

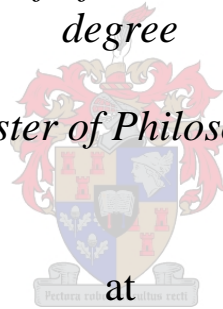
Mediated Identity Construction across Cultures: An Analysis of Reports on the Guguletu Seven

by

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degree*

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DECLARATION

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OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis is geskryf as a navorsings projek binne 'n program wat interkulturele kommunikasie in taamlike wye terme tematiseer. Dit gee 'n analise van die verskillende mediakonstruksies van gebeure en mense deur joernaliste van verskillende taal gemeenskappe, wat gereelde interkulturele kontak het in die rapportering van plaaslike nuuswaardige gebeure. Die gemeenskappe hier ter sprake is media produsente, verskillende uitgewers wat nuus aan gehore in verskillene taal gemeenskappe versprei. Ter illustrasie word aandag gegee aan sekere rolspelers in die media, te wete. nuus vervaardigers (joernaliste, koerante, uitgewers), nuusmakers (mense wie se handeling opmerkzaam gevind word en wat dan in die media aan die orde kom) en nuus verbruikers (die gehoor, lesers) wat betrokke was by verslaggewing van 'n prominente gebeurtenis in 1986 en weer in 1996. Die gebeurtenis wat opgeteken is as die Guguletu Sewe insident word ondersoek met die oog op hoe dit lig werp op kulturele taalverskille in die verslagdoening oor dieselfde gebeurtenis.

In hierdie studie word taalverskille as merkers van kultuurverskille gereken. In breë trekke word bevind dat ideologiese verskille saamloop met taalverskille; dit bevestig die standpunt dat taal dikwels vorm gee aan oortuigings, waardes, en norme. Kritiese Diskoers Analise, asook teoretiese perspektiewe voorsien deur narratief analise en deur kultuurstudie word gebruik as analitiese instrumente wat help om sentrale eienskappe van die media se verslagdoening oor die gebeurtenis te belig. Konteks en agtergrondinligting word bekom uit die Waarheid en Versoeningskommissie se verslae oor die gebeurtenis, sowel as 'n dokumentêre video. Die gevolgtrekking is dat die pers ten tye van hierdie verslagdoening verskille vertoon het wat met taalverskille korreleer, en dat hulle in die seleksie en verbale konstruering van gebeure en rolspelers in die gebeure, gemotiveer is deur hulle gevestigde belange, waardes, norme en oortuigings wat geassosieer kan word met 'n kultureel geïnspireerde wêreldbeskouing.

ABSTRACT

This thesis has been written as a research project within a programme that topicalises intercultural communication in fairly broad terms. It provides an analysis of the different constructions in the media of events and people by journalists from different linguistic communities who have regular intercultural contact in the course of reporting on local newsworthy events. The communities here are different media producers, different news publishing institutions who print and circulate current news to audiences in different language communities. Illustratively, attention will go to the particular role players in the media, i.e. news producers (journalists, newspapers, publishing groups), newsmakers (people whose actions are observed and topicalised in the media) and news consumers (the audience, readership) engaged in reporting on a particular, prominently mediated event in 1986, and again in 1996. The event that is now recorded as the Guguletu Seven incident is investigated for the way in which it can highlight cultural linguistic differences in mediating the same event.

In this study linguistic difference is taken to mark cultural difference. In general, this study finds that ideological differences run along the lines of language differences, confirming that language often contributes to shaping beliefs, values and norms. Critical Discourse Analysis, some narrative analysis and instruments from cultural studies are used as analytic devices that assist in highlighting pertinent aspects of the press reports on the event. Context and background information is provided by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's reports on the event as well as a documentary video. It is concluded that the press at the time was divided along linguistic lines in their reporting, and was motivated in their selection and verbal construction of events and role players in the events, by their vested interests, values, norms and beliefs associated with their culturally inspired world views.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 BACKGROUND

From a historical perspective South African media outlets exhibit differences in their position and presentation of significant national events because of cultural and political differences in the population in general. Newspapers in particular have been divided on a cultural level, as is illustrated in how they often report on and interpret the same events differently. An example of such difference is apparent in how newspapers addressing different language communities, dealt with events related to the process of national reconciliation mediated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The press can be divided along linguistic and ethnic lines into the English, Afrikaans, Black and Alternative press (Fourie 2001: 34).

After the changeover from the apartheid government to an inclusive democracy, much of this reflected identity has remained the same. Afrikaans newspapers, for example, still portray certain groups and/or people in a manner different from their English counterparts. People from different groups are labelled in different ways by the various media. Often the identity that is portrayed is more in line with a specific cultural perception than with “the truth”. It is well known throughout the history of the press in South Africa that political agendas have always played a major role in shaping the media landscape. In most countries press alignments are usually organised according to political affiliations; the South African press, in addition, and from its very beginnings, has been organised according to language communities and race (Fourie 2001: 43).

To illustrate, the media in their reporting on events that later were investigated by the TRC, reported differently in the eighties when the actual event happened compared to the

nineties when formerly undisclosed details were made known. The differences between reports of the same event at two different times were again mostly aligned according to linguistic and racial divisions among reporters, news producers and their audiences.

This thesis will specifically investigate the reportings on the killing of a number of youths, the ‘Guguletu Seven’, by the South African Police in 1986. Articles published in newspapers from different “stables”, covering the Guguletu Seven event of 4 March 1986, will be compared to each other, and will also be compared to the same newspapers’ reports in November 1996 just after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings on the Guguletu Seven.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

This research project has two aims. First, it intends to investigate in an exploratory manner some of the theoretical approaches and devices available in a critical analysis of media discourse. Second, it intends, on a very limited scale, to use the framework of two such approaches that each offer useful analytic devices, in analysis of media reports. The analyses in this study are intended to illustrate (i) some of the concepts and devices of the particular approaches, (ii) how more than one approach can combine in a critical analysis of media reporting, (iii) how a critical analysis of discourse can disclose selective representation of events and people in the media, and (iv) how different newspapers, particularly ones addressing different language communities, follow practices that manifest as political and ideological choices in their reporting. These practices reflect again on cultural differences throughout.

As this is a project of limited scope it cannot investigate and illustrate all of the approaches and devices available in a critical analysis of media discourses that represent different linguistic cultures. Nevertheless, it will consider some of the ideas and concepts of

critical discourse analysis as possible instruments of disclosing the selective nature of reporting on events where ideologies of the state and the media are instituted. Specifically it will focus on reports produced in reference to security force violence during and after the national state of emergency of 1986. A central assumption here is that language is a strong marker of cultural identity, and that the media represent different cultures where the differences are marked not only by the different languages in which they publish, but also by different points of view on state ideologies and related actions. In the South African media these ideological differences often run along the lines of language differences.

Thus, this study considers the discourses of a number of Afrikaans language newspapers in relation to the discourses of a number of English language newspapers as a form of intercultural communication. It is interested in how media reporting can construct events as well as the identities of people in ways that suit ideological positions of the writers and publishers more than considering accuracy and a full, balanced image of the people and particular events they find newsworthy. It will draw on Critical Discourse Analysis as one of the approaches that assist in disclosing cultural and ideological differences as they are articulated in media reporting.

The particular research problem to be investigated in this study is one that relates to different constructions of events and people by different linguistic communities, where linguistic difference is taken to mark cultural difference as well. A specific question is: which language related means did the press from different language (i.e. cultural) backgrounds use in (re-) constructing a certain event and in creating the identity of particular role players in 1986, and again in 1996? The aim is to show how different newspapers' reports of the same event at the same time differ, and then to show as well how the same newspapers change the terms of their reporting in revisiting the same event ten years later, after a change in government, a change in ideological and

political perspectives across communities, and also a change in the kind of information that is available and publishable.

Specific research questions:

- 1.1 How is a particular event described in various newspapers at the time of the event?
- 1.2 What are the differences in: a) prominence given, b) content, and c) linguistic means used by the various newspapers?
- 1.3 How is the event in 1.1 above, described across different newspapers as well as by the same newspaper 10 years later?
- 1.4 Can any culturally distinctive significance be attached to differences identified in 1.2 and 1.3 above?

1.3 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

This study hypothesises that in line with suggestions of theorists working in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis of the media (cf. Van Dijk 1985, 1989; Wodak 1989; Fairclough 1989, 1995; Fowler 1991) different language newspapers will show marked difference in their representation of the same people and events. Such differences will be detectable on a cultural/political and ideological level, and will be manifest in the discursive structures they use, both on a micro-linguistic and macro-linguistic level.

The study also hypothesises that due to (i) emergency regulations that restricted free dissemination of information in the late 1980s in South Africa, and (ii) general journalistic practices that focus on news values and newsworthiness of events, there will be some significant similarities across representations of the same events in the different language media, in spite of cultural and ideological differences that are manifest elsewhere.

Finally I hypothesise that CDA offers an analytic framework that is capable of disclosing cultural differences, prejudices and stereotypes that are to a large extent obscured in regular reporting practices

1.4 CHAPTER LAYOUT

The thesis has been organised as follows: chapter two gives an overview of the literature I worked with in considering various cultural communities in the South African media, in considering theoretical approaches to media analysis, and in contextualising the particular event that is used to illustrate aspects of intercultural communication in the media. Chapter three explains the methodology I used. Chapter four presents the data and gives an analysis in the terms set out in chapters two and three. Chapter five considers how the analyses assisted in answering the specific research questions and testing the hypotheses given in sections 1.2 and 1.3 above. It gives the conclusions of the research and makes recommendations on how the work could be taken further.

1.5 TERMS OF REFERENCE

Media: This term will refer to printed news, i.e. to newspapers, unless otherwise indicated.

Press: A term that refers to newspapers and to the publishing institutions.

Culture: Culture, according to the interpretation of Lustig and Koester (2003:27) is a learned set of shared interpretations about beliefs, values, and norms, which affect the behaviours of a relatively large group of people. Thus Lustig and Koester (2003:225) go on to say that language differences are powerful factors that influence the relationships between ethnic and cultural groups. Language plays a role in maintaining the identity of a cultural group. In using the term “culture” I will assume that language difference constitutes a cultural

difference. Hence different language communities as well as ethnically different groups of people will be treated as if they represent different cultural groups. This is clearly a simplification as the divisions are never that clear or that simple; it is done in order to allow due attention to the marked differences in selection of content and in reporting style of different newspapers.

Ideology: This term will generally refer to the manipulation of facts and ideas by the media to fit with a specific group or culture's stereotypical ideas and beliefs. Linguistic and racial differences inform a person's ideological position. Thus, a person's ideological position can be aligned with his/her culture, language, political position and race, which are all closely linked. According to Gramsci (2006:16) "The press is the most dynamic part of the ideological structure, but not the only one. Everything which influences or is able to influence public opinion, directly or indirectly, belongs to it."

Power: When referring to the concept of power I draw from the insight of Van Dijk (1995b:10) by limiting this analysis to properties of social or institutional power and ignoring the more idiosyncratic dimensions of personal influence, for example, those of individual journalists. Thus, social power here will be summarily defined as a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members of) a less powerful group. Such power generally presupposes privileged access to socially valued resources, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge, or status.

Intercultural vs. Cross-cultural Communication:

According to Gudykunst (2003:1) Cross-cultural communication involves comparisons of different ways of communicating across different cultures,

regardless of the contact there may be between the various communities. Intercultural communication on the other hand involves communication between people from different cultures.

Discourse: In this context the word discourse can mean: “written or spoken language, especially when it is studied in order to understand how people use language” (Macmillan English Dictionary 2007).

Critical Discourse Analysis:

“Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” (van Dijk 2001:352). CDA has developed from a general Critical Theory in the social sciences since the late 1920s. It is only since the 1970s that the approach has been used in a linguistic context; CDA includes a number of related, but different analytic approaches.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The relevance of this study lies in the interest it has in how people of different cultures but in regular and systematic contact with one another, deal with difference. In modern society the media is the single biggest provider of information. If this information is packaged and disseminated along cultural and racial lines, then the logic as espoused by Lustig and Koester (2003: 145) applies: through a deductive process culture specific ideas can eventually lead to ethnocentrism, i.e. stereotyping can lead to prejudice, which can lead to discrimination, which can eventually become racism. By investigating how language related means are used to construct certain events and people, it may be possible to trace cycles of ethnocentrism and stereotyping. The identification of particular obstacles to success in intercultural communication can assist in developing greater tolerance and acceptance of others in inter- and cross-cultural contact.

Culture is a central element of this study and as such necessitates an analysis of cultural difference as it is portrayed in the media. Most notably the power and social relations reflected and constructed in the discourse need to be understood. Richardson (2007: 29) (see also Paltridge 2006:180; van Dijk 1998:114; Fairclough 1999:308; Foucault 1997; Fowler 1991:120) indicates that questions of power are central in discourse analysis, since power and ideologies may have an effect on each of the contextual levels of production, interpretation and consumption of discourse. Van Dijk (1985:5) also says that we only tell a tiny fragment of the story if we do not specify how discourse serves a function in the creation, the maintenance, or the change of contextual constraints as the dominance, the power, the status, or the ethnocentrism of the participants. Critical Discourse Analysis

engages with, analyses and critiques social power and how this is represented and, both implicitly and explicitly, reproduced in the news. Wodak (1989:xv) expands on the relationship between language and power by saying that language only gains power in the hands of the powerful, and often a specific language can even symbolise the group or person in power.

According to Jürgen Habermas and the Frankfurt School (Littlejohn and Foss 2005:322) free speech is necessary for productive normal communication and higher levels of discourse to take place. Although virtually impossible to achieve, they assert that the *ideal speech situation* on which society should be modelled is one where there is complete free speech.

2.2 CROSS-CULTURAL INTERPRETATIONS

People come to know the world and understand themselves through the actions and words of others. We frame reality based on the reality of other people – or the representation thereof – which we see and are exposed to, especially in the media. As Scollon and Scollon (1995:96) indicate, we enter into a discourse system. According to them this discourse system can be divided into four areas of influence: the area of discourse, the area of the face system which covers interpersonal relationship rules, the area of socialization, and the area of ideology or worldview. Ideology includes the historical and social actions and characteristics of a group. According to Scollon and Scollon (1995:98) an analysis of a system of discourse should try to answer four basic questions.

1. What are the historical/social/ideological characteristics of the group? (I.e. What is their ideology).
2. How is membership and identity learnt/transferred in the group? (Socialisation).
3. What are the ideal forms of communication in the group? (Forms of discourse).

4. What are the preferred or assumed human relationships in the particular group?

(Face systems).

According to this idea by Scollon and Scollon (1995) consideration of such questions will assist us in better understanding the factors which contribute to the role which the media play in representing reality through linguistic means. Understanding the discourse system surrounding the people and events being represented makes it possible to better understand the linguistic means used to construct 'reality'. These linguistic means necessitate closer attention to critical discourse analysis as an analytical framework, and to the discursive features which construct meanings and identities.

To understand the differences we find in the different media representations, cultural and ideological characteristics of the texts need to be considered in the context of the social situation. Some of the questions which arise are: How and to what extent does a prevailing ideology shape identity? More specifically, how is the identity of the oppressed / victim shaped by a powerful discourse system indirectly controlled by the prevailing ideology? By illuminating the underlying concepts by which an (impression of the) identity of an individual is constructed it will become evident how a medium like a newspaper can be used to subtly support and even enforce the status quo ideology. The idea of ideology embedded in a text and disclosed by means of discourse analysis, is also espoused by Wodak and Meyer (2001:3). They hold that there are three concepts which figure indispensably in all critical discourse analysis: the concept of power, history, and ideology. The supporting pillars of these concepts are the language structures which are used, to which we will turn our attention next.

2.3 LANGUAGE AND TEXTUAL DIFFERENCES

The first and most obvious aspect which can be analysed, and which easily stands out in newspaper documents is the variety of discursive patterns. Recognising discursive patterns according to Madianou (2005:82), essentially relies on paying attention to the most prevalent theme which emerges from a text. If certain themes can be established we are able to see which ideas are more forcefully represented. These discursive patterns can consist of certain identities, but can also include images of certain things. Examples of these identities and images are explained in more detail in section 2.4.

When we are dealing with a discourse situation where the particular text also tells a story and so falls into the genre of narrative (see Paltridge 2006:84), some additional dimensions are added to the analysis. Labov (2006b) and Edwards (2006) have developed useful theories of narrative discourse analysis. In general we can consider a narrative as a series of answers to underlying questions. Labov (2006b:224) says these underlying questions are firstly, “what was this story about?”, secondly, “who, when, what, where?”, thirdly, “then what happened?”, fourthly, “so what?”, lastly, “what finally happened”. According to Edwards (2006:210) you need to analyse the narrative by examining the interactional and emergent structure. In order to make sense of the story teller’s unfolding account of the events and their own position-taking in relation to these events and to other participants, Edwards focuses on a step-by-step rhetorical design articulated in the following questions:

1. Where does the story begin?
2. Which social categories are constructed and used?
3. Are there competing stories or accounts?
4. Which story does the reporter align with?

The sequencing of events in narrative is not given in a universal structure; rather it is something a speaker (or writer) achieves when (re-)presenting events and legitimising some account of events that are relevant for the current activity.

The ideological relevance of the discourse has already been emphasised. Van Dijk (1995a:145) provides a list of discourse structures regularly used to express positive and negative judgements about groups ('ingroups' and 'outgroups' as explained in section 2.4). Such structures apply to different levels and dimensions of text and talk. Van Dijk's (1995a:145) lists the following:

- Phonological structures (stress, pitch, volume, intonation) (relevant for talk, not text)
- graphical structures (headlines, bold characters)
- overall ordering and size (first and later, higher and lower, bigger and smaller, primacy and recency)
- syntactic structure (word order, topicalisation, clausal relations: main and subordinate, fronted or embedded, split constructions)
- semantic structure (explicit versus implicit, detail and level of description)
- lexical structure (positive versus negative opinion words)
- rhetoric (under- and overstatement, euphemism, litotes; repetition)
- schematic or superstructures
- pragmatic (assertion versus denial; self-congratulations versus accusation)
- interactive (turn-taking: self-selection and dominance; topic maintenance and change; non-verbal communication: face, gestures, etc.)

Some of these structures are more relevant to talk than to text, and the most relevant structures need to be extracted according to the situation. Van Dijk (1995:146) also says that language and discourse have a broad range of structural possibilities to emphasise and de-emphasise certain bits of information and hence also the ideologically controlled opinions about 'ingroups' and 'outgroups'.

The next section deals more extensively with the relevance of ideological representations of identity, by clarifying some of the concepts already mentioned above.

2.4 IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY

In unpacking the term “identity”, van Dijk (1998: 118) says that it refers to both a personal and a social construct. People construct themselves as being a member of several categories and groups. This self representation is a gradually constructed abstraction from personal experiences of events. The conclusion van Dijk (1998:119) reaches is that we need to distinguish between social or group identity and personal identity. This aligns closely with Grodin and Lindlof’s (1996:207) idea that identity is both an inward- and an outward looking concept. By “inward looking” they mean that identity provides a consideration of the existence of a unity, a coherence that extends across time and situation. By “outward looking” on the other hand, they mean that identity is a constellation of characteristics and performances that manifest the self in meaningful action. This identity is the thing(s) that actually can be observed, to which the concept of a self might apply.

Individuals do not live in isolation, and the same cognitive structures are often shared among members of groups, leading to ‘social cognition’ (van Dijk 1985). The primary way for cognitive structures to be transferred is through being embedded in orders of discourse, that is, in the “sets of conventions associated with social institutions” (Fairclough 1989:16), and realised in the discourse, the “actual talk or writing” (ibid:29), of these institutions or groups. People are exposed to the cognitive structures common to specific groups when they come into contact with discourse produced by members of the group, either through personal interaction or through the media (van Dijk 1988:108). Van Dijk (1998:124) continues to assert that the social practices, symbols, settings or forms of organisation that are typical for a group and with which members identify, would be the contextually variable manifestation of social identity. In line with the subjective nature of ‘feelings of belonging’ or ‘commitment’ with respect to a group, such a socio-cognitive definition would explain that it is not as much a social practice, symbol, setting or organisation itself that is part of a social identity, as it is

the meaning such symbols or practices may have for the group. Van Dijk (1998:125) finally concludes that this socio-cognitive approach to the analysis of social identity also allows a systematic relationship with the role of discourse in the construction of identity. Social group identity is especially also construed by intergroup discourse in which groups and their members engage for reasons of self-preservation, self-defence, legitimation, persuasion, recruiting, and so on. According to van Dijk (1998:125) group discourse is a rich source for the analysis of underlying social identities. Where the term *group discourse* would mean the production of meaning by a specifically defined group (either i.e. culturally or demographically).

Van Dijk (2001:14) also provides a list of some fundamental categories that define social groupness, and that simultaneously form the basic self-schema organising ideologies. These include:

- (1) membership devices which basically ask who we are, and would include reference to things like gender, ethnicity, appearance, origin, etc. ;
- (2) actions that say what we do;
- (3) aims which allude to why we do what we do;
- (4) norms and values that explain what we see as good or bad;
- (5) our position in society and how we relate to other groups;
- (6) resources and how we claim control and ownership of these.

In order to use discourse to construct social identities Gauntlett (2002:13) reiterates some of the points made by van Dijk by providing the areas within which identity is constructed. Gender is only one part of an individual's sense of self. Ethnicity is an obviously important aspect of identity, and, like gender, may be felt to be more or less central to self-identity of each individual. Alternatively, ethnicity could be given inflated significance by external social circumstances. Other much discussed axes of identity include class, age, disability,

gender and sexuality. In addition, a range of other factors may contribute to a sense of identity, such as education, urban or rural residency, cultural background, access to transportation and communication, criminal record, persecution, refugee status or other affiliations. Furthermore, whilst usually less significant in terms of overall life chances, any aspect of the physical body can be relevant to self-identity: for example, whether one is seen as overweight or underweight, tall or short contributes to the sense of identity.

The study of identity in this thesis rests also on the necessity to understand ideology and the use, or misuse, of power in a culturally diverse landscape. As Habermas (1999: 92) claims, language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organised power. In so far as the legitimations of power relations are not articulated, language is also ideological. Fowler (1991:10) reiterates the idea of news as a social construction being biased in its representation of reality. Journalists will usually disagree with this assertion. Fowler says that anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position.

2.5 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE TRC

Fowler (1991) is one of the first to give a detailed exposition of critical discourse analysis as it relates to understanding language in the press. Along with Kress, Hodge and Trew (1979) his work provides some of the early foundations of Critical Linguistics. He specifically mentions the importance of language in the news which has been followed by many extensive studies on the influence of language in the press (see Lennon 2004). Although Fowler's suggested analytic tools are rather technical he lays a firm foundation for studies which concern language, power and the media. This study draws on Fowler's (1991) views on bias, news values and stereotypes in the media and notions such as 'construction of consensus', it will not use Fowler's means of textual analysis. Rather I will draw on methodology suggested

by other early publications in CDA, namely Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1989) and Van Dijk (1985). Other scholars like Altschull (1984) study the media and its role in society more specifically. As Fowler (1991:25) emphasises the representative power of language, van Dijk (2001) also elaborates on this with the idea of social construction and the context dependency of meaning.

There are a number of studies which critically analyse text from a political point of view, considering how powerful institutions (such as the media) are used in sustaining oppressive structures. Wodak (2006:125) makes an interesting case by exposing the legitimisation strategies and the discourse of justification as a narrative of a traumatic past in the German context. Van Dijk (2002:145) examines social and political inequality, specifically analysing racial domination and inequality. The same approach can be applied in other areas of news reporting where, for example, disenfranchised communities suffer from unequal power relations and related traumatic experiences.

It is important to note that critical discourse analysis, as well as discourse analysis, is approaches which analyse large units of text and is interested in the discursive construction of meaning more than in meaning construction by means of smaller grammatical detail. Nevertheless, it is often the smaller detail in the text that makes the discursive difference, and then of course it needs to be dealt with. Most CDA theorists rely on the Hallidayan theory of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) in their attention to linguistic structure. This is an approach to grammar that understands language as largely socially determined, i.e. as a phenomenon where the structure is determined by the social communicative functions it needs to perform. Particularly, critical discourse analysts refer to the metafunctions of language that Halliday introduced. (see further Halliday 1985, Martin and Rose 2003, Bloor 2007). This study, however, does not use SFG. It will relate more to a different tradition, namely one that considers analysis of text in a social theoretical framework related to

philosophical, social, anthropological theories of the mid-twentieth century. Van Dijk's work, for example, is related to notions of Critical theory developed in the Frankfurt School in the late 1930s and taken further in the work of Habermas.

In this study, specifically, news reports on abuses of state power and the related TRC transcripts are studied in such a framework. Other linguistic analyses of TRC discourses include Blommaert, Bock and McCormick (2006:37ff), that looks at the narrative inequality in the TRC hearings from a critical discourse perspective, Bock et al (2006:1ff) that considers meaning "losses" in interpreted and transcribed TRC discourses, and Bock and Duncan (2006:35ff) that considers the narrator's role in TRC testimonies. Anthonissen (2006:71) specifically discusses Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytic tool in considering selected, prominent features of TRC testimonies. On the TRC in general, a very extensive review of the literature in a number of fields was done by Verdoolaege (2006:15). This study, however, aims to combine a consideration of the politically oppressive background with critical discourse analysis in the media context.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The focus of this study is on the linguistic and discursive means used by various newspapers in constructing a particular news event. This will be an empirical study of existing textual data (i.e. Newspapers). Because this study wants to extract significant cultural differences, it is necessary to analyse newspaper texts from across a spectrum of historically different political positions; newspapers from different language communities serve different interest groups and have different audiences. In the South African media the Afrikaans and English press traditionally represent not only different cultural communities but also opposing political points of view. For the purpose of this study the following newspapers will be used:

English Papers: Weekly Mail (Mail and Guardian)

Cape Times

Daily Dispatch

Afrikaans Papers: Rapport

Die Burger

From these newspapers the reports of the shooting of the Guguletu Seven event will be extracted and comparatively analysed. The most prominent reporting of the event was in the Cape Times and Die Burger. These two both had extensive front page reports immediately following the event, as well as subsequent reports in 1986 and again in 1996 when the event was revisited at the TRC hearings. The reports in Rapport, Mail and Guardian and Daily Dispatch largely reiterated what was given in the local daily newspapers. Rapport elaborated on what was given in 1986, but did not refer to the event at all in 1996. The Daily Dispatch is an Eastern Cape publication that now belongs to the same media company as the Cape

Times; it is evident that in 1986 they got their information from the Cape Times, although they made some interesting editorial changes.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The hypothesis in this study is that the media in representing real events publicly to a given audience incorporates a set of values, norms and beliefs which are usually culture-bound, and which reflects the culture of the readership. According to anthropologist Dell Hymes there are nine categories that can be used to compare different cultures (Littlejohn & Foss 2005:312). One of these categories is a *speech event*, i.e. an episode which is considered to be communication by the members of the participating group. A newspaper article can be considered such a *speech event*. The actual part from which readers gather information is the text. Fairclough (2003: 27) refers to the Hallidayan meta-functions as follows:

“...text is multi-functional, performing simultaneous tasks. It is assumed that texts simultaneously fulfil an ideational function, an interpersonal function and a textual function. Taking each of these meta-functions in turn, text simultaneously represent aspects of the world (the physical, social and mental world); enact social relations between participants in social events and the attitudes, desires and values of the participants; and coherently and cohesively connect parts of texts together as a united whole.”

As Richardson (2007:74) points out, the narrative, or story of a newsworthy event, articulates and sustains common understandings of what the culture deems ordinary and provides us with a means of organising and therefore comprehending the events of the world around us. Thus news narratives are, on one level, a reflection and a product of nothing less than a community's general cultural assumptions and values – or what they consider to be important, trivial, fortunate, tragic, good, evil, and so on. To determine the embedded meanings of news reports this would necessitate an evaluation of the discursive practices of the newspaper.

This research is aimed at providing a view of the media landscape as it is influenced by cultural motives and ideologies. This can be achieved by providing a detailed stylistic, linguistic and content analysis of the articles published in 1986 on the Guguletu Seven event, and by comparing these articles to the information on the same event gathered during the TRC hearings and reported in press articles in 1996. Stylistic and discursive features which articulate the difference in ideological position taken by the particular newspapers, are highlighted. In this case the ideological position is culturally influenced and supported. The objective is not to label any cultural groups as deviant in their reporting, but only to point out the discrepancies of our reproduction of reality through our cultural lenses. The specific framework of critical discourse analysis will provide the basic understanding from which the text is finally interpreted and from which most conceptual tools are drawn. Thus we turn now to a short discussion on critical discourse analysis and its use in this discussion.

3.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

To understand the following section it is necessary to clarify some of the central concepts and claims which make up the theoretical approach of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). Particularly one needs to ascertain what sets CDA apart from just *discourse analysis*. As Kress (1990:84) points out, CDA has an “overtly political agenda,” which “serves to set CDA apart from other kinds of discourse analysis” and linguistics, “as well as pragmatics and sociolinguistics.” While most forms of discourse analysis “aim to provide a better understanding of socio-cultural aspects of texts” by paying close attention to linguistic and contextual devices that contribute to the coherence of the text, CDA “aims to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, and overall organization of texts” with more attention to construction of various forms of meaning than to coherence only. One crucial difference is that CDA “aims to provide a critical dimension in its theoretical and descriptive

accounts of texts.” Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems;
2. Power relations are discursive;
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture;
4. Discourse does ideological work;
5. Discourse is historical;
6. The link between text and society is mediated;
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory;
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Wodak (1989: xiv), when talking about critical theory as it relates to CDA, says that a critical analysis should not remain descriptive or neutral. The interests guiding CDA are aimed at uncovering injustice, inequality, taking sides with the powerless and suppressed. CDA acknowledges that no research is objective, not even its own. The general aim of CDA is then to ‘uncover and de-mystify’ certain social processes, to make mechanisms of manipulation, discrimination, demagoguery, and propaganda explicit and transparent. It is generally agreed upon that any explicit method in discourse studies, the humanities and social sciences may be used in CDA research, as long as it is able to adequately and relevantly produce insights into the way discourse reproduces (or resists) social and political inequality, power abuse or domination. That is, CDA does not limit its analysis to specific structures of text or talk, but systematically relates these to structures of the sociopolitical context. (Wodak & Meyer 2001).

CDA was identified as the means which would bring the clearest answers to the research questions of this thesis. For the purpose of this thesis certain approaches within

CDA are employed (cf. references to Van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak, and others in chapter 2) to try and effectively answer the relevant questions. Because this thesis uses CDA in a cross-cultural analysis, culture also plays an important part in the representation of facts, as CDA is useful in “disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change (Anthonissen 2001:18)”.

3.2.2 Theoretical framework

It is evident that Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary approach. As a result of this interdisciplinarity, and due to the nature of my enquiry only certain analytic tools are selected. Those which would fit the purpose of this study are as follows:

Firstly the context in which the event of the Guguletu Seven happened can be framed within in the meta-textual functions suggested by Halliday (1985), as elaborated cursorily by Anthonissen (2001: 23). The three metafunctions considered in the analysis are:

- (i) an *ideational* function of communicating certain *content* (What information is to be conveyed?)
- (ii) an *interpersonal* function of establishing *relations between the various participants* in the discourse (Who are the participants, which identities are reflected/constructed, what kinds of relations are established?)
- (iii) a *textual* function of *creating a text* of a particular kind that enables communication of the content and arrangement of the relation (What choices were made on various linguistic levels to express content, attitude, relations, etc?)

According to Anthonissen (2001:23) the analyst can then ask three general questions about the choice of representation, construction of identities or relations which are done in a certain way, namely

- (i) What are the social origins of this option? Where and who does it come from?
- (ii) What motivations are there for making this choice?
- (iii) What is the effect of this choice on the various interests of those involved?

These functions will become evident in a detailed exposition of the context and chronology of the Guguletu Seven event. Anthonissen (2001:20) also says in light of Halliday's (1985) ideas that "the interest in and recognition of the importance of context in producing and interpreting discourse is shared by CDA".

As already mentioned in section 2.3 the analytic tools suggested by various theorists might overlap in the sense that they are presented differently, but still tend to emphasise the same concepts. A useful analytic tool not introduced as part of CDA is provided by Labov (2006b) and Edwards (2006) who developed theories of narrative discourse analysis. In general we can consider a narrative as a series of answers to underlying questions. Labov (2006b:224) says these underlying questions are firstly, "what was this story about?", secondly, "who, when, what, where?", thirdly, "then what happened?", fourthly, "so what?", lastly, "what finally happened?". According to Edwards (2006:210) you need to analyse the narrative by examining the interactional and emergent structure. In order to make sense of the story teller's unfolding account of the events and their own position-taking in relation to these events and to other participants, Edwards focuses on a step-by-step rhetorical design articulated in the following questions:

1. Where does the story begin?
2. Which social categories are constructed and used?
3. Are there competing stories or accounts?

4. Which story does the reporter align with?

The sequencing of events in narrative is not given in a universal structure; rather it is something a speaker (or writer) achieves when (re-)presenting events and legitimising an account of events that is relevant for the current activity. In the analysis of the Guguletu Seven event, the step-by-step rhetorical design of Edwards will be followed, after the exposition of the context has been given.

It was also necessary to incorporate some analytic tools which would highlight more specifically the language related means which stress the ideological implications of the discourse. Van Dijk (1995a:145) provides a list of discourse structures regularly used to express positive and negative judgements about groups ('ingroups' and 'outgroups' as explained in section 2.4). Such structures apply to different levels and dimensions of text and talk. Van Dijk's (1995a:145) lists the following:

- Phonological structures (stress, pitch, volume, intonation) (relevant for talk, not text)
- graphical structures (headlines, bold characters)
- overall ordering and size (first and later, higher and lower, bigger and smaller, primacy and recency)*
- syntactic structure (word order, topicalisation, clausal relations: main and subordinate, fronted or embedded, split constructions)*
- semantic structure (explicit versus implicit, detail and level of description)*
- lexical structure (positive versus negative opinion words)*
- rhetoric (under- and overstatement, euphemism, litotes; repetition)*
- schematic or superstructures
- pragmatic (assertion versus denial; self-congratulations versus accusation)*
- interactive (turn-taking: self-selection and dominance; topic maintenance and change; non-verbal communication: face, gestures, etc.)

*Indicates structures which were either fully or partially employed in the analysis of this thesis.

Some of these structures are more relevant to talk than to text, and the most relevant structures need to be extracted according to the situation. In this analysis the most relevant structures are mentioned in light of this list by van Dijk.

Lastly, moving away from the analytic tools of CDA a short case study is presented at the end of the analysis to show the absurdness in representing what is referred to as “the truth”, when there are so many levels of interpretation where understanding can break down. Mpolweni-Zantsi (in press) refers to such intercultural misunderstanding, where the focus so far has been on cross-cultural misunderstanding. She indicates most convincingly how one of the Guguletu Seven mothers could be constructed as a weak witness if information on culturally determined narrative style and structure is not made available. Her case study serves to cement the fact that there is no immediately accessible and certain “truth”; regarding the Guguletu Seven it is only long after the actual hearing that more of the possible meanings of the testimony become clear. This case study is discussed in section 4.5.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Newspaper reports form part of our history. Typically newspapers give information on recent, topical news events. They record the story relatively immediately; then through archives it remains accessible long after the event happened. We often read newspapers and take the information as fact or truth. That readers are so trusting, in a sense so gullible, not only places an enormous responsibility on the journalist, but is often also exploited in how the news writer frames an event or a story. In this section the newspaper reports on the Guguletu Seven event will be analysed. As an introductory thought on ‘truth’ Fairclough has the following to say:

The only way of gaining access to the truth is through representations of it, and all representations involve particular points of view, values and goals.... This does not entail a relativism which sees all representations as equal.... Representations can be compared in terms of their partiality, completeness and interestedness (Fairclough 1995:46, 47).

4.2 CHRONOLOGY OF THE GUGULETU SEVEN EVENT

To be able to better understand the notions of biased representation and partial reality exposed to the public through the media, this study attends to media reports on the Guguletu Seven given at the time of the event and ten years after. To begin with I shall give an outline of what is known about the Guguletu Seven today. Later the construction of events and people as it was given in certain sources at the two different times of reporting, will be outlined. The source texts include (i) newspaper reports at the time of the incident in 1986, (ii) transcripts of the TRC hearings ten years later, in which the event is revisited and more information becomes available, (iii) newspaper reports at the time of the TRC hearings, and

(iv) a documentary film produced by Lindy Wilson (1999) after all the other investigations were finished. These sources combined provide insight into the construction of an historic event and the various kinds of 'truth' that is represented within different communities. Possibly, we will never know exactly what the intentions, motives and/or planned actions were of all the parties involved, but in fairly good detail, we do know what happened.

In 1986 South Africa was governed in terms of a state of emergency. This state of emergency which was declared in June 1985, gave security forces special powers in the repression of political unrest. It was in the early days of this repressive situation that the Guguletu Seven incident took place. According to Anthonissen (In press:18) the Guguletu Seven eventually became a leading case in claiming restitution for unsolicited repressive state violence that involved gross human rights violations.

Guguletu is a township just outside of Cape Town, South Africa. In 1986 a few young men were approached by, what they thought to be, a resistance movement aligned with the African National Congress (ANC). Unknown to the young men this movement was represented by people popularly known as *Askaris* among the government agents, the higher authority who sent them out into townships as undercover collaborators of the state. *Askaris* were black men who turned against or away from the armed resistance movement and helped the apartheid government (Wilson 2001). The men they tried to recruit into the movement, which they falsely represented, were apparently all unemployed. They were promised financial reward for their participation in resistance activities, the details of which were not immediately given to them. Some of the *Askaris* involved in the Guguletu incident were Mr. Mbelo, Mr. Maluleka, and Mr. Mbane. Early on Monday morning, March 3rd 1986, on the first day of their relatively uncertain commitment, the seven new recruits ran into a police ambush and all seven young men were killed. They were Zandisile Zenith Mjobo, Zola Alfred Swelani, Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Themba Mlifi, Zabonke

John Konile and Christopher Piet Ngewu. The official police version of the event in 1986 was that the police acted on a tip, and prevented a larger terrorist plot from unfolding. One journalist, Chris Bateman of the Cape Times, who tried to find eyewitnesses to the event, partially uncovered more than what the police were willing to disclose in the process. It seems as though other journalists reporting on the case relied on the official police reports of the event only. It appears that because of the emergency regulations, more attention was eventually directed by *Die Burger* at the investigative attempts of the journalist, who had stepped out of line by relying on more than the information provided by the police, than at the actual story he was trying to uncover.

Ten years later, when the TRC was established to investigate gross human rights violations, a clearer picture emerged. The anguish and objections of the mothers and of others who had known the men, proved to be justified. According to the accounts of the relatives and a few other witnesses, the children had not been involved in political activity until an undercover military agent who was posing as a leader in the resistance movement recruited them. “They were deceitfully recruited for the sole purpose of taking part in a staged ambush set up by a secret military unit to support state propaganda on the severity of internal terrorist threats and to justify intensified police ‘intervention’ in the townships” (Anthonissen In press:19). The youngsters had been lured into the ambush and intentionally, brutally shot down. The police testimony at the TRC suggests that the officers involved may also have been limitedly informed on the extent of the intervention plan. A middle level officer, Riaan Bellingham, confessed to being the link that this event had with Vlakplaas and its director Eugene de Kock. According to the testimony of Mr Martinus Ras (1999:1) Vlakplaas was a farm that served as the headquarters of the South African Police counterinsurgency unit C10 (later called C1) working for the apartheid government in South Africa. The C-designation of the counterinsurgency unit was its official

name but the whole unit became known as Vlakplaas and was commanded by Eugene de Kock.

Bellingham was the one who planned this event with the *Askaris*. Ten years after the event the TRC investigating team uncovered documents kept at the Mitchell's Plain police station that explained the Vlakplaas link. The ammunition and transport of the Guguletu Seven were supplied by Vlakplaas. The mini-bus which they travelled in with some of the *Askaris* on the fateful morning belonged to the Vlakplaas security police. Photos were uncovered which showed the stockpile of ammunition claimed to belong to the Seven was the same stockpile of weapons photographed in a police officer's car prior to the event, with a claim that it belonged to the police. It was wrapped in exactly the same blanket. This led the investigation to the point where even the famed hand grenade explosion, which started the whole shooting according to the police, was brought into question. The hole which the alleged hand grenade had made was very small and not much damage had been done. Weapons had been planted on the victims, and the *Askaris* had been told before the time to make sure that the Seven did not have too much ammunition, yet it had to look convincing.

Attempts to silence the reports alternative to those officially released, continued for ten years following the event. Questions of eyewitnesses and of people close to the deceased were left unanswered; tributes of their home community at the funerals were banned; military and police collaborators were protected from thorough interrogation on a number of occasions.

The story that emerged from the reports right after the incident and right after the TRC hearings are the focus of this study. By comparing the 1986 reports to the transcripts of the TRC hearings and the news reports at the time of the TRC hearings, we can establish what kinds of representations were available after each occasion. Our interest is in the extent to which the media, from different ideological perspectives, portrayed the events and the people involved in

this event, where the ideological position was heavily influenced by the cultural values, beliefs and norms.

4.3 THE DETAILS COVERED IN THE REPORTS

Gudykunst (2003:57) asserts that speakers purposefully apply linguistic codes toward social ends in culturally defined situations. It is argued by Gudykunst that every culture has a distinctive speech code that implicates a culturally distinctive psychology, sociology and rhetoric. Thus to be able to better understand the cultural differences at the time of the event, it is necessary to analyse the linguistic code used. This will not only entail looking at the actual words and story, but also at the things which were not said, but maybe deliberately omitted or presented in another perspective. When looking at news from a cultural perspective it is necessary to understand the status of news as discourse. According to Caldas-Coulthard (2003:274) news is not a natural phenomenon emerging from real facts in life, but is rather socially and culturally determined. “News producers are social agents in a network of social relations who reveal their own stance towards what is reported. News is not the event, but the partial, ideologically framed report of the event.” Each telling of an event is a recontextualisation of that event. Recontextualisations involve substitution, deletion or addition of elements of a given social practice. According to Caldas-Coulthard (2003:276) events and people in each new contextualisation are represented according to the goals, values, and priorities of that communication. This is very relevant when we recognise the different value systems which informed divergent goals that created the news articles describing the Guguletu Seven.

In the following section a short sketch of each of the newspapers listed below will be given in the light of the real story or the “truth” sketched in the previous section. The aim is to establish what the reader of each of these newspapers would have gathered about the events and the people involved had they relied on the media for the “truth”. The differences in cultural

emphasis as illustrated in papers published in different languages, will become clear in this section.

The newspapers analyzed for the purpose of this project are as follows:

The <i>Cape Times</i> : (Eng)	1986 and 1996
The <i>Daily Dispatch</i> : (Eng)	1986 and 1996
The <i>Mail and Guardian</i> : (Eng)	only 1996 (Known as the <i>Weekly Mail</i> in 1986)
<i>Die Burger</i> : (Afr)	1986 and 1996
<i>Rapport</i> : (Afr)	1986 only

The event of the Guguletu Seven took place in the Western Cape, and as such it was mostly reported in the newspapers of the region; the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger* have been selected on this account. Reports on the incident in two national newspapers were also selected, one Afrikaans and one English, the *Rapport* and the *Mail and Guardian* respectively. Copies of all sources which have been used in the analyses of the following sections are included in Appendix 1.

The analyses will be presented as follows: The *Rapport* is presented first followed by the *Mail and Guardian*. The reason is that the *Rapport* and the *Mail and Guardian* are the two newspapers that had the least to say about the event. The *Daily Dispatch* is dealt with next, before the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*, because it is very much the same as the *Cape Times* in terms of the ideological positions it takes, yet it was an independent paper at the time of the Guguletu incident. The *Cape Times* and *Die Burger* is dealt with last, because they are the two most relevant papers, with the most coverage.

4.3.1 The *Rapport*

The *Rapport* is an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper; the only one of its kind circulated nationally, with a circulation total of 1 762 000 per week in the period from January – June 2000 (Wigston 2001:58). As is the case in very many Afrikaans households, I grew up reading this newspaper

every week. Reading the Sunday newspapers is as much a cultural activity as discussing rugby and politics around a *braaivleis* fire.

4.3.1.1 *The 1986-reports on the Guguletu Seven*

The event was reported in *Rapport* on 9 March 1986, which was the first Sunday after it happened. The article was published on page 6 which indicates it was newsworthy but certainly not the main news of the week. The heading of the article reads:

- 1¹. *Nuuskierigheid keer ANC-bloedbad*
“Curiosity stopped ANC-bloodbath”.

The heading already makes it evident that the actions of the police are being heralded as something heroic and good. In this article the Guguletu Seven are referred to as *terroriste*, “terrorists”, and no mention is made of their death as individuals, no names are mentioned, no family relations, no address or anything which identifies them, only that they shot at the police and the police returned fire. The article focuses on the three policemen who had apparently been curious and thus were able to stop the attack in time. The article goes on to say:

2. *Die aanvalle sou waarskynlik die ANC se inleiding gewees het tot 'n verskerpte*
3. *aanslag teen Polisie- en Weermag-teikens.*
“The attack would probably have been the ANC’s introduction to a sharpened resistance against Police and Army targets”.

The ideology of the then government is illustrated in this statement. With the state of emergency it was necessary to remind the public of the reasons for the emergency. The message here entails that terrorists were planning more attacks than just this one. The article also stated that the *Rapport* had obtained very - *betroubare inligting* “trustworthy information”. This is said of information given to all the reporters at a police briefing after the event, thus the source of the reliable information had not been checked or otherwise verified; police statements were accepted

¹ These numbers do not indicate extract numbers, but are merely line numbers for reference purposes in this chapter.

on face value. Nevertheless, the report does not mention who the source is; the reporter relies on the reader to trust the journalistic integrity of *Rapport*. The most prominent feature of this article though is the interview with the three *speurders* “investigators”. The accounts given by the investigators are put in direct form as if they are directly cited. This gives the information immediacy and could be calculated to prompt sympathy for the danger they had put their lives in.

Captain Kleyn said:

4. *Ek was nogal aan die dink dat my vrou seker kwaad sou wees as sy nou 'n weduwee*
5. *word, toe ontplof die ding.*
“I was just thinking that my wife would be mad [at me] if she had to become a widow, and then the thing exploded”.

The article ends by saying:

6. *Intussen het die ander polisiemanne wat hul patrolliewerk wou voortsit, die*
7. *ontploffing en die skote gehoor en begin terugskiet. Die polisie van die een kant van*
8. *die straat af, die terroriste van die ander kant af met die drie speurders reg in die*
9. *middel.*
“In the meantime the policemen who were on patrol heard the explosion and shooting and started shooting back. The police from one side of the street, the terrorists from the other side with the three investigators right in the middle”.

The reporter seems to portray the three “investigators” as heroes. They were supposedly heroic because they had been curious enough to look out for the safety of the community and respond appropriately when they found imminent danger; also they had fought back at the potential cost of their lives, caught in the middle of an unforeseen terror plot.

4.3.1.2 The 1996 reports on the Guguletu Seven

In 1996 when the TRC hearings brought some new information and a different construction of the event and who the participants in the Guguletu Seven event had been, the *Rapport* did not mention anything about it. Their 1986 story was relatively short and insignificantly placed. In 1996 *Rapport* made little mention of most of the TRC hearings; often their focus was on the

absurdity of certain people (mainly white officials) being summoned to testify, most notably some of the more prominent security force leaders who were seen as good Afrikaners.

4.3.2 The *Mail and Guardian*

Searching through all the editions of the *Mail and Guardian* at the time of the Guguletu Seven, it appears that the *Mail and Guardian* focussed on the broader issues of injustice, rather than being caught up in the details of a specific cases which nobody knew the truth about. It does feel a little out of place for the *Mail and Guardian* not to say much about the Guguletu Seven, because they were known as an independent paper critical of the government's policies.

4.3.2.1 The 1986 reports on the Guguletu Seven

The *Mail and Guardian*, then still published as the *Weekly Mail*, did not report much on the Guguletu Seven in 1986. They did at the time, however, report critically on many of the government's security related activities and human rights abuses. In the 21 March 1986 edition they posted a photo of the funeral of the Guguletu Seven. They did however make a mistake with the caption of this photo. According to the subscript it was of a New Brighton funeral of seven alleged ANC members, and special mention is made of the white people attending and the UDF (United Democratic Front) T-shirts they were wearing. The only clue to the real origin of this photo and its related story is found in the *Cape Times* newspaper, where the same picture is used, with explicit reference to the Guguletu event and the funeral being held there, not in New Brighton (New Brighton is in the Eastern Cape, Port Elizabeth). Thus the *Weekly Mail* had disappointingly little, and proved not to be completely reliable on an event that had made quite big headlines in daily English newspapers in the preceding week.

4.3.2.2 *The 1996 reports on the Guguletu Seven*

The Guguletu Seven still seemed not to receive due attention of the *Mail and Guardian* in 1996 (29 November 1996:10). In a certain sense this can be understood, because there were so many other cases where the outrage might even have been bigger than at the atrocity of the Guguletu Seven. The Guguletu Seven story was touted with a few other stories based on the front page story of the then minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger having said in official minutes that more people should be killed. A subscript on the front page read

10. "Police admit complicity in Cape ANC killings"

in its reference to the Guguletu Seven. On page 10 the story is found under the heading:

11. "Editors 'bent over backwards' for apartheid", with the sub-heading:

12. "Police admit killing the 'Seven'".

In about 200 words the story of the Guguletu Seven is given in an insert to the main article. The *Mail and Guardian* seemed more interested in reporting the general atrocities of the past than focussing on one story of a single event. It must also be understood that the *Mail and Guardian* is a national newspaper, and the Guguletu Seven happened in the Western Cape. The *Mail and Guardian* had to cover stories from a wide spectrum, if they were to at least mention most of the TRC hearings. Concerning the TRC hearings of the Guguletu Seven, we find that the testimony of the journalist Tony Weaver from the *Cape Times* received much attention because of the complaints he brought against the supposed liberal English media. Probably to assert their independence, and their fairness – thus to claim their lack of bias – the *Mail and Guardian* highlighted this fact; they insisted on being seen as not to be part of the liberal media who "bent over backwards" for the apartheid government. The *Mail and Guardian* mentions all the names of the Guguletu Seven.

4.3.3 *Die Burger*

Die Burger is a daily Afrikaans newspaper with its circulation mainly in the Western Cape. According to Wigston (2001:57) *Die Burger* had a daily circulation of 600 000 in the January – June 2000 period. It is one of the oldest newspapers in the country, and was at the time the only Afrikaans daily newspaper in the Western Cape.

4.3.3.1 *The 1986 reports on the Guguletu Seven*

Die Burger ran a full front page story of the Guguletu Seven on the 4th of March 1986. The headline read:

13. *Polisie skiet sewe dood by Kaap - ANC-loval gefnuik*
“Police shoot seven dead in Cape - ANC trap foiled”.

From the main article we gather that a number of ANC terrorists were trying to lure a minibus carrying policemen into a trap. This was reported to have been the onset of an increased attack by the ANC against, especially, the white police and military targets. Through this act of killing the Seven, the police claimed to have attempted to stop what could have been a bloodbath for police and possibly also civilians. The report goes on to say that the police’s actions are seen as a great breakthrough against terror in the Western Cape. This article adds something which none of the other newspapers picked up. It mentions that most of the Seven had been involved in previous terror attempts. Apparently only two of the Seven were locals, and the others had come in from the Free State and the Transvaal. The article then elaborates on the ammunition which was used. This gave an identity to the Seven which was very soon proven to be completely fabricated. The front page additionally has a few complementary articles. One headline reads:

14. *Kenner in landsveiligheid – SAP op platteland word geteiken*
“Expert on safety – SAP in countryside becomes target”.

This article states that the Guguletu Seven's mission might have been an attempt by the ANC to succeed in their threat to attack police and military targets.

The third article on the front page was titled:

15. *Al hoe meer terroriste loop hul vas*

“More and more terrorists run into difficulties”.

Apparently since the ANC started renewed attacks the previous year, a large number of terrorists had been apprehended and/or killed. A list of about eight cases is provided to prove the success of the security forces. A sketch of the event is also given in the top left corner, with an explanation of what had happened. The terrorists are numbered 1-7, and number 5 is indicated as having been killed first. Nowhere are the Seven named. A photo of the three “investigators” holding some of the confiscated ammunition is shown.

The next day *Die Burger* (5 March 1986:1) reported not only on the events of the shooting in Guguletu, but also on the difficulties which the *Cape Times* newspaper was having with the police due to a claim that their reporter had interviewed witnesses who had seen the policemen shooting some of the men who tried to give themselves up. The article quotes captain Calitz who said that the police would not be so stupid as to shoot a terrorist whom they are able to capture. He alleged that they are aware that the intelligence to be obtained if terrorists are captured alive would be valuable, thus the police would only have shot to kill because they had no other choice. Effectively captain Calitz denied the fact that the *Cape Times* had found witnesses stating the contrary. *Die Burger* ran two subsequent articles, one on the 11th of March about the three witnesses, just saying that the *Cape Times* was not prepared to hand over the names, and another on the 15th of March about the concern of the Police Commissioner, Coetzee, and the fact that the story of the *Cape Times* had been a misrepresentation. The story is briefly recounted by the Commissioner who tries to debunk the eyewitness accounts as myths and to give legitimacy to the official police version of the story.

4.3.3.2 *The 1996 reports on the Guguletu Seven*

A day before the Guguletu Seven TRC hearings scheduled for the 27th of November 1996 *Die Burger* published a very short piece with the heading implying that the police had confessed to the wrongful killing of the Seven in 1986. The article itself, however, does not say anything about a confession but only pre-empted the forthcoming TRC hearing. The very day the Guguletu Seven hearing started, on the 27th November 1996, the station commissioner of the Mitchell's Plain police office, director Johan Kleyn, said that he had not confessed, but had only testified. According to him, admission of guilt is not included in the meaning of the word "testify".

On the 28th November *Die Burger* placed a report on the fact that there had indeed been eyewitnesses to the incident. The headline on p.8 reads:

16. *Koshuisma en kinders sien Guguletu skietery*

"Hostel mother and children see Guguletu shooting", with a subheading stating:

17. *Man met 2 skote in kop neergevel, hoor WVK*

"Man killed with 2 shots to head, hear TRC".

The story of two eyewitness accounts is briefly told. The one witness was Mr. Ronald Benting, the bus driver for the special needs school close to the scene of the shooting. Mr. Benting and the rest of the children, as well as the hostel supervisor, Mrs. Pat Smith, had seen how the police shot a man at point blank range, after it seemed that he was not yet dead. They were driven away by the police when the police realised what they had seen. The other witness was Mr. General Sibaca, who testified to the shooting they had seen from the Dairy Belle hostel across the road from the scene of the shooting. He had seen a black man walking towards a white man with his hands in the air. The white man took the weapon from the black man's hip and another policeman shouted *Skiet hom!* "Shoot him!" The black man was brought down with a knee in his back and shot twice. The last story recounted in the article is that of Mr. Rudolf Lazarro. Mr. Lazarro had been robbed just before the Guguletu incident. Later he was asked if he could identify the men in

the photos (the Seven) as the robbers whom he had seen a few days earlier. He could not. Only after the TRC investigation was it determined that Mr. Lazzaro's signature had been falsified to provide evidence of criminal activity connected to the Guguletu Seven, which was used at a police inquiry into the deaths of the Seven shortly after the incident.

4.3.4 The *Daily Dispatch*

The *Daily Dispatch* is a daily newspaper published and circulated in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape. The *Daily Dispatch* was one of only two independent daily newspapers in the country at the time, the other being the *Natal Witness* published independently until about November 1987. Although the newspaper was independent at the time of the Guguletu incident, it made use of news received from a correspondent at the *Cape Times* for the story, changing a few words to suit its political point of view better. The *Daily Dispatch* was sold to Times Media in 1987, thus by 1996 it belonged to the same publishers as those who owned the *Cape Times*.

4.3.4.1 The 1986 reports on the Guguletu Seven

The *Daily Dispatch* described the actual event of the shooting in great detail, and it seems that almost all the facts gained from the official police story were published. The *Daily Dispatch* (4 March 1986:1) brought in one significant change in the story they received from the *Cape Times*: they changed the referring expression “*guerrilla*” to “*terrorist*”. Although their story was based on information from the *Cape Times*, they did not mention anything about the additional article which the *Cape Times* ran about the witnesses, and they abbreviated the story a little by deleting the section explaining the exact weapons used. They also did not mention that a number of youngsters had started throwing stones after the event was over, and that the police responded by giving the youngsters a few warning shots with their service pistols. The story was not

accompanied by any photos or other supporting articles. It was front page news with a headline that read:

18. “7 terrorists die in police shootout”.

4.3.4.2 *The 1996 reports on the Guguletu Seven*

The *Daily Dispatch* seems to have done a very thorough job of reporting the events surrounding the Guguletu Seven after the TRC hearings. They published an initial article on the 28th November titled:

19. “Conflicting evidence on Guguletu shooting”.

This article seems to be one of the first of only a very few reports that highlighted the suspicion that the police had shot seven innocent young men. They also highlighted the grief of the parents, naming the people involved for the first time. The headline of the second article published on the 29th November reads:

20. “Chaos erupts during police ambush video” with a subheading

21. “Policeman tells how he shot ‘terrorist’ in 1986”.

This whole article essentially recounts the story of Mrs Ngewu, mother of Christopher Piet Ngewu who threw her shoe at Director Johan Kleyn after she had watched the police video taken right after the incident. A short insert describes how Director Johan Kleyn defended his actions in shooting and killing a young man. According to him he had acted in self-defence, and could not have made an arrest if the young man had run away. The testimony of the parents as reported in the *Daily Dispatch* draws attention to the fact that the youngsters had not been involved in political activity.

4.3.5 The *Cape Times*

Compared to all the other newspapers, the *Cape Times* had the most extensive coverage of the Guguletu Seven incident. One of their reporters, Chris Bateman, in his response to a tip that there had been an unrest-related incident and following the police barring reporters from getting close to the scene, had tried to find eyewitnesses to the incident. He went to the Dairy Belle Hostel that overlooked the area of the shooting, and he found people willing to tell what they had seen. Although the editor did not want to make the eyewitness account the main story, he did allow Bateman to publish some of the news he had collected that gave an alternative version of the events compared to what the police had released. Bateman was later subpoenaed by the police to provide the names of the eyewitnesses. The *Cape Times* had a circulation of 355 000 per day as reported between January – June 2000 (Wigston 2001:57). This is about half the circulation of *Die Burger* during the same time period.

4.3.5.1 The 1986 reports on the Guguletu Seven

The main heading reads on the 4th of March reads:

22. “7 die in battle with police”.

Above this heading was a smaller caption which reads:

23. “Man with hands in air shot – witness”.

Yet a third heading underneath these two articles reads:

24. “Jeers as police wash away blood”.

The main story was exactly the same as the story in the *Daily Dispatch* – in fact it had originated with the *Cape Times*. The only addition to the *Cape Times* story was the more elaborate description of the weapons which had been found, and the riot after the event was finished. The stories which set the *Cape Times* apart though are the two smaller reports, above and below the main story. The evidence of the witnesses tells of a man with his hands in the air, trying to

surrender, who was then shot by the police. Another is reported to have been “finished off”, shot in the head at point-blank range, according to two witnesses. Someone else had seen the police take a gun from a man’s belt; hit him with a knee in the stomach and someone else shouting that they should shoot him, which they did. The comment at the end mentions that the police rejected the eyewitness claims “with the contempt they deserve”. The second smaller article sketches the mood of the people of Guguletu, and their apparent feeling that the seven men who had been killed had been innocent. This short report concludes with a telling remark:

25. “A policemen waved from the passenger seat of a Casspir as he drove past.”

Such an utterance communicates with a degree of irony that the appearance was given that the people of Guguletu were being ‘mocked’ by the government. These two articles are in interesting contrast to the main article – the content of the smaller reports is not completely concordant with that of the main article. Chris Bateman wrote the main article, and one of the contrasting articles.

Referring to these two smaller articles the *Cape Times* followed up a few days later with more witnesses and testimonies of onlookers and others related to the seven youngsters. On the 5th of March the headline to the article on page two reads:

26. “Mothers of ‘guerrillas’ speak”.

The testimony of two of the families of the seven men was that they had never been involved in any political activity. Mr. Jabulani Miya and Mr. Christopher Piet’s families claimed that they had been looking for work. Christopher had a girlfriend and a 17 month-old daughter. He was the sole bread winner, because his father could not work. Then on the 7th of March a small article shows the reporter, Chris Bateman, and the headline reads:

27. “Reporter subpoenaed over Guguletu killings”.

The police wanted the names of the eyewitnesses which he refused to give until the witnesses themselves were willing to testify. On the 12th of March another article headline read:

28. “Mothers of ‘guerrillas’ call for public inquiry”.

The article tells of Mr. Simon Mandla, one of the Seven, who, according to his mother, was mentally ill, and an outpatient at Valkenberg Hospital. This already makes it seem implausible that he could have been involved in a plot of the magnitude described by the police. In the meantime the community started arranging for the funeral of the Seven. On the 15th of March the *Cape Times* reported:

29. “Curbs on ‘ANC 7’ funeral in Guguletu”.

This article basically stated the government restriction on making a public event of the funeral, but it led to another article on page 2 of which the headline reads:

30. “‘Guerrillas’: More claims”.

Another witness, Mr. van der Merwe recounted how he had seen a man shot at close range by a police officer of rank (recognised because he commanded others). Mr. van der Merwe also made an appeal for an independent investigation. On the 17th March the *Cape Times* reported elaborately on the funeral on the front page.

4.3.5.2 The 1996 reports on the Guguletu Seven

On the 28th November 1996 the *Cape Times* revisited the TRC investigation in two articles on page 8. The heading reads:

31. “Guguletu Seven ‘executed’” with a smaller heading which reads:

32. “Journalists’ press conference ban recalled”.

The article topicalises the journalist Chris Bateman, who testified at the TRC hearing, giving particular details of the witnesses he had found in 1986 who had seen what had happened during the shooting. Still, the story does not provide the new revelations disclosed at the TRC, and is not very forceful in its disclosures. The article ends by saying that the police had been cleared of any responsibility for the incident on two consecutive enquiries right after the incident. The second article titled:

33. “Police ‘falsified affidavit to implicate Guguletu 7’”

This article was not covered by an in-house journalist as had been the case with the previous article; it had been taken from SAPA. This article relates the account of Mr. Rudi Lazzaro who had been robbed before the incident, and asked afterwards to identify the robbers from photos of the Seven. He had not recognised the robbers, yet the police falsified an affidavit claiming that he had identified them as the robbers, thereby constructing evidence to implicate them in criminal activities, and to cement their case in both inquests just after the event. The article also relates the account of the eyewitnesses, Mr. Ronald Benting and Mr. General Sibaca.

4.3.6 Summary of Reported Events

Table 4.1 REPORTED FACTS OF THE GUGULETU SEVEN EVENT IN 1986 ACROSS FIVE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS.

1986	First Report after Event	05/03	07/03	11/03	12/03	15/03
Rapport	1-5; 8, 9,15, 16					
Mail & Guardian	4					
Burger	1-5; 8-11; 17	18		6		18
Daily Dispatch	1, 3-5, 9, 19					
Cape Times	1, 3-7; 9, 10, 12, 14	13	18		13	7

19 key facts attributed to the newspaper and listed below, reported this information as factual.

1. Seven men were killed in Guguletu.
2. Three investigators were involved and foiled the plot.
3. Hand grenade went off and then shooting started.
4. The Seven men were ANC.
5. The reason for the attack was to fulfil an ANC agenda.
6. Eyewitnesses were found.
7. Eyewitnesses were interviewed.

8. Eventual target was the police office in Guguletu and Manenberg.
9. No lives were lost on the police side.
10. Weapons used by the Seven were Russian.
11. The Seven were involved in other terrorist activities before the incident.
12. A crowd gathered after the incident and threw stones at the police.
13. The mother's testimony about the character of their sons were reported.
14. Senior police officers toured the scene.
15. The 'terrorists' were late for their planned attack.
16. The Seven were walking with hands in pockets / or just looked suspicious.
17. The Seven were well trained.
18. The *Cape Times* is in trouble with their eyewitness reporting.
19. The target of the seven was a police mini-bus.

Table 4.2 REPORTED FACTS OF THE GUGULETU SEVEN IN 1996 ACROSS FIVE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS.

1996	Pre-empting the TRC testimony on 26 th and 27 th of Nov	First Report after TRC hearing	A day after the rest of the papers
<i>Rapport</i>	-	-	-
Mail & Guardian	-	16 ,17 ,18, 19, 20,	-
Burger	15	10, 11, 12,	-
Daily Dispatch	-	2, 5, 7, 8, 13, 21	1, 2, 3, 4,
<i>Cape Times</i>	-	10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20	-

1. Reported on TRC hearing and the video which was shown on the event.
2. Tells of 9 policemen subpoenaed to testify.
3. Tells of the incident where Ms. Ngewu threw her shoe at Mr. Knipe.
4. Reported on Mr. Kleyn's testimony as he shot one of the seven.
5. Ms. Irene Mxinwa testified to her son Simon's character.
6. Ms. Ngewu testified to her son Christopher's character.
7. Ms. Edith Njobo testified to her son Zandisile's character.

8. Ms. Elsie Mbenyana testified to her son Zabonke's character.
9. Mentions the testimony of any other relative or parent of the Seven.
10. Told the story of Mr. Rudi Lazarro and the falsified affidavit.
11. Mentions the witness Mr. Roland Benting.
12. Mentions the witness Mr. General Sibaca.
13. Mentions any other witnesses, not by name.
14. Mentions the testimony of the police officers.
15. Pre-empted the TRC hearing by saying something about the people to testify.
16. Mentions Vlakplaas involvement
17. Mentions the *Askaris* and / or Bellingham
18. Makes mention of the Newspapers' role in the issue, especially Mr. Bateman and Weaver.
19. Says outright that the Seven were killed or executed.
20. Mentions all the names of the Seven.
21. Mentions some of the names of the Seven.

4.3.7 Prominent differences in uses of referential expressions

At this point it is necessary to reflect on some of the differences we find between the Afrikaans and English newspapers. From just the headlines discussed in the previous section we can see how the newspapers were biased in their representation. The headline gives clues as to the selection criteria each used. Reah (1998) gives more information on the language and structure which is used in headlines and the effect these have on focussing reader attention on some aspects of events rather than others. We find that just in the headlines of the Afrikaans newspapers they identified the Seven as ANC members by referring to the event as one planned by the ANC, using the phrases: "ANC-bloodbath" and "ANC trap foiled". The *Cape Times*, in contrast, constructed the men differently. Their headlines

presented the seven men as victims in topicalising their death. Their own agency is not completely denied as there is reference to a “battle”, but they were clearly in the weaker position. The phrase used was “7 die in battle with police”, with no direct reference to a possible ANC connection. In general we find the Afrikaans newspapers focus on the terrorist angle. They tried to make a point of the threat of terrorism and the tough job the police have to protect the people against this threat. The secondary focus of the Afrikaans papers was the actions of the police force and the investigators. The *Rapport* especially portrayed the investigators as heroes. The English papers on the other hand seemed willing to question the official story, especially the *Cape Times*. The English papers’ focus was more on the plain facts of what happened, without the ideological connection of terrorism and the ANC. The most prominent difference was the reports of the eyewitness accounts mentioned in the *Cape Times*. The Afrikaans papers later only reported on the deviancy of the *Cape Times* to report something against the establishment, but they never probed the allegations of police complicity.

4.4 STYLISTIC AND DISCURSIVE FEATURES

In this section two different avenues of analysis are explored. Discursive features as described by van Dijk (1995a:144) are used as a basis to analyse the discourse structures most evident in the newspaper articles. These include features such as graphical structures, lexical style, and others. The second process of analysis is based on the ideas of Labov (2006a:37) and Edwards (2006:210). Their ideas are mostly developed for oral narratives, but can be adapted to fit this analysis of textual narratives. It centres mostly on the broader story of the event by looking at the orientation, evaluation and complicating action as espoused by Labov or answering the questions articulated by Edwards: “Where did the story begin?” and “Which social categories are created?”. It must be kept in mind that an

important aim in this thesis is to point out the broader differences in the narratives produced in reference to the same event by different newspapers (representing different ideological positions, cultures and languages) and at different times, i.e. directly after the event and in trying to reconstruct the event ten years later. These analyses are intended to provide evidence that the obvious differences are related to differences in ideology and culture attached to each newspaper.

According to Edwards (2006: 210), you need to analyse narrative by examining the interactional and emergent structure of the text. In order to make sense of the story teller's (in this case the reporter's) unfolding account of the events and their own position-taking relation to these events and to other participants, Edwards focuses on a rhetorical design which can be disclosed step-by-step by means of the following set of questions:

1. Where does the story begin?
2. Which social categories are constructed and used?
3. Are there competing stories or accounts?
4. Which story does the reporter align with?

For the purpose of this exercise it is not possible to analyse all the newspaper reports referred to in the previous section. The focus of this section will be only on certain aspects of the Afrikaans and English versions of the story.

4.4.1 Where does the story begin?

To understand the cultural difference between the newspapers it is necessary to consider how the newspapers in question start their account of the events, and to analyse the discursive features used. The texts published in the two Afrikaans papers, *Rapport* and *Die Burger*, will be compared to texts covering the same events in the *Cape Times*. As the *Daily Dispatch*'s reports were largely copies of the *Cape Times* reports, these will not be dealt with separately.

The main stories of the newspapers started their account of the incident with the following headings and opening sentences:

Die Burger (4 March 1986:1):

34. *ANC-Lokval gefnuik*. “ANC trap foiled”
35. *Bloedbad was hul doel*. “Bloodbath was their aim”
36. *Die sewe ANC-terroriste wat gister in ‘n kort, maar bloedige skermutseling in*
37. *Guguletu deur lede van ‘n polisietaakmag doodgeskiet is, wou vir ‘n*
38. *personeelbussie vol polisiemanne ‘n hinderlaag lê*.
“The seven ANC terrorists that were shot dead by a police task force in a short but bloody encounter in Guguletu wanted to set a trap for a personnel mini-bus full of policemen”.
39. *Na die hinderlaag sou hulle die polisiekantore van Guguletu en Manenberg –*
40. *waartussen die bussie soggens en saans ry – aangeval het, verneem Die Burger*.
“After the trap they would have attacked the police offices in Guguletu and Manenberg where between the mini-bus travels every day – *Die Burger* gathered”.

Rapport (9 March 1986:6):

41. *Nuuskierigheid keer ANC-bloedbad*. “Curiosity stopped ANC bloodbath”.
42. *Drie speurders se nuuskierigheid en ‘n uitgebrande motor het Maandag*
43. *waarskynlik een van die grootste stedelike terreurdade ooit in Suid Afrika*
44. *voorkom*.
“The curiosity of three inspectors and a burned out car probably prevented one of the biggest urban terror deeds ever in South Africa on Monday”.
45. *Sewe terroriste is uiteindelik in ‘n bloedige skietgeveg dood*.
“Seven terrorist died finally / eventually in a bloody gunbattle”.

Cape Times (4 March 1986:1):

46. “7 die in battle with police.”
47. “Seven suspected urban guerrillas were shot dead in a gunbattle with police in
48. Guguletu early yesterday, seconds after being confronted by peninsula Murder
49. and Robbery Unit detectives on NY1.”
50. “Two policemen were lightly wounded; one after a hand-grenade was hurled at a
51. police vehicle and another by flying glass.”
52. “In what appeared to be a carefully planned police operation, the detectives
53. confronted the suspects about 7:20am soon after they alighted from a stolen mini-bus.”

It is clear from the outset that the Afrikaans papers refer immediately to the men as members of the ANC in lines 34, 36 and 41. The English paper emphasises that these men are only *suspected* in line 47 of being guerrillas and that the actions ascribed to them, are indeed only imputed. The Afrikaans papers draw attention to and emphasise the aim and consequences of the Seven's alleged actions: they are said to have planned an attack on the police. Such information is given, although no source is specified. It is presented as justification for the police having killed them. The headlines in both *Die Burger* and *Rapport* use the word "bloodbath" in lines 35 and 41 with reference to the intentions and likely outcome of what the young men had set out to do. The effect of such a word is likely to be alarming. It is certainly more emotive than alternatives such as "aanval" ("attack"), or "ernstige beserings" ("serious injuries") that may as well have been what such "guerrillas" were up to, if there had been any truth at all in the allegations. The reporters could count on an audience response that would condone the police killings; after all, nobody would want a bloodbath to occur. Curiously enough the word "bloodbath" in these instances does not refer to the outcome of the shooting event itself, but to what would have happened if the police had not intervened. That the intervention itself was a "bloodbath" is mystified in the reports. The Afrikaans reports present the shooting and killing of the men as preventive actions of the police. These reports portray the police and the investigators as being heroic, as good and alert professionals who prevented a disaster by being suitably curious (see line 41 and 42).

Line 45 has an interesting linguistic feature. The word "*uiteindelik*" in Afrikaans can either mean "eventually" or "finally". This could imply that there had been a protracted battle in which seven eventually died; alternatively, such use of "*uiteindelik*" could imply that finally, at long last, the police succeeded in removing a serious threat. As the Afrikaans is ambiguous, this could be read and interpreted either way. From this section it is evident that from the outset the Afrikaans newspapers' reporters believed the police information – the

point of view they put forward was one that assumed whatever had happened, the young men had been up to mischief and so had brought their demise upon themselves. In contrast, the Cape Times report foregrounds the death of the men as opposed to trivial injuries to the police. This report attends to a “carefully planned police operation”, with no speculation as to what the “guerrillas” may have been planning. In the following section it will become more evident how social categorising shaped these reports.

4.4.2 Which social categories are constructed and used?

The words used to describe the people involved, i.e. the words that construct the identities of the various participants in the event, are significant because of their cultural meanings. The *Cape Times* (4 March 1986:1) used the following words in reference to the seven men who had been killed: ²

“Suspected urban guerrillas” (1), “suspected guerrillas” (3), “guerrilla”(s) (2), “suspects” (2), “fugitives” (2), and “grenade thrower” (1).

The names of the seven are not given. It is likely that at first their names were not known and that the police had not released them. There is no speculation about their personal identities; it seems to be negligible information. The Cape Times does not refer to a possible or alleged connection to the ANC. This main story from the *Cape Times* had different terms compared to some used by the *Daily Dispatch* (4 March 1986:1) that otherwise had had the same journalistic source. Most notably changing the word “*guerrilla*” to “*terrorist*”, actually changed the social categories of the protagonists in the news stories.

Die Burger (4 March 1986:1) used the following words to refer to and so also to identify the seven young men:

“ANC terrorists” (1), “terrorist”(s) (7), and *moordbende* “murder gang” (1).

² The number of times the word is used is indicated in brackets.

The *Rapport* (9 March 1986:6) used the following words:

“Terrorists” (4), “ANC terrorists” (1), “suspects” (2), and *swartes* “blacks” (1).

It is interesting that *Rapport* used the word *blacks*. This is significant because it prompts the reader to stereotype and categorise the deeds by race, or even to further entrench an impression that such deeds are typically committed by blacks.

In the 1996 reporting, the categorising by means of referring phrases changed completely in all of the reports. Then an interesting black/white discourse emerges. The *Cape Times* (28 November 1996:8) used the following words to refer to the Guguletu Seven in 1996:

“men” (3), “Guguletu Seven” (5), “slain men” (1), “suspected guerrillas” (1).

This time the names of each one of the Seven are mentioned. It seems the tables are turned completely in *Die Burger* of 28 November 1996. There the following words are used to refer to the seven men:

Guguletu Sewe “Guguletu Seven” (3), *Sewe jong mense* “Seven young people” (1), *Mense* “People” (1), *Mans/Man* “Men/Man” (3).

An interesting feature emerges in *Die Burger* in relation to white/black references. In giving the witness’s accounts, the colour of the participants is stated explicitly, thereby ensuring that the reader will take note of racial or ethnic identities of the various role players involved.

54. *Hy het gesien ‘n swart man stap met sy arms omhoog na ‘n wit man en hoe ‘n*

55. *wapen van die swart man se heup afgehaal word. ‘n Wit man het uigeroep:*

56. *‘Skiet hom!’*

“He saw a black man walking with his arm in the air towards a white man, en he saw how a weapon was taken from the black man. A white man shouted: ‘Shoot him!’” (*Die Burger*, 28 November 1996:6).

This particular rendering was taken from the discourse at the hearing, thus it was based on the direct words used by one of the witnesses in testimony. This illustrates how race (or colour) remains a marked component of identity construction across communities. The witness, was

black, and he found it important to note that the person at fault in this recount was not one of the seven, nor one of his own racial group.

4.4.3 Are there competing stories or accounts?

The two newspapers which target audiences of culturally, linguistically, and demographically different groups are circulated in the same region and so are engaged in a remarkable institutional discourse with each other. Although their readership is assumed to be from different language groups, it is known that many readers select their daily newspaper not only on the basis of language, but often also on the basis of political point of view represented by a particular publication. The differences between the two publications competing for readers by means of similar stories presented from different perspectives, is well illustrated in the handling of the story of the Guguletu Seven in the *Cape Times* and in *Die Burger*.

When reporting of these two newspapers is compared we find that they do have competing stories directly after the event in 1986. The *Cape Times* reporter, Chris Bateman, found eyewitnesses to the event. He knows the native language of the black people in the Guguletu area, isiXhosa, as a second language. His story was, however, not the lead story on the front page. The *Cape Times*, although liberal, was still not prepared for an all out defiant stance against the establishment of the apartheid government of the day. The fact that they did place an alternative story to the version handed to reporters by the police does show some sense of ideological difference not only to the ruling regime, but also to the Afrikaans newspapers. It is known that the media generally did not go out of their way sufficiently to expose the ideologies of the government at the time, because the TRC probed the issue of media complicity in 1996. The media was urged to make a submission to the TRC “on its role during the apartheid conflict” (*Cape Times*, 28 November 1996:8). It is said that the media were guilty of collusion with the former National Party government, either by

remaining silent on key events or suppressing the truth. The *Cape Times* was not exempt from this accusation.

In his reports Chris Bateman took a stance that was culturally and ideologically different to that of the reporters of *Die Burger*. He specifically considered the possibility that the police and their employer (government) had been in the wrong not only in the obviously excessive use of violence, but also in their limited disclosure of what had happened on the day of the shooting. For him, according to his own recount in an interview (Wilson 2000), the eyewitness story should have been the lead story. It would have seemed a contradiction to the informed reader that the official story was in subtle contrast to the two smaller reports above and below. The editor did not want to offend and draw attention to the *Cape Times* by contravening the emergency regulation, but at least agreed to place the eyewitness story alongside the official police version of the story. An interesting interplay between the stories of the two newspapers developed because of this difference of opinion. The *Cape Times* continued to report and probe the witnesses and the parents of the Seven. The police wanted Bateman to sign an affidavit and when he did not co-operate as expected, he was later served with a subpoena to reveal the identity of the witnesses. Still the *Cape Times* reported extensively on the Seven and their funeral. *Die Burger* on the other hand did not report anything new or different in opposition to the official story. They did, however, report on the predicament of the *Cape Times*, finally publishing an article on 15 March 1986 with a headline that said:

57. *Cape Times-berigte lank reeds verdraai – Coetzee*

“Cape Times articles have long been twisted – Coetzee”.

This article apparently intended to debunk the myths of the alternative versions of the story. Coetzee was the Commissioner of the Police, a General in fact. Bringing in the highest authority to explain and contradict all the allegations against the security forces’ handling of

the affair, was most probably meant to pacify the readers of *Die Burger* who might have started to doubt the official story.

4.4.4 Which story does the reporter align with?

The *Cape Times* did align itself with the official story given by the police. Yet the reporter Chris Bateman, and later also Tony Weaver, of the *Cape Times*, did not align themselves with the official story. When taking the reports on the eyewitnesses and the mothers of the Seven into account the *Cape Times* seem to be the newspaper with relative consistency over a ten year period. We must remember that at the time of the Guguletu Seven incident the apartheid government was in a State of Emergency. This means that stringent media restrictions were in place. According to legislation (see Anthonissen 2003:94) newspapers that contravened the regulations could suffer confiscation of whole editions as they were brought into circulation; some were actually heavily fined and threatened with forced closure; journalists were targeted and victimised (as had happened to Chris Bateman and Tony Weaver), and an enormous amount of information was kept from public scrutiny. This makes it clear that the *Cape Times*, although it did print some information that had not been part of the official story, was under immense pressure. Under such pressure it is still fair to say that they tried to provide the public with an alternative view. They did not engage in any reporting which actively sought to maintain the status quo by justifying excessive police action, even if constructed as response or timeous intervention, in the case of the Guguletu Seven. *Die Burger* on the other hand attempted to maintain the status quo by firstly publishing the predicament of the *Cape Times* and then also publishing the comments of the Commissioner of the Police in debunking the myths.

4.4.5 Structural units of narrative

An analysis based on Labov's (2006b:37) narrative structure would provide very much the same results as the information extracted in the previous sections. Nevertheless, it is perhaps good to mention one of the structural units that Labov identified in more detail. Labov mentions the following units of narrative as essential to every story, and thus recognisable in one form or another:

1. Abstract (summary of the story)
2. Orientation (who, what, when, where)
3. Complicating action (core of the narrative)
4. Evaluation (significant moments in the narrative, what motivates the telling of the story?)
5. Result or resolution (end of story, outcome of action)
6. Coda (final rounding off, "tidying up" of lives of characters)

Particularly important is Labov's identification of an evaluative moment in the narrative. The evaluative structure asks the question: "What motivates the telling of the story?" There is a reason why a narrator finds it worth while to tell the story. Labov obliges analysts to consider whether the narrator gives such evaluative information directly or indirectly, by implication.

When considering the greater motivation for the Guguletu Seven news story this question becomes significant. There had been problems of unrest in the townships, and the police had for a number of years found it necessary to intervene. Since the end of 1985 the unrest had become so pervasive that the government found the only means of control to be the declaration of a State of Emergency. Many unrest-related incidents went by unnoticed by the media either because the police would not allow free flow of information, or because it was not considered to be newsworthy enough. This particular event was different: for some reason it was pushed into the public sphere where the media would take note and make headlines of it. The biggest motivation, as one could gather from the newspaper articles in

1986 was the threat this signalled of an escalation of violent protest, thus of imminent greater terror. As opposed to reports on illegal gatherings or attacks with rudimentary weapons such as stones, bricks, tyres or petrol bombs, the reporters in this case were alerted to protestors, “terrorists”, who were armed with particularly sophisticated weapons. They apparently had guns and hand grenades that would not necessarily match the arms and ammunition of state security forces, but would at least justify the police using ammunition more suited to civil war than popular unrest, in the townships.

Evaluative devices, according to Labov are given in the narrative when the narrator either interrupts to address the reader (listener) directly and state explicitly why s/he is telling the story, or else gives the reason for claiming reader (listener) attention more subtly. In the Guguletu Seven reporting we do not find external evaluative devices that direct the readers to the specific reasons for publishing the reports. Thus the reader has to be alerted to the internal evaluative devices. The clues as to why the event is significant were given only by implication. Here was an event the police wanted published. They needed attention to a staged event – the motivation was that they needed public support for their own intended increase in violent action in the townships. Such motives were of course improper and illegal – therefore an alternative motive for getting the story on to the front pages, was put forward.

The Guguletu Seven apparently signalled a move from passive resistance, political action and only sporadic violent action with poor weapons, to much more organised and well equipped resistance. The threat moved from obvious lawbreaking to more subtle terror. What makes this newsworthy is that seven young men at least were portrayed as having planned actions which would put many people’s lives at risk. This reason is highlighted in most of the newspaper reports, where the motive for telling the story seems to be the threat of sudden terror, and greater ANC complicity. Both these reasons were false, as proved and publicised much later. The *Cape Times* and *Daily Dispatch* actually also implied that the very brutal

confrontation and death in an ambush of seven people was of a degree that was notable. This kind of consideration is one often followed in the news media's decisions on what stories to give prominence.

4.4.6 Ideologically relevant discourse structures

It is indicated in section 4.4.2 above that certain social categories were accepted and reinforced, or newly created, in the reporting on the Guguletu Seven event. These categories can, according to van Dijk (1995a:144), also be discussed under the headings of *ingroup* or *outgroup*, where such categories may relate to a construction of identities by the person giving the account of the events. As was indicated in chapter two, if a sense of an *ingroup* and *outgroup* can be proven, it lends much support to the idea that these newspapers were culturally divided. The following gives a selection of discourse structures that are used from time to time to exhibit positive and negative judgements about a group. This is done at a very general structural level. These structures are based on the analytic framework of Van Dijk (1995a:145) and will be discussed in the terms that he has provided:

Graphical Structures: Graphical structures focus specifically on the headlines and placing of the physical structures which relate to the event or story (see also Reah 1998). For a visual of the headlines, refer to Appendix 1. The two most prominent newspapers, *The Cape Times* and *Die Burger* both ran front page headlines. *The Cape Times* diluted the prominence of the official story's headline by placing the headline about the eyewitnesses above the official story. *Die Burger* on the other hand enhanced their headline by providing the main headline with two smaller headlines above and below. *The Daily Dispatch* ran the same headline as the *Cape Times*, but without the impact of the eyewitness headline. We find that in 1996 only the *Mail* and *Guardian* ran a front page in which the Guguletu Seven event was just a part. Visually the *Mail* and *Guardian* has the most impact. The other

newspapers ran the story as part of their TRC coverage, which reduced the headline impact, because it was placed much deeper in the newspaper.

Negative Lexicalization: In discursively constructing the identity of a person or a group of people, authors often select “negative words” to describe the actions of the people who are considered the outgroup. Such use of lexical items with negative connotations is illustrated in the Guguletu Seven news reports when the seven young men and the actions ascribed to them leave the reader with an impression of them as doubtful characters.

Die Burger (3 March 1986:1) uses the following words in constructing the event and the men who were killed: the men are said to have planned a “trap” (*lokval*), a, “bloodbath” (*bloedbad*), an “ambush” (*hinderlaag*), and an “assault” (*aanslag*). They are similarly identified by their actions; the text describes them as having:

58. *Na die hinderlaag sou hulle die polisiekantore van Guguletu en Manenberg –*

59. *waartussen die bussie soggens en saans ry – aangeval het, verneem die Burger.*

“After the ambush they would have attacked the police offices in Guguletu and Manenberg, between which the bus travels twice a day, *Die Burger* gathered.”

The action in 59 was “attacked” (*aangeval*),

60. *Een van die terroriste het vermoedelik verlede jaar in Guguletu ‘n handgranaat*

61. *na maj. Dolf Odendaal, oderbevelvoerder van die onluste-eenheid, geslinger en*

62. *hom ernstig beseer.*

“One of the terrorists apparently hurled a hand-grenade at Maj. Dolf Odendaal in Guguletu last year and injured him seriously.”

63. *Die handgranaat is teen die motor geslinger.*

“The hand-grenade was hurled against the car.”

The action in 61 and 63 was “hurled” (*geslinger*), and

64. *In die voertuig het die polisiemanne gesit toe die terroriste op die hoek van*

65. *NY111 en NY1 met AK-47 gewere op die voertuig losgebrand het.*

“The policemen were sitting in this vehicle on the corner of NY111 and NY1 when the terrorists opened fire on the vehicle with AK-47 guns.”

The action in 65 was “opened fire” (*losgebrand*).

Rapport used the following identifying words in a similar way: *hinderlaag* “ambush”, *aanval* “attack”, *aanslag* “assault”,

The *Cape Times* used the following identifying, descriptive words in reference to the actions of the men:

66. “Two policemen were lightly wounded, one after a hand-grenade was hurled at a
67. police vehicle and another by flying glass.”
68. “One suspect suddenly produced a hand-grenade and threw it.”

The action words being: “hurled”, “threw”. The words used by the *Cape Times* appear to be slightly more neutral, connotatively, than those used by the Afrikaans papers. Although they also use the word “hurled”, the context make it sound less loaded than the Afrikaans newspaper. The *Cape Times* also impute actions that identify the men as victims, as people in a weaker non-aggressive position against who the violent response was perhaps not properly justified: “fled”, “lying”, “running”, “collapsed”, “give up”.

Hyperbole: This is a discursive technique used by writers in either putting down the outgroup or praising the ingroup. In the Guguletu Seven reports the Afrikaans papers used hyperbole in referring to the assumed intended actions of the men who were labelled “terrorists” with a scheme to create a “bloodbath” (*’n ANC-bloedbad*). *Rapport* went as far as saying that this would probably have been one of the biggest acts of urban terror in the history of South Africa. The *Cape Times* did not use such terms and mentioned nothing of possible intentions of the group.

Compassion Move: In showing empathy or sympathy for the ingroup, the people at the receiving end of the outgroup, the *Other’s* actions, the writer will construct the story in a manner that prompts a similar response in the reader of sympathy for the ingroup and resentment towards “the other”. Here the seven men are constructed as the outgroup, the

Other; attention to the innocence and quick response of the one emphasises the brutality of the *Other*. *Die Burger* says:

69. ...*Daardeur is 'n moontlike bloedbad onder polisiemanne en moontlik ook*

70. *burgerlikes waarskynlik voorkom.*

“Through this (police response) a possible bloodbath among policemen and possibly also civilians was prevented.”

Rapport evokes empathy by publishing an account of an initiating action of throwing a hand grenade. This is done in the form of direct speech, a textual indication that one of the investigators had actually been the speaker – citing the participants themselves creates an impression of authenticity. It evokes empathy by drawing on struggle propaganda that would easily raise feelings of panic in the reader.

The *Cape Times* achieves the opposite. Its presentation moves compassion towards the shot men, so constructing the police as the *Other*, the outgroup. The eyewitness accounts serve as a powerful means of constructing images alternative to the ones given by the police and uncritically repeated in *Die Burger* and *Rapport*.

Generalization: This is a technique used to make the actions of the outgroup part of a bigger or more generally disliked group or stereotype. It is immediately apparent that the Afrikaans newspapers attribute this event to the larger group, the ANC. These were not just seven young men acting on their own, but a larger network bent on larger destruction. The *Cape Times* did not attribute these actions to the ANC. The ANC was not even mentioned in the *Cape Times*’ or *Daily Dispatch*’s main articles in 1986.

Concretization: To concretize in this instance would mean that the negative acts of the *Others* are described in detail, using concrete and visualisable terms. *Die Burger* goes to some length to sketch the seven men as repeat offenders, making the point that these men were well trained, because for example, the one man had three magazines attached to each

other with adhesive tape, which proves his extensive training. One of the men had apparently thrown a hand-grenade at Major Dolf Odendaal a year earlier; he provided all sorts of details, which by 1996 were known to be false. Again the *Cape Times* provided just the opposite concretization by giving the eyewitnesses accounts of the events in equally concrete and visualisable terms.

The lines 71-73 show how the *Rapport* created an image which would evoke a great sense of empathy with the investigator at the receiving end of the hand-grenade.

71. *Net toe ek uit die motor klim het een van die swartes sy hand voor by sy broek*

72. *ingesteek, die volgende oomblik gooi hy iets na my en terwyl die ding deur die lug*

73. *trek kon ek sien dis 'n handgranaat..*

“Just as I stepped out of the car one of the blacks put his hand into the front of his pants, and the next moment he threw something at me and while the thing was flying through the air I could see it was a hand-grenade.”

Negative Comparison: Negative comparison is a technique used where the outgroup is compared with others in terms that present the outgroup in a bad light. Contrasting the police to the ANC and then identifying the men as ANC members would be enough to create a negative image with the average reader. In *Die Burger* an additional comparative suggestion is introduced. One of the supporting articles of *Die Burger* (4 March 1986:1) was bound to evoke a lot of negative feelings in its target audience by comparatively associating the seven to a feared group; not only the ANC is contrasted with the police, but also “communists” - using the phrase *Kommunistiese propaganda* (“Communist propaganda”) the concept of alignment with a highly doubtful political group is introduced. The irony is that the rest of the article is based on the information allegedly received from this communist propaganda, and this information is then supposed to help the police fight the terrorists.

Warnings and Fear Mongering: This device is one that structures information in such a manner that the audience will be alarmed. Warning readers about imminent danger

and developing fear for what may result from particular activities, is a technique that assures adjustment toward defensive views and behaviour. By referring to township youths as well armed and organised for engaging in actions of urban terror, it was easy to create a doomsday atmosphere, to emphasize terror and possible threats. *Die Burger* does the best job at this attempt. It provides two supporting front page articles which deal with the threat of terrorism. The one article title, for example, reads:

74. *Kenner in landsveiligheid: SAP op platteland word geteiken.*

“Expert in safety and security: SAP in rural areas is targeted”.

This article invokes the authority of a university professor and the claim is made that information is extremely vital to combat the *terrorists*. The fact that the action was in an urban township is explicitly made relevant to rural readers as well (at the time there were strong political resistance groups in very many semi-urban and rural areas such as Oudtshoorn, Worcester and Paarl). Both the Afrikaans newspapers claim that the Guguletu Seven incident was just a precursor for much larger and more intensive action from the ANC, as is clear from the above statement that rural security services are targeted, and also that the youngsters had been brought in by Communist propaganda. Again, the *Cape Times* does not mention the ANC, and it also does not call the seven *terrorists*. The negative connotation connected to the word *terrorist* is exploited by the Afrikaans newspapers. Nevertheless, when police and civilians meet in armed conflict along a road used by many going about their daily business, that does create fear. The story was “fear mongering” even if not directly intended as such.

Norm and value violation: Establishing an *us* and *them* distinction is not only achieved through the use of negative terms, but also by attributing the breaking of norms and values to the *other* group. Inherent in the name *terrorist* we find the connotations of lawlessness, and deviant behaviour. The Afrikaans newspapers made a point of using the

word *terrorist* when referring to the Seven, whereas the *Cape Times* avoided it. *Die Burger* also suggests in a supporting article (see line 74 for article heading) that the ANC is acting in such a way that many black people do not even agree with the way they operate – thus implying that the lawless group is simply a dangerous minority that does not have the support of its home community. They assert that the ANC has started with a strategy in which they would like to associate themselves with a general unrest situation.

Direct and indirect speech: Direct speech is often used to obscure the role of the writer (reporter, publisher) in narrating a particular event. Citing a prominent person or an eyewitness foregrounds the person cited as the source. There is an established readers fallacy according to which a direct and marked citation is as good as giving reliable evidence. Here one can consider the aspect of indirect and direct speech of the narrative as told by the police inspectors. The *Rapport*'s main version of the event is an account in direct speech by Captain Kleyn. The account evokes sympathy and empathy for the security force members, and portrays him and his two colleagues as victims of terror. He says:

74. *Ek was nogal aan die dink dat my vrou seker kwaad sou wees as sy nou 'n*

75. *weduwee word, toe ontplof die ding. Ek was vol sand van die ontploffing*

76. *en 'n stukkie skrapnel het my in die lies getref. Toe bars die hel los.*

“I was just thinking that my wife would not be too happy if she became a widow now, then the thing exploded. I was covered in sand as a result of the explosion and a piece of shrapnel hit my inner thigh. Then all hell broke loose.” (Rapport 9 March 1986:6).

Cynically, one could ask how a person in a seriously life threatening situation would find time and the state of mind to think (jokingly?) of his wife's happiness in the terms he has given. A critical reader at the time would have sensed this irony. This direct reporting creates

the sense that these men are the *ingroup*, and the Seven are the *outgroup*, those who perpetrated these unthinkable acts.

4.5 MISREPRESENTATION THROUGH INTERCULTURAL INTERPRETATION

We have established at this point the extent to which the reality of a certain event was represented by the media, and the forces which influence this representation. There is, however, a unique circumstance which emerges from this specific case of the Guguletu Seven that has great bearing on the intercultural and cross-cultural importance of the discourse. This aspect does not necessarily have great bearing on the critical discourse analysis of the event, yet it sheds light on the greater issue of understanding each other, and solving intercultural communication problems.

In the testimony about the Guguletu Seven at the TRC hearings three of the mothers of the Seven testified. They were: Mrs. Ngewu, Mrs. Miya and Mrs. Konile. Mrs. Konile came from the rural Eastern Cape and when you read her testimony much of what she says seems out of place or irrelevant to the situation. The writer and journalist Antjie Krog gives a short account of all three woman's testimony. As an example of Mrs. Konile's erratic discourse Krog (1998:194) recounts: "It felt like I was going down – down – down. When I looked, I was wet – wet – wet – I was wet all over the place. I asked for water. They said, 'No, no we don't have water.' I said – I was talking to one of the woman who was with me – I said, 'Please – please urinate on a plate so that I can drink. She did and I regained consciousness, I woke up....I must go back under those rocks where I was before, I am no one – I am nothing, what is ANC, what is ANC..." There are two ways of dealing with this testimony. Either discard what you don't understand, or find a different interpretation from the original language which would include transmission of the cultural significance of the

language. Most people would opt for the first option, because they are not aware of the loss of meaning.

Mpolweni-Zantsi (in press) emphasises the importance of the original testimony of Mrs. Konile. The testimony was given in Xhosa and according to Mpolweni-Zantsi the meaning and cultural significance of what Mrs. Konile was saying was completely lost in the translation. Critical discourse analysis is able to critically look at what the media did with the information which was available, even if it was available with some investigation, but in this case the media could not interpret something which had lost its meaning before it became public knowledge through intercultural misinterpretation. Mpolweni-Zantsi (in press) says that, referring to the previously quoted example, that the seemingly unrelated story of Mrs. Konile being hit by a rock, waking up wet and asking for water and then drinking urine has culturally symbolic meaning, and Mrs. Konile was indeed trying to show how deep in despair she was. Digging for coal to sustain herself, shows her pain and powerlessness having lost a husband and a son, having no-one to care for her. Drinking urine is associated with healing. The words, 'what is ANC...', was supposed to be the doctor who was saying these words after she went to hospital, yet it was not indicated as such and this changes the meaning completely. Mrs. Konile started crying when she started to recount this last story, yet her emotions were not noted in the transcripts. Mpolweni-Zantsi (in press) notes that this is an example of how the official translation contributed to several layers of misunderstanding and incomprehension.

4.6 CONCLUSION

South Africans come from a history which sought an active alternative representation of reality at the time at which that history was being written by the media. Newspapers are considered an account of current events, which by tomorrow, would be an account of history.

We can see that the cultural lines along which the media was, and is, divided in South Africa has contributed to the fact that alternative representations of 'truth' have been created. The distinction of ingroup and outgroup differentiation and polarization is one of the central characteristics of ideologies which govern cultural values, norms and beliefs.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This research project set out to consider a particular aspect of intercultural communication in the media. Its aims were to investigate certain critical discourse analytic approaches to analysing media discourse in order to disclose how cultural and ideological difference is often embedded in the reporting of current news events. Also, some of these approaches were to be used in the analysis of the reporting of a particular event that occurred in March 1986, and that became one of the events investigated in disclosing severe human rights violations at the TRC in 1996.

The specific research questions attached to the aims of the project, assisted in disclosing

- how the Guguletu Seven event was described in various newspapers at the time of the event,
- what the differences were in prominence given, in content, and in linguistic means used by the various newspapers were,
- how the Guguletu Seven event was described across different newspapers as well as by the same newspaper 10 years later, and
- whether any culturally distinctive significance can be attached to differences found in different newspapers at the time of the event, and differences found in recounting the event 10 years later in the media coverage of TRC work.

The texts selected for the analyses in this study were intended to illustrate

- (i) some of the concepts and devices of the particular approaches,
- (ii) how a combination of approaches can be used in a critical analysis of media reporting,
- (iii) how a critical analysis of discourse can disclose selective representation of events and people in the media, and

(iv) how different newspapers, particularly ones addressing different language communities, follow cultural practices that manifest as political and ideological choices in their reporting.

In the following sections I shall indicate how the aims I set out with have been achieved, and how the questions I addressed can be answered.

5.2 THE DIFFERENCES IN AFRIKAANS VS. ENGLISH MEDIA REPORTS

An exposition of the context and the differences in the narrative reconstruction of the event in different newspapers confirm that the media circulated in the Western Cape are in fact divided along cultural/linguistic lines in their reporting. Following Halliday (1985), as explained by Anthonissen (2001:23), an exposition of the context and the chronology of the event in different newspapers, gives rise to three questions, namely:

- (i) What are the social origins of the options taken by the report? Where and who does it come from?
- (ii) What motivations are there for making a particular choice?
- (iii) What is the effect of this choice on the various interests of those involved?

Firstly, when considering the social origins of the representation of people involved and the whole chain of events, it was found that the different media outlets gave different renderings due to the context in which they found themselves. The government at the time did not allow media to report freely – there were in fact severe media restrictions in place in 1986. These restrictions influenced the ideological alignments of the different cultural groupings in the press. From the reporting it is clear the *Die Burger* and *Rapport* were more closely aligned to government policies at the time. Even if they acknowledged that they were restricted in how much of what they could publish, they did not complain that their only source of information on the Guguletu Seven incident was the police themselves. The *Cape Times* took a position

further removed from government policy and ideology. This is apparent from the fact that this paper published information gained from more sources than only the police. They were in fact willing to run the risk of some form of retribution by challenging restrictions that disallowed reporting on police actions in the townships. One direct result of the media regulations of government that is clear in both of the language groupings is self-censorship. No newspaper could afford to digress too much from what the government regarded as acceptable or “right”. This censorship influenced what was available and also what could be selected as the final content which was mediated to the public. This was clear from the predicament in which the *Cape Times* found itself when it challenged the official government version of the story by giving an alternative narrative to the one put forward by the police.

Secondly, the different motivations for the choice of representation and construction of identities can be traced to the different participants in the discourse. The different language related newspapers constructed the identities of the participants in the event, the seven young men, their family and friends, the eye witnesses and the security force members, differently. The Afrikaans newspapers tended to portray the participants according to the prevailing ideology of the ruling government, with no attempt to defy the status quo. At first they accepted the limited designation of the young men simply as “terrorists” – no attempt was made to establish their names, their ages, their places of origin, their families, or even their employment status. Also, no attempt was made to establish which section of the police had been involved, what the ranks of the men had been or who the individual participants allegedly being ambushed, had been. The English newspapers, although similarly under pressure of the government policies, had a slightly more critical stance in alignment with the English South African media generally, and critics elsewhere in the world at the time. Although they similarly had no personal details on the various participants, their reporter investigated the experience of the community directly adjacent to the scene of the shooting,

and so was able to gain an alternative view that did not corroborate the police report. This is made evident in the 1996 reporting of the *Cape Times* and the *Mail and Guardian*. The overall editorial policies of the *Cape Times* might not have been as seriously questioning as it could have been of all the information it got, but individual reporters were allowed some journalistic freedom, even in the face of government intervention, and their contributions were accepted as journalistically sound. It should be noted that in spite of their criticism, many representatives of the English media were also shown at the TRC hearings as having supported apartheid even if indirectly, and through their selection of news.

Thirdly, the effect of editorial choices on the various interests of the publishers was most interesting. By comparison, the interests of the *Cape Times*, which chose to defy some emergency regulations in covering the Guguletu Seven event, were threatened, while the interests of *Die Burger* and *Rapport* who towed the official line, stayed relatively unscathed. The accounts uncovered by the *Cape Times* reporter Chris Bateman in 1986, revealed a number of details that eventually turned out to be closer to what had really happened than the official version. Ten years later, they came out as having had the better journalist and as having had more integrity than their Afrikaans counterpart. In 1996 *Die Burger* was obliged to give what *Cape Times* had previously done at their peril. By choosing to ignore the directive to publish the “official story” the *Cape Times* put itself in a precarious position. The result can be seen in the frenzy which erupted after the *Cape Times* published the account of the eyewitnesses. Chris Bateman found himself with a subpoena to give the names of his informants and various other threats; later he was barred from official government press conferences and so denied access to privileged information. Even after this ban was lifted, the hostility towards him did not abate. Rather than follow the lead of new information given by the *Cape Times* and trying to determine how much truth there was in the eyewitness accounts, *Die Burger* chose to latch on to the predicament that the *Cape Times* found itself in

with a journalist accused of having gone against media regulations. The ideological link which *Die Burger* had with the government also became evident when they published an official ‘myth-debunking’ by the commissioner of the Police.

In summary: In 1986 the Guguletu Seven reports in the different newspapers largely followed the version given by the state’s Bureau of Information. Both the Afrikaans and the English reports constructed fairly one-dimensional identities for the various participants: the seven were nameless, faceless, black youths probably up to mischief in that they had weapons and intended an attack on police; the security force members were also very limitedly identified as heroes who had not choice but to defend themselves and the community. The most significant difference in the reporting of the two language communities, is in the additional and alternative point of view given by publishing eyewitness reports alongside the police reports. Here the youths were identified as themselves being ambushed rather than having set an ambush; they were portrayed as relatively defenceless, ready to surrender and carelessly mown down. Such an alternative actually obliged more questions. However, the transgression of censorship regulations became a detractor, shifting attention from what had happened to the young men, to how badly a *Cape Times* journalist had behaved.

In 1996 the differences in the reports across newspapers were less marked. *Die Burger* and the *Cape Times* now agreed on the core facts: it was clear that the Bateman story had been closest to what had really transpired, the security force members had not been regular policeman, the seven young men had deceptively been recruited into a presumed resistance movement. In 1996 the seven had names. They were introduced as individuals each with his own personal history. Most markedly, in 1996 surviving relatives, the mothers of three of the men were introduced. They could testify as to the identities of the young men as sons, as support for their family, as musician, as job hunter, as regular, idealistic, caring person. The newspapers were no longer restricted by emergency regulations. They allowed

attention to the stories of those with very little power. Newspapers were in agreement that not only the Guguletu Seven, but also the news producers and consumers of 1986, had been deceived.

5.3 THE CHANGE IN MEDIA REPORTS OVER TIME

Fowler (1991:10) emphasises the idea of news as a social construction being biased in its representation of reality. He says that anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position. The best way to know how biased the newspapers had been in 1986, and for which reasons, is to compare the story to reports received in 1996 and thereafter. It becomes clear that a newspaper like *Die Burger* implicitly acknowledges that it was wrong in its reporting in 1986 by publishing the very facts which were available to them in 1986, but which they apparently found ideologically out of place and wrong. The *Cape Times* only had to elaborate a little on the information which they already published in 1986. It is demonstrated that the reporting of the newspapers had changed in ten years. The big ideological, political change which had taken place was the change from the apartheid government to the newly elected democratic government. This change of power brought with it a change of attitude towards information in the press. The press was now theoretically free. Still, newspapers like the *Rapport* did not surrender completely from their previously held world views. They assumed the role of new ‘watchdogs’ to the new regime, challenging the new government and the way it handled especially the TRC hearings and the people involved, in particular those white men accused of complicity in human rights abuses during the years of conflict.

In considering the reports given by the newspapers in 1986 we find the distribution of information akin to that of embedded journalism as it has been seen in the recent war in Iraq (see documentary by Schechter 2005). Rather than censorship, only accredited journalists are

authorised to report on the war; they are selectively given access to and information on the conflict so that the state has complete control over what will be mediated and how. According to Sonderling (2001:318) journalistic ideology dictates that official police reports are true, while each person in an incident believes their story to be true. The apartheid government regarded the control of information as extremely important; journalists received official briefings from police for their crime reporting. This might still be the case today, yet journalists are not officially censured if they venture on their own. Chris Bateman was banned from the official briefings for a while as punishment for his independent reporting in the Guguletu Seven case.

In comparing the two sets of reports in 1986 and 1996 I gave specific attention to linguistic means used to represent the event and the people involved. I found the referring expressions that were used to identify the seven young men particularly telling. *Die Burger* changed its terms of reference, referring this time to the “Seven young men” instead of “ANC terrorists”. By 1996 *Die Burger* acknowledged implicitly that the men had not been ANC members and that a term such as ‘ANC terrorist’ represents an inappropriate point of view. In 1986 *Die Burger* had an active vested interest in keeping the government content. The cultural ties between the people in power at *Die Burger* and at the government sometimes went deeper than just cultural ties, but involved interpersonal ties through various organisations and institutions. We know now that the government had staged the Guguletu Seven event as a ‘false flag’ operation. ‘False Flag’ operations are generally considered to be instances where the government actively sabotages itself or its population in order to justify their (often illegal or immoral) actions. The government in this case was in a state of emergency, and needed public support for their fight against “terrorism”. The only way to gain the public’s support is if the public know about events that justify their excessive actions. This event was planned and executed by government security forces. Thus it was of

utmost importance to the government that the press reported what they wanted them to report, otherwise the purpose of the event would have been defeated. The fact that the *Cape Times* dared to publish anything contrary to the official report was met with fierce resistance, as this not only threatened the power relations, but would also have meant that the justification they were seeking immediately would be removed.

The content of most of the newspaper reports has been set out at length in this report. What is significant is the change which took place over time, as well as the extent of the information revealed by different newspapers over time. We see that what was revealed in 1986 by the *Cape Times* was basically what was reported in 1996 by the rest of the press, although much more information became available through the TRC investigation. The role of the Lindy Wilson documentary production in the full disclosure of what had happened is not to be underestimated. The information which was not made public through the newspapers, but was contained in seemingly endless TRC testimonies was much more startling than the little bit of information that eventually made it to the mainstream press. What was startling was that very relevant information, most notably the link between the Guguletu Seven and Vlakplaas, only emerged in Wilson's video documentary. What might be considered the most important frame on the issue when all the TRC investigations are taken into account is the fact that the whole Guguletu ordeal was planned and executed to benefit government propaganda. Human lives were considered to be worthless, and this attitude was evident in the reporting of the Afrikaans newspapers in 1986.

5.4 ATTACHING CULTURALLY DISTINCTIVE MEANING

Caldas-Coulthard (2003:274) asserts that news is not a natural phenomenon emerging from real facts in life, but is rather socially and culturally determined. "News producers are social agents in a network of social relations who reveal their own stance towards what is reported. News is not

the event, but the partial, ideologically framed report of the event.” Each telling of an event is a recontextualisation of that event. Recontextualisations involve substitution, deletion or addition of elements of a given social practice. According to Caldas-Coulthard (2003:276) events and people in each new contextualisation are represented according to the goals, values, and priorities of that communication. This is very relevant when we recognise the different value systems consisting of divergent goals which created the news articles describing the Guguletu Seven.

Throughout this thesis it has been established that different linguistic communities, which also represent different cultural communities, constructed the reality according to their vested interests, beliefs, values and norms. Some of the language related means used in (re-)constructing the event and in creating a particular identity for those involved were highlighted to illustrate such cultural and ideological differences.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the study set out with well defined aims and much was achieved in the use of certain CDA approaches coupled with aspects of narrative structure theory, a thesis of this kind necessarily has certain limitations. This study represents only a small part of a very large body of data. The analysis was not exhaustive, and more analytic tools could have been employed to reach a more convincing conclusion. Future studies could focus more broadly on the representation of reality through the media from a cultural perspective. This study equated language differences as a major indicator of cultural differences, yet culture is a much broader concept, and future studies could extract more cultural features than just language related factors. Critical Discourse Analysis is a very useful and socially relevant research method, and can be employed even more effectively in a broader study by implicating more social structures and institutions.

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RAPPORT 1986

6—RAPPORT, 9 MAART 1986 **

Myn-reuse in g

Deur NICO VAN
GIJSEN: Kaapstad

DRIE speurders se nuuskierigheid en 'n uitgebrande motor het Maandag waarskynlik een van die grootste stedelike terreurdade ooit in Suid-Afrika voorkom. Sewe terroriste is uiteindelik in 'n bloedige skietgeveg dood.

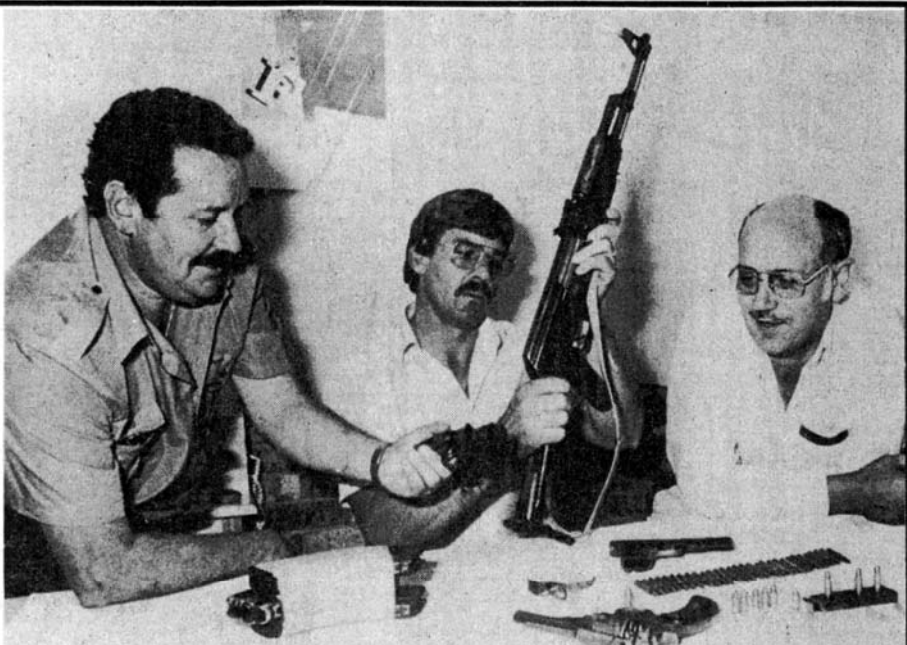
Die sewe ANC-terroriste wou 'n hinderlaag lê vir 'n polisiebus wat soggens kantoorwerkers na die polisie-kantoor op Guguletu bring. Hierna sou hulle die polisekantore van Guguletu en Manenberg aanval.

Die aanvalle sou waarskynlik die ANC se inleiding gewees het tot 'n verskerpte aanslag teen Polisie- en Weermag-teikens.

Die terroriste het volgens betroubare inligting wat RAPPORT bekom het, laat opgedaag vir hul hinderlaag. So laat dat die polisie wat hulle ingewag het, al besig was om hulle te ont-trek toe hulle uiteindelik opdaag. Die bus wat hulle sou aanval, was al verby.

Drie speurders van die Skiereilandse Moord-en-Roofeenheid, kapt. Johan Kleyn, adj.-off. Callie Bothma en sers. Kat Coetzee, was reeds in hul motor toe hulle die groep verdagtes opmerk. Die drie speurders het na 'n uitgebrande motor langs die pad gaan kyk en daarop besluit om die groep verdagtes te deursoek. Intussen was die ander polisiemanne al aan die vortgaan.

In 'n oëblik met RAPPORT het kapt. Kleyn vertel: "Net toe



DIE drie Kaapse speurders wie se nuuskierigheid vandeeweek een van die grootste stedelike terreurdade in die land voorkom het. Van links is sers. Kat Coetzee, kapt. Johan Kleyn, en adj.-off. Callie Bothma.

Nuuskierigheid keer ANC-bloedbad

ek uit die motor klim, het een van die swartes sy hand voor by sy broek ingestek. Die volgende oomblik gooi hy iets na my en terwyl die ding deur die lug trek, kon ek sien dis 'n handgranaat.

"Die granaat het die deur van die polisiemotor getref. Ek het platgeval. Sers. Coetzee het vorentoe gery omdat hy

bang was dat die ding dalk onder die motor lê.

"En daar lê ek toe plat op die grond met die handgranaat minder as drie meter van my af. Ek kon onthou dat dit binne 4½ sekonde sou ontplof, maar dit was wragtig die langste sekondes in my lewe.

"Ek was nogal aan die dink dat my vrou seker kwaad sou wees as sy nou 'n weduwee

word, toe ontplof die ding. Ek was vol sand van die ontploffing en 'n stukkie skrapnel het my in die lies getref. Toe bars die hel los.

"Ek ken AK-vuur. Ek was mos al aan die grens. En daar lê ek met net my pistool by my, want ek het mos nie verwag hulle sou terroriste wees nie. Ons het eers gemeen dis miskien 'n

paar rowers wat deur sers. Coetzee gesoek word."

Intussen het die ander polisiemanne wat hul patrolliewerk wou voortsit, die ontploffing en die skote gehoor en begin terugskiet. Die polisie van die een kant van die straat af, die terroriste van die ander kant af met die drie speurders reg in die middel.

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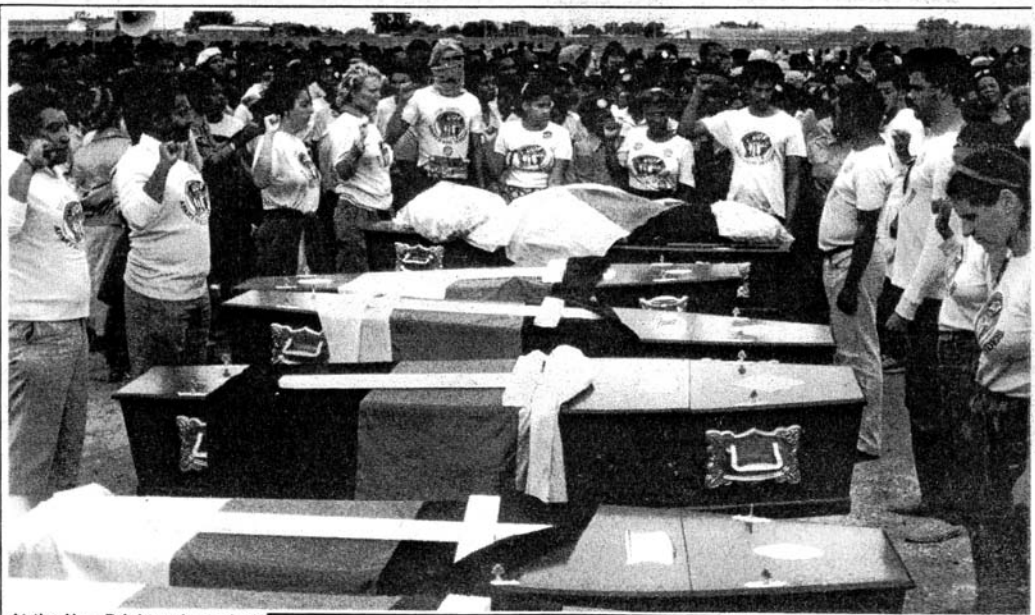
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At the New Brighton funeral of seven alleged ANC members, three white women in UDF T-shirts join mourners at the graveside in clenched fist salutes. The coffins are draped in ANC flags

Picture: ADIL BRADLOW

Now white

ICES TO LET
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Prices: R3,40 incl VAT ★ Southern Africa: R3,40 excl tax ★ Zimbabwe: Z\$10,00 incl tax ★ Kenya: Ksh 60 excl tax

Vol 12, No 48, November 29 to December 5 1996

In the slave tree's shade
Mike Nicol, this week's guest writer, revisits the shameful legacy of slavery that built Cape Town
PAGES 14 & 15

Fraught couture
A new biography of French designer Yves Saint Laurent divulges his dark secrets
PAGE 37

SA's missing Aids programme:
See our special supplement on
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MISSOURI MEDAL OF HONOUR 1996

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Kill more people!


— Jimmy Kruger, minister of justice, 1976.
As recorded in official minutes

Crooks in the boardroom
Shocking new white-collar crime figures
PAGE B1

Comoros pilot hero speaks
Interview with thrice-hijacked airman
PAGE 6

R200 000 payout for profs
Stellenbosch academics get unusual reward
PAGE 13

PC Review
Xmas computer treats

NP Cabinet documents reveal that mass shooting was state policy during the 1976 uprising PAGE 2

PLUS:

SADF soldiers say they were behind the train terror

Police admit complicity in Cape ANC killings PAGE 10

enna: Finance Week's Nigel Bruce pulls no punches B8 **Sports: Boks can weather the French storm** B24

have eluded any coherent explanation until now.

Many of them were later transferred to, or volunteered for service in the

were owed after their commander, Joe Verster, took court action against the

he will wait for confirmation that the final cut-off date for amnesty applica-

hit-squad cases and the few applications for amnesty.

governments methods of assumption. Other destroy the egg for the Van R. phrased they do co that have proceed country's brouhaha announce land red: "While able app about ex ests, ever say this i sentative gation by farmers water fro Asmal w ument, a based, a The p adaptat the suc probabl ness th is a cor manage Other world, South and ha ment s. The s the las Farne dam ri boreho water stream six hot collect Big

Editors 'bent over backwards' for apartheid

The truth commission has been asked to investigate the role English-language papers played in apartheid, reports **Rehana Rossouw**

ENGLISH-language newspapers might have been regarded as liberal during the apartheid era, but some of their editors had "bent over backwards" to accommodate police in suppressing the truth about human rights abuses, journalists claimed this week.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission chair Desmond Tutu said the media should make a submission to the commission on its role during the apartheid conflict. The truth commission has asked the Freedom of Expression Institute to launch an inquiry into the issue, and a meeting is being held next month to lay the basis for the investigation.

Tutu's comments followed testimony by journalist Tony Weaver at a hearing into the killing of the "Guguletu Seven".

Weaver was charged with contravening the Police Act after the *Cape Times* published an article in which witnesses alleged police killed seven men in cold blood on March 3 1986.

A truth commission investigation has unearthed startling new evidence about the deaths of Mandla Mdnwa, Zola Swelani, Christopher Piet, Zbonke Konle, Zanile Mjubo, Jabulani Miya and Themba Mlifi. Two inquests into their deaths cleared the police of culpability.



Painful past: Eunice Miya, testifies about the death of her son, Jabulani Miya, one of the Guguletu Seven killed by police. PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

Weaver said his trial was an attempt by police to restrict media coverage of their activities. He was acquitted after witnesses and forensic experts recreated what had happened to the Guguletu Seven.

Weaver resigned from the *Cape Times* in 1987. He told the truth commission he had since been informed that the then managing director of Times Media Limited, Stephen Mulholland, had tried to get him dismissed "because he perceived me as being too radical".

Mulholland had also been instru-

Police admit killing the 'Seven'

Rehana Rossouw

A MAJOR breakthrough was made by the truth commission at its Cape Town hearing this week when policemen began confessing their involvement in the killing of the "Guguletu Seven".

Superintendent William Liebenberg, former head of Cape Town's terrorism detection unit, admitted Vlakplaas operatives had been central in a security police operation in 1986 against the Seven.

Liebenberg, reading from a prepared statement, said the Western Cape had been "under attack" from "terrorists", and he requested assistance from security police headquarters in Pretoria to root them out.

He insisted he did not know they were sent by Vlakplaas, although he

knew they reported to its commander, Eugene de Kock. This is the first time a Vlakplaas operation has been exposed in the Cape.

A Sergeant Bellingham and Constable Mbelo had been sent from Pretoria, as well as two men who infiltrated a group of "terrorists" based in the Cape Town squatter camp KTC.

The men reported on March 3 that the group was planning to ambush a police bus in Guguletu, Liebenberg said. The security police then planned to confront them at an intersection near the police station, shoot their tyres to stop the vehicle they were to use, and arrest them.

But when the vehicle reached the intersection, no arrests were made and seven men were killed instead. Liebenberg said he had already left the scene and had not fired a single shot.

mental in the dismissal of *Cape Times* editor, Tony Heard, for the same reason, Weaver said.

"Elements of the media are guilty of collusion with the apartheid regime, either by remaining silent or actively suppressing the truth," he told the commission.

Weaver said while he was a correspondent in Namibia, the editor of the *Daily Dispatch* refused to use his articles because he used the term "guerrilla" rather than "terrorist", and because he was regarded as being pro-Swapo. Former *Sunday Times*

editor Tertius Myburgh didn't use his articles for the same reasons.

"Mulholland and his stable of editors, the so-called liberal English press, bent over backwards to accommodate versions of the truth put out by the police and the National Party," Weaver said after the hearing.

"During that period journalists were operating not only in the milieu of a hostile police and government, but also in the employ of a hostile management."

"An investigation into the role of the media should also examine pro-government newspapers and the SABC

which aided and abetted apartheid.

"It was widely rumoured that editor of a major English opposition newspaper was an agent of the National Intelligence Service. This must also be investigated."

Heard said he believed more could be done to examine the media's role. "If necessary, the commission should subpoena newspaper management and call them to account." He asserted himself fully with the "spirit" Weaver's comments to the commission.

When we ran the Guguletu Seven story, I was asked if people in the media had could accuse the police of murder. Heard said, "We were journalists, we were simply doing our jobs."

"We all should account to the commission for our inclusions and omissions. However brave we were on occasion, there were times that we were like hell."

"What the media did could not be classified as a gross violation of human rights, but we certainly make it possible for those violations to happen — more than the medical or legal professions. When people say today they did not know what happened, we are the reason for their ignorance."

Heard said he did things as an editor he is not proud of, like handing over photographs to the police of students protesting at the University of the Western Cape in the 1980s. Although he destroyed some of the photographs which clearly showed students' faces, he complied with a court order to deliver the rest.

DIE BURGER

1 MARCH 1986

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kap, en sy lyk is in stukke
gekap.

Volgens die Polisie is 'n
swartman in dieselfde ge-

terda moordenaar is na
bewing in hegtenis ge-
neem nadat sy daarvan be-
skuldig is dat sy klippe na
'n Putco-bus gegooi het.

Altesame 105 mense het
in Januarie gesterf, teenoor
die 107 in Februarie. -
(Sapa)

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Skietery op terroriste: 3 'getuies' opgespoor

Deur Ons Misdaadverslaggewer

DRIE mense wat beweer dat hulle ooggetuies is van die skermutseling waarin sewe terroriste verlede week deur die Polisie doodgeskiet is, is opgespoor. Die skakelafdeling van die Polisie het ondertussen ook bevestig dat die Polisie 'n moord-dossier geregistreer het, maar dat die ondersoek teen iemand is wat tot dusver nog onbekend is.

"Die dossier het sy ontstaan nadat die Cape Times beweer het dat die Polisie mense in die skermutseling doodgeskiet het wat hulle wou oorgee," het Lt. Attie Laubscher van die Polisie se skakelafdeling gister gesê. "Hoewel die Polisie vermeende ooggetuies opgespoor het, moet nog vasgestel word of dit dieselfde mense

is wat met verslaggewers van die Cape Times onderhoude gevoer het," het die woordvoerder gesê.

Mnr. Chris Bateman, die verslaggewer onder wie se naam die berig verskyn het, is ná die publikasie daarvan gedagvaar om die name en adresse bekend te maak van die mense met wie hy onderhoude gevoer het. Hy het verseg om dit te doen, en is ingevolge art. 205 van die Strafproseswet gedagvaar.

Mnr. Bateman het tot môre teen die middaguur kans om die name aan die Polisie te verstrek, of om dan in die hof te verskyn.

Volgens die Cape Times sou 'n verklaring gister aan die Polisie gegee word. Die Polisie het gister die name en adresse van die vermeende ooggetuies ontvang.

aad-klag teen Sisulu

DIE

BURGER

5 MARCH

1986

opstaan nie,"
as later gesê.
handskoene is
dat die veters
n mnr. Jutras
f-Afrikaner se
rsoek voordat
onvas op sy
het.
letterlik korte
k van Coetzee,
lyk het en ou-
sy hande laag
dat sy gesig 'n
n was. Hy het
kaner reeds ná

BRITTANJE se Frank Bruno toring hier oor Gerrie Coetzee nadat hy hom gisteraand uitgeslaan het in die eerste ronde van hul uitdaging om die WBA se swaargewichttitel in London se Wembley-stadion. Bruno het Coetzee ná slegs 110 sekondes van die geveg uitgeslaan.

SAP gaan Cape Times dagvaar oor berig

Deur Ons Hoofverslaggewer

DIE Kaapstadse oggendblad Cape Times gaan deur die Polisie gedagvaar word om die name van ooggetuies te verskaf wat volgens 'n berig in dié koerant beweer dat hulle gesien het hoe die Polisie in Guguletu "vermeende guerrilla-vegters" in koelen bloede doodgeskiet het - een nadat hy geprobeer het om hom oor te gee en 'n ander nadat hy gewond op die grond gelê het.

Dié stap volg op vergeefse pogings deur die Polisie om die name van die ooggetuies by die koerant te kry, het kapt. Jan Calitz, skakeloffisier van die Polisie in Wes-Kaapland, gister gesê.

Sewe ANC-terroriste is eergister in Guguletu in 'n skermutseling met lede van 'n taakmag van die Polisie doodgeskiet nadat die Polisie inligting gekry het dat hulle 'n personeelbussie met polisiemanne en daarna twee polisiekantere wou aanval.

Volgens die Cape Times het ooggetuies van die skietgeveg wat hul name aan die koerant verstrek het, beweer dat "minstens een vermeende guerrilla-vegter deur die Polisie doodgeskiet is nadat hy geprobeer het om hom oor te gee". Die berig, wat promi-

nent op die voorblad gepubliseer is onder die opskrif "Man with hands in air shot - witness", noem nie die ooggetuies se name nie, maar meld dat hulle in die woonkwartiere van 'n melkery langs die toneel van die skietery woon.

IN KOP

Volgens die berig beweer die ooggetuies ook dat "nog 'n verdagte wat gewond op die grond gelê het, deur die polisie-taakmag van kant gemaak is".

'n Ooggetuie vertel dat hy skielik ontploffings en skote gehoor het. Hy het na 'n venster gehardloop, en 'n man op die sygaardjie oorkant die pad sien lê. "n Polisieman het na hom toe gestap en hom in die kop geskiet," het hy gesê.

Kapt. Calitz het eergis-

terand die Cape Times gevra om die name van die ooggetuies bekend te maak, omdat dit 'n belangrike deel van die Polisie se ondersoek kan uitmaak, word verneem. 'n Verslaggewer het aan hom gesê dit sou gister verstrek word.

REDE

Teen gisteraand het die koerant nog nie die name bekend gemaak nie.

"Die rede wat hulle verstrek het, is vir die Polisie onaantwoordbaar," het kapt. Calitz by navraag gesê. "Die koerant gaan nou ingevolge die Strafproseswet gedagvaar word ten einde die verlangde inligting te verkry."

Kapt. Calitz het daarop gewys dat die Polisie nie vermeende terroriste sal doodskiet indien hy hulle gevange kan neem nie. Ge-

vange terroriste is baie waardevolle bronne van inligting in die teeninsurgensiestryd.

ERVARE

"Enigiemand wat die aard van teeninsurgensie ken, sal weet dat inligting 'n sleutelrol speel.

"Die polisiemanne wat by die optrede betrokke was, is almal ervare mense, baie van hulle uitgesoekte spesialiste. Hulle weet watter waarde 'n gevange terroris vir die Polisie inhou.

"Wanneer iemand egter met 'n AK47-geweer op jou skiet, is daar geen tyd om lank te redekawel nie. Die Polisie is eerste aangeval en het hulself verdedig," het kapt. Calitz gesê.

Twee polisiemanne, een 'n offisier, het nou ontmoetings in die skietgeveg gehad.

Pres. Botha het
aankondiging duid
stel dat die Veiligh
te steeds sal voort
die orde en veilig
tens bestaande w
te verseker. Hy
hoop uitgespreek
Suid-Afrikaners hu
le vreedzaam sal op
rig op bl. 2.)

Eenskla

Ook mnr. Louis
ge, Minister van
Orde, het die pul
rusgestel dat die
orde ondanks die o
van die noodtoesta
gehandhaaf sal wo

Mnr. Le Grange
terand aan Die
gesê die besluit var
gering beteken nie
Veiligheidsmagte r
klaps uit onrusgeb
trek sal word nie.
steeds voldoende
heidsmagte wees
reg en orde doelt
handhaaf, en hulle
bly solank as wat
is.

"As die onrus
wilde mense gehoo
die oproep van di
president, sal di
staat stel om di
heidsmagte vroeër
trek. Hulle sal b
onttrek word voo
nie tevrede is da
orde gehandhaaf
nie."

Met verwysing
Botha se verklarin
staande wetgewir
rende die huidige
mentsitting het
word sodat voortge
valle van onrus sc
ongerief van 'n
● VERVOLG OP 1

offiekamer nou oop vir alle LP

Van Ons Parlementêre Redaksie
ndom die gebruik van die koffiekamer van

Orde van die drie Huise verwys. Gister het hy hul besluit
te aangekondig.

Verteenwoordigers besluit het dat die huidige
mer van hierdie Raad "doelmatig omgeskep w
koffiekamer en 'n leeskamer, en die huidige le

Cape Times-berigte lank reeds verdraai – Coetzee

Deur Ons
Politieke Redaksie

DIE Cape Times se redaksionele kommentaar en berigte oor die Polisie is lank reeds verdraai en bevooroordeeld, hoewel die Polisie altyd geprobeer het om in gevolge die ooreenkoms tussen die pers en die Polisie vriendelike betrekkinge met dié koerant te handhaaf, skryf die Kommissaris van Polisie, genl. Johann Coetzee, in 'n skerp brief wat gister in die Cape Times gepubliseer is.

Hoewel die Cape Times die ooreenkoms aanvaar en onderteken het, het die

Cape Times besluit dat geeneen van sy verslaggewers vir akkreditasie aansoek sal doen nie, omdat dit 'n vorm van sensuur is. Hierdeur het die Cape Times nie net getoon dat hy die spel slegs volgens sy eie reëls sal speel nie, maar die beginsel van akkreditasie – wat wêreldwyd aanvaar en hoog aangeslaan word – onder verdenking geplaas.

DOODGESKIET

Boonop het die koerant 'n beleid van "verhoor deur die koerant" aanvaar as noodsaaklike diens aan sy lesers, ongeag die getal hof-

sake en geregtelike ondersoeke wat nadelig daardeur geraak word.

In dié verband verwys genl. Coetzee na die Cape Times se hantering van die skietery vroeër vandeesmaand in Guguletu waarin sewe gewapende mans doodgeskiet is.

"Ondanks die feit dat die mans wat doodgeskiet is, swaar gewapen was met handgranate en Russies-vervaardigde aanvalsgewere en handwapens, het u herhaaldelik die Polisie se optrede bevraagteken. U ignoreer blykbaar ook geregtelike prosedure. My aanvanklike verklaring waarin ek uitdruklik gesê het die Polisie het vooraf inligting gehad dat 'n aanval op 'n polisiebus beplan word. In u daaropvolgende nuusberigte en latere redaksionele kommentaar bevraagteken u voortdurend die Polisie, wat tog sekerlik die reg het om te keer dat sy eie mense geskiet word, en verlaet u u voortdurend op sogenaamde ooggetuies en familieleden in 'n poging om die indruk te wek dat die mense wat doodgeskiet is, 'onskuldige' werksoekers was (hoewel hulle swaar bewapen was). Op 13 Maart vra u ook verskeie vrae en eis openbare antwoorde daar-

voor," lui die brief.

Genl. Coetzee wys daarop dat elke onnatuurlike dood tot 'n hofsak of 'n geregtelike nadoodse ondersoek lei wat albei oop is vir die publiek. Alle relevante getuïenis word gelewer. "Dit is 'n baie meer demokratiese manier om agter die waarheid te kom en te vrae van die publiek te beantwoord."

WEIERING

Omdat die Cape Times die openbare mening in dié verband voor 'n geregtelike ondersoek beïnvloed het, vra hy die koerant om sy brief te publiseer omdat die lesers daarop geregtig is om te weet dat hul vrae beantwoord sal word nadat die feite in 'n ope hof bewys is. As dit blyk dat die sewe mans inderdaad terrorisme was, moet die publiek dit weet.

Genl. Coetzee sê voort dat die Cape Times deur sy weiering om sekere van sy verslaggewers te laat akkrediteer, openlik die ooreenkoms tussen die pers en die Polisie minag. "Daarom is daar geen rede waarom die Cape Times enige toegang tot inligting rakende die Polisie moet hê nie."

"Die houding van die Cape Times is te betrou omdat dit 'n ondiens aan sy lesers bewys. Geakkrediteerde verslaggewers het toegang tot sensitiewe inligting wat hulle in staat stel om korrekte berigte te skryf," luidens die brief.

● In sy kommentaar hierop sê die redakteur van die Cape Times dat genl. Coetzee se inligting verkeerd is. Die redakteur het nog nooit die uitlating oor akkreditasie gedoen wat aan hom toegeskryf is nie. Hy verwys blykbaar na die houding van die South African Society of Journalists.

Die Cape Times handhaaf voorts die ooreenkoms tussen die Polisie en die pers.

Oor die Guguletu-skietery sê die redakteur dat talloos vrae wat niks met die hofsak te doen het nie, onbeantwoord is. "Ons verwag die aantygting dat die publiek voor 'n geregtelike ondersoek beïnvloed het."

van NG Kerke:

ngsbeheer inerend

Kantoor

het sy steun toegesê aan 'n positiewe verstedelingsbeheer" en het ook onderneem om waar moontlik.

HALLEY

VERVOLG VAN BLADSY 1

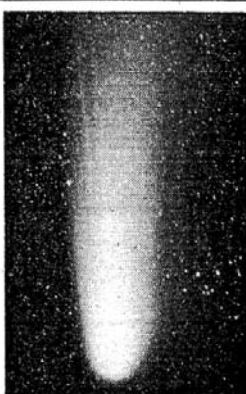
Peter Wenzel gesê.

Giotto se seine na die aarde het stil geword en toe weer met tussenpose deurgekome.

Voordat die tuig geswyg het, het Giotto oor 'n afstand van 144 miljoen km skouspelagtige foto's van die komeetkern na die aarde gestuur. Die kern is besonder onreëlmatig, aartappelvormig, sowat 15 km lank en 4 km breed en dit draai om sy eie as.

Giotto het stil geraak presies twee sekondes voordat wetenskaplikes die eerste foto's van Giotto se naaste punt aan die komeet verwag het.

Die tuig is só ver van die aarde dat die seine, wat teen die snelheid van lig beweeg, agt minute nodig gehad het om die onderskepstasie in Australië te bereik.



AS Halley se Komeet donsoordag bo die kim verskyn, lyk dit of hy op sy kop staan. Dié foto is gisteroggend kort ná middernag op Sutherland geneem toe Giotto verby die komeet se kern geskiet het.

Wetenskaplikes sê ongeveerdertigste van die beskadigde tuig ontvang, maar die opspoortestelle op die aarde kon nie daarop inskakel nie. Geen gegewens word ontvang nie.

Giotto slinger en waggel waarskynlik dronkerig deur die ruimte nadat hy hom in die stofstorm van die komeet se koma vasgeloop het. Dit sal geruime tyd duur voordat daar sekerheid oor Giotto se toekoms sal wees.

Dr. C.B. Cosmovici, 'n lid van die Europese wetenskaplike span wat na die Suid-Afrikaanse Sterrewag op Sutherland gekom het om Giotto se vordering te monitor, het gister aan Die Burger gesê groter welslae is met die Giotto-sending behaal as wat verwag is. Die tuig het 570 km van die kern verbygeskiet.

Giotto se welslae is grootliks te danke aan die samewerking van elf lande.

26 NOVEMBER

Dinsdag 26 November 1996

Polisie bieg oor dood van 7 in '86

KAAPSTAD. – Beweerde menseregteskendings tydens die Pollsmoor optog in 1985 en die skiet van die sogenaamde Guguletu Sewe sal vandeeweek hier by 'n sitting van die Waarheids-en-versoeningskommissie onder die soeklig kom.

Die verhoor vandag handel oor verskeie beweerde skendings in 1985, met inbegrip van die Pollsmoor optog in Maart daardie jaar.

Dit handel ook oor gebeure wat daaruit gevloei het.

Môre en oormôre sal getuienis aangehoor word oor die voorval op 3 Maart 1986 in Guguletu toe sewe jong mans in 'n skietery met die Polisie gesterf het.

Familielede van die oorledenes en ander getuies sal môre aangehoor word.

Oormôre sal die nege Kaapse polisiebeamptes getuig wat gedagvaar is om te verskyn in verband met die skietery.

Dr. Desmond Tutu, voorsitter van die kommissie, sal vandag en môre-oggend teenwoordig wees by die verhore. Die hoof van die WVK se ondersoekteenheid, komm. Dumisa Ntsebeza, sal hierna die verhore lei. – (Sapa)

27 NOVEMBER

Hy het 'nie gebieg' oor Guguletu 7

KAAPSTAD. – Getuienis oor die skiet van die sogenaamde Guguletu Sewe op 3 Maart 1986 sal vandag by 'n sitting van die Waarheids-en-versoeningskommissie aangehoor word.

Kaapse polisiebeamptes wat 'n kennisgewing ontvang het om voor die WVK oor die skietery te getuig, kom môre aan die beurt.

Dir. Johan Kleyn, stasiekommissa-

ris van Mitchell's Plain en een van die polisiemanne wat môre moet getuig, het sterk standpunt ingeneem teen 'n opskrif in gister se berig in Die Burger: "Polisie bieg oor dood van 7 in '86".

Hy het gesê hy het net getuig, nie gebieg nie. "Bieg" verwys na 'n skuld-erkenenis. Hy het niks verkeeds gedoen nie, het dir. Kleyn gesê.

Koshuisma en kinders sien Guguletu skietery

Man met 2 skote in kop neergevel, hoor WVK

KAAPSTAD. – Een van die sogenaamde Guguletu 7 is voor sy oë en ten aanskoue van liggaamlik gestremde kinders en 'n koshuismoeder twee keer deur 'n polisie-man in die kop geskiet, het 'n man gister voor die Waarheids-en-versoeningskommissie getuig.

Mnr. Ronald Bunting, bestuurder van die Astra Skool vir Liggaamlik Gestremdes se minibus, het voor die kommissie getuig oor die voorval waarin sewe jong mense op 3 Maart 1986 in Guguletu deur die Polisie doodgeskiet is. Die Polisie het destyds gesê die sewe was terroriste wat volgens hul inligting beplan het om die oggend 'n minibus van die Polisie in 'n hinderlaag te lei. Hulle het beweer hulle het uit noodweer geskiet nadat 'n handgranaat na hulle gegooi is.

Mnr. Bunting het getuig hy het die oggend dertien kinders van die skool vervoer toe hy deur polisiebeamptes gestop is toe hy oor 'n brug gery het. Mnr. Pat Smith, 'n huismoeder, was ook by.

Daar was sowat 25 polisiebeamptes op die toneel. 'n Man het in die pad geleë. Ek was onder die indruk hy lewe nog, hoewel hy

niet beweeg het nie. 'n Wit polisie-man het na vore gekom en die man voor my, die kinders en die huismoeder twee keer in die kop geskiet. "Toe die polisie-man my sien, het hy gesê: "Wat de donder maak jy hier met die kinders?"

Mnr. Bunting het getuig hy het daarna teruggetuig.

Mev. Smith het die voorval in 'n verklaring bevestig.

Mnr. General Sibaca wat in 'n hostel reg oor die toneel gewoon het, het getuig hy het die oggend 'n geraas gehoor soos motors wat bots. Hy het by die venster uitgekyk en twee blanke mans gesien skiet en mense wat in die rigting van bosse hardloop. Daar is op hulle geskiet.

Mnr. Sibaca het gesê sy kamer se vensteruit is daarna uitge-sket. Hy was egter nuuskierig en het weer geleer wat aangaan.

Hy het gesien 'n swart man stap met sy arms omhoog na 'n wit man en hoe 'n wapen van die swart man se heup af gehaal word. 'n Wit man het uitge-roep: "Skiet hom!" 'n Polisie-man het die swart man van agter gegryp en met die knie in die rug gestamp. Die man het geval en is twee keer geskiet.

Wit mans het met nog 'n swart

man uit die bosse gekom. Die man het 'n plastieksak by hom gehad. Die wit mense het bloed van die pad af gewas.

Mnr. Rudolf Lazarro het getuig hy is 'n tyd ná 'n rooftog deur die Polisie ontbied wat hom foto's gewys en gevra het of dit die mans is wat hom beroof het. Hy was verstom dat die Polisie mense so uitmekeer kon skiet. Hy het twee van die mans herken, maar nie een van hulle was dié wat hom beroof het nie. Hy het aan die Polisie gesê dit is nie die rowers nie, maar hulle het gesê hy moet mooi kyk en baie seker maak.

'n Lid van die WVK se ondersoekspan het hom 'n ruk gelede 'n verklaring gewys wat by die geregtelike ondersoek na die Guguletu 7 se dood ingedien is. Luidens dié verklaring het hy die sewe uitgeken as die rowers. Die lid van die ondersoekspan het gesien die handtekening op dié verklaring verskil van die een op die verklaring wat mnr. Lazarro voor die Polisie afgelê het.

Mnr. Lazarro het ontken dat hy ooit so 'n verklaring afgelê het en dat dit sy handtekening is. Toe hy gister foto's van die Guguletu 7 gewys is, het hy gesê hy ken geen een van hulle nie.



'n Lid van die Waarheids-en-versoeningskommissie kyk toe terwyl mnr. General Sibaca getuig.

Kaapse joernalis was glo te radikaal

Louis Nel
Politieke Redaksie

KAAPSTAD. – Elemente van die media was kop in een mus met die destydse regering, het 'n voormalige senior joernalis van die Cape Times, mnr. Tony Weaver, gister voor die Waarheids-en-versoeningskommissie getuig.

Mnr. Weaver het in sy getuienis oor die voorval waarin sewe jong mense deur die Polisie in Guguletu doodgeskiet is, gesê die destydse besturende direkteur van Times Media Limited, mnr. Gordon Mulholland, het hom as "te radikaal" beskou.

Net nadat die Polisie klagtes teen die Cape Times oor die Guguletu voorval laat vaar het, het mnr.

Mulholland gesê die maatskappy gaan nie meer sy (mnr. Weaver se) reiskoste betaal nie. Mnr. Weaver is deur die Polisie aangeklaag ingevolge 'n artikel wat bepaal niemand mag 'n verklaring oor die Polisie maak sonder om redelike stappe te doen om die waarheid vas te stel nie.

Mnr. Weaver het gesê die voormalige redakteur van die Sunday Times, wyle mnr. Tertius Myburgh, wou nie berigte van hom gebruik nie omdat hy gemeen het dit is "anti-Union". Die Daily Dispatch wou ook nie sy berigte gebruik nie omdat hy na "guerrillas" verwys het pleks van "terroriste".

Mnr. Weaver het getuig daar was ten tyde van die Guguletu skietery 'n algemene atmosfeer van wetteloosheid in die Polisie.

"Die Polisie was prakties buite beheer."

Dit het geleyk of die Polisie vasbeslote was om alle teenstand uit te wis. Daar was duidelike bewyse van samespanning tussen die Polisie en die vigilante-groep bekend as die Witdoeke.

Hy was voor 1985 'n korrespondent in Namibië en het die werkwys van die gevreesde weermag-eenheid Koekoet geken. Dit was duidelik dat Koekoet metodes deur die Polisie toegepas is. Die "teregstelling" van die Guguletu 7 het al die kenmerke van 'n Koekoet-operasie gehad.

Hy is destyds deur lt. Attie Laubscher, skakeloffisier van die Polisie in Wes-Kaapland, gewaarsku daer is opdrag gegee om hom "te kry". Hy het dit as 'n doodsdreigement beskou.



Mnr. Tony Weaver

Mnr. Weaver het getuig 'n polisie-man het een keer met 'n haelgeweer in sy rigting geskiet. Hy het net betyds weggeduik.

IN 'T KORT

Tutu vra media om voorlegging te doen

KAAPSTAD. – Die Waarhe-versoeningskommissie hoop voorlegging van die media i het die voorsitter, dr. Desmottu, gister gesê.

Dit kom ná die getuienis van Tony Weaver, 'n voormalige l is van die Cape Times, wat g media-elemente was destyds een mus met die regering.

Hy het gesê so 'n voorleggi die media se rol in die konf die verlede sal die kommissi om so 'n volledige moontlike jie van dié konflik te kry.

Constand sê vanda oor WVK, amnesti

Tuesday, March 4, 1986

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7 terrorists die police shootout

Shock reaction to PO hikes

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Opposition spokesmen reacted with shock at the "insensitive" and inflationary increases announced during the Post Office budget yesterday.

Introducing a record R5 400-million budget, the Minister of Communications, Dr L. Munnik, announced wide-ranging tariff increases, averaging 15 per cent, would be introduced from April 1.

The increases are: Telephone costs: Basic call unit up 2c to 12c; directly dialled overseas calls up 10c a minute to R1.20; rentals up from R9 to R11 a month; installation-charges up from R75 to R90.

Postage: Standard sized letters and postcards up two cents to 14c; parcel postage up between 15 and 30c; registration fee up 5c to 55c; priority mail levy up 30c to R1.50; PO box rentals up R5 to R15.

Telegrams: Handling charge up 10c to R1.30; rate up 20c to 80c for the first 10 words and from R1.10 thereafter; overseas telegrams up from R1.10 to R1.30 a word.

Telex: Call units up from 2c to 12c; rentals up between R5 and R10.

The Progressive Fed-

eral Party's spokesman on posts and telecommunications, Mr Alf Widman, said:

"The minister and the government are obviously insensitive to the struggle the man in the street is facing to make ends meet."

While inflation was running at 20.4 per cent — its highest level in over 60 years — the minister, instead of taking "every step" to curb inflation, saw fit to increase tariffs by a "considerable amount."

The New Republic Party's spokesman on posts and telecommunications, Mr Brian Page, said the increases — the third in three years — would aggravate the inflationary spiral, "the cause of which must be laid fairly and squarely at the doors of this government's maladministration."

● The Consumer Council has expressed shock at the increases.

"After the good news of the petrol price reduction this comes as a cruel blow to consumers from the service sector," the council's director, Mr Jan Cronje, said in a statement.

See also P6
Editorial opinion P12

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Seven suspected terrorists were shot dead in a pitched gunbattle with police in Gugulethu early yesterday.

Two policemen were lightly wounded, one after a hand-grenade was hurled at a police vehicle, and another by flying glass.

In what appeared to be a carefully-planned police operation, detectives of the Peninsula murder and robbery unit confronted the terrorists about 7.20 am soon after they alighted from a stolen minibus.

Challenged by one detective who approached the group on foot with his sidearm drawn, one man suddenly produced a hand-grenade and threw it. It bounced off the front passenger-door of the police car before exploding.

The suspects then fled in all directions, producing small arms and AK7 assault rifles, and began firing.

Immediately after the grenade explosion, police special task force back-up vehicles appeared on the scene and a pitched gun-battle erupted.

Witnesses said the stolen mini-bus drove back towards the group of suspects after the initial explosion in an apparent attempt to pick them up. However police fire brought it to a standstill.

The commissioner of police, General Johan Coetzee, said yesterday that the ANC had planned an attack on a police vehicle in Cape Town and that "certain precautionary measures" had been taken.

Witnesses said the grenade which exploded had a 4.5 second delay, which enabled the police car to drive clear and the detective on foot to dive for cover.

They said one of the terrorists had opened automatic fire on the detectives from behind a tree. However one of the back-up force members had shot and killed him before the terrorist could find his target.

Another policeman in the back-up unit had an equally close shave. Bullets from a burst of AK 47 fire hit the magazine and muzzle of his rifle as he sat in his vehicle. He had shards of glass in an eye.

Witnesses said some of the terrorists fled over an open field towards thick bush, firing handguns over their shoulders at police.

Police followed the fugitives seconds later, disappearing over a small hill. They had returned several minutes afterwards carrying a plastic bag and a briefcase, the witnesses said.

By 10 am the entire battle area had been cordoned off by police and traffic police and several Casspirs took up strategic positions.

Gerrie's SA fans told play it cool tonight

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — A group of about 100 South Africans who have flown into London for tonight's big fight at Wembley are being asked to "play it cool".

Gerrie Coetzee's camp was alarmed by news that the fans planned to put on a big South African display, with flags and blazers. "It could spark a riot," a member of Coetzee's entourage said.

The fans were being contacted by Wembley arena officials last night to be warned that thousands of blacks will be in the 10 000 seat hall.

An arena spokesman said: "My heart nearly stopped when I heard of this group. However, well-intentioned they may be, a big South African display could provoke a riot."

"We got the warning from officials in Gerrie Coetzee's party. They are even more worried than us. Any violence could damage Coetzee's future."

The spokesman confirmed that, by mutual consent, there will be no display of flags or national anthems before the fight.

About 100 demonstrators say they will picket the entrance to the arena in Brent, which houses Britain's biggest black population. Brent council has condemned the fight as an apartheid stunt and council leaders will be in the picket.

Thinus Strydom, Coetzee's manager said: "Everything about this fight has been perfect so far. It will be a tragedy if somebody tries to spoil this big night but I think the organisation is so good that there will not be any problems."

"Gerrie is feeling terrific. He is with his family in the hotel just relaxing. He is not normally as relaxed as this and that is bad news for Fran Bruno."

Bruno, who feels his huge reserve of power will give him victory, was also relaxing at his manager Tori Lawless' home near London.

Meanwhile, Mike Barrett, promoter of the big fight, said Coetzee and Bruno had brought dignity back to heavyweight boxing. "Even in this hard game there is still such a thing as gentlemanliness and sportsmanship."

Wiley warns GM to keep nose out of SA's business

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Hereng Nasionale Party's MP for Swartburg, Mr Louis Stofberg, yesterday called for a "white" boycott of General Motors products.

And the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism, Mr John Wiley, has also warned the Port Elizabeth-based motor giant to keep its nose out of South Africa's business.

Mr Stofberg's outburst during the second round debate on the South African Tourist Corporation Amendment Bill comes in the wake of a statement by the managing-director of General Motors, Mr Bob White, that GM would give legal and financial support to its black employees if they were

challenged for using a white beach.

His statement, which was supported by General Motors headquarters in the United States, caused a furor in Port Elizabeth.

In a stinging attack in the House of Assembly, the lone HNP member described the statement by Mr White as an "absolute scandal" amounting to interference from outside countries.

Describing Mr White's statement as an "imperialist offence" he said what it boiled down to was General Motors now adopting the stance of "what is good for General Motors is good for South Africa".

Mr Stofberg said he had met a member of the editorial board of the

New York Times recently who had told him that he could not believe that South Africa was going to allow such interference.

Replying to the debate later, Mr Wiley said that the question of the beaches had nothing to do with General Motors and "the sooner they learn to keep their noses out of South Africa's business the better".

Mr Wiley said he agreed with Mr Stofberg and that he "completely disapproved" of the managing director's attitude.

He said the government was continuously giving attention to the "sensitive" problem of beaches and disputes over whether to open them to all races.

Usually the problems

Snatched girl, 4, in Bo

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The two-continent hunt for a father alleged to have abducted his daughter in Essex, England, has switched to the Border area.

Police confirmed yesterday that Mr Hugh Hilliard, 34, and his daughter, 4-year-old Lorilee, spent Sunday night at a Kei Mouth hotel.

The Border police liaison officer, Lieutenant Dot van der Vyver, said Mr Hilliard and Lorilee were believed to be travelling towards Cape

Town in a brown Volkswagen Beetle with the registration number CXB211T.

Mr Hilliard allegedly abducted Lorilee from her mother, Mrs Julie Hilliard, 28, on February 12 and boarded a flight to South Africa from Heathrow airport the following day.

A close friend of Mrs Hilliard, Mr Brian Hill, said the Hilliards' divorce proceedings were underway at the time.

Mr Hill said the abduction was given widespread news coverage in the Johannesburg region as police suspected Mr

Hilliard would try to reach his sister who lived there.

Pictures of him and Lorilee were carried in several newspapers as well as television news broadcasts last month.

He said Mrs Hilliard had offered a reward of R1 000 for the return of her daughter.

Police want Mr Hilliard in connection with allegations of contempt of court as well as abduction.

"We now believe he is trying to evade the authorities by travelling along the coast in a

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Chaos erupts during police ambush video

CAPE TOWN — There were chaotic scenes at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing on the Guguletu Seven yesterday when several relatives of the dead men collapsed and others began sobbing as they watched a police video of the shootings.

The video showed the bullet-riddled corpses of the seven men lying in pools of blood near Dairy-belle hostel in Guguletu.

Nine policemen subpoenaed to testify on their role in the police ambush on March 3, 1986 watched impassively from the front row.

As weeping relatives of the dead men were escorted from the room by commission officials, the policemen ignored them and continued watching the video.

The hearings were abruptly halted after Ms Cynthia Ngewu, the mother of one of the dead men, threw a shoe at Western Cape violent crimes unit head Director Leonard Knipe, one of the subpoenaed policemen.

She had just seen a close-up picture of her son Christopher Piet Ngewu's head. The dreadlocked youth was lying on his back with a large-calibre bullet hole in his temple.

An AK47 with extra magazines taped together lay nearby. Police had tied a rope around his body and were rolling him over. The video commentary said this was being done because police suspected Mr Ngewu was lying on a grenade.

The narrator remarked that Mr Ngewu was wearing blue socks similar to the type issued to police.

After Ms Ngewu's shoe struck Dir Knipe, he stood up and with a dismissive gesture strode out of the room accompanied by Mitchell's Plain station commissioner Director Johan Kleyn.

THE TRUTH



COMMISSION

"I can't understand what kind of protection is afforded to witnesses if you are assaulted in the commission hearing," he said.

"I am not willing to go back unless I am afforded some kind of protection."

When the hearing resumed later, Dir Knipe and Dir Kleyn were seen watching from a closed circuit television in the media room.

The head of the commis-

sion's investigative unit, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, who was chairing the hearings, said the commission regretted the incident, but he understood why the relatives wept.

"I just want to place on record that the families had been extensively briefed by the commission beforehand and told it might not be in their interests to see the video."

He said he had not seen

the shoe thrown at Dir Knipe but, if it had happened, the commission took a dim view of it.

"The commission understands the emotions of people who come to these hearings. The proceedings should be carried out under the strictest observance of decorum, as befits the commission."

On Wednesday the commission heard witnesses to the shootings describe how police executed at least two of the men as they lay unarmed.

According to the official police version of the shootings, the men were suspected ANC guerrillas killed in a shootout. — Sapa

Viljoen says he'll apply for amnesty if deadline extended

PRETORIA — Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday said he would apply for indemnity for planning acts of resistance in 1994 if the amnesty cut-off date was extended.

"As leader I will accept responsibility and initiate a process to ensure that amnesty be granted for the informal resistance movement we planned," he told a media briefing here.

He would do this in his capacity as a political leader, Gen Viljoen said. His stance against asking for amnesty for military operations while he was chief of the former South African Defence Force had not changed.

Gen Viljoen said preparations for resistance against an African National Congress takeover had peaked after the amnesty cut-off date of December 6, 1993.

These had been planned as part of a strategic option in the event of political negotiations failing.

"This would have left us with little choice but violent action to enforce a more acceptable deal for the Afrikaner," Gen Viljoen said.

Gen Viljoen said there had been plans to establish an Afrikaner state by military means months before the 1994 election. The planned action constituted a criminal offence, Gen Viljoen said.

"We had the intention of taking a certain area through force and proclaiming this to be an Afrikaner volkstaat."

"We would have been prepared to defend it with military power if necessary," Gen Viljoen said. — Sapa

Policeman tells how he shot 'terrorist' in 1986

CAPE TOWN — A Cape Town policeman who shot a fleeing "terrorist" in March 1986 told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission yesterday he would probably do the same thing if he found himself in a similar situation today.

Director Johan Kleyn, station commissioner at Mitchell's Plain police station, was one of nine policemen subpoenaed to testify at a special hearing on the so-called Guguletu Seven, slain in a police stakeout.

Reading a prepared statement, he said he supported the commission's work and was willing to answer any questions.

In 1986 he had been a captain in the Peninsula's murder and robbery squad, and was instructed to take part in an operation to foil an attack by "so-called terrorists" on a police bus in Guguletu.

He had been part of a stopper group 400m from the intersection where the attack was supposed to take place. After waiting for some time he and the colleagues with him in a police Cortina were told the bus had arrived safely at its destination and they should withdraw.

On the way to the intersection they saw five black men walking at the roadside.

"They appeared very suspect because they all walked with their hands in their pockets and did not look at us."

As he got out of the vehicle, service pistol in hand, one of the men threw a hand-grenade at him and he dived to the ground, to his left.

"I heard the Cortina screech away.

After what seemed an eternity I turned to look in the direction of the intersection. The next minute the grenade exploded approximately 3 metres away from me."

Shooting broke out, and he saw the man who had thrown the grenade running away. He kept and fired from a distance of about 40m, and the man fell. After the shooting subsided, he walked over to the man and established he was dead.

Dir Kleyn said he was not sure whether any of his shots had struck the man, and he established later that other policemen had also fired at him.

He later found a dent in the Cortina's door, and assumed the grenade bounced off it before exploding.

"I have no doubt that the person who threw the grenade at me and my colleagues did so with the intention of killing me," he said. The man had therefore committed the offence of attempted murder.

He would not have been able to catch the fleeing man, or identify him later, and a warning shout would have been lost in the din of gunfire.

"I had no other choice than to shoot at him to try to prevent him from escaping, and to arrest him," he said.

That was the first and only time in his police career he had fired on a person, and hoped he would never be in that situation again. If he found himself in the same position today he would probably fire on the person to prevent him from escaping. — Sapa

TRC explains aims at workshop

EAST LONDON — The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the King William's Town municipality

Conflicting evidence on Guguletu shooting

CAPE TOWN — Many questions still surrounded the police shooting of seven Guguletu men in March 1986, with eyewitnesses to the shootings contradicting the official police version of a shoot-out with suspected guerrillas, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission heard yesterday.

The commission has subpoenaed nine retired and serving Western Cape policemen — including the head of the violent crimes unit, Director Leonard Knipe — to explain the role of the police in the shootings. The nine are due to testify today.

Yesterday, the first to testify was Ms Irene Mxinwa, the mother of 23-year-old Simon Mxinwa who was one of the men shot dead by police in Guguletu on March 3, 1986.

"I would like to know why it was my son was shot. I do not know why he was shot. I ask myself these questions. Why did police shoot our children for no apparent reason? What did our children do to deserve death?" she asked.

According to police accounts of the shootings, the police had received information that a SA Police staff bus was to be ambushed on March 3 by Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas in a stolen minibus.

The police alleged that a hand grenade was thrown at them by the group and they retaliated with gunfire in self-defence.

Members of the Western Cape unrest unit and the murder and robbery squad were involved in the shoot-out.

They claimed Russian weapons were seized.

However, witnesses to the shootings suggested that the men had been killed in cold blood and that at least two of them, Mr Christopher Piet and Mr Zabonke Konile, had been "finished off" at close range while lying on the ground.

They claimed Mr Mxinwa had been chased into nearby bushes and shot dead by a Warrant Officer Barnard and a Sergeant McMaster, and that weapons had been planted on the bodies to justify the killings.

Commissioner Mary Burton told yesterday's hearing that the commission hoped to provide the dead men's relatives with "answers to some of the

questions you have been asking for so long".

Ms Mxinwa testified that she had recovered her son's body from a police mortuary after a fruitless seven-day search.

Ms Edith Njobo, the mother of one of the seven men killed, Zandisile Njobo, said police had repeatedly detained and tortured her husband.

Ms Njobo said that in 1985 police repeatedly raided her home, searching for Zandisile and his twin brother Arthur, who they claimed kept weapons there.

"They would kick the

doors and the twins would go out through the back door and run," she said. "We were suffering because of this treatment and couldn't sleep."

The twins went underground in 1986, although they made contact from time to time to let their parents know they were well. One Tuesday a policeman came to her house and told her one of her sons had been shot.

Weeping, Mrs Njobo told the commission her husband had identified Zandisile's body at the mortuary, and the police had forced them to bury

him on a particular day.

The mother of another man killed on March 3, Ms Elsie Mbenyana, also wept as she told how she came from her home in Transkei to attend her son Zabonke's funeral.

"Zabonke was my only child. He worked for me. He supported me. I had no problems at the time."

Commission chairman Archbishop Desmond Tutu said South Africa owed a great deal to women, and without their strength the struggle for peace, justice and equity would probably not have been won. — Sapa



Tutu still battles with tears over sad stories

CAPE TOWN — After eight months of hearings, the chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, still battles to hold back tears at the harrowing stories he hears.

After a morning of testimony yesterday from grief-stricken mothers of seven young men ambushed by police in Guguletu in 1986, he said people sometimes asked commissioners how they felt after so many stories, and whether they did not become blasé.

"The straight forward answer is no. You think you have got used to the stories and that somehow you are hardened, and that you listen to them very detachedly."

"Speaking for myself I have many, many moments when it is difficult to restrain tears. I have tried very hard not to cry because I don't want newspaper cartoons."

"But I hope that the people of this country will listen to these stories and let these stories touch their hearts, because these people who look so normal and ordinary walk about with a very heavy burden on their hearts."

"It's a very deep pain these people are carrying. But they can laugh, they can sing, they can forgive. And we keep saying how much we wish, as it were, for people on the other side to be equally generous and just say sorry, sorry. They will be amazed at the response they get." — Sapa

Police 'helped attack' shacks

TEMBISA — Police colluded with a group of men in baladavas who attacked Ivory Park squatters one night in August 1992, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission heard yesterday.

Testifying before the commission's human rights violations committee, witnesses said there were police cossacks on street corners and the police offered no help to the injured.

Unemployed Antonia Mundau, 40, said on the night of the attack she woke to gunshots and screams.

"When my family checked what was happening we discovered men in baladavas and policemen in uniform attacking squatters. When I looked at my watch it was about 4 am," she said.

Ms Mundau said she grabbed her two children and ran for shelter with neighbours but was hit by a stone and fell.

A policeman said: "Here's another dog, kill it."

Her husband was shot in the back while running away and her daughter was shot and killed.

Ms Mundau said several neighbours' children were wounded. The squatter settlement had been peaceful until then.

Ms Fahlaza Manyisa said she was shot in the right knee. Her daughter was also shot.

Ms Elsie Manganye said she witnessed the attack from behind closed doors and saw police hippos outside houses at about 3 am.

The next morning, looking for her five year-old daughter who had visited a friend, she saw bodies in the open veld.

"Some were covered. I was scared to look further and the policemen there chased people who wanted to know about the whereabouts of their relatives."

She said her daughter was among injured children admitted to a local hospital. — Sapa

Media asked to make submission

CAPE TOWN — The media should make a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on its role during the apartheid conflict, the chairman of the commission, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu said the submission would assist the commission in fulfilling its mandate — to paint as complete a picture as possible of the past conflict.

His remarks followed testimony by a former Cape Times journalist, Mr Tony Weaver, at a hearing in Cape Town on the police shooting of the so-called Guguletu Seven in March 1986.

Mr Weaver said elements of the media were guilty of collusion with the former National Party government, either by remaining silent on key events or suppressing the truth. — Sapa

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Man with hands in air shot — witness

By CHRIS BATEMAN
WITNESSES to the tail-end of yesterday's shootout claimed that at least one suspected guerilla was shot and killed by police after attempting to give himself up.

They also claimed that another suspect lying wounded on the ground was "finished off" by the police squad.

The witnesses, all of whom willingly gave their names to the Cape Times, are residents at a dairy company boarding hostel which overlooks the street where the gunfight took place.

One witness said he was downstairs when he suddenly heard "explosions and gunfire". He had run to a window to see a man lying on the

pavement across the road from him. "One policeman just walked up to him and shot him in the head," he said.

A second boarder said that he had rushed outside to see people running. One man had his hands raised above his head when shots were fired and he collapsed, he said.

The witness claimed one shot hit the man in the head while others struck him in the legs. A third witness said he saw police grab a man, take a pistol from the suspect's belt and then

knee him in the stomach before punching him to the ground. "A policeman some distance away said that they should shoot him.

They then fired three shots into him with a rifle," he claimed.

The witness said a number of the suspects ran into the bush, firing back at the police with handguns. Police followed the suspects over a little rise and returned later carrying a plastic bag and a briefcase.

● A 29-year-old resi-

dent of Montana who lives about 1km from the bridge at the entrance to Guguletu said he heard "a very heavy explosion" about 7.30am.

The man, who did not want to be identified, does combat shooting as a hobby. He said he heard automatic-weapon fire about half a second before the explosion.

"then a considerable amount of automatic rifle fire for 30 to 40 seconds".

"For the next five minutes or so there was sporadic firing which died away to single shots. About five to 10 minutes later police vehicles closed off the entrance to Guguletu.

"By the time I left for

work there was a police Casspir and armed police reaction force people at the bridge. They were turning some people back but letting others through."

● A police spokesman, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said last night that the police denied the allegations and rejected them "with the contempt they deserve".

7 die in battle with police



An aerial view of the shootout scene. The initial confrontation took place near the intersection of the two roads. This picture was supplied by the South African Police.



Police inspect some of the weapons and ammunition recovered after the shootout in Guguletu yesterday. Permission had to be obtained from the police for this picture to be published.

Jeers as police wash away blood

By MALCOLM FRIED

MORE THAN 250 hostile Guguletu residents yesterday watched police wash buckets of water to wash away the blood on a NY1 road in Guguletu.

The crowd began gath-

ing about 7am, soon after seven men had been killed in a gunbat-

tle with security forces. It was obvious that their sympathies were with the dead men. As two Casspirs and three police vans crowded around the mini-bus in which the seven had been travelling, onlookers pressed against a cordon 40 metres up the road.

The people jeered

whenever a car approached the rope barrier. "Go through, go," they shouted, mocking the policemen guarding the cordon as they turned the vehicles away.

A woman in the crowd, holding a baby and pointing to an army helicopter circling overhead, said: "They take us and put us

in jail. They shoot us. What must I feel about them now?"

Another, hysterically clutching at reporters and photographers, said: "You must tell everybody what is happening here. We want all the people to know the truth."

About 10 policemen,

carrying shotguns and R1 rifles, stood silently by the barrier as TV crews filmed the scene, and listened to a bystander loudly saying "Let them try it again. I do not think we will easily let them."

A policeman waved from the passenger seat of a Casspir as he drove past.

By CHRIS BATEMAN

SEVEN suspected urban guerillas were shot dead in a gunbattle with police in Guguletu early yesterday, seconds after being confronted by Peninsula Murder and Robbery Unit detectives on NY1.

Two policemen were lightly wounded, one after a hand-grenade was hurled at a police vehicle and another by flying glass.

In what appeared to be a carefully planned police operation, the detectives confronted the suspects about 7.20am soon after they alighted from a stolen mini-bus.

Challenged by one detective who approached the group on foot with his sidearm drawn, one suspect suddenly produced a hand-grenade and threw it. It bounced off the front passenger door of the police car before exploding seconds later.

The suspects then fled in all directions and began firing with small arms and AK-47 assault rifles.

Explosion
The grenade thrower is believed to have been the first to die from a policeman's bullet.

Immediately after the grenade explosion, police special task force back-up vehicles drove up and a pitched gunbattle erupted, lasting about five minutes, according to one source.

Sources said the stolen mini-bus drove back towards the group of suspects after the explosion in an apparent attempt to pick them up. However police fire brought it to a standstill.

General Johan Coetzee, the Commissioner of Police, said yesterday that the ANC had planned an attack on a police vehicle in Cape Town and that "certain

precautionary measures" had been taken. According to one source the detectives who initiated the contact were "incredibly lucky" to escape with their lives.

The grenade which exploded had a 4.5 second delay, which enabled the police car to drive clear and the detective on foot to dive for cover, he said.

Splinters
The source said one of the guerillas had opened automatic fire on the detectives from behind a tree. However, one of the back-up force members had shot and killed him before the guerilla could find his target.

Another policeman in the back-up unit had an equally close shave. Bullets from a burst of AK-47 fire hit the magazine and muzzle of his rifle as he sat in his vehicle. Glass splinters flew into his eye.

Witnesses said some of the suspected guerillas fled over an open field towards thick bush, firing hand-guns over their shoulders at police.

At least one of these fugitives collapsed in the bushes, fatally wounded, they said. Police followed the fugitives seconds later, disappearing over a small hill. They had returned several minutes afterwards carrying a plastic bag and a briefcase, the witnesses said.

By 10am the entire battle area had been cordoned off by police and traffic police and

several Casspirs took up strategic positions.

Journalists were prevented from entering the area as police washed away blood from the road.

Senior policeman, including the Divisional Commissioner of the Western Cape, Brigadier Chris Swart, toured the scene.

Weapons confiscated by police are believed to include three AK-47 assault rifles, two hand-grenades, two Webley revolvers (.38 and .45) and a Tokarow pistol. A large quantity of AK-47 ammunition is also believed to have been recovered.

A pin which police claim was from the exploded grenade, was of South African manufacture.

Stoning

At 11.35am, 15 minutes after police had left the area, about 75 youths — the remainder of a crowd of about 200 people who had been watching the police — gathered outside the hostel next to which the original incident had taken place. They began stoning a truck.

Minutes later a police car sped down NY1 towards the Guguletu police station, two policemen firing several shots into the air from their service pistols. The youths fled, some shouting, "They are shooting at us, help us, they are shooting at us."

The police car continued without stopping.

5 MARCH 1986

Mothers of 'guerillas' speak

By TONY WEAVER
and ANDRÉ KOOPMAN

FAMILIES of two of the seven men shot dead by police in Guguletu early on Monday insist their sons were "not interested in politics" and were on their way to look for work when killed.

Police have said that all seven were guerillas of the African National Congress (ANC).

The first that Mrs Tsepiso Eunice Miya knew of the death of her 23-year-old son, Jabulani, was when she saw him lying dead in the street on the 6pm news on TV2.

Police have yet to contact the families of either Mr Miya or of Mr Christopher Piet, 24, who also died in the shootout.

Mrs Nomvuyo Cynthia Piet said she heard her son was dead when neighbours came to her house and said they had seen his body lying in the road outside the Murray and Roberts Hostel in NY1.

"I first went to the police station, then to the Salt River mortuary. I found Christopher there with a bullet hole through his head and blood on his face.

"Later I saw it on television, I saw my dead son on television, it was a terrible, terrible shock.

"He was not a terrorist, a freedom fighter, or anything like that. He

was born in Cape Town, he has never left Cape Town."

She said "he has never been involved in politics, he has never spoken to me about politics".

"He was working at the Good Hope Bakeries in Goodwood until he was laid off in December, and since then he has been looking for work. On Sunday night he went to my sister's house and the next I heard was that he is dead.

"Why did they do that to my son? I will never forgive them. They just shot my child, God must look after them, God will punish them for the blood of my child.

"I hope one day they can also suffer, nobody can be happy when their child is dead, never mind black or white, that has nothing to do with it."

Her husband, Hemming, is a diabetic and cannot work, and Christopher was the sole supporter of the family.

Her sister, Mrs Thokie Piet, 40, said: "On Sunday night he was normal and relaxed, he said he was going to look for a job on Monday."

Mr Piet's girlfriend, 21-year-old second-year University of the Western Cape sociology student Ms Kholeka Constance Soloshe, has a 17-month-old daughter, Lusanda, by Mr Piet, who she said was a "soccer fanatic".



Mrs Nomvuyo Piet with her granddaughter, Lusanda, holds her dead son's pass book.

"A friend told me earlier he had been shot, but I did not believe her and laughed it off. That night on television I saw my boyfriend lying on the ground and being dragged away by the police with a rope. Then I knew he was dead.

"They always say people they shoot are terrorists. He was just an ordinary person, he was not a freedom fighter.

"We never spoke about politics, I am not interested in politics, he was

only interested a little bit in politics, he was not one of what they call the comrades. We never spoke deeply about politics, only when something happened then we spoke about it."

Mrs Miya, 42, was surrounded by grieving relatives and neighbours and broke down repeatedly while talking to the Cape Times.

"Jabulani was born in Cape Town and has never been away, he was out of work and looking for a job.

"On Monday morning was the last time I saw him alive. He asked me for money so he could get a taxi to go to meet an appointment for a job and I gave him R2.

"My child never came back.

"The first I knew that he was dead was when I saw his body on the six o'clock news. The police have not been here, they have told me nothing.

"He was never a guerilla, he was never involved in any politics, they can look on their files, the police, they will not find his name, he was never arrested for politics, he never even spoke about politics."

"The story of the police is a lie. He was never involved in the ANC, the UDF, nothing. Jabulani was just a sweet boy who knew nothing about politics."

"He was the only son I had, I have four daughters. I am terribly shocked and upset, very bitter and angry, they have shot the wrong people."

● The text of this report has been telexed to Police Headquarters in Pretoria for comment. Certain allegations made by the families have been withheld pending the police reply which had not been received at the time of going to press.

UNREST, POLICE REPORT

7 MARCH 1986



Major Quinton Visser, the new head of the Peninsula Murder and Robbery Unit, emerges from the Burg Street offices of the Cape Times after serving a subpoena on crime reporter Chris Bateman yesterday.

Reporter subpoenaed over Guguletu killings

Staff Reporter

THE crime reporter of the Cape Times, Mr Chris Bateman, was yesterday served with a subpoena to supply police with the names of three witnesses to the shootout between police and suspected urban guerillas in Guguletu on Monday.

The subpoena, served by the new head of the Peninsula Murder and Robbery Unit, Major Quinton Visser, states that Mr Bateman has until Wednesday next week to supply the names and addresses of the witnesses to police or he must appear before a Cape Town magis-

trate on that day.

In interviews only hours after Monday's shootout in which several suspected urban guerillas died, the witnesses said police shot and killed one guerilla after he attempted to give himself up and "finished off" another suspect lying on the ground.

Mr Bateman has since supplied police with the name of one witness after first obtaining the man's consent.

He faces up to five years imprisonment if he fails to supply the other two names.

12 MARCH 1986

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**Syfreets chief:
Worst over
for Nedbank**
Page 10

crack of dawn



"Thank goodness we don't have a state of emergency any more. Now all we have is an emergency."

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) \$343,50
Rand \$0,5040/50
FT index (close) 1326,80
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Mothers of 'guerillas' call for public inquiry

By CHRIS BATEMAN
Crime Reporter

THREE mothers of the seven alleged guerillas shot dead by police in last Monday's shootout in Guguletu yesterday demanded a public inquiry to establish whether or not their sons were "terrorists".

Mrs Irene Mxinwa, 60, mother of Rastafarian Mr Simon Mandla Mxinwa, 23, denied that her son could have been a guerilla, claiming that he was a "little bit mad" and that he had been an outpatient at Valkenberg Hospital.

A Valkenberg spokesman confirmed the existence of an outpatient's card in the name of Mr Simon Mandla Mxinwa, 23, of E10 Nyanga.

Two other relatives of

Mr Mxinwa said that during a visit to the Salt River mortuary on Monday this week, mortuary staff asked them whether Mr Mxinwa had "carried guns or grenades".

The relatives said they had handed over the dead man's pass book, to be told they could retrieve it from the Department of Co-operation and Development offices in Observatory.

The dead man's brother-in-law, Mr Howard Ndlambe, said he had identified the second of two bodies shown to him as that of Mr Mxinwa.

"He had one bullet wound on the left-hand side near the temple. The police asked what kind of person he was. I told them he had been a

bit insane," Mr Ndlambe said.

Mrs Mxinwa, a part-time domestic servant for a Monte Vista family, said she first became aware of her son's malady when he was in Std 5 and his teacher had called her in to say he "could not learn".

Her son's schooling had ended that year.

"My heart is very sore. My husband passed away last year and Simon's disability pension is what really kept us going," she said.

She said she had learnt of her son's death only after a week of checking police stations and hospitals.

Mrs Maggie Mbambo,

To page 2

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15 MARCH 1986

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Curbs on 'ANC 7' funeral in Guguletu

By TONY WEAVER

RESTRICTIONS have been imposed on today's mass funeral in Guguletu of seven alleged African National Congress guerrillas killed in a shootout with police on March 3.

Speakers at the funeral have been banned from criticizing or discussing the policies of any government worldwide and have also been banned from criticizing the South African Police or its members.

No banners, posters, placards or pamphlets may be displayed or distributed during the funeral and only ordained ministers of religion are allowed to address the mourners.

These curbs have been imposed by the chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron.

News coverage restricted

Restrictions have also been imposed on news coverage of the funeral.

No restrictions were placed on the number of people allowed to attend the service.

Between 30 000 and 50 000 people are expected to attend the funeral, which will start at the Guguletu Stadium at 10am and then move to the Nyanga cemetery in NY108.

In a statement yesterday afternoon, Mr Theron said he had reason to believe that "public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering, namely the funeral ceremony at the funeral of the late Mandla Simon Mxiniwa, Zola Alfred Swelani, Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Christopher Piet, Themba Mlifi, Zabonke John Konile and Themba Madiyana".

In terms of Section 46 (1) of the Internal Security Act, Mr Theron ordered that the funeral service be held between 10am and 3pm.

A candlelight vigil was held in part of Wynberg last night as "a tribute to those comrades who were killed", an organizer of the vigil said.

Meanwhile, the Western Cape Taverners Association called on all its members to close their shebeens from 8pm last night to 4pm this afternoon as a mark of respect for the seven.

Sport fixtures cancelled

And a large number of sporting bodies affiliated to the Western Province Council on Sport (Wepcos) have cancelled today's fixtures in commemoration of the seven and at the request of the United Democratic Front.

Peter Honey reports from Johannesburg that the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Louis Nel, gave South African newspaper groups and foreign news organizations little option but to limit the number of television and stills cameras allowed into the funeral.

Foreign media representatives said yesterday they had agreed to pool their photographic coverage of the event: only two television cameras — from CBS News and Worldwide Television News — and two stills cameras would cover the event.

Mr Nel yesterday cited the Black Administration Act of 1927 to emphasize that the government was legally entitled to bar anyone from entering black areas.

● 'Guerillas': More claims, page 2

Barney Mashego, was ing "totally unaccept-

'Guerillas': More claims

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

TWO MORE witnesses to the shooting of alleged urban guerillas in Guguletu on March 3 have told the PFP they saw a person "who appeared to be a policeman shooting a man in the head at point blank range while he was lying motionless on the ground".

These allegations come in the wake of other accounts of the incident by witnesses who told the Cape Times that police shot and killed one guerilla after he attempted to give himself up and "finished off" another suspect lying on the ground.

The latest round of allegations were made yesterday by witnesses interviewed by Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point and the PFP's alternate spokesman on law and order.

The witnesses Mr Van der Merwe spoke to yesterday told him that the person who had shot the "motionless" guerilla "appeared to be in some position of authority because he subsequently gave instructions to others who then responded ..."

Appeal for independent investigation

Mr Van der Merwe said yesterday: "I have no reason to believe my informants were not telling the truth. I must therefore again stress how important it is that this incident be thoroughly investigated and cleared up as early as possible."

"I further appeal to the government to have some independent investigation instituted."

"The events of the last year have grievously damaged the credibility of the police and investigation of policemen is not likely to produce a result the public will accept," Mr Van der Merwe said.

● Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, last night said in reaction to the allegations: "The Commissioner of Police has already made a statement in this regard and I have nothing further to add."

● The commanding officer of the Public Relations Division of the SAP in Pretoria, Brigadier Jaap Venter, said last night that the police had already made statements on the issue and were not prepared to comment any further.

17 MARCH 1986

Jobfinder Inside

MONDAY, MARCH 17, 1986

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Part of the huge crowd — estimated at about 30 000 — march in the funeral procession in Guguletu on Saturday.

Cape Times Newscolour: Obed Zilwa

ANC flags at Guguletu funeral

By TONY WEAVER

SATURDAY'S funeral service for seven alleged urban guerillas saw open defiance of a magisterial order banning any political content in speeches.

An initial crowd of about 6 000 people swelled to 15 000 and then to over 30 000 — it was impossible to accurately estimate the final total — in a day which saw Guguletu become a virtual stronghold of the African National Congress.

But approached for comment yesterday afternoon, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, stated: "We observed the crowd from our police helicopter and we estimated that there were not more than 3 000 people present at any stage of the funeral. To say there were 30 000 mourners is incorrect and false."

An order published on Friday by the chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W Theron, that speakers had to be ministers of religion, were banned from

criticizing or discussing any form of government world-wide or the South African Police and that no banners or placards be displayed, was totally disregarded.

Casspirs, Buffels, sneeze machines and police vans cordoned off the township, but non-residents and journalists proceeding to the funeral were allowed through after being warned entry was at their "own risk".

One person who came through told of being given directions to the funeral by a policeman.

The coffins of Mr Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Mr Zola Alfred Swelani, Mr Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Mr Christopher Piet, Mr Themba Mlifi, Mr Zambonke John Konile and Mr Themba Madiyane were draped with ANC flags throughout the ceremony.

Around 4pm, as a huge crowd marched down NY108 into Old Klipfontein Road, about 2 000 members of the crowd charged a police lookout mounted on an open stretch of land near the N2 highway.

The police unit retreated to a Casspir.

It was only around 5pm, when several hundred marched singing to within about 100 metres of four Casspirs and four vans at a police roadblock on NY108, that police fired teargas.

As far as could be ascertained, no birdshot or rubber bullets were fired, and police denied a Sapa report that a man was shot in the leg by a Lavistown policeman identified as "Barnard".

The 8am police unrest report from Pretoria said yesterday that teargas was fired after police vehicles were stoned, but Lieutenant Laubscher said yesterday: "There were no stones thrown at the police. Police used minimum force by firing teargas at several hundred marchers who came within 50 metres of a police roadblock."

"Three warnings were given in Xhosa, English and Afrikaans."

● The Progressive Federal Party's

alternate spokesman on law and order and MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said in a statement yesterday the "mercifully peaceful" funeral could "so easily have turned into a violent fiasco if any attempt was made to enforce the stupid restrictions imposed by the government".

"Somewhere in the hierarchy of the police force somebody was wise enough to prevent interference in spite of the patent disregard for the very oppressive and obnoxious conditions issued in the name of the chief magistrate of Wynberg."

He said: "Mr Louis le Grange, Mr P W Botha and the whole rotten Nationalist Government must realize that they would have been responsible if further deaths occurred on Saturday, because they are finally responsible for the laws and the officials that imposed these provocative conditions."

● Chanting crowd praises ANC, another picture, page 2

2 Cape Times, Monday, March 17, 1986



At Saturday's mass funeral in Guguletu, a United Democratic Front guard of honour salutes the seven alleged African National Congress guerillas shot dead by police on March 3.

Chanting crowd praises ANC

Staff Reporter
IT MADE little difference to the 30 000 people that attended the funeral in Guguletu on Saturday that parents of some of the seven men killed in a shootout with police on March 3 have said their sons were not involved in politics.

Disregarding South African security laws, speakers eulogized the leaders of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The funeral procession marched under the banners of the ANC and the SACP, while posters read "viva Tambo, viva Slovo" (Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo), "Viva MK

(Umkhonto we Sizwe) and "Viva ANC".

The seven were buried in a ceremony which saw possibly the largest outpouring of support for the African National Congress in Cape Town since the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s and 1960s.

More than 100 white people were present, most of them supporters of the United Democratic Front. They were given a warm reception, and cries of "viva maqabane" (long live comrade) went up as they mingled in the crowd.

A number of whites wearing UDF shirts were asked to act as a guard of honour to the dead men.

In short, Guguletu was under the control of the ANC for the day.

Marshalls wearing ANC and UDF colours maintained discipline during the 3km funeral procession.

Eventually more than 30 000 people — some estimates put the crowd at over 40 000 — ran two kilometres to the cemetery chanting "Oliver Tambo, Oliver Tambo".

Militant speeches characterized the ceremony.

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, said of the dead men: "They were not terrorists, they were democrats and freedom lovers."



A minibus speeds past a burning barricade in NY108, Guguletu, after the funeral.

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UNREST: POLICE REPORT

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JOURNALISTS' PRESS CONFERENCE BAN RECALLED

Guguletu Seven 'executed'

THE TRC hearing into the "Guguletu 7" killings was told that three witnesses claimed that a man was shot with his hands held up in surrender. **EUNICE RIDER** reports.

WHEN the Cape Times reported that police had "executed" unarmed Guguletu men in full view of residents of a nearby hostel, the crime reporter and later other reporters were banned from police press conferences.

Cape Times journalist Chris Bateman yesterday told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which is holding a two-day hearing on the killing of the "Guguletu 7" by police on March 3, 1986, that according to three witnesses, one man was shot with his hands in the air in surrender. Most were shot at close range. Bateman, who was the crime reporter at the time, said that according to his witnesses one man was "finished off" by a policeman where he lay, severely wounded, on the ground.

Bateman said the witnesses had been adamant about what they

told him had happened and he had believed them.

After the witnesses' account and the police version were published on the front page the following day, the police asked him to sign an affidavit. When he refused he was served with a Section 205 subpoena to reveal the identities of the witnesses he had spoken to.

He then found the by-then terrified witnesses again to obtain affidavits and they told him police had already approached them, asking one why he had "lied" to the Cape Times.

Bateman said he was then banned from the daily police press conferences and the ban was later extended to all Cape Times reporters.

Some weeks later, after debate in Parliament and complaints to the Newspaper Press Union, the ban was rescinded. But Bateman said he had remained "unwel-



TESTIMONY: Chris Bateman

"come" at the crime press conferences and was effectively prevented from doing his job as the Cape Times crime reporter.

Bateman, who now covers the provincial legislature, said it was the first time he had attended a hearing of the TRC and he had been surprised at the strength of his emotions on hearing evidence from the parents of the slain men. He said if people living in plush suburbs "really listened" to the evi-

dence the TRC heard, it would go a long way towards reconciliation in South Africa.

One of Bateman's witnesses, Mr General Sibaca, told the commission that when police came to him after he had spoken to Bateman, they threatened to arrest him for having said that he saw an execution: "They wanted to ascertain whether I was a genuine witness or whether the Cape Times had paid me to lie," he said.

The "Guguletu 7" were Mr Christopher Piet, Mr Alfred Zola, Mr Zambonke John Konile, Mr Themba Mfili, Mr Manda Mxiniwa, Mr Zanile Zeph Mjoko and Mr Godfrey Celani Moya.

At the time of the shooting, police denied that the men were shot in cold blood, saying they had received information that a police vehicle was to be ambushed by ANC guerrillas on the morning of the shooting and that they had retaliated when a handgrenade was thrown at them. Two consecutive inquests cleared the police of any blame in the shootings.



BURNING PROTEST: A taxi drives past a flaming barricade in Guguletu after the March 7, 1986, burial of seven alleged guerrillas who were shot in an ambush.

Journalist told police out to get him

EUNICE RIDER

FORMER senior Cape Times reporter Tony Weaver was warned by a policeman that other policemen had been brought to Cape Town to "get" him and other members of the media.

Weaver told Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the city yesterday that former police liaison officer Lieutenant Attie Laubscher had approached him and told him in confidence that several policemen were being sent from Krugersdorp and Pretoria to "get" him.

He said he had taken this as a well-

meant warning and that ITN television cameraman George De'Ath was killed at KTC Squatter Camp the following day on June 11, 1986.

Weaver, who later became deputy news editor, said he had not witnessed or covered the deaths of the "Guguletu 7", but was giving evidence before the TRC to put the evidence of other witnesses and journalists into context.

He said that at the time there was wide-ranging perception that the police were "a law unto themselves" and that police also made a "concerted effort to restrict media coverage".

Weaver said there was clear collu-

sion between the police and the Witdoek vigilante group and there had been evidence that the police had supplied the Witdoek with weapons and led them into battle.

He believed the police had made a "serious error" in trying him on four charges under Section 27b of the Police Act for publishing statements about the police without taking reasonable steps to establish the veracity of claims he was reporting, because the evidence that came out in the trial would never have emerged otherwise.

Weaver — now a freelance journalist — was later acquitted.

Media urged to explain role in past

THE media should make a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on its role during the apartheid conflict, commission chairman Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Tutu said this would assist the commission to paint a complete picture of the past conflict.

The Archbishop's remarks followed testimony by former Cape Times journalist Tony Weaver at a hearing on the police shooting of the so-called Guguletu Seven in March 1986.

Weaver said elements of the media were guilty of collusion with the former National Party government, either by remaining silent on key events or suppressing the truth. — Sapa

Police 'falsified affidavit to implicate Guguletu 7'

POLICE executed at least two of seven suspected guerrillas, known as the Guguletu Seven, killed in an ambush in March 1986, and then submitted falsified documents to an inquest, the Truth Commission said yesterday.

The police version of the events said police had been tipped off that a SAP staff bus would be ambushed by umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas. It was alleged that a handgrenade was thrown at the police, who shot back in self-defence.

Human rights violations committee member Ms Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela said yesterday that commission investigators had uncovered evidence suggesting that the police had falsified an affidavit to implicate several of the dead men in the robbery of a township residence on March 3.

The affidavit, allegedly signed by Guguletu resident Mr Rudi

Lazaro, was submitted by police as an exhibit at the inquest into the deaths of the Guguletu Seven.

In the affidavit, Lazaro allegedly identified several of the men as being among a group of five men who had stolen money, a battery and a generator from him.

Gobodo-Madikizela said commission investigators had become suspicious after noticing that the signature on a statement in which Lazaro reported the robbery did not correspond with one on the affidavit.

Lazaro told the commission yesterday that when he reported the robbery, police had showed him photographs of the Guguletu Seven and asked if he recognised any of them.

"I said no... They were definitely not the people who robbed me." The affidavit submitted by police to the inquest noted Lazaro as saying: "I a... these

are the people who robbed me."

When he was shown the document at yesterday's hearing, Lazaro said the signature on the affidavit was not his.

In evidence about the killings, dairy worker Mr General Sibaca told the commission he had watched from a hostel window.

"A white man called out 'Skiet hom'. He (the black man) was kneeled in the back and fell. He was shot twice. Then he died."

School bus driver Mr Ronald Bunting recalled how his bus was stopped by police in Guguletu on the day of the shooting. Inside the bus were 13 disabled children and house mother Ms Pat Smith.

"There was a man lying in the road. A European policeman approached (him). He took out a pistol or a revolver and shot the man twice through the head, in front of the 13 children in the bus."

— Sapa

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