Additionally, deregulation along with the increase rise of corporations worldwide has diminished the states ability to protect the public interest. Consumer protection, labour laws, and environmental protection have all suffered under the rise of globalisation and

neoliberal economic policies.[7] For-profit media firms are mandated to make a profit and are thus not politically or economically neutral which results in profits taking priority over producing wide ranging diverse news stories and/or entertainment. In addition, corporations make use of existing market structures that are utilized by those with disposable income to maximize profits through horizontal and vertical integration. South African media corporations are no different from their democratic free market counterparts in other parts of the world in their quest to make profits and penetrate the market. In the old South Africa, ideology and politics took precedence over profits, now globalisation and neoliberal economic policies trump both politics and ideology. In the global economy, media corporations manufacture a social-political world that is reflective of their capital needs.

Advertising

Media academic Michael Schudson writes that all media is important in a democracy, but some media, mainly print media, counts most since print media investigates, gathers, and reports news.[8] The powerful realise that print media is important and in South Africa the investment of advertisers reflects this pattern. Print media received the highest percentage of advertising in South Africa capturing 40.6% of the market in 2004[9] and 39.9% in 2006.[10] Chapter 2 on advertising demonstrated that advertising promotes and bankrolls a way of life for those with disposable income. The illustration below shows that advertisers will threaten the media, which results in the media self-censoring in an effort to survive. An August 2002 position paper by the African National Congress entitled "Media in a democratic South Africa" summarizes the power of advertisers:

> The political economy of the media places the interest of the advertisers, and well-off South Africans above the interests of other citizens. Patronage by the advertisers skews the media landscape and consequently distorts the democratic process and debate.[11]

In a market-driven media world that is dependent on advertising for survival there is a tenuous relationship between the needs of media sponsors and those of the public.

As mentioned previously, in August 2007, the South African newspaper *Sunday Times* wrote a negative article about South African Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's stay at a Cape Town hospital. A month later, after accusations and flak over the article, the Minster in the Presidency, Essop Pahad, threatened to withdraw all government advertising from the *Sunday Times.*[12] Pahad's threat provides an important illustration about the relationship between advertising and market-driven media. First, the threat to remove advertising revenue sent a clear message to all South African media outlets not to scrutinize or pursue certain public officials. The tacit message was, 'if you investigate or attack a cabinet official, we will withdraw the life blood of your organisation.' Furthermore, this veiled threat was followed up with decisive action

in another area of the media. On 31 August 2007, SABC's CEO, Dali Mpofu, sent a letter to Jovial Rantao of the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) stating SABC's intention to withdraw both their membership and funding from the SANEF.[13] Ironically, 30 years earlier on 19 October 1977, the apartheid government imprisoned and banned journalists and similarly shut down newspapers like *The World* and *The Weekend World* in an effort to control and intimidate the press. In 1977, force was used to achieve political ends, in 2007, in a democratic market economy, another instrument was used to reign in the media: advertising.

A second consequence from Pahad's threat is that media outlets will most likely self-censor exposés or investigations about the government officials and or those with advertising money in an attempt to not alienate a steady financial revenue stream. Market-driven newspapers need advertising revenue to function. In 2006, the South African national government was the sixteenth leading spender on media advertising in all of South Africa, just slightly behind Coca-Cola SA.[14] Pahad's threat establishes who has the real power in a market-driven media economy: the advertisers. The public does not receive the same media coverage nor are they able to deliver threats in a public manner. The *Sunday Times* article and subsequent debate about Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang was confined to a narrow debate among the media and those who finance it and demonstrates the power advertisers have over media outlets.

Forestry

In South Africa, the forestry industry permeates all socio-economic sectors of society: wood for heating and cooking, the utilization of pulp in the manufacturing of paper, the creation of jobs, and direct foreign investment. While historically all South Africans benefited from the forestry industry, today profits have remained in the hands of a select few. The 1994 election of the ANC brought a re-examination many social, political, and economic relationships both inside and outside government, including with the forestry industry. Forestry was re-evaluated with such policies as: Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR), White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (1996), National Forests Act (Act No. 84 of 1998), and the National Veld and Forest Fire Act (Act No. 101 of 1998). There were lofty discussions, aspirations, and even legislation to try and transform the industry in a way that would include all South Africans. However, this has yet to materialise. Media coverage within *Business Day, Cape Times*, and *Natal Witness* not only reinforced a colonial understanding of forestry but actively limited the discussion of forestry issues. What emerges is consistent with historical practices: the forestry transformation continues to benefit a small number of shareholders and companies in conjunction with the government. The media facilitates this process through their narrow coverage of forestry issues.

One way in which the media's service to the powerful is evident is in the use of sources for the 264 articles on forestry between 2002 and 2003. What

emerged from a quantitative review of the articles and the 553 sources is that journalists systematically utilized official sources—timber companies, timber support groups, and government—while limiting and/or excluding the voices of forestry workers, union representatives, and community members. For example, three groups—timber companies, timber support groups, and government—had an outstanding 73.6% of all sources, while the remaining 11 groups made only 26.4% of all sources. Conversely, there was not a single source from the estimated 66,000 forestry workers within South Africa. Additionally, there were no sources from sawmill operators, truckers, loggers, and factory workers. Only three sources (0.5%) came from forestry unions and even these only dealt with job shortages and possible job retrenchments, not the needs of union members. In a similar fashion, mainstream environmental sources had only nine sources (1.6%) and progressive environmental groups had only three sources (0.5%). In sum, journalists' use of 'official' sources acts as a filter, as predicted within the propaganda model, which severely limits the scope of forestry coverage.

The qualitative review of the 264 articles—a review of the 'range of expressible opinion' or the 'bounds of the expressible'—developed out of the propaganda model. The review demonstrated that journalists and editors followed and echoed the needs of the forestry industry. In this section, nine categories or subjects were scored and tabulated. For *Business Day* and *Cape Times* the majority of articles focused on two subjects: corporate concerns and privatisation. There were seventy-seven articles, or about a third of all forestry articles, about privatisation. With the state handing out large tracks of forests for privatisation, this is a predictable outcome. The categories of community forestry, conservation, environmental impact, labour, and land claims comprised only 3.6% of articles in *Business Day*, while the *Cape Times* had 6.9% for the same categories (excluding conservation). Certain categories within this group of subjects received marginal coverage. For example, among all three papers environmental impact had a combined total of eight articles (3%) and labour a combined total of four articles (1.5%). The needs of the forestry industry took priority over the needs of the environment or labour.

Perhaps more telling than these marginalised topics are the topics that were completely excluded from the three papers. For example, there was no investigative reporting or articles on forestry practices, water use in water-stressed South Africa, worker safety, or on the use of sub-contractors. There were no articles on community forestry despite all the rhetoric found in the 1996 White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development. There were no articles that mentioned the large segments of the population that rely on wood for heat and cooking (19% and 17.5 respectively).[15] Finally, there were no articles about the relationship between the Northern and Southern hemispheres and how the South has historically serviced the North through inexpensive land, cheap labour, and depletion of resources. Some of the best land in South Africa is used for the forestry industry and not for the needs of the population, half of which is living below the poverty level.

New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD)

In 2005, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo attempted to bribe and threaten officials to change the constitution allowing him to run for a third presidential term.[16] In April 2007, Nigeria held local, state, parliamentary, and presidential elections which were widely condemned around the world. Al Jazeera news, BBC News, the European Union,[17] Idasa Nigeria, Nigeria's Catholic Church, Stakeholder Democracy Network, and the Transition Monitoring Group all revealed voting irregularities and called for the election results to be cancelled. They were not annulled. Later in 2007, a Human Rights Watch report on Nigeria reported that the state governor of the oil rich River State spent $92,000 (ZAR 650,317) a day on travel, grants, donations, and contributions, while public services for the poor majority were virtually non-existent in the River State.[18] These recent reports from Nigeria reveal serious contradictions since one of the authors of NEPAD, President Olusegun Obasanjo, had pledged to "eradicate poverty and place his country on a path of sustainable growth and development through good governance."[19]

In October 2001, NEPAD, in cooperation with Western financial institutions (the IMF and World Bank), set forth a new development plan that was in line with Western needs. NEPAD was an attempt by African leaders to resolve Africa's persistent predicament of poverty and underdevelopment through a vision and strategic framework that put forth key social, economic, and political priorities for the continent. NEPAD, like many plans before it, was heralded as a new partnership that would launch Africa out of persistent poverty. The plan was anchored in good governance, African ownership and leadership, and broad and deep participation by all sectors of society, among other noble goals.

Media coverage of NEPAD in South Africa provides an excellent example of how media reporting of NEPAD fell within a narrow neoliberal economic and political framework. Newspapers and private capital have benefited from a privatised market economy and are naturally champions of market-driven solutions to poverty, similar to those outlined in NEPAD. For years 2002-2003, 966 articles were quantified and qualified, and the results demonstrated that *Business Day, Cape Times*, and *Natal Witness* reported the potential benefits of NEPAD while actively ignoring the previous failings of similar partnerships and excluding large sectors of the population that were supposedly to be affected by NEPAD promises and policies.

The research on media performance of NEPAD confirms the thesis that news travels through a series of filters. One filter is the media's use of sources. The sources in the NEPAD debate reflected prominent official sectors of society—government and corporations. These sources garnered over 55% of the 1643 total number of sources. Adding to the chorus of voices reinforcing the prevailing ideology were a host of experts—academics and thinks tanks—that added another 11% of the total number of sources. These sectors support and benefit from the existing neoliberal framework of a hierarchal capitalism advanced by NEPAD. Neoliberalism advocates for private property rights, the rule of law, free trade (specifically the elimination of tariffs and other barriers), a

decrease in government spending and taxes, the privatisation of state assets, and a free-market economy. The private sector under a free-market system advocated by neoliberalism historically has not responded well to poverty, disease, or healthcare. Yet newspapers actively present the opposite view that neoliberalism and NEPAD are the only significant solutions to persistent poverty. Meanwhile, there were many well-reasoned and powerful alternative forums, writers, and critics who expressed concern about NEPAD; however, their voices were censored or simply filtered out. Workers, environmentalists, union officials, and the poor had only 0.6% of all sources. Like NEPAD itself, newspapers' use of sources did not reflect "broad and deep participation by all sectors of society," but rather reflected elitist positions. This performance is not random or circumstantial, but indicates the validity of the propaganda model's 'filters' and their power over both journalists and editors.

This process is further confirmed with the range of issues covered regarding NEPAD. NEPAD is arguably a top-down agenda set by a minority of male African leaders prescribing the agenda for the majority of Africans. Newspaper coverage of NEPAD was similarly top-down and reflected the needs of wealthy newspaper readers, the state, and corporations. One of NEPAD's stated goals is the 'eradication of poverty'; yet out of 966 articles on NEPAD there were only five articles (0.5%) that had specific information about poverty. There were ten articles (1%) on healthcare with nine of the ten healthcare articles dealing with HIV/AIDS. There were no stories about medical care in rural settings, or about access to clinics and medications. HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria, and other diseases, in addition to the broader issues of poverty and access to healthcare, continue to affect the majority of Africans yet the issues received grossly inadequate coverage. Furthermore, African poverty has a woman's face, often alongside a child's face. There were no women on the steering committee that drafted NEPAD, nor were there any articles on the plight of women despite the fact they make up roughly 50% of the population.

Moving to agriculture, the picture becomes even bleaker, with zero references to women, despite the fact that women do much of the agricultural work in Africa. The Africa Renewal of the United Nations (formerly the Africa Recovery) reports that in many African countries, women account for up to 80% of food production.[20] The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) reports that women farmers are frequently underestimated and overlooked in development strategies and that women's contribution to the agriculture sectors are poorly understood.[21] There was no discussion both within NEPAD or subsequent media coverage about long standing male-dominated structures and institutions; rather, discussion within NEPAD focused on the lack of access to credit and educational training. Again, since newspapers are market-driven, they are precluded from addressing the plight of the poor majority—women and children—in a systematic way. In short, media coverage is driven by class and power and this class of workers tends to be at the low end of the socio-economic scale.

African male leaders and journalists were so excited about a New Partnership that all memory from previous agreements such as the *Lagos Plan of*

Action was lost, which resulted in little or no meaningful discussions of the past. In the behavioural health sciences, it is generally understood that the best predictor of future behaviour is past behaviour and a discussion of previous responses to Africa's previous economic and developmental frameworks would have been vital in the roll out of NEPAD. Likewise, the newspapers did not question the qualifications of African male leaders or their countries' human rights record. For example, the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights estimated that as many as 16,000-18,000 people are held in deplorable prison conditions in Egypt, often without charges. Looking at Egyptian press freedoms the outlook is depressing, as evident with Article 188 of the Egyptian Penal Code which stipulates punishment (prison and monetary fines) for anyone who "makes public—with malicious intent—false news statements or rumors that [are] likely to disturb public order." In September 2007, six editors from various independent newspapers in Egypt were fined and sentenced under Article 188.[22]

NEPAD calls for "bold and imaginative leadership" (paragraph 6) and that a "new set of circumstances" (paragraph 42) will help NEPAD become a reality. There is certainly "bold and imaginative leadership" in Egypt, Nigeria, and many other African countries, but it has little to do with good governance, democracy, or development.[23] Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt were both on the steering committee for NEPAD, despite rampant corruption, injustice, and pervasive human rights abuses under their leadership. Both journalists and academics had ample evidence about governmental and presidential action carried out in Nigeria and Egypt since 1980, yet it does not appear within these newspapers. Any economic or development agreement or plan that has any integrity has to be measured by the deeds of the signatories. In regard to NEPAD, the newspapers reviewed had amnesia of the pervasive misdeeds of many African leaders.

Terrorism

After World War I, social scientist Harold Lasswell in his 1927 book, *Propaganda Techniques in World War,* evaluated propaganda techniques that were utilized during the war. Lasswell argues that in order to persuade others, propaganda needs to employ linguistic methods such as simplicity and amplification, while eliminating ambiguity. He writes of World War I propaganda:

> The war must not be due to a world system of conducting international affairs…but to the rapacity of the enemy. Guilt and guilelessness must be assessed geographically, and all the guilt must be on the other side of the frontier. …every war must appear to be a war of defense against a menacing, murderous aggressor.[24]

Some eighty years later these principles outlined during the first Great War are still employed with the new 'war on terrorism' that started after September 11th, 2001.

September 11th is both a date of remembrance of a terrible tragedy in the United States and an organising event that shifted limited resources to a new,

arguably non-winnable 'war on terrorism.' However, September 11th is also a definitive date for others around the world, not just the United States:

> *September 11, 1973, Chile:* President Salvador Allende, democratically elected leader of Chile, died in a CIA-backed military coup.[25]
>
> *September 11, 1977, South Africa:* Anti-apartheid leader Stephen Biko, unconscious on the floor of a police van after being beaten by police, was driven 1,000 kilometres to Pretoria, where he would die the following day.[26]
>
> *September 11, 1990, Guatemala:* Guatemalan anthropologist Myrna Mack was murdered by US-backed military.[27]
>
> *September 11, 1993, Haiti:* In the midst of the US-backed coup in Haiti, Antoine Azenery was dragged out of a church by coup forces and murdered in broad daylight. He had been commemorating a massacre of parishioners at the Saint John Boscoe Church which had occurred five years earlier on September 11, 1988. Father Jean Bertrand Aristide had narrowly escaped death in that attack. He later became president of Haiti.[28]

These examples highlight that prior to September 11th, 2001, terrorism existed on a much greater scale in countries around the world, yet the US has taken September 11 as a defining moment in the history of terrorism.

Expanding on the above example of September 11, 1977, it is important to note that in August of that year Biko was arrested under the Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967, which allowed the state to arrest anyone who the police suspected of terrorism. Suspects were held without trial for an indefinite period of time at the discretion of the police. Soon after September 11, 2001, under the banner of the new 'war on terrorism,' suspected terrorists around the world were, and continue to be, indiscriminately held without trial in prisons in Afghanistan, Cuba (Guantanamo), Eastern Europe, Morocco, and Thailand, among other locations around the world. Like Biko, these individuals have been subjected to brutal conditions and torture despite these nations signing U.N. General Assembly resolution 39/46—Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. During apartheid, the black majority were denied basic human rights and the writ of habeas corpus, much to the condemnation of the world. However, South African English daily newspapers during the years 2002-2003 did not choose to recall these tragic historical events nor did they see how these events are being replicated in the abuse of state powers found in the new 'war on terrorism.'

Terrorism, then, provides the final empirical example of the 'filtered' and manufactured nature of South African English daily newspapers. One filter is sources. There were a total of 1265 sources from 567 articles in the three newspapers. Like the previous sections on forestry and NEPAD, an overwhelming majority of sources quoted on terrorism in these articles came from government. Sources from those who perform 'terrorist' acts were

negligible. The number of government sources each paper used increased as the economic status of the paper increased. *Natal Witness* had 48.3% of all their sources from government, while *Cape Times* had 51% and *Business Day* had 55.8%. Conversely, there were 17 sources (1.3%) from terrorists. There was no discussion on the root causes of terrorism, and socio-economic and religious perspectives were not identified. In sum, this thesis empirical data on terrorism demonstrates that government sets policy and the South African English media then writes and echoes their perspective and concerns.

Moving beyond sources, who are the terrorists that South African English daily newspapers write about in their 567 terrorism-related columns and editorials for years 2002-2003? A scoring of these 567 articles shows that newspapers define and choose to cover 'foreign' terrorist groups or individuals—terrorists who are markedly 'outside' Western tutelage or influence. After quantifying all references to terrorists in the three newspapers, the results show that it is the same top five terrorist groups that appear in each newspaper: Al-Qaeda, PLO, Islam, Iraq, and right-wing groups within South Africa. Al-Qaeda had the highest number of references for each newspaper. Not surprisingly, four of the five appear on the US and UK official lists of terrorists.

This data demonstrates that the South African daily English newspapers focus on the Western definition of terrorism, while leaving out terrorism as performed by the powerful, such as by the governments of the US, Israel, the Soviet Union, and South Africa. Angola, Chechnya, Colombia, Cuba, and Palestinians have all experienced significant terrorism against them by the powerful, yet in the review of terrorism the three newspapers self-censor themselves and do not address carnage committed by Western nations. Furthermore, a review of intellectuals and political commentators indicated that they similarly echoed only the West's limited perspective on terrorism and performed the same self-censorship as journalists. Newspaper coverage of Israel in my data sample also showed a propensity to defend Israel and blame Palestinians for problems in the Middle East. The research showed how the South African Jewish community employed flak about Israel to help curb alternative thinking about conflict in the Middle East.

The research from the terrorism chapter confirms that the new 'war on terrorism' is framed as a 'defensive' stance against a 'menacing' foe(s), a propaganda technique Harold Lasswell identified over 80 years ago during World War I. In this latest manufactured war, South African English daily newspapers weeded out alternative voices about terrorism, expunged current or past behaviour by some African leaders, and did not root actions of the terrorists in globalisation or domination but simply rooted in fanatical ideals. In the quest to wage the new war, the West has appropriated academics, think tanks, public relations firms, and language itself to defend and justify the actions of the powerful. *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* journalists and editors could have added important independent, objective, historically accurate information to the debate that could have informed the citizenry and possibly saved thousands of lives and incalculable destruction.

Internalised values

The three case studies summarized above showed a consistent pattern in *Business Day, Cape Times,* and *Natal Witness* of supporting state managers and the private sector. While undoubtedly hard-working, honest, and principled, reporters and editors operated within a narrow socio-political framework. Coverage of the poor and marginal or of alternative voices was scarce. In September 1997, the African National Congress submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing on the media echoed a similar narrow socio-political tone. From forestry to NEPAD, from terrorism to the TRC, why is there such uniformity across results? Much of what has been argued in this paper is that there are external pressures—neoliberalism, concentration of capital, and the state—that lead journalists and others involved in the media to conform. But is there also a more subtle, internal conformity? As this section will argue, education, professional associations, authority, and prevailing ideology all serve to limit dialogue about issues that affect people's lives.

Russian dissident Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn reported feeling pressure to conform in public when he was interviewed by a Western reporter after the release of *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich,* a story about a prisoner in the Gulag. He states:

> I said not a single word… although there was nothing to stop me from saying a very great deal, very boldly, and the thunderstruck newsman would have splashed it to the ends of the earth. I was afraid that if I once started answering Western correspondents, I would be asked questions by Soviets newsmen too, questions that would predetermine my response: either an immediate act of rebellion or a life of cheerless conformity. Not wishing to lie, and not daring to rebel, I preferred silence.[29]

In authoritarian governments, the state acts as a mediator between itself and the populace, often re-writing or omitting information and history in an effort to control the population, manufacture support, or limit rebellion. In these countries, journalists, writers, and artists learn to self-regulate and stay within a narrow socio-political script in order not to get in trouble with the authorities—what Russian writer Isaac Babel calls "the genre of silence."[30] For example, during the Cold War, former Soviet Union journalists could write about American crimes without hesitation, but they would not dare write about similar crimes committed by their homeland. Living in countries that restrict social and political freedoms, individuals quickly learn through a series of rewards and punishments how to navigate life. While such self-censorship in repressive regimes is commonplace, it also occurs with surprisingly similar results within democratic societies, as evidenced in this paper. Institutional pressures that limit media performance help explain self-censoring behaviour.

Today in South Africa there are no overt pressures, specific laws, or 'publications control' that limit journalists; rather, political-economic sectors shape and regulate journalists. Besides the five filters outlined in the propaganda

model, other examples that contribute to journalists' internalisation of conformity are education, professional associations, and authority. The propaganda model argues—and this research confirms—that journalists will internalise the prevailing ideology within democratic societies and journalists will self-censor in order to advance and survive.

Education arguably contributes to this social conformity, as the focus of school is arguably learning how to follow rules, obey authority, acquire cultural norms, and internalise political underpinnings rather than acquire knowledge. Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire has written extensively about the 'banking system of education' where teachers deposit information into students' heads, a traditional form of education that only reinforces prevailing ideology.[31] Furthermore, the Trilateral Commission—which was established in 1973 by David Rockefeller and other private citizens from North America, Europe, and Japan, in an effort to think through global challenges—safeguards the current world socio-economic system (Frene Ginwala, Speaker of the National Assembly, Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Cape Town was a member in 2005). Early in its tenure, the Commission realised that they had to control 'an excess of democracy' and education was one way to address the issue. The Commission writes, "higher education is the most important value-producing system in society."[32] The Commission was concerned that education must serve the needs of the ruling class. Chomsky argues that the Trilateral Commission view schools as institutions for indoctrination, "for imposing obedience, for blocking the possibility of independent thought."[33]

Further contributing to the conformity of education are government cutbacks in education, which have made schools worldwide search for new sources of revenue. Corporations have helped fill the gap by providing needed income to universities with the sponsorship or establishment of endowed chairs, professorships, programs, and seminars. For example, in 2007, mining giant Anglo-Platinum established a chair in mineral processing at the University of Cape Town. At Wits University in Johannesburg, there are many endowed chairs from corporations, including Caxton (publisher), Mondi (paper and forestry), De Beers (mining), Eskom (electricity), SAPPI (forestry), and BMW (auto). As many scholars have proven, by taking money from corporations, schools and universities have to tacitly agree with the principles and practices of the corporation and therefore become unlikely to critique the business practices of those companies.[34] Corporate sponsorship of higher education is not a benevolent activity; for-profit corporations are not moral agents, but rather act to help reinforce their activities. Besides being a tax deduction for corporations, the terms of corporate donations and funding for research to universities are often not made public. Conversely, there are no endowed chairs from townships, Anti-Privatisation Forum, Landless People's Movement, Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, or for that matter progressive social movements. These groups simply do not have the resources or money to fund chairs within universities, resulting in a one-dimensional representation. While it might be too idealistic to argue that corporations should have no involvement in the funding of higher education, the government needs to at the very least re-examine, regulate, and

monitor the funding for universities' departments and endowed chairs so that it is representative of the whole nation.

Professions and professional organisations also establish values that rein in individuals by requiring certain credentials and dictating appropriate behaviours. While these standards are helpful in setting practices they also promote an ideology. Former editor of a science magazine, *Physics Today,* Jeff Schmidt writes in *Disciplined Minds:*

> Being a good civics student and learning to recite the right ideology won't get you a job where ideology is important, a professional job. An institution is not going to trust someone to make decisions in its interests and in its name unless that person shows almost instinctive feeling for the right ideology. To become a person whose instincts employers can trust, the aspiring professional must not only be willing and able to accept from the system the ideological direction of his professional work, he must also internalize the assigned ideology, or at least act convincingly as if he has done so. Internalizing an ideology means more than becoming very good at following its dictates. It means adopting it as one's own. Only that earns the trust of employers. The result is a reliable servant who sees himself as self-directed, for his work his employers let him make most decisions according to what he feel is right.[35]

Given this pressure to conform, it would be very difficult, for example, to find an SABC television journalist who is critical of government officials. Likewise, it would be hard to find a journalist working for a for-profit newspaper to be actively critical of market-driven journalism. Journalists will argue fervently that they write what they want and no one is watching over them, or that it is the people who tell them what to write, especially in post-apartheid South Africa. Yet the evidence from the three case studies in 2002-2003 shows remarkable conformity and subservience to power, reinforcing the tenants of the propaganda model. Furthermore, in the first major study of its kind, it reinforces the tenants in a non-Western democracy.

The study also reveals the vast power behind both capital and globalisation, and the resulting decrease in individual countries' autonomy over their own public policy and media performance. Wits University media scholar Nixon Kariithi corroborates the power of globalisation in his critical analysis of economic news in nine African countries. He writes that papers, "embrace a free market enterprise as a forgone conclusion, and report overtures towards market-based economies as common sense."[36] Socialisation, education, and internalised values instill certain unquestioned assumptions into journalists' understanding and perception of the world.

Aside from built-in assumptions, other factors also limit journalists' and readers' ability to function outside prevailing, manufactured ideologies. Stanley Milgram famously highlighted adherence to authority in his book *Obedience to Authority.* Milgram and his colleagues measured the willingness of participants to obey authority figures even when the given directives conflicted with personal values. The experiment involved a volunteer who was told under the direction of an authority figure to give an electric shock to another person when the other

person, an actor, answered a question incorrectly. Milgram writes how people will adopt and follow the direction of authority:

> This is, perhaps the most fundamental lesson of our study: ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. …The key to the behavior of subjects lies not in pent-up anger or aggression but in the nature of their relationship to authority. They have given themselves to the authority, they see themselves as instruments for the execution of his wishes; they are unable to break free.[37]

Milgram's study demonstrates that everyday hardworking individuals follow the desires of those in power, a principle that readily applies to journalism. While writing for a newspaper need not be an inherently destructive process, the point is that the trend is for journalists, and people more generally, to conform to authority and power simply by 'doing their duty.'

While journalists are not under the command of a military officer, they are under the leadership of someone in authority and someone who controls their immediate occupational future. Large corporations own newspapers and they exert tremendous influence and power over both editors and journalists. As laid out in the ownership section of this paper, the public does not control or own newspapers, corporations and wealthy people own newspapers, and journalists work to increase profits for shareholders. Stories reflect the needs of the owners. In this process, journalists will naturally self-censor themselves to ensure self-preservation. When journalists go outside the acceptable elite parameters they may be fired or moved to another department. In 2005, the *Los Angles Times* fired journalist Robert Sheer, an employee who had worked for 30 years at the newspaper for his left-leaning liberal tendency and his doubts about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Sheer was an early critic of the war.[38] Likewise, Canadian publisher Russell Mills was fired in 2002 from the *Ottawa* Citizen for "non-compliance' with the corporation's (CanWest Global) hands' off policy towards then Prime Minster Jean Chretien. When a major scandal broke within the Chretien administration, the *Ottawa Citizen* suggested within their editorials that Chretien resign. CanWest Global the new owners of the *Ottawa Citizen* had a long standing relationship with Chretien and the Liberal Party.[39] In addition to self-censoring on political and economic issues, journalists rarely, if ever, investigate their own media institutions or performance; the topic, for the most part, is off limits and employees know this intuitively, as the prospect of unemployment is high. The system responds quickly, sanctioning others to set an example.

The media, schools, families, faith-based groups, and society as a whole begin the process of shaping individuals very early in life, and reward people for compliance and obedience, while at the same time punishing them for independence. US media scholar Herbert Schiller writes about these internal pressures on journalists:

> In truth, the strength of the controlled process rests in its apparent

> absence. The desired systematic result is achieved ordinarily by a loose though effective institutional process. It utilizes the education of journalists and other media professionals, built in penalties and rewards for doing what is expected, norms presented as objective rules, and the occasional but telling direct intrusion above. The main lever is the internalization of values.[40]

During apartheid, governmental censorship and laws placed constraints on journalists; today, the educational system (sources), professions and professional organisations (ideology), and ownership and advertising (capital) are the filters that regulate journalists.

First, second, and third-order predictions

Noam Chomsky, in a follow-up book to *Manufacturing Consent,* writes that the propaganda model makes various predictions about media performance at various levels. In this book, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies,* he articulates three predictions about the propaganda model:

> There are first-order predictions about how the media function. The model also makes second-order predictions about how the media performance will be discussed and evaluated. And it makes third-order predictions about reactions to studies of media performance. The general prediction, at each level, is that what enters the mainstream will support the needs of established power. The first order predictions are those we have been concerned with throughout. The second order predictions is that media debate will be bounded in a manner that satisfies these external needs, thus limited to the question of the alleged adversarial stance of the media, …But suppose that some study of the media escapes these bounds, and reaches unwanted conclusions. The model yields third-order predictions about this case as well: specially, it predicts that such inquiry will be ignored or bitterly condemned, for it conflicts with the needs of the powerful and privileged.[41]

These first, second, and third-order predictions are relevant in the discussion of South African media performance. The majority of this thesis addressed first-order predictions (how the media functions), reviewed in the chapters on media ownership, advertising, forestry, NEPAD, and terrorism. In each illustration, the research demonstrated that daily English print media in South Africa reinforced, as Chomsky terms it, "the needs of established power." In each of the three case studies, the press followed a remarkable degree of ideological conformity and submission to the powerful. There was little, if any, alternative world view about forestry, economics, or politics. The propaganda model predicted these types of outcome about media performance.

In democratic societies, power rests with both capital and government and often fluctuates with changing political, social, and economic tides. Hence, the media does not follow a hundred percent the desires of either government or private capital. Chomsky writes:

> The propaganda model does not assert that the media parrot the line of the current state managers in the manner of a totalitarian regime; rather, that the media reflect the consensus of powerful elites of the state-corporate nexus generally, included those who object to some aspects of government policy, typically on tactical grounds. The model argues, from its foundations, that the media will protect the interests of the powerful, not that it will protect state managers from their criticisms.[42]

The media coverage of HIV/AIDS in South Africa is a case in point where the media does not follow the government. While former President Mbeki had been sluggish and reluctant to address HIV/AIDS, many business executives, civil society advocates, and citizens had been openly debating avenues to address the pandemic. In dealing with HIV/AIDS, these groups differed from Mbeki in policy, tactics, and long-term goals, and this split will be reflected in the media through various debates or perspectives. Public education is another example. The ANC, following the ideals laid out in the 1955 *Freedom Charter,* campaigned in 1994 on a platform of free education, but international finance and corporate leaders did not want the state to spend state revenue and advocated instead for neoliberal economic polices. For many years, the ANC abandoned its free education policy. The two examples of HIV/AIDS and education demonstrate that the propaganda model does not function at a hundred percent.

While second-order predictions were not discussed in detail in the empirical chapters of this paper, they were explored in the introductory chapter and a few comments will be added here. Second-order predictions highlight that any media discussion will work with acceptable frameworks and be limited in scope. For example, there will always be plenty of exposés about corruption, misdeeds, and lack of ethics by politicians, sports figures, or celebrities. Some journalists and editors will be accused of going over the edge or of being too aggressive or one-sided in their coverage of a story. For example, Jocelyn Maker and Megan Power's newspaper article, "Manto's hospital booze binge" in the 12 August 2007 *Sunday Times* was met with accusations of yellow journalism and unethical behaviour on the part of the journalists and editors.[43] Likewise, in July 2006, former South African deputy president Jacob Zuma filed a defamation suit against publishers, reporters, journalists, and cartoonists over their coverage of his trial for alleged rape, what he termed his "crucifixion in the media."[44] An August 2000 report by the South African Human Rights Commission entitled "Faultlines: Inquires into Racism in the Media" provides further evidence and accusations that the media was racist.[45]

For many South Africans, the findings of this thesis are likely to be problematic. It is virtually unthinkable to state or write that under a free democratic South Africa the press are just as obedient and subservient to power as under apartheid. The spectrum of debate on media performance has often focused on race on many occasions since the election of 1994, but to suggest that the press is spurning out propaganda for the powerful is inexpressible. Often individual journalists and or newspapers have been singled out for inappropriate behaviour or stepping outside the spectrum of debate, but little has

been written about the pervasive pattern of ideological conformity. This thesis attempted to fill that gap in scholarship. This is especially important after many years of state censorship and control of the media.

Following third-order predictions, journalists, editors, and academics in South Africa will most likely either dismiss the findings in this research paper or probe for a slight error in methodology. What is pervasive and irrefutable is that between 2002 and 2003 large sectors of the population were systematically left out of the dialogue about important issues such as forestry, NEPAD, and terrorism. It is unlikely under the current market-driven media that these trends have changed much over the past few years. The research has demonstrated that the filters of media ownership, advertising, the use of sources, neoliberalism, and flak regulate and restrict media output.

During the apartheid years, journalists and editors bravely fought to have the ability to write whatever they wanted and with the election of 1994 a new day dawned for journalists, editors, and South Africa; however, forces greater and more powerful than apartheid have come to shape and restrict the media. While the elation resulting from a new democratic South Africa was a moral victory, individuals, journalists, and editors who were part of the struggle did not realise that a new, larger system would quickly replace the old system, and that critical assessment would still essentially remain censored. Those who were part of the struggle may have felt that the end of apartheid was a victory for free press. People will naturally reject findings that run counter to all that they fought for; however, a healthy democratic society should be able to face a critical assessment.

Implications for journalists, academics, and citizens

In August of 1995, the then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki called a gathering of various media stakeholders—governmental workers, Parliamentarians, academics, and members of the communications industry—to Arniston, a small fishing community in the Western Cape of South Africa. The purpose of the Arniston Conference on Government Communication was to evaluate ways the government could improve communication within the country. From the conference, a task force was established called Comtask. Comtask combed the country and thoroughly assessed the media within South Africa.[46] Besides looking at ways the new government could improve communication, the issue of media ownership, especially white media ownership, was on the agenda. However, through an extensive assessment process, it became clear that the new democratic government had multiple communication shortcomings and this became the primary focus of Comtask, resulting in the media ownership issue becoming watered down and eclipsed.[47] The point of bringing up Arniston and Comtask is that the country has a rich and extensive history of examining important issues with stakeholders. However, the press remains wedded to the powerful. The time has come for South Africa to engage in another systematic review of media, communication, and democracy, especially in light of this research and the media's current performance. From this research, there are

five areas that would benefit from further evaluation.

First, significant resources need to be directed towards understanding how the market affects media performance. The political restrictions on the media during apartheid are well documented. This paper has demonstrated that new economic forces continue to curb media performance. The uniform curbing of three different newspapers was remarkable and indicates the need for continued study of the interlocking social, political, and economic relationships within the media. Academics, journalists, government officials, media activists, and citizens need to further evaluate the relationship between media ownership and media performance. It is essential that various stakeholders strive to write and advocate for a media that is democratic and pluralistic. Public policies that can safeguard against consolidation of media ownership should be re-examined, re-implemented, or, when nonexistent, created to ensure that a wide dispersal of voices can be heard and articulated. For example, rather than having three publishers control the overwhelming majority of daily English newspapers in South Africa, it would be more representative if there were 15-20 newspaper owners around the country. Public policies should ensure a wide diversity of media ownership rather than free-market principles. To facilitate such policy change, the Media Development and Diversity Agency, which was created by the South African government in 2002, could increase their research on how concentrated media effects media performance. Furthermore, media companies need to identify and publish all other financial investments and holdings to ensure transparency for the readers.

Second, South Africa can address advertising on several fronts. In light of the effects advertising has on media performance, a review of the current advertising legislation is crucial.[48] Parliament should consider a tax on advertising. A tax could subsidize smaller media outlets or provide an increase in commercial free programming for children. Other legislative initiatives should include the creation of advertising-free zones and the establishment of a commission to study the effects of advertising on children (European countries such as Norway, Sweden, and Greece already heavily restrict advertising to children).[49] Societies make laws to protect vulnerable sectors of society, and children need to be protected from excessive advertising.

Additionally, Parliament could require media outlets to publish within their respective media the list of the top 25-30 advertisers per month and the percentage of income that is generated from advertising for each media outlet. For example, *Business Day* would list Standard Bank, Nedbank, Mobile Telephone Network (MTN), Rand Merchant Bank, and ABSA Bank as their top five advertisers along with another 20-25 advertisers. This transparency would allow the public to see who is sponsoring the paper and measure media coverage of those individuals and or corporations. This process of reporting will also help the consumer see the relationship between advertising and media performance.

Third, South Africa, and arguably most countries, need an alternative model since economic forces of a market-driven media are strong and commanding.[50] While it has not come to fruition, an alternative model is not a

new idea in South Africa. The African National Congress has discussed alternative visions in a 2002 position paper entitled, "Media in Democratic South Africa."[51] The position paper addresses the issues of market-driven media and the need to develop an alternative model that is inclusive. Item number 42 of the document states:

> There is [a] need to develop a public funded model in order for the public and community media to serve as vehicles the needs of the poor, rural people, women, labour and other marginalized constituencies.[52]

During the Comtask evaluation, the Independent Media Diversity Trust, National Community Media Forum, the Learn and Teach Publications Trust and media academic Guy Berger, also put forth mixed media systems.[53] Ideally, in a democratic society, corporations should not profit from the dispersion of news and information. News that informs a society should be accessible and reflective of the needs of the citizens; it should not be a mouthpiece for a select few. Therefore, serious discussion and evaluation of media ownership and alternative models is needed if people are truly interested in a free media and an informed society.[54] In 2008, the ANC expressed their desire to start their own newspaper. Unfortunately, it appears that the newspaper would not be an alternative, but rather more of the same. News would be dramatically less biased if reporters worked for the people and not a corporation or the government. This would be furthered if journalists' pay checks came from a general fund—they could freely serve the public interest and challenge abuses of power if they were not tied to corporate or government interests. An increase in alternative and non-profit press would help further inform the citizenry. A review of the Competition Laws (Antitrust) may also be warranted in order to protect the interests of citizens.

Fourth, countries need a more accurate way to evaluate and monitor the media. Currently in South Africa the press self-regulate through the Press Ombudsman and Press Council South Africa. Press Council South Africa states, "Effective self-regulation is the best system for promoting high standards in the media."[55] This paper has clearly demonstrated that self-regulation has not been effective. In December 2007, the ANC Polokwane Conference proposed a Media Appeals Tribunal that would be statutory and answerable to Parliament. The ANC argument was that the press cannot pay for and receive unbiased media evaluation. Soon after the Polokwane Conference, there was flak from the media, such as the following statement found in the *Mail and Guardian*: "the ANC idea of a statutory appeals tribunal is simply a bad one. The quicker it is laid to rest, the better."[56] Taking it a step further international journalist and photographer Giordano Stolley's article, "ANC media Tribunal 'threatens press freedom'" states:

> Once a tribunal is accountable to Parliament we have moved into new territory, where it is no longer self regulation—and therefore press freedom and freedom of expression are threatened.[57]

It is clear the current system is not adequately doing its work and the proposed

system seems to throw the lever in the other direction. Perhaps a hybrid version of the two is in order, a public-private partnership that has the ability to fine and make sanctions against the press.

In addition to a newer body to regulate the press, South Africa needs to address systematic influences on the media. Following the path of this study, this could be done through further systematic examinations of actual media performance on specific topics. While the principles of a free press are heralded within the new South Africa, a rigorous focus on actual media performance could call attention to bias, distortions, and gaps in reporting. Further evaluations of media performance on selected topics such as health, energy, food security, and education are crucial. A study of paired examples can provide valuable information on media performance. For example, does the profitability of a drug affect media coverage of the corresponding illness? In other words, does the high profitability of pharmaceutical blockbusters (for conditions widely treated in the developed world, such as depression, erectile dysfunction, overactive bladder, osteoporosis, irritable bowel syndrome, premenstrual dysphonic disorder, and heart conditions) affect the frequency of coverage and whether articles support the drug and its developer?[58] Does the reverse—negative or nonexistent coverage—occur for drugs for "neglected diseases" (such as tuberculosis, malaria, or schistosomiasis) that predominantly affect the poor and have a low profit margin?[59]

As argued throughout this paper, sources also affect media performance. Neoliberalism ideology has come to play an influential role within the world economy and journalism. Closely related to this issue is that of democratic theory and globalisation. Particular attention can be focused on the use of sources in the creation of news stories. It is convenient and cost effective to rely on those in power for sources; it is much more difficult to build and sustain opposition and alternative sources. Otherwise, the over-reliance on official sources becomes a script for the powerful. Flak could also be further measured and documented. Further studies on South African media can reinforce or weaken the core arguments about filters advanced by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky. In brief, attention about the media needs to move away from individuals—journalists and editors—to a focus on the structural components that influence media outcomes.

Finally, at a bare minimum, newspaper coverage must reflect the lives and circumstances of those on the bottom of society. The front page of South African newspapers should be filled with stories about things that affect a large majority of the population, such as HIV/AIDS, food insecurity, and unemployment. These stories should not be sensational or anecdotal, but rather critical and informative, allowing citizens to reflect, act, and advocate for change. Newspapers ought to have detailed stories about orphans and township life, not celebrity gossip and corporate earnings. Newspapers should also provide stories about the two-tier healthcare within the country. While economic indicators such as corporate earnings are important, they should not misplace coverage of the societal and economic needs of the majority of the population; it is important to remember that lives can be changed through awareness and the resulting public outcry. In

short, society should hear and read the stories of weaker elements of society. Protestant theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a prisoner in Nazi Germany, stated, "the test of the morality of a society is how it treats its children."[60] This can be reframed for the media: "the test of the morality of a society is how the poor, oppressed, and marginalized are presented and covered within the media."

The struggle during apartheid was that of justice; the unfair distribution of rights, goods, services, and burdens within South Africa was simply no longer tolerable. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee indicated the media was culpable in propping up and perpetuating the apartheid government. Thirteen years after the end of apartheid, the press continues to be culpable in presenting a one-sided view. How history will judge the South African press in seven years time when its democracy is 20 years old is hard to predict. However, as apartheid has demonstrated, a new world is possible when people dedicate themselves to freedom and justice. Evaluating the media and advocating for media reform will be critical over the next seven years for participatory democracy and journalism to take root.

Conclusion

Reflections from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) on how the media was utilized during the apartheid years will help conclude this thesis through renewing the memory of state-sponsored censorship, juxtaposing apartheid to modern times, and hopefully rekindling vigorous debate on media analysis in South Africa.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission compiled seven volumes of work in their exploration of abuses and human rights violations during the apartheid years. The Commission looked at many aspects of South African life and how they contributed to apartheid. Volume 4, Chapter 6 was an Institutional Hearing with a focus on how "(T)he media played a crucial role in helping reflect and mould public opinion" during apartheid. The Commission found:

> The management of the mainstream English language media often adopted a policy of appeasement towards the state, ensuring that a large measure of self-censorship occurred. (Paragraph 113)

This process of appeasement still occurs today towards both the state and private capital. Furthermore, Paragraph 112 highlights that the press, in relation to gross human rights violations, "…denied the right of South Africans to a free flow of information and ideas."

While South Africa has thrown off the fetters of state repression and formal apartheid censorship of the press, new mechanisms of censorship have replaced the old. While the relics of media censorship during apartheid seem like a distant memory, certain segments of the new South Africa, mainly market-driven English daily newspapers, continue through a series of new filters to limit and shape ideas for the benefit of elite private and public sectors. The result is a manufactured, one-dimensional world view, which as South Africans already

know, is not only restrictive, but also runs contrary to the very notions of freedom and democracy for which the new South Africa theoretically stands.

A key issue here is hypocrisy. While the state-run media and the newspapers owned by Afrikaner capital made no bones about their loyalty to the apartheid state, the newspapers owned by English capital trumpet a liberal commitment to balance and objectivity while failing to apply these principles in their own columns. Both Afrikaner and English newspapers failed dismally to reflect the feelings of "ordinary" South Africans. They relied heavily on government sources of information, no matter how discredited they were, and made very little effort to obtain information from alternative sources. In their coverage of the struggle against apartheid, including the armed struggle, the English-language press relied almost exclusively on information from the state. Contacts with the ANC liberation movement during the anti-apartheid struggle were insufficient, and the paradigm remained the 'white world view.' This served to entrench the polarisation of apartheid, rather than exposing readers to a range of views.[61]

On the one hand, South Africa media has changed significantly since the end of apartheid with an increase in media diversity and the expansion of the public service media system (SABC). On the other hand, it is arguable that media *performance* has changed very little over the past 14 years; a single world view dominates whether based on race as during apartheid, or based on capital, as it does today. In the past, race was the issue used to look at society, now it is capital that has the same effect. The research methods from this paper—using paired examples on terrorism and range of expressible opinion on forestry and NEPAD—provided a solid method to test media performance. In each instance, the case studies confirm, or more accurately, exceed, the predictions of the PM. The power and application of the propaganda model's five filters in South Africa have arguably proven just as effective in controlling thought as any system during apartheid.

[1] Eric Klinenberg, *Fighting for Air. The Battle to Control Americas Media* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 113.
[2] *New York Times. "*More Deaths in Myanmarn and Defiance" 28 September 2007, *New York Times.* "Myanmar Monks Protest Contained by Junta's Force," 28 September 2007.
[3] Tokyo Sexwale, "SA needs a diversity of media ownership," *Mayibuye*: *Journal of the African National Congress.* Vol. 6, No. 6 (1995)
[4] The *Times* "Ramaphosa and Sexwale bid for Johnnic stake" 23 September 2007. http://www.sundaytimes.co.za/News/Article.aspx?id=570257
[5] Nepad paragraph 108. Retrieved from http://www.nepad.org
[6] *Mail and Guardian* 14 October 2007.
[7] Joel Bakan, *The Corporation* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 153-154.
[8] Michael Schudson, "Owning Up," *Columbia Journalism Review,* January/February 2007: 58.
[9] *Mail and Guardian 26 January 2005.* The period measured was January-August 2004.
[10] Tony Koenderman, *Tony Koenderman's Ad Review 2007* (Sandton: Fin Week, 2007), 36
[11] African National Congress, "Media in a democratic South Africa," Number 16, August 2002. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo16/media.html
[12] The original article was entitled, 'Manto hospital booze binge' *Sunday Times 12 August 2007.* The article about the threat to pull advertising was, 'Editors worried by Stat's 'revenge' *The Times 12 September 2007.* Following the initial article there was a plethora of commentary about the article, the editors and press freedom. The National Prosecuting Authority investigated to determine if medical records were stolen. One government investigator flew to New Zealand for a week to interview a nurse. With arrests pending for *Sunday Times* editors, Mondi Makhanya and Jocelyn Maker, the two editors stated they would turn themselves into the police. Makhanya also received criticism from individuals at a SANEF conference in October 2007. All of this played out in the press.
[13] *News 24* 'SABC breaks ties with SANEF,' 1 September 2007. The article quotes part of the letter sent to SANEF from SABC and lays blame on a market-driven economy. In the letter SABC stated it would no longer stand idle "whilst we are being made a whipping boy and a scapegoat by the profit-driven media. Even less are we prepared to associate with the enemies of our freedom and our people. We cannot remain quiet while our mothers and our democratically chosen leaders are stripped naked for the sole reason of selling newspapers."
[14] Koenderman (2007), 34.
[15] United Nations Development Programme. *South Africa Human Development Report 2003. The Challenge of Sustainable Development: Unlocking People's Creativity* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2003), 272.
[16] Ibid.
[17] "Big men, big fraud and big trouble," *Economist,* April 28 2007.
[18] "Chop Fine: The Human Rights Impact of Local Government Corruption and Mismanagement in Rivers State, Nigeria," *Human Rights Watch*, January 2007, Vol. 19 No. 2(A) http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/nigeria0107/ Financial information was listed in US dollars. The number in parentheses is a conversation to South African Rand. The formula used to determine the dollar to Rand ratio was to take the yearly average of the exchange rate for 2007. The rate was taken from http://www.oanda.com. The average exchange rate was 7.06926 Rand to a US dollar.
[19] NEPAD see http://www.nepad.org
[20] "Women farmers, the 'invisible' producers," *Africa Recovery, United Nations,* Vol. 11, No. 2, October 1997. http://www.un.org/ecosacdev/geninfo/afrec/vol11no2/women.htm. A 1995 report prepared for the Fourth World Conference on Women by FAO entitled: "A synthesis report of the Africa Region – Women, agriculture and rural development" explains issues that confronted women in Africa. The report was compiled from national sectoral reports from the countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Mauritania, Morocco, Namibia, Sudan, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The report looked at rural women's issues from the early 1980s and six critical areas of concern were identified and re-examined: 1) inequality in the sharing of power and

decision-making at all level; 2) insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women; 3) lack of awareness of, and commitment to, internationally and nationally recognized women's rights; 4) poverty; 5) inequality in women's access to, and participation in, the definition of economic structures and the productive process itself; and, 6) inequality in access to employment.

[21] Retrieved from Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations website, subsection Gender and Food Security—Agriculture, http://www.fao.org/Gender/en/agri-e.htm

[22] Sara Abbas, "With Friends Like These," *Z Magazine,* December 2007, 46-48.

[23] 'Bold and imaginative leadership' is from the sixth paragraph of NEPAD. See http//www:nepad.org

[24] Robin Andersen, *A Century of Media, A Century of War* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 5-6.

[25] Amy Goodman, *The Exception to the Rulers* (London: Arrow Books, 2004), 23. Noam Chomsky reframes the events of 9/11 in relation to Chile. 'So let's imagine that on September 11, 2001 Al Qaeda had bombed the White House, killed the president, instituted a military coup, killed 50,000 to 100,000 people, tortured 700,000, established a terror center in Washington that instigated or supported comparable military coups elsewhere in the hemisphere, murdered and assassinated people they didn't like all over the world. Suppose they brought in a bunch of economists—let's call then the Kanadhar Boys—who wrecked the economy, were greatly revered, and then went home to collect their Nobel Prizes. Let's suppose that had happened. Would it have changed the world? Everyone says our [US] September 11 changed the world. But this isn't hypothetical. That's what happened on September 11, 1973." Noam Chomsky, *What We Say Goes. Conversations on US Power in a Changing World. Interviews with David Barsamian.* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 76-77.

[26] Ibid., 23. Noam Chomsky reframes the events of 9/11 in relation to Chile. 'So let's imagine that on September 11, 2001 Al Qaeda had bombed the White House, killed the president, instituted a military coup, killed 500,00 to 100,000 people, tortured 700,000, established a terror center in Washington that instigated or supported comparable military coups elsewhere in the hemisphere, murdered and assassinated people they didn't like all over the world. Suppose they brought in a bunch of economists—let's call then the Kanadhar Boys—who wrecked the economy, were greatly revered, and then went home to collect their Nobel Prizes. Let's suppose that had happened. Would it have changed the world? Everyone says our [US] September 11 changed the world. But this isn't hypothetical. That's what happened on September 11, 1973. Noam Chomsky, *What We Say Goes. Conversations on US Power in a Changing World. Interviews with David Barsamian.* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 76-77.

[27] Goodman (2004), 23.

[28] Amy Goodman, *Democracy Now,* radio broadcast September 11, 2007. http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=07/09/11/1423249

[29] Coetzee, J. M. *Giving Offense. Essays on Censorship.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 136-7.

[30] Ibid., 125.

[31] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Continuum, 1985), 57-74. Freire writers, 'This solution is not (nor can it be) found in the banking concept. On the contrary, banking education maintains and even stimulates the contradiction through the following attitudes and practices, which mirror oppressive society as a whole:

(a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
(b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
(c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
(d) the teacher talks and the students listen — meekly;
(e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
(f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
(g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;

(h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
(i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
(j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.'

[32] Holly Sklar, *Trilateralism. The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management* (Boston: South End Press, 1980), 41.

[33] Noam Chomsky, *Chomsky on MisEducation.* Donaldo Macedo ed., (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield: 2000), 2. The reference is taken from the introduction which was written by Macedo.

[34] The same is true for research grants given to universities. For a look at corporate control of higher education in the United Kingdom see George Monbiot's *Captive State: The Corporate Takeover of Britain* (London: Macmillan, 2000); Monbiot specifically looks at universities in the UK in a chapter entitled, "Silent Science-The Corporate Takeover of the Universities," 281-301. In the US, see Lawrence Soley, *Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia* (South End Press, 1995). Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 65-83; Christopher Lasch, *Revolt of the Elites (New York: Norton, 1995);* Cary Nelson and Stephen Watt, *Academic Keywords: A Devil's Dictionary for Higher Education* (Routledge, 1999), Julianne Basinger, " Increase in Number of Chairs Endowed by Corporations Prompt New Concern," *Chronicle of Higher Education,* 24 April 1998, A51. For Canada see, Neil Tudiver, *Universities for Sale: Resisting Corporate Control of Canadian Higher Education* (Toronto: James Lorimar 1999).

[35] Jeff Schmidt, *Disciplined Minds* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 148.

[36] Nixon Kariithi, "A new dawn for Africa? NEPAD, the African Union and challenges for the African media," in *Untold Stories. Economics and Business Journalism in African Media.,* ed., Peter Kareithi and Nixon Kariithi (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2005), 169.

[37] Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974), 6,168.

[38] Noam Chomsky, *Interventions* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2007), xv-xvi. Information taken from Peter Hart's Forward.

[39] Robert McChesney. *The Political Economy of Media: Enduring Issues, Emerging Dilemmas.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2008), 394.

[40] Herbert Schiller, *Culture, Inc.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 8.

[41] Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 153.

[42] Ibid., 149.

[43] *Sunday Times 12 August 2007.* Additional fall out from the article included SABC withdrawals from the South Africa's National Editors Forum (SANEF). See *Mail and Guardian,* 'Enemy of the People' September 7, 2007 http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=318519&area=/insight/insight__comment_and_analysis/ and SABC's Group CEO and Editors-in-Chief's letter to SANEF, or http://www.mg.co.za/ContentImages/318523/sabc_letter.pdf. Another example when reporters are punished for writing a story that goes against powerful interests is that of investigative journalist Raymond Bonner from the *New York Times.* Bonner wrote about the massacre at El Mozote in El Salvador in 1981 in which 1000 civilians were brutally murdered by US sponsored military forces. After the story came out the Reagan administration went on the offensive to discredit the journalist, the story and the *New York Times.* Bonner was transferred out of El Salvador. W. Lance Bennett writes about the intimidation of the press, 'The successful attack on an organization as prestigious as the *New York Times* sent shock waves through the rest of the media. W. Lance Bennett, *News: The Politics of Illusion.* Third Edition. (White Plains: Longman, 1996, 1988, 1983, 2005). Furthermore, a *Newsweek* photographer lamented, 'When they pulled Bonner they hung the rest of us out to dry.' Robin Andersen, *A Century of Media, A Century of War.*(New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 91.

[44] http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2000/racism.pdf. In 2002, the International Press Institute noted, 'On 28 May, Barney Pityan, new vice chancellor of the University of South Africa (Unisa) and former chairperson of the South African Human Rights Commission, who oversaw the hearings into racism in the media, accused the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper of racism and is

threatening to sue for defamation.' "2002 World Press Freedom Review—South Africa," *International Press Institute* http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0006/KW0177/&year=2002

[45] Ibid. http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0006/KW0177/&year=2002

[46] There were 37 public meetings and written submissions from 150 parties during the evaluation by Comtask. Additionally, 19 countries were studied in relation to their media. Robert Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2001), 298-299.

[47] Ibid., 289-322. Furthermore, publishers, (Naspers and Independent News, Print Media Association of South Africa) and media groups stated that the market, not government, was best suited to help bring transformation within the media.

[48] Inger L. Stole's book, *Advertising on Trail,* examines how activists and progressive thinkers in the United States addressed advertising in the 1930's. She provides a rich history that can be utilized today. She writes, 'In the 1930's, for the only time in U.S. history, a public debate erupted and persisted over how best to craft federal regulation to control advertising. At this moment activists had a real chance to reroute advertising and commercialism from their well-established course.' *Advertising on Trail,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006) viii.

[49] See Juliet Schor, *Born to Buy* (New York: Scribner, 2004); Susan Linn, *Consuming Kids* (New York: Scribner, 2004) for the effects of advertising on children in America. Also see. Henry Giroux, *Stealing Innocence: Corporate Culture's War on Children.* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

[50] Robert McChesney shows how corporations came to dominate newspapers in the US between 1900 and 1920. During that period, media giant E. W. Scripps launched an adless labor daily newspaper in Chicago, *Day Book* and Joseph Pulitzer entertained the idea of leaving his newspapers to a public trust. McChesney also highlights the critical works of Upton Sinclair's *the Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism.* (Pasadena, CA: self-published by author, 1920) and Robert M. La Follette, *The Political Philosophy of Robert M. La Follette,* compiled by Ellen Torelle (Madison, WI: Robert M. La Follette Co., 1920). Robert McChesney, *Communication Revolution.* (New York: Free Press, 2007), 26.

[51] "Media in a democratic South Africa." August 2002. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo16/media.html

[52] Ibid.

[53] Horwitz (2001), 307.

[54] In the United States two newspapers, *St. Petersburg Times* and *New London Day* (Connecticut) are owned by charitable organizations. These papers devote more resources to journalism compared to other US or publicly traded newspaper companies within the United States. The *St. Petersburg Times* has the largest circulation in Florida. C Edwin Baker, *Media Concentration and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37.

[55] Taken from Press Council South Africa. http://www.presscouncil.org.za/pages/welcome.php

[56] *Mail and Guardian.* "Regulating press freedom: a bad idea," 25 January 2008. The article was written by Franz Kruger who is a member of Press Council South Africa.

[57] *Mail and Guardian* 01 April 2008.

[58] See *Melody* Petersen, *Our Daily Meds. How the Pharmaceutical Companies Transformed Themselves into Slick Marketing Machines and Hooked the Nation on Prescription Drugs* New York: (Sarah Crichton Books/Farrar Straus & Giroux, 2008).

[59] Ibid., 161. Petersen noted that 1223 new drugs reached the market between the years of 1975 and 1997 and only thirteen of them treated debilitating diseases found in the tropics, where most people are poor. She goes on to note that only four of these drugs were developed by the pharmaceutical industry. Also see, Ray Moynihan and Alan Cassels, *Selling Sickness* (New York: Nation Books, 2005). Katharine Greider, *The Big Fix: How the Pharmaceutical Industry Rips Off Consumers* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003) From the Media Education Foundation see *Big Bucks, Big Pharma: Marketing Disease and Pushing Drugs.* http://www.mediaed.org/videos/MediaAndHealth/BigBucksBigPharma

[60] Marian Wright Edelman, 2006 Commencement Address to Yale University, School of Public Health. Edelman is Founder and President of the Children's Defense Fund. http://publichealth.yale.edu/news/may06/commencement.html

[61] Robert Horwitz, *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2001), 293. To see the full ANC submission to the TRC see http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/misc/mediasub.html

Appendix 1

Business Day articles: Forestry

Date	Title	Author
03 Jan 02	Cosatu's Willy Madisha on a roll	Lamont
18 Jan 02	Sale of Safcol's noncore assets is on	Chalmers
25 Jan 02	Zama to buy plantations in the Congo	Cook
29 Jan 02	Yorkcor seeks government compensation	Chalmers
12 Feb 02	Yorkcor seeks ruling over government's 'breach of contract'	Chalmers
13 Feb 02	State's offer to Yorkcor is 'well below estimate'	Chalmers
21 Feb 02	About R12bn expected to flow from privatization initiatives	Ensor/Chalmers
28 Feb 02	nglo coy about bid for Russian paper business	Bain
06 Mar 02 PP	Anglo meets opposition in Russia	Helmer
14 Mar 02 PP	Anglo works to establish new interests	Bain
14 Mar 02	Empowerment group wins Safcol bid	Ensor
18 Mar 02	Anglo, Saica bid for La Rochette	Bain
19 Mar 02	Stiff competition chops down Yorkcor's profits	Chalmers
19 Apr 02 PP	Papercor aims to force Sappi to do business	Fraser
22 Apr 02	State in new bid to speed up privatization	Chalmers
20 May 02	Radebe outlines ranges of deals	Chalmers
21 Jun 02 T	Setting sights on timber industry	Carlisle
08 Jul 02	Allegations threaten forestry privatization	Chalmers
09 Jul 02	'Forestgate' board suspends CEO Mlonzi	Chalmers
09 Jul 02	What the forest saw	Chalmers
09 Jul 02	Forestry deal could be jeopardized	Chalmers
10 Jul 02	Softwood lumber sales set to grow	Chalmers
10 Jul 02	Nkuhlu replaced after suspension	Chalmers
11 Jul 02	Forestry chief director joins Jo'burg city	Chalmers
12 Jul 02	Nkuhlu denies bribe allegations	Chalmers
15 Jul 02	Threat to forestry deal forces Zama to act	Chalmers
15 Jul 02	The thick end of the Wedge	
16 Jul 02	Zama takes quick action to save business	Chalmers
18 Jul 02	Safm ran Zama story	Cowley
25 Jul 02	Tainted forest sales face the chop	Chalmers
26 Jul 02	Scrap the forestry deal	
29 Jul 02	Yorkcor, Paharpur team up for forestry bid	Chalmers
30 Jul 02	Kasrils extinguishes Paharpur's hopes	Chalmers
01 Aug 02	Zama deal a symptom of deeper malaise	Heine
23 Aug 02	Zama Komatiland forestry verdict delayed, says Kasrils	Seria
26 Aug 02	Rural revival initiative needs more partners	Wadula
03 Sep 02	Quebec accord sets a global benchmark	Jackson
03 Sep 02	Lobbying support for the Kyoto Protocol	
05 Sep 02*PP	Mondi plans to lift eucalyptus pulp production	Bain
11 Sep 02	Zama's board did no wrong, says PwC	Chalmers
11 Sep 02	Improved exports boost Yorkcor's earnings	Chalmers
12 Sep 02	In brief-No Decision on any action against Nkuhlu yet	SAPA
13 Sep 02	Nkuhlu resigns from his post	Chalmers
16 Sep 02	Chop forestry deal	
16 Sep 02	Zama board extends the suspension of its CEO	Chalmers
16 Sep 02	Press ahead or back to the start?	Chalmers
17 Sep 02	Radebe should cancel deal	Heine
17 Sep 02	Sibiya quits Zama board over 'problems'	Marincowitz
18 Sep 02	Cabinet faces dilemma over forestry deal	Chalmers
18 Sep 02	Paharpur treated like 'pariahs'	Chalmers

19 Sep 02	Another director resigns from Zama	Chalmers
20 Sep 02	Zama weighs up offer by CEO to resign	Chalmers
20 Sep 02	Radebe to give details of restructuring plans	Bain
23 Sep 02	Embattled forestry firm goes from here to zero	Chalmers
23 Sep 02	Tighter controls to follow Zama debacle	Chalmers
23 Sep 02	Onward and upward	
27 Sep 02	In Brief-York wins important court battle against Safcol	Chalmers
01 Oct 02	Strike is the last thing government needs now	Chalmers
04 Oct 02	Show of strength	
07 Oct 02	Paharpur could bid for forests again	Chalmers
08 Oct 02	Indian Group state its terms for new forestry bid	Chalmers
10 Oct 02	Komatiland forests are doing well	Gevisser
10 Oct 02	Safcol sets up arm to protect forest assets	Chalmers
16 Oct 02	Reaction surprises Sappi executives	Fraser
17 Oct 02	Sector's woes not weighing Safcol down	Chalmers
18 Oct 02	Timber sector seeks to avert rail closures	Chalmers
25 Oct 02 T	Insider-Happy ending after all	
25 Oct 02 T	In Brief- Yorkcor fails to settle on compensation	Chalmers
14 Nov 02	State confident it will wind up restructuring by 2004	Ensor
27 Nov 02	Safcol reports good results for the year in tough climate	Chalmers
28 Nov 02 T	Spoornet should give SA priority	Ensor
02 Dec 02	Komatiland forests put up for sale again	Chalmers
03 Dec 02	State forestry plan enters second phase	Chalmers
05 Dec 02	New Eucalyptus tree clones hold great promise	
05 Dec 02	Komatiland sale not out of woods yet	Chalmers
05 Dec 02	Zama cleared to rebid for Komatiland forests	Chalmers
06 Dec 02	Investment drive needed to meet rising power demand	Chalmers

N=77

14 Jan 03	Yorkcor confident that mills will realize profit	Lourens
20 Feb 03	Komatiland forest tender draws attention	Chalmers
20 Feb 03 *F	Gold companies to mine forested areas	Bain
03 Mar 03	Anglo outlines extensive future growth strategy	Bain
05 Mar 03	With launch feted, hard work lies ahead for Telkom	Chalmers
11 Mar 03	State to transfer tow forests areas in Cape to Safcol	Chalmers
26 Mar 03	Anglo will lay out R2bn to increase Mondi mill output	Bain
27 Mar 03	Masonsite dividend waived on volatile rand, global unease	Jenvey
28 Mar 03	State intends to retain role in economy's development	Chalmers
04 Apr 03	Anglo forestry executive may set up own firm	Bain
11 Apr 03	Eastern Cape leads the pack in some area of service delivery, says review	Xundu
06 May 03	New Game park for KwaZulu-Natal	Jenvey
15 May 03	Seven on short list to buy Komatiland forests	Chalmers
19 May 03 T	Union tries to stop takeover of Swartland	Petros
21 May 03	Zama back in the race for stake in forestry	Chalmers
05 Jun 03	Need for urgent action to save grasslands	Webster
10 Jul 03	Sappi weighs multibillion-rand extension at Ngodwana mill	Fraser
21 Jul 03 T	The challenge of a changing industry	Anthony
21 Jul 03 T	Panel Members: Dean Webster, IDC	Webster
28 Jul 03	Yorkcor to challenge bid process	Wilson
26 Aug 03	Vuka buys Mondi forestry assets	Bain
27 Aug 03	African states work to save forest	
02 Sep 03	Yorkcor expects legal issues to be settled peacefully	Classen
03 Sep 03	Courtly expectations	
12 Sep 03	Safcol doubles pretax profit on the way to privatization	Chalmers
15 Sep 03	Forestry drive is set to benefit from Transkei	Xundu

02 Oct 03	Letter-Solutions Wrong	Kasrils
08 Oct 03	Project launched to fight costly veld fires	Xundu
07 Nov 03	Mondi campaign can go on, ASA rules	
04 Dec 03	Cabinet settles delayed Komati forest contract	Phasiwe
05 Dec 03	State taps into robust forestry assets	Phasiwe
09 Dec 03	Land lease glitches to delay forest restructuring	Phasiwe
12 Dec 03	*FArivia.kom wins R180m state tender	Stones
22 Dec 03	TSappi says red tape is harming global business	Fraser

N=34

Total = 111

*Sabinet
blank forestry
T=timber
P=plantations
PP=Paper and pulp

Appendix 2

Cape Times articles: Forestry

Date	Title	Author
02 Jan 02 T	Mondi Makes a bid for timber group La Rochette	
25 Jan 02	Zama Resources will put down roots in Congo	Cokayne
28 Jan 02	Conservation scuttles York supply contract	SAPA
5 Feb 02	Yorkcor to 'emerge robust' from cancelled state deal	Cokayne
11 Feb 02	Yorkcor seeks contempt order against Kasrils	SAPA
20 Feb 02	Safcol and York Timbers in new court battle	Cokayne
21 Feb 02 PP	Sappi Sailicor gets green approval from ISO	Salgado
28 Feb 02 PP	Anglo seeks Russian mill	Reuters
06 Mar 03 PP	Anglo to invest 252 million in Russian paper mill	SAPA
07 Mar 02	Anglo buys Russian paper mill	Bridge
17 Mar 02 T	Port havoc spurs rethink on wharfage	Salgado
18 Mar 02	Anglo, Saica fuse bids for LaRochette	Sguazzin
19 Mar 02 PP	Market welcomes Sappi's R5.6bn acquisition in the US	Salgado
05 Apr 02	Compensation talks on, says Yorkcor	Cokayne
10 May 02	BEE gets R550 slice of forestry pie	Phasiwe
15 May 02 PP	Sappi wraps up Potlatch purchase	Salgado
04 July 02	State sticks to its guns on privatization	Reuters
09 Jul 02	Bribery claim may axe state forestry deal	Phasiwe
12 Jul 02	Nkuhlu's R55,000 went towards stag night and wedding	Phasiwe
16 Jul 02	Two weeks to get to root of forest allegations	SAPA
19 Jul 02	Shauket Fakie to do audit on forestry deal	Phasiwe
22 July 02 T	Commercial trade flows again on Congo River	Reuters
29 Jul 02	Zama Resources's aims to empower its constituents	Masango
29 Jul 02	Yorkcor and Paharpur ally on forestry assets	Cokayne
30 Jul 02	Yorkcor defends Sefateng's' status	Cokayne
07 Aug 02	Forestry sales 'always difficult'	Cokayne
20 Aug 02 T	Sugar, timber sectors a source of green power	SAPA
22 Aug 02 T	Green electricity may be on cards out of sugar, timber	Ngobese
10 Sep 02 PP	SA must plug the gaps in environmental best practice	Inggs
11 Sep 02	Yorkcor interim profit soars 300%	Cokayne
12 Sep 02	Commission to release report soon on bachelor party 'gift'	Phasiwe
16 Sept 02	Axe Komatiland forestry deal, DA urges Radebe	SAPA
17 Sep 02	Legal threat by forestry bidder threat to sue	Phasiwe
19 Sep 02	Second Zama director quits amid inquiry	Phasiwe
19 Sep 02	Zama board mulls Mlonzi's offer to resign	SAPA
23 Sep 02	Fresh bidding for forestry assets will be transparent	Phasiwe
25 Sep 02	Komatiland bidder feels snubbed	Phasiwe
26 Sep 02	Zama to break bad news to shareholders	Phasiwe
03 Oct 02 P	Trying to preserve the best of both worlds in control of invasive p	letter
04 Oct 02	Sefteng expects to win Komatiland	Phasiwe
10 Oct 02	Doubts cast on Sefateng's bid ability	Cokayne
17 Oct 02	Not out of woods (In brief)	
17 Oct 02	UK donors to back new forestry round	Loxton
24 Oct 02	Motlana Jnr takes the helm at Madiba Mills	Phasiwe
30 Oct 02	Rejection of offer based on Masonite forest values	Crotty
13 Nov 02	Former Seta executive may know their fate next week	Phasiwe
14 Nov 02	Yorkcor gears up for new forestry bid	Cokayne
19 Nov 02 T	Spoornet's capacity bemoaned	Phasiwe

22 Nov 02	Masonite Africa moves to value forestry assets independently	Crotty
28 Nov 02	Safcol posts 37% rise in pretax profit	Cokayne
02 Dec 02	Bidding process begins again for Komatiland	Phasiwe
02 Dec 02	Safcol confident of success over Yorkcor	Cokayne
06 Dec 02	New bid for state's 75%forestry stake may be higher	Phasiwe
12 Dec 02	Sweeping changes to Zama Resources ' board expected	Phasiwe
22 Dec 02	A biotech gold mine lurks in the toxic Syringa	Coutts

N=55

14 Jan 03	Komatiland bids race to finish line	Phasiwe
21 Jan 03	PG Bison plans new particle board plant to meet demand	Masango
21 Jan 03	State logs 150 likely bidders for Komatiland	Cokayne
11 Feb 03 P	Gimme Shelter	Letter
02 Feb 03	Don't kill forestry's golden goose	
20 Feb 03	Sawmillers ask state to act on Safcol plans	Loxton
03 Mar 03	Yorkcor axes its bid after 'discriminatory' ruling	Cokayne
04 Mar 03	State stands by bidders' policy	Cokayne
11 Mar 03*	Peninsula Park to take over Tokai forests	SAPA
26 Mar 03 PP	Mondi set for Richards Bay expansion	Inggs
31 Mar 03	Yorkcor's annual profit up 112%	Cokayne
02 April 03	Green Heritage	Opinion
14 Apr 03 T	Central African Republic vows to get tough on fraud	AFP
24 April 03	No new Masonite offer on the cards	Crotty
16 May 03	Paharpur in the running for Komatiland	Nxumalo
19 May 03	Forestry bid aims to avoid past woes	Nxumalo
19 May 03	Yorkcor considers action to block Komatiland	Cokayne
21 May 03 P	State shortlists Komatiland bidders	SAPA
26 May 03 PP	Sappi may be on prowl in Latin America	Bloomberg
29 Jun 03	Eugene Mokeyane wants fast track sale of state asset	Phasiwe
03 Jun 03	Yorkcor warns it will act to half Komatiland privatization	Cokayne
11 Jun 03	It's criminal to build golf courses to be fed by prec Noetizie River	Opinion
13 Jun 03 P	Park in bid to restore indigenous forests	SAPA
01 Jul 03	Removing pine plantations reduces invasive threat	Opinion
08 Jul 03 P	Fynbos fanaticism	Letter
10 Jul 03 PP	Durban residents trump Mondi	Enslin
11 Jul 03	Mondi aims to clear the air over its new boiler	Inggs
14 Jul 03	Mondi still determined to get boiler approved	Inggs
28 Jul 03	Yorkcor takes look at diversification	Cokayne
30 Jul 03	Researcher to share findings of war on alien plants	none
30 Jul 03 T	US launches programme to halt illegal logging in poor countries	AFP
22 Aug 03	Mpumalanga fires spark R100m in damages	Inggs
26 Aug 03	Vuka-led group spends R35m on Mondi assets	Inggs
29 Aug 03	Jacarandas may get new lease of life, but only cities	Cokayne
02 Sep 03	Yorkcor plans to derail privatization in Mpumalanga, Limpopo	Cokayne
30 Sep 03	Anglo's Mondi investment will boost exports	Inggs
23 Oct 03	Sappi reshuffle will enhance global focus	Inggs
27 Oct 03 T	Mondi BEE initiative creates jobs	Inggs
09 Nov 03 T	Good Business pulls D & A Timbers out of the woods	
11 Nov 03	Alien forests must go	Opinion
26 Nov 03	Komatiland bidders whittled down to two	Nxumalo
02 Dec 03	State to name Komatiland Forestry bidders	Nxumalo
04 Dec 03	State gives forestry package to Bonheur	Nxumalo
09 Dec 03	Restructured Safcol posts record bottom line profit	Cokayne
12 Dec 03	Bonheur to meet state on timetable	Nxumalo
12 Dec 03	Yorkcor tight-lipped on earlier threat to challenge bidding process	Cokayne
12 Dec 03	Traditional leaders make break w/ past on Komatiland	Nxumalo

12 Dec 03	P	Anglo to sell Mondi unit to black investors	Ngobuzwe/Bloomberg

N=48
Total =103
*Sabinet
blank forestry
T=timber
P=plantations
PP=Paper and pulp

Appendix 3

Natal Witness Articles: Forestry

Date	Title	Author
14 Jan 02	Forest of History	Larsen
13 Feb 02	Gender Discrimination may be answer to allergies	Naude
18 Feb 02	Wild Man of Maritzburg	Coan
01 Mar 02 T	Tree Fellers' summonses 'not issued properly'	Bishop
08 Mar 02* T	Good News for Wattle Growers	Byford-Jones
15 Mar 02*	Confidence in agriculture is up	Byford-Jones
30 Apr 02	The Forest Sings	Moore
13 May 02	Tree Probe will focus on Sawmill	Bishop
02 Jul 02* T	Surprise boost for Conference	Alberts
03 Jul 02	Forestry is part of Nepad's Plans	Alberts
03 Jul 02 *	Opportunities knock for forestry	Alberts
04 Jul 02 T	Concern over animals killed by park traffic	Zululand Bureau
04 Jul 02* T	Huge Interest in expo	
04 Jul 02* T	Message from the Organisers	Stuart
05 Jul 02	Greens Slam Woodfor Africa Expo	Bishop
08 July 02	Forest Damage	Letter
08 Jul 02	Nkhulu Suspended in Cash Row	SAPA
11 Jul 02	Don't Slam Expo	Edwards
09 Jul 02 *	Zama CEO Mlonzi suspended	Business Day-SAPA
16 Jul 02	Corporate Corruption	none
27 Jul 02	Terrible Twins	Vanderhaeghen
06 Sep 02	Tony Yengeni Reveals his sponsors	SAPA
06 Sep 02	State cancels tainted deal	SAPA
06 Sep 02*	Woodwasp threat to KZN	Byford-Jones
09 Oct 02 * PP	Paper, pulp industry calls for gov't aid	Durban Bureau
26 Oct 02 *	Record turnover achieved by NCT	Byford-Jones
06 Dec 02 *	Wasps and Pitch canker plague pine farmers	Byford-Jones

N=27

22 Jan 03	Amahlubi demonstrates community wetland conservation	Bishop
14 Apr 03	Dukuduku community seek judicial review	Bishop
26 Apr 03	Gov't Red Tape is strangling SA's Timber Industry, says Kasrils	Bishop
14 May 03	Dukuduku land case starts today	Bishop
15 May 03	New hope for forest dwellers	Bishop
31 May 03*	Wage loophole must be addressed	Byford-Jones
17 Jun 03 T	500 Job to be created in Estcourt	Kockott
28 Jun 03 *	Wattle demand increases	Byford-Jones
30 Jun 03	Councils at odds over city forest	Witness Reporter
11 Jul 03 *	Wayward Sheep	Byford-Jones
11 Jul 03 *	Forestry industry hard-hit by HIV/Aids	Ducasse
23 Aug 03	Hilton residents furious over soot from Mondi operation	Bishop
01 Sep 03	Council to nail timber thieves	Bishop
12 Sep 03 *	Million go up in smoke	Byford-Jones
19 Sep 03 *	NCT posts vastly improved turnover	Byford-Jones
22 Sep 03 *	Study will examine city timber waste	Alberts
14 Oct 03 T	Ezemvelo Appeal Over Afforestation	Bishop
16 Oct 03 T	Sappi Plantations	Letter
21 Oct 03	Planting Timber	letter
13 Nov 03	Senseless waste of precious paper	letter

14 Nov 03 *	The impact of a dying labour force	Byford-Jones
20 Nov 03 T	Any Old Wood	Sherriffs
19 Dec 03	Timber Growing	Byford Jones

N= 23

Total =50

*Sabinet
blank forestry
T=timber
P=plantations
PP=Paper and pulp

Appendix 4

2002 *Business Day* Articles: NEPAD

Date	Title	Author
17 Jan 02	Zimbabwe lifeline should aid its people	Leon
24 Jan 02	Nepad opportunity not to be missed, says Rau	Katzenellenbogen
31 Jan 02	Juggling globalisation and Africa's recovery	Gibbs
01 Feb 02	WEF needs good news from southern Africa	Reynolds
05 Feb 02	'Wait and see only show in town	Kornegay
05 Feb 02	Manuel will not dip into AIDS fund	Barber
11 Feb 02	Growth summit hits first snag	Ensor
11 Feb 02	Africa needs action, not kind words	Monyae
11 Feb 02	WTO praise Nepad, Mbeki	Fraser
12 Feb 02	G-8 chiefs plan backing for Nepad at SA meeting	Katzenellenbogen
12 Feb 02	G-8 leaders show support for Nepad	Stremlau
13 Feb 02	State to back mining as lead priority sector	Bain
14 Feb 02	Africa's firm commitment to credible pool 'critical'	Hartley
20 Feb 02	A look at the US's stand on aid, trade and Nepad	Katzenellenbogen
20 Feb 02	Crisis-managing post-election Zimbabwe	Kornegay
21 Feb 02	Africa's troubles hide SA potential	Nxasana
21 Feb 02	Presidency gets more money for Nepad, travel	Hartley
27 Feb 02	Doha task force is taking shape	Fraser
28 Feb 02	Zuma reassures on steps to restore confidence in rand	Hartley
28 Feb 02	SA urged to build its African trade links	Ensor
01 Mar 02	Zuma says Tsvangirai was not charges	Mvoko/Barber/Muleya
05 Mar 02	Experts say bill offers exciting opportunities	Temkin
14 Mar 02	ANC leaders cheers for Mugabe's 'convincing victory'	Molebeledi/ Katzenellenbogen
14 Mar 02	Italian leader mum on Zimbabwean poll	Hartley
15 Mar 02	Italy's president praises AU	Hartley
18 Mar 02	Suspension of NGO's head leads to a dispute	Katzenellenbogen
18 Mar 02	Seeking a way to manage Zimbabwe	---
18 Mar 02	All that is needed is to call for fresh election	Katzenellenbogen
18 Mar 02	Eskom considers smelter investment	Fraser
18 Mar 02	Africa patting despots	Letter
19 Mar 02	Depoliticising Zimbabwe can save Nepad	Reynolds
19 Mar 02	'Noninterference needs reviewing'	Ensor
19 Mar 02	Everything to play for in high-stakes game	Kornegay
19 Mar 02	Zuma urges 'innovative' development	Katzenellenbogen
20 Mar 02	It is time for us to bridge HIV/AIDS rift	Jones
22 Mar 02	No shaking off poll watchdogs	Southall
25 Mar 02	Tough world out there for Africa's latest toddler	Dludlu
25 Mar 02	SA's try for big league is overambitious	---
26 Mar 02	'Limited benefits' to Maputo corridor	Katzenellenbogen
26 Mar 02	Investment is 'not an end in itself'	Marrs
26 Mar 02	The ties that bind	---
27 Mar 02	'SA firms key to Nepad success'	Fraser
27 Mar 02	Shadow of Zimbabwe could blight Nepad	Gibb
28 Mar 02	Mitigating jobs crisis	---
28 Mar 02	Africa needs good leadership	Letter
28 Mar 02	Edcon-SARS target cheats in new scheme	Fraser
28 Mar 02	Support for Mugabe's win a blow Nepad	Muleya
03 Apr 02	G-8 right to set conditions for Nepad aid	---
03 Apr 02	Canadian prime minister cuts African trip short	Fraser
04 Apr 02	Canada willing to help Sa add value to basic exports	Fraser
05 Apr 02	Short reassures Africa over UK's support	Katzenellenbogen
05 Apr 02	Striving to find political solution for Zimbabwe	Field
05 Apr 02	Africa needs to act on Nepad	Letter
08 Apr 02	Canadian media grills Mbeki on AIDS	Katzenellenbogen/Sapa
08 Apr 02	Navy boost to keep peacetime peaceful	Heitman
09 Apr 02	Drawing clear lines on what Nepad stands for	Kornegay
10 Apr 02	Harare's suspension 'saved Nepad at G-8'	Katzenellenbogen
11 Apr 02	Young Cubans and ANC Youth League share ideas	Mothibeli
12 Apr 02	Africa needs to help itself	Letter
12 Apr 02	Nepad's entry is a timeous one	Leon
17 Apr 02	Obasanjo says Africa is not risky	Chanda
18 Apr 02	Pooling sovereignty for a great lakes community	Kornegay

19 Apr 02	'A defining year in history of Africa'	Katzenellenbogen
23 Apr 02	Transparency in business will do more for Africa than foreign aid	Fraser
24 Apr 02	In the business of making Africa an attractive neighbourhood for trading	Katzenellenbogen
24 Apr 02	Delegates aim for tangible outcomes from Nepad	Katzenellenbogen
24 Apr 02	Rising scepticism reflected in Le Pen's win	Stremlau
25 Apr 02	Cosatu to make its voice heard on Nepad	Louw
26 Apr 02	Cosatu is to step up efforts for a living wage	Louw
26 Apr 02	Nepad faces big-five test	Mills/Hughes
30 Apr 02	Moosa launches five-country regional tourism initiative	Mokhema
30 Apr 02	Business has crucial role in helping to drive Nepad	Ohiorhenuan
02 May 02	Farming organisations give backing to Nepad	Cook
03 May 02	Can Nepad provide on entrée at G-7 table	Jackson
13 May 02	Public support needed for war against poverty	Woldemariam
15 May 02	Rooting out bribery a top priority	van Vuuren
16 May 02	Spotlight will fall on Africa at Durban talks	Bisseker
16 May 02	SA, Egypt to use Nepad to eradicate poverty	Mokhema
20 May 02	Sanctions the way to go	Letter
20 May 02	Click of the mouse opens new trading system on JSE	Ebersohn
20 May 02	West most threatened by poverty	---
21 May 02	Five reasons the region can't ignore Lesotho poll	Southall
22 May 02	SA pressed to take stance Saharawi conflict	Stremlau
22 May 02	Development summit aims to mark turning point	Katzenellenbogen
24 May 02	O'Neill and rock star Bono arrive in SA	Katzenellenbogen
27 May 02	Making the yoke of poverty a little lighter for Africa	Katzenellenbogen
30 May 02	Let Saharawi decide its fate	Letter
31 May 02	Summit aims at mapping way to sector growth	Chalmers
31 May 02	Cosatu casts doubt on Nepad's strategies	Malefane
31 May 02	Obasanjo's emissary has talks with Mugabe	Sapa/AFP
03 Jun 02	Focus on Nepad will aid business	Katzenellenbogen
05 Jun 02	Setting human rights parameters of Nepad	Stremlau
06 Jun 02	Society's worries on Nepad are 'legitimate'	Mvoko
06 Jun 02	Forging new partnership for the revival of Africa	Mbeki
06 Jun 02	Mbeki vows to spell out Nepad projects	Katzenellenbogen
07 Jun 02	Overwhelming support shown for Nepad at WEF summit	Bolin/ Katzenellenbogen
07 Jun 02	Nepad at work	---
07 Jun 02	G-8 talks significant for Nepad's success	Bolin
10 Jun 02	Nepad: the revolution in accountability	Katzenellenbogen
10 Jun 02	Shuttleworth had to borrow money for space ticket	Kahn/ Katzenellenbogen
10 Jun 02	Mbeki promotes Nepad in Italy	Ngobese
11 Jun 02	Is the new mining bill Nepad-unfriendly?	Mills/Hughes
12 Jun 02	Eskom Enterprises expands into Morocco	Chalmers
12 Jun 02	Report calls on the UN to back Africa's leaders	Molebeledi
12 Jun 02	Adam Smith's legacy worth recalling	Reynolds
13 Jun 02	SA must find the right game plan for growth	Leon
14 Jun 02	SA elected to labour body	Ngobese
14 Jun 02	An indifferent world	---
18 Jun 02	Rivalry cannot be avoided, says Mbeki	Mvoko
18 Jun 02	Why Africa's future is in its own hands	Dlamini
18 Jun 02	Nepad offers Africa ray of hope at G-8 summit	Fitzgerald
19 Jun 02	Spoornet poised for push into Africa	Chalmers
19 Jun 02	Manuel call for joint effort to lift economy	Wadula
19 Jun 02	Giving Nepad impetus	---
19 Jun 02	SA's foreign initiatives 'vital for Nepad'	Hartley
19 Jun 02	We are our own enemy	Letter
20 Jun 02	Academics want a say in Nepad	Mvoko
20 Jun 02	Power utilities poised to play key role in developing Africa's infrastructure	Chalmers
24 Jun 02	The future success of both SADC and Nepad may require a more hegemonic role	Southall
24 Jun 02	SACP support primary Nepad ideals	Ngobese
24 Jun 02	The politics of mining	---
24 Jun 02	Summit 'not a pledging stage for Africa'	Katzenellenbogen
26 Jun 02	Lekota defends SA's peace missions in Africa	Molebeledi
26 Jun 02	African leaders face challenge at G-8 summit	Katzenellenbogen
27 Jun 02	Nepad is under fire from African experts	Mvoko/Katzenellenbogen
27 Jun 02	Nepad's Achilles heel	---
28 Jun 02	Leon wishes Mbeki success with Nepad at G-8 summit in Canada	Molebeledi
28 Jun 02	WTO chief says it is helping to underpin the Nepad initiative	Fraser
28 Jun 02	G-8 Nepad response disappoints Africans	Mabuza/ Katzenellenbogen
01 Jul 02	SAA to bid for Air Tanzania's 49% stake	Chalmers
01 Jul 02	Africa's youth show support for Nepad, AU	Sukazi
01 Jul 02	Premier announces Nepad funding aid	Katzenellenbogen

01 Jul 02	Mbeki accuses NGO's of being 'ill-informed'	Katzenellenbogen
01 Jul 02	Coup for Mbeki	---
02 Jul 02	Embarking on bumpy path to African Union	Kornegay
02 Jul 02	Business needs to drive Nepad and AU	Fraser
02 Jul 02	Zimbabwe back in Stone Age, says Leon	Hartley
02 Jul 02	Let them eat salt	---
03 Jul 02	Mbeki asks Africans to engage in challenges	Molebeledi
03 Jul 02	Towards the practical revival of Africa	Mbeki
03 Jul 02	Leon warns on Zimbabwe's dire food gap	Xundu
03 Jul 02	Trade unions push for consultations structure	Katzenellenbogen
04 Jul 02	Will Mbeki listen to his friends	Letter
04 Jul 02	Nepad was not attacked	Letter
04 Jul 02	Will AU mark fresh start for Africa	Molebeledi
04 Jul 02	Business gives tough warning to coming AU	Katzenellenbogen
05 Jul 02	The economic kingdom	---
05 Jul 02	Eskom Enterprises looks to Africa	Chalmers
05 Jul 02	What did Africa really get at G-8 summit	Jones
05 Jul 02	African's must answer call of Nepad	Mosala
08 Jul 02	In a galaxy far, far away…is Nepad	---
08 Jul 02	Leon urges changes on AU's leaders	Xundu
08 Jul 02	Gadaffi to join Nepad's steering body	Katzenellenbogen
08 Jul 02	Ambitious AU summit start of a long journey	Katzenellenbogen
09 Jul 02	Political will is big factor in the time it will take to start projects	Katzenellenbogen
09 Jul 02	AU launch may mark fresh start for Africa	Katzenellenbogen
09 Jul 02	Nepad's Ambition: Africa's short-term projects list	---
09 Jul 02	Handouts no answer to Africa's poverty	Hampshire
09 Jul 02	Future of SA lies in hands of decision makers around AU and Nepad	Letter
09 Jul 02	Nepad projects list sees first light in Business Day	---
09 Jul 02	New African blocs hold key to destiny of Nepad	Kornegay
10 Jul 02	Matona named a new trade policy deputy director	Fraser
10 Jul 02	Peer review underpins AU plans	Katzenellenbogen
11 Jul 02	Fight the good fight	---
12 Jul 02	AU must write a new script for Africa	Leon
12 Jul 02	SA overseas trade officials face recall	Fraser
15 Jul 02	SA's task is to see Nepad is not an anticlimax	Katzenellenbogen
15 Jul 02	Sifikile acquires stake Siemens unit	Wadula
15 Jul 02	Capacity remains the catch 22	---
16 Jul 02	Eskom spearheads five African ventures	Chalmers
16 Jul 02	Much still to be done to build new organs of AU	Kornegay
18 Jul 02	Africa's future depends on private sector input	Games
23 Jul 02	Cosatu plans a two-day strike in October	Petros
23 Jul 02	Jury still out on AU's will to resolve African crises	Kornegay
24 Jul 02	Gadaffi not SA's African Union headache, Erwin says	Goko
26 Jul 02	SACP rejects some Nepad preconditions	Xundu
26 Jul 02	New African markets are opening up	Jackson
29 Jul 02	Transnet aiming to be a winner on rest of the continent	Chalmers
30 Jul 02	Input of the people vital fuel for AU-Nepad drive	Kornegay
30 Jul 02	Promise of Nepad raises hope for Africa	Sapa/AP
31 Jul 02	Many a slip between lip and overfull Nepad cup	Johnson
06 Aug 02	High stakes as SA and Egypt face test of will	Kornegay
08 Aug 02	UN gathering in Jo'burg acid test of will to reform	Mbeki
08 Aug 02	Johnson's dim view is misguided	The Presidency, Director of Communication
13 Aug 02	South Africans are quite right to panic about rand	Letter
16 Aug 02	Africa still seeking a winning formula	Mills/Oppenheimer
16 Aug 02	Britain supports Nepad—envoy	Mabuza
21 Aug 02	Imperative to address health issues	Kahn
27 Aug 02	Mugabe still wild card in high-stakes game	Mills
27 Aug 02	Transfrontierism offers Africa new way forward	Kornegay
29 Aug 02	Zimbabwe says Nepad will divide Africa	Muleya
29 Aug 02	SA still perceived as being corrupt	Ngqiyaza
02 Sep 02	Radebe warns against abuse of Nepad	Katzenellenbogen
03 Sep 02	Warring agendas hinder south-south consensus	Kornegay
03 Sep 02	Grand opportunity for Mbeki	Louw
03 Sep 02	Mugabe defiant as he turns on Tony Blair	Katzenellenbogen
03 Sep 02	Subcontinental drift	---
03 Sep 02	Annan laments slow progress since Rio summit	Ntloko
04 Sep 02	ANC must choose consistent policy path	Leon
10 Sep 02	Time for 'big switch-off' on all aid to Mugabe	Reynolds
13 Sep 02	Mbeki's speech goes softly on issues of Iraq	Katzenellenbogen
13 Sep 02	SA endorses Libya as chair of UN rights body	Hartley

17 Sep 02	Mbeki tries to sway Nepad critics at UN	Molebeledi
18 Sep 02	Nepad a correct idea at right time	Makwana
18 Sep 02	US, SA move to reaffirm solid relations	Petros
19 Sep 02	Zimbabwe should not be left to SA to sort out	Wakeford
20 Sep 02	Africa on the march as UN endorses Nepad	Mbeki
20 Sep 02	SA leaders strive to solve African conflict	Ensor
20 Sep 02	Nepad's peer review system needs to be given real teeth	Kadalie
23 Sep 02	Bush may visit SA in January, says Pahad	Seria
23 Sep 02	Mugabe turns back on crucial talks	Seria/ Katzenellenbogen
25 Sep 02	West can also play tit for tat	Letter
25 Sep 02	Stifling Nepad	---
25 Sep 02	Sasol is proudly SA despite growth plan	Fraser
25 Sep 02	Take timeless advice and 'follow the money'	Johnson
26 Sep 02	SA should pay the price	Letter
26 Sep 02	Where is the AU?	---
27 Sep 02	Clinton to meet Mbeki on Nepad investment	Xundu
27 Sep 02	BP confident of opportunities in Africa	Fraser
27 Sep 02	IDC poised for leading role in southern Africa	Fraser
30 Sep 02	Going forward in learning from Zimbabwe	Mills
01 Oct 02	Focus on plans to promote Nepad	Jackson
01 Oct 02	Business leaders are sceptical about Nepad, survey finds	Lourens
01 Oct 02	A helping hand for projects in Africa	Jackson
01 Oct 02	SA to help in African – Caribbean talks with EU	Ensor
02 Oct 02	Commonwealth needs to face new century bravely	Dlamini
08 Oct 02	Grintek plans to help Nepad succeed	Fraser
09 Oct 02	Zimbabwe is likely to be on agenda of Mbeki's council	Fraser
10 Oct 02	Business engagement in Nepad is crucial at top levels – WEF adviser	Lourens
11 Oct 02	Homegrown Nepad needs 'can do it' attitude	---
11 Oct 02	Financial sector comes of age	---
11 Oct 02	Harare talks to test quiet diplomacy's credibility	Katzenellenbogen
14 Oct 02	Cross-border work boosts engineering	Lourens
15 Oct 02	SA needs to double its economic growth rate	Fraser
15 Oct 02	Plan to link airports throughout Africa	Jackson
15 Oct 02	Egypt's Nepad dilemma?	Mills
17 Oct 02	Time to put flesh on Nepad's bones	Katzenellenbogen
18 Oct 02	Bringing opportunities to small business	---
18 Oct 02	For Nepad, trade would eclipse aid	Katzenellenbogen
21 Oct 02	Still no clear way forward for Nepad	Katzenellenbogen
29 Oct 02	Nepad's political peer review sows confusions	Katzenellenbogen
30 Oct 02	Africa must develop own technology for continent's needs	Emdon
30 Oct 02	Whither Nepad?	---
31 Oct 02	Nepad vision a victim of African realpolitik	Katzenellenbogen
31 Oct 02	No political peer review, says Mbeki	Hartley/Katzenellenbogen
31 Oct 02	Mbeki, Zuma seem to be at odds over Nepad peer review	---
01 Nov 02	G-8 backing for Nepad may be in jeopardy	Hartley
01 Nov 02	Explanation please	---
04 Nov 02	The Thick End Of The Wedge	---
04 Nov 02	Nepad's peer review still 'work in progress' New	Stremlau
04 Nov 02	Mbeki takes Nepad philosophy to Phnom Penh	Katzenellenbogen
05 Nov 02	Something new out of Africa- one hopes ….	Mills
05 Nov 02	How will Nepad peer review be enforced?	Mkalipi
05 Nov 02	No declaration on peer review despite leaders' acceptance	Katzenellenbogen
06 Nov 02	Africa's stockpile of obsolete pesticides under the spotlight	Seria/Louw
07 Nov 02	Nepad to institute political peer review system after all	Hartley
08 Nov 02	Regulators of utilities in Africa to co-operate under forum	Seria
08 Nov 02	Concern arises on AU's takeover of Nepad organ	Katzenellenbogen
08 Nov 02	E-governance can advance aims of Nepad	Emdon
11 Nov 02	Apartheid lawsuit will hurt Nepad – De Klerk	Molebeledi
11 Nov 02	Mbeki hits back at peer review critics	Katzenellenbogen
11 Nov 02	Mbeki takes Nepad critics to task	---
11 Nov 02	the test	---
13 Nov 02	Kimberley accord marks first success of Nepad	Hughes/Mills
13 Nov 02	De Klerk is ignorant, says attorney in apartheid lawsuit	Molebeledi
13 Nov 02	Shabangu to lead delegation to Australia	Fraser
14 Nov 02	Cote d'Ivoire an African calamity in the making	Herbert
14 Nov 02	Canada-SA trade to benefit from visit	Lourens
18 Nov 02	Mbeki fights to calm G-8 fears on Nepad test	Katzenellenbogen
18 Nov 02	Work of AU separate from mechanisms of Nepad	Mbeki
19 Nov 02	Dear prime minister	---
19 Nov 02	Nepad tries to expedite continental projects	Katzenellenbogen

19 Nov 02	Private sector needs to be part of peer review	Mills/Hughes/White
20 Nov 02	Canada insists on peer review for Nepad	Fraser
21 Nov 02	G-8 must smarten up	---
25 Nov 02	Role of business in Nepad raises debate	Lourens/ Katzenellenbogen
25 Nov 02	AU has high expectations	Catsicas
26 Nov 02	Canada's real support for Nepad affirmed with fund	Edwards
26 Nov 02	Africa's champions	---
26 Nov 02	Africa, China explore ways to fight misery	Sapa/AFP
27 Nov 02	Suspicion of Nepad is not confined to the west	Kornegay
27 Nov 02	Groups praise Manuel's skill in economy	Molebeledi/Wadula/Seria
28 Nov 02	Zimbabwe threatens SA's image	Letter
28 Nov 02	Eskom Enterprises says new Ugandan deal is part of its support for Nepad	Chalmers
28 Nov 02	Agriculture seen as a key building block in Nepad	Fraser
29 Nov 02	Pan-African programme will highlight achievements	Gillingham
05 Dec 02	THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW	---
05 Dec 02	WHAT IS NEPAD ABOUT?	---
05 Dec 02	Spirit of Kamuzu Banda still haunts Malawi	Dlamini
06 Dec 02	Loubser outlines role of business in Nepad	van Gass
06 Dec 02	Savings trends are key, says Manuel	Hartley
06 Dec 02	Will-o'-the-wisp Nepad needs show of force	Katzenellenbogen
06 Dec 02	Aid levels will hinge on African nations' showing, says Goldin	Hartley
09 Dec 02	African successes 'not marketed properly'	van Gass
09 Dec 02	Negative perceptions of SA's role in Africa 'pose a threat to Nepad	van Gass
09 Dec 02	France is bent on making Nepad work	Genre-Grandpierre
12 Dec 02	SA should move from a strategy that has failed	Mills
13 Dec 02	SA looms large in governance microscope	Mhungu
18 Dec 02	Delivering on hope is the task of us all	Sutcliffe
24 Dec 02	Article biased	Mthembi-Mahanyele

300 Articles for 2002

2003 *Business Day* Articles: NEPAD

Date	Title	Author
16 Jan 03	World enters year in a state of uncertainty	Mare
21 Jan 03	'Opportunities galore exist for trade with Saudi Arabia'	Mabuza
22 Jan 03	'Black empowerment should be an inclusive process'	Wadula
30 Jan 03	Mbeki has limited space to manoeuvre at Chequers	Katzenellenbogen
03 Feb 03	North-south rift is growing over Iraq	Kornegay
05 Feb 03	Africa aims to blend into global economy	Cattaui
11 Feb 03	Nepad is being shunted on to the world's back burner	Mills/Hughes
13 Feb 03	Hydroelectric scheme in Congo could power Africa	Jenvey/Chalmers
18 Feb 03	Nepad puts science under the microscope	Kahn
20 Feb 03	Industry puts R20bn in country's coffers	Jackson
20 Feb 03	African science needs a forum, says experts	Kahn
21 Feb 03	Lack of projects leaves pool of funds untapped	Fraser
27 Feb 03	Peacekeeping, Nepad get R1,3 bn over three years	Katzenellenbogen
27 Feb 03	Nepad, AU tasks add to president's costs	Hartley
28 Feb 03	New directions for 2003	Gordon
03 Mar 03	Algeria, SA can forge fruitful partnership	Mills
05 Mar 03	Nepad to iron out peer-review uncertainties	Katzenellenbogen
07 Mar 03	Africa's challenge	---
11 Mar 03	Pahad's neat point	---
11 Mar 03	Obasanjo given task to appoint candidates for peer review	Kubeyinje/ Katzenellenbogen
14 Mar 03	Viva Ginwala	Letter
17 Mar 03	Crime syndicates	---
18 Mar 03	Policy powers African successes	van Gass
18 Mar 03	Progressive forces facing a fresh test	Mosala
20 Mar 03	Foskor acquires stake in Nigerian fertiliser plant	Fraser
24 Mar 03	Simulator will train marine pilots	Jenvey
26 Mar 03	Nepad has little to offer us, says Namibian think-tank	Maletsky
31 Mar 03	Too little too late?	---
01 Apr 03	Civil bodies map Nepad essentials	Jenvey
04 Apr 03	Zimbabwe a case of Nepad failure – Leon	Katzenellenbogen
10 Apr 03	Nepad offers chance for drug control	In Brief
11 Apr 03	Nigeria's load	---
14 Apr 03	Time will tell who will willingly back Nepad peer review	Cilliers
15 Apr 03	SA has role to play in success of Nepad	Pahad
15 Apr 03	SA business leaders urged to tap into rest of Africa	Fraser

15 Apr 03	Iraq war could divert investment from Africa, says Erwin	Ensor
23 Apr 03	Aviation policy aims to be more relevant	Chalmers
23 Apr 03	Stabilising Nigeria	---
25 Apr 03	Nepad aims to give business in Africa a shot in the arm	Games
25 Apr 03	Abuja sneezes and Africa catches cold	Goko
29 Apr 03	Can Nepad quell Afro-pessimism?	Thompson/Bell
02 May 03	Conference to focus on governance	Ensor
06 May 03	Positive view of Africa takes hold	---
06 May 03	Donor efforts criticised for lack of effect	Ensor
08 May 03	There is hope for Zimbabwe, but only if Mugabe goes	Mills/Hughes
12 May 03	Showcasing opportunities and stimulating growth	Jackson
12 May 03	Visit cold mark watershed in Anglo-SA relations	Dlamini
12 May 03	Zimbabwe crisis, Iraq will focus of talks	Katzenellenbogen
14 May 03	The private sector is 'vital to African renaissance'	Claasen
22 May 03	Ashanti and AngloGold have market abuzz	Bain
23 May 03	Mbeki wants standby force prioritized	AFP
23 May 03	A continent examines it destiny	Xundu
23 May 03	SAA could invest in rich Nigerian airline market	Chalmers
26 May 03	Mbeki vows new Africa will be born	Xundu
27 May 03	Will G-8 move to heal scar on global conscience?	Dlamini
27 May 03	Erwin puts blame for ports jam on growing SA trade	Jenvey
28 May 03	Evian talks could yield rich fruit for Nepad	Stremlau
28 May 03	Transnet calls for coherence in ports blueprint	Jenvey
29 May 03	SA caught on back foot as its ship comes in	Fraser/Lourens
29 May 03	The G-8 and Africa	---
29 May 03	Obasanjo urges G-8 not to abandon Africa	Kubeyinje
29 May 03	Spoornet's upgrade plan to take on road hauliers	Chalmers
30 May 03	Stals full of enthusiasm for peer review project	Katzenellenbogen
02 Jun 03	Africa waits to see if G-8 can deliver	Sapa/AFP
03 Jun 03	UK minister calls for doubling aid to Africa	Fraser
03 Jun 03	Namibian premier warns of 'laziness' threat to AU efforts	Maletsky
04 Jun 03	Africa has 'bitten off more than it can chew'	Xundu
05 Jun 03	From Evian, a warning	---
10 Jun 03	First peer review planned before year-end	Katzenellenbogen
10 Jun 03	Focus on realistic goals for Africa	Mills
10 Jun 03	Implement Nepad more rapidly, says business leaders	Katzenellenbogen
10 Jun 03	Africans thrive in season of summits	Khumalo
11 Jun 03	Business seeks clarity on its role within Nepad	Katzenellenbogen
12 Jun 03	Hyperbole hides African reality	Leon
12 Jun 03	Leaders urge more commitment to Nepad	Jenvey
12 Jun 03	Africa's challenges	---
12 Jun 03	SA crime rate sounds alarm for investment	Chalmers/Katzenellenbogen
13 Jun 03	Ghanaian minister fires salvo at Nepad misfits	Katzenellenbogen
13 Jun 03	Mbeki gives Africa governance warning	Chalmers
13 Jun 03	'Chance for Africa to make headway'	Chalmers
17 Jun 03	World is watching Africa	Kane-Berman
18 Jun 03	Bush likely to visit SA next month	Radebe
19 Jun 03	Cash woes pose threat to Eskom's Africa unit	Ensor
20 Jun 03	No quick fix for Africa's troubles	Fraser
20 Jun 03	Eskom's dilemma	---
20 Jun 03	'Bush's Africa trip really an oil safari'	Radebe
23 Jun 03	Africa spotlight in US this week	Katzenellenbogen
24 Jun 03	US-SA relations	---
26 Jun 03	Arms-deal offset must be 'shared with SADC'	Fraser
01 Jul 03	Gauteng-Walvis link a railroad to riches	---
01 Jul 03	One eye firmly on Africa, the other on Europe	---
01 Jul 03	Leon backs Pahad over Bush's visit	Hartley
01 Jul 03	Global Vision	Mare
03 Jul 03	Bush will talk to Mbeki on 'peer-to-peer level'	Alfonso
04 Jul 03	Isn't it time our leaders walked the talk, for Africa's sake?	Goko
07 Jul 03	Bush diplomacy	---
10 Jul 03	Sappi weighs multibillion-rand extension at Ngodwana mill	Fraser
11 Jul 03	Mbeki warns on AU delays	Chalmers
11 Jul 03	Beware Nepad	Letter
11 Jul 03	Bush-Mbeki: pragmatism triumphs over ideology	Dlamini
14 Jul 03	Chissano takes over reins at testing time for fledging AU	Chalmers
15 Jul 03	Groups expand into the continent	Joffe
21 Jul 03	Peacekeeping is a long-term mission	Kornegay
22 Jul 03	Africa to push for reforms at Cancun	Petros
24 Jul 03	Nepad to set up advisory panel on biosafety	Kahn

31 Jul 03	'Pace of African revival plans hinges on social partnership'	Wadula
04 Aug 03	Global Vision	Mare
04 Aug 03	Banks open doors to pan-African business	Coetzee
05 Aug 03	Partnership, commitment needed to beat poverty	Koehler
06 Aug 03	Leaders of Africa must act now to save Zimbabwe	Prendergast
08 Aug 03	Africa solutions for African problems	Mayhew
11 Aug 03	Will SA lead Africa's AIDS war?	Akukwe
19 Aug 03	In Brief	---
28 Aug 03	Transtel, Eskom ready for SNO-bid failure	Phasiwe
29 Aug 03	Arms deal saga is sending wrong messages to the world	Chalmers/Radebe
29 Aug 03	US, Europeans firms 'will rebuild Africa'	Lourens
01 Sep 03	The Official Line	Fraser
01 Sep 03	Kenyan projects could be lucrative	Maggs
02 Sep 03	Black empowerment 'can play a vital role in promoting growth'	McCauley
02 Sep 03	Long-term approach to African investment	Stremlau
09 Sep 03	Mbeki urges parks meeting to support Africa's development	Naidoo
12 Sep 03	Nepad provides an ideal framework	Chalmers
16 Sep 03	Sasol decries lack of thrust around Nepad	Lourens
17 Sep 03	Bright prospects for bilateral trading	Games/Chalmers/Stones/McCauley/Katzenellenbogen
19 Sep 03	Empowerment and trade top agenda	Chalmers
29 Sep 03	Exports spearhead dramatic growth in trade with Africa	Jackson
30 Sep 03	Aura of optimism as Africa flexes muscles	James
30 Sep 03	Japan asked to step up help for Nepad projects	Katzenellenbogen
30 Sep 03	SA needs to boost diplomatic capacity	Stremlau
06 Oct 03	Global Vision	Mare
10 Oct 03	New Forum can further regulator's Nepad aims	Mkhwanazi
14 Oct 03	Main goal is to eradicate poverty	Jackson
14 Oct 03	Need to translate dreams into reality	---
14 Oct 03	Bridging the digital divide in a communications renaissance	Jackson
14 Oct 03	Effective leadership in Africa under the spotlight	Jackson
14 Oct 03	Missing link is public, private partnerships	Jackson
14 Oct 03	SA in front as investment drive gathers pace	Jackson
15 Oct 03	Nepad needs Africa's cultural custodians	Holomisa
16 Oct 03	Exhibition a magnet for local and global decision-makers	Jackson
17 Oct 03	Nepad must guide business in Africa	Grobbelaar
22 Oct 03	Southern Sun lands hotels contract in Rwanda	Wilson
22 Oct 03	Canadian move on Mugabe gives hope	Tren
27 Oct 03	Stabilising Great Lakes vital for AU's integration	Kornegay
27 Oct 03	SA's size not a plus as Nepad's enforcer	Herbst/Mills
31 Oct 03	Seminars pave way for African Union of the 21st century	---
31 Oct 03	Nepad ideal faces test of reality	Akukwe
03 Nov 03	Trade Winds	Fraser
03 Nov 03	Myriad airport projects beckon contractors	Maggs
03 Nov 03	Mbeki, minister jet off to Canada to boost Nepad	Hartley
14 Nov 03	Abuja meeting sees major role for regional groups	---
14 Nov 03	Mbeki bids to Envoys try to whet French appetite	Phasiwe
17 Nov 03	Now Nepad must walk the talk	Gibb/Mills
17 Nov 03	Nepad move could signal approach of peer reviews	Katzenellenbogen
19 Nov 03	Mbeki bids for French aid	Katzenellenbogen
19 Nov 03	Cabinet faces uphill antiretroviral battle	Radebe
19 Nov 03	Backing for vision, but AIDS and Zimbabwe dog president	---
21 Nov 03	Crucial elements in science and technology fall under spotlight	---
28 Nov 03	Nepad and world leaders meet to expand forum	---
01 Dec 03	Africa gears up for green revolution	Katzenellenbogen
01 Dec 03	Much to chew on at Abuja	Vickers
02 Dec 03	When democracy is not enough	Steyn
03 Dec 03	US Chamber signs Nepad covenants on governance	Phasiwe
04 Dec 03	Making Nepad Africa's Marshall Plan	Dlamini
09 Dec 03	Rival Nepad business groups bid for edge closer	Katzenellenbogen
10 Dec 03	Nepad fallacy	Taylor
11 Dec 03	Billions for African revival	Naidoo
12 Dec 03	Algeria conference on action plan to save the environment	---
17 Dec 03	Bridging digital gap vital for Africa	Mutume
18 Dec 03	Time for African states to think big	Vickers
18 Dec 03	Blow to Nepad	Letter
19 Dec 03	Milestone on the road to African trade and industry policy	---
30 Dec 03	Move towards unity	---

168 articles for 2003. 468 articles for *Business Day* 2002-2003

Appendix 5

2002 *Cape Times* articles: NEPAD

Date	Title	Author
08 Jan 02	Rich Countries back Africa rescue plan	Reuters
25 Jan 02	Africa must develop a climate growth	Wray
27 Jan 02	WEF meeting an ideal shop window for SA	Wray
28 Jan 02	World's ears will be turned to Africa	Wray
29 Jan 02	Afropessisimism camouflages the opportunities in adversity	Staff Reporter
30 Jan 02	'Africa's Marshall Plan' fund attracts $305 million	---
31 Jan 02	African leaders lobby UN for higher spot on global agenda	Reuters
04 Feb 02	Erwin's bid to get his ducks in a row	---
05 Feb 02	Team SA must sow seeds from Big Apple	Wray
07 Feb 02	Blair looking to lay bricks for NEPAD	Sapa-AFP
07 Feb 02	Transchannel drive for Africa's revival	Reuters
10 Feb 02	African poverty can cause global ripples, says Blair	Sapa-AP
12 Feb 02	WTO champions Africa's development plan	AFP
17 Feb 02	'Africa's mining could collapse if Mugabe stays'	Bridge
19 Feb 02	$64bn for Nepad is unrealistic, G8 warns	Sapa
06 Mar 02	Business leads the way for Nepad, says Erwin	Wray
06 Mar 02	'Restrain Mugabe or lose out on Nepad'	Reuters
07 Mar 02	Nepad leads the way says World Bank's Wolfensohn	Faniso
07 Mar 02	Eskom Enterprises lifts operating profits	SAPA
14 Mar 02	Minerals bill needs regular assessment, says De Beers	Loxton
17 Mar 02	Mugabe victory kicks both Nepad and Zimbabwean economy in the teeth	---
18 Mar 02	Mugabe unveils recovery programme to boost economy	---
24 Mar 02	Why Mugabe is seen as Africa's Achilles heel	Times, London
24 Mar 02	African political peer review essential for aid to flow from G8	----
26 Mar 02	Nepad summit opens in Abuja	Sapa-AFP
27 Mar 02	Africa must agree on code of conduct for aid	Sapa-AP
27 Mar 02	Sars, Edcon announce customs deal	Sapa
02 Apr 02	UK showcases Nepad as the way forward	---
07 Apr 02	The long view: Nepad, a vision of international competition and unfettered market access	---
09 Apr 02	Nepad's sales reps need to get out to their market	Malunga
14 Apr 02	G8 action plan will coax Nepad along with carrots, not sticks	---
15 Apr 02	Conference to finance Nepad opens today	AFP
18 Apr 02	New board at Sanlam as Vundla moves on	Reuters
22 Apr 02	Zimbabwe isn't our only troubled neighbour	Dasnois
23 Apr 02	Africa needs at least $18bn a years for infrastructure	Smith
23 Apr 02	No room for tyranny in Nepad, SABC chairman tells conference	Smith
25 Apr 02	IDC's R55bn injection nurtures Nepad	Bridge
26 Apr 02	Sending invitations to the new colonialists	Gardiner
29 Apr 02	Nepad keeps out labour, says Cosatu	---
02 May 02	Acsa to take African airports under its wing	Phasiwe
06 May 02	Minerals bill falls short of accord	Sapa
10 May 02	Warning shots have been fired across Nepad's bow	---
12 May 02	South's voice must be heard	---
12 May 02	Nepad needs South African business to drag Africa out of the doldrums	---
14 May 02	Ministers, experts begin NEPAD talks in Ivory Coast capital	Sapa-AFP
17 May 02	Mbeki launches new JSE trading, information system	Sapa
19 May 02	JSE deal will aid Nepad-Mbeki	Sapa-Reuters
20 May 02	Short-term gains ahead as rand pierces R10	Wessels
20 May 02	African must not swap principles for investment	---
20 May 02	West Africa puts its weight behind Nepad	AFP
22 May 02	Bribe Payers index scratches surface of Grand Corruption	Staff Reporter
23 May 02	US farm bill will take its toll on African economies	Staff Reporter
24 May 02	African unions ready to take on global economic titans on behalf of the poor	---
26 May 02	US agricultural subsides put WTO and Doha's development ideals at risk	---
28 May 02	Globalisation means we all sink or swim, Ethiopia's Meles tells Nepad talking shop	---
29 May 02	Anti-globalisation movement a wake-up call says minister	Loxton
30 May 02	SA keeps its door shut to its neighbours	---
30 May 02	Nepad marketing strategy under scrutiny	Sapa
02 Jun 02	Watershed month looms for Nepad	---
05 Jun 02	Top leaders to address Africa's challenges	Wray
06 Jun 02	Nepad must not fail, say African leaders	Wray
06 Jun 02	Zimbabwe economy to lose 10% this year	Wray

06 Jun 02	Undersea cable a sign of Nepad's success – Telkom CEO	Sapa
07 Jun 02	Absa signs accord in line with Nepad's vision	West
07 Jun 02	Mbeki promises Nepad outlines by end of year	Wray/Dasnois
09 Jun 02	African Union will be heralded by a code of conduct	Wray
09 Jun 02	Nepad's success will be the equivalent of an African victory at the World Cup	Wray
09 Jun 02	Nepad wins big business ally	Wray
09 Jun 02	US should not be the benchmark	AFP
10 Jun 02	Nepad to receive political and moral boost from G8 nations	Kallmann
10 Jun 02	A continent of empty stomachs won't get far	---
11 Jun 02	Kenya denies being sidelined by Nepad	Reuters
11 Jun 02	African success stories can help calm investor's fears	Wray
11 Jun 02	African leaders gear up for G8 summit	Sapa-AFP
12 Jun 02	Cairns group attacks US bill protest	AFP
13 Jun 02	Analysts say Nepad is likely to get the G8's nod	Esipisu
13 Jun 02	Nepad is best bet for Africa	Sapa-AP
14 Jun 02	IDC in talks over rail link to Beira	Bridge/AFP
18 Jun 02	Pass renaissance message on, Mbeki urges African leaders	Pela
18 Jun 02	G8 meeting to highlight Nepad	Sapa-AFP
18 Jun 02	Africa seeks genuine partnership with G8, says Mbeki	Sapa
19 Jun 02	Academics open their minds on Nepad plan	Faniso
19 Jun 02	SAA, Airbus formalise largest single airliner order	Sapa
20 Jun 02	Eskom to power infrastructural growth in Africa	Phasiwe
20 Jun 02	Debt write-off essential to Nepad, say scholars	Loxton
20 Jun 02	Debt write-off essential to Nepad, say scholars	Pela
20 Jun 02	Black business must take full advantage of Nepad	Manuel
21 Jun 02	Elite African group will monitor Nepad	Reuters
21 Jun 02	Competition proposal 'undermines' Distell's growth potential	---
23 Jun 02	As the only plan on the table, Nepad must get a fair hearing from the sceptics	---
23 Jun 02	Single voice needed, says Motsepe	Bridge
24 Jun 02	Africa gets G8's ear but probably not its handout	Wray
24 Jun 02	Black business supports minerals handover	---
26 Jun 02	US trade relations 'not in danger from Zimbabwe'	Loxton
26 Jun 02	G8 holds the answer to Africa's $64bn question	AFP
27 Jun 02	G8's party to get African flavour as Nepad makes its guest appearance	Wray
28 Jun 02	Regional bodies to be AU building blocks	Loxton
30 Jun 02	NGO's huff and puff over Nepad is hot air unless they come up with a plan	---
30 Jun 02	Signs are good as G8 goes AAP for Nepad	Wray
30 Jun 02	Smart minister has covered all bases with mineral rights bill	---
01 Jul 02	Key to African Union is a common front	Loxton
01 Jul 02	More than renaissance spirit needed in Durban	---
01 Jul 02	Canada fleshes out response to Nepad with projects	Wray
02 Jul 02	Remove Africa's barriers, summit told	Inggs
02 Jul 02	Nepad euphoria looks like wishful thinking	---
04 Jul 02	'Local business must invest in Africa'	Inggs
04 Jul 02	Mbeki rebukes critics of Nepad	Reuters
04 Jul 02	Business leaders get into spirit of African unity	Enslin
04 Jul 02	Summit protestors get organised	Sapa
04 Jul 02	BCI recovers lost ground	Sapa
05 Jul 02	SA economy in calmer waters, says Sacob	Wessels
05 Jul 02	World Bank's Stern joins subsides fray	Ikeh
07 Jul 02	Trashing the trash over privatisation is common to First and Third World states	Wray
08 Jul 02	Peer review leaves nowhere to hide	Sapa
08 Jul 02	ADB throws full weight behind Nepad	Inggs
09 Jul 02	Nepad ignores existing investment	---
09 Jul 02	Nepad	---
09 Jul 02	Africa's civil society calls G8's $6bn pledge a non-starter	---
09 Jul 02	African militaries key to Nepad's success	Sapa
11 Jul 02	AU confirms Nepad needs $64bn a year to meet its targets	Inggs
15 Jul 02	AU's reception is showing spikes at grass-roots level	---
16 Jul 02	SA, Kuwait sign defence treaty true to Nepad's spirit	Sapa
16 Jul 02	SA varsities get funding for trade-in-Africa courses	Sapa
23 Jul 02	Cosatu to strike over privatisation	Pela
07 Aug 02	A likely gateway to Africa's fortunes	Reuters
02 Sep 02	Sexwale hits out at African corruption	Wray
03 Sep 02	UK, France give e200m to ease investment risks	Smith
03 Sep 02	Energy fund the first of a series of legacy projects	Phasiwe
11 Sep 02	Decision to abolish SADC visa lies with Pretoria	d'Angelo
11 Sep 02	SA keen to move quickly to protect investments in Zimbabwe	Sapa
12 Sep 02	Opportunity to change course of history	---
15 Sep 02	Honouring our history will help ensure Nepad is not just another sales pitch	Wray

16 Sep 02	Zimbabwe teeters on IMF exclusion	Bloomberg/Sapa/AP
16 Sep 02	Mbeki stresses role of UN in bringing about world peace	---
20 Sep 02	Mbeki fails to deflect Cosatu from protest sticks to protest plans	Loxton
27 Sep 02	Pahad did not fail in his US mission to gain support for Nepad	---
30 Sep 02	Nepad hailed by poorest countries of Africa	Wray
30 Sep 02	Anti-Privatisation Forum's leader up at dawn to muster support for Cosatu strike	Terreblanche
01 Oct 02	Mbeki failing Nepad	---
02 Oct 02	SADC appeals for debt pardons for countries facing famine in region	---
07 Oct 02	Financial industry council is launched	von Lieres
08 Oct 02	Pahad in UAE for talks today	---
08 Oct 02	African MP's keen to play a part in Nepad	Loxton
11 Oct 02	Nepad depends on getting the people involved	---
14 Oct 02	Nigeria's ThisDay targets SA up-market readers	Sukazi
14 Oct 02	Khoza calls on business to play key role in Nepad	Pela
16 Oct 02	SA's tourism future lies in Africa	---
17 Oct 02	African ministers to discuss implementation of Nepad	IFS
18 Oct 02	We may be on the brink of a new economic age	---
20 Oct 02	Ghana, Uganda seek governance rating in Africa plan	---
21 Oct 02	Amnesty international urges Mbeki to take stand on Zimbabwe	Battersby
21 Oct 02	Cycle of impunity tin Zimbabwe must be broken	---
21 Oct 02	Partners will have to ditch ideological double vision if Nepad and peer review are to succeed	Fabricius
21 Oct 02	Nepad ministers meeting ends in challenge	IFS
21 Oct 02	Least developed African nations seek lea from SA	Wray
22 Oct 02	African Studies centre	---
24 Oct 02	Raising rates to achieve targets not sensible	Sapa
25 Oct 02	South African press freedom rated 26th on the list of leading countries	---
28 Oct 02	African countries must cotton on to the benefits of unity when fighting foreign subsides	Fabricius
29 Oct 02	Pahad's Nepad shock for diplomats	Fabricius
30 Oct 02	Give us hope	---
30 Oct 02	SA may have done deal with Nigeria over Nepad	Fabricius
30 Oct 02	SA committed to brining peace to Africa-Lekota	Ntabazalila
31 Oct 02	We must fight terror together, and ease the deprivation on which it feeds	---
01 Nov 02	African resistance forces Nepad about-turn	Battersby
01 Nov 02	At last we have proven economic policies, but practice is headed the other way	---
01 Nov 02	'Aid for Africa directly linked to politics on the continent'	---
01 Nov 02	Mbeki, Zuma not at odds over Nepad	---
03 Nov 02	Social responsibility not an esoteric debate	Wilson
04 Nov 02	Nigeria firm on peer review despite Mbeki's about face	---
04 Nov 02	Moosa pleased with outcome of climate talks	---
04 Nov 02	Window on Africa: Pahad is wrong, and removing political peer review would rip the heart out of Nepad	Fabricius
05 Nov 02	Nepad takes off as 12 African states agree to monitoring of performance, democracy	---
05 Nov 02	Growth hinges on ports, say Radebe	d'Angelo
05 Nov 02	East African businesses pessimistic about Nepad	Reuters
06 Nov 02	Privatisation of African ports an 'irreversible' trend	d'Angelo
07 Nov 02	Economic collapse in Zimbabwe reflects political chaos	---
10 Nov 02	Nepad faces first real litmus test	Dollie
11 Nov 02	Ghana invites city partnership to help revitalise its capital	Ntabazalila
13 Nov 02	Britain pledges R700m to back development in five African states	Trovato
18 Nov 02	Window on Africa: We must cut ourselves free of the wreck of Zimbabwe-lest we go down with the ship	Fabricius
20 Nov 02	Praise for Nepad	---
25 Nov 02	Window on Africa: Enigmatic Mbeki walking on eggshells as he attempts to solve Nepad doubts and dilemmas	Fabricius
26 Nov 02	China warms up to African partnerships	Sapa/AP/DPA
26 Nov 02	China to promote direct links with African business	---
27 Nov 02	A blow to Nepad	---
28 Nov 02	Is the national glass half empty or half full	---
02 Dec 02	National resources being sold off in name of free market	---
03 Dec 02	Africa has taken great leap forward	---
03 Dec 02	Rampant joblessness shows there's plenty government could improve upon	---
06 Dec 02	Traditional leaders told to shun violence	Phahlane
09 Dec 02	'Corruption allegations against Zuma won't damage his standing in ANC'	Michaels
09 Dec 02	World Bank to Raise its exposure to Africa 10%	Reuters
10 Dec 02	African leaders will meet over food security programmes	Sapa
11 Dec 02	Nepad backwards	---
13 Dec 02	Nemisa keeps its focus on developing media skills	---
13 Dec 02	MTN still committed to Africa's economic success	---
13 Dec 02	Government moves to narrow telecoms divide	---
16 Dec 02	Window on Africa: Africa should take advantage of America's new-found	

	interest in supporting democracy here	Fabricius

199 articles for 2002

2003 *Cape Times* articles: NEPAD

Date	Title	Author
09 Jan 03	Unicity enters new age of computing	---
21 Jan 03	Government to consider paying health workers more	---
24 Jan 03	Strange message	---
27 Jan 03	What the international community must do now to show Mugabe the red card	---
27 Jan 03	Window on Africa: Cold War 2 looms as countries make bold, bad decisions based solely on anti-Americanism	Fabricius
27 Jan 03	Africa falls off Colin Powell's map	Crotty
28 Jan 03	Selective concern	---
03 Feb 03	Mugabe to soften up on harsh laws, Mbeki tells Blair	Fabricius
05 Feb 03	UN Development Programme pledges R16m to get Nepad plan off the ground	---
07 Feb 03	Nepad still lacks widespread support	Loxton
11 Feb 03	Poor bear the brunt	---
13 Feb 03	Mbeki to up transformation tempo	Battersby
13 Feb 03	Water alternative	---
13 Feb 03	Bickering over Zimbabwe has turned World Cup into a fiasco	---
14 Feb 03	Children's hospital seeks R13.5 for new trauma unit	Smetherham
14 Feb 03	Dispel doubt, close the chasm	---
17 Feb 03	Kenya speaks out	---
17 Feb 03	Encouraging focus on delivery, but leadership on HIV/Aids conspicuous by its absence	---
17 Feb 03	Why is Mbeki, the chief architect of Nepad, seemingly intent on shooting it in the foot	Fabricius
19 Feb 03	A demonstration of leadership and vision against headwinds of global turmoil	---
19 Feb 03	Government sure of attracting investment to fuel changes	Bridge
20 Feb 03	Development Bank relocates to Tunisia	Reuters
21 Feb 03	French under pressure for sanctioning Mugabe's presence at summit in Paris	---
21 Feb 03	Standard mining codes to help form continental unity and draw investment	Bridge
24 Feb 03	No clear or comforting answers as to why Mbeki risks so much to keep supporting Mugabe	---
24 Feb 03	Squandering authority	---
03 Mar 03	Window on Africa: As Mbeki vacates the chair, Nam reverts to student politics	Fabricius
14 Mar 03	Africa in the middle	---
14 Mar 03	Nepad vision yet to be matched by action	---
18 Mar 03	US action could have local fallout	Wray
19 Mar 03	Most parties in SA oppose US on plan to attack Iraq	Koopman
21 Mar 03	Pahad laments precedent set by US decision to launch attack without UN mandate	Phahlane
25 Mar 03	War pushes Africa down agenda – Mbeki	---
26 Mar 03	SA's painstaking efforts to promote peace in Africa and Middle East bear fruit	Michaels
26 Mar 03	After years of war, things are looking rosy for the 'belly of Africa'	---
27 Mar 03	West still backs Nepad, says Mbeki	Loxton
31 Mar 03	British minister for Africa jets in to soothe troubled relations	Terreblanche
01 Apr 03	Zimbabwe a danger for Nepad says UK's minister for Africa	---
02 Apr 03	JSE helps make Nepad a reality	---
04 Apr 03	Government ministers join Iraq protest but are silent on crises on our doorstep	---
07 Apr 03	DRC peace still on shaky ground	---
08 Apr 03	The beginning of the new era	---
09 Apr 03	Digging own grave	---
09 Apr 03	De Beers looks to Nepad to open doors to stable markets	Khuzwayo
10 Apr 03	The arrival of civilian rule has done nothing to halt poverty and corruption in Nigeria	---
10 Apr 03	Pamodzi Investment ties the knot with Willis South Africa	Nxumalo
10 Apr 03	Forum creates space to share information	Smith
10 Apr 03	Each job creates four more, says mining evangelist	Bridge
11 Apr 03	Nepad chair wants Africa to be more mature	Smith
14 Apr 03	Window on Africa: G8 summit a chance for Mbeki to revive focus on Africa and push for end to trade barriers	Fabricius
14 Apr 03	Mbeki urges journalists to set up an' African Al Jazeera'	---
16 Apr 03	Why do the media champion peer review over legally binding AU provisions?	---
17 Apr 03	Eskom considers expansion in Angola	Reuters
28 Apr 03	Drawing up a game plan for Team South Africa	---
30 Apr 03	When our politicians should be drawing the line, they draw another organogram or draw a blank	Fabricius
30 Apr 03	Burundi's fragile peace	---
01 May 03	One step forward, two steps back	---
13 May 03	Straw flies in to build Anglo-SA relations after war	Battersby

14 May 03	Britain's message	---
15 May 03	UK, SA agree on way forward in solving Zimbabwean crisis	Battersby
15 May 03	Japan shows a huge yen to help Africa	---
16 May 03	UK pledges to lobby for African farmers	---
19 May 03	Window on Africa: Nepad may be on the agenda for the big boys' meeting, but it could get sidelined	Fabricius
23 May 03	Irish ken to set up links	---
26 May 03	Window on Africa: On paper at least, the African Union is a dramatic break with the tradition of sovereignty	---
27 May 03	Erwin addresses the global ports forum	Sapa
27 May 03	G8 says it is still committed to Nepad	Reuters
28 May 03	Africa looks to enforce the peace	Fabricius
29 May 03	Graca, ex-Reserve Bank chief to serve on key Nepad panel	Fabricius
29 May 03	MDC wants Mugabe to go in peace so that democracy can rebuilt	---
29 May 03	Head of state gather in Nigeria for talks on Nepad	AFP
30 May 03	Gold Fields masters the local/ global balancing act	---
02 Jun 03	Window on Africa: Africa needs Europe's help to bolster peace deals and intervene in major conflicts	Fabricius
02 Jun 03	Ministers work on Nepad review plan	Reuters
03 Jun 03	Peer reviews of Uganda, Ghana set to begin soon	Fabricius
03 Jun 03	Mbeki raises the stakes in support of global health fund	Fabricius
03 Jun 03	Nepad powers up with electricity connection	---
04 Jun 03	Ball now in Africa's court, says Mbeki after G8 meeting	Battersby
05 Jun 03	Africa and the G8	---
06 Jun 03	Term limits, please	---
06 Jun 03	Swazi and Zimbabwean crises must be solved first, trade unionists agree	Bell
09 Jun 03	World Economic Forum summit to help activate Nepad	---
09 Jun 03	Window on Africa: Apart from the warm embraces, Mbeki and other African ' leaders achieved much at Evian	Fabricius
11 Jun 03	Learn from UN lead	---
11 Jun 03	Protestors prepare to take to streets of WEF summit	Wray
12 Jun 03	Nepad gathers steam as priority projects get under way	Fabricius
12 Jun 03	African leaders warn US against ignoring their continent	---
12 Jun 03	Architects of Nepad notable by absence	Wray
13 Jun 03	An unlikely champion	---
14 Jun 03	Manuel upbeat about Nepad	---
15 Jun 03	WEF summit may have lacked fizz, but this is where the real work begins	---
19 Jun 03	Opposition tears into Mbeki's upbeat speech in parliament	Michaels
19 Jun 03	African rewards 'outweigh the hazards'	Wray
26 Jun 03	De Villepin visit to open talks on Nepad implementation and French investment	Battersby
27 Jun 03	Sharing a common sense of purpose	---
30 Jun 03	Former Mali president leads bid to unseat Essy	Terreblanche
30 Jun 03	African scenarios highlight SA's leadership role	Wray
30 Jun 03	African Union must maintain control of Nepad as cash rolls in and initiatives roll out	Swanepoel
01 Jul 03	African advances	---
01 Jul 03	Funding issues dog African Union	Loxton
03 Jul 03	Women discuss changing the face of Africa	---
03 Jul 03	SA and India open a $10m credit line	Phahlane
03 Jul 03	Inaction on Zimbabwe threatens AU, says Idasa	Loxton
03 Jul 03	Presidential talks to be economic	Wray
07 Jul 03	'SA will not bow to US pressure over world court'	Michaels
08 Jul 03	AU calls for peace on the continent by end of year	Tromp
08 Jul 03	Free trade agreement tops Bush-Mbeki talks agenda	Michaels
08 Jul 03	Let us fire up Africa's engine-room	---
11 Jul 03	Burundi, Liberia highlighted raging conflicts dominate AU debate	Tromp
11 Jul 03	IMF will tailor its support to Africa	Wray
11 Jul 03	AU needs to make friends with the messenger	Gebhardt
13 Jul 03	Beneath the surface, the AU summit reflects the turbulence of African politics	Wray
13 Jul 03	Given a chance, Nepad will take root and grow Africa's young union	---
14 Jul 03	AU rolls up sleeves to tackle conflicts	---
14 Jul 03	17 Countries have now signed up for Nepad peer review	Wray
15 Jul 03	NNP praises Mbeki for AU leadership	Phahlane
15 Jul 03	Nepad's fires the first salvo to fight hunger	Wray
15 Jul 03	Eskom will help Africa light up by 2010	Reuters
21 Jul 03	Acid test for the AU will be how many of the wavering states put their weight behind reform	Fabricius
23 Jul 03	Partnerships through Nepad could prove beneficial to Africa	---
25 Jul 03	UN report shows Africa at the mercy of forces it cannot control	Wray
29 Jul 03	Ethiopia hosts talks on east African infrastructure	Loxton
01 Aug 03	Professor spells out dangers of ' epidemic on an unprecedented scale'	---
01 Aug 03	Bush leads America into new, modern attitudes to Africa	---

04 Aug 03	Call for African parliament of traditional leaders	---
07 Aug 03	Africa must change	---
07 Aug 03	Forum delivers African deals worth $80m	Inggs
08 Aug 03	Fuelling women's empowerment	---
11 Aug 03	Window on Africa: Pride of African intelligents should not delay use of internationally Aids drugs	Fabricius
13 Aug 03	Not just Blah	---
20 Aug 03	African banks debate monetary integration	AFP
22 Aug 03	Nepad urges buy-in for crops to alleviate hunger	Enslin
28 Aug 03	Creating balance is not just a matter of SA adjusting its weight	Wray
01 Sep 03	League president says unity is needed to tackle Africa's challenges	---
02 Sep 03	Africa's route to growth and development	---
05 Sep 03	SA not immune to the global malaise in foreign direct investment	Wessels
08 Sep 03	Dictators, the Aids crisis, corruption jam Nepad's window of golden opportunity	Johnson
12 Sep 03	Worst fears surpassed	---
15 Sep 03	Window on Africa: The credibility SA needs for its diplomatic efforts could be brought by standing up to Mugabe	Fabricius
19 Sep 03	Nepad gets R25m boost for projects	Ngobese
19 Sep 03	Black forum to take on empowerment challenges	Nxumalo
29 Sep 03	Truth behind breakdown in Cancun talks may have had nothing to due with farm subsidies	Fabricius
29 Sep 03	On a mission to fold Nepad into Japanese process	Cornish
29 Sep 03	Tokyo conference to bolster Nepad	AFP
29 Sep 03	Japan has crucial role in Nepad – Mbeki	Sapa
30 Sep 03	'Japan could help Nepad attain its goals by getting priorities right	---
01 Oct 03	Japan can help the sun rise on Africa says Mbeki in Tokyo	---
07 Oct 03	African leaders to launch Nepad peer review	Fabricius
10 Oct 03	Africa's trade future will depend largely on pressing information technology's buttons	---
20 Oct 03	Window on Africa: Commonwealth chief shows understand of Africa with his approval of Swazi plans for king	---
21 Oct 03	Changes taking place with far-reaching implications for SA	Skweyiya
26 Oct 03	Danisa Baloyi – story of an activist	Khuzwayo
30 Oct 03	East African leaders agree on common Nepad voice	Reuters
05 Nov 03	Bonds between Canada, SA 'deeper than deepest mines'	Fabricius
06 Nov 03	G8 countries resist peer reviews of their Nepad pledges	---
07 Nov 03	'Catastrophe looms' because Nepad is paying scant attention to pandemic	Smetherham
07 Nov 03	Nepad's litmus test	---
10 Nov 03	Window on Africa: G8 countries impatiently await African peer reviews – they aren't so anxious for their own	Fabricius
11 Nov 03	Africa's development needed for globalisation to work – Chirac	---
11 Nov 03	Law society calls for tough talk to Zimbabwe	---
14 Nov 03	Mbeki on visit to France to expand ties	---
19 Nov 03	Nepad, OECD partner for African development	Enslin
20 Nov 03	Mbeki wraps up France visit with upbeat	---
21 Nov 03	Environmental journalists need to look at both the brown and the green issues	Weaver
03 Dec 03	US business signs up on Nepad covenants	Loxton
03 Dec 03	Private sector finance has key role in Nepad	---
05 Dec 03	Abuja's exclusion of Mugabe a victory for tough, loud diplomacy	Fabricius
09 Dec 03	Mugabe's action has 'tarnished' Mbeki	---
11 Dec 03	Mbeki's weakness	---
15 Dec 03	Window on Africa: SA and the SADC states learn meaning of multilateralism of while voicing support for Mugabe	Fabricius
16 Dec 03	Isolated Mbeki has learnt the hard way that Comrade Mugabe won't go quietly	Sparks
16 Dec 03	Zuma calls for more trade ties with China	Sapa
23 Dec 03	'Government takes the right tack on Zimbabwe'	Pahad

173 Articles for 2003

372 articles for *Cape Times* 2002-2003

Appendix 6

2002 *Natal Witness* articles: NEPAD

Date	Title	Author
16 Jan 02	Leon: Govt has surrendered its principles	Segar
02 Feb 02	Mbeki call for more Nepad investment	
08 Feb 02	Warning Lights	Du Bois
14 Feb 02	No Protection for SA reporters	Segar
02 Mar 02	Church leaders discuss Nepad	SAPA
04 Mar 02	Nepad gets multi-million dollar boost	SAPA
13 Mar 02	Lingering images	Sayagues
14 Mar 02	Hollow victory (opinion)	
19 Mar 02	Sanctions Won't Change Mugabe's Mind letter	Summersgill
19 Mar 02	National Assembly debates Zim report on Tuesday	Segar
20 Mar 02	Little support for ANC's poll stance	Segar
25 Mar 02	Leaders meet to put Nepad into action	SAPA-AFP
26 Mar 02	Why back Mugbe?	Naidoo
28 Mar 02	Steady, long-term solutions (ECHO)	Zondi
28 Mar 02	Zuma's big hug sent out a message (letter)	Muhldorfer
28 Mar 02	Price hikes out of necessity (letter)	MacGillivaray
02 Apr 02	'Stop whining and work for Africa'	Segar
05 Apr 02	African trash heap	Du Bois
09 Apr 02	Liars and cheats?	Hassim
16 Apr 02	Mbeki, Obasanjo miss talks on funding Nepad	SAPA-AFP
18 Apr 02	What happened to April 27, 1994? (ECHO)	Mncube
18 Apr 02 (Sabinet)	Singh calls for KZN 'mini-Nepad'	Witness Reporter
19 Apr 02	Another African mirage	Du Bois
07 May 02	Taking our opportunities	Chatteris
17 May 02	Deportation 'won't keep illegals out'	SAPA
23 May 02	Follow example set by Indians (ECHO)	Xakaza
24 May 02	Setback for Nepad	Opinion
31 May 02	Choppy political waters	Du Bois
03 Jun 02	Nepad is main theme of WEF summit	SAPA
04 Jun 02	The importance of sanction	Hassim
06 Jun 02	Protestors at WEF meeting slam Nepad as 'recolonisation of Africa	Ayoob
07 Jun 02	Nepad gets major boost from business	SAPA
13 Jun 02	This is God's earth	Sherriffs
13 Jun 02	Food and democracy	Opinion
14 Jun 02	Africa's $64 billion question	Du Bois
17 Jun 02	Is Africa ready?	Opinion
19 Jun 02	Nepad's big challenge	Opinion
26 Jun 02	G8 summit	Opinion
27 Jun 02	Nepad enrichment (letter)	Glanville
28 Jun 02	Political turnips	Du Bois
29 Jun 02	Mbeki hails G8's plan, but others not so impressed	SAPA-AFP
02 Jul 02	AU security force proposed	SAPA
03 Jul 02	Forestry is part of Nepad's plan	Alberts
04 Jul 02	Ministers refine AU structures	SAPA
05 Jul 02	Leaders say AU will 'bring a fresh way of doing things'	SAPA
06 Jul 02	SA People 'unaware of Nepad'	SAPA
08 Jul 02	Leaders pour in for AU launch summit	SAPA
08 Jul 02	Road ahead for Africa	Opinion

10 Jul 02	Southern Africa's ground zero		Leon
10 Jul 02	Africa's 'moment of hope'		SAPA
11 Jul 02	New projects herald new era		Mzolo
11 Jul 02	AU launch ends on a note of optimism		SAPA
12 Jul 02	Rhetoric and reality		Du Bois
13 Jul 02	African Union	(letter)	Skinner
13 Jul 02	The unbeatable tedium of pessimism		Vanderhaeghen
18 Jul 02	In defence of the AU		Gardner
22 Jul 02	A partnership for life		Ndungane
22 Jul 02	Trashing democracy		Opinion
25 Jul 02 (Sabinet)	Environment group warns over Nepad		Witness Reporter
26 Jul 02	The road to ruin		Du Bois
26 Jul 02	Sick of pessimism	(letter)	Brown
03 Aug 02	SA terminates tuna fishing contracts with Japan and Taiwan		Bishop
08 Aug 02	African leaders are blind to women's struggles		Sayagues
09 Aug 02	Freedom Charter rules		Du Bois
14 Aug 02	Going slow		Gardner
23 Aug 02	Our own worst enemy		Du Bois
27 Aug 02	Anti-WSSD activists ignore warnings		SAPA
05 Sep 02	Share the Star of Africa		Dalling
06 Sep 02	Africa's day of infamy		Du Bois
10 Sep 02	Mbeki to oppose US use of force		SAPA
17 Sep 02	Mbeki sells Nepad to the UN		SAPA-AFP
23 Sep 02	Not so old?		Opinion
25 Sep 02	Commonwealth will 'still engage' Zim		Rueters-SAPA-DPA
04 Oct 02	No Rubicons for Mbeki		Du Bois
18 Oct 02	Courting Smuts' fate		Du Bois
22 Oct 02	Amnesty lobbies Mbeki over Zim		SAPA
25 Oct 02	African tragedy	(letter)	Spence
29 Oct 02	African development	(letter)	Cormack
30 Oct 02	Political peer review		Opinion
31 Oct 02	Mbeki: no Political review in Nepad		SAPA
05 Nov 02	SA lawyers slam king's marriage bid		SAPA
15 Nov 02	Too much tolerance		Du Bois
18 Nov 02	Dulling conflict diamonds		Hughes, Mills
22 Nov 02	Mtshali: Service is improving		Ayoob
13 Dec 02	Plagued by schizophrenia		Du Bois
19 Dec 02	Sanco 'will never be a political party'		SAPA
19 Dec 02	DRC peace		Opinion

87 articles for 2002

2003 *Natal Witness* articles: NEPAD

Date	**Title**		**Author**
02 Jan 03	Democratic triumph		Opinion
21 Jan 03	Gov't: Pay hikes could stem brain drain		Kockott
01 Feb 03	Mbeki to meet Blair today		SAPA
12 Feb 03	Money not the issue	(letter)	Mathebula
21 Feb 03	Beyond damage control		Du Bois
07 Mar 03	A house divided		Du Bois
10 Mar 03	Mbeki, Zuma in Nigeria		SAPA
13 Mar 03	Durban wins chambers' congress bid		Durban Bureau
19 Mar 03	SA must stop 'flirtation' with Saddam		Segar/SAPA

15 Apr 03	SA economy ‘poised for growth and development’		political correspondent
17 Apr 03	Mbeki’s stance	(letter)	Moorhouse
16 May 03	Impotence and farce		Du Bois
29 May 03	Nepad ‘peer review’ members chosen		SAPA-AFP
03 Jun 03	Wealth and poverty		Opinion
05 Jun 03	Oil deal		Opinion
06 Jun 03	Saved by the sand		Dominy
10 Jun 03	A farewell to arms		Merrett
12 Jun 03	‘Africa fails by not exposing corruption’		Ayoob
13 Jun 03	The rocking horse syndrome		Du Bois
13 Jun 03	Business pressured for AU funding		SAPA
16 Jun 03	Where are the youth?		Nxele
16 Jun 03	Track record needed		Opinion
25 Jun 03	Sun power runs city fish farm		Bishop
26 Jun 03	Bush’s oil safari		Dadoo
11 Jul 03	Africa needs Bush		Du Bois
03 Aug 03	South Africa and Zimbabwe	(letter)	Lewis
30 Sep 03	Visit to Algeria		Dominy
30 Sep 03	Mbeki urges Japan to help Nepad succeed		SAPA
09 Oct 03	An African cure (ECHO)		Mboto
06 Nov 03	Jumpstarting African science		Scott
11 Nov 03	Critical mass		Shaw
12 Nov 03	‘To empower the youth is to fight poverty’		SAPA
14 Nov 03	Can do better		Du Bois
14 Nov 03	Peer review		Opinion
19 Nov 03	Mbeki: ‘Africa needs the help of developed nations’		SAPA-AFP
25 Nov 03	Lighting the way		Scott
10 Dec 03	SA’s R10 min visit to Haiti		Gibson
18 Dec 03	All carrot, no stick	(letter)	
20 Dec 03	Waiting for relief	(letter)	

39 articles for 2003

126 articles for *Natal Witness* 2002-2003

Appendix 7

2002 *Business Day* articles: Terrorism

Date	Title	Author
03 Jan 02	Mandela backing down on US War	Ensor/SAPA
04 Jan 02	A matter of principle	---
04 Jan 02	Indian leader rules out meeting wit Musharraf	Luce/Bhattarai/SAPA/AP
07 Jan 02	SA 'has not changed its war stance'	Xako
08 Jan 02	SECOND TAKE	(Boston)
08 Jan 02	Hindustan Times	(New Delhi)
09 Jan 02	Saving face	---
09 Jan 02	Tiffany's ban troubles Afgem	Bain
09 Jan 02	SECOND TAKE	(New Delhi)
10 Jan 02	SECOND TAKE	(London)
11 Jan 02	Terrorism wave not devastating in material terms	Ngqiyaza
14 Jan 02	India ready to defuse crisis	AFP
15 Jan 02	Manuel named special envoy	Katzenellenbogen
21 Jan 02	Gritek moves on to world stage	Fraser
23 Jan 02	India claims Pakistani link in attack	AFP
25 Jan 02	Rich nations urges to quit comfort zone	Mvoko
28 Jan 02	Third suicide attack in Israel in a week	Heller
08 Feb 02	Australia, Indonesia sign pact	Collins
08 Feb 02	Dlamini-Zuma defends Iran	Mvoko
12 Feb 02	G-8 chiefs plan backing for Nepad at SA meeting	Katzenellenbogen
12 Feb 02	G-8 leaders show support for Nepad	Stremlau
15 Feb 02	SECOND TAKE	(London)
26 Feb 02	Fresh start for Angola and its diamonds	Bain
12 Mar 02	Sharon vows to push ahead with campaign	Spetalnick
18 Mar 02	Attacks in Israel upset peace efforts	SAPA/AFP
18 Mar 02	Five killed I grenade attack	SAPA/AP/AFP
20 Mar 02	Two Indian diplomats ordered out of Pakistan	SAPA/AP/AFP
26 Mar 02	SECOND TAKE	(New York)
02 Apr 02	Envoys seek Israeli withdrawal	---
03 Apr 02	Taking war on terrorism a step too far in Somalia	Connell
03 Apr 02	Mbeki's view is misrepresented	Khumalo
03 Apr 02	A clear pattern	---
05 Apr 02	Greatest challenge on home front	Van Niekerk
08 Apr 02	US and UK ready for war	---
08 Apr 02	A global sheriff in need of deputies	Stephens/Financial Times
10 Apr 02	ANC protests, prays for Palestinians	Mothibeli
12 Apr 02	Unfair to condemn Israel	Saks
15 Apr 02	Israelis are victims in this war as well	Woolf
17 Apr 02	Lines of peace less easily drawn	Van Niekerk
18 Apr 02	A hopeless case	---
19 Apr 02	A leap for human rights	---
24 Apr 02	Thankfully, SA not in US back yard	Van Niekerk
25 Apr 02	Accept inclusiveness of universal human values	Laufer/Farnaroff
10 May 02	State furious at US for visa checks on ANC	Mvoko
14 May 02	Arafat acted only under duress of US	Goldman
16 May 02	It is unfair to criticize the US and Israel	Woolf
16 May 02	SA to support Middle East peace plan	Marrs
22 May 02	SA pressed to take stance on Saharawi conflict	Stremlau
03 Jun 02	Vajpayee rules out talks with Musharraf	Browne/Denyer/Reuters
07 Jun 02	SECOND TAKE	(London)
12 Jun 02	Keeping eye out for US's unilateral tendencies	Stremlau
14 Jun 02	Minister appeals to those who protect criminals	Hartley
14 Jun 02	Moscow race incidents on the rise	Helmer
26 Jun 02	African leaders face challenge at G-8 summit	Katzenellenbogen
28 Jun 02	Bush takes sides	
16 Jul 02	SECOND TAKE-FINANCIAL TIMES	(London)
22 Jul 02	Arafat cannot be absolved	Killarney
26 Jul 02	Tvangirai quizzed about 'plot'	Muleya
26 Jul 02	Islet dispute is wasted opportunity for AU	Dlamini
30 Jul 02	Asean ministers remove obstacles to pact with US	SAPA/AFP
31 Jul 02	Burundi VP in Uganda after raid	Bujumbura
05 Aug 02	SECOND TAKE- THE BOSTON GLOBE	(Boston)

08 Aug 02	Zanu (PF) tilts at Jerusalem	Muleya
15 Aug 02	India celebrates in independence	SAPA/AP/AFP
19 Aug 02	SECOND TAKE- THE NEW YORK TIMES	(New York)
20 Aug 02	State to keep a close eye on troublemakers at UN talks	Hartley
21 Aug 02	Disgruntled Saudi withdraw billions from US	Khalaf
26 Aug 02	Streets of London quieter as anniversary approaches	Minogue/SAPA/DPA
30 Aug 02	Terrorism for if Israelis and Palestinians	Peres
30 Aug 02	Sticky clauses in terrorism bill scrapped	Hartley
02 Sep 02	Iraq tries to rally EU support against proposed US attacks	Taha/SAPA/AFP
04 Sep 02	ANC must choose consistent policy path	Leon
10 Sep 02	Gold surges as markets languish on war threat	Mnyanda
11 Sep 02	Foreign investors are wary of an uncompetitive Arab world	Baum/Bloomberg
11 Sep 02	UN meeting can set tone for world peace—Pahad	SAPA
11 Sep 02	Hunt for terrorist cash slows as funds move outside system	Silver/Bloomberg
11 Sep 02	A wasted year	---
11 Sep 02	Family pride enough reason for war?	Mazwai
11 Sep 02	Reviewing lessons learnt from attack on US	Dlamini
13 Sep 02	Tough-taking Bush gives UN last chance to deal with Iraqi weapons	Katzenellenbogen/Reuters
16 Sep 02	US wants custody of new terror suspect	Reuters/SAPA/AP/AFP
18 Sep 02	SECOND TAKE- THE NEW YORK TIMES	(New York)
19 Sep 02	Saddam's offer is unlikely to save him	Khalaf/Wolffe/Financial Times
20 Sep 02	Africa on the march as UN endorses NEPAD	Mbeki
27 Sep 02	SECOND TAKE	(New York)
27 Sep 02	Pakistan called 'a one stop shop for terrorism'	Reuters
01 Oct 02	Middle Eastern conflict reflects broader change	Kornegay
02 Oct 02	Commonwealth needs to face new century bravely	Dlamini
07 Oct 02	US citizens may find it harder to go to Saudi Arabia now	Reuters
08 Oct 02	SA's defence of UN serves national interest	Stremlau
14 Oct 02	SECOND TAKE	(Sidney)
15 Oct 02	Al-Qaeda link n Bali blast-Terrorists networks blamed	Zeranski/Bloomberg
15 Oct 02	SECOND TAKE	(Sidney)
15 Oct 02	SECOND TAKE-THE STRAITS TIMES	(Singapore)
15 Oct 02	A call to act together	---
15 Oct 02	Yes, it can get far worse for US economically	Stiglitz
17 Oct 02	Travel insurance policies may not cover claims form terrorist-related acts	Rose
18 Oct 02	Deadly bomb attack hits Philippines city	SAPA/AFP
22 Oct 02	'Crackdown on Islamists could spark backlash'	Donnan/SAPA/AFP
29 Oct 02	Terror tactics	---
30 Oct 02	Rand loses value after bomb explosions rattle Soweto area	Bloomberg/Reuters/SAPA/AFP
31 Oct 02	Groups throughout SA condemn outrage	Mabuza
31 Oct 02	The painful path to peace in Chechnya	Lieven
31 Oct 02	Beyond the bombing	---
04 Nov 02	The radical right is small but dangerous	Schonteich
05 Nov 02	Member of right-wing Boeremag arrested	In brief
06 Nov 02	A clear and present danger	Mazwai
06 Nov 02	Senior Boeremag member in court after alleged right-wing coup plot	Benjamin
07 Nov 02	Is radical right a real threat to SA's democracy?	Cohen/Benjamin
11 Nov 02	Taking a stance on Iraq needs care	Cohen
11 Nov 02	Sons of Boeremag member sought for questioning	Benjamin
12 Nov 02	Global strife would widen Africa's geopolitical rifts	Kornegay
14 Nov 02	Boeremag was behind bombings—Selebi	Hartley
14 Nov 02	SECOND TAKE-THE CHRISTIAN SCEINCE MONITOR	(Boston)
19 Nov 02	SECOND TAKE	(London)
21 Nov 02	US senators back agency to fight terrorism	Holland/SAPA/AP
21 Nov 02	Pipe bombs discovered on a Northern Cape small plot	Benjamin
21 Nov 02	Bush canvasses allies for a 'coalition of the willing'	AFP
29 Nov 02	Sharon leads in vote to decide on Likud head	SAPA/AP/AFP
02 Dec 02	Suicide bombers	---
03 Dec 02	Asian states rap 'arrogant' Australian PM-Antiterrorism statement condemned	SAPA/AFP
04 Dec 02	Put Middle East peace before war in Iraq	Hurd
04 Dec 02	SECOND TAKE	(London)
05 Dec 02	Kenya agan asks why it is a target	---
11 Dec 02	SA, US work in tandem to find terrorist cells	Benjamin
12 Dec 02	Maduna refuses to extradite Chilean refugee	Molebeledi
12 Dec 02	Five fugitives held in Soweto bombings case	Benjamin
17 Dec 02	Police count successes against the right wing	Benjamin
18 Dec 02	SECOND TAKE	(London)
20 Dec 02	HA'ARETZ	(Jerusalem)
24 Dec 02	Misplaced fears	---
31 Dec 02	Chasm remains between promises and possibility	Stephens/Financial Times

31 Dec 02	Pahad warns of fallout if US invades Iraq	Ensor

133 articles for 2002

2003 *Business Day* articles: Terrorism

Date	Title	Author
06 Jan 03	SA suggestion in nonsense, Says Australia	Fraser/SAPA
07 Jan 03	Police views diverge on farmer's political affiliations	Benjamin
17 Jan 03	SECOND TAKE	(Boston)
22 Jan 03	'Preventive war' policy a nettle UN must grasp	Stremlau
28 Jan 03	Africa needs to resolve where it stands in global war on terror	Soko
29 Jan 03	Bush lays groundwork for war decision within weeks	Bloomberg
30 Jan 03	Mbeki has limited space to manoeuvre at Chequers	Katzenellenbogen
03 Feb 03	Can Sharon offer hope?	---
05 Feb 03	Philippines warns of domestic terror attacks	SAPA/AFP
05 Feb 03	Warnng of biological attacks	AFP
11 Feb 03	SA can save Iraq	Northcliff
18 Feb 03	Commandos to go 'because of apartheid role'	Hartley
25 Feb 03	Mbeki steps down with poetry, antiwar talk	MacLeod
04 Mar 03	Nigerian conmen sharpen their crooked ways	Catan/Peel/Financial Times
13 Mar 03	US intends to do more than change the Iraqi regime	Johnson
14 Mar 03	Police ready for Boeremag, says Selebi	Benjamin/SAPA
18 Mar 03	US cannot broaden goals on its own	Stremlau
19 Mar 03	Blunt tool of sanctions found wanting as Iraqi war looms	Hagedorn
24 Mar 03	US must work on regaining goodwill	Skapinker
24 Mar 03	War in Iraq poses questions about future global order	Katzenellenbogen
28 Mar 03	US hypocrisy	Bleyenheuft
31 Mar 03	Africa agrees to disagree on Iraq	Kornegay
02 Apr 03	All are Equal	Letter
11 Apr 03	Coalition campaign myths need to b debunked	Mills
14 Apr 03	Sharon says victory in Iraq boosts Palestinian peace bid	SAPA/AFP
23 Apr 03	Anglo-US axis rules future inventions	Johnson
30 Apr 03	US record of regime change is dismal	Stremlau
30 Apr 03	Libya agrees to payouts for victim of Lockerbie terror	SAPA/AFP
13 May 03	The 'Mbeki doctrine' may offer US a lesson	Stremlau
19 May 03	Global dangers	---
27 May 03	Benefits for Africa are not clear	Kornegay
03 Jun 03	Global jury still out on US agenda for world	Stremlau
06 Jun 03	At least 18 killed in Chechnya attack	Karpov/AFP
20 Jun 03	Mad Bomber	Letter
24 Jun 03	Anti-Terrorism Bill is embarrassing – Bizos	Hartley
25 Jun 03	Detention without trial in the ''backdoor'	Hartley
26 Jun 03	Righting terrorism	---
27 Jun 03	Definition in terrorism bill 'is too broad'	Ensor
30 Jun 03	September 11 'made Africa more important' to US	Summit TV
02 Jul 03	De Klerk subpoena 'absurd'	Benjamin
04 Jul 03	Human rights poser for antiterrorism bill	Hartley
08 Jul 03	September 11 attacks put Africa on US policy map	Herbst/Mills
08 Jul 03	Mbeki has the edge in talks with Bush	Stremlau
10 Jul 03	Mbeki added to US's list of allies	Radebe
11 Jul 03	Flawed, but not unreasonable	Bruce
16 Jul 03	Only half true	Letter
17 Jul 03	US right to attack Iraq – Kissinger	---
22 Jul 03	Third Way gives left a lease on life in a global society	Dlamini
23 Jul 03	Nuclear race nears point of no return	Goodby/Weisbrode
24 Jul 03	Zimbabwe's leaders need to rise above zero-sum game	Mills/Hughes
05 Aug 03	Boeremag trial resumes with charges of abuse	Benjamin
05 Aug 03	The Insider	---
07 Aug 03	Detention trial is out of new terror bill	Hartley
19 Aug 03	Democracy under attack in the US	Stremlau
21 Aug 03	Bad neighbours	Letter
21 Aug 03	US is masking its acts of terror	Letter
26 Aug 03	SECOND TAKE	(London)
26 Aug 03	Historic chance for new Iraq mandate	Stremlau
29 Aug 03	Mbeki off to Malaysia for two-day state visit	Katzenellenbogen
09 Sep 03	SECOND TAKE	(New Delhi)

09 Sep 03	SECOND TAKE	(New York)
22 Sep 03	Critics who say US faces new Vietnam can think again	Mills
22 Sep 03	SECOND TAKE	(New York)
26 Sep 03	Reforming the UN	---
08 Oct 03	Cycle of terror	Letter
13 Oct 03	Bali victims are remembered	Yates/Nichols, Sukarsono/Reuters
16 Oct 03	World, not US, has to set out global aims	Sachs
20 Oct 03	SECOND TAKE	(Los Angeles)
21 Oct 03	UN Reform	Dlamini
24 Oct 03	Resources for food may avert failures	Lal
30 Oct 03	Mohamad takes parting shot at US over Jews	SAPA/AFP
11 Nov 03	SECOND TAKE	(New York)
13 Nov 03	Former AWB boss admits to terror	Benjamin
20 Nov 03	China Bounces Back	Wolf/Financial Times
24 Nov 03	World War Three	---
25 Nov 03	SECOND TAKE	(Washington)
27 Nov 03	Suicide Bombings	Mills
04 Dec 03	Steps needed to protect trade from 'growing terror threat'	Ensor
04 Dec 03	EU unveils new route to peace in Middle East	SAPA/AP/AFP
05 Dec 03	Terrorism threat too serious to gloss over	Hurd
05 Dec 03	US calls for democracy and political changes	---
18 Dec 03	Sunni Arabs lament passing of Saddam era	SAPA/AFP
31 Dec 03	A year of war, peace looms ahead	---

83 articles for 2003

216 articles for years 2002-3 *Business Day*

Appendix 8

2002 *Cape Times* articles: Terrorism

Date	Title	Author
30 Jan 02	Global taskforce meeting on terrorist funds	Reuters
31 Jan 02	Analysts suspect Fed rate cuts are over	AFP
03 Feb 02	War, as the mother of invention, has benefits for civilians too	AFP
07 Feb 02	Blair looking to lay bricks for Nepad	SAPA/AFP
10 Feb 02	Indonesia's litany of disasters	Bloomberg
13 Feb 02	Terrorism paranoia hits Tanzania's gem hopes	AP
18 Feb 02	US cues World Bank to block terror funding	Bloomberg
18 Feb 02	Bush praises Koizumi's drive to boost Japan's economy	SAPA/AFP
08 Apr 02	Oil rises on war premium	Bloomberg
28 Apr 02	There are no quick fixes in rebranding a country takes	Wilson
07 May 02	Terrorist label boosts some businesses under US clampdown on assets	SAPA/AP
24 May 02	Terrorism still a wild card for US	SAPA/AP
09 Jun 002	Pray tell us, where should we go to for a safe haven in a world gone paranoid	Bloomberg
07 Jul 02	Mixed reactions as Iran sells foreign bonds for first time since 1979	Bloomberg
25 Aug 02	Lockheed bonds soar as investors buy defence debt	Bloomberg
25 Aug 02	Unequivocal long-term solutions are needed to make the summit a success	Wray
30 Aug 02	Commission to investigate SA's legal minefield	Loxton
11 Sep 02	One year on, the economic fallout has yet to settle	Wray
15 Sep 02	Campaign to seize terrorist funds slows, says UN monitors and bankers	Bloomberg
16 Sep 02	Captured senior al-Qaeda operative 'more interesting 'than bin Laden himself	Buncombe
17 Sep 02	Aim of US policy is to control oil in Gulf, says Iraqi PM	SAPA/AP, SAPA/AFP
29 Sep 02	It all about oil	Letter
29 Sep 02	Bush and Co after oil	Letter
02 Oct 02	US steps up screening of 'suspect' arrivals	Cornwell
04 Oct 02	Stand with us or stand aside, Bush tells UN	SAPA/AP
13 Oct 02	Lest we forget: the Bushes' history is one of support for tyrants, betrayal and oil, oil, oil	IFS
14 Oct 02	Bomb carnage in paradise	Reuters, SAPA, AP, Independent
14 Oct 02	Bali bombings were predictable	Reuters
15 Oct 02	Indonesians have nothing in common with fanatics	Reeves
15 Oct 02	US officials look for links bombs, al Qaeda	Usborne
15 Oct 02	Innocence no longer any protection for individuals living in new age of terrorism	Fisk
15 Oct 02	The bloody horror of Bali	Editor
15 Oct 02	Counting the cost of terror	AFP
15 Oct 02	Gold shares climb over 6% as Bali bomb hits sentiment	Wessels
16 Oct 02	Second Opinion: Blinkered Bush	Independent-London
17 Oct 02	Indonesia prepares to crack down on militants	Reuters
17 Oct 02	Iraq may co-operate with new UN arms inspection demands	Reuters
21 Oct 02	Australia issues fourth travel alert on Indonesia	SAPA/AFP
21 Oct 02	Second Opinion: Perverse priority	Independent-London
22 Oct 02	SA faces new demands in fight against terrorism	Battersby
22 Oct 02	Muslim cleric accused of plotting to kill Indonesian leader	Reuters
22 Oct 02	Pentagon to scale down war on drug trafficking	Richter
23 Oct 02	Clear Danger	Letter
24 Oct 02	Second Opinion : Time for resolution	Independent-London
24 Oct 02	Urban terrorists face rigorous probes and long jail terms under Explosives Bill	Koopman
24 Oct 02	Sketches made of three male suspects in Bali blasts	---
24 Oct 02	Roots of terror	Letter
25 Oct 02	Indonesia says it will ask UN to lace Jemaah Islamiah on its terror list	Reuters
25 Oct 02	World leaders condemn hostage-takers in Moscow as terrorists	SAPA/AFP
25 Oct 02	Spectre of terrorism hangs over Apec's trade liberalization talks	AFP/Reuters
28 Oct 02	Second Opinion: Back to basics	Editor
28 Oct 02	Around the World-Australia lists Jemaah Islamiah as terrorist group	---
29 Oct 02	Second Opinion: Vital information	Independent-London
29 Oct 02	No deal with rebels, Putin vows	---
30 Oct 02	Terror tactics	Editor
31 Oct 02	Right-wing revival shows ANC has underestimated threat of disaffected whites	Du Preez
31 Oct 02	We must fight terror together, and ease the deprivation of which it feeds	Hoon
04 Nov 02	We know exactly who they are, police say of bomber group	Gifford
05 Nov 02	Rightwinger who lived under noses 'of police' arrested	Otto
05 Nov 02	Gullible Pahad	Letter
06 Nov 02	Police on alert as rightwing leader appears over cop plot	SAPA

07 Nov 02	US changes rules of engagement	Buncombe
08 Nov 02	Bizarre fantasy of the 'Karoo Klux Klan'	Independent-London
11 Nov 02	Search for right-wing six gains momentum	Altenroxel
11 Nov 02	Around the globe	---
15 Nov 02	Flouting by US of prisoners' rights could backfire – Goldstone	Tromp
18 Nov 02	Increase in 'chatter' has intelligence agencies anxious about major attack in UK	Whitaker/Buncombe
19 Nov 02	Latest bin Laden audiotape is genuine, says US intelligence	SAPA/AP
19 Nov 02	Hijack suspect 'wanted to crash plane into Tel Aviv building'	SAPA/AP
21 Nov 02	Teachers' union and school…..	SAPA
22 Nov 02	Will Nato-after winning the Cold War- survive the current uneasy peace?	Castle
25 Nov 02	Internet 'letter' by Bin Laden warns of attack	SAPA/AP
28 Nov 02	Indonesian human rights courts jails militia for East Timor crimes	Reuters
29 Nov 02	An evil option	Editor
02 Dec 02	'Extremists on both sides blocking Mideast peace'	Thiel/SAPA
02 Dec 02	We hit Iraqi defences, not oil firms offices, claims US after four are killed	Reuters
02 Dec 02	Weakened al-Qaeda goes for soft targets	Whitaker
02 Dec 02	Dance of death puts village in mourning	SAPA/DPA
04 Dec 02	Stop hate speech	Letter
06 Dec 02	3 dead after Karachi blast	Reuters
10 Dec 02	Iraq calls o Arabs to 'seek martyrdom' by attacking US forces in Kuwait	Reuters
10 Dec 02	Peace Chanukah showed parallels between Jewish and Palestinian struggles	Ozinsky
12 Dec 02	ANC to rally support for oppressed, boost jobs, fight terrorism	Mamaila
13 Dec 02	Rightwingers' treason case postponed	SAPA
16 Dec 02	Second Opinion: War fever	---
17 Dec 02	Saudi Arabia out to guard its turf as war threatens oil markets	Independent-London
23 Dec 02	North Korea defies UN at suspect nuclear reactor	Reuters
27 Dec 02	Captured enemies of US under 'stress and duress'	Reuters
31 Dec 02	Plans to evacuate South Africans from the Gulf	Ntabazalila
31 Dec 02	US-Yemeni ties no bulwark against attacks	Reuters/SAPA/AFP
31 Dec 02	Fed-up Kenyans bring Moi's era of corruption to an end	Maharaj/Mwangi

91 articles for 2002

2003 *Cape Times* articles: Terrorism

Date	Title	Author
03 Jan 03	Victim's mother makes peace with Apla attackers	SAPA
03 Jan 03	4 Palestinians shot dead 'on way to attack settlements'	Reuters
03 Jan 03	Beware, the Big Brother from our evil past is sneaking up on all of us	Jazbhay
03 Jan 03	Straw embroiled in furious row with Netanyahu over Palestinian ban	SAPA
09 Jan 03	'Lab' sparks UK hunt for stockpile of deadly toxin	Reuters
10 Jan 03	SECOND OPINION: Lone voice	Independent
16 Jan 03	Killing of policeman has 'major implications' for war on terror	Reuters
17 Jan 03	Anti-terror raids have roused Britain to danger of 'the enemy within'	Reuters
17 Jan 03	Routine arrest turns into deadly struggle as police stumble on key al-Qaeda man	Herbert/Bennetto
20 Jan 03	SECOND OPINION: Burden of proof	Independent
21 Jan 03	DA slams Mbeki for backing Libya	Wray
27 Jan 03	Window on Africa: Cold War 2 looms as countries make bold, bad decisions…	Fabricius
30 Jan 03	Jitters, hope as US moves to edge of war	SAPA
03 Feb 03	Around the Globe	---
05 Feb 03	I'd rather bet my career on Baghdad than carry blame in history – Blair	Independent
07 Feb 03	The world is a dangerous place, but no one can agree on warnings for travelers	Semgupta
10 Feb 03	Colombia car bomb kills 32 in club blast	SAPA/AP
17 Feb 03	UK police form units countrywide to respond to attacks	Reuters
21 Feb 03	NAM attacks West's 'racist' policies	SAPA/AFP
24 Feb 03	Boeremag suspect in court today	Staff reporter
26 Feb 03	Anniversary of failed bid to topple towers	SAPA/AFP
27 Feb 03	SECOND OPINION: No need for war	Independent
03 Mar 03	Window on Africa: As Mbeki vacates the chair, NAM reverts to student politics	Fabricius
03 Mar 03	Arrested 'general' key to al-Qaeda secrets	SAPA/AP
04 Mar 03	Second Opinion: This has 'nut' all over it	Independent
04 Mar 03	British firms seek shelter from terrorism	AFP
05 Mar 03	Bomb blast rocks airport in Southern Philippines	Reuters
06 Mar 03	Handwritten letters from Bin Laden found on terror mastermind Mohammed	SAPA/AFP
07 Mar 03	Cold War warriors' dream of a Pax Americana	Cornwell
10 Mar 03	Second Opinion: Blair could stop war	Independent
11 Mar 03	A passion for justice honed apartheid	Gabiro

14 Mar 03	Fears that North Korea is poised to make nuclear weapons stoke tensions	SAPA/AP
17 Mar 03	Crocker's Corner: It looks like war, but this time I won't be watching it on TV	Crocker
19 Mar 03	The mark of a leader?	Letter
19 Mar 03	US motives still foggy though plans are clear	IFS
20 Mar 03	Religion is the guiding power in Bush agenda	Wolpe
21 Mar 03	Bubbles of fire light Baghdad's night sky	Fisk
21 Mar 03	Kenyans claim to hold top al-Qaeda suspect	Reuters
24 Mar 03	Asians march for peace, US warns American in Indonesia of attacks	Reuters
26 Mar 03	War Briefs	---
27 Mar 03	Pakistan and India carry out tit-for-tat missile tests	Reuters/SAPA/DPA
27 Mar 03	Winds of change blowing in Middle East	Benjamin
27 Mar 03	US war costs include buying pals	Reuters
31 Mar 03	Suicide car bombing caught all by surprise	Fisk
01 Apr 03	Shadow of Vietnam looms over coalition	Cornwell
02 Apr 03	Suicide bombers – the weapons America fears the most	Fisk
02 Apr 03	Israel and US disagree about implementation of 'roadmap' peace plan	SAPA/AFP
03 Apr 03	SECOND OPINION	Independent
04 Apr 03	King slams 'invasion' to placate Jordanians	Reuters
07 Apr 03	US status and alliance in Asia weakened by course of war	Macartney
09 Apr 03	North Korea accuses US of 'military terrorism'	Reuters
14 Apr 03	Israel will give up settlements in exchange for no right of return - -Sharon	SAPA/AP
15 Apr 03	No plan to hit Syria, but hawks bare their talons	Reuters
16 Apr 03	Syria denies weapons charges, says Israel has the deadly arsenal	SAPA/AFP
17 Apr 03	Abu Abbas capture trumpeted by US	Reuters
23 Apr 03	'Roadmap' to defuse Arab anger	Sparks
09 May 03	Media 'ignoring' terrorism bills threat to their rights and freedom institute warns	SAPA
14 May 03	US status on world stage 'harmed by Iraq policy'	SAPA/AFP/Reuters
15 May 03	Colin Powell's trips dogged by bloody acts of terror	Reuters
15 May 03	American intelligence community's rising confidence vanishes	Buncombe
15 May 03	Attack is an economic catastrophe for Saudis	McRae
16 May 03	UK grounds all flights to Kenya	Independent
16 May 03	Saudis insist 'foreign hand' behind Riyadh terror attacks	Reuters
19 May 03	Hornet's nest of terror unleashed	Cornwell
19 May 03	Boeremag planned civil war – state	Ellis
19 May 03	Annan calls for world offensive to stamp out 'repugnant' terrorism	SAPA/AFP
20 May 03	Yet another bombing cast doubts on Bush's' ability to stem global terrorism	SAPA/AP
21 May 03	US,UK shut embassies in Saudi Arabia amid fears of 'imminent' attacks	SAPA/AFP
23 May 03	We would be doing democracy a great disservice by fighting terror with terror	Kollapen
30 May 03	Sharon, Abbas upbeat after three-hour meeting on road map for peace	Reuters
30 May 03	Anti-Terrorism Bill so draconian it would make Nats look tame	Johnson
04 Jun 03	G8 leaders take steps to fight global threat	SAPA/AFP
04 Jun 03	Understanding the causes of terror	Sparks
10 Jun 03	Legal Aid 'incompetent', court told	SAPA
18 Jun 03	M15 fears terror attacks on big cities coming soon	Reuters
18 Jun 03	French police swoop on Iran opposition group, seize $1.3m	Reuters
24 Jun 03	Definition of terrorism in bill so vague it's 'an invitation for abuse'	SAPA
24 Jun 03	Government illegal, trialists say	SAPA
24 Jun 03	Al-Qaeda has deployed its 'third generation'	Reuters
25 Jun 03	Questionable claims	Penn
27 Jun 03	Definition of terror in bill too vague, say prosecutors	Koopman
30 Jun 03	Around the globe-Retired Argentinian officer extradited to Spain	---
30 Jun 03	Window on Africa-President Bush's visit to Africa isn't all about oil, its also….	Fabricius
02 Jul 03	De Klerk subpoenaed in treason trial over validity of constitution	SAPA
02 Jul 03	Bush, Africa and terrorism	Editor
03 Jul 03	'Bomber' weeps over victims' pictures	SAPA/DPA
08 Jul 03	De Klerk might go to curt to avoid testifying for Boeremag	SAPA
08 Jul 03	Around the globe	---
08 Jul 03	Bush's visit a sign that Africa now has place in strategic interests of US	Cornwell
09 Jul 03	Small but feisty band protests against US president's Africa visit	van Zilla
10 Jul 03	Hello and goodbye	Editor
14 Jul 03	Calls for Iran regime change grow	Benjamin
16 Jul 03	Coalition losing war for hearts and minds	Sparks
30 Jul 03	Killing Hussein's sons lost US a precious chance	Sparks
04 Aug 03	South African briefs	---
06 Aug 03	Lunch-time bomb sows panic	---
06 Aug 03	Terror groups hand evident in attack, say experts	SAPA/AFP
07 Aug 03	Around the world	---
08 Aug 03	Real IRA leader to serve 20 years for planning blast	Reuters
08 Aug 03	11 Dead and 57 hurt in bombing of Jordanian embassy in Baghdad	SAPA/AFP
13 Aug 03	Libya ready to own up to Lockerbie and renounce terrorism after sanctions deal	Reuters

15 Aug 03	Libya accuses France of threatening to block Lockerbie deal	SAPA/AFP
18 Aug 03	Another terror strike on US 'highly likely'	SAPA/AP
19 Aug 03	France may veto UN vote to lift Libya sanctions	---
20 Aug 03	Bomb devastates UN compound	---
21 Aug 03	Give UN more say	Independent
26 Aug 03	46 die in twin Mumbai blasts	Reuters
27 Aug 03	Bush won't back down on Iraq despite higher body count since end of war	Independent
27 Aug 03	Court wrangle over seized Boomerang	SAPA
27 Aug 03	Muslims fear backlash as bomb victims are cremated	---
29 Aug 03	Bush losing war against terrorism	Sparks
08 Sep 03	Dilemma of Iraq	Independent
11 Sep 03	How the world has changed	Independent
11 Sep 03	A lost opportunity	Editor
11 Sep 03	Anti-terror laws abused, civil rights group claims	Reuters
12 Sep 03	Protestors fair game	Independent
12 Sep 03	Two years on, US has lost sympathy in many quarters	Reuters
17 Sep 03	US vetoes UN resolution urging Israel not to harm or banish Arafat	Reuters
25 Sep 03	Settlements block road to peace	Sparks
30 Sep 03	Three years and killing goes on	Independent
03 Oct 03	Man Friday–Israeli air force pilots' refusal to bomb civilians slated as cowardly…	Weaver
07 Oct 03	Own goal	Independent
08 Oct 03	Freedom fighter MP's acutely sensitive to new terror laws, says justice minister	Editor
13 Oct 03	Grief, defiance as survivors, family remember Bali dead	Reuters
14 Oct 03	Opposite effects	Independent
15 Oct 03	Security crucial for growth – APEC	SAPA/AP
21 Oct 03	Alleged Boeremag leader says he's P (A) C	SAPA
23 Oct 03	Peace on hold	Independent
23 Oct 03	Definition of terror tightened in bill to protect legitimate forms of political dissent	Political Bureau
23 Oct 03	Indonesian Muslim leaders warm to Bush	SAPA/AP
29 Oct 03	US hegemony not made to last	Zamora
29 Oct 03	Continuing terrorism	Independent
30 Oct 03	Informer describes Boeremag plot	SAPA
06 Nov 03	Boeremag defence team given a week to consider police spy's evidence	SAPA
06 Nov 03	Israel's first UN resolution speaks up for it children	SAPA/AFP
10 Nov 03	Oil prices climb in wake of Saudi blast	SAPA/AFP
11 Nov 03	At a crossroads	Editor
11 Nov 03	US Supreme Court to decide if Guantanamo inmates have rights	Independent
11 Nov 03	US forces in Iraq expect many more attacks	Reuters
13 Nov 03	AWB leader admits guilt and prays for new SA	---
17 Nov 03	Suicide bombers blamed for Turkish attacks	Reuters
21 Nov 03	27 killed in Turkey blasts	Reuters
21 Nov 03	Protests outside parliament accompany passing of controversial anti-terrorism …	Michaels
21 Nov 03	Bush, Blair vow to fight on	Reuters
21 Nov 03	We must stop terror of SA's anti-terrorism bill	Mahomed
24 Nov 03	Consequences	Independent
27 Nov 03	UK police may gain emergency powers to deal with terror attacks	Reuters
01 Dec 03	Ambushes stoke doubts over aiding US in Iraq	Reuters
02 Dec 03	'Don't sacrifice human rights in fight against terrorism'	Reuters
03 Dec 03	14 arrested in UK terror swoop	---
11 Dec 03	Iran's Nobel laureate blasts US	---
15 Dec 03	Africa briefs	---
18 Dec 03	Detainees in Cuba: US accused of double standards	Independent
18 Dec 03	China turns up the heat on Taiwan's president	---
22 Dec 03	World lauds Gadaffi's promise on weapons	SAPA/AP
23 Dec 03	Libya will let UN teams in to verify it has no nukes	---

156 articles for 2003

247 articles for *Cape Times* 2002-3

Appendix 9

2002 *Natal Witness* articles: Terrorism

Date	Title	Author
05 Feb 02*	Anthrax scares	Opinion
06 Feb 02	Charges against Zim journalist dropped	---
06 Feb 02	No safety measures	Dyer
19 Feb 02	Our world of extreme paradoxes	Letter
27 Feb 02	Definition of terrorist and freedom fighter	Letter
06 Mar 02	On a mission	Dyer
31 Mar 02	Mideast spirals towards chaos	SAPA/AFP
04 Apr 02	African trash heap	du Bois
12 Apr 02	Plot: Cabinet members to be 'taken out'	SAPA
14 Apr 02	Mideast ceasefire elusive	SAPA/AFP
17 Apr 02	Powell leaves Mideast with little to show	Reuters
08 May 02	Bombs shatter peace hopes	SAPA/AP/Reuters
09 May 02	Friends and foes	Dalling
09 May 02	Pakistan cracks down on militant groups	SAPA/AP
17 May 02	Arafat defiantly vague on 'elections'	Reuters
19 May 02	US braces for new attacks	Reuters
28 May 02	India unimpressed by Musharraf speech	Reuters/SAPA/AFP
29 Aug 02	No more detention without trial in SA	Segar
10 Sep 02	September 11	Opinion
15 Sep 02	Making the right decision	Opinion
20 Sep 02	Two 'coup plotters' held	SAPA
04 Oct 02	Police find bombs and guns in arsenal linked to rightwingers	SAPA
27 Oct 02	Horror of the poison gas	SAPA/AFP
28 Oct 02	Chechnya	Letter
28 Oct 02	Covering terrorism	Dyer
30 Oct 02	Soweto bomb blasts condemned across the political spectrum	SAPA
31 Oct 02	Four bills to prevent terrorism approved	SAPA
03 Nov 02	Justifying terror	Letter
07 Nov 02	Terrorist attacks	Letter
10 Nov 02	'Boeremag' claims Soweto bombings	Mulder
14 Nov 02	Too much tolerance	du Bois
15 Nov 02	Of war and peace	Bredenkamp
28 Nov 02	Kenya attacks ominous for Africa	SAPA/AFP/AP/Reuters
29 Nov 02	Terrorism in Africa again	Opinion
29 Nov 02	Is terrorism the greatest threat to global peace?	Dangor
01 Dec 02	Terror and statistics	Dyer
06 Dec 02	Conflict of religion	Desai
12 Dec 02	Alleged bombers appear in court	SAPA
13 Dec 02	GPS led police to extremists	News-24
15 Dec 02	'Boeremag' planned massacre	SAPA
27 Dec 02	Telling it like it is	Bishop

41 articles for 2002

2003 *Natal Witness*-Terrorism articles

Date	Title	Author
21 Jan 03	Blair's Britain: impressions of the UK	Chatteris
24 Jan 03	A week for decisions	Dyer
24 Jan 03	War on terror or war against God	Tshehia
31 Jan 03	Mandela's outburst	Opinion
06 Feb 03	The road to genocide	du Bois
13 Feb 03	An oily war	Letter
27 Feb 03	Beware the Anti-Terrorism Bill	Letter
27 Feb 03	Protest v terrorism	Letter
02 Mar 03	9/11 terror suspect caught in Pakistan	SAPA/AFP
05 Mar 03	War on Iraq	Letter
16 Mar 03	Arms deal	Letter

18 Mar 03	Former ambassador: US is the global bully	Ayoob
18 Mar 03	War of aggression	Letter
24 Mar 03	Iran and the war	Dyer
27 Mar 03	War in Iraq	Letter
27 Mar 03	War in Iraq	Letter
27 Mar 03	War in Iraq	Letter
02 Apr 03	War motives	Letter
06 Apr 03	Iraqi war	Letter
10 Apr 03	U.S. carrot and stick	Reuters/SAPA/AFP
15 Apr 03	Coalition campaign myths need to be debunked	Mills
16 Apr 03	U.S. claims Iraqi terrorism link after arrest	Reuters
22 Apr 03	Bush's bitter pill	Sparks
28 Apr 03	Call to extend Terror Bill deadline	Zondi
13 May 03	Al-Qaeda warned of Saudi bombs	SAPA/AP
13 May 03	Freedom under threat	McKinley
14 May 03	Suffer the innocents	Opinion
14 May 03	Repeated pattern	Opinion
16 May 03	Rightist jailed for terror plot	SAPA
18 May 03	Terrorism and patience	Dyer
02 Jun 03	Wealth and poverty	Opinion
03 Jun 03	New walls dividing the world	Sparks
22 Jun 03	Praise the coalition	Letter
23 Jun 03	'Vague' terror bill condemned	Segar
24 Jun 03	Dealing with terrorism	Opinion
08 Jul 03	Sept 11, Bush and Africa	Herbst/Mills
15 Jul 03	A crisis of credibility	Sparks
18 Jul 03	Boeremag trialist gets bail	SAPA
20 Jul 03	Vanishing weaponry	Opinion
05 Aug 03	The stick and the carrot	Short
13 Aug 03	Missile dealer arrested in international sting	SAPA/AP
14 Aug 03	Boeremag trial	Opinion
26 Aug 03	Another Vietnam	Sparks
28 Aug 03	War in Iraq	Letter
10 Sep 03	9/11 and the bogeyman that ran away	Dyer
23 Sep 03	Sharon in the wilderness	Sparks
29 Oct 03	'Chase blacks to Zim' plan	SAPA
03 Nov 03	Boeremag's plan to attack jet	SAPA
09 Nov 03	Al-Qaeda blamed for bomb	SAPA/AP
12 Nov 03	Boeremag witness under fire	SAPA
13 Nov 03	Lawyers want access to special file	SAPA
16 Nov 03	Get us out of here	Dyer
20 Nov 03	Anti-terrorism legislation approved by National Assembly with support of all parties	SAPA
20 Nov 03	Support Iraq progress	Letter
21 Nov 03	Blundering Bush	Letter
23 Nov 03	A new World War	Opinion
23 Nov 03	Barking up the wrong Bush	Dyer
27 Nov 03	Charge or release	Letter
30 Nov 03	Terrorism	Letter
07 Dec 03	Guantanamo Bay	Letter
07 Dec 03	Guantanamo Bay	Letter
09 Dec 03	Danger: tread warily	Mills
22 Dec 03	U-turn in Libya	Opinion

63 articles for 2003

104 articles for *Natal Witness* 2002-2003

*The electronic retrieval system for the*Natal Witness* had an abnormality for the search for February 2002. During the search a 101 articles appeared, however almost all the articles came under 5 Feb 02. It was evident that not all the articles were written on that day, many were from 2001. Four articles were selected from Feb 02. The first article 'Anthrax scares' appears to come from 2001, as the anthrax scares in Washington occurred starting the week of 18 September 2001and lasted several weeks. The article is useful for its reflection on terrorism.

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