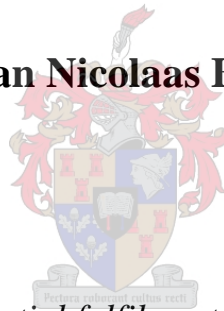


**Flashing boobies and naughty no-no's:
a media-historiographical overview of the
pornographic magazine in South Africa, 1939 to 1989**

by

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

Pornography in South Africa has only been legal for a mere 16 years, but is preceded by a 126-year history of inutile South African government attempts to suppress and curb it at its borders. To date, pornography as a research field has been largely overlooked by South African researchers, who have either mostly opted to choose fields that are socially more acceptable, or assumed that pornography was not present in the country before the 1980s and 1990s. This research, however, prefers to differ. The study investigates a minute part of a broader scope of pornography history in South Africa, by studying what international and domestic pornographic magazines were first seized and thereafter banned in the country between 1939 and 1989. By theoretically implementing an authoritative theoretical framework, the *Annales*'s functional structural approach, and applying the historical methodology to unearth unobtrusive historical data, the study compiles a narrative of events that ties a 50-year history of the pornographic magazine in South Africa together. The study eventually identifies 1 033 individual volumes, editions and issues of various pornographic magazine genres, including, among others, pulp and pin-up, naturist and nudist, soft-core, hard-core, male and female homosexual, bisexual, bondage, Asian, female impersonation and biker magazines, of which some, of course, are local South African pornographic magazines.

Opsomming

Pornografie is nog net 16 jaar wettig in Suid-Afrika en word voorafgegaan deur 'n geskiedenis van 126 jaar se sensuur wat deur die regering afgekondig is om pornografie buite die land se grense te hou. Tot op hede is pornografie as 'n navorsingsveld deur Suid-Afrikaanse navorsers oorgesien omdat hulle óf studies aanpak wat sosiaal meer aanvaarbaar is, óf aanneem dat daar voor die 1980's en 1990's geen pornografie in die land was nie. In dié verband wil hierdie studie met dié aannames verskil. Die navorsing ondersoek 'n klein deeltjie van 'n groter geskiedenis van pornografie in Suid-Afrika deur te kyk na watter buitelandse en binnelandse pornografiese tydskrifte tussen 1939 en 1989 in die land gevind en kort daarna verban is. Teoreties is die outoritêre en die *Annales* se funksionalisties-strukturalistiese raamwerk ingespan, en die historiese metodologie is gebruik om historiese data na te vors om 'n narratief saam te stel wat 50 jaar se pornografiese tydskrifte in Suid-Afrika saamsnoer. Die studie identifiseer uiteindelik 1 033 uitgawes van verskeie pornografiese tydskrifte, wat, onder meer, pulp- en prikkelpop-, nudistiese, sagte, harde, manlike en vroulike homoseksuele, biseksuele, knegskap-, Asiër-, fopdosser- en motorfietstydskrifte insluit; sommige van dié genres is, natuurlik, ook plaaslik in Suid-Afrika gepubliseer.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

According to Ropelato (2009a:np), the world's combined pornography revenue in 2006 grossed around \$97 billion (at the time, roughly R680 billion). Australia, Canada, China, the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Russia, South Korea, Taiwan, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA) – the top 15 biggest producers of pornography in 2006 – reportedly had a larger combined pornography revenue at the time than the aggregated annual revenues of Amazon, Apple, eBay, Google, Microsoft and Yahoo! (Ropelato, 2009a:np). In the same year, around 13 500 different pornographic movies were released on DVD, compared to the 400 movies Hollywood produced in the same time (Ropelato, 2009a:np), while 414 million internet pages contained the keyword “sex”, 181 million internet pages the symbol “XXX” (a rating for adults-only, pornographic movies) and 88.8 million internet pages the keyword “porn” (“pornography” in its abbreviated form) (Ropelato, 2009b:np). In total, the USA produced 89% of all pornographic websites in 2006 (Ropelato, 2009b:np), while 37% – over a third – of *all* websites on the internet in 2010 was considered pornographic (Miller, 2010:36). Although these figures are not entirely reliable “since questions about individual porn use are unlikely to be met with complete honesty, and the pornography industry has tended to shun openness and transparency” (McNair, 2002:37), they do emphasise in short that pornography is omnipresent and forms “an integral part of the media economy” (Nikunen, Paasonen & Saarenmaa, 2007:6).

Even though the representation of sex, sexuality and pornographic images in the public eye and mass media have been a subject of note “almost since the beginning of recorded history” (McNair, 1996:42), a drought in academic research on pornography exists pre-1990. While Christensen (1990:160) argues that researchers' prejudice towards the topic of pornography has led to this sparseness in the academic field, Wicke (1991:70) opts to describe these academics as “ignorant”, rather than prejudiced, because they had preconceived conceptions that pornography was not serious enough for academic study. Similarly, Nikunen *et al.* (2007:1) agree, noting

that some researchers describe pornography as a “dirty word” and opt to choose fields that are socially more acceptable. Conversely, McNair (2002:37) identifies an apparent reticence experienced by academics from the pornography industry, whenever academic enquiry is directed to pornography industry role-players; pornographers tend to be uncommunicative, unresponsive and refuse to assist academics with any information. Consequently, there is a general lack of academic material on pornography, which, to this day, is still juxtaposed with the widespread availability of the genre worldwide.

1.2 Rationale

One of the topics surrounding pornography that lacks academic enquiry is that of its history – the premise of this thesis within a South African context. Hunt (1993a:11) emphasises this general, worldwide scarcity by quoting a line from the 1986 Meese Commission report on pornography in the USA, which “complained” that “the history of pornography still remains to be written”.

But the question arises: why would one study an aspect of the history of pornography, and in the span of this thesis, specifically the pornographic magazine in South Africa?

Since the legalisation of pornography in the country under the Films and Publications Act, No. 65 of 1996, which came into effect in mid-1998 – a mere 16 years ago (Republic of South Africa, 1996:np; Booyens, 2000:8; Van Rooyen, 2011:77) – the South African pornography industry has expanded at a tremendous pace:

- In 1998 alone, the Film and Publication Board (FPB) – a South African statutory body that classifies and assigns age restrictions, where necessary, to films, videos, DVDs, computer games and “certain publications” (Film and Publication Board, 2011:np) – classified 6 000 different pornographic videos in South Africa (Booyens, 2000:8);
- in the same year, Adult World – a chain of adult stores that sell pornographic and sex merchandise – opened its first warehouse in Parow, Cape Town

amidst angry protestation from churches and anti-pornography groups (*Teen pornografie* [Against pornography], 1998:2);

- a contentious, ongoing and more than a decade-long debate surrounding the broadcast of a 24-hour, pornography television channel in South Africa started in 2002 when MultiChoice, a South African company that provides programming to pay-TV subscribers through DStv decoders, sued Otherchoice, a Pretoria-based company, for illegally selling subscriptions to a 24-hour, European pornography channel (Mulder, 2004:2). As subscribers had to access the channel through DStv decoders, and Otherchoice had no licence to do so, the Pretoria High Court ruled in favour of MultiChoice, who immediately blocked 5 000 subscriptions previously sold to eager buyers within a period of six months (Pretorius, 2006:14). Ironically, MultiChoice “reviewed draft research data on a subscriber survey” in 2010 to determine whether they should be the first to implement South Africa’s own 24-hour pornography channel (Comins, 2010:5). It was eventually rejected after data revealed that the majority of MultiChoice’s subscribers vehemently opposed the idea (Comins, 2010:5). The issue re-emerged in late-2011 when rivals African Satellite Installations (ASI) and TopTV announced almost simultaneously that they would respectively launch PSatTV, a French pornography channel, and three channels from Playboy TV in January 2012 (Neethling, 2011:5; Ndlovu, 2011:3). While TopTV sued ASI for illegally associating with them, the FPB announced it would “voice its concerns to the communication authority [Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA)]” and “press for the blocking” of the channels (Ndlovu, 2011:3), in an effort to make sure they “never see the light of day” (Carpenter, 2011:2). In January 2012, ICASA rejected TopTV’s bid to broadcast the channels (Keogh, 2012:2; Neethling, 2012:31), but in a shocking twist, gave the broadcaster the green light in April 2013 to air three pornography channels – Playboy TV, Desire TV and Private Spice – between 8 PM and 5 AM, on the grounds that “there is no law of general application prohibiting the production and distribution of adult content in the republic. Only the production and distribution of child pornography is expressly prohibited by law” (Mochiko, 2013:31);

- in 2009, the first full-length Afrikaans porn film, *Kwaai Naai Volume 1* [Wild Sex Volume 1], was produced (Prins, 2009:3), and almost exactly a year later, the first full-length, all-black porn film in Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho, *Mapona Volume 1* [Nakedness Volume 1], was released (Ajam, 2010:3; Timse, 2010:np);
- in the same year, Karin Eloff, the first female editor of *Loslyf* [literally: Loose Body] – the first and to date only Afrikaans pornography magazine – and the first female editor in South Africa to pose nude in the same magazine she was editing, wrote an autobiographical account of her time in the South African sex and pornography industry, titled *Stiletto. My life in the underworld of South Africa's sex industry* (Eloff & Cronje, 2009a:np). Currently, the book is most probably the only account of its kind in the country;
- under the guise of implementing tighter laws against child pornography, the South African government also made headlines in 2009 after signing the Films and Publications Amendment Act that “introduced a system of prepublication censorship and self-censorship” (Peters, 2009:3). Under this new law, “any material – publications, films and games – that contained sexual conduct [...] has to be submitted to the Films [sic] and Publication Board first” (Peters, 2009:3). The act was described as “censorious in the extreme” and damaged one of the “basic tenets of freedom of expression” in that “the state may not restrict materials for adults simply because children also would see it” (Freedom of Expression Institute, 2006:2);
- the South African pornographic magazine market expanded in 2011 when *Playboy SA* was relaunched, after the magazine shut down due to “pressure from moral activists” in the mid-1990s (Mokgata, 2011:39). However, it is Claassen’s opinion that an “oversaturation in the market” (2007:133) – and not “*morele kruisvaarders*” [moral crusaders] (2004:17) – is to blame for the demise of many South African pornographic magazines in the 1990s, of which *Playboy SA* is a prime example (more on this in Chapter 2 – Literature review), and, lastly
- in 2011, producers of the reality-television show *Porn Stars* announced that South Africa is looking for its next top male and female adult entertainers (Wiseman, 2011:np). Although auditions in the form of live sex shows were

held in Johannesburg, other auditions in Durban and Cape Town – and eventually the entire show – were cancelled after broadcasters, described as “conservative forces”, were at first reluctant and thereafter refused to give the show airtime – not even if a soft-core version of the show were to be produced (Wiseman, 2011:np).

To fully understand a media system, or the expansion of a subsection of a media system (in this case, specifically the immensely rapid development of pornography in South Africa after it was legalised in mid-1998), Wigston (2007:4) suggests “consider[ing] the structure and organisation” thereof “within a certain context”. Wigston further adds that an “understanding of the nature and structure of the present media environment is largely influenced by what happened in the past”, suggesting that a “certain context” could well be a historical one. In conjunction with Hunt (1993a:11), who writes that “a historical perspective is crucial to understanding the place and function of pornography in modern culture”, the swift development of the South African pornography industry post-1998, of which only some recent, newsworthy milestones are mentioned above, can only be understood when past developments pre-1998 – when pornography in South Africa was illegal – can put present developments post-1998 – when the ban on pornography in South Africa was lifted – into its proper context. The history of pornography in the country – and in the span of this thesis, specifically the pornographic magazine – is therefore vital for an intrinsic comprehension of the current South African pornography industry.

1.3 Research question

With the above in mind, the central question in this study is:

What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?

The boundaries that limit the research question to the years between 1939 and 1989 were chosen strategically: Although the attack on and prohibition of pornographic material with censorship already started in South Africa in 1872 (Kahn, 1966:280,

1967:34; Van Wyk, 1974:1; Geldenhuys, 1977:22; Cloete, 1988:15), the researcher opted to commence the study in 1939, as the vast majority of consulted historical data – 1 439 lists of banned publications compiled by the South African government (more on this in Chapter 4 – Research methodology) – was first published on 21 August 1939 (Geldenhuys, 1977:26); thus, the investigation commences on this date. The researcher opted to cease the study in 1989, even though pornography was only legalised in mid-1998 (as discussed in section 1.2 of this chapter), because it became clear that a “flood” (Claassen, 2007:133; Van Rooyen, 2011:74), an “explosion” (Stemmet, 2004:223) and a “tidal wave” (Stemmet, 2005:207) of pornographic magazines to South African shores c. 1990 would be too extensive to contain within the confines of a Master’s study.

When the central research question is adequately investigated, a media-historiographical overview of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989 can “provide an invaluable guide to the social habits and customs of the age which has produced it” (Hyde, 1964:29). In addition, with its focus on a section of the South African media that was hitherto obscure, the study hopes to make a significant socio-scientific contribution to the development of a more complete South African media-historiography.

1.4 Defining “pornography”

As noted by Hyde (1964:2), the difficulty with finding a definition for the keyword “pornography” lies in the fact that it is “purely relative and subjective”; therefore, what is pornographic for one person might not necessarily be pornographic for another, and vice versa. The perplexity of the term “pornography” is evident in the comments of various scholars, who describe it as an “embattled issue” (Richlin, 1992a:xi), one that causes “enormous confusion” (Hawkins & Zimring, 1988:21) and immense “uncertainty” (Van Rensburg, 1985:80), one that should not be differentiated from art as to avoid a type of censoring (Van Rensburg, 1985:77), one that is “ephemeral” (Nikunen *et al.*, 2007:1) and “difficult” (Sonderling, 1989:58), and one for which “no universal meaning and agreed definition” exists (McNair, 1996:viii). Similarly, defining “pornography” has become a contentious issue in South Africa and between South African scholars, who have collectively delivered a unique

research output that will be discussed in section 2.1.3 (in Chapter 2 – Literature review).

Nikunen *et al.* (2007:1) blame history for this confusion, saying that “the boundaries separating the pornographic from the non-pornographic have become increasingly porous and difficult to map”. Van Rensburg (1985:i) concurs by reasoning that pornography has undergone a metamorphosis through history, because it constantly had to adapt to its audience’s needs. There is also ample evidence in the development of pornography itself that a constant expansion from “*sag na hard*” [soft to hard] – from the explicit to something even more explicit – has anchored the term and the medium to forever be in a constant state of flux (Van Rensburg, 1985:80). As a result, the term is best described as “transhistorical” because pornography develops and expands to the will of its audience’s needs, consequently continually eluding definition (Viljoen, 2006:41). The metamorphosis is already clear in the Greek roots of the word “pornography”: *porne*, meaning “street woman”, and *graphein*, meaning “to write”, assimilated in the word *pornographos*, which, as a specific subcategory of the biography, translates as “tales of the lives of courtesans” (Parker, 1992:91). Interestingly, *pornographos* rarely contained obscene or sexual material in Greek times (Parker, 1992:91), which clearly illustrates that the original meaning and the one we attach to it today are widely divergent (Geldenhuys, 1977:1; Van Rensburg, 1985:1).

1.4.1 A basic definition of “pornography”, and its distinction from art and literature

Van Rensburg (1985:77) advises that the definition of “pornography” should be constructed on a single fundamental characteristic; sources agree that that characteristic is pornography’s fixation with the sexual, specifically – material that sexually stimulates (Hyde, 1964:1; Parker, 1992:91; Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:409). Although Geldenhuys (1977:1-2) agrees that the definition of “pornography” should be simplified to the bare basics, he does, however, warn that an oversimplified definition could be so broad that it includes, among other things, art and literature that should actually not be classified as pornography:

“As hierdie [oorvereenvoudigde] definisies aanvaar word, sal Auguste Rodin se eerlike voorstelling van liefde tussen man en vrou in sy treffende beeld, *Die Soen*, die etiket van pornografie moet dra. Dr. Jan van Elfen wie se *Mediese Handleiding vir die Vrou* openhartig met die seksuele handel, sal as pornograaf verdoem moet word. ’n Nagswart doek sal oor Venus van Milo en Michelangelo se weergalose Dawid gehang moet word.”

[If these (oversimplified) definitions are accepted, then Auguste Rodin’s frank portrayal of love between man and woman in his striking sculpture *The Kiss* should be labelled pornography. Dr Jan van Elfen, whose *Mediese Handleiding vir die Vrou* (Medical Manual for the Woman) boldly discusses the sexual, would have to be damned a pornographer. A black cloth would also have to be draped over Venus de Milo and Michelangelo’s unparalleled David.]

With this simple definition of “pornography” in mind, underwear advertisements in magazines, naked “barbarians” in a *National Geographic* and even parts of the Bible could then also be considered pornography (Geldenhuys, 1977:3).

As a solution for the confusion between pornography and the arts, Marcus (in Geldenhuys, 1977:3) suggests severing the sexual current of pornography from the sexual undercurrents present in art and literature, by taking into account that:

- pornography has only one goal: to sexually stimulate. Art and literature have a diverse group of goals of which sexual stimulation might be one facet;
- pornography has little to no structure, whereas art and literature have an intricate composition, and
- pornography has no interest in people, but focuses more on genitals and inhuman sex: sex without emotion. Art and literature, on the other hand, have an intense grounding in human emotion.

A more expansive definition of “pornography”, similar to Marcus’s (in Geldenhuys, 1977:3), was published in 1972 in the Longford Report by the Longford Committee

Investigating Pornography – an assembled group of British experts from various disciplines, who inquired about the growing problem of pornography in Britain (Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:12). Their definition is five-fold, and includes that:

1. pornographic material is always sexually explicit, “exposing private and intimate behaviour” in a perverted way (Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:409);
2. pornography’s *sole function* [emphasised by the researcher] or intent is “to cause sexual pleasure” and to “arouse sexual interest in the absence of personal human contact” (Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:409-410);
3. pornography commercially exploits people by sexually exciting them for profit (Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:410);
4. pornography dehumanises sex (Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:410), and
5. pornography portrays sex in such a particular way that it offends a large part of the public (Longford Committee Investigating Pornography, 1972:411).

Although the Longford Committee’s definition of “pornography” largely influences the definition of “pornography” employed in this study, one could still argue that art or literature can dehumanise sex or depict sexual intercourse in such a way that society finds it offensive. Therefore, to move closer to a more compact definition of “pornography” referred to in this research project, the researcher suggests firstly considering categories wherein pornography is grouped, and secondly discussing relevant synonyms that can expand or alter the definition of the keyword. Once they are delimited, the parameters of a concise and accurate definition of “pornography” can be determined.

1.4.2 Soft-core and hard-core pornography

Pornography can broadly be grouped into two categories: soft-core and hard-core (Geldenhuys, 1977:5). Due to various differences of opinion, a differentiation between the two still remains “uncertain” (Van Rensburg, 1985:79).

Soft-core pornography is described as “unproblematic”, “innocent” pornography, which never explicitly shows the naked body or the act of sex (Van Rensburg, 1985:79-80); soft-core pornography sexually excites the reader or viewer by only *suggesting* the sexual rather than displaying it explicitly. Partial nudity in advertisements and men’s magazines, or advice in sex columns are examples of suggestive, soft-core pornography (Geldenhuys, 1977:5). One can deduce from the nature of the material that soft-core pornography is not just restricted to adults, but freely accessible to anyone anywhere of any age who wishes to purchase it (Van Rensburg, 1985:79; Geldenhuys, 1977:5). In contradiction, hard-core pornography goes further than mere suggesting the sexual act (Van Rensburg, 1985:79). It has an intense interest in the visual and exploits natural sex by describing and showing it in detail (Geldenhuys, 1977:5).

The distinction between soft-core and hard-core, and the acknowledgement that, due to its transhistorical nature, the two terms’ definitions have also undergone enormous changes throughout history, posed a challenge in this historical study: Although it would be more accurate to say that the focus of this thesis is on hard-core pornography, as a result excluding soft-core nudity, it has to be noted that soft-core pornography that was produced for the *sole reason* of sexually arousing its viewers, for example early pornography reminiscent of the (in)famous page-three girls in tabloid newspapers, also plays an undeniable part in the history of pornography – locally and internationally (see Chapter 2 – Literature review; Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context). Therefore, the definition of “pornography” used in this thesis has to include all soft-core pornographic material that was published with the *sole purpose* of sexually arousing its viewers, but exclude other “innocent” soft-core pornographic material that was produced for intentions other than mere sexual arousal.

1.4.3 Synonyms for “pornography”

The term “pornography” has long been synonymous with terms like “obscenity”, “erotica” and “sexually explicit” (Van Rensburg, 1985:1-2). In the mass media and journalism, “adult entertainment” has been the umbrella phrase of choice (Nikunen *et al.*, 2007:1). Many other synonyms exist and some, for example “objectionable literature”, “girlie magazine”, “skin magazine” or “pin-up”, will explain themselves as they are encountered in the pages of this thesis. Two terms that still need to be delimited before the end of this introductory chapter are “obscenity” and “erotica”, as they were popular synonyms evident during the excavation of historical data on pornographic magazines in South Africa between 1939 and 1989.

1.4.3.1 “Obscenity”

Although “obscenity”, as a synonym for “pornography”, is clearly defined as the expression or suggestion of lewd, sexual thoughts, it is partially incorrect to say the two are synonyms; as Hyde (1964:2) remarks:

“[...] while all pornography is obscene, the converse does not hold good. In other words, obscene matter, which produces feelings of disgust, may be, but is not necessarily, pornographic as well. For example, a description of the act of defecation must undoubtedly be classed as obscene, but it is not normally calculated to arouse sexual desires.”

Therefore, even though all pornographic material might be described as obscene, not all obscene acts are considered pornographic. However, it must be understood in the context of this thesis that whenever the word “obscene” is stated or directly quoted from historical documents, the term “pornography” or the pornographic is implied. Although current forms of obscene pornography include illegal forms thereof, like child pornography and bestiality (sexual activity between humans and animals), it has to be noted that the researcher will not make reference to these illegal forms in this thesis, unless explicitly stated.

1.4.3.2 “Erotica”

Similar to “obscenity”, “erotica” can also be considered an incorrect synonym for “pornography”. “Erotica” is described as “books, pictures, etc. that are intended to make somebody feel sexual desire” (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2005:494). Stemming from the definition of “erotica”, “erotic” and “eroticism” include the “expressing or describing [of] sexual feelings and desire” in especially art and literature (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2005:494). As was discussed in section 1.4.1 of this chapter, pornography has clear distinctions from art and literature, and it is therefore also incorrect to say that the two keywords are synonyms. It has to be noted, however, that when “erotica” is used in the context of this thesis, it exclusively refers to “pornography” or the pornographic and not to any form of art or literature.

The common denominator is that all synonyms selected and used in this study will refer exclusively to the working definition of “pornography” in section 1.4.4 of this chapter, and not to anything outside the borders of that definition.

1.4.4 “Pornography” and “pornographic magazine” – working definitions

Taking into account the volatile and transhistorical nature of the keyword “pornography” and phrase “pornographic magazine”, as stated above, was key in constructing compact definitions thereof applicable to this project – especially since the keyword was studied over a period of 50 years (1939-1989), in which time it could have referred to an array of different materials, some of which were mistakenly labelled pornographic. As a summary, the researcher would like to define “pornography” and “pornographic magazine” as the following, amalgamating and acknowledging influences, ideas and definitions of all the sources already mentioned in this section:

“**Pornography**” exclusively refers to soft-core and hard-core photographic material that was produced with the *raison d’être* of sexually stimulating and arousing its reader or viewer.

“**Pornographic magazine**”, then, refers to any soft-core or hard-core

magazine containing articles, photographs, etc. on particularly the topic of pornography. Note that “pornographic magazine” does not necessarily imply that every element inside that magazine is pornographic, but can either refer to a whole body of work, or a single element inside a body of work which, as a whole, would not be considered pornography, provided that that single element was produced with the *raison d’être* of sexually stimulating and arousing its reader or viewer.

1.5 Thesis outline

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis will continue as follows:

1.5.1 Literature review

Chapter 2 will sketch a clear sequence of similar studies that preceded the current research project – specifically three studies by respectively Van Rensburg (1985), Sonderling (1994a) and Stemmet (2005) – which largely influenced the premise of this thesis. Using their research in combination with other literature, the chapter will track a cultural, religious and legislative South African history that will link the results of the research question of this thesis (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) with the historical context wherein pornographic magazines in South Africa between 1939 and 1989 were prohibited.

1.5.2 Theoretical frameworks

Chapter 3 will explain that the narrative of events compiled in Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion) is the result of the examination of the findings of this thesis through the application of two theoretical frameworks – the authoritarian media theory and the *Annales*’s functional-structural approach.

With its focus on dictatorial governments’ suppression of the media, authoritarianism will shed light on the pornographic magazine’s prohibition between 1939 and 1989. The censorial context it justifies will motivate how and why the

findings in Chapter 6 were structured into three periods of time, following significant changes in South African censorship legislation, which targeted pornography and the pornographic magazine for close to 126 years. The three periods are:

1. 1939 to 1963;
2. 1964 to (mid-April) 1975, and
3. (mid-April) 1975 to 1989.

The *Annales*, on the other hand, will focus this study on a vast area of history that has been completely overlooked – in this case, the pornographic magazine – but it will focus the angle of the research on the function of pornography, including a focus on distribution and magazine culture in South Africa, within the oppressive framework demarcated by the authoritarian framework.

1.5.3 Research methodology

As the nature of this study is historical, Chapter 4 will explain how the researcher applied the historical methodology in this thesis. A media-historiographical overview of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989 was composed by gathering data from various archival sources, including official records, reports and documents, government gazettes, registries, letters, newspapers, magazines, conference minutes and opinion pieces.

The chapter will also shortly discuss how the researcher applied the *Annales*'s regressive method, which studies history – and this project – backwards, but presents the findings chronologically from the earliest to the most recent date.

1.5.4 Pornography: the global context

The global history of the pornographic magazine is presented in Chapter 5 as an historical context to the findings in Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion). Although the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) was only investigated between 1939 and 1989, the historical context chapter presents an

overview of the development of photographic pornography and the pornographic postcard in the mid-nineteenth century, which eventually led to the development of the pornographic magazine at the end of the nineteenth century; this history is then tracked to the (current) digital era to provide an absolute context to this study.

1.5.5 Findings and discussion

The thesis culminates in Chapter 6, where the findings of the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) and a discussion thereof are presented. The chapter opens with a short introduction on pornography in South Africa pre-1939, and then continues to the three time periods mentioned in section 1.5.2 of this chapter. The findings largely identify an import culture of pornographic magazines to South African shores starting (in this thesis) in 1939 and ending (in this thesis) in 1989.

1.5.6 Conclusion and recommendations

Chapter 7 brings the entire thesis to a close by presenting a summary of the research project and the research findings, as well as recommending other research that could branch from the current research project.

1.5.7 Appendices

As part of the research findings compiled in Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion), three appendices (A, B and C – one for each time period mentioned in section 1.5.2 of this chapter) collectively identify 1 033 individual volumes, issues and editions of pornographic magazines that were once seized and shortly thereafter proscribed by South African censors.

1.5.8 References

References end the body of work.

1.6 Administrative notes

A few general administrative notes have to be declared:

- South African English spelling and grammar was used in the entire thesis, but sources using any other spelling and grammar style guides were quoted directly as they appear in the original source. This includes, for example, the American spelling of sources' titles, compiled in the reference list, which are presented as they are printed;
- quotations from and titles of sources in other languages (in this thesis, specifically: Afrikaans, French, German and Sotho) are italicised and quoted directly as they appear in the original source, with an accurate English translation by the researcher in [square brackets] thereafter, and
- the researcher referred to himself in this thesis as “the researcher”, while the writer of any other source is referred to as “the author”.

1.7 Summary

This chapter introduced the study of a media-historiographical overview of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989. The rationale argued that a historical perspective of pornography in South Africa pre-1998 is needed to contextualise the rapid growth of the pornography industry in South Africa post-1998 (although the latter is not an objective of the thesis). The research question was then stated (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**), and was followed by a discussion of the definition of the keywords “pornography” and “pornographic magazine” in an attempt to clearly delineate what the definitions thereof include and exclude when it is referred to in this research project. A thesis outline in this chapter also gave an overview of the structure of the rest of the project.

A thorough literature review is presented in the next chapter. Not only will it focus on studies relevant to this research project, which preceded and motivated the current investigation, but it will shed light on a cultural, religious and legislative

context that is integral for an understanding of the findings (compiled in Chapter 6 – Findings and discussion).

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A literature review surveys and presents research linked to a study, in an attempt to contextualise the research field, to give more knowledge about the topic, and to identify a previously unexplored gap or niche in academia that a researcher can occupy with his/her own original and unique findings (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004:27; Sonderling, 1997:97). Therefore, this chapter will review research related to the topic of the pornographic magazine in South Africa to assess what research has already been conducted. By doing this, this literature review will shape the topic of this thesis, and argue that a media-historiographical overview of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989 is uncharted territory in South African media-historiographical research.

In addition, Sonderling (1997:97) argues that the literature review – in specifically historical studies (such as this study) – “form[s] an integral part of the introduction and discussion of the research problem”, as the context it creates, indirectly supports the main body of a historical thesis. In effect, the literature review forms a prelude to the resolution of a research question, as it contains contextual elements relevant to the milieu of an historical study’s research findings. Following suit, this chapter will sketch a religious, cultural and legislative South African context that is indispensable for a comprehension of the suppression of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989. Among other things, the Afrikaner minority’s hegemony and control over a black majority; their conservative stance to sex and pornography, and their founding of a church-state, which all collectively motivated their application of censorship laws, will be addressed. These contextual elements will not only introduce an environment wherein the pornographic magazine in South Africa had to thrive, but it will also describe a context from which the pornographic magazine cannot be separated, and without which it cannot be understood.

2.1.1 Note on the research reviewed in this chapter

As noted in the introduction of this thesis, historical research on pornography is insignificant. On the one hand, the lack of research on the topic positively reveals that “the research question we have asked is worth researching” (Sonderling, 1997:97); in this thesis: **What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?** On the other hand the construction of a literature review becomes problematic, as the “hunt” for relevant research often leads to dismal and very few positive results.

This chapter was constructed after an extensive and thorough exploration of various catalogues, databases, research repositories and search engines. This section will briefly report which sources research was excavated from. In all of the enquiries, keywords included (in alphabetical order):

adult; book/s; censorship; entertainment; erotica; explicit; freedom of the press; girlie/girly; hard-core; history/historical; immoral; journalism; liberty of the press; literature; magazine/s; media; nude/nudity; objectionable; obscene/obscenity; periodical/s; photography/photo/s; pornography/porno/porn; press; publication/s; sex/sex-oriented; skin; soft-core; South Africa; spicy pulp, and undesirable.

All keywords were used in conjunction with, but not always, one another, and were also translated to Afrikaans. A short discussion on the results delivered in library catalogues, journals, e-journals and databases, research repositories, the Index to South African Periodicals, and the internet, follow.

2.1.1.1 Library catalogues

Initial quests for literature started in library catalogues. Apart from the catalogues at Stellenbosch University (SU), other CALICO catalogues, including those from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC), were studied. In addition, the catalogues of the National Library of South Africa were explored. The outcome was

extremely small, with *Pornografie* [Pornography] by F.I.J. van Rensburg (1985) briefly mentioned in section 1.5.1 of Chapter 1 (Introduction), the most relevant book. Other books on the history of pornography worldwide, although also few, were identified and provided invaluable information to the historical context sketched in Chapter 5 (Pornography: the global context). Literature concerning pornography and censorship, with the main focus on legislation rather than the genre, were the most abundant.

2.1.1.2 Journals, e-journals and databases

Following catalogue searches, the researcher turned his focus to journals, e-journals and databases. Numerous electronic journals were utilised from a database with hundreds of available online journals. The list is too extensive to name here, but some databases included the EBSCOhost Research Databases, Kovsidex (University of the Free State [UFS]), the Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (NDLTD), SA e-Publications, SA Gazettes, SA Media, Sabinet Online and the Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations (UCTD). Hard copy journals were also studied, and included *Communicare*, *Communicatio*, *Communitas*, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Journal of Literary Studies*, *South African Journal of Cultural History* and *The Journal of Humanities*. Journal, e-journal and database searches were conducted with more success, and allowed the researcher to identify two South African researchers briefly introduced in section 1.5.1 of Chapter 1 (Introduction) – Stefan Sonderling and Jan-Ad Stemmet – whose research has dealt with some aspect of pornography in South Africa in the past. It was, however, clear that research on pornography and its history pales in comparison with the available research on child pornography and pornography and the law. As noted in Chapter 1 (Introduction), child pornography falls outside the boundaries of this thesis.

2.1.1.3 Research repositories

Research repositories, almost all owned and maintained by a tertiary institution in South Africa, mainly gave an idea of research produced by academics in the form of Master's theses and doctoral dissertations. Research repositories accessed include

Digital Knowledge (CPUT), ReRR (Rhodes University), SUNScholar (SU), the Unisa Institutional Repository, the UWC Research Repository, ujdigispace (University of Johannesburg [UJ]), UKZN ResearchSpace (University of KwaZulu-Natal), UFS ETD, UPSpace (University of Pretoria) and WIReDSpace (University of the Witwatersrand). Resembling the results of library catalogues, research repositories also produced very little research with enough academic weight to be included in this chapter. Across all the mentioned platforms (catalogues, databases and repositories) an innumerable amount of research on child pornography, and pornography and art was again evident, but also fall outside the boundaries of this thesis, as stated in Chapter 1 (Introduction). One thesis, again by Stefan Sonderling (1994a), was most notable. Additionally, research on censorship in South Africa is extensive.

2.1.1.4 Index to South African Periodicals

Not to be confused with the electronic database of the same name, the Index to South African Periodicals (also available in Afrikaans: *Repertorium van Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrifartikels*) is an invaluable guide assembled since the 1940s by the South African Library Association and later the Johannesburg Public Library; the index annually chronicled research in 167 South African (academic) journals and (mass media) magazines according to subject, keyword and author, and published it in English, Afrikaans, Dutch and German (the last three grouped together in one volume). Supported by the *Repertorium van Artikels in Tydskrifte van die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, 1910-1963* [Index to Articles in Magazines of the South African Academy for Science and Art, 1910-1963], the guides indicated rare comments on pornography by South African journalists, authors and writers, which were included in this chapter and Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion).

2.1.1.5 The internet

As a last resort, the internet was not overlooked in the quest for academic research on the pornographic magazine in South Africa. Although no new, relevant research was identified, online shopping stores, including the South African store kalahari.net and a family of Amazon stores (amazon.com, amazon.uk and amazon.de), all collectively

identified books with pictures of pornography from the seventeenth century to the present. While these books are not relevant to the literature review, they provided numerous visual examples which helped to support and strengthen arguments in Chapter 5 (Pornography: the global context) and Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion).

2.1.1.6 Summary

From just this initial search for literature, it is apparent that South African research on the topic of pornography mainly deals with legal, constitutional aspects. Although other research concerning pornography is conducted, research on child pornography and pornography and the law is plentiful. Also noticeable is the fact that research on pornography in South Africa rarely transcends journals or (unpublished) Master's theses and doctoral dissertations; books hardly ever contain pornography as a topic, unless, as mentioned, the focus mainly draws on legal, constitutional aspects of the genre. It was also interesting that in the current (electronic) information age, a bulk of research in this chapter was only discovered after consulting hard copy catalogues, registries and indexes, like the Index to South African Periodicals; even then, the research was not available electronically and had to be sourced from the National Library of South Africa (specifically, from their Cape Town campus).

2.1.2 The scarcity of South African pornography research – an exploration

The reasons for the general scarcity of South African pornography research have been fervently argued by Sonderling (1996:44), who points a stern finger at the pre-1994 South African government for “prescribing” and “proscribing” a contentious framework wherein research on pornography as a subject was taboo for researchers in South Africa, if it conflicted with government ideologies. As pornography was highly illegal in South Africa pre-1998, so, too, research enquiries into pornography were prohibited; but ironically, research on pornography was allowed only when the government commissioned (manipulated) research that supported the banishment thereof in this time. As Sonderling (1996:43) states:

“[...] South African research and writing on pornography operate[d] from an acknowledged opposition towards pornography, [and could] thus [...] be

regarded as a moral discourse with scientific pretensions. The discourses aimed at producing a *particular type of knowledge* [emphasised by the researcher] that can be used by state authorities to legitimate censorship.”

In effect, “advising the authorities” with academic pornography research became synonymous with “adopting a negative view of pornography, producing research to support these views and becoming part of the ‘new social science police’” (Sonderling, 1990:44), who became infamous for using “very selective sources of data” (Sonderling, 1996:44). Sonderling (1996:44) even identifies the “social science police” as predominantly “Afrikaans scholars operating from the established Afrikaner universities” who “clearly positioned them as the *vanguard* [emphasised by the author] of the South African government and nation”. In essence, it was not necessary for the government to even enforce a dogma on these scholars, as they (Afrikaner academics) were already operating “within the dominant political consensus that [was] strongly supportive of the National Party state machinery” (Sonderling, 1996:44). The result is a span of research pre-1994 mainly limited to the link between pornography and rape, which attempted to “distract attention from pornography itself and its social setting” (Sonderling, 1989:57).

Du Toit (1975:14) agrees, and sheds light on the government’s efforts to snag academic enquiry into “*ongewenstheid*” [undesirability]. The study of sensitive, undesirable topics (in this case, pornography) was impeded by the government on three levels:

- Firstly, as the government banned undesirable publications, researchers had difficulty gaining access to those publications or any academic work about those publications, which meant, in turn, that researchers had no data to produce academic work of their own (Du Toit, 1975:15);
- secondly, although Du Toit (1975:18) acknowledges that researchers could apply (and pay) to access banned publications, the government only allowed it with restrictions: academics could not use the banned publications in lectures, and were not allowed to quote the said publications in their own academic work, and, thirdly,

- in the small number of cases where researchers could produce academic work, the government merely banned the research, if it stood in direct contrast to their own ideologies (Du Toit, 1975:16).

Commenting on the critical research on pornography that was produced, Sonderling (1996:44-45) remarks that it was “largely restricted to English-speaking universities” that were “isolated and marginalized”; so too Du Toit (1975:15) notes that academics at English-speaking universities “*het in die praktyk ook groter las ondervind as ander*” [experienced a bigger burden in practice than others], because authorities closely monitored their rebellious academic stance to the government’s prescriptions. In addition, Sonderling (1996:44-45) also acknowledges “a marginal counter-discourse, asserting the positive value of pornography” that emerged during the late-1980s (when, coincidentally or not, his own research was first published). In general, though, Sonderling (1990:44) proclaims that it is “doubtful” whether any credible, South African research on pornography was produced pre-1994, and he solidifies this view in three separate articles in *The Monthly Male* (Sonderling, 1994b:10), *HUSTLER* (Sonderling 1994c:89), and *Dialogus* (Sonderling, 1994d:14-15), wherein he denounces South African pornography research pre-1994 as “home-made ‘research’”.

2.1.3 Those “nincompoop” definitions

Separating credible, South African academic literature from manipulated “home-made” research was not the only impediment in the quest to unearth literature for this chapter and assemble a literature review relevant to this thesis. It became clear that an innumerable amount of research was available in which the keyword “pornography” was used, which solely referred to well-known literature and its authors – and not pornography as it is defined in section 1.4.4 of Chapter 1 (Introduction).

In his book *Pornografie, Sensuur en Reg* [Pornography, Censorship and Law], Geldenhuys (1977:6) acknowledges that by 1977, the South African government still had not distinguished pornography from “*erotiese realisme*” [erotic realism] – basically, any fictional reference to and description of intercourse in some of the world’s foremost Afrikaans and English literature. Similarly, an article and its title by Van Rensburg (1986a:17), *Vertrekpunte vir die ontwikkeling van ’n model en definisie*

van pornografie [Notes on the development of a model and definition of pornography], suggests that by 1986 confusion around what exactly constituted pornography in South Africa persisted and an attempt to define it more accurately had not been initiated, although Van Rensburg (1976a:10; 1976b:26-33), too, emphasises and practically distinguishes the difference between pornography and, what he phrases as, “*seksuele realisme*” [sexual realism] in literature. By 1994, Sonderling (1994b:10) frustratingly commands authorities to “put an end [...] to nincompoop definitions of pornography”, which illustrates that on the brink of political change in South Africa, the government was still not acknowledging a clear and succinct definition of the keyword. As a result, “*suiwer pornografie*[...]” [pure pornography] and some of the world’s most popular “*letterkunde-werke of getroue dokumentasie*” [works of literature and reliable documents] were intentionally – yet mistakenly – grouped, banned, labelled and defined together (Geldenhuys, 1977:7).

The reasons behind the South African government’s application of a lacklustre definition are not well investigated: Van Rensburg (1985:4) notes in a paragraph of only one sentence that the government intentionally applied a vague definition as a strategy “*om verwarring oor pornografie te saai*” [to sow confusion about pornography] – a task it seems the government completed with success, as the confusion transcended into South African academic writing as well. Examples are rife: S. Ignatius Mocke (1954a), who delivers a public speech in 1954 on Afrikaans pornography – the earliest South African address on pornography the researcher could find – writes two articles in 1952 and 1954 respectively, *Pornografie – ’n Ontleding* [Pornography – an analysis] and “*Kuns*” is nooit “*pornografies*” [“Art” is never “pornographic”], where he continually refers to books like *Gone with the Wind*, *Anthony Adverse*, *Madame Bovary*, *Forever Amber* and *Wuthering Heights* as “*prikkellektuur*” [salacious literature] (Mocke, 1952:84; 1954b:100) and “*verdoemenswaardige pornografie*” [damnable pornography] (Mocke, 1952:85; 1954b:101). Similarly, Rijphart (1977:46) lists literature that she describes as “*waarskynlik pornografie*” [probably pornography] by authors such as Jack Kerouac, Henry Miller and D.H. Lawrence; Breyten Breytenbach, André P. Brink and Nobel-laureate Nadine Gordimer (Rijphart, 1977:49), as well as Tennessee Williams and John Steinbeck (Rijphart, 1977:50-51), to name a few. Also, in an article written in 1947 by Afrikaans author N.P. van Wyk Louw, titled *Sensuur of pornografie?* [Censorship or pornography?] – the earliest South African academic

article the researcher could find that uses the keyword “pornography”, and also one relentlessly quoted by Van Rensburg (1985:113), Sonderling (1994a:114-116) and Stemmet¹ (2005:203) – it appears that Louw (1947:15) vaguely separates the arts (books, drawings and photography) from “*skrywery [wat] in hoofsaak die seksuele terrein [ontgin]*” [writing that principally exploits the sexual terrain] – i.e. pornography. However, Louw (1947:17) makes it “*duidelik [...] dat dit feitlik onmoontlik is om literatuur volkome van pornografie te skei*” [clear that it is almost impossible to completely separate literature from pornography], which shows that Louw does not make a distinction between literature and pornography as we know it today, but rather acknowledges literature that includes passages of erotic/sexual realism and literature that excludes it.

Is it possible, though, that in the time the above articles were written (c. 1947-c. 1977), pornography in South Africa manifested itself as erotic/sexual realism in literature? In other words, that pornography as we understand it today did not exist in this time in South Africa, and its antecedents in, specifically South Africa, could only be found in erotic/sexual realism in books? If we concede that the keyword “pornography” is transhistorical and volatile (as discussed in section 1.4 of Chapter 1 – Introduction), and we accept that “[*e*]lke land het ’n eie sosiale dinamiek en moet die voorkoms en optrede van pornografie in sy omstandighede peil. Navorsing het immers getoon dat pornografie, by alle eendersheid, elke gemeenskap op ’n eie manier tref” [(e)very country has its own social dynamic and has to determine the existence and conduct of pornography in its own milieu. Although uniform, research has shown that pornography is encountered by every community in its own way] (Van Rensburg, 1985:i), then we have to acknowledge that it is possible that early pornography in South Africa took on the form of subtle erotica in literature, and that Mocke, Rijphart and Louw’s applied definition was not “nincompoop”; their academic outputs would be important indications of what exactly constituted pornography in South Africa in that time.

However, if this thesis can successfully investigate its research question **(What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety,**

¹ Stemmet mistakenly references the publishing year of Louw’s article as 1974, when, in fact, it was published in 1947.

was prohibited by South African legislation?) and in essence place “pure” pornography beside erotic/sexual realism in literature, then this project can indirectly and unintentionally prove that between 1939 and 1989, academics in South Africa were applying “nincompoop” definitions (indirectly and unintentionally, as it is not an objective of this thesis to prove such an hypothesis). If pornography in South Africa between 1939 and 1989 existed alongside erotic/sexual realism in literature, then the two cannot be grouped or defined together; the one would be purely pornographic, the other a literary art. In addition, it would have to be acknowledged that statistics on the number of undesirable publications in South Africa pre-1998 (for example, Silver, 1979:123-124; 1983:523-527) cannot be interpreted at face value (i.e. as only “pure” pornography), as those numbers are an indication of *all* material (“pure” pornography and literary art) that were once mistakenly banned together.

2.2 Academic literature on pornography in South Africa – an introduction

Of the small number of academic literature available on pornography in South Africa, almost all the academic research outputs in the fields of media, journalism, communication and history have influenced and shaped the premise of this thesis: a media-historiographical overview of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989. Although academic work from other fields of study, for example fine art and law, waiver slightly off topic – like the feminist-influenced, anti-pornography research by Wood Hunter (2005) and Viljoen (2006), who comment on pornography and its objectification of women, or Van der Poll (2001), who justifies the constitutionality of pornography in South Africa post-1998 – all are evidence that pornography as an academic topic of study is becoming increasingly relevant and popular to South African researchers. Among these academics, three were identified as most notable for a small volume of research on pornography relevant to this thesis and this chapter: F.I.J. van Rensburg, Stefan Sonderling and Jan-Ad Stemmet. It is interesting to note that each researcher conducted and published their research concerning pornography in South Africa in subsequent decades: Van Rensburg from the late-1970s to the late-1980s, Sonderling from the late-1980s to the late-1990s, and Stemmet in the first decade of the twenty-first century. This shows a steady and continuous, albeit small, flow of research on pornography by South African researchers – a flow to which this project could be potentially added.

The current research project has been motivated by a specific academic study by each of the mentioned researchers, who have directly and indirectly located pornography in South Africa from the early 1900s to c. 1995: the first by Van Rensburg (1985), who discusses a wide range of topics concerning pornography in South Africa and abroad, including its definition, effects and attempts to curb it with censorship; the second by Sonderling (1994a), who collates discourses on pornography in South African media between the 1900s and 1990s, and the third by Stemmet (2005), who presents an abridged history of pornography and censorship in South Africa, starting in 1892 and ceasing in 1996.

The next section will weave these three studies' findings together with other research, in an attempt to sketch a political, cultural and religious milieu in which the pornographic magazine as a genre in South Africa was completely repressed, while at the same time also showcasing the available literature on pornography in the country; in the span of this study, the milieu is vital to understand the context wherein the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989 had to thrive. Even though each researcher delivers his own unique output and findings, contributing to a volume of research on which pornography as a genre in South Africa is slowly solidifying its academic and historical foundation, an analysis of their work identifies evident, at times overlapping, themes. To avoid repetition, the findings were grouped together, to present a more or less chronological glimpse at a complex South African history of suppression, which is presented in as much brevity as possible.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the following discussion will illustrate why the current research project's findings are unique, and how in conjunction with one another it could form a quartet of academic work that slowly expands a more complete media-historiography on pornography in South Africa.

2.2.1 The birth of the South African censorship machine

It is not coincidental that the discussion of pornography in South Africa in most of the academic literature relevant to this chapter, commences with a discussion on the South African government's application of censorship to prohibit it. As noted by Stemmet (2004:221), pornography and censorship have held hands to such an extent that it has "become a near permanent fixture of the contemporary history of South Africa". The marriage of pornography and censorship is so indissolubly connected

that Stemmet, in his account of the history of pornography in South Africa – a journal article titled “From nipples and nationalists to full frontal in the new South Africa: An [sic] abridged history of pornography and censorship in the old and new South Africa” (2005) – mainly presents a history of censorship than a history of pornography. When studying other academic work by Stemmet, for example journal articles on the history of the Films and Publications Act, No. 65 of 1996 (2004), or political censorship in South Africa between 1980 and 1989 (2009), it becomes clear that Stemmet’s oeuvre is not only grounded in the study of censorship, rather than the study of pornography, but that he also equates the history of censorship to the history of pornography – in essence arguing that in South Africa, the history of censorship *is* the history of pornography – and it is therefore quite safe to say that censorship is probably the most vital contextual factor linked to an historical investigation of pornography in the country.

Defined as “governmental social control over the media for political, cultural, moral, technical or economic reasons” (McQuail, 2008:43), censorship made its way to South African shores in 1872, when the country as we know it today was still divided into two British colonies (the Cape Colony and Natal) and the independent Boer republics (the Republic of the Orange Free State [OFS] and the Zuid-Afrikaan-sche Republiek [ZAR]) (Giliomee, 2009:79,169,175). Stemmet (2005:202), somewhat incorrectly, notes that the “legislative history of publication control in South Africa” started with the Obscene Publications Act, No. 31 of 1892 in the Cape Colony; in fact, as Kahn (1966:280; 1967:34), Van Wyk (1974:1), Geldenhuys (1977:22) and Cloete (1988:15) respectively show, the Customs Act, No. 10 of 1872 already forbade “indecent or obscene prints, paintings, photographs, books, cards, lithographic or other engraving [sic], or any other indecent or obscene articles” 20 years prior to the Act Stemmet identifies as the first. However, the confusion is somewhat comprehensible, as the web of censorship laws that would later become known as “*die mees drakoniese sensuurwet in die wêreld, selfs: in die geskiedenis van die mensheid*” [the most draconian censorship law in the world, if not in the history of humanity] (Van Rensburg, 1985:102), was intricate from its inception: not only did the set of British colonies and the ZAR² each have its own laws independent from

² The OFS never enacted laws against objectionable content, as it had no access to a harbour, or ports through which pornography could stream into the country from abroad (Geldenhuys, 1977:23).

each other, but each had a set of laws that focused on the prohibition of objectionable publications from abroad, and a separate set, which focused on the prohibition of local objectionable publications (Geldenhuys, 1977:22-26); therefore, the 1872 law was the first in South Africa to focus on the former, and the 1892 law the first in South Africa to focus on the latter.

Whether these laws were ratified to curb an actual problem (i.e. pornography) in South Africa in this time, is not clear from the available literature. Considering that the 1872 law was a “*woordelikse oorskrywing*” [verbatim transcription] of the British Customs Consolidation Act, and that for 34 years after this law was ratified, there was absolutely no punishment for guilty parties (Geldenhuys, 1977:23), it seems the laws were probably blindly adopted due to pressure from Britain, where pornography, in the same time, was already a hard-core business (more on this in Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context). What is clear, though, is that by the time the two Boer republics were seized and became British colonies (after the Anglo-Boer War, 1899 to 1902) and all four colonies absorbed to form the Union of South Africa (on 31 May 1910), all the former colonies’ censorship laws attempting to ban obscene publications from abroad were abolished and replaced with one unified law (the Customs Management Act, No. 9 of 1913) (Geldenhuys, 1977:23; Mills, 2007:4); at the same time, the description of what obscenity exactly constituted in the first decade of twentieth-century South Africa became clear in popular parlance – especially when the first public debate on pornography was recorded in South Africa in 1913 (Sonderling, 1994a:95; 1996:35). Not only did this debate elicit a series of discussions on pornography that can be traced to the present day, but it exposed the (white) South African government’s ulterior motives behind their application of stringent censorship: their lust for racial superiority.

2.2.2 Pornography and racial superiority in South Africa

The earliest public debate on the “traffic in indecent picture [sic] and prints” is noted in a Master’s study by Sonderling (1994a:95) and two shorter academic journal articles that derive from the same thesis (Sonderling, 1996; 1998). In these academic works – of which the main thesis is titled “An exploration of poststructuralist discursive critique and its implication for a critical analysis of the discourse on pornography” – Sonderling determined when the discourse on pornography in South

Africa started, what was said, how it developed and by whom it was instigated. Identifying pornographic material was not included as part of the study's objectives (Sonderling, 1994a:88), and it is therefore not surprising that, apart from the examples mentioned in this section and this chapter, the thesis is generally void of any specific reference to pornography itself. However, as a whole, the findings of Sonderling's thesis make it clear when pornography was a point of discussion in South Africa – a contentious one that was almost always “dominated by [the] condemnation of pornography as *immoral* [emphasised by the author] and its presumed *bad effect* [emphasised by the author]” (Sonderling, 1996:33; 1998:322). Interestingly, Sonderling does not provide a working definition of “pornography”, and the thesis thus collates any discourse that references the keyword – even those that apply a “nincompoop” definition (as discussed in section 2.1.3 of this chapter). Initially, this seems somewhat ironic, as it is Sonderling (1994b:10) himself who coins “nincompoop definition”, but seems to apply one in his own thesis. The parameters of the thesis are therefore much wider than what they would be if they excluded pornography in the form of erotic/sexual realism. But it does become clear that Sonderling is actually illustrating how misconstrued the discussion on and the reference to pornography in South Africa was. Somewhat ironically, “the discourse on pornography in South Africa [...] do[es] not provide ultimate answer [sic] to what pornography is” (Sonderling, 1994a:168a), which illustrates that debates on pornography were conducted blindly with no comprehension of what the span of its definition or the genre itself included. The discussion does, however, “describe [...] how particular [sic] groups in a society [in South Africa] are able to make pornography into a *social problem* [emphasised by the author]” (Sonderling, 1994a:168), and how pornography was only an initial point of departure in a bigger discussion on power, control and knowledge relationships by (white) supremacists (Sonderling, 1998:323), who left no leaf unturned in the quest to suppress any pornography, including pornographic magazines in South Africa between 1939 and 1989.

In essence, the 1913 debate centred on the black population's access to “[p]ictures of semi-clad white women”, and how these “indecent” pictures, although “comparatively harmless to a white person, were baneful to a native” (Sonderling, 1994a:95; 1996:35). Rightly noted by Sonderling (1994a:90,98; 1996:35), pornography was actually secondary in the debate that largely focused on “repulsive”

sexual intercourse across racial lines, the immediate prohibition thereof, the protection of white racial purity and the suppression of a black racial majority. This became clear in resultant political and social discussions on the fear of sexual assaults by natives on white women and the “imagined” increases in the rape of white women by native men, which collectively led to a report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into Assaults on Women, who clearly shifted the discussion from pornography to “barbaric native sexuality”, its threat to white racial purity and its impact on social dominance – an unquestionably clear indication of the white minority’s lust for control and power (Sonderling, 1994a:92-93). In its report, the Commission also made reference to “indecent pictures and photographs” and “bioscopes”, which it feared represented South Africa in a sexually lewd way (Sonderling, 1994a:93). The Commission focused on visual representations only, as it assumed that black natives were primitive and illiterate (Sonderling, 1994a:93), and blamed these lewd visual representations for the reason black natives were “‘loosing [sic] respect for the white race’ and fostering, in the black mind, the idea of having sexual relations with white women” (Sonderling, 1994a:95). The report concluded with the demand for more stringent censorship (Sonderling, 1994a:95).

2.2.2.1 Pornography and its (presumed) effects

Although secondary, the 1913 debate illuminates “*die belangrikste enkele rede vir die onduidelikheid en verwarring wat daar in breë lae oor pornografie heers*” [the single, most important reason for the obscurity and confusion that comprehensively dominates pornography], which is its ability to (possibly) harbour long-term effects (Van Rensburg, 1985:25; 1986b:47).

According to Van Rensburg (1986b:48), there have always been “*twee onversoenlike pole*” [two irreconcilable opinions] of individuals who are locked in an “*antitetiese denkstruktuur*” [antithetical structure of thought] between pornography having harmful effects and it not harbouring any. Although Van Rensburg (1986b:53-54) concludes, with no supporting evidence, that pornography does have harmful effects, there exists no “*onomstootlike wetenskaplike bewyse*” [incontestable scientific evidence] that proves that pornography leads to aggression against women (Theron, 1988:172), antisocial conduct or criminal behaviour (Sonderling, 1994a:142). Nonetheless, a principle of “common belief” that pornography does harm has been

upheld by “authoritative and powerful groups” in South Africa, “regardless of the fact that such harm cannot be ascertained”; this belief has largely justified the reason to use censorship “to keep pornography out of the country” (Sonderling, 1994a:142).

2.2.3 The South African Board of Censors, 1931

In 1930, the minister of the interior, Dr. D.F. Malan, proposed a bill that “sought to establish a national censorship board” to curb “vulgarity and suggestiveness” in films (Ssali, 1983:116). Although many considered the bill a delayed response to the conclusions drawn by the 1913 Commission Appointed to Enquire into Assaults on Women (as discussed in section 2.2.2 of this chapter) – especially since two of the bill’s objectives were to target “[n]ude human figures” and “[p]assionate love scenes” – Ssali (1983:115-117) is of the opinion that the bill was motivated by a flurry of worldwide media reports even earlier – in 1910 – which warned against the possible effects and outcomes of the broadcast of an American boxing match, during which a black boxer easily defeated his white opponent. Film screenings in South Africa in 1910 were limited, but various newspapers, including the *The Natal Witness* and *Sunday Times*, and numerous church leaders “pointed out that the sole menace of the film was the inculcation of racial hatred which could instantly be prevented by prohibiting its exhibition to Coloured [sic] people” (Ssali, 1983:116). Even though the uproar continued until 1912, the (white) public’s pleas were heard, and as a result, the Entertainments (Censorship) Act, No. 28 of 1931 breathed life into the South African Board of Censors, which had to examine “films and film advertisements intended for public exhibition in any place in the Union” (Ssali, 1983:117; Mills, 2007:4-5). By 1934, the Board’s powers extended to imported print publications (McDonald, 2009:21).

The Board comprised of a group of 15 members, including eight former teachers, and 33 readers, of which half were “housewives”, who examined films and printed publications (well into the late-1950s) deemed undesirable by customs officials (Hepple, 1960:36-37; McDonald, 2009:22). The Board made a recommendation to the minister of the interior to prohibit a specific film or publication, and the minister, in turn, published a list of banned works in government gazettes – the first which was published on 21 August 1939 (as mentioned in section 1.3 of Chapter 1 – Introduction). Not only do these lists show which specific films

and publications – specifically, magazines – were imported to South Africa from 1939 onwards (more on this in Chapter 4 – Research methodology), but these gazettes are the bulk of data that was studied to answer this thesis’s research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**). Unsurprisingly, the entire board was white, mostly Afrikaans and Christian, and prided themselves on the fact that they sent letters “*van tyd tot tyd*” [from time to time] to “*persone dwarsdeur die land wat gedurig met naturelle in aanraking kom*” [people across the country who regularly came into contact with natives], in order to find out what effects certain films had on them, and to adjust their judgements on films and publications accordingly (Creswell, 1949:43). However, due to the Afrikaner board members’ “incredibly conservative” fear of “racial disturbance” (Ssali, 1983:116), they only allowed most “European people”, their children above the age of 12, and “in some cases Coloreds [sic]” to see films; “Africans, or Natives [sic] as they preferred to call them, were treated as European children under 12 years of age” (Ssali, 1983:118).

2.2.4 The Afrikaner church-state

As noted by Sonderling (1996:35), the Afrikaans word “*pornografie*” [pornography] “entered the Afrikaans language for the first time in a debate conducted in the Cape newspaper, *Die Burger* [The Citizen], at the beginning of 1930”. Although the arguments in the said debate, which involved Afrikaans literary giants C.J. Langenhoven in the 1930s and N.P. van Wyk Louw in the 1940s, is discussed in depth by Sonderling (1994a:97-116; 1996:35-36), they are of little importance in this thesis, as they mainly focus on erotic/sexual realism, rather than “pornography” as it is defined in Chapter 1 (Introduction). These debates, however, do shed light on the Afrikaner’s conservative stance to sex and pornography, of which an understanding is essential in this thesis, as “[t]he Afrikaner group governed the country [and its censorship legislation] for most of the twentieth century” (Stemmet, 2005:201) – i.e. the period under investigation in this thesis (1939-1989).

According to Van Rooyen (2011:17), a “paradigm shift in terms of policy took place” after the National Party (NP) won the 1948 general election and took control of the country. The holistic approach by the former prime minister, general Jan Smuts,

was replaced by Afrikaner Nationalism, which was largely grounded in socialism and Christian principles “often perceived from a political angle”. As Van Rooyen (2011:17) summarises:

“[...] the ideal of the Nationalists was to once again build a nation where Calvinistic principles would reign supreme and South Africa would recapture the essence of the nineteenth-century Republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal, thereby re-establishing the supremacy of the white Afrikaner. In short, apartheid would lie at the heart of the new government policy, which was, unjustifiably, claimed to be based on biblical principles. The larger white Afrikaans churches supported the government in these claims. Although South Africa was constitutionally not a theocracy, the government often fell back on what it perceived to be Christian principles in support of political and social plans.”

Bizarrely, the NP’s strategy to promote Christian morality was to promote racial segregation, known as apartheid (Van Rooyen, 2011:14) – a system of “*social engineering* [emphasised by the author] aimed at establishing complete separation between black and white racial groups” (Sonderling, 1994a:120). It was fully supported by the Afrikaans Reformed Churches, who “would often remind government that it called itself a ‘Christian Government [sic]’” (Van Rooyen, 2011:14). The relationship between the church and the NP – one Sonderling (1994a:166) describes as a “fusion” – extended well into the 1960s, and was largely the reason for the ruling party’s application of “strict moral and religious censorship” (Van Rooyen, 2011:14), which was no less than immensely conservative.

The reason for Afrikaners’ conservative approach to sex and pornography “is embedded in their historical, cultural and social make-up, which evolved some time before the Afrikaner group achieved political control of the country” (Stemmet, 2005:199-200). As Stemmet (2005:200) notes:

“One certain influence on the Afrikaner when it was forged was that it identified itself with the chosen people of the Old Testament [in the Bible], the belief that it was some sort of *uitverkore volk* (chosen people); that it had a divine calling; a God-given task to fulfil in South Africa. So, for example, Dr

D.F. Malan was convinced that the Afrikaner group was not a creation of people but of God and most prime ministers, to a degree, also spoke of the Afrikaner's divine calling."

Consequently, Afrikaners became infamous for their superiority, a laager mentality, exclusivity, purity, conformity and a fear of the "*volksvreemde* (that which is alien to the people)" (Stemmet, 2005:200). More importantly, though, they isolated themselves to form a unity, which they believed was the key for survival "in a tough country, set in a dangerous continent, fixed in a treacherous world" (Stemmet, 2005:200). The cornerstone of this unity was purity – specifically, moral purity – which they "desperately" protected, so that they could "be superior to other groups, superior to different degrees and on different levels, but assuredly very much so morally. The group would only be strong of will if it was pure of heart as well" (Stemmet, 2005:200). In particular,

"[...] the Afrikaner group was always on the lookout for the *volksvreemde* and liberal rationales which could so easily lead to the dangers of decadence and sexual promiscuity which, of course, could disrupt the group's moral purity and therefore its superiority; split its single-mindedness, its culture and therefore its unity, its strength and by implication its very survival. If the group slipped morally, the ripple effect would be apocalyptic" (Stemmet, 2005:200).

As a result, the fear of this apocalypse was the irrational driving force behind the government's application of more stringent censorship to nip pornographic magazines in the bud.

2.2.5 The Commission of Enquiry in regard to Undesirable Publications, 1954 to 1957

Although the NP government and Afrikaans churches agreed by the 1950s on the effects of "bad literature" (including sexual and political literature) on "natives" (Sonderling, 1994a:117; 1996:37), pornography was still a "general, unspecified and flexible concept" of which "the exact nature [...] was kept a secret" (Sonderling, 1994a:119). The (then) South African church-state "claimed that [...] natives were

being subverted by publications containing pornography that had the effect of destroying the native's respect for White [sic] women, and harmed the healthy relationship between [...] racial groups" (Sonderling, 1996:37). During a parliamentary debate in 1953, this sentiment was re-emphasised and an old conclusion drawn: "censorship was essential, because [...] 'bad literature' would result in a revolution, and the whole structure of [South Africa's] Western civilization w[ould] become undermined and confused" (Sonderling, 1996:37).

To investigate the pornography problem and suggest the best solution to eradicate it, the Commission of Enquiry in regard to Undesirable Publications, chaired by Prof. Geoffrey Cronjé (and therefore known as the Cronjé Commission), was established to find "the most effective means of combating, in view of the particular circumstances and composition of the population of the Union of South Africa, the evil of indecent, offensive or harmful literature and other published material" (Cronjé Commission in Sonderling, 1996:37). But as Sonderling (1994a:122) emphasises, the Commission itself was by far not objective in its investigation – especially since it was "authorised by the National Party government, a government with a power base derived exclusively from the white, and mainly Afrikaans, segments of the community". Additionally, the Commission chair was a "respected figure within the Afrikaner Broederbond³ and the National Party and had a past history of political activity [...] known to have had pro-Nazi sympathies" (Sonderling, 1994a:122). Most importantly, though, the Commission did not "find it necessary to question whether or not anything defined *undesirable* [emphasised by the author] was really an evil" – it merely accepted it as "a self-evident truth because it was made and authorised by the power of the government". Any debate that argued it was not evil, was "silence[d]" by the government anyway (Sonderling, 1994a:123).

³ The Afrikaner Broederbond was founded in 1918, with the aim of promoting "a healthy and progressive spirit of unity among all Afrikaners aimed at the welfare of the Afrikaner nation; the cultivation of a national self-consciousness in the Afrikaner and love for his language, religion, traditions, land and people, and the advancement of all the interests of the Afrikaner people" (Giliomee, 2009:400-401). Although it was initially not a secret organisation (Giliomee, 2009:400), it was later shrouded in secrecy, and, in Giliomee's opinion (2009:421), mistakenly remembered as "the organization [that] 'fashioned' apartheid into a radical program". The Afrikaner Broederbond, according to Giliomee (2009:446), "agreed with, and supported, apartheid, but it did not develop and formulate it".

Predictably, “[t]he Commission recommended that drastic measures were needed because ‘the preposterous misconception of the freedom to publish [...] must be regarded as one of the principal reasons, and perhaps the most important reason of all, for the aggravation of the problem’” (Cronjé Commission in Sonderling, 1996:38).

Therefore,

“[t]otal control over the production, distribution and consumption of journalistic, literary and artistic texts was necessary because it would ensure that the *correct* [emphasised by the author] literature would be produced while *undesirable* [emphasised by the author] and *inferior* [emphasised by the author] literature was eliminated” (Sonderling, 1996:38).

Naturally, the Commission’s findings drew criticism:

“It makes strange reading. Seldom can there have been such an admixture of scientific investigation and uncritical acceptance of unproved contentions. Every few pages a *petitio principia* offends the eye. Hyperbolic condemnation of current social trends and an illiberal attitude to libertarians go hand in hand with an appreciation of literary standards and the desirability and possibility of improving them that, for all an occasional artlessness in expression would delight many a *littérateur* (Kahn, 1966:287-288).

Although the Commission recommended that a board of censors should be able to reign supreme without judiciary influence, it seemed that the government initially ignored the findings, but implemented traces of their recommendations almost six years later when the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963 was promulgated; this law abolished the South African Board of Censors – but only to make way for a new Publications Control Board (Sonderling, 1996:38).

2.2.6 The Publications Control Board, 1963

By the end of the 1950s, 21 laws⁴ prohibited publications – including pornography, specifically the pornographic magazine – in South Africa (Hepple, 1960:11), but after the country officially cut its ties with Britain and the Commonwealth in 1961 to form the Republic of South Africa, the ruling National Party could finally fulfil its “long-held ambition to revive the traditions of nineteenth-century Boer republicanism” without British interference (McDonald, 2009:33).

To reach this goal, the new republic’s first prime minister, H.F. Verwoerd, enacted the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963, which would become “the cornerstone of the apartheid censorship bureaucracy for the next decade” (McDonald, 2009:32). Not only did the act make “the publication, printing, or distribution of ‘undesirable’ materials (excluding certain newspapers) produced by both locally and abroad [sic] a statutory offence,” but these offences were “punishable by severe fines and prison sentences” (McDonald, 2009:32-33). This new law was “less repressive”, though, than a draft bill early in the 1960s and the recommendations of the Cronjé Commission (as discussed in section 2.2.5 of this chapter), as it “expressly ruled out prepublication censorship; it excluded mainstream newspapers signed up to a new voluntary press code, and, most importantly for the opponents of the [draft] bill, it made the Supreme Court, not a government-appointed board, the final arbiter in the event of an appeal” (McDonald, 2009:33). However, it did see the introduction of a new Publications Control Board (PCB), which would become “*die belangrikste onderdeel van die Suid-Afrikaanse sensuurmasjien*” [the most important component of the South African censorship machine] (Geldenhuijs, 1977:35). As

⁴ These laws consisted of 15 national Acts – including the Customs Act, No. 55 of 1955; the Entertainments (Censorship) Act, No. 28 of 1931; the Post Office Act, No. 44 of 1958; the Official Secrets Act, No. 16 of 1956; the Criminal Procedure Act, No. 56 of 1955; the Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927; the Riotous Assemblies Act, No. 17 of 1956; the Suppression of Communism Act, No. 44 of 1950; the Public Safety Act, No. 3 of 1953; the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, No. 8 of 1953; the Prisons Act, No. 8 of 1959; the Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959, and the Law of Libel – and six provincial Acts, including No. 31 of 1892 and Ordinance 9 of 1926 in the Cape; No. 38 of 1909 and Ordinance 1 of 1920 in the Transvaal; Ordinance 14 of 1916 and Ordinance 19 of 1924 (one law), and Ordinance 19 of 1942 in Natal, and Ordinance 21 of 1902 and Ordinance 6 of 1948 in the Orange Free State (Hepple, 1960:11).

Geldenhuys (1977:35) summaries:

“Enige lid van die publiek het die reg verkry om publikasies vir beoordeling aan die Raad voor te lê. Soos reeds gesien, kon publikasies ook voorgelê word deur doeane-beamptes. Indien hy dit nodig ag, kon die Raad verder ondersoek instel na die aard van enige openbare vermaaklikheid.”

[Any member of the public had the right to submit publications to the Board for scrutiny. As already mentioned, publications could also be submitted by customs officials. If the Board found it necessary, they could also investigate the nature of any form of public entertainment.]

In the decade between 1964 and 1974, the PCB banned over 10 000 publications (McDonald, 2009:33), but according to Du Toit (in Sonderling, 1989:67; 1990:42), “there [was] a generally mistaken assumption that publications control in South Africa [was] mainly aimed at combating pornography”. Apparently only three percent of banned publications were pornographic, and up to 49 percent political in nature. Sonderling (1989:67; 1990:42) states that pornography was used to “distract[...] attention from the true aim [of censorship,] which [was] political control”. Sonderling continues by saying that:

“[...] [p]ornography [was] not a moral problem [sic] and censorship [was] a politically motivated exercise of power and social control. Pornography [was] used as a cause to enact censorship laws that limit the freedom of speech in the name of saving the freedom of society”.

Whatever the government’s true intentions were, the Supreme Court “remained a stumbling block” as “[t]he banning of publications by the [PCB] could be challenged in open court”– which they regularly were (Sonderling, 1994a:135-136). As Van Rooyen (1987:14) notes, “instances in which the courts confirmed the [PCB’s] bannings were few and far between” and “the courts regularly set aside bannings”. The regular tug of war between the censors and the intervention by the Supreme Court, who corrected their “blunders”, became an embarrassment to the government, and in 1972 another commission was brought to life to suggest amendments to the

copyright apparatus that could avoid similar interferences (Sonderling, 1996:38; Van Rooyen, 1987:14).

2.2.7 The Commission of Inquiry into the Publications and Entertainments Amendment Bill, 1974

Compared to the Cronjé Commission, which was specifically tasked to investigate the “evil” of, among other things, pornographic magazines (as discussed in section 2.2.5 of this chapter), the Commission of Inquiry into the Publications and Entertainments Amendment Bill (that became known as the Kruger Commission) had a slightly different task: to “investigate the conflict” between the PCB and the Supreme Court, “essentially to conduct an onslaught on the right of appeal to the courts” (Sonderling, 1994a:136; Stemmet, 2005:203). Although the Commission’s task had no specific ties to pornography, and it actually has very little relevance in this chapter, the outcome of their investigation largely influenced an even stricter policy to suppress pornography post-1975, and a discussion thereof is therefore also vital to understand why the pornographic magazine in South Africa between the 1970s and 1989 was so heavily prohibited.

In the early 1970s, the PCB’s level of conservativeness reached new lows, as almost anything “remotely connected with sexuality was viewed as potentially dangerous to public morality” – even see-through pantyhose wrappers, which were banned in 1971 (Stemmet, 2005:204). But due to the Supreme Court, which regularly received appeals and set aside the PCB’s bannings, “intense public brouhaha” made a mockery of the system, and motivated the Commission’s investigation, under the chairmanship of Mr. J.J. Kruger. According to the government, the Kruger Commission was “necessary as the country was in the throws of a spirit of permissiveness and degeneracy which can be directly linked to a Communist plot that used pornography to break down Western resolve” (Stemmet, 2005:203-204). It was, therefore, quite clear that “the morality that was claimed on behalf of censorship was exposed as political strategy” – and nothing more (Sonderling, 1994a:131).

In its report, the Kruger Commission (in Sonderling, 1994a:132) found that:

“[...] most people in South Africa lack[ed] the mental maturity and aesthetic judgment to distinguish and guard against those things that might be harmful to their own and society’s morals and customs, which have been handed down to them with care by their religious and conservative parents and other educators”.

They also argued that people “need to be protected against the wave” of permissiveness, and urged the South African government to protect the “good morals and customs” of the community against such “evil” (Kruger Commission in Sonderling, 1994a:132). Their suggestion was the creation of a Publications Appeal Board to “substitute recourse to the courts”, but as Stemmet (2005:204) points out,

“[t]he effect is of course clear[:] without the judicial hindrance, the authorities – via its bureaucratic veins – could, to a large extent, annex the flow of information in South Africa and by implication, the freedom of discourse, speech and expression. Big Brother was growing up fast”.

As Sonderling (1994a:132) notes, the Kruger Commission’s findings were “based on the same method as that encountered in the Cronjé Commission – a selective presentation of statements in order to make a case against pornography without recourse to any counter-argument”. Ironically, though, the Commission, which exclusively consisted of politicians, was divided in its findings, and basically published a two-in-one final report, consisting of a majority and minority report (Sonderling, 1994a:132); not only were both criticised by anti-censorship groups for the same reasons as stated above, but their recommendations were implemented when the Publications Act, No. 42 of 1974 abolished the PCB, and redirected the Supreme Court’s duties to a new Publications Appeal Board.

2.2.8 The Publications Appeal Board, 1975

By 1975, censorship’s roots in South Africa had been radicating for just over a century, but it was yet again uprooted when another new law, the Publications Act, No. 42 of 1974 was enacted. This time, however, authorities augmented and condensed “all the previous attempts of the minority government at publication

control” and promulgated a “super law” that would give censors more power than ever before (Stemmet, 2005:204). In short, it encompassed the control over:

“any newspaper [...] any book, periodical, pamphlet, poster [...] any writing or typecast which has in any manner been duplicated [...] any drawing, picture, illustration, painting, woodcut or similar representation; any print, photograph, engraving or lithograph; any figure, cast, carving, statue or mode; any record or other object in or on which sound has been recorded and all public entertainment. Any of this was legally undesirable if it was indecent or obscene or is harmful to public morals” (Stemmet, 2005:204).

Most importantly, though, the new law abolished the PCB, removed the Supreme Court as the main arbiter “in response to pressure from both the Afrikaner churches and the judiciary itself” (McDonald, 2009:60), and replaced it with a new, administrative tribunal – the Publications Appeal Board (PAB). As McDonald (2009:60) explains, the Publications Act introduced a three-tier body, that would reign supreme until well after the fall of apartheid in 1994: The first tier, a Directorate of Publications, was appointed and seated in Cape Town, and oversaw the work of the second tier, censorship committees, which would make “the actual decisions” whether any of the material mentioned above would be censored or not; the third tier, the PAB, seated in Pretoria, would hear the pleas of appellants and decide whether or not to lift the bans ordered by the censorship committees.

Criticism against the PAB was rife, most notably because it was not only not representative of the South African population, but because it was not truly representative of white South Africans (Stemmet, 2005:205). With regard to the former, although coloured and Indian representatives were allowed to advise the censorship committees, black representatives were still completely overlooked (McDonald, 2009:60), and with regard to the latter, by 1981, seven of the 11 board members were over 60, of which five were over 65; only two were English and all were white and Christian (Stemmet, 2005:205).

Although the new tribunal’s focus was communist propaganda and pornography, “[n]ot only obvious pornographic material was scrutinised, but indeed anything that had anything to do with the public discourse on sex” (Stemmet, 2005:205-206). But, in 1980, when the PAB’s second chairman, the 38-year old Prof.

Kobus van Rooyen, was appointed, he was largely credited for the reason why censorship in South Africa in the 1980s “became somewhat more relaxed, albeit in a very subtle way” (Stemmet, 2005:206). In 1980, censors banned 60.25% of publications (1 312 of 2 177 publications) it reviewed; by 1985 it dropped to only 47.6% (684 of 1267) (Stemmet, 2005:206). On the brink of political change in the country, “the South African public, slowly but surely, were given a freer hand in deciding what they could read, write, watch and listen to” (Van Rooyen in Stemmet, 2005:206).

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (Introduction), the Films and Publications Act, No. 65 of 1996 finally ended 126 years of censorship in South Africa, when it came into effect in mid-1998.

2.2.9 A century of pornography in South Africa, 1880s to 1990s

Thus far, South African academic research has (in as much brevity as possible in this chapter), contextualised the stringent application of censorship, and the conservatively religious and moral convictions that became a driving force to keep pornography out of the country. But as Van Rensburg (1985:123) states, “[a]s jy pornografie met wetgewing aanpak, dryf jy dit net ondergronds” [if you attack pornography with legislation, you’ll just drive it “underground”]. In this regard, South African academic research has not been completely unspecific in stating and naming specific examples of pornography that did slip through the cracks.

The “faintest possible echo” of the first pornography in South Africa is subtly and briefly cited by Van Onselen (1982:147-148), who, in the first volume of his book *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914* notes “the exhibition in shop windows of pictures of semi-nude women” in Nugget Street, Johannesburg in the early 1900s. Although Van Onselen (1982:103-162) does not make specific reference to pornography in a chapter on prostitution during the gold rush to the Witwatersrand in the 1880s, the promiscuous context sketched by the chapter, the uncontested link between prostitution and pornography (Connolly, 2008:2; Mirsky, 2005:5; more on this in Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context) and the flood of international photographers to South African shores starting c. 1854 (Bull & Denfield, 1964:8), suggests that pornography could well have been part of

South Africa's "naughty nineties"⁵ (Van Onselen, 1982:123). Additionally, it cannot be coincidental that in South Africa's "naughty" 1890s, with its "commercialised sex" (Van Onselen, 1982:103), "social evil" (Van Onselen, 1982:139), "promiscuous behaviour" (Van Onselen, 1982:146) and even a "'traditional' red light district" in Johannesburg's "underworld of sexual vice" (Van Onselen, 1982:147), an alarming 106-year relationship between locally-produced pornography and the law was initiated by the government, who passed the country's first law banning obscene, domestic publications in 1892 (as discussed in section 2.2.1 of this chapter).

Unfortunately, Van Onselen's comments stand alone. In his history of Dutch and Afrikaans magazines in South Africa between 1823 and 1921, Nienaber (1951) does not identify any pornographic magazines in this time, most probably because there was an assumption that the pornography industry in South Africa experienced "a time of drought" up to the 1980s (Van Rooyen, 2011:74). Other comments on pornography pre-1980 were, however, located: Froneman (2011) delivers, what the researcher believes to be, the only academic enquiry into the history of a specific South African pornography magazine, in a journal article, titled "The rise and demise of *Scope* [sic] magazine: A [sic] media-historical perspective". Although Froneman continually refers to the magazine as *Scope* when it should be *SCOPE*, and the magazine appeared fortnightly from 1966 to 1971 (*Scope* [sic] goes weekly, 1971:18-19; Van Rooyen, 2011:20) – not weekly, as Froneman (2011:52) states – the insight into *SCOPE* as a "popular news magazine without pin-up girls" in the 1960s, to a "milder version" of *Playboy* and *Penthouse* in the mid-1970s (Froneman, 2011:55), to a "daring" magazine that competed with local versions of international pornographic titles in the 1990s (Froneman, 2011:56), remains unparalleled in South African academic writing. Due to the "famous tug-of-war [sic]" between the PAB, who regularly banned *SCOPE* on the grounds of its risqué content, and the Supreme Court, who regularly unbanned it sometimes only hours afterwards (Van Rooyen, 2011:20; Claassen, 2007:132), *SCOPE* most probably remains the most contentious magazine in South African magazine history. It is therefore deplorable that its legacy rests solely on one journal article – an article that concludes with an incomplete reference list. In this review of literature, it becomes clear that more research is needed.

⁵ As Van Onselen is making reference to nineteenth-century South Africa, "nineties" here refers to the 1890s.

Verschoor (1978) also comments on pornography pre-1980 by contemplating whether pornographic videos were unlawful in South Africa, shortly after television was introduced to South Africans in 1976. Since videos were used for “*private vermaak*” [private entertainment] (Verschoor, 1978:239), and it was therefore difficult to determine if South Africans owned pornographic videos in the late-1970s, the article suggests that pornographic videos might have been in circulation in this time. Although purchasing pornographic magazines were highly illegal, Verschoor (1978:241) concludes that the definition of “photographic” excludes videos, and that it was therefore, technically, not unlawful for anyone in South Africa to own a pornographic video.

Academic comment on pornography in South Africa in the 1980s is, however, more abundant than in the period pre-1980: Theron (1988:168) admits that pornographic videos and magazines could be purchased in South Africa with “*’n bietjie moeite*” [a little effort] on either the black market or from neighbouring countries; both Van Rooyen (2011:74,83) and Van Rensburg (1985:119) concur. Other pornographic paraphernalia during the 1980s included wine goblets with pictures of nude women on them and men’s underwear with phrases that were once banned (Van Rooyen, 2011:43-44). In a chapter he titles “[*d*]ie Suid-Afrikaanse situasie” [the South African situation], Van Rensburg (1985:113-126) sheds the most light on the pornography trade in South Africa in the 1980s. Although quite vague, Van Rensburg (1985:115) notes that “[*k*]landestien-ingevoerde materiaal [...] taamlik verbreed in private huise beskikbaar [was]: [sic] danksy toegenome reisgeleenthede” [imported clandestine material was moderately available in the privacy of homes, thanks to an increase in travel opportunities]. Van Rensburg further adds that the advent of “[*n*]uwe porno-bronne” [new sources of pornography], like the pornographic video, are extremely hard to control – another indication that pornographic videos might have been in circulation. When one considers that the South African pornography trade grew out of “*die hande van amateurs*” [the hands of amateurs] to “*die professionele deskundiges van tans*” [current professionals] (Van Rensburg, 1985:125), it clearly indicates that by the mid-1980s, the South African pornography trade was already developing well past its infant stage, and that “[*d*]ie amateurdae van pornografie [...] lank reeds verby [is]” [the days of pornography in the hands of amateurs have long since passed] (Van Rensburg, 1985:4).

The “rains came” for the South African pornography industry during the 1990s, when “the first signs of a new Constitution [sic] that would guarantee freedom of expression” led to a flood of international and local pornography titles (Van Rooyen, 2011:74). Sonderling (1994a:160), Van Rooyen (1996:175) and Claassen (2007:133) note magazines such as *Bunny Girl*, *Stag*, *Penthouse*, *HUSTLER*, *Playboy* and *Loslyf* in South Africa. So, too, Stemmet (2004:223; 2005:207) reports that South African censors identified only 13 pornographic publications in 1991; by 1993, the number had grown to 259. Although pornography was still technically illegal, the South African pornography market “blossomed” and sped to a net worth of R25 million a month by 1995 (Stemmet, 2004:224-225). The flood, however, led to an unfortunate avalanche, and most of the magazines folded due to “an oversaturation in the market” (Claassen, 2007:133). Van Rooyen (2011:74-75) is of the opinion that the demise of many pornographic magazines in this time was due to it not being “wild enough for the seemingly famished South African market” – specifically South African editions of *Playboy* and *Penthouse* that were not selling well. However, it did not lead to the South African pornography industry’s demise: In 2003 “[was] [d]ie magtige Suid-Afrikaanse bloufliedbedryf [...] toe op die vlak van tuisvideo’s” [the almighty South African blue movie industry was on the level of home movies] (Eloff & Cronje, 2009b:124), but in just six years the industry expanded and saw the release of domestic pornography movies in vernacular languages (as noted in section 1.2 of Chapter 1 – Introduction); other recent developments are noted in the same section.

2.2.10 Criticism: Van Rensburg, Sonderling and Stemmet

Between Van Rensburg, Sonderling and Stemmet – the three researchers whose work largely motivated the current research project – it is only Stemmet who has, to the researcher’s knowledge, escaped criticism. Interestingly, it is Sonderling who criticises Van Rensburg the most heavily.

According to Sonderling (1990:42), Van Rensburg fuels stereotypes of pornography by continually defining it as “dehumanized sex” (Van Rensburg, 1985:21). On examination of Van Rensburg’s book *Pornografie* [Pornography] (1985), Sonderling (1990:44) also remarks that “it is a collection of literary anecdotes and a selective presentation of views”, and that “Van Rensburg’s entire contribution to serious research on the effects of pornography consists of a bibliography”.

Sonderling (1990:40) concludes by noting that Van Rensburg “conflat[es] depiction of pornography and violence as both having harmful effects”, when in reality no research could successfully prove any such claim.

Conversely, Sonderling’s research is criticised for the exact opposite: that no research, including his own, proves that pornography does *not* [emphasised by the researcher] have harmful effects (Van Eeden, Hansen & Gabrielli, 1994:14). Instructed by Van Eeden, Hansen and Gabrielli (1994:14) to “[w]ake up”, Sonderling is also accused of silencing and ridiculing his adversaries through academic research, when he should be stating facts and not just making claims (Van Eeden, Hansen & Gabrielli, 1994:14). In response, Sonderling (1994e:14) (rightly so) states that Van Eeden, Hansen and Gabrielli are basing their criticism on one article in a non-scientific newsletter, where space constraints largely prohibit factual expansion; Sonderling refers them to specific articles already mentioned in this chapter (Sonderling, 1989; 1990). Furthermore, Sonderling (1994e:15) indirectly accuses his critics of “attempt[ing] to give censorship credibility” – especially since they argue that it is not a “principal sin” to banish reading material (including pornography) that might harm (Van Eeden, Hansen & Gabrielli, 1994:14). Sonderling (1994e:15) concludes the mudslinging by reminding his critics that censorship, which they partly justify, “is not a sin, it is a crime”.

2.3 Summary

This chapter reviewed academic research relevant to the pornographic magazine in South Africa for three reasons: Firstly, to show what other research concerning pornography in South Africa has been conducted; secondly to show that the current research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) and the results thereof (compiled in Chapter 6 – Findings and discussion) are relevant and unique, and finally, to sketch a legislative, religious and cultural South African milieu that indirectly contributes to an understanding of the pornographic magazine’s history in the country between 1939 and 1989.

The span of the chapter showed that pornography is severely under-researched in South Africa, and that similar studies to the current project are basically non-

existent. The South African government is largely responsible for this scarcity, as its suppression of pornography through an extreme application of censorship also applied to academic writing. The chapter shed light on a 126-year history of media suppression – specifically, pornography censorship – which, in turn, also shed light on the (ruling) Afrikaners’ immensely conservative stance to pornography and their religious convictions, which largely tried to keep pornography outside local borders. Although the government argued it was trying to protect morality, literature showed that the paranoid application of censorship to curb pornography was only secondary to the minority Afrikaner government’s lust for control and power over a black majority. In addition, academic literature also showed that the attempt to keep pornography out of the country was partly unsuccessful, as the presence of some pornographic magazines and videos were noted.

The next chapter (Chapter 3 – Theoretical frameworks) will introduce the two theoretical frameworks – authoritarianism as a press theory and the *Annales*’s functional-structural approach – that was used to examine and relay the findings of this thesis (compiled in Chapter 6 – Findings and discussion).

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 Introduction

Although this body of work is a social scientific enquiry into the historical roots of a genre (in this case, pornography), and the premise of this study is clearly based in the social science field of media studies, it has to be noted that the prominent historical features of this investigation also focuses on a premise based in the field of historical studies. Therefore, the examination of the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) leads to a study that is in effect bilateral in nature, as both media and historical studies are grouped together in one project. The idea of a bilateral social science study is strengthened in that the title of this thesis, the research question and the fact that the study could be a literary contribution to a more complete South African media-historiography, all contain the keywords “media”, “history” or derivatives thereof. As a result of the research field’s duality, the researcher employed two theoretical frameworks – one from media studies and one from historical studies – to sufficiently study the research question. If theory is seen as a “systematic set of ideas that can help make sense of a phenomenon, guide action or predict a consequence” (McQuail, 2008:14), then it makes sense to employ two sets of ideas to concurrently analyse the research question for a fuller and more robust result.

This chapter sets out to introduce and explain the principal characteristics of the two chosen frameworks – the normative authoritarianism as a press theory, as well as the French meta-theories framed by the *Annales* – which both guided and framed the results of the research question. Emphasis on the prevalence of these two theories and how they were implemented in this study, follows.

3.2 The authoritarian media theory

From the little available literature on the history of pornography in South Africa already noted in Chapter 2 (Literature review), it is clear that the South African

government implemented various censorship policies and strict laws between 1872 and mid-1998 to prevent the distribution and production of and even academic enquiry into pornography in the country. Studying the problem theoretically, the phenomenon of restricting a medium (in the span of this study, the pornographic magazine) is discussed and analysed through normative theory, which mainly concerns itself with a government's control, limitation, or freedom of one medium, multiple media or a media system as a whole (Fourie, 2007:191). Normative theory concentrates on the (im)balance between the government's will for power and control, and the media's right to freedom of speech (Roelofse in Fourie, 2007:190-191). When a government's claim of power and control conflicts with the media's right to freedom of speech, an imbalance in power occurs when governments restrict functions that are needed by the media to perform properly (Fourie, 2007:190-191). In short: "normative theories are thus mainly concerned with restrictions on (and freedom of) the media in various situations and how this impacts on the functioning in society" (Fourie, 2007:191).

In 1956, a study by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm was based on the foundations of normative theory (Fourie, 2007:191). By comparing newspapers of media systems worldwide, they developed four theories, which they hoped could measure a country's media freedom (Fourie, 2007:191):

1. the authoritarian theory;
2. the libertarian theory;
3. the social responsibility theory, and
4. the Soviet communist theory.

Although the theories were initially only studied "in relation to the press (newspapers), [they were] later adopted and adapted as a yardstick for the measurement of the freedom of expression in any country (from authoritarian to libertarian) of all media" (Fourie, 2007:191). In this way, the theory is not only restricted to just newspapers, but can lend itself to any medium and genre – including pornography and the pornographic magazine.

Although the classical Four Theories model has seen changes since it was first conceived, and has been criticised as being too simplistic, this researcher argues that it is still applicable to this research project, as it is argued that the main focus for this

study is the authoritarian theory, it is regarded as the model that is most relevant, and it is the theoretical framework on which this study rests most heavily. Basic principles and the prevalence of the authoritarian theory in this study, follow.

3.2.1 Basic principles of authoritarianism

Authoritarian theory justifies a dictatorial government's suppression and censorship of the media (Roelofse in Fourie, 2007:191-192). Berry, Braman, Christians, Guback, Helle, Liebovich, Nerone and Rotzoll (1995:32) describe authoritarian theory as a "negative version of libertarian theory" – the latter which concentrates on press freedom. Therefore authoritarian and libertarian theories represent the two opposite divisions of normative theory which, as discussed, centres around restrictions and freedom of the media. As the focus in this study is on the pornographic magazine between 1939 and 1989, in a time when it was illegal in South Africa, the interest here falls only on authoritarian theory.

Authoritarianism is defined within a relationship between a state and its people, and more importantly focuses on how the state concentrates its power in this relationship (Berry *et al.*, 1995:38). In authoritarian practice, this "concentration of power", as phrased by Berry *et al.* (1995:38), is always negative in nature, as the state abuses its power to gain total control over every facet of society – one of which is the media. An authoritarian state argues that the individuals it governs can exclusively reach their full potential as part of an "organized community" – a group that increases the individual's chance of success (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956:10-11). Without an organised group, the individual has no chance of reaching his/her goals. The state classified itself as "the highest expression of group organization" and that it [the state] "then, was essential to the full development of [its people]" (Siebert *et al.*, 1956:11). Although authoritarian states proclaim that their actions are in the best interest of the individuals they preside over, their main goal for controlling the media is mainly to "limit or suppress or define people's thought and expression" (Berry *et al.*, 1995:38) and to use the media so that it, in turn, can become an instrument and mouthpiece of government (Fourie, 2007:192). Therefore, the state, which rules over an organised community, manoeuvres the media so that it can control what its individuals (the people) are exposed to.

3.2.2 Authoritarianism in this study

In Chapter 2 (Literature review), it was clear that censorship is a key concept in the history of pornography in South Africa. By investigating the history of the pornographic magazine in the country, it will be clear that pornography had to develop inside a political structure that justified suppression of the media. The research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) clearly supports this, as the rationale of the study is to investigate the pornographic magazine in South Africa in a time when censorship was so stringently applied.

Siebert *et al.* (1956:1) state:

“[...] the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially [sic], it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted.”

As the findings (in Chapter 6) will outline, the pornographic magazine had to adapt to the form of a political structure that repressed and controlled media. Since the South African government maintained a regime in a time when censorship of pornography was justified, and the justification of repressive regimes is the most basic tenet of authoritarian theory (Fourie, 2007:193), it is clear why the framework set by authoritarian theory was prevalent in the analysis of the research question of this study.

3.2.3 Authoritarianism: motivation for the structure of the findings of this thesis

Cloete (1988:14-27) divides the legislative history of publication control in South Africa into four periods of time, largely following the number of changes in South African censorship (and pornography) legislation already discussed in Chapter 2 (Literature review):

1. pre-1931;
2. 1931 to 1963;
3. 1963 to 1974, and
4. post-1974.

As part of applying authoritarianism in this thesis, the structure of Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion) will be analysed as follows in smaller sections motivated by Cloete, but adapted according to the time parameters of this thesis (1939 to 1989):

- pre-1939 (brief introduction);
- 1939 to 1963;
- 1964 to (mid-April) 1975, and
- (mid-April) 1975 to 1989.

The application of authoritarian theory in this thesis therefore permits a “physical” and metaphysical structure within which the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) will be investigated and its findings will be framed.

3.3 The *Annales*

The second of the two frameworks chosen for this study is known as the *Annales*, and is considered to be a meta-theory of historical studies (Mouton, 2004:170). Unique for its ability to collaborate with theoretical frameworks of disciplines other than politics (geography, sociology, linguistics, economics and social anthropology, to name a few) (Burke, 1990:2), the *Annales* is used in combination with authoritarianism in this study.

This twentieth-century French historical movement, based on an *Annales* [annals] known as the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* [Annals of Economic and Social History], was written in 1929 (Burke, 1990:21) by a group of French historical revolutionists, who contested the fact that history should only be about political events (Burke, 1990:2). In their bid, as the title of the annals suggests, they

pleaded for “intellectual leadership in the fields of economic and social history” (Burke, 1990:21). By 1930, the editorial committee decided to establish the movement “on the almost virgin soil of social history”, omitting ideas of economic history they initially included (Burke, 1990:22).

Since the journal’s inception, its scholars have presented different interests, approaches and topics in an open forum of discussion, in an attempt to create a *nouvelle histoire* [new history] – one that “sought to free itself [historiography] from the constraints of [...] ‘positivism’” (Glénisson, 1980:175-176) and the “traditional paradigm” of Rankean history developed by the German historian Leopold von Ranke (Burke, 2001:2-3). According to Burke (2001:3), Rankean history was seen as “*the* [emphasised by the author] way of doing history” and rejected the idea that other approaches to historical studies were possible. However, in forming the foundations of a *nouvelle histoire*, historical revolutionists of the *Annales* proved that an alternative approach is achievable.

Defining the theoretical and methodological outcomes of this *nouvelle histoire* set out by and in the *Annales* is partially problematic, as the policy of an open forum of discussion and the discovery of a new history has resulted in a movement that has led to an “evolution” of ideas, methods and practices (Glénisson, 1980:175). Scholars of the *Annales* have contributed diverse interests and methods, and to date “have not formulated an explicit theory or philosophy of history” (Iggers, 2005:51). Burke (2001:2) notes that “the movement is united only in what it opposes”; it is therefore also somewhat incorrect to refer to the *Annales* as a school or movement (Burke, 1990:1-2), an experiment (Huppert, 2002:873) or a paradigm (Stoianovich, 1976:1; Hunt, 1986:209), as many scholars in the group abnegate any existence of one school of thought (Burke, 1990:1). Braudel (in Stoianovich, 1976:9-11) comments that these collective references are all inaccurate because they imply a monolithic approach – something *Annales* historians did not aspire to.

After 81 years in existence, the *Annales* has been constructed and moulded by three generations of historians who have all contributed different ideas on theory and methodology (Burke, 1990:110; Stoianovich, 1976:1). Currently, the *Annales* is reigned by a fourth generation who changed the name of the annals to *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* [Annals: History, Social Sciences] in the 1990s (Burke, 2001:2). It is not the intention of this study to support the ideas of merely one specific generation. The contributions of all four generations were studied as a whole to see

which parts of the amalgamated *Annales* meta-theory and which common factors across all four generations fit best with this study. Accordingly, the functional-structural approach follows.

3.3.1 The functional-structural approach⁶

As Burke (1990:110) states, the most outstanding achievement of the *Annales* and a factor that binds all four generations together, is a constant attempt to step away from a politics-only study of history and move closer towards “the reclaiming of vast areas of history” that “extend the territory of the historian to unexpected areas of human behaviour and to social groups neglected by traditional historians”. As such, the *nouvelle histoire* has become “concerned with virtually every human activity” (Burke, 2001:3).

The movement is grounded in the theoretical functional-structural approach which is “generally rooted in the realization that culture or civilization [...] embraces more than just politics or the values, institutions, and other works and behaviour patterns of political elites” (Stoianovich, 1976:29). Through functional and structural approaches, the *Annales* saw society as a “total, inter-related [sic] organism”, and focused their studies on one of the systems within that organism (Hunt, 1986:211). Their goal was to see how a system of a society functions “in terms of its multiple temporal, spatial, human, social, economic [and] cultural [...] dimension[s]” (Hunt, 1986:211). As part of stepping away from political subjects, the structural-functional approach also “shed considerable light on the daily life of men and women of the past”, noting how their lives played out against the various dimensions of society (Burr, 1993:109-110). This contrasted with the traditional paradigm of history, which only studied “great deeds of great men, statesmen, generals, or occasionally churchmen” (Burke, 2001:4).

⁶ With specific reference to the *Annales*'s use of theory, Stoianovich (1976:29) phrases the theoretical framework as a “functional-structural approach”, Hunt (1986:211) as “functional and structural approaches” and Burr (1993:109) as “structural-functional”. Although all three are presented here as the sources phrase them, it should be noted that all follow the same definition.

3.3.2 The prevalence and confliction of functional-structuralism in this study

In the span of this study, one can classify pornography as the product of a human activity of which the history has lacked considerable study in South Africa (as discussed in Chapter 2 – Literature review). As the functional-structural approach emphasises the reclaiming of history that has been largely discounted by South African and international researchers (see Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context), it should be clear that the application of this theoretical framework will focus on the reclaiming of the history of the pornographic magazine in the country.

While the authoritative approach will focus the analysis of the results of the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) on the suppression of pornography, the functionalist-structuralist approach will study the pornographic magazine within this suppression to look at how it functioned. In addition it will also give an indication of the “social practices and institutions in terms of the ‘needs’ of the [South African] society and of [South African] individuals” (Merton in McQuail, 2008:96).

However, one conflicting aspect is present: Although the *Annales* and the functional-structural approach emphasise the step away from the political, it is impossible to ignore the strong political foundation of this research, as pornography was censored by a political body (between 1872 and mid-1998, as discussed in Chapter 2 – Literature review), and the *Annales* meta-theory is used in combination with a media theory that concentrates on dictatorial governments’ suppression of the media. For these reasons, the conflicting elements between this study and the application of both the authoritarian and functional-structural theoretical frameworks is clear. However, it is important to note that although the *Annales* moved away from political history, they never completely rejected it (Stoianovich, 1976:30). Staying in line with Voltaire, *Annales* historians concentrated not only on the history of “battles and of dynastic quarrels” but also a history of “customs and cultures” (Stoianovich, 1976:29), emphasising that although the *nouvelle histoire*’s main focus shifted, it did not completely ignore political aspects. Therefore, the secondary political aspects of this study, of which the pornographic magazine is the primary focus, are not

redundant in the framework developed by the *Annales* and the functional-structural approach.

3.4 Summary

This chapter introduced and evaluated the two theoretical frameworks used in this study to research the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989.

Firstly, the authoritarian media theory was introduced; this theoretical framework focuses on dictatorial governments' suppression of the media. Its application in this thesis will therefore focus the analysis of the research question and the resulting narrative of events on this suppression, and will be compiled in Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion).

Secondly, the *Annales* meta-theory was introduced as a supplementary theoretical framework to authoritarianism. The *Annales*'s use of the functional-structural approach was applied in this study because it emphasises that society, as an interrelated organism, embodies more than just the study of politics, and attempts to reclaim vast areas of history neglected by historians. As discussed, the application of a functional-structural approach will focus on how pornographic magazines managed to function in the suppressive structure that is the focus of the authoritarian media theory.

The next chapter (Chapter 4 – Research methodology) will concentrate on the historical research methodology and the *Annales*-inspired regressive method, which were employed in this thesis.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the historical methodology, which was used to disinter data on the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989. The focus of the chapter will be on explaining how the research method was used to retrieve information, and what types of data was found.

In addition, the chapter will explain how the application of the historical methodology was influenced by the *Annales*'s revolutionary implementation of the regressive method, which studies history in a reverse chronological order (in this study, from 1989 backwards to 1939) but presents it as a narrative of chronological events from the earliest to the most recent date (1939 to 1989).

4.2 The historical methodology

The historical methodology involves the collection of data in an effort to provide a “critical contextual link” between the past and the present (Lundy, 2008:395), as researchers try to understand the present situation of a topic by looking at its roots in the past. Lundy (2008:396) emphasises, however, that the historical methodology is more than just gathering data and compiling it into one report: it allows for analysis that develops “theoretical and holistic conclusions about historical events and periods”. Although it is impossible to recall every fragment of history in full, (media) historians try to gather various fragments of information, analyse and interpret them, and patch them together (Scannell, 2002:201).

As a method of field research, which allows researchers “to get close to the data and provides opportunities for them to derive their concepts from the data that are gathered” (Burgess, 1984:2), the historical methodology deals with the collection and analysis of “unobtrusive data” – data with which the researcher cannot literally converse (Kellehear, 1993:vii). Unobtrusive data stands in contrast to data retrieved via other field research methods, like interviews, focus groups and case studies, where the researcher can have a conversation with the subjects he/she is studying.

From the 1930s, researchers argued that “the products of our activities”, including behaviour, dress, household objects, photographs, books, diaries, film, music, food, audio records, government reports, memos, tombstone inscriptions, artefacts and, more recently, even computer games – all unobtrusive data – can construct a similar social context as the other, already-mentioned field research methods (Kellehear, 1993:vii,3,5; Jensen, 2002:243). Baker (2008:904) notes that unobtrusive data evokes “thoughts of historical research”, because it allows the researcher to look at the products of actions in the past. From this position, the researcher can “play the role of the complete observer” (Baker, 2008:904).

4.2.1 Unobtrusive data in this study

In the study thus far, Chapter 1 (Introduction) and Chapter 2 (Literature review) showed that research and known information on pornography and the pornographic magazine in South Africa is sparse. The little amount of literature gathered in these two chapters provided a skeletal structure from which the researcher could start to gather unobtrusive data for this project. Archived newspapers, magazine registries, like the Index to South African Periodicals, as well as available pornographic material in print, including photographs and magazines published between 1939 and 1989, became important sources of information with which the body of this project could be constructed. Other types of unobtrusive data in this study include annual government reports, commission reports, letters, postcards and official memoranda. Data was excavated from:

- the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town campus;
- the Western Cape Archives and Records Service, and
- the Document Centre, JS Gericke Library, Stellenbosch University.

The bulk of data was undeniably extracted from government gazettes, wherein the government published titles of pornographic and other material it banned (in this thesis: between 1939 and 1989). In total, the researcher identified 1 439 lists in government gazettes published in these years. The number of lists per year is collated in a table on the next two pages.

Date of publication	Number of lists consulted
8 September 1939 ⁷ to 3 February 1956	1 ⁸
8 September 1956 to 8 November 1963	109
3 January 1964 to 11 April 1975 ⁹	364 (numbered from A1 to A367) ¹⁰ 449 (numbered from B1 to B453) ¹¹ 166 (numbered from C1 to C166)
April 1975 to 1979	1 ¹²
1980	1 ¹³
1981	1 ¹⁴
1982	1 ¹⁵
1983	1 ¹⁶
1984 ¹⁷	77
1985	79

⁷ In section 1.3 of Chapter 1 (Introduction) it was stated that the first list was published on 21 August 1939. For an unknown reason, the list of 21 August 1939 was reprinted on 8 September 1939. When the consolidated list for the period 8 September 1939 to 3 February 1956 was compiled, the list of 21 August 1939 was omitted for an unknown reason.

⁸ One consolidated list for the period 8 September 1939 to 3 February 1956.

⁹ Between 3 January 1964 and 11 April 1975, the government concurrently published three separate lists: List A recorded undesirable publications and objects banned under the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963, and Lists B and C recorded obscene and objectionable goods banned under the Customs Act, No. 55 of 1955.

¹⁰ The researcher could not find lists A76, A254 and A300, which was possibly omitted due to a numbering error.

¹¹ The researcher could not find lists B55, B71, B140 and B256, which were possibly omitted due to a numbering error.

¹² One consolidated list for the period April 1975 to December 1979.

¹³ One consolidated list for 1980.

¹⁴ One consolidated list for 1981.

¹⁵ One consolidated list for 1982.

¹⁶ One consolidated list for 1983.

¹⁷ From 1984 to 1989, codes replaced numbers on each list, which made it impossible to determine exactly how many lists were published in these years. No consolidated lists were available, which means that the number of lists in these years is the number the researcher found and consulted – and not the actual number that was published by the government.

1986	42
1987	47
1988	51
1989	49

With Hanson's *The History of Men's Magazines* (2004a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2005d), *The History of Girly Magazines* (2006a), which helps to contextualise pornography's global history in Chapter 5 (Pornography: the global context), and the internet as reference, the researcher could identify pornographic magazines by their title and extract it from the mentioned lists. Some lists did not contain, as far as the researcher could determine, any pornographic magazines. Although every effort was made to determine which magazines in these lists are pornographic, the researcher will not presumptuously declare that every single one was identified. With only the titles of magazines available, and no imagery, the nature and genre of some could not be determined, and therefore, were not included in this project.

What has to be emphasised, though, is what exactly these lists prove: As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Literature review), the 1931 South African Board of Censors, 1963 Publications Control Board and 1975 Publications Appeal Board all published lists of banned publications – but only after the said publications were submitted to these boards by customs officials or the public for their (the boards') approval. This means that copies of the publications in these lists, specifically pornographic magazines, were actually present in South Africa before they were banned – and they are therefore an invaluable indication of what magazines were actually in the country before they were prohibited by law.

4.2.2 The application of the historical methodology in this study

The above-mentioned unobtrusive data was gathered in six stages, roughly following ideas on the historical method by Garraghan (1957:33), Gottschalk (1969:27-28) and Van Jaarsveld (1978:63-65):

1. A research question was formulated (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between**

1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?);

2. sources were identified (stated in section 4.2.1 of this chapter);
3. it was established whether the identified sources are authentic;
4. the authentic parts were extracted;
5. it was established whether the identified authentic parts are credible, and, finally,
6. the findings are stated in a presentable written form (in Chapter 6 – Findings and discussion).

4.2.3 The *Annales*'s regressive method

In the research process, the researcher noted that more information is available on the most recent years closer to 1989 than the earlier years closer to 1939. Therefore, it was apt to apply the regressive method that “read[s] history backwards” (Burke, 1990:23). Applied by historians in the nineteenth century and known by them as the “retrogressive method” (Burke, 1990:23-24), the need to read history backwards was stressed by the founding editors of the *Annales*, who argued that “it is only prudent to proceed from the known to the unknown”, as we know more of the later periods than the earlier years (Burke, 1990:23).

In line with this definition, more information was available on the topic of the pornographic magazine in South Africa around 1989 than 1939, and it was easier to trace this history from back to front, rather than front to back.

4.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the historical methodology, which was utilised to gather data for the purpose of answering the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**). The historical methodology was employed as the sole method, and focused on the collection of unobtrusive data in the form of archival and document sources – but most importantly, government gazettes – which were stated in this chapter in as much detail as possible.

The next chapter, Chapter 5 (Pornography: the global context), will be presented as an historical context chapter to Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion). The overture will focus on the development of pornography, and the technological growth that led to the invention of the pornographic magazine in the late-nineteenth century; this history is drawn to the present day.

Chapter 5

PORNOGRAPHY: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

5.1 Introduction

Thus far, it has been ascertained that the amount of research on pornography in South Africa is limited, and that this project hopes to partially fill this gap with an inquest on the pornographic magazine in the country between 1939 and 1989. To introduce the results of this inquest (compiled in Chapter 6 – Findings and discussion), the researcher would first like to present a historical context chapter that will discuss and contextualise the global history of both the pornographic magazine and pornography as a whole. In this way, the findings of this thesis can be located and placed alongside the development of the genre worldwide (although it is not the intention of this thesis to make any sort of comparison between the two).

Compared to South African research, international academic studies have excavated the history of pornography in remarkable detail, with an almost exclusive focus on the development of the genre in Europe and the USA, where, as a “Western idea with a specific chronology and geography”, pornography first became a “category” (Hunt, 1993a:10). Although historical research by Hyde (1964) and Richlin (1983; 1992b) traced the early precursors of pornography to Ancient Greece and Rome (roughly 2 500 years ago), it has to be emphasised that “pornography was almost always an adjunct to something else until the middle or end of the eighteenth century” (Hunt, 1993a:10). This means that prior to the end of the 1790s in France – when and where pornography first became the “commercial, hard-core business” we know today – pornography developed for two millennia, in which time it became a means of expression for something else, before it established itself as the genre whose *raison d’être* shifted to the sexual arousal of its viewer (Hunt, 1993a:42).

For the purpose of this study, it would be strikingly clear to focus and expand on the history post-1790 for two very palpable reasons: Firstly, the definition of “pornography” adopted in this thesis in Chapter 1 (Introduction), is in unison with the definition, function and intention of pornography in its history after 1790, when it became a commercial, hard-core business (as stated above), and secondly, the span of time under investigation in this thesis (1939-1989) falls in this period. But the

researcher would like to include comment on the early history of pornography starting in the sixteenth century, because it will become clear that it, too, played a significant part in the development of the pornographic magazine worldwide.

To better comprehend how pornography developed and what it became a vehicle for, the researcher suggests separating this immense span of time into two distinct eras, largely following the focus of pornography's development in academic work by Richlin (1983; 1992b), Hunt (1993b) and Hanson (2004a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2005d; 2006a), and supported by an overview on the history of pornography by Hyde (1964). The two eras include:

1. 1500 to 1800, when the first examples of pornography we could recognise today emerged, becoming a vehicle for political upheaval – especially in “early modern Europe” (Hunt, 1993a:42), and, subsequently,
2. post-1800, when pornography was “born and gr[ew] to maturity” into the genre and business we know today (Foxon in Hunt, 1993a:30).

When this historical context is comprehended, the findings in Chapter 6 that focus on a robust, South African import culture will be equally well understood.

5.2. The advent of modern pornography, 1500 to 1800

The first appearance of pornography as it is understood today has been under much deliberation but is widely accepted to be of Italian origin. Although Hyde (1964:65) credits the first pornographic work to be from the pen of Venetian Giovanni Boccaccio in 1371, Hunt (1993a:24) states that “every expert on pornography” credits sixteenth-century Italian writer Pietro Aretino as the originator of modern pornography. Using sexually arousing prose, Aretino tried to upset the church, and used his erotic work to comment on rulers' hypocritical conventions (Hunt 1993a:10). Not only does this clearly illustrate pornography as a vehicle that used “the shock of sex to criticize religious and political authorities” between the years 1500 and 1800, but also shows that a strained relationship between pornography, the state and the church is not only a modern-day occurrence.

Aretino's "hobby", which initially consisted of 16 pornographic sonnets with accompanying drawings of "various postures in sexual intercourse", became so popular that people started buying his works (Hyde, 1964:75-76). Unbeknownst to himself, he started to form the basis of a pornographic tradition which highlighted "the explicit representation of sexual activity, the form of the dialogue between women, the discussion of the behaviour of prostitutes, and the challenge to moral conventions of the day" (Hunt, 1993a:26). His amalgamation of political satire and pornography quickly inspired other pornography-politics syntheses. Sixteenth-century humanists, for example, created "academy pornography" for a male elite, who analysed politicians by sectioning them into groups of "Pricks, Cunts, Balls and Asses" (Hunt, 1993a:26). In turn, "academy pornography" laid the foundation for seventeenth and eighteenth-century "political pornography", which was "explicitly related to political issues" in an attempt to criticise monarchies, the church and any form of "absolutist political authority" (Hunt, 1993a:11,26,31). Although Aretino's precedent continued in Europe well into the seventeenth century, it started to dwindle when the novel emerged as a new genre (Hunt, 1993a:30). It was only until the 1740s, when pornography re-emerged in France, where, with the help of an ever-advancing print culture, it would be used as a "tactic of democratic propaganda" in a time when European politics was on the verge of changing dramatically (Hunt, 1993a:43).

5.2.1. Pornography, democracy and print culture

The relationship between pornography and democracy remains largely unexplored in all of the already-mentioned literature, although Hunt (1993a:43) identifies "peculiar, even paradoxical" links between and events concerning the two entities. It is considered "hardly [...] coincidental" that pornography again became popular in the 1740s – after stagnation of nearly a century – at exactly the same time when the "beginning of the high period of [the] Enlightenment" signalled "a period of general crisis in European society and politics" (Hunt, 1993a:33). Focusing on the foundation crafted by Aretino in the sixteenth century, pornography again became a "variable arm of criticism", shaping political debate among ordinary people against issues concerning the French monarchy (Hunt, 1993a:43). Between the 1740s and 1790s, French pornography became even more political, more graphic and more critical, with "pornographic pamphlets attack[ing] the clergy, the court, and, in the case of Louis

XV, the king himself” (Hunt, 1993a:35). Pornographic attacks spared no one: the French ministry, deputies in the French National Assembly, and the church (see Figure 1) all came under heavy criticism. By the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789, pornography had solidified itself as “a vehicle of protest against the authority of Church-State [sic]”, mostly because it had “extended its audience down to the popular classes” (Hunt, 1993c:305).



Figure 1: Pornographic attacks on the French elite were popular around the 1790s – and spared no one. The French finance minister at the time, Jacques Necker (**at the top**), came under pornographic scrutiny (Hunt, 1993c:320); drawings in pornographic pamphlets depicted deputies in the French National Assembly sodomising each other (**bottom left**) (Hunt, 1993c:309), and even pornographic lampooning of the church and monks (**bottom right**) was plentiful (Hunt, 1993c:319).

It is perhaps best to suggest here that the peculiar relationship between pornography and democracy could be linked by a third factor – a thriving print culture – which made pornography accessible to the masses, wholly because pornography and print culture developed, expanded and urbanised as a cluster from the sixteenth century to the present (Hunt, 1993a:30; Nikunen *et al.*, 2007:2-3). For the first time since the sixteenth century, pornography was not exclusively accessible to a “social elite” (Hunt, 1993a:13) and “upper-class educated men” (Hunt, 1993a:19), who were initially the only ones who could read and could afford to buy it (Hyde, 1964:12). Findlen (1993:55) notes that “learned men” in the mid-sixteenth century applied “mechanisms of censorship” to restrict pornographic work to an elite group, as they feared that sexual material could lead to a “marketplace of ideas” and in turn “would lead society [and populist masses] to inevitable ruin”. Ironically, this was the case in France in 1789, where and when pornography contributed to collective, political thought and eventually a revolution (Hunt, 1993c:305). The extension of pornographic work to a wider audience is largely due to a print culture, which not only “capitalized on the formation of an urban reading public” (Findlen, 1993:54), but shaped a “public arena” (Findlen, 1993:102), where anyone could “vent one’s outrage about the ills of society” (Findlen, 1993:108). Hunt (1993a:43) summarises it as follows:

“In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pornography was written for an elite male audience that was largely urban, aristocratic and libertine in nature. In the eighteenth century, the audience broadened as pornographic themes entered populist discourses, a development given even greater impetus by the French Revolution.”

After democracy was introduced in France following the French Revolution, political pornography ceased to exist after it “paradoxically” democratised itself and could not criticise as it did before 1789 (Hunt, 1993c:305). With the immense expansion of print technology, pornographers started to mass produce text and images for profit, and decided to devote their time “to the explicit description of sexual organs or activities with the *sole aim* [emphasised by the researcher] of producing sexual arousal in the reader or viewer” (Hunt, 1993c:305). In part, it saw the advent of a “mass pornosphere”, as coined by McNair (2002:38) – the commercial, hard-core

business as noted before – but it would also introduce “the great age of expurgation” in the nineteenth and twentieth century, when strict government legislation would try to suppress the boom of pornographic merchandise – the photograph, the postcard and the magazine – produced by an ever-expanding media technology industry (Hunt, 1993c:304).

5.3 The mass pornosphere, post-1800

The influence of printed pornographic materials on a wider audience was very clear before and during the French Revolution, and “nineteenth-century moral reformers” were determined to prevent any similar political upheavals (Hunt, 1993c:304-305). As a result, intrusions by the law in various countries followed to suppress the circulation of all pornographic work. In 1815, the first conviction of pornographic libel was processed in the USA, and in 1824 pornography was made a misdemeanour in England, subsequently forbade in the UK in 1857 (Hunt, 1993a:12; Hyde, 1964:11-12). In part, the great age of expurgation brought on a “period of extreme sexual conservatism based on Victorian moral values”, which “denied female sexuality and forced men to keep their sexuality private” (McNair, 1996:9). “Dangerous literature” was kept away from women and children, while court convictions, statutes and legislation cemented the era of the suppression of pornographic material (Hunt, 1993c:305). Pornographers retaliated nonetheless. Mirsky (2005:6-7) notes that “it is no accident that the production of pornography flourished during a time of [...] repression”, and it was this “sexually repressive attitude[...]” that motivated pornographers to continue producing pornography. Further motivation came in the form of faster postal services, supported by an expanding railway system, which could deliver mail – and pornography – to the ordinary man. As Connolly (2008:4) notes: “Suddenly, for the first time, pornographic images were within the grasp of ordinary people: the means to make them, reproduce them, and distribute them had never been [...] so readily available.”

Although the distribution of pornography became easier, it was the introduction of the photographic process in 1839 that became the biggest technological benefactor for pornography in the nineteenth century.

5.3.1 Photographic pornography

The first pornographic photographs date back to around 1845 in Paris, France, just before the words “pornographer” and “pornography” received entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1850 and 1857, respectively (Hunt, 1993a:13; Mirsky, 2005:5,7). Due to the repressive nature in which these photographs were born, their producers, photographers, models and consumers are anonymous to this day (Mirsky, 2005:5-6). Interestingly, many of the models were in fact prostitutes, presumably used because “they would have known the things that customers routinely asked for” (Connolly, 2008:2). Mirsky (2005:5) adds that there “is also evidence that a small number of the models were mental patients with little to no knowledge of what they were doing posing for the photos”. Images in these times were produced “by men, for men”, which means that most are “representative of the general masculine erotic imagination, or at least what the photographers assumed that to be” (Mirsky, 2005:5). The most popular images were of heterosexual and male homosexual relations (see Figure 2) (Mirsky, 2005:5). Pornographic themes were actually as diverse as they are today, and photographers who could capture more risqué images, could earn a significant amount of money (Mirsky, 2005:5). Other themes included interracial intercourse, bondage (see Figure 3, on the next page), masturbation, fellatio, group intercourse and even 1860s bestiality (Moynihan, 2008:55).



Figure 2: After photographic pornography was introduced in 1845, images such as heterosexual intercourse (**left**) (Moynihan, 2008:286), interracial intercourse (**middle**) (The Rotenberg Collection, 2005:103), and male homosexual relations (**right**) (Moynihan, 2008:60) were the most popular.



Figure 3: Some of the more risqué images included bondage, such as this one from the 1870s (The Rotenberg Collection, 2005:201), which is defined as “the practice of being tied with ropes, chains, etc. in order to gain sexual pleasure” (*Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*, 2005:157).

By 1865, technology had developed to such an extent that ordinary men could operate cameras, further increasing the amount of pornographic content produced (Hanson, 2006b:9). Technological growth continued so rapidly that most countries started publishing their own “indigenous” pornography by the 1880s (Hunt, 1993a:23). At the same time, notably, mass politics emerged, again suggesting a link between pornography and democracy (Hunt, 1993a:23). Although there was a stealthy increase in pornographic content worldwide, including printing pornographic images on playing cards (The Rotenberg Collection, 2006:1), it was not until the invention of the postcard and the production of the magazine that “an unprecedented impact, comparable to that of the Internet [sic] in the 1990s” gave pornography a new channel through which it could penetrate the mass market for the first time (Dupouy, 2009:np).

5.3.2 Pornographic postcards

The postcard was first used as a new mode of communication in the 1870s “for no other reason than simple chitchat” (Dupouy, 2009:np). The enormous postcard publishing and printing industry in France employed 33 000 people and printed 123 million postcards in 1911 alone (Dupouy, 2009:np). In an attempt to “hasten the popularization and dissemination of erotic/pornographic photography”, pornographers decided to capitalise on the mass production of the postcard, its low cost and its ability to be distributed faster than any other medium before it (Dupouy, 2009:np; Mirsky, 2005:6). By the early 1900s, the pornographic postcard was produced “by the kilometre” in “some secrecy”, and widened the audience of pornographic work even more by making consumers aware of the availability of the pornographic photograph (Dupouy, 2009:np). Although pornographic postcards were not freely available, they were more available than the hard-core pornographic photograph, in part because they were not as obscene and graphic (Dupouy, 2009:np). “Presented in the guise of acceptable, academic nude studies”, the pornographic postcard then was never “destined for the clandestine pornographic market”, but rather exposed the possibility of more hard-core photography to the mass market (Dupouy, 2009:np). Between 1919 and 1939, France produced 20 million nude postcards (Mirsky, 2005:6). Dupouy (2009:np) notes that they were rarely used for correspondence, as authorities would almost surely arrest its sender and its receiver. Instead, pornographic postcards were mostly “amassed in hefty albums by collectors hoping to reassemble complete series of images” (Dupouy, 2009:np). As a result, all of the original pornographic postcards that still exist today are “generally devoid of inscriptions or correspondence” (Dupouy, 2009:np).

Prominent themes of the images on pornographic postcards can also be identified, but it is evident that male models mostly disappeared as subjects. Dupouy (2009:np) gives two, somewhat unsatisfactory, reasons for this: Firstly, males were already “twice present” as postcard collector and photographer, and secondly, because women felt, as part of a new liberation movement, that they could take the place of men in all aspects of society – even as sexual partners of other women. Female homosexual relations were therefore the most prominent theme, with spanking (see Figure 4, on the next page) a popular activity between them. In addition, the focus also turned to exposing the female form, especially women’s bottoms (Dupouy, 2009:np).



Figure 4: A picture dating from 1936 showing two women – one spanking the other (Dupouy, 2009:np). Spanking was a popular theme on pornographic postcards in the early 1900s (Dupouy:2009:np).

Paris, France became known as “the capital of debauchery” after the French Revolution in 1789 and remained so for almost 150 years (Dupouy, 2009:np). With the introduction of the pornographic postcard, the French successfully turned pornography into a business, producing what the creators of the documentary *Pornography: A Secret History of Civilisation* (2006:np) call a “new breed of businessman: the porn dealer”, who used innovative technological advances of the time, including the photograph and the postcard, to expand and capitalise on the mass pornosphere. Therefore, it is not surprising that the next innovation – the pornographic magazine – also had its origin in France (Hanson, 2006b:10). However, the immense popularity of the pornographic magazine extended across the borders of France, which started to lose its status as “the innovative force in sex publishing”

(Hanson, 2006c:355). Other countries, initially including Germany and Denmark, thereafter Sweden, Argentina, Mexico and Japan, and much later England and the USA, popularised the magazine to such an extent that France turned from being the “initiator” in sex publishing to being the “imitator” (Hanson, 2006c:355). With its roots in France, though, the pornographic magazine was the last fundamental step in pornography innovation that dismantled legislation prohibiting pornography in Europe, and morphed the worldwide pornosphere into an almost uncontrollable and unpredictable “pornotopia” (Hanson, 2005e:7; *Pornography: The Secret History of Civilisation*, 2006:np).

5.3.3 The pornographic magazine

The researcher could find no more-extensive body of work on the history of the pornographic magazine than author Dian Hanson’s six-volume, 2 760-page *The History of Men’s Magazines* (Hanson, 2004a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2005d). En bloc the six volumes contain more than 1 000 images from men’s and pornographic magazines worldwide. In conjunction with a more condensed, single volume, 672-page *The History of Girly Magazines* by the same author (Hanson, 2006a), the books form an unparalleled, invaluable and undeniable contribution to media-historiography, especially since it contains, what the researcher considers, one of the most complete bibliographies on pornographic magazines produced in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Australia between 1870 and 1980. Unsurprisingly, however, Africa is omitted.

After exclaiming “Welcome to Pornotopia”, Hanson (2005e:7) declares that the first hard-core pornographic magazine was produced in Sweden in 1967. *Private* magazine, which at the time had already been in circulation for two years, turned the men’s magazine into the world’s first pornographic magazine after publishing – for the first time ever in a magazine – pictures of explicit sexual intercourse (Hanson, 2005e:7). The history leading up to the first pornographic magazine in 1967, however, cannot be overlooked, especially since it is blatantly clear from *Private*’s first cover – in 1965 – that crass nudity in magazines was already present (see Figure 5, on the next page). Although there were “pinup magazines and adventure magazines, art-photo magazines, nudist magazines, girlie titles and risqué titles, over-the-counter and under-the-counter, top shelf and bottom shelf, spicy, saucy, sparkling and speedy”

magazines before 1967, only a brief summary of the early development of the (men's and pornographic) magazine follows, simply due to space constraints.



Figure 5: The cover of the Swedish pornographic magazine *Private* published in 1965 (Abrahamsson & Axelsson, 2005:20). In 1967, the magazine became the first magazine in the world to publish frank photographs of sexual intercourse (Hanson, 2005e:7).

5.3.3.1 Early development

The first men's magazines developed in France around the 1870s, and were produced in the form of programmes for Parisian cabarets, which regularly published bare-breasted dancers (Hanson, 2006b:10). By 1880, the French started publishing nude-study art magazines and magazines known as "men's sophisticates", which combined "discreet nudes with spicy fiction and humor" (Hanson, 2006b:10). The magazines were widely accepted, in part because it was still seen as a very sophisticated medium,

which received nearly the same respect in France as fine art (Hanson, 2006b:10). By the beginning of the 1900s, Germany became the first country outside France to produce men's magazines for the mass market (Hanson, 2006b:10). However, in a bid to escape strict censorship legislation in the (former) Weimar Republic, titles had to be presented "asexually", denying nudity was displayed for "sexual titillation" (Hanson, 2006b:10). By the 1930s, hundreds of German magazines included nudity in their pages (Hanson, 2006b:10). Although the pornographic magazine had a solid foundation in Europe by the 1940s, it was crippled by the financial predicaments brought forth by World War II (Hanson, 2006b:12). Paper shortages were rife in France and Germany, magazines in France were downsized to 32-page digests, and in Germany, magazines became unpopular due to paper's poor quality (Hanson, 2006b:12). However, World War II exposed American soldiers stationed in Europe to nudity in magazines they had never experienced before, and with the USA "rich, triumphant and eager for fun" during the late-1940s, the war opened the door for American magazine dominance (Hanson, 2006b:12).

5.3.3.2 The beginning of American magazine dominance

As mentioned, the USA convicted possession of any form of obscene libel in 1815, and continued stringent legislation against pornography well into the twentieth century. By the beginning of the 1900s, when France and Germany had already founded popular pornographic magazines, America literally and figuratively started to show its ankles, with men failing to even sneak a "peek at a stocking top" (Hanson, 2004c:75; Hanson, 2006b:10). By the end of World War I in 1918, however, America experienced its first, what Hanson (2004c:80) calls, "sexual revolution":

"[American] [w]omen abandoned their corsets, bobbed their hair and took up smoking, drinking and dancing. Ford's affordable automobiles gave young people mobility, and a place to be alone, while the new latex condom offered reliable birth control for those private moments. In the big cities burlesque theaters introduced striptease [...]."

American magazines followed suit. Due to strict legislation, American publishers initially used the "nude-studies-for-art-magazines-plot" to release nude pictures to the

mass market (Hanson, 2004c:80), but later found numerous other magazines (see Figure 6 and 7, on the following pages) in the 1920s and 1930s to use as vehicles which could obscure pornographic content of the time. These included comic books known as Tijuana Bibles¹⁸ (Gluckson, 2004a:143); erotic fiction magazines, later published with depictions to become the first “spicy pulp” magazines (Gluckson, 2004b:159); naturist magazines, film magazines (Hanson, 2004d:179); detective magazines (Hanson, 2004e:207) and humour magazines (Hanson, 2004f:241).



Figure 6: A cartoon, titled *Maggie*, popular in the USA in the 1930s (Gluckson, 2004a:151). These pornographic cartoons were known as Tijuana Bibles, and were named after a town in Mexico close to the USA border, where they were published (Gluckson, 2004a:143).

It is evident from the visual examples (above – and on the next page) that American content was not as explicit as the pornography produced in Europe – largely due to the USA’s censorship policies. Although it seemed that American pornographers were slowly exposing more of the male and female body, they “took a giant leap backward” at the beginning of World War II (Hanson, 2004h:293). Instead, Americans started mass-producing “patriotica”, which would later become known worldwide as the pin-up (Hanson, 2004h:293).

¹⁸ An interesting comparison can be drawn between these comic books and the South African “underground” comics *Bitterkomix*, first published in 1992 (Van Staden, 2006:i), *Gif: Afrikaner Sekskomix* in 1994 (Van Staden, 2006:12) and *Stripshow* in 2003 (Van Staden, 2006:19). Used as a space for social commentary, rather than solely sexually titillating its reader, the comics are not pornographic according to the definition applied in this thesis, and therefore fall outside the boundaries thereof.



Figure 7: Spicy pulp magazines, like *Paris Nights* in the 1930s, were produced to “sell sex without getting busted” by only “implying” sex rather than explicitly showing it (Gluckson, 2004a:159;163-164). To fluke censors, photographs of male and female genitalia were also published in naturist magazines, like *Sunshine & Health*, after nudist parks were legalised in the USA in 1932 (Hanson, 2004g:227).

5.3.3.2.1 The patriotic pin-up

After the USA entered World War II in 1941, men’s magazines changed dramatically, with a new emphasis on “apple-cheeked good girls in modest swimsuits a boy could be proud to hang over his army cot” (Hanson, 2004h:293). Strippers were replaced with showgirls, sexy blondes with sweet brunettes, and partial nudity with no nudity, apart from what is exposed when women wear swimsuits (Hanson, 2004h:294). Collectively, these elements gave birth to the pin-up (see Figure 8, on the next page), and even became more popular than the French nude (Hanson, 2004h:293).

American patriotism became an integral facet for most magazines, which redefined itself around the concept of “supporting our boys” (Hanson, 2004h:294). As Hanson (2004h:293-294,296) explains, material in pin-up magazines revolved around military-themed comics, slapstick photo stories, which “predicated on the difficulties girls had doing simple tasks with their men away at war”, advice on how to deal with

the sex problems wives of men at war faced, or the art of intimate letter writing. Although it became popular worldwide and quickly became the “wave of the [19]40s” (Hanson, 2004h:293), it started to diminish post-World War II when men, and in particular 27-year old Hugh Marston Hefner, grew “tired of seeing nothing” (Hanson, 2004i:181; Jaccoma & Hanson, 2004:205). The answer came in the form of *Playboy* magazine, which quickly became the most influential men’s magazine of the twentieth century (Jaccoma & Hanson, 2004:205); in conjunction with rival magazines *Penthouse* and *HUSTLER*, they quickly became known as the twentieth century’s “Big Three” (Jaccoma, 2005b:185; Stemmet, 2004:223).

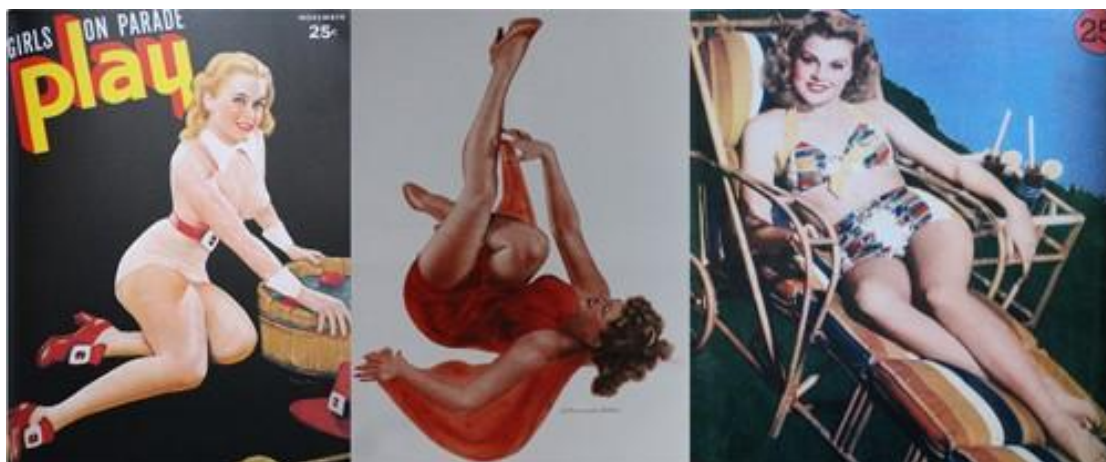


Figure 8: Examples of pin-ups from various magazines. From left to right: *Giggles* magazine, published in 1943 (Hanson, 2004h:323); *The Male Home Companion* magazine, published in 1942 (Hanson, 2004h:328), and *Pin Me Up* magazine, published in 1944 (Hanson, 2004h:298).

5.3.3.2.2 The “Big Three”: *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *HUSTLER*

In 1953, Hugh Hefner founded *Playboy* magazine, largely following the format of *Esquire* magazine, where he once worked as a copywriter (Jaccoma & Hanson, 2004:206). Publishing the first issue with no date on the cover, as he was unsure how long the magazine would survive, and its first editor’s note anonymously in fear that he would not find a job if the magazine failed, Hefner wrote that the magazine would contain “articles, fiction, picture stories, cartoons, humor and special features [...] to form a pleasure-primer styled to the masculine taste” (Jaccoma & Hanson, 2004:208). As Jaccoma and Hanson (2004:216) remark, American men’s magazines before and

during *Playboy* “assumed their readership to be ‘men’s men’”, who hunted, fished, drank beer and only associated with women for sex. *Playboy*, in contrast, suggested a more sensual lifestyle, where a man could actually spend his leisure time with women, wear stylish clothes and learn how to cook (Jacomma & Hanson, 2004:216).

Shortly after *Playboy* was launched, USA obscenity laws were dramatically changing: In 1957 the USA Supreme Court defined obscenity by distinguishing it from art for the very first time (Hanson, 2004j:400). More importantly, a magazine could not be banned on the basis of a single passage or photograph, but rather attention shifted to the “dominant theme” of the publication (Hanson, 2004j:400). This worked well in *Playboy*’s favour, as the magazine combined nude photographs of women with a *Playboy* Interview Series, which became world famous (Jacomma & Hanson, 2004:222). Interviewees over the decades included Ayn Rand, Malcolm X, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Fidel Castro, Snoop Dogg, Jimmy Carter, The Beatles, the Irish Republican Army and many more (Jacomma & Hanson, 2004:222).

The first issue was a success, in part because its first cover model was Marilyn Monroe – in the nude – and it was the momentum of the first issue that expanded in successive issues, which in turn led to a television show, *Playboy’s Penthouse*, and the *Playboy* Jazz Festival in 1959, the purchase of the famous Chicago *Playboy* mansion in 1960, 23 *Playboy* clubs, various resorts and casinos, a book publishing house, a modelling agency, a record label, television and motion picture production companies, and a limousine service (Jacomma & Hanson, 2004:224). In 1960, Hefner also started exporting *Playboy* to Europe, where old leaders France and Germany were still recovering from the effects of World War II (Hanson, 2005f:8). The magazine became an immediate success there, and led to a European “fascination with all things American” in the 1960s (Hanson, 2005f:8). By 1971, the magazine had successfully turned the brand into an enterprise, and to date, it remains an “icon[...] in all the history of men’s magazines” (Jacomma & Hanson, 2004:224).

Playboy, however, did not remain without competition. In Europe, readers were demanding to see more than just the barely bare breasts the magazine was publishing, and their answer came in the form of *Penthouse* magazine, published in 1965 in England (Jacomma, 2005a:273). When American founder and editor Bob Guccione decided to export *Penthouse* to the USA in 1969, he placed an ad in *The New York Times*, which printed *Playboy*’s rabbit logo above the statement: “We’re

going rabbit hunting” (Jaccoma, 2005a:277). On *Penthouse*’s release, the magazine became the first in the USA to show pubic hair (Jaccoma, 2005a:277).

In 1972, Larry Flynt’s *HUSTLER* magazine competed with *Playboy* and *Penthouse* by pushing the limits even further by showing “gynecologic ‘pink’” in its spreads (Jaccoma, 2005b:185). It quickly became America’s third-largest men’s magazine (Jaccoma, 2005b:179). By 1980, both *Penthouse* and *HUSTLER* “had carved such big chunks off its [*Playboy*’s] circulation” (Hanson, 2005g:41), but the three magazines continued to be successful into the twenty-first century (Jaccoma, 2005b:185).

Collectively, the competitiveness between the “Big Three” was exposing a new trend in men’s and pornographic magazines – that of breaking every possible taboo – and it was the European market, specifically Sweden, which would induct the last major innovation in men’s and pornographic magazines before the “Big Three” could beat each other to it: the under-the-counter or hard-core pornographic magazine.

5.3.3.3 Hard-core pornographic magazines

The parameters of the images in pornographic magazines produced up to 1967 in Europe and the USA never transcended “implied sexual activity” and merely depicted “male and female nudity with emphasis on the genitalia [...] with neither actual sexual activity nor physical arousal of males” (Hanson, 2005e:8). But with the advent of *Private* magazine in Sweden in 1967, the USA Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, assembled in 1968, needed to define a new class of pornography – aptly titled hard-core pornography – which the Commission defined as material “generally limited to photographic reproductions of sexual intercourse depicting vaginal, anal or oral penetration” (Hanson, 2005e:8-9).

Private magazine and its founding editor, Berth Milton, “changed the entire face of pornography” when the Swedish government decided to abolish censorship legislation after the magazine became immensely popular in the country (Abrahamsson & Axelsson, 2005:21,27). An immediate international conception arose that Sweden was a sex-obsessed country (Abrahamsson & Axelsson, 2005:27), especially with the help of the media that “bound nations together in a vast global net” in the 1960s (Hanson, 2005h:69). But it did not take long for Sweden’s precedent to have an effect on the rest of the world: Denmark and Holland became the second and

third European countries to abolish the censoring of hard-core pornography, with Germany, under the influence of female entrepreneur Beate Uhse, and Italy following suit shortly thereafter. In the East, Japan and Hong Kong quickly became the capitals of hard-core bondage and schoolgirl-fetish magazines (Hanson, 2005e:9,11; 2005h:69-70).

While the world's eyes were on Europe, who in effect drew attention away from the American magazine market, Reuben Sturman, dubbed by the American government as the King of Porn, introduced hard-core pornography to the USA in the 1970s, and also created the American adult bookstore and the peep show booth (Hanson, 2005h:71). In Hanson's words (2005e:14), the pornographic magazine became "less creative" after the introduction of the hard-core pornographic magazine, as there were very little taboos left to be broken.

The popularity of the pornographic magazine continued well into the twenty-first century, but a rapid decline in circulation was noted c. 2005, as a result of the digital era (Hanson, 2005e:14). It is clear that "pornography [...] move[s] along until a new technology comes out" (Pornography: The Secret History of Civilisation, 2006:np), which is the exact reason for the decline of the pornographic magazine; beginning in the 1990s, the CD-ROM, DVD, satellite TV and, of course, the internet, well surpassed the popularity of the once mighty pornographic magazine industry.

5.4 Summary

This chapter reviewed the history of pornography and the pornographic magazine on a global scale, segmenting the development thereof from the sixteenth century. Pornography reminiscent of the modern-day genre was located in the sexually conservative period between 1500 and 1800. Strikingly, pornography in this time was used as a medium to criticise the government, their legislative decisions and the church, who dictatorially ruled its people and followers. It was only in the period post-1800 that the financial benefits of the trade in pornography was realised, and since then pornography retailers and dealers have been shaping and expanding the pornotopia we know today by exploiting technological advances like the photographic process, postcards and the pornographic magazine, in an attempt to expand the genre's reach. In the future, pornographers will continue to exploit technology, just as pornographers in the past have successfully done.

Interestingly, various sources have relayed in this chapter that pornography was present across Europe, the Americas, Asia and Australia, but none have commented on pornography in Africa or, more specifically, South Africa. The next chapter (Chapter 6 – Findings and discussion) hopes to shed a sliver of light on exactly this topic by answering the following question: **What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**

Chapter 6

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

The findings of the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**), which set out to give an overview of the pornographic magazines that were seized and banned by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 are relayed in this chapter. As discussed in Chapter 4 (Research methodology), the data was gathered qualitatively by implementing the historical methodology. Chapter 3 (Theoretical frameworks) also explained in detail that the narrative in this chapter was guided by the authoritarian media theory, which looks at media systems that are directed and stifled by government control – in this case, the pornographic magazine – and the *Annales*'s application of the functional-structural approach, which focuses on the function of, in this case, the pornographic magazine, within this authoritarian state. Therefore, the angle of the narrative of events that will unfold in this chapter, will focus on this suppression, while at the same time shedding light on the distribution and reading culture of pornographic magazines that were once seized and shortly thereafter proscribed by South African authorities.

The chapter opens with an introduction on pornography in South Africa pre-1939, and thereafter continues to an overview of pornographic magazines in three distinct periods between 1939 and 1989 – 1939 to 1963; 1964 to (mid-April) 1975, and (mid-April) 1975 to 1989, as discussed in Chapters 1 to 3. The focus is on what pornographic magazines were initially acknowledged and shortly thereafter prohibited by the South African government in this time, but to steer clear from only listing the titles of international and domestic pornographic magazines (listed in Appendix A, B and C), the narrative is amplified by the two theoretical frameworks and events in unobtrusive, historical data that have a tie to the suppression of the genre in the country.

6.2 A point of departure: pornography in South Africa pre-1939

As noted in Chapter 2 (Literature review), academic comment on pornographic material in South Africa pre-1939 is largely non-existent, with only South African legislation and the promiscuous context of South Africa's "naughty" 1890s suggesting the presence of pornography in the country. At the onset of this research project, it was (naïvely) assumed that pornographic material was present in South Africa in the late nineteenth century, as legislation to prohibit the traffic of obscene content was already declared in 1872. However, no historical evidence was found in the research process to support the availability, distribution or detection of such content in the country. What is clear, though, is that the absence of data in this research project that could have suggested the presence of pornography in 1800s South Africa is juxtaposed with the presence of pornography in 1900s South Africa, starting almost immediately after the fin de siècle in 1904 – the earliest data the researcher could find that located pornography in the then Union of South Africa.

6.2.1 The first traces

The earliest known pornography in South Africa discovered in the research process for this project is mentioned in a letter dated by the postmaster general (PMG) in Cape Town on 26 October 1904 (Postmaster General, Cape Town, 1904:1-2). The letter notes a "bookpacket [sic]" of photographs received from Funchal – the capital city of the Portuguese archipelago Madeira – which, initially, seemed to contain numerous "unmounted photographs of Madeira scenery" (Postmaster General, Cape Town, 1904:1). At closer inspection, however, "several obscene unmounted photographs of naked human figures" were also found in the collection. Although the PMG argued in his correspondence with the attorney general that only the obscene photographs should be destroyed and the rest be sent to the addressee (Postmaster General, Cape Town, 1904:1), the attorney general ordered the entire "bookpacket" to be destroyed on 7 November 1904 (Attorney-General's [sic] Office, Cape Town, 1904:1). This means that no photographic evidence of most probably the first pornography in South Africa exists for inclusion in this project.

After 1904, the import of pornography to the country became more frequent. In 1906, 73 pornographic postcards were seized and subsequently destroyed by

authorities in Port Elizabeth (Controller of Customs, Cape Town, 1906:1; Assistant Treasurer, Controller of Customs, Cape Town, 1906:1), and in 1907, what seems to be, the first sex toys, imported by a Mr. G. Friedrichs for £1, were detained and destroyed in Cape Town (Controller of Customs, Cape Town, 1907:1; Assistant Treasurer, Controller of Customs, Cape Town, 1907:1). Although no photographs of the mentioned toys exist, similar images show that sex toys were popular in pornography of the time (see Figure 9).



Figure 9: A pornographic photograph, dating from c. 1860, showing the use of a forerunner of the sex toy – a popular accessory in pornography produced in the nineteenth century (Dupouy, 2009:np).

It is perhaps best to illuminate a shortfall of this study here: a lack of photographic evidence. As most of the mentioned pornographic material was destroyed, there is no photographic evidence that can be scrutinised by the researcher, which means that a description of any material as pornographic lies solely with the South African representative who first described and thereafter authorised its destruction. Ironically,

even with physical evidence, the judgement of labelling photographs or postcards as libellous and obscene was not always unanimous, as became evident in the correspondence between the PMG and the attorney general in Cape Town in 1908. After seizing at first eight (Postmaster General, Cape Town, 1908a:1-2) and shortly thereafter two more postcards (Postmaster General, Cape Town, 1908b:1-2), the PMG found it “difficult to believe” that the attorney general did not consider the said postcards pornographic (Postmaster General, Cape Town, 1908c:1). In response, the secretary of the law department at the attorney general’s office initially admitted that two of the postcards somewhat contravened the law (Secretary to the Law Department, Attorney-General’s [sic] Office, Cape Town, 1908a:1), but later declared that none of the postcards are really obscene, profane or libellous (Secretary to the Law Department, Attorney-General’s [sic] Office, Cape Town, 1908b:1). In a third letter, the secretary also questioned the PMG’s judgement of the postcards, and again reminded him that the interpretation of the postcards as obscene “would not be justified by the terms used by the Legislature [sic]” (Secretary to the Law Department, Attorney-General’s [sic] Office, Cape Town, 1908c:1).

Is it, therefore, technically possible that none of the above examples of pornography in South Africa pre-1939 are really pornographic – especially since no physical evidence exists? Without photographic evidence, the possibility has to be considered. However, within the context sketched in Chapter 5 (Pornography: the global context) that acknowledges the increased popularity of pornographic content in photographs and on postcards starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the description of the mentioned items as pornographic most probably hold true. In some instances, data that lacked both photographic evidence and a clear description, for example the import of “obscene articles” from Hamburg, Germany in 1909 (Controller of Customs, Cape Town, 1909:1), was not included in the study, although it strongly suggests and further strengthens the presence of more pornographic content in South Africa.

6.2.2 The United Nations agreement and international convention for the suppression of the circulation of and traffic in obscene publications

With the flow of obscene, pornographic content becoming more apparent in South Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century, it is quite coincidental that the first

of two international agreements for the suppression of the circulation of and traffic in obscene publications was declared in 1910 (United Nations, 1950:1-5). Although not legally binding, the Agreement for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications¹⁹ is summarised as follows:

“The States [sic] represented [are] equally desirous of facilitating within the scope of their respective legislation, the mutual interchange of information with a view to tracing and suppressing offences connected with obscene publications, have resolved to conclude an agreement to that end and have, in consequence, designated their Plenipotentiaries [sic] who met in conference at [sic] Paris from 18 April to 4 May 1910 and agreed on the [...] provisions” (United Nations, 1950:1).

More specifically, each country which signed the agreement would have to “undertake[...] to establish or designate an authority charged with the duty of:

- (1) Centralizing all information which may facilitate the tracing and suppression of acts constituting infringements of their municipal law as to obscene writings, drawings, pictures or articles, and the constitutive elements of which bear an international character.
- (2) Supplying all information tending to check the importation of publications or articles referred to in the foregoing paragraph and also to insure or expedite their seizure, all within the scope of municipal legislation.
- (3) Communicating the laws that have already been or may subsequently be enacted in their respective States [sic] in regard to the object of the present Agreement [sic]” (United Nations, 1950:1).

¹⁹ It has to be noted that South Africa was not listed as one of the countries which accepted the agreement in 1910 and 1949, when the same protocol was amended in New York, USA on 4 May 1949 (United Nations, 1950:4-5). But in supplemented documents, it is clear that South Africa was represented by the United Kingdom, and that the agreement was “declared applicable” on South Africa, which was still a British colony at the time, and 27 days shy of becoming a union (in 1910) (United Nations, 1910:1-2).

Similarly, the second international agreement – the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of Traffic in Obscene Publications²⁰ – was opened for signature in Geneva from 12 September 1923 to 31 March 1924 by the predecessor of the United Nations, the League of Nations, with almost exactly the same objectives as the first:

“The High Contracting Parties [sic] agree to take all measures to discover, prosecute and punish any person engaged in committing any of the following offences, and accordingly agree that [i]t shall be a punishable offence:

- (1) For purposes of or by way of trade or for distribution or public exhibition to make or produce or have in possession obscene writings, drawings, prints, paintings, printed matter, pictures, posters, emblems, photographs, cinematograph [sic] films or any other obscene objects;
- (2) For the purposes above mentioned, to import, convey or export or cause to be imported, conveyed or exported any of the said obscene matters or things, or in any manner whatsoever to put them into circulation;
- (3) To carry on or take part in a business, whether public or private, concerned with any of the said obscene matters or things, or to deal in the said matters or things in any manner whatsoever, or to distribute them or to exhibit them publicly or to make a business of lending them;
- (4) To advertise or make known by any means whatsoever, in view of assisting in the said punishable circulation or traffic, that a person is engaged in any of the above punishable acts, or to advertise or to make known how or from whom the said obscene matters or things can be procured either directly or indirectly” (United Nations, 1948:6).

Although there is no evidence in the research process thereof, it does seem that the South African government adhered to both agreements by implementing the Enter-

²⁰ At this convention and the amendment of the protocol by the United Nations in New York, USA on 12 November 1947, the Union of South Africa was represented by the Right Honourable Lord Parmoor, representative of the British empire on the Council of the League of Nations, who signed the agreement on behalf of both South Africa and South-West Africa (modern-day Namibia) (United Nations, 1948:11).

tainments (Censorship) Act, No. 28 of 1931, which hoped to centralise information (as stated in point 1 of the 1910 agreement) more acutely. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Literature review), the country's four provinces each operated its own, independent censorship laws up to 1931, after which they were all diminished and replaced with a unilateral law. In addition, the South African Board of Censors would have to approve any of the materials mentioned in both agreements above, and hoped to enforce exactly what is prohibited in all four points of the 1924 agreement.

Interestingly, no pornographic material was identified between 1910 and 1939 in South Africa, possibly due to the government's ever-tightening grip on the circulation of pornographic content. Although 20 million pornographic postcards were being printed abroad annually between the two world wars in 1914 and 1939 (*Toe ons ouma-grootjies [sic] nog jonk was* [When our great-grandmothers were still young], 1995:30) and pornographers were trying to establish ways to print pornographic photographs in magazines (as discussed in Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context), it is only from 21 August 1939 onwards that a more clear documentation of exactly what the South African government banned, shows which pornographic magazines were being imported and accessed in the country.

6.3 The advent of pornographic magazines in South Africa, 1939 to 1963

Although South African customs and the Board of Censors kept an even tighter grip on international publications since the induction of the Entertainments (Censorship) Act, No. 28 of 1931, it only became customary to publish the titles of banned publications in the Union's government gazettes from 1939 onwards (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:15). Therefore, an idea of exactly what pornographic magazines South Africans were importing and reading only becomes clear from this year onwards. Technically, it is inaccurate to say that no pornographic magazines were imported before 1939, but as no historical evidence was found to disprove such a claim, and government gazettes that recorded banned publications pre-1939 do not exist (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:15), 1939 is a pivotal point of departure for locating the pornographic magazine in the country.

This section opens with a short note on distribution of pornography in South Africa between 1939 and 1963, and then takes a look at local magazine culture before making reference to the 289 pornographic magazines identified in this period. The

bulk of spicy pulp (erotic fiction with pictures, as discussed in Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context) and pin-up magazines stand in contrast with hard-core naturist magazines, a few soft-core European titles, the first homosexual pornographic magazine – and even a South African title.

6.3.1 Distribution

While the machinery of state censorship was well-oiled by 1939, various potholes in the system led to general unhappiness by anti-pornography enthusiasts, who acknowledged that between 1939 and 1963, it was much easier to get hold of, in this case, a pornographic magazine in South Africa than expected. The “‘guardian’ of public morals” was the customs department, who investigated shipments of materials from abroad with a “suspicious eye” (Our amateur censors, 1941:5). Many, however, took advantage of the deficiencies the customs department, ironically, itself acknowledged. Some of these included that:

- the Entertainments (Censorship) Act, No. 28 of 1931 did not provide guidelines against which a publication should be judged (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:4), which, in turn, meant that no unilateral norm or guideline could be applied by a customs official, who had the power to ban a publication by merely paging through it (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:13-14). Not only then did customs officials subjectively decide whether to ban a magazine or not, but a conservative customs official, for example, in Cape Town could ban a magazine, while a more liberal customs official in Port Elizabeth could approve exactly the same magazine for distribution in the country (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:11);
- the sheer number of shipments from abroad meant that customs officials could not inspect every package, which made it easy to smuggle pornography into the country by packaging it with crockery, for example (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:4);
- most publications – a “[o]ntsaglike getal publikasies” [tremendous amount of publications] – were shipped and distributed through the post office, and were not investigated by customs officials (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:7,10).

This meant that around 200 000 copies of publications were passed to distributors in Cape Town every month, while around 100 000 to 120 000 copies of publications were shipped via the post office to private individuals and smaller book traders (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:7). Interestingly, shipments via the post office did not even require a bill of entry (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:10). Although packages were investigated by post office officials, a few were chosen at random, while most were never scrutinised (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:18). This meant that packages with unknown contents were passed along to 300 large book traders and 12 000 other smaller and privately-owned outlets in the Union (Cronjé, 1957:7), and

- in cases where customs and post office officials were unsure whether a publication should be banned, the said publications would be submitted to the South African Board of Censors, whose scrutiny was also subjectively based (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:3). Unfortunately, the amount of time it took to deliver a verdict and the amount of press associated around the publications, meant that the Board gave certain magazines free publicity and enhanced its sales before a conviction could be amalgamated (*Letterkundige sensuur* [Literary censorship], 1947:13; *Is 'n Sensuur op Boeke Gewens?* [Is book censorship desired?], 1951:7; De Beer, 1952:10). By the time a publication would be banned by the Board, most of the copies already distributed would be sold out (Republic of South Africa, 1962a:9).

Consequently, the process was nothing more than “[s]ensuur manewales” [censorship antics] (*Sensuur manewales* [Censorship antics], 1946:3), which proved that “[w]etlike sensuur [...] ’n ondoeltreffende gebrekkige middel teen obsene en prikkelende lektuur [in Suid-Afrika] [is]” [legal censorship (in South Africa) is an inefficient, defective instrument against obscene and salacious literature] (*Is 'n Sensuur op Boeke Gewens?* [Is book censorship desired?], 1951:7; *Sensuur onder die Soeklig* [Censorship under the Spotlight], 1951:7).

In part, the “underground” ebb and flow of pornographic magazines make the investigation of the research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**) problematic, as it is quite hard to track and determine what magazines

were available if there was no record of them. But the censorship system, as is, was not completely bungled, and with a healthy magazine culture in South Africa in a time when television was absent, 289 pornographic magazines in the country between 1939 and 1963 could be identified.

6.3.2 Magazine culture

Before the advent of television in South Africa in 1976, magazine circulation was extremely high, with both Greyling (1959:4) and Cronjé (1957:6) respectively making note of 63 and 58 million local and international magazines sold in the country annually. But with the somewhat inefficient South African Board of Censors and censorship policies forced down by South African authorities to control pornographic magazines, it was a case of “locking the stable door after the horse had gone” (Walker, 1952:13). In the period 1939 to 1963, pornography in magazines circulated in South Africa had increased in monthly publications (Cronjé, 1957:6), with “vile literature” finding its way to the Union from America, Britain and France (De Beer, 1952:10). A description of what made these magazines so vile is summarised by Greyling (1959:5):

“Die vernaamste algemene kenmerk van ongewenste tydskrifillustrasies is sonder enige twyfel die wyse waarop die vrou voorgestel en afgebeeld word. In die ongewenste illustrasies word die vrou by uitstek voorgestel en afgebeeld in skamele en ongenoegsame kleding en/of in suggestiewe of prikkelende houdinge. Hierdie illustrasies – die mate waarin dit voorkom en die wyse waarop dit toegeneem het – is ongetwyfeld een van die ergste vorme van ongewenstheid in die Unie...”

[The primary characteristic of undesirable magazine illustrations is without a doubt the way in which women are represented and portrayed. In these undesirable illustrations, the woman is eminently represented and portrayed in scantily-clad and inadequate clothing and/or in lewd or provocative postures. These illustrations – the degree in which they appear and the way they are increasing – is undoubtedly one of the worst forms of undesirability in the Union...]

South Africans were therefore slowly but surely being exposed to “magazines [that] have outstripped in vulgarity and indecency anything previously seen of this kind” (De Beer, 1952:10), in an attempt not only to shock its audience, but to make money (Greyling, 1959:6). This was also emphasised by the Cronjé Commission in 1957 (Union of South Africa, 1957h:14):

“And what is the position in the Union in regard to undesirable magazines? That they are also to be found in the Union, is a matter about which no doubt exists. On the one hand there are the imported magazines whose contents, in so far as stories, articles and illustrations are concerned, leave much to be desired. These imported magazines have contributed towards the creation of a demand for this type of reading.”

6.3.3. Pornographic magazines seized and proscribed in South Africa, 1939 to 1963

A complete list of the 289 pornographic magazines seized and proscribed in South Africa between 1939 and 1963 is compiled in Appendix A. The next subsections will briefly discuss some of the most popular pornographic magazine genres that were identified in this period.

6.3.3.1 Pulp and pin-up magazines

The most prominent pornographic magazines between 1939 and 1963 in South Africa were by far pulp and pin-up magazines, with the first two – *Silk Stocking Stories* and *The Stocking Parade* (see Figure 10, on the next page) – banned immediately one after the other in as early as 1939 (Union of South Africa, 1956a:23-24). While it is quite hard to consider both of these magazines (and other pulp and pin-up magazines like these in this period) pornographic (even soft-core pornography), especially since one is looking at these images with a twenty-first century frame of mind, it has to be emphasised again that pornography does not only vary from person to person, but also from time to time (*Is 'n Sensuur op Boeke Gewens?* [Is book censorship desired?], 1951:7). In the first half of twentieth-century South Africa, extreme conservatism made it almost inadmissible for women to cut their hair, wear lipstick or wear

clothing that exposed more than the points of their shoes (*Is 'n Sensuur op Boeke Gewens?* [Is book censorship desired?], 1951:7), which means that any image that transgressed any of these conservative taboos were seen as highly explicit – and therefore, highly pornographic. In the case of both *The Stocking Parade* and *Silk Stocking Stories*, exposing underwear and an almost-bare breast was enough to make them two of a plethora of banned pulp and pin-up magazines in this time.



Figure 10: *The Stocking Parade* (Hanson, 2004k:45) and *Silk Stocking Stories* (*Silk Stocking Stories*, Unknown:np) were two of the first pornographic magazines banned in the Union of South Africa. Note that these examples – and the other examples that will follow in this chapter – are not the actual editions that were banned by the South African Board of Censors, and only serve as visual examples, while at the same time giving an approximate look at the content of the publication.

During the 1940s, pulp and pin-up magazines continued to pour into the country, each only suggesting the sexual, rather than showing it explicitly, but it was not long for barely any nudity in pulp and pin-up magazines to be replaced with full-on nudity in the form of naturist magazines, which were first imported to South Africa in 1950 (Union of South Africa, 1956a:17).

6.3.3.2 Naturist magazines

As discussed in Chapter 5 (Pornography: the global context), naturist magazines became popular in the US after nudist parks were legalised there in 1932. In an attempt to fluke censors, publishers produced naturist magazines with the rationale that there is no sexual element to public nakedness in naturist parks, and that the portrayal thereof in a magazine follows the same thought. In South Africa, however, the nudity portrayed in these magazines was, at the time, unparalleled; compared to the coy nudity of pulp and pin-up magazines, naturist magazines bared it all (see Figure 11).



Figure 11: A picture from the Swiss naturist magazine *Helios* (Hanson, 2005g:230), and the cover of another, *Health and Efficiency* (*Health and Efficiency*, 1954:np); both illustrate that, compared to pulp and pin-up magazines, nudity in naturist magazines was quite hard-core.

The first naturist magazine that made its way to South Africa, *Naturisme*, came from France (Union of South Africa, 1956a:17), and was soon followed by other naturist magazines from Europe, where the levels of explicitness were far greater than elsewhere. These included, among others:

- three German publications: *FKK in Frankreich* (Union of South Africa, 1957e:10); *In Natur und Sonne* (Union of South Africa, 1956c:26), and *Lebensfreude* (Union of South Africa, 1957f:12);
- *Helios*, from Switzerland (Union of South Africa, 1956c:26);
- *Tidlösa*, from Sweden (Union of South Africa, 1957f:13), and
- *Zonnevrienden*, from the Netherlands (Union of South Africa, 1957e:12).

6.3.3.3 Abreast of breasts: soft-core pornographic magazines

With the parameters of a new hard-core established through the introduction of naturist magazines to South African audiences, pulp and pin-up magazines started exposing more too, and South Africans were following suit by importing magazines that moved from subtly hinting at naked breasts to showing it explicitly.



Figure 12: Two French pornographic magazines of the 1950s seized and banned in South Africa: *Paris Hollywood Nus Couleurs* (*Paris Hollywood Nus Couleurs*, Unknown:np) and *La Vie Parisienne* (*La Vie Parisienne*, Unknown:np).

Although magazines at the beginning of the 1950s tastefully exposed the top half of the female body artistically, like *Paris Hollywood Nus Couleurs* (Union of South Africa, 1956c:26) or *La Vie Parisienne* (Union of South Africa, 1956a:14), magazines by the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s were pushing the

envelope with more risqué and provocative content, including the infamous *Playboy* (Union of South Africa, 1956b:34), and the magazines pictured in Figure 13, *Modern Man* (Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21) and *Hollywood Models of the Month* (Union of South Africa, 1957c:15).



Figure 13: Magazines like *Modern Man* (left) (Hanson, 2004l:306) and *Hollywood Models of the Month* (*Hollywood Models of the Month*, Unknown:np) were exposing more of the female body.

Man's Magazine was banned the most – 37 times²¹ – the clear leader ahead of *Man's Point of View* and *Cavalier*, which were seized and banned nine times²² between 1960 and 1963, and eight times²³ between 1957 and 1963, respectively.

²¹ Union of South Africa, 1956a:16; 1957b:11; 1960a:12; 1960b:52; 1960d:26; 1960e:14; 1961c:9. Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9; 1961d:21; 1961f:12; 1962c:6; 1962d:7; 1962e:5; 1962f:9; 1962g:9; 1962h:8; 1962j:11; 1962k:9; 1962m:6; 1962n:12; 1962p:7; 1963d:5; 1963e:7; 1963g:6; 1963h:10; 1963j:3; 1963l:10; 1963m:11.

²² Union of South Africa, 1960c:8; 1960d:26; 1961b:12. Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9; 1961d:21; 1962d:7; 1962j:11; 1963b:5.

²³ Union of South Africa, 1957e:9; 1957g:29; 1958b:18. Republic of South Africa, 1962b:9; 1962m:6; 1963j:3.

6.3.3.4 The first South African pornographic magazine

Most probably the first South African pornographic magazine – *Candid Pinups Featuring South African and International Beauties* – was published for the first time by Atlas Publications (Pty) in Johannesburg in the late-1950s (National Library of South Africa, 2013:np; *Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:1; *Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-b:1).

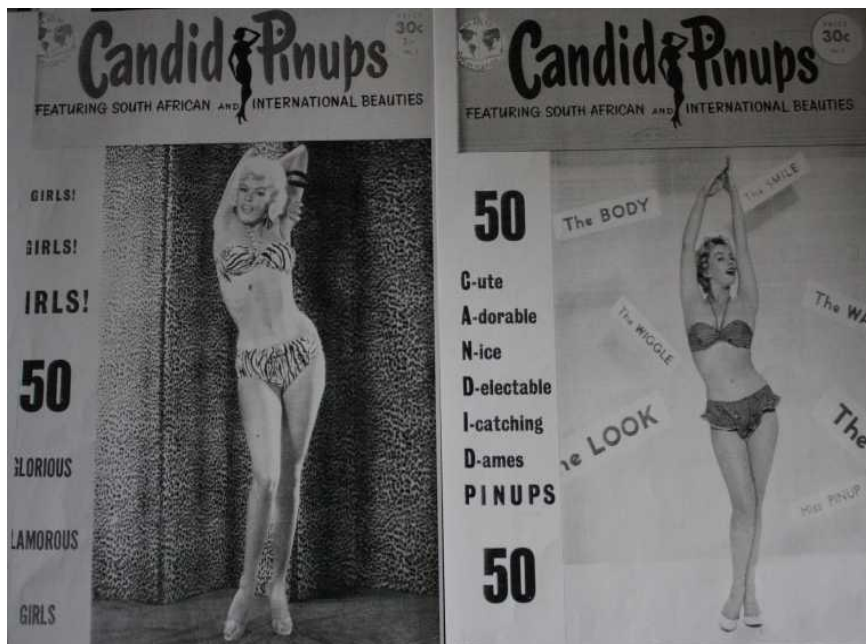


Figure 14: The front covers of two issues (issue 3 [left] and 4 [right]) of most probably the first South African pornography magazine, *Candid Pinups Featuring South African and International Beauties* (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:1; *Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-b:1).

One of its first issues was advertised in 1959 at the bottom of a page in a local comic book, titled *Action Comics* (*Action Comics*, 1959:12) (see Figure 15), and it is therefore safe to say that most probably South Africa's first pornographic magazine was founded at the end of the 1950s.



Figure 15: The advertisement in the comic book *Action Comics*, which advertised the first issue of most probably the first South African pornographic magazine, *Candid Pinups Featuring South African and International Beauties* (*Action Comics*, 1959:12).

The magazine only published 50 pictures of scantily-clad women in provocative poses in each of its 21 issues; was published at irregular dates until 1967, and was sold for 30c (National Library of South Africa, 2013:np; *Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:1; *Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-b:1).

As noted by the editor, who only identifies him or herself as “THE EDITOR”, “readers will not want to spend too long on reading before looking at the pictures” (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:1). Hollywood starlets were featured, but a bulk of South African women was also included, as “THE EDITOR” urged them to submit pictures of themselves for print:

“[...] we should still like to receive photos of our own South African lovelies to print – the more of them, the better. You are invited to send in photos, preferably not smaller than postcard size, of yourself, your daughters or your friends. On the back of each photo, please print lightly the full name, address, age and measurements of the person shown, together with any hobbies or other particulars that you think would be of interest (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-b:1).



Figure 16: Three examples of the provocative poses in *Candid Pinups Featuring South African and International Beauties* (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:3,21,24). On the far right, Lenita, a Cape Town model, is bound in ropes and is described as getting “herself all tied up in this charming pose” (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:24).

South Africans obliged: Photographs of South African women (see Figure 16) with photo captions that included their names (excluding surnames), cities of residence, hobbies, ages and body measurements were printed (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-b:19).

Although the images are suggestive of the sexual – in a similar manner as international pulp and pin-up magazines that were seized and banned in South Africa,

as discussed in section 6.3.3.1 – it was only until 1965²⁴ when five issues, nos. 14 to 18, of the magazine were banned. In all probability, it was only targeted by censors post-1963 (when the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963 was enforced), as the South African Board of Censors (pre-1963) had no power over publications that were produced domestically (Kruger, 1973:7); it was only until 1963, when the Publications Control Board (PCB) replaced the South African Board of Censors, that domestic publications also came under censorship's extremely conservative scrutiny.

Although "THE EDITOR" noted that the magazine received a "gratifying" and "enthusiastic reception", and hoped that future issues would be "equally well received" (*Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-a:1; *Candid Beauties Featuring South African and International Beauties*, Unknown-b:1), it is unclear why no issues were published after 1967. It would not be a surprise, though, if the PCB's constant banishment of the magazine led to its publishers conceding defeat and discontinuing the publication.

6.3.3.5 Other notable pornographic magazines: male homosexual

Apart from pornographic magazines already mentioned in this section, one homosexual magazine was discovered in the research process: *Eos (Homofilt Tidsskrift)*, a Danish homosexual pornographic magazine (Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4). Somewhat prematurely, *Eos* was banned in 1963, only a year before gay pornography started to infiltrate South Africa in bulk from 1964 onwards (discussed later in section 6.4.2.4 of this chapter).

6.4 From soft to hard: the pornographic magazine in South Africa, 1964 to 1975

By the time the Publications Control Board (PCB) was instituted in 1963, "[n]udity as

²⁴ The magazine was included in the period 1939 to 1963, as it originated in this time. It was, however, not listed in the corresponding Appendix A, but in Appendix B (1964-1975) as the magazines were only targeted by censors post-1963 in 1965.

such [in magazines] [was] almost out of date overseas” (Vanas, 1970:34); even locally, “[o]nly a completely naïve person” would pretend pornographic magazines were non-existent (Vanas, 1970:47). As a result, the PCB clamped down on pornography far more stringently than its predecessor, during, what would later become known as South Africa’s “[s]exy [s]ixties” and “severe” seventies (Sex and censorship in advertising, 1972:33). Not only was it “generally accepted by the [PCB] that pictures showing more than half of the White [sic] breast [were] not acceptable” (Sex and censorship in advertising, 1972:33), but the new law declared that all magazines sold for less than R1.00 could not be imported without a permit (*U is gewaarsku* [You are warned], 1963:2).

6.4.1 Cunning importation – and the PCB’s shortfalls

According to Herbst (1973:4) it was a regular occurrence to hide pornographic magazines in “*onskuldige omslae*” [inoffensive covers] to fluke censors at international ports (where magazines entered the country from abroad) and post offices (where they were distributed domestically). So, too, passengers on planes and ships were not barred when hiding magazines in their luggage (*Memorandum insake sekere aspekte van die beheer oor ingevoerde publikasies en rolprente* [Memorandum regarding certain aspects of the control over imported publications and films], 1964:2). A steady flow of pornographic magazines were also streaming into South Africa, hidden in the belongings of immigrants from other African countries, such as Angola, Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) and Mozambique; additionally, it was mere child’s play to import pornographic magazines from some of South Africa’s neighbouring countries, such as Swaziland, Botswana or Lesotho, because the countries belonged to the same customs union and, therefore, no customs control was wielded on their borders (*Memorandum insake sekere aspekte van die beheer oor ingevoerde publikasies en rolprente* [Memorandum regarding certain aspects of the control over imported publications and films], 1964:3; *Departement van Pos-en-Telegraafwese* [Department of Post and Telecommunications], Unknown:3).

Although it was acknowledged that “*tydskrifte is die soort publikasies waarin die meeste kwaad skuil*” [magazines are the kind of publications in which the most evil hides] (Kruger, 1973:7), the South African Department of Post and Telecommunications merely shrugged at the countless avenues through which pornographic

magazines were filtering into the country, stating that it is “*natuurlik onmoontlik om elke posstuk individueel na te sien*” [obviously impossible to examine every piece of mail individually], and that it is “*hoofsaaklik wanneer die omslae [van pakkies] beskadig raak*” [mostly when the outer covers (of packages) get damaged] that pornographic magazines are discovered by chance (*Departement van Pos-en-Telegraafwese* [Department of Post and Telecommunications], Unknown:2-3). For the Department, “[*d*]ie soektog na pornografie word bemoeilik deur die versteking van ’n enkele pornografiese stuk in ’n pakkie met onskuldige tydskrifte of nuusblaaie” [the search for pornography was encumbered by the stowing away of a single piece of pornography in a parcel with other innocent magazines and newspapers] (*Departement van Pos-en-Telegraafwese* [Department of Post and Telecommunications], Unknown:3). As a result, pornographic magazines “could easily enter the country and build up a fair-sized readership before any action was taken against them” (Muller, 1968:6).

What has to be re-emphasised – again – is that “*nie alle publikasies deur die Raad gekeur [...] [is] nie, maar alleen dié wat aan hom voorgelê [is]*” [not all publications were approved by the Board, but only those that were submitted to them] by any person, organisation or any other body of any other sorts in the country (Kruger, 1973:7-8), which means the public was an important part of the state’s censorship machinery. Their task was clear (*Censorship and the book trade*, 1955:11):

“The Board is assisted in its scrutiny of publications by readers whose function is to examine and report on publications referred to them. Readers reports which are made on a printed form include:

- a) A synopsis of the story or subject dealt with[, and]
- b) Reference to pages on which appear passages considered to be indecent, obscene or for any reason whatsoever objectionable, under certain headings:
 - Cover;
 - General remarks and opinion.”

The system worked well: more than 13 000 books, journals, newspapers and magazines were banned during the late-1950s and 1960s – some of which “only an excerpt

f[*e*]ll foul of the Board’s rules” (Cohen, 1970:5) – which means that at least 13 000 submission were made to the South African Board of Censors and the PCB in this time. But although the censorship policy was by no means any less than strict, it still had various loopholes, as mentioned above, which were cunningly abused by readers. The fact that these magazines were infiltrating the country without the knowledge of censors, also means that it is impossible to determine what pornographic magazines (and how many of them) actually made their way to South African shores, as the PCB only kept records of the magazines that were submitted to them by customs officials and the public.

6.4.2 Pornographic magazines seized and proscribed in South Africa, 1964 to (mid-April) 1975

A complete list of the 343 pornographic magazines seized and proscribed in South Africa between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975 is compiled in Appendix B. The next subsections will briefly discuss some of the most popular pornographic magazine genres that were identified in this period.

6.4.2.1 Pushing the boundaries: making soft-core more hard-core

While soft-core pornographic magazines evident between 1939 and 1963 continued to stream into the country between 1964 and 1975, the coy and “conservative” nudity in pulp and pin-up magazines largely disappeared, and was replaced by magazines that completely embraced a more hard-core soft-core – the frank display of female breasts in various poses *and* a hint of genitalia, although never explicitly showing it (see Figure 17, on the next page). Soft-core pornographic magazines, including:

- *Club International* (Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12; 1972m:5; 1972u:7);
- *Frivol* (Republic of South Africa, 1972r:4; 1974z:8);
- *Game* (Republic of South Africa, 1974e:3; 1974f:4);
- *Genesis (For Men)* (Republic of South Africa, 1975d:31);
- *Jaguar* (Republic of South Africa, 1970x:4);
- *Mr.* (Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6);

- *Rogue* (Republic of South Africa, 1964c:14; 1964h:9; 1970v:14);
- *Swank* (Republic of South Africa, 1970x:4; 1970o:10), and
- *Twen* (Republic of South Africa, 1968e:32; 1969l:7), were only a couple of the soft-core pornographic titles that formed the bulk of the pornographic magazines compiled in Appendix B.



Figure 17: The covers of three soft-core pornographic magazines – *Frivol* (*Frivol*, Unknown:np); *Club International* (*Club International*, 1975:np), and *Genesis* (*Genesis*, 1975:np) – that were banned in South Africa between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975, show that publishers were exposing more and more of the female body.

6.4.2.2 *Playboy* and *Penthouse*

Compared to the period between 1939 and 1963, when only one issue of *Playboy* magazine was noted (Union of South Africa, 1956b:34) and none of *Penthouse*, the period between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975 was flooded by these two iconic pornography magazines, and together quickly became the most banned titles in Appendix B. Although only 10 issues²⁵ of *Penthouse* was identified, *Playboy* was more popular: its English, German (Republic of South Africa, 1973p:5) and Italian (Republic of South Africa, 1974v:12; 1974w:13) editions contributed to the 32 copies

²⁵ Republic of South Africa, 1973g:12; 1973v:10; 1974s:16; 1974bb:13; 1974t:12; 1974u:13; 1965e:1; 1965j:11.

of the magazine and its brand extensions²⁶, which were seized by the PCB and shortly thereafter prohibited by them.

The PCB's constant prohibition of the magazine quickly exasperated *Playboy's* publishers in Chicago (in the USA), who regularly received returned mail from South Africa because the pornographic content of the magazine was on South African censors' blacklists (Lewis, 1971:1). As a result, the foreign department of *Playboy* confirmed in a letter in 1971 they would officially discontinue sending subscription copies of *Playboy* to South Africa, on the grounds that packages were too regularly returned – and that they were losing money because of it (Lewis, 1971:1). Regardless of their decision to deny subscriptions to eager South African readers, orders of single copies were still mailed to South Africa post-1971, as seen in Appendix B.

6.4.2.3 Naturist and nudist magazines

With the general unavailability of hard-core magazines, it seems from the list in Appendix B that South Africans turned to the only “hard-core pornography” accessible to them at the time: naturist and nudist magazines. More than ever before (and especially more than the period 1939 to 1963), naturist and nudist magazines were increasingly satisfying the needs of eager eyes to see the human body in explicit detail. Although a flurry of titles was identified, it has to be noted that no more than a handful of each title was seized and banned by the PCB. During the 1960s, magazines, including:

²⁶ These brand extensions included a plethora of titles, including, among others:

- *Playboy Bunnies* (Republic of South Africa, 1973j:12);
- *Playboy's Girls of the World* (Republic of South Africa, 1971h:5);
- *Playboy's Holiday Album* (Republic of South Africa, 1972i:5);
- *Playboy's Phil Interlandi* (Republic of South Africa, 1972i:5);
- *Playboy's Sex in Cinema 2* (Republic of South Africa, 1973b:125);
- *Playgirl* (Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12; 1973e:9; 1973v:10);
- *Playmen* (Republic of South Africa, 1968f:19; 1973o:89);
- *[The] Pocket Playboy* (Republic of South Africa, 1974j:5; 1974i:6);
- *Punch Goes Playboy* (Republic of South Africa, 1971e:4);
- *The Bedside Playboy* (Republic of South Africa, 1966a:16);
- *The Best from Playboy* (Republic of South Africa, 1970o:9; 1971j:3; 1972f:6; 1974d:49), and
- *VIP (The Playboy Club Magazine)* (Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4; 1973l:4; 1973n:10).

- *American Nudism* (Republic of South Africa, 1965l:4);
- *Health and Sunshine* (Republic of South Africa, 1967e:20);
- *International Nudist Sun* (Republic of South Africa, 1966g:5);
- *Modern Sunbathing* (Republic of South Africa, 1965a:7);
- *National Nudist* (Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9);
- *Naturism in Austria* (Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23);
- *Naturism in the Mediterranean* (Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23);
- *Nudist Newsfront* (Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9);
- *Nudist Today* (Republic of South Africa, 1965d:6);
- *Nudist Views* (Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9);
- *Ortil's Naturist Youth in Greece* (Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23);
- *Sun and Health* (Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23);
- *Sun Era* (Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14);
- *Sun Seeker* (Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23), and
- *Urban Nudist* (Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9), were submitted to and banned by the PCB.

German publications, including:

- *Freies Leben* (Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6);
- *Kunst im Naturismus* (Republic of South Africa, 1967b:12), and
- *Licht und Schönheit* (Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6), were also popular.

And by the mid-1970s,

- *Health and Efficiency* (Republic of South Africa, 1970y:4);
- *Holiday Naturist* (Republic of South Africa, 1973bb:114);
- *Suntrails* (Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14), and
- *Young Naturist* (Republic of South Africa, 1973t:7) rounded off a flood of naturist and nudist magazines in this time.

6.4.2.4 Homosexual magazines

Apart from one bisexual magazine, *Bi (Das Besondere St. Pauli)* (Republic of South Africa, 1975f:166), and one female homosexual magazine, *Lesbian Climax* (Republic of South Africa, 1972g:6), male homosexual magazines were far more popular between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975 – albeit also in small numbers. Following the one male homosexual magazine noted in section 6.3.3.5 of this chapter, none of the following magazines were seized more than twice in the second period:

- *Amigo ([The] Homosexual magazine)* (Republic of South Africa, 1964a:6; 1964e:10);
- *Fizeek Art Quarterly* (Republic of South Africa, 1967c:4);
- *Grecian Guild Pictorial* (Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14);
- *Homo (International Magazine)* (Republic of South Africa, 1967f:9);
- *Male Classics* (Republic of South Africa, 1966j:5);
- *Modern Adonis* (Republic of South Africa, 1965k:18; 1966g:5);
- *Muscleboy* (Republic of South Africa, 1966f:10);
- *Physique Pictorial* (Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14);
- *The Male Figure* (Republic of South Africa, 1966h:7);
- *Tomorrow's Man* (Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14), and
- *Young Guys* (Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14).

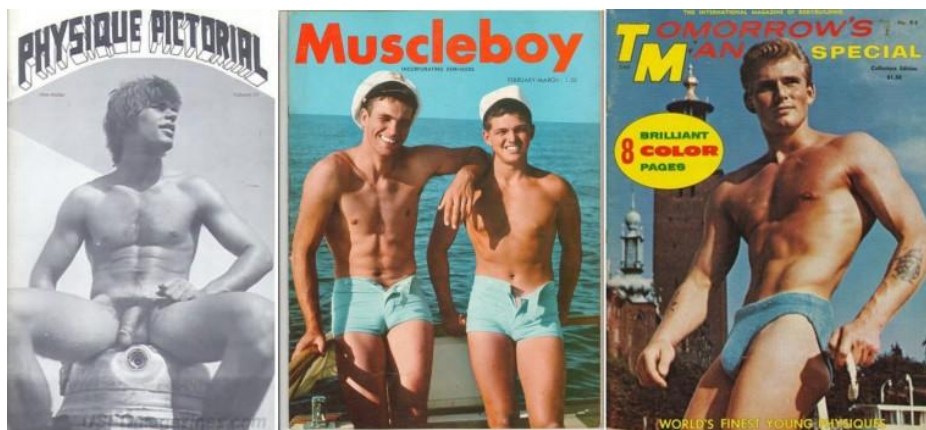


Figure 18: The front covers of three male homosexual magazines imported to South Africa between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975: *Physique Pictorial* (*Physique Pictorial*, 1978:np); *Muscleboy* (*Muscleboy*, 1964:np), and *Tomorrow's Man* (*Tomorrow's Man*, Unknown:np).

6.4.2.5 Hard-core pornographic magazines

After the advent of hard-core pornography in Europe in the 1960s (as discussed in Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context), it is no surprise that hard-core pornographic magazines sporadically made its way to South Africa between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975. In essence, two groups of hard-core pornographic magazines were introduced: The first, which includes magazines like:

- *Cavalier* (Republic of South Africa, 1964a:6; 1964b:3; 1964c:14; 1964g:10; 1964h:9; 1970v:14);
- *International Playmen* (Republic of South Africa, 1968d:25);
- *Lektyr* (Republic of South Africa, 1972j:85; 1972s:84), and
- *Tuk* (Republic of South Africa, 1974z:8; 1974aa:9), “tastefully” exposed the entire female body (see Figure 19), showing female genitalia as they have never been seen in a magazine in South Africa before.



Figure 19: Some of the first examples of “softer” hard-core pornography in magazines banned in South Africa: *Tuk* (*Tuk*, Unknown:np) and *International Playmen* (**right**) (*International Playmen*, 1975:np).

In contrast to the “softer” hard-core pictures above, the second group not only explicitly exposed the male and female body, but also introduced a new hard-core, which included intimate portrayals of sexual intercourse (see Figure 20, on the next page) – especially in magazines such as:

- *Color Climax* (Republic of South Africa, 1973c:108);

- *Suck* (Republic of South Africa, 1970s:11), and
- *Supersex* (Republic of South Africa, 1972b:89).



Figure 20: *Color Climax* (*Color Climax*, 1970:np), *Suck* (*Suck*, 1975:np) and *Supersex* (right) (*Supersex*, Unknown:np) were some of the first explicitly hard-core pornographic magazines that were seized and shortly thereafter banned in South Africa between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975.

It has to be noted, however, that the magazines in this second group were by far in the minority to all the other magazines in Appendix B, and that they were only precursors to more hard-core pornographic magazines between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989.

6.4.2.6 South African pornographic magazines

Technically, no South African pornographic magazines were identified for the period 1964 to (mid-April) 1975. Although *Candid Pinups Featuring South African and International Beauties* was still published until 1967 (as discussed in section 6.3.3.4) and its entry is included in Appendix B, it was discussed in the period 1939 to 1963, as it was founded in the late-1950s.

Additionally, *SCOPE* magazine, which was described in Chapter 2 (Literature review) as most probably the most contentious South African magazine in South African magazine history, was founded in 1966 and is mostly remembered for its pornographic and “dogged boobs n [sic] bums image” (Bierbaum, 1995). However, although Appendix B shows the magazine was banned 10 times between 1964 and

(mid-April) 1975²⁷, it has to be noted that the magazine was founded and traded as a news magazine, and was only banned in this time on the grounds of articles on topics that conservative censors labelled objectionable, including artificial insemination, marital infidelity, abortion and test tube babies (Alexander, 1972:7; Senior Advocate, 1974:24). Therefore, it is excluded from this section.

6.4.2.7 Other notable pornographic magazines: bondage, Asian and female impersonation

A special note has to be made of the various fetish pornographic magazines that were identified in Appendix B – especially bondage, Asian and female impersonation pornography (see Figure 21, on the next page). Although these magazines are even more indistinct than hard-core pornography, they were imported to South Africa between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975, and shortly thereafter banned.

Some of the bondage magazines include:

- *Best of Bondage* (Republic of South Africa, 1973f:3; 1973y:5);
- a special bondage and rubber edition of *Janus* (Republic of South Africa, 1975e:30);
- *Bondage Kaptives* [sic] (Republic of South Africa, 1974p:20);
- *Kaptive* [sic] *Beauties* (Republic of South Africa, 1974p:120), and
- *Rope, Garters and Gags* (Republic of South Africa, 1975d:31).

So, too, two volumes of each of the following Asian pornographic magazines, hoped to satisfy readers with a fetish for Asian women:

- *Cutey Gaho* (Republic of South Africa, 1973k:12; 1973u:12), and
- *Dream Gaho* (Republic of South Africa, 1973k:12; 1973u:12).

In 1969, two pornographic magazines of men posing in female clothing were also seized and banned by the South African government:

²⁷ Republic of South Africa, 1968a:12; 1969a:8; 1970d:9; 1970e:4; 1970f:4; 1970g:11; 1971d:7; 1972c:7; 1973d:5.

- *Female Impersonators* (Republic of South Africa, 1969f:22), and
- *Female Mimics* (Republic of South Africa, 1969f:22).



Figure 21: Some of the fetish magazines that tormented into South Africa from abroad between 1964 and (mid-April) 1975: *Bondage Kaptives* [*sic*] (*Bondage Kaptives* [*sic*], 1974:np); *Rope, Garters and Gags* (*Rope, Garters and Gags*, 1978:np), and *Female Mimics* (*Female Mimics*, 1963:np).

6.5 Tightening the screws on soft-core, hard-core and a family of South African pornography magazines, (mid-April) 1975 to 1989

By 1975, 17 500 “individual publications and objects” were on South Africa’s official banning list, but for the reasons mentioned in Chapter 2 (Literature review) – including the Supreme Court, who regularly overturned the PCB’s rulings, and the many avenues through which pornography was filtering into the country – the censorship system became somewhat of a “comedy of errors” (Pienaar, 1984:5). Although the PCB threatened that it would remove “the right to appeal to the courts” and “ban future editions of certain local magazines thus administering the kiss of death” (Pasquino Society, 1971:14), the public had the whip hand, especially because the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963 did not make the mere possession of pornography illegal – it only provided “that you may not print, publish, manufacture, make, produce, distribute, display, exhibit, sell, or offer or keep for sale an undesirable publication” (Senior Advocate, 1974:24).

Acknowledging that the 1963 Act itself created loopholes through which pornography became easily accessible, the minister of the interior at the time, Dr. Connie Mulder, promised in 1972 that “*Suid-Afrika [...] ’n sensuurstelsel sal kry wat pornografie uit ons land sal weer*” [South Africa (...) will adopt a censorship system that will avert pornography and keep it out of the country] (*Emosies bars los oor sensuur* [Emotions explode over censorship], 1973:1). Three years later, Mulder kept his promise when the Publications Act, No. 42 of 1974 was amalgamated; it abolished the right of appeal to the Supreme Court and made it an offence to be in possession of a banned publication, making South Africa’s censorship laws truly “the strictest in the Western world” (Senior Advocate, 1974:25).

Interestingly, Mulder did not guarantee that the new system, which diverted the Supreme Court’s duties to the Publications Appeal Board (PAB, as discussed in Chapter 2 – Literature review), would rid South Africa of pornography completely; instead, the objective was only to keep pornography from abroad from going into trade in South Africa, where it could be easily purchased by pornography lovers in local stores. As he himself summarised (Happily out of step, 1975:np):

“The main purpose of this Act [the Publications Act, No. 42 of 1974] *is to prevent pornography from abroad coming on to the South African market* [emphasised by the researcher] and generally protect the community against the blatant permissiveness found in other countries. We do not want to be in line with the permissiveness and pornography of so many other countries of the world. In this, we prefer to be out of step.”

6.5.1 “Super snoopers”

Although Mulder’s 1974 Act was equipped with a new set of tools to combat the wave of pornographic permissiveness, it shared a premise with all its predecessors: public participation (Rautenbach, 1975:5). In effect, the 1974 Act led to the creation of, what the media dubbed, “super snoopers” – ordinary citizens, who could “[e]xamine their neighbours’ bookshelves and record collections”; “[c]heck on what home movies their neighbour is showing and who has been invited to view them”, and “[c]onvey information they have gathered to the authorities” (The super snoopers, 1975:np); in addition, police, or other government officials could get the “necessary

authority” and “[e]nter a private home [to] search for undesirable objects” unannounced, or “[e]nter and search an office” without warning (The super snoopers, 1975:np). In, probably, one of the most (in)famous “super snooper” cases, police randomly invaded the property of the award-winning South African architect Hans Schirmacher in 1979, and found, among other things, two copies of *Penthouse* and three of *Playgirl* in his possession (Gordin, 1979:4). He was found guilty in court and sentenced to 25 days in jail, or a R200 fine (Gordin, 1979:4). Although he decided to go to jail, on the grounds that he did not want to fund a system of censorship, he allowed his friends to pay the fine on his behalf a day later (Gordin, 1979:4). In another high-profile case in 1982, Hannes Smith, formerly the editor of the *Windhoek Observer*, was charged in a similar way as Schirmacher, and pleaded guilty when he was caught with two *Playboy* magazines at the newspaper’s office in Windhoek (*Redakteur erken hy is skuldig, maar . . .* [Editor admits he is guilty, but . . .], 1982:4; Du Preez, 1982:3). Although he acknowledged that he was actually in possession of a *Penthouse* magazine, he was “*stomgeslaan*” [gobsmacked] about the *Playboy* magazines, and had no recollection of how they landed in his office (*Playboys daar, maar van waar?* [Playboys there, but from where?], 1982:4). He was eventually found guilty and charged with a R100 fine, or 25 days in jail (Coetzee, 1982:3).

Not only, then, were “super snoopers” an all-seeing eye for the government, who hoped that they could clog or expose loopholes the government could not, but the media coverage regarding fines and arrests sent a clear warning to anyone thinking of illegally obtaining pornography: if caught, there would be serious repercussions. The increase of more pornographic magazines in Appendix C, however, shows that the government’s warnings were completely disregarded.

6.5.2 Pornographic magazines seized and proscribed in South Africa, (mid-April) 1975 to 1989

A complete list of the 401 pornographic magazines seized and proscribed in South Africa between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989 is compiled in Appendix C. The next subsections will briefly discuss some of the most popular pornographic magazine genres that were identified in this period.

6.5.2.1 The war on soft-core pornographic magazines – *Playboy* and *Penthouse*

“Super snooping” in South Africa persisted well into the 1980s, and led to many big break-throughs by the police, who, in 1985, for example, seized 787 pornographic magazines, including *Playboy*, *Playgirl* and *Penthouse*, and made 75 arrests in just two months (Jaroschex, 1985:1). If 787 pornographic magazines were seized every two months in South Africa, the number of pornographic magazines would be consistent with a Johannesburg postmaster’s bizarre claim in 1982 that the flow of pornography to South Africa had increased a “thousandfold” from the 1960s to the 1980s (Censorship in SA similar to Britain 20 years ago, 1982:6) – but the numbers conflict immensely with the data that was assembled in Appendix C, which shows that only 401 pornographic magazines were seized and prohibited over an entire period of almost 14 years (between mid-April 1975 and December 1989).

Although hard-core pornography was present in the country between 1975 and 1989 (see section 6.5.2.4 in this chapter), soft-core magazines completely overshadowed it. The levels of explicitness in soft-core titles, like *Playboy* and *Penthouse*, however, were by far not as extreme as in hard-core titles, and as a result, “other countries” did not consider the coy approach by *Playboy* and *Penthouse* pornographic by the end of the 1970s; South Africa, on the other hand, still did (Patten, 1978:9). When Alwyn Schlebusch was appointed minister of the interior in 1978, he confirmed South Africa’s stance to the two magazines (Patten, 1978:9), which would again become the most banned international titles (in Appendix C): “I have on occasion seen magazines like this, and I regard *Playboy* very definitely as being pornographic. Competition between it and a magazine like *Penthouse* have resulted in terribly low standards in recent years.” When *Playboy* was the only magazine used as an example of real pornography during a South African trial in 1978, in which it was juxtaposed with Afrikaans author Etienne Leroux’s iconic novel *Magersfontein, O Magersfontein!* to prove that the latter is not pornographic (*Verteenwoordiger* [Representative], 1978:4), the country was again reminded that the publication, and any publication in the same vein, was extremely taboo. Therefore, it is not surprising that *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and a plethora of other soft-core titles were still targeted well up until 1989 – even though hard-core pornography was already in circulation (see section 6.5.2.4 in this chapter).

Apart from its English title, which was banned on 22 different occasions²⁸, *Playboy's* Chinese (Republic of South Africa, 1988h:2), French (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:75) and German (Republic of South Africa, 1981b:17) editions, and 23 copies of brand extensions²⁹ were all found in the country between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989, and immediately given the red flag. In addition, various international magazines that copied *Playboy* – including *Playguy* (Republic of South Africa, 1984d:10; 1984i:7; 1984k:5; 1984m:4) and *Playmate* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:76; 1989e:3) – were also seized. In 1982, the South African government became so perturbed by *Playboy* that they banned all future issues and editions of the magazines from its November 1982 issue onwards (Leeman, 1984:4).

Penthouse, the second-most banned international title after *Playboy*, was on the chopping block on 30 different occasions³⁰, while its brand extensions³¹ were prohibited by the police seven times. Interestingly, *Penthouse* had a South African-born “part-publisher”, Kathy Keeton, who remarked that South Africa’s censorship laws were to blame for the reason South Africans were more obsessed with sex than any other nation on the planet (Sex? SA is obsessed..., 1978:1).

²⁸ Republic of South Africa, 1981a:142; 1981b:16; 1981b:31; 1982:31; 1984a:21; 1984d:10; 1984o:5; 1989e:3.

²⁹ These include, among others:

- *Playboy's Bunnies* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:75);
- *Playboy's Girls of the World* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:75);
- *Playboy's Playmate Review* (Republic of South Africa, 1987i:3);
- *Playgirl* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:76; 1981b:31; 1982:31; 1984k:5; 1989j:2);
- *Playgirl (The First Five Years)* (Republic of South Africa, 1984k:5)
- *Playgirl Advisor* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:76);
- *Playgirl Couples* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:76);
- *Playgirl Presents Fantasies* (Republic of South Africa, 1984k:5);
- *Playgirl's Men* (Republic of South Africa, 1984f:2; 1984k:5);

³⁰ Republic of South Africa, 1981a:73; 1981a:142; 1981b:31; 1982:30; 1985p:2; 1986c:2; 1988j:3; 1989e:3; 1989g:4.

³¹ These include:

- *Penthouse Photo World* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:73);
- *Penthouse Variations* (Republic of South Africa, 1982:13);
- *Penthouse: Loving Couples* (Republic of South Africa, 1981b:15);
- *The Best of Penthouse Girls* (Republic of South Africa, 1985n:46; 1985p:2; 1986c:2).

6.5.2.2 Naturist and male homosexual pornographic magazines

Resembling the results of Appendix B, naturist and male homosexual pornographic magazines were again evident in the period (mid-April) 1975 to 1989. Naturist magazines, however, decreased in popularity, possibly due to the availability of hard-core pornographic magazines, while male homosexual porn flourished and reached its peak in Appendix C.

Naturist magazines, including, among others:

- *Health & Efficiency* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:39;131);
- *Naturist und Welt* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:119), and
- *New Zealand Naturist* (Republic of South Africa, 1987n:2) continued to make its way to local audiences.

Male homosexual pornographic magazines considerably increased in popularity, and included titles such as:

- *Blueboy* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:12; 1984k:5);
- *Bona* (Republic of South Africa, 1984f:2; 1984k:5);
- *Man to Man Quorum* (Republic of South Africa, 1984h:5; 1984k:5);
- *Mike Arlen's Guys* (Republic of South Africa, 1984h:5; 1984k:5);
- *Mister* (Republic of South Africa, 1984h:5; 1984k:5);
- *Playguy* (Republic of South Africa, 1984d:10; 1984i:7; 1984k:5; 1984m:4);
- *Q International* (Republic of South Africa, 1984f:2; 1984h:5; 1984k:5);
- *Vulcan* (Republic of South Africa, 1985m:45; 1985o:44), and
- *Zipper* (Republic of South Africa, 1981b:23; 1984k:5).

6.5.2.3 Other notable pornographic magazines: biker

The only new notable soft-core genre in Appendix C is biker pornographic magazines. In Figure 22 the concept is clear: a man's magazine with a focus on motorbikes – and naked women on them as an added bonus. Magazines in this genre that were the most popular include:

- *Bikers* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:10);
- *Easyriders* (Republic of South Africa, 1984a:18; 1984j:8);
- *Iron Horse* (Republic of South Africa, 1984a:7; 1984j:8), and
- *SuperCycle* (Republic of South Africa, 1987c:1).



Figure 22: The covers of two prominent biker magazines, which were imported to South Africa between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989: *Iron Horse* (*Iron Horse*, 1989:np) and *SuperCycle* (*SuperCycle*, 1989:np).

6.5.2.4 Hello, hard-core!

By the mid-1970s, “[het]naaktheid op papier en op film [in Suid-Afrika] so alledaags geword dat daar werklik niks meer oorgebly het wat nog snaaks is nie” [nudity in print and in films (in South Africa) became so common that virtually nothing was left to the imagination] (Rudolph, 1974:39). This is also clear from Appendix C, which shows that hard-core pornography was a popular pastime for local readers, although comparatively it still clearly pales to the number of soft-core pornographic titles.



Figure 23: Examples of some of the explicit hard-core pornographic magazines that were prohibited in South Africa between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989: *Anal Love* (*Anal Love*, 1980:np); *Color-Scala* (*Color-Scala*, Unknown:np); *New Cunts* (*New Cunts*, Unknown:np); *Men Only* (*Men Only*, 1975:np); *Private* (Abrahamsson & Axelsson, 2005:26), and *HUSTLER* (Jaccoma, 2005b:183).

The most popular hard-core pornographic magazines in Appendix C include:

- *Anal Love* (Republic of South Africa, 1983:2);
- *Club International* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:126; 1981b:26; 1982:23; 1984a:18; 1985h:26);
- *Color-Scala* (Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5);
- *HUSTLER* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:42; 1981b:9; 1982:25);
- *Mayfair* (Republic of South Africa, 1981b:29; 1982:28; 1986e:2);

- *Men Only* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a: 58; 1982:28; 1983:25);
- *New Cunts* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:64), and
- *Private* (Republic of South Africa, 1981b:25), the magazine generally accepted to be the first magazine in the world ever to publish pictures of sexual intercourse (as discussed in Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context).

6.5.2.5 The boom in the South African pornography market

It is undeniable that 19.95% – almost a fifth – of the 401 magazines in Appendix C is South African titles. Although the reasons behind the boom (compared to Appendices A and B) of South African soft-core magazines between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989 are not clear from the unobtrusive data, it could possibly be attributed to the chairman of the PAB between 1980 and 1990, Prof. Kobus van Rooyen, who injected a far more lenient approach to censorship than any of his predecessors (as discussed in Chapter 2 – Literature review); this leniency might have finally given South African publishers the courage to also push the envelope in local titles.

While the most stringent censorship system in the world was still in place in South Africa between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989, various local catalogues and mail order pamphlets encouraged South Africans to buy pornography by advertising and guaranteeing the “confidential” delivery of “[a]dult [g]oods, [s]ex [a]ids, [n]ovelty, [l]ingerie, [g]ames, etc.” to local customers eager for, among other things, soft-core pornography. Ironically, though, these advertisements were confiscated by authorities and quickly added to the country’s list of banned publications (Republic of South Africa, 1986o:2; 1988l:2).

Other entrepreneurs braved the censorship system with some of the country’s first sex shops – one in Durban, Adam & Eve, which opened its doors in July 1978 (Kay, 1978:3), and another in Pretoria in the same year (Sex shop owner gives up, 1978:2). Although 150 customers reportedly flocked through the Durban store every day, buying, among other things, soft-core titles and “100 different types of devices imported from different parts of the world” (Kay, 1978:3; Durban sex aid shop is doing a roaring trade, 1978:11), “super snooping” quickly led to its demise: police regularly raided the Durban store, confiscating goods of around R300 at a time (Kay,

1978:3), while charging the Pretoria owner with illegally trading in banned pornography (Sex shop owner gives up, 1978:2). It is therefore no surprise that both owners abandoned their businesses (Sex shop owner gives up, 1978:2). The Durban owner, Leila Gillen, tried to sell her store for R12 000 only three months after it opened (Sex shop for sale, 1978:2). Although various “underground” sex shops, “where pornographic material was offered”, were founded across the country by 1980, the minister of the interior, Alwyn Schlebusch, warned the country again that the stores will be targeted and shut down: “We definitely do not want to allow the conditions that exist in certain Western countries” (Authorities to probe “underground” sex shops, 1980:7). But these threats, too, had the opposite effect and led to an active interest in not only pornographic magazines, but local products with a South African flavour.

Of the 401 magazines in Appendix C, 80 issues of eight different South African titles were banned between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989. These magazines include:

- *Bunny Girl*³²;
- *Gazelle*³³;
- *Le Chics (The World’s Top Glamour Models)* (Republic of South Africa, 1987d:1);
- *Prank (Magnificent Girlie Posters)* (Republic of South Africa, 1987j:2; 1989b:2);
- *SA Naturist* (Republic of South Africa, 1981a:84);
- *SCOPE*³⁴;
- *Squire* (Republic of South Africa, 1984l:1; 1984n:1; 1985a:1), and

³² Republic of South Africa, 1984l:1; 1985c:1; 1986f:2; 1986i:1; 1986l:3; 1986n:2; 1987a:2; 1987b:1; 1987f:2; 1987j:2; 1987k:2; 1987m:2; 1987n:2; 1987o:1; 1987p:2; 1988a:2; 1989a:2; 1989f:3; 1989i:3.

³³ Republic of South Africa, 1986a:1; 1986g:2; 1986m:2; 1987g:2; 1987o:1; 1988b:3; 1988d:1; 1989d:1; 1989f:3; 1989i:3.

³⁴ Republic of South Africa, 1981a:85; 1981a:158; 1981a:160; 1982:15; 1982:40; 1983:15; 1983:33; 1984a:12; 1984a:25; 1984e:2; 1984g:1; 1984p:1; 1985e:1; 1985g:1; 1985j:1; 1986j:1; 1988c:1; 1988d:1; 1988f:1; 1988i:1; 1989c:1; 1989f:3; 1989h:3.

- *Stag*³⁵.

All of the magazines basically offered the same content, and was described as “SA’s answer to *Playboy*” (Raine, 1983:4). *Bunny Girl* even went as far as copying *Playboy*’s infamous bunny logo (see Figure 24), which eventually landed the South African publishers in court after the first issue was launched in 1984 – not because the content was objectionable, but on the grounds of trademark infringement (*Playboy maak beswaar teen SA se Bunny* [Playboy objects to SA’s Bunny], 1984:20).

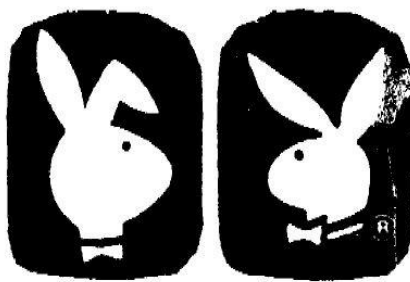


Figure 24: *Bunny Girl* was in hot water when its first issue was launched in 1984 because it copied *Playboy*’s bunny logo (**right**) (*Playboy maak beswaar teen SA se Bunny* [Playboy objects to SA’s Bunny], 1984:20).

Although these magazines were also regularly targeted by the censorship apparatus – some, like *Bunny Girl* from its first issue (Coetzee, 1984:1); others, like *Squire*, was infamously “unofficially banned” even before its first issue was launched in October 1983 (Fright at launch of girlie mag, 1983:3) – most of the South African titles were “*besig om die stryd teen sensuur te wen*” [busy winning the war against censorship] in the 1980s, because the lenient PAB under the chairmanship of Prof. Kobus van Rooyen was repealing publication committees’ bannings “[*f*]eitlik deur die bank” [basically across the board] (Grobler, 1984:9). This was not only because the nudity in these magazines were comparatively conservative to the nudity in international publications (see Figure 25, on the next page), but because publishers printed pictures with, what was labelled, “censoring stars or strips”, which clearly covered female models’ nipples; selling the magazines on newsstands “sealed in plastic”, and clearly

³⁵ Republic of South Africa, 1984b:1; 1984n:1; 1984p:1; 1985i:2; 1986b:1; 1986d:2; 1986e:2; 1986k:1; 1988d:1.

marking that it is “not for sale to anyone under 18 years of age” (Fright at launch of girlie mag, 1983:3). In some cases, however, the PAB did not repeal the bannings if publishers, for example, printed the censoring stars too small or placed it so that it unnecessarily drew attention to the female anatomy and genitalia (Coetzee, 1984:1). Of the eight South African magazines identified, *SCOPE* was banned 34 times³⁶, *Bunny Girl* 20 times³⁷ and *Gazellé* only 10³⁸ times.



Figure 25: South African pornographic magazines banned between (mid-April) 1975 and 1989: **(at the top, from left to right)**, two images from *SCOPE* (*SCOPE*, 1985a:53; 1985b:44) and another from *Stag* (*Stag*, 1988:23); **(on the bottom, from left to right)**, models in *Gazellé* (*Gazellé*, 1985:54); *Bunny Girl* (1984:64), and *SA Naturist* (*SA Naturist*, 1977:17).

³⁶ Republic of South Africa, 1981a:85; 1981a:158; 1981a:160; 1982:15; 1982:40; 1983:15; 1983:33; 1984a:12; 1984a:25; 1984e:2; 1984g:1; 1984p:1; 1985e:1; 1985g:1; 1985j:1; 1986j:1; 1988c:1; 1988d:1; 1988f:1; 1988i:1; 1989c:1; 1989f:3; 1989h:3.

³⁷ Republic of South Africa, 1984l:1; 1985c:1; 1986f:2; 1986i:1; 1986l:3; 1986n:2; 1987a:2; 1987b:1; 1987f:2; 1987j:2; 1987k:2; 1987m:2; 1987n:2; 1987o:1; 1987p:2; 1988a:2; 1989a:2; 1989f:3; 1989i:3.

³⁸ Republic of South Africa, 1986a:1; 1986g:2; 1986m:2; 1987g:2; 1987o:1; 1988b:3; 1988d:1; 1989d:1; 1989f:3; 1989i:3.

6.6 Summary

This chapter resolved this thesis's research question (**What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?**). The data revealed exactly 1 033 volumes, editions and/or issues of international and local pornographic magazines, which were seized in South Africa, and shortly thereafter proscribed by the government between 1939 and 1989. Additionally, the chapter mentioned and discussed some of the more popular of the 1 033 magazines and its genres, but all are listed and sourced at the end of this thesis in Appendices A, B and C. The narrative of events structured in this chapter firstly located pornography in South Africa in as early as 1904, but specific magazines could only be named from 1939 onwards. Three distinct periods (1939 to 1963; 1964 to (mid-April) 1975, and (mid-April) 1975 to 1989) exposed a healthy import culture of, among others, pulp and pin-up; naturist and nudist; soft-core; hard-core; male and female homosexual; bisexual; bondage; Asian; female impersonation and biker magazines, of which some are local South African titles.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This historical thesis investigated the presence of the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989, by asking the following research question:

What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?

Although the findings of this question was relayed in Chapter 6 (Findings and discussion) – in as much detail as the retrieved historical data allowed – this chapter will make a précis of the entire project, before drawing a conclusion of the main findings. Once the context created by the literature review (Chapter 2); the focus of the authoritarian media theory and the *Annales*'s functional-structural approach (Chapter 3), and the application of the historical methodology (Chapter 4) are briefly revisited, a conclusion of the findings will attempt to draw the thesis to a more powerful close.

7.2 Literature review

Other than arguing that this thesis is completely unique, the literature review served a dual purpose. Firstly it showed that pornography, in its entirety, is incredibly under-researched in South Africa, and that an investigation into, specifically, the pornographic magazine is basically non-existent – although some sources did make note of a handful of pornographic magazines in the country in the 1980s and 1990s. The apartheid government was accused for this scarcity, as their suppression of pornography through a severe application of censorship applied to academic writing as well. Not only was the assemblage of academic literature impeded by a lack of academic sources, but the quest to find historical data for the findings delivered results in small numbers. Secondly, the literature review shed light on a 126-year

cultural, religious and legislative context, relevant to the pornographic magazine in South Africa *and* relevant to the years between 1939 and 1989. This context, which included the ruling Afrikaner government's cultural and religious stance to pornography and their resultant conservative application of censorship between 1939 and 1989, was included to contextualise and explain why pornographic magazines (the research question's focus) was so heavily repressed. In essence, this context, is the first of two historical contexts in this thesis (the other, Chapter 5 – Pornography: the global context, focused on the pornographic magazine's development worldwide).

7.3 Theoretical frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks were applied in this thesis to frame a historical narrative of events for a more robust result.

The first, the authoritarian media theory, justifies a dictatorial government's suppression and censorship of the media (Roelofse in Fourie, 2007:191-192). It mainly guided the historical narrative to focus on the suppression of the pornographic magazine in South Africa. Although the application of the framework can divulge what a dictatorial government approves and disapproves, the focus in this thesis was only on what the public could *not* read. Regardless of its banishment, the application of authoritarianism in this thesis reveals that the pornographic magazine merely adapted to the form of a political structure that completely repressed and tried to, but eventually failed to, control it.

The second theoretical framework, the *Annales's* functional-structural approach, was applied in conjunction with authoritarianism, to reclaim an area of history that has been forgotten – in this case, the pornographic magazine in South Africa between 1939 and 1989. The aim of applying the functional-structural approach was to see how a single system within an organism – the pornographic magazine in a censorial context – functioned and thrived. The findings showed that the pornographic magazine filtered into the country regardless of its suppression – and, ironically, through loopholes in the stringent censorship. Although only 1 033 volumes, editions and issues of pornographic magazines were identified by the government between 1939 and 1989, these loopholes also imply that an innumerable amount of (unrecorded) pornographic magazines could have filtered into the country

as well, which, in turn, also indicates that the government's paranoiac attempts also grossly failed to keep pornographic magazines out of the country.

7.4 Research methodology

The historical methodology was applied in this thesis. After various archived newspapers and magazines, government and commission reports, letters, official memoranda and 1 439 lists in numerous government gazettes were studied, the application of both the authoritarian media theory and the *Annales's* functional-structural approach, helped to eliminate irrelevant information, and piece together a narrative that relayed a South African history of pornographic magazine suppression that has been mostly disregarded by researchers.

7.5 Conclusion on the pornographic magazine in South Africa, 1939 to 1989

Through the application of the authoritarian media theory and the *Annales's* functional-structural approach, which truly gave the narrative of this thesis an angle, and the gathering of historical data through the application of the historical methodology, this thesis discovered that the South African government seized and proscribed at least 1 033 pornographic magazines in South Africa between 1939 and 1989.

Although the narrative in Chapter 6 and the corresponding appendices prove this, the narrative, then, not only shows that the South African government's attempts to curb and suppress pornographic magazines partially succeeded – 1 033 pornographic magazines were seized and banned by them – but it also sheds light on the cracks in the censorship system, through which pornographic magazines from abroad could easily filter.

Although the government argued it was only applying censorship to curb pornography and protect morality (Sonderling, 1994a:145-146), it is, in view of this thesis's findings, quite questionable, especially considering that for the entire period between 1939 and 1989 only 1 033 pornographic magazines were banned. According to Pienaar (1984:5), 17 500 publications were on South Africa's banning list in 1975. If this is true, and there are only 632 pornographic magazines identified in Appendix A and B (which focuses on the period that starts in 1939 and ends in mid-April 1975),

then only 3.6% of the total number of publications between 1939 and 1975 were pornographic magazines, and the government must have had other ulterior motives for its stringent censorship laws. Sonderling (1994a:145-146) argues these ulterior motives might have been political control.

In conclusion: **What pornographic magazines were seized and proscribed by the South African government between 1939 and 1989 – a time when pornography, in its entirety, was prohibited by South African legislation?** The research found 1 033 pulp and pin-up; naturist and nudist; soft-core; hard-core; male and female homosexual; bisexual; bondage; Asian; female impersonation, and biker magazine, of which some are South African pornographic magazines; all are listed in Appendices A, B and C.

7.6 Recommendations for future studies

A few recommendations for future studies were born from the research findings:

- There is no presumption that the findings of the current research project exhaust the research question completely. More historical research on the pornographic magazine in South Africa is dire.
- Although this study only focused on pornographic magazines, data – especially in government gazettes – exists to shift the focus to other media, including pornographic videos, or pornographic paraphernalia.
- The lack of studies on the pornographic magazine's history in South Africa pre-1998 (when it was illegal) should motivate that the history of the pornographic magazine in South Africa post-1998 (when it was lawfully allowed) should be recorded before it, too, is overlooked. Although a short summary of the history post-1998 is presented in section 1.2 of Chapter 1 (Introduction), more in-depth research is needed.
- As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Literature review) it is deplorable that a magazine such as *SCOPE*'s history is not well documented. In addition, the current project makes note of various South African pornographic magazines, including, among others, *Candid Pinups Featuring South African and International Beauties*, *Le Chics (The World's Top Glamour Models)*, *Prank*

(Magnificent Girlie Poster), *SA Naturist*, and *Squire* that have not been noted in any other academic literature before; they, too, deserve a more in-depth investigation.

- Apart from locally produced pornographic magazines, pornographic magazines and videos in indigenous South African languages, including Sotho and Afrikaans, require research attention.

Appendix A – Pornographic magazines seized and subsequently proscribed in South Africa, 1939 to 1963

- Magazines’ subheadings in (rounded brackets);
- Notes in [square brackets];
- South African magazines in **bold**.

	Title	Issue/Volume/Edition (where available)	Source
1.	<i>66</i> (a magazine)	No. 19	Union of South Africa, 1958a:17
2.	<i>Adam</i>	1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:2
3.	<i>Bachelor</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2 December 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962p:7
4.	<i>Bachelor</i>	Vol. 4 No. 3 March 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4
5.	<i>Beauty Parade</i>	July 1945	Union of South Africa, 1956a:3
6.	<i>Blast</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 June 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:25
7.	<i>Blighty</i>	12 February 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956a:3

8.	<i>Bold</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2 February 1956	Union of South Africa, 1957e:9
9.	<i>Bold</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2 February 1956	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
10.	<i>Bold</i>	Vol. 4 No. 6 June 1956	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
11.	<i>Bold</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1 July 1956	Union of South Africa, 1957f:12
12.	<i>Bold Men</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1 December 1960	Union of South Africa, 1961b:11
13.	<i>Bold Men</i>	Vol. 5 No. 2 March 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961a:12
14.	<i>Bold Men</i>	Vol. 5 No. 3 June 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
15.	<i>Bold Men</i>	Vol. 5 No. 4 September 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961f:12
16.	<i>Bosomy Beauties</i>	No. 2	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
17.	<i>Breath Taking [sic] Beauties</i>	No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
18.	<i>Breezy</i>	No. 5 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:4

19.	<i>Caper</i>	Vol. 1 No. 11 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958d:8
20.	<i>Caper</i>	Vol. 2 No. 1 March 1958	Union of South Africa, 1959b:27
21.	<i>Carnival</i>	Vol. 11 No. 3	Union of South Africa, 1956d:34
22.	<i>Carnival</i>	Vol. 11 No. 4	Union of South Africa, 1956d:34
23.	<i>Carnival</i>	Vol. 11 No. 5	Union of South Africa, 1956d:34
24.	<i>Cavalcade</i>	August 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:5
25.	<i>Cavalcade of Burlesque</i>	Vol. 2 No. 2 March 1953	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
26.	<i>Cavalier</i>	April 1957	Union of South Africa, 1957g:29
27.	<i>Cavalier</i>	June 1957	Union of South Africa, 1957e:9
28.	<i>Cavalier</i>	July 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958b:18
29.	<i>Cavalier</i>	August 1957	Union of South Africa, 1957g:29
30.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 11 No. 100 October 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1962b:9
31.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 11 No. 101	Republic of South Africa, 1962b:9

		November 1961	
32.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 12 No. 108 June 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1963j:3
33.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 12 No. 109 July 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962m:6
34.	<i>Chicks and Chuckles</i>	December 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956d:34
35.	<i>Chicks and Chuckles</i>	April 1956	Union of South Africa, 1956b:30
36.	<i>Clubman</i> <i>(The Man's Magazine)</i>	No. 56	Union of South Africa, 1956a:5
37.	<i>Clubman</i> <i>(Special Glamour and Humour Edition)</i>	No. 13	Union of South Africa, 1956a:5
38.	<i>Clubman</i> <i>(The Entertainment for Men)</i>	No. 12	Union of South Africa, 1956a:5
39.	<i>Dare</i>	Vol. 1 No. 13 May 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:7
40.	<i>Das Deutsche Sex Magazine</i>	No. VIII/56	Union of South Africa, 1960d:25

41.	<i>Das Deutsche Sex Magazine</i>	No. XIII	Union of South Africa, 1960d:25
42.	<i>Dear Playboy</i>	Vol. 2 No. 4 April 1955	Union of South Africa, 1957d:15
43.	<i>Dear Playboy</i>	Vol. 2 No. 9 September 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26
44.	<i>Debonair</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956a:7
45.	<i>Eos</i> (<i>Homofilt tidsskrift</i>)	January 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4
46.	<i>Escapade</i>	Vol. 3 No. 4 June 1958	Union of South Africa, 1959b:27
47.	<i>Escapade's Annual</i>		Union of South Africa, 1959b:27
48.	<i>Europe's Top Pin-Ups</i>	No. 2	Union of South Africa, 1956d:34
49.	<i>Europe's Top Pin-Ups</i>	No. 3	Union of South Africa, 1956b:31
50.	<i>Exposed</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956b:31
51.	<i>Exposed</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26
52.	<i>Exposing America's Sin Cities</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 1956	Union of South Africa, 1956b:31

		Winter	
53.	<i>Eye</i>	August 1950	Union of South Africa, 1956a:9
54.	<i>Eyeful</i>	1945 Fall	Union of South Africa, 1956a:9
55.	<i>Fiesta</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956d:34
56.	<i>Film Fun</i>		Union of South Africa, 1956a:9
57.	<i>Film Fun</i>	No. 2003 7 June 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958f:16
58.	<i>Films and Filming</i>	May 1957	Union of South Africa, 1957e:10
59.	<i>FKK in Frankreich</i>		Union of South Africa, 1957e:10
60.	<i>Folies De Paris Et De Hollywood</i>	No. 131	Union of South Africa, 1958h:9
61.	<i>Folies de Paris Et De Hollywood</i> <i>(La Sonbrette & Relief)</i>	No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26
62.	<i>Folies De Paris Et De Hollywood</i> <i>(Belles de Nuit)</i>		Union of South Africa, 1958h:9
63.	<i>Follies</i>	Vol. 2 No. 5	Union of South Africa, 1958a:16

		September 1957	
64.	<i>Follies</i>	Vol. 2 No. 6 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:16
65.	<i>Follies</i>	Vol. 4 No. 4 July 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960c:8
66.	<i>Follies</i>	Vol. 4 No. 6 November 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
67.	<i>Follies</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1 January 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
68.	<i>Follies</i>	No. 5	Union of South Africa, 1961b:11
69.	<i>Follies</i>	Vol. 7 No. 1 February 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4
70.	<i>Foto-Rama</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 March 1953	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26
71.	<i>Foto-Rama</i>	Vol. 3 No. 2 June 1953	Union of South Africa, 1956a:10
72.	<i>Fury</i>	January 1956	Union of South Africa, 1956b:32
73.	<i>Fury</i>	October 1956	Union of South Africa, 1956b:32
74.	<i>Fury</i>	Vol. 22 No. 8 October 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9

75.	<i>Fury</i>	Vol. 23 No. 6 September 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:13
76.	<i>Fury</i>	Vol. 24 No. 2 January 1961	Union of South Africa, 1961b:11
77.	<i>Fury</i>	Vol. 25 No. 3 July 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962i:9
78.	<i>Gala</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2 July 1953	Union of South Africa, 1956a:10
79.	<i>Gent</i>	Vol. 7 No. 2 December 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1963a:4
80.	<i>Girls and Gags</i>	Vol. 7 No. 5 October 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961e:10
81.	<i>Good Times</i> (<i>A Revue of the World of Pleasure</i>)	Vol. 1 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956a:10
82.	<i>Harem</i>	No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4
83.	<i>Health and Efficiency</i>	May 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:11
84.	<i>Helios</i>	No. 54	Union of South Africa, 1956a:11
85.	<i>Helios</i>	No. 7 1953	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26

86.	<i>High</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 August 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958d:8
87.	<i>High</i>	Vol. 1 No. 3 October 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:16
88.	<i>Hit Show</i>	Vol. 2 No. 4 October 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
89.	<i>Hit Show</i>	Vol. 2 No. 6 May 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:13
90.	<i>Hit Show</i>	Vol. 4 No. 1 May 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
91.	<i>Hit Show</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2 September 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961d:20
92.	<i>Ho</i>	September 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:16
93.	<i>Hollywood Girls of the Month</i>	No. 3	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
94.	<i>Hollywood Girls of the Month</i>	No. 7	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
95.	<i>Hollywood Models of the Month</i>	No. 7	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
96.	<i>Hollywood Starlets Outdoors</i>	No. 3	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
97.	<i>In Natur und Sonne</i>	Vol. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26

98.	<i>Jem</i> (<i>Glamour Magazine for Men</i>)	No. 11	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63
99.	<i>La Vie Parisienne</i>	May 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:14
100.	<i>Laff</i>	April 1941	Union of South Africa, 1956a:14
101.	<i>Lebensfreude</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2	Union of South Africa, 1957f:12
102.	<i>Licht und Schönheit</i>	Jahrgang 9 Nummer 5 1958	Union of South Africa, 1959c:17
103.	<i>Lion Adventures</i>	Vol. 2 No. 4 July 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
104.	<i>Lush</i> (<i>The Pick of the Pin-Ups</i>)	Vol. 1 No. 3	Union of South Africa, 1957f:12
105.	<i>Male Point of View</i> [Also see: <i>The Male Point of View</i>]	Vol. 7 No. 2 August 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:17
106.	<i>Male Point of View</i>	Vol. 7 No. 3 September 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
107.	<i>Male Point of View</i>	Vol. 7 No. 4 October 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9

108.	<i>Male Point of View</i>	Vol. 7 No. 5 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958e:9
109.	<i>Man</i>	August 1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
110.	<i>Man Annual</i>	1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
111.	<i>Man Junior</i>	June 1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
112.	<i>Man Junior</i>	Vol. 11 No. 5 July 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960c:8
113.	<i>Man Junior Annual</i>	1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
114.	<i>Man to Man</i>	August 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956b:33
115.	<i>Man to Man</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 November 1960	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63
116.	<i>Man to Man</i>	Vol. 8 No. 2 October 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:17
117.	<i>Man to Man</i>	Vol. 9 No. 5 April 1957	Union of South Africa, 1959d:22
118.	<i>Man to Man</i>	Vol. 11 No. 8 April 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
119.	<i>Man to Man</i>	Vol. 11 No. 9 May 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9

120.	<i>Man to Man</i>	Vol. 12 No. 2 September 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961c:10
121.	<i>Man's</i> <i>(Magazine)</i> [also see: <i>Man's Magazine</i>]	Vol. 8 No. 2 February 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:14
122.	<i>Man's</i> <i>(Magazine)</i>	Vol. 8 No. 3 March 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:14
123.	<i>Man's</i> <i>(Point of View)</i> [also see: <i>Man's Point of View</i>]	Vol. 9 No. 9 December 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
124.	<i>Man's Life</i>	March 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
125.	<i>Man's Life</i>	Vol. 6 No. 1 January 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
126.	<i>Man's Magazine</i> [also see: <i>Man's (Magazine)</i>]	February 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
127.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 4 No. 2 March 1956	Union of South Africa, 1957b:11
128.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 7 No. 7 July 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960b:52

129.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 7 No. 8 August 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960a:12
130.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 7 No. 9 September 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960a:12
131.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 7 No. 10 October 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960a:12
132.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 7 No. 12 December 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960a:12
133.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 8 No. 4 April 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
134.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 8 No. 5 May 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
135.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 8 No. 12 December 1960	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
136.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 9 No. 2 February 1961	Union of South Africa, 1961c:9
137.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 9 No. 3 March 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
138.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 9 No. 9 September 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21
139.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 9 No. 10	Republic of South Africa, 1961f:12

		October 1961	
140.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 9 No. 11 November 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961f:12
141.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 9 No. 12 December 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1962d:7
142.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 1 January 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962c:6
143.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 3 March 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962e:5
144.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 4 April 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962f:9
145.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 5 May 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962g:9
146.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 6 June 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962h:8
147.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 7 July 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962j:11
148.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 8 August 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962k:9
149.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 9	Republic of South Africa, 1962m:6

150.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 10 October 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962n:12
151.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 11 November 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962p:7
152.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 10 No. 12 December 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962p:7
153.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 1 January 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963d:5
154.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 2 February 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963e:7
155.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 4 April 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963g:6
156.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 5 May 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963h:10
157.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 7 July 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963j:3
158.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1963l:10
159.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 9 September 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963l:10
160.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 10 October 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963m:11

161.	<i>Man's Point of View</i> [also see: <i>Man's (Point of View)</i>]	Vol. 9 No. 8 October 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960c:8
162.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 10 No. 3 December 1960	Union of South Africa, 1961b:12
163.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 10 No. 6 June 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
164.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 11 No. 1 August 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
165.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 11 No. 2 October 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21
166.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 11 No. 3 December 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1962d:7
167.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 11 No. 5 July 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962j:11
168.	<i>Man's Point of View</i>	Vol. 11 No. 7 January 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963b:5
169.	<i>Men</i>	June 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:16
170.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 82 No. 328 June 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963h:10
171.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 82 No. 329	Republic of South Africa, 1963j:3

		July 1964	
172.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 83 No. 330 1963 Summer	Republic of South Africa, 1963j:3
173.	<i>Modern Man</i>	Vol. XII Nos. 1-133 July 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962l:6
174.	<i>Modern Man Magazine's Hunting Annual</i>	Vol. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21
175.	<i>Modern Man Quarterly</i>	No. 7 Summer	Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21
176.	<i>Modern Man</i> (1957 Year Book of Queens)		Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21
177.	<i>Modern Sunbathing and Hygiene Annual</i>	1960	Republic of South Africa, 1963i:17
178.	<i>Monsieur</i>	No. 12	Republic of South Africa, 1962m:6
179.	<i>Monsieur</i>	Vol. 5 No. 3 June 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962h:8
180.	<i>Monsieur</i>	Vol. 5 No. 5 December 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1963c:8
181.	<i>Monsieur</i>	Vol. 6 No. 2 April 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4

182.	<i>Movie Fun</i>	March 1941	Union of South Africa, 1956a:17
183.	<i>Mr.</i>	1957 Fall	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
184.	<i>Mr.</i>	Vol. 5 No. 5 June 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961b:9
185.	<i>Mr.</i>	Vol. 5 No. 6 August 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961d:21
186.	<i>Mr.</i>	Vol. 6 No. 1 October 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961c:10
187.	<i>Naturisme</i>	No. 1 1950	Union of South Africa, 1956a:17
188.	<i>Nugget</i>	Vol. 7 No. 6 December 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1963c:5
189.	<i>Nugget</i>	Vol. 8 No. 3 June 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4
190.	<i>Nus</i> <i>(Nude photographs)</i>		Union of South Africa, 1957a:30
191.	<i>On the Q.T.</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 August 1955	Union of South Africa, 1956b:34

192.	<i>Parade and Blighty</i>	No. 1040 14 November 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960c:8
193.	<i>Paris Life</i>	Vol. 4 No. 34 September 1958	Union of South Africa, 1959b:27
194.	<i>Paris-Hollywood</i>		Union of South Africa, 1957e:11
195.	<i>Paris-Hollywood Nus Couleurs</i>	No. 100	Union of South Africa, 1956c:26
196.	<i>Peek</i>	August 1941	Union of South Africa, 1956a:19
197.	<i>Peep Show</i>	Vol. 4 No. 32 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
198.	<i>Peep Show</i>	Vol. 5 No. 33 February 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958g:10
199.	<i>Photo & Body</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
200.	<i>Picture Scope</i>	Vol. 5 No. 6 September 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:17
201.	<i>Picture Scope</i>	Vol. 6 No. 1 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
202.	<i>Picture Scope</i>	Vol. 6 No. 2 January 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
203.	<i>Pin Up</i>	No. 12	Union of South Africa, 1958a:17

204.	<i>Pin up [sic] Beauties</i>	No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956a:19
205.	<i>Pin up [sic] Pack</i>	No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956a:19
206.	<i>Pin-Up</i>	No. 77	Republic of South Africa, 1963m:11
207.	<i>Pin-Up</i>	No. 79	Republic of South Africa, 1963m:11
208.	<i>Pin-Up Magazine</i>		Union of South Africa, 1957e:11
209.	<i>Pix</i>	October 1949	Union of South Africa, 1956a:19
210.	<i>Pix Annual</i>		Union of South Africa, 1956a:19
211.	<i>Playboy</i>		Union of South Africa, 1956b:34
212.	<i>Pocket Man</i>	Vol. 11 No. 5 August 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960c:8
213.	<i>Q.T.</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>) [Also see: <i>QT (The Best of Beauty)</i> and <i>Qt (The Best of Beauty)</i>]	No. 51	Republic of South Africa, 1963f:8
214.	<i>Q.T.</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>)	No. 52	Republic of South Africa, 1963f:8

215.	<i>Q.T.</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>)	No. 9	Union of South Africa, 1960c:8
216.	<i>QT</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>)	No. 32	Union of South Africa, 1961b:12
217.	<i>Qt</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>)	No. 11	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63
218.	<i>Qt</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>)	No. 30	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63
219.	<i>Qt</i> (<i>The Best of Beauty</i>)	No. 33	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63
220.	<i>Rogue</i>	Vol. 7 No. 5 May 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1963j:3
221.	<i>Rogue</i>	Vol. 8 No. 7 July 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963l:10
222.	<i>Rogue</i>	Vol. 5 No. 4 June 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:15

	<i>(Designed for Men)</i>		
223.	<i>Rogue</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 3 April 1956	Union of South Africa, 1959a:15
224.	<i>Rogue</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 4 June 1956	Union of South Africa, 1959a:15
225.	<i>Rogue</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 5 August 1956	Union of South Africa, 1959a:15
226.	<i>Rogue</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 2 No. 9 December 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958f:16
227.	<i>Rogue</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 3 No. 1 January 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958f:16
228.	<i>Rugged</i>	Vol. 1 No. 4 August 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:17
229.	<i>Scamp</i>	Vol. 3 No. 6 May 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:15

230.	<i>Scamp</i>	Vol. 5 No. 6 May 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962i:9
231.	<i>Scene</i> <i>(for Men)</i> [Also see: <i>Scene (For Men)</i>]	Vol. 5 No. 5 October 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960a:12
232.	<i>Scene</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 6 No. 5 October 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960e:15
233.	<i>Secrets</i>	July 1953	Union of South Africa, 1956a:22
234.	<i>See</i>	January 1950	Union of South Africa, 1956a:22
235.	<i>See</i>	Vol. 16 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1957e:11
236.	<i>Showgirls</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1956a:22
237.	<i>Showgirls</i>	No. 9 January 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
238.	<i>Silk Stocking Stories</i>	July 1939	Union of South Africa, 1956a:23
239.	<i>Sir Knight</i>	Vol. 3 No. 1 January 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962o:9
240.	<i>Snappy</i>	Vol. 5 No. 40	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63

		November 1960	
241.	<i>Snappy</i>	March 1961	Union of South Africa, 1961c:10
242.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 3 No. 33	Union of South Africa, 1958a:18
243.	Spic and Span [Also see: <i>Spick & Span</i>]	No. 9 1957 (Extra) Winter	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
244.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 3 No. 31 June 1956	Union of South Africa, 1957e:11
245.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 4 No. 42 May 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958a:18
246.	<i>Spick & Span</i>	No. 7 1957 Summer	Union of South Africa, 1958a:18
247.	<i>Stag</i>	June 1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:24
248.	<i>Stare Magazine</i>	April 1953	Union of South Africa, 1956a:24
249.	<i>Sunbathing for Health</i>	Vol. 8 No. VI November 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:24
250.	<i>Sunbathing for Health</i>	Vol. 10 No. 11 July 1956	Union of South Africa, 1958b:18

251.	<i>Sunshine and Health</i>	No. 3 March 1954	Union of South Africa, 1957f:13
252.	<i>Swank</i>	Vol. 2 No. 3 July 1955	Union of South Africa, 1958g:11
253.	<i>Swank</i>	Vol. 5 No. 2 March 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958f:16
254.	<i>Swank</i>	Vol. 6 No. 4 August 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960b:53
255.	<i>Swank</i>	Vol. 6 No. 6 January 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960b:53
256.	<i>Swank</i>	Vol. 9 No. 2 May 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962o:9
257.	<i>T.V. Girls and Gags</i>	Vol. 4 No. 6 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
258.	<i>T.V. Girls and Gags</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1 April 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
259.	<i>T.V. Girls and Gags</i>	Vol. 6 No. 5 September 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960d:27
260.	<i>Tempo</i>	Vol. 5 No. 16 27 December 1955	Union of South Africa, 1957b:12
261.	<i>Tempo</i>	Vol. 12 No. 5	Union of South Africa, 1960c:9

		September 1949	
262.	<i>Tempo</i>	Vol. 12 No. 8 March 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960c:9
263.	<i>Tempo</i>	Vol. 12 No. 12 November 1960	Union of South Africa, 1961b:12
264.	<i>Tempo</i>	Vol. 13 No. 5 September 1961	Republic of South Africa, 1961c:10
265.	<i>The Best from Playboy</i> [Also see: <i>The Best From Playboy</i>]	1954	Union of South Africa, 1957c:15
266.	<i>The Best From Playboy</i>		Union of South Africa, 1957e:9
267.	<i>The Dude</i>	No. 3	Union of South Africa, 1960e:12
268.	<i>The Dude</i>	No. 6	Union of South Africa, 1960e:12
269.	<i>The Dude</i>	Vol. 2 No. 2 November 1957	Union of South Africa, 1958c:8
270.	<i>The Dude</i>	Vol. 2 No. 3 January 1958	Union of South Africa, 1958c:8
271.	<i>The Dude</i>	Vol. 4 No. 4 March 1960	Union of South Africa, 1961a:63
272.	<i>The Dude</i>	Vol. 6 No. 6 July 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1962l:6

273.	<i>The Gent</i>	Vol. 6 No. 5 June 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1963j:3
274.	<i>The Gent</i>	Vol. 7 No. 5 June 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1963k:4
275.	<i>The Male Point of View</i> [Also see: <i>Male Point of View</i>]	March 1956	Union of South Africa, 1956b:33
276.	<i>The Men's Digest</i>	Vol. 3 No. 5 (Issue 17) June 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:26
277.	<i>The Stocking Parade</i>	March 1939	Union of South Africa, 1956a:24
278.	<i>Tid Bits [sic] of Beauty</i>	1945 Summer	Union of South Africa, 1956a:25
279.	<i>Tidlösa</i>	No. 1	Union of South Africa, 1958h:9
280.	<i>Tidlösa</i>	No. 10 1955	Union of South Africa, 1957f:13
281.	<i>Titter</i>	1945 Winter	Union of South Africa, 1956a:25
282.	<i>Venus</i>	April 1952	Union of South Africa, 1956a:27
283.	<i>Vue</i>	December 1954	Union of South Africa, 1956a:27

284.	<i>Wink</i>	1945 Summer	Union of South Africa, 1956a:28
285.	<i>Zest</i>	Vol. 8 No. 1 November 1959	Union of South Africa, 1960c:9
286.	<i>Zest</i>	Vol. 8 No. 2 January 1960	Union of South Africa, 1960d:27
287.	<i>Zon en Charme</i>	No. 1 1955	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
288.	<i>Zonne Vrienden</i> [Also see: <i>Zonnevrienden</i>]	No. 4	Union of South Africa, 1958c:9
289.	<i>Zonnevrienden</i>	No. 36	Union of South Africa, 1957e:12

Appendix B – Pornographic magazines seized and subsequently proscribed in South Africa, 1964 to (mid-April) 1975

- Magazines' subheadings in (rounded brackets);
- Notes in [square brackets];
- South African magazines in **bold**.

	Title	Issue/Volume/Edition (where available)	Source
1.	<i>Adam</i>	Vol. 36 No. 3 February 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964i:9
2.	<i>Adam</i>	Vol. 18 No. 19	Republic of South Africa, 1974u:13
3.	<i>Adam</i>	No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1975g:6
4.	<i>Adam 820</i>	Vol. 6 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1971b:6
5.	<i>Alpha</i>	No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1974n:10
6.	<i>American Nudism</i> (<i>Sun and Health Review</i>)		Republic of South Africa, 1965l:4
7.	<i>American Nudism</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1968k:29

	<i>(Sun and Health Review)</i>		
8.	<i>Amigo</i> <i>(Homosexual Magazine)</i> [Also see: <i>Amigo (The Homosexual Magazine)</i>]	No. 16	Republic of South Africa, 1964a:6
9.	<i>Amigo</i> <i>(The Homosexual Magazine)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1964e:10
10.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i> [Also see: <i>Beautiful Britons (The Magazine of Appeal)</i>]	Vol. 11 No. 127 June 1966	Republic of South Africa, 1966e:5
11.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i>	Vol. 14 Nos. 160-167 March-October 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
12.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i>	Vol. 15 Nos. 170-171 January-February 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
13.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i>	Vol. 15 Nos. 173-177 April-August 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
14.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i>	Vol. 16 No. 181 December 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
15.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i>	Vol. 16 No. 183 February 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1973x:22
16.	<i>Beautiful Britons</i>	Vol. 10 No. 116	Republic of South Africa, 1965h:3

	<i>(The Magazine of Appeal)</i>	July 1965	
17.	<i>Best for Men</i>	Vol. 2 No. 4 August 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964i:9
18.	<i>Best of Bondage</i>	Vol. 1 No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1973f:3
19.	<i>Best of Bondage</i>	Vol. 1 No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1973y:5
20.	<i>Bi</i> <i>(Das Besondere St. Pauli)</i>	No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1975f:166
21.	<i>Bizarre Life</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 April-May 1966	Republic of South Africa, 1969f:22
22.	<i>Body Beautiful</i>	No. 32	Republic of South Africa, 1966g:5
23.	<i>Bondage</i> <i>(Rubber Leather, Janus Special)</i>	No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1975e:30
24.	<i>Bondage Kaptives</i> [sic]	Vol. 1 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1974p:120
25.	<i>Caballero</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1968i:3
26.	<i>Caballero</i>	No. 6	Republic of South Africa, 1969i:29
27.	<i>Caballero</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1969n:10

28.	<i>Candid Pinups</i> (Featuring South African and International Beauties)	Nos. 14-18	Republic of South Africa, 1965f:2
29.	<i>Caper</i>	Vol. 6 No. 6 November 1960	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
30.	<i>Caper</i>	Vol. 6 No. 6 November 1960	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
31.	<i>Carnival</i>	September	Republic of South Africa, 1970q:13
32.	<i>Carnival</i>	September 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971m:8
33.	<i>Carnival</i>	October 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971m:9
34.	<i>Carnival</i>	November 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971q:7
35.	<i>Carnival</i>	May 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973q:108
36.	<i>Carnival</i>	March 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973w:10
37.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 13 No. 124 October 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964a:6
38.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 13 No. 125 November 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964b:3
39.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 13 No. 126	Republic of South Africa, 1964c:14

		December 1963	
40.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 14 No. 127 January 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964c:14
41.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 14 No. 128 February 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964g:10
42.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 14 No. 129 March 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964g:10
43.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 12 No. 110 August 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
44.	<i>Cavalier</i>	Vol. 12 No. 110 August 1962	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
45.	<i>Chérie</i>	No. 50	Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12
46.	<i>Chérie</i>	No. 52	Republic of South Africa, 1969h:9
47.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 1 No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1969d:12
48.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 1 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1970h:14
49.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 1 No. 6	Republic of South Africa, 1970t:14
50.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 2 No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1971f:2
51.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 3 No. 9	Republic of South Africa, 1971i:32

52.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 3 No. 10	Republic of South Africa, 1972p:11
53.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 4 No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1972v:10
54.	<i>Cinema X</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1974o:17
55.	<i>Climax</i>	Vol. 13 No. 2 November 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964a:6
56.	<i>Climax</i>	Vol. 13 No. 4 January 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964b:3
57.	<i>Climax</i>	Vol. 16 No. 8 August 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970x:4
58.	<i>Climax</i>	Vol. 16 No. 8 August 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1971o:10
59.	<i>Cloud 9</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965n:11
60.	<i>Club</i>	No. 1 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970i:9
61.	<i>Club</i>	June 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970m:13
62.	<i>Club</i>	August 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970n:5
63.	<i>Club</i>	September 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970p:3

64.	<i>Club</i>	November 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970aa:6
65.	<i>Club Herrenmagazin</i>	No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12
66.	<i>Club International</i>	November 1967	Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12
67.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 August 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1972m:5
68.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1972u:7
69.	<i>Clyde</i> <i>(Reflection and Whimsey for Men)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1966i:5
70.	<i>Color Climax</i>	No. 46	Republic of South Africa, 1973c:108
71.	<i>Coq</i>	Vol. 1 No. 5 May 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974q:8
72.	<i>Cutey Gaho</i>	No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1973k:12
73.	<i>Cutey Gaho</i>	No. 10	Republic of South Africa, 1973u:12
74.	<i>Daily Girl</i>	Vol. 1 No. 4 June 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1972f:6
75.	<i>Daily Girl</i>	Vol. 2 No. 9	Republic of South Africa, 1972g:6

76.	<i>Daily Girl</i>	Vol. 2 No. 10	Republic of South Africa, 1972g:6
77.	<i>Daring</i>	Vol. 10 No. 3 June 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973z:7
78.	<i>Daring</i>	Vol. 10 No. 1 February 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974ee:2
79.	<i>Dream Gaho</i>	No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1973k:12
80.	<i>Dream Gaho</i>	No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1973u:12
81.	<i>Du & Ich</i>	No. 9 September 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974r:5
82.	<i>Easy Riders</i> [Also see: <i>Easyriders</i>]	Vol. 2 No. 2 April 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1972e:3
83.	<i>Easy Riders</i>	Vol. 3 No. 2 March 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973q:108
84.	<i>Easyriders</i>	Vol. 3 No. 1 February 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973i:7
85.	<i>Ele Ela</i>	October 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974x:21
86.	<i>Eros</i>	Vol. 1 No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1974o:17
87.	<i>Escapade</i>	Vol. 6 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9

		December 1960	
88.	<i>Escapade</i>	Vol. 6 No. 1 December 1960	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
89.	<i>Escort Magazine</i>	July	Republic of South Africa, 1968g:4
90.	<i>Female Impersonators</i> [Also see: <i>The Female Impersonator</i>]	Summer	Republic of South Africa, 1969f:22
91.	Female Mimics	Vol. 1 No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1969f:22
92.	Fib-Aktuellt	No. 8 20 February 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968j:23
93.	<i>Fiesta</i>	Vol. 5 No. 6 August 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1973r:4
94.	<i>Fizeek Art Quarterly</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1967c:4
95.	<i>Flair</i>	No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
96.	<i>Flame</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1966c:6
97.	<i>Flame</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1972i:8
98.	<i>Flirt</i>	No. 18	Republic of South Africa, 1968l:7
99.	<i>For Men Only</i>	Vol. 11 No. 1 January 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1970r:11

100.	<i>Fotostrip</i>	No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1970z:10
101.	<i>Foxylady</i> <i>(Entertainment for Women)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 January 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1975a:3
102.	<i>Freies Leben</i> <i>(Zeitschrift für Naturismus und Lebensreform)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6
103.	<i>Frivol</i>	No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1972r:4
104.	<i>Frivol</i>	No. 30	Republic of South Africa, 1974z:8
105.	<i>Gallery</i>	Vol. 1 No. 5 March 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973v:10
106.	<i>Gallery</i> <i>(Sophisticated Entertainment for Men)</i>	Vol. 2 No. 11 December 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1975d:31
107.	<i>Game</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1974e:3
108.	<i>Game</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1974f:4
109.	<i>Genesis</i> <i>(For Men)</i>	Vol. 2 No. 5 December 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1975d:31

110.	<i>Gentleman</i>	Vol. 3 No. 6 June 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964g:10
111.	<i>Gentleman</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965n:11
112.	<i>Girl Illustrated</i>	Vol. 2 No. 22	Republic of South Africa, 1968h:19
113.	<i>Girl Illustrated</i>	Vol. 2 No. 23	Republic of South Africa, 1968l:7
114.	<i>Girl Illustrated</i>	Vol. 2 No. 18	Republic of South Africa, 1969m:21
115.	<i>Girl Illustrated</i> <i>(A Kaleidoscope of International Beauty and Colour)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1970c:15
116.	<i>Gondel</i>	No. 236 1 November 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1969e:6
117.	<i>Gondel</i>	October 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974y:20
118.	<i>Grecian Guild Pictorial</i>	No. 64 September 1967	Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14
119.	<i>Gymnos</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965m:30
120.	<i>Gymnos</i> <i>(Special Edition)</i>	No. 1 1965	Republic of South Africa, 1965l:4

121.	<i>Gymnos Sundeck</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965d:6
122.	<i>Health and Efficiency</i>	No. 825 January 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970y:4
123.	<i>Health and Sunshine</i> <i>(Bright Sun Savage Scenery)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1967e:20
124.	<i>Health and Sunshine</i> <i>(Naturism by the Sea)</i>	Special Edition XII	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
125.	<i>Health and Sunshine</i> <i>(Naturist Youth at the French Coast)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1967e:20
126.	<i>Health and Sunshine</i> <i>(Summertime)</i>	Special Edition IX	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
127.	<i>Health and Sunshine</i> <i>(Sun, Sand and Ocean at Montalivet)</i>	Special Edition X	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
128.	<i>Health and Sunshine</i> <i>(Young and Joyful – La Chataigneraie)</i>	Special Edition XL	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23

129.	<i>Helios</i>	No. 166	Republic of South Africa, 1971n:6
130.	<i>Holiday Naturist</i>	No. 4 1973 Summer	Republic of South Africa, 1973bb:114
131.	<i>Homo</i> (<i>International Magazine</i>)		Republic of South Africa, 1967f:9
132.	<i>Hymy 2</i>	1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973aa:7
133.	<i>International Nudist Sun</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1966g:5
134.	<i>International Playmen</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 June 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968d:25
135.	<i>Jaguar</i>	Vol. 4 No. 9 August 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970x:4
136.	<i>Janus</i>	Vol. 1 No. 12	Republic of South Africa, 1974g:7
137.	<i>Janus</i>	Vol. 3 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1974h:7
138.	<i>Jeremy</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1969k:5
139.	<i>Jeremy</i>	Vol. 1 No. 3 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1970k:3

140.	<i>Jeremy</i>	Vol. 1 No. 6 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970w:3
141.	<i>Jeremy</i>	Vol. 1 No. 6 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1971o:10
142.	<i>Kaptive [sic] Beauties</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1974p:120
143.	<i>King</i> <i>(Italian Magazine)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1967d:13
144.	<i>King</i> <i>(The Man's Magazine)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 1964 Winter	Republic of South Africa, 1965c:2
145.	<i>Knave</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1973s:19
146.	<i>Knave</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1974o:17
147.	<i>Knickers</i> <i>(Suspenders Stocking – Janus Special)</i>	No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1975d:31
148.	<i>Knight</i> <i>(The Magazine for the Adult Male)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965n:11
149.	<i>Kunst im Naturismus</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1967b:12

150.	<i>Late Night Extra</i>	No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1975g:6
151.	<i>Lektyr</i>	No. 52 21-27 December 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1972j:85
152.	<i>Lektyr</i>	No. 1 28 December-January 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1972s:84
153.	<i>Lesbian Climax</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1972g:6
154.	<i>Licht und Schönheit</i> <i>(Blätter für Freikörperkultur)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6
155.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 55 July 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968g:4
156.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 76 May 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970m:13
157.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 89 June 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971k:18
158.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 84 January 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1972g:6
159.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 94 November 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1972h:2
160.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 95	Republic of South Africa, 1972h:2

		December 1971	
161.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 106 November 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1973h:5
162.	<i>Lui</i>	No. 119 December 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974hh:6
163.	<i>Male Classics</i>	No. 38	Republic of South Africa, 1966j:5
164.	<i>Man</i>	Vol. 55 No. 3 February 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964i:9
165.	<i>Man Annual</i>	1971	Republic of South Africa, 1973c:108
166.	<i>Man Jr. Annual</i>	1971	Republic of South Africa, 1973c:108
167.	<i>Man Junior</i>	Vol. 20 No. 6 February 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964i:9
168.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 11	Republic of South Africa, 1964a:6
169.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 11 No. 12 December 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964b:3
170.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 12 No. 1 January 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964b:3
171.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 12 No. 2 February 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964d:14

172.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 12 No. 3 March 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964f:9
173.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 12 No. 4 April 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
174.	<i>Man's Magazine</i>	Vol. 12 No. 4 April 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
175.	<i>Mayfair Magazine</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1967f:9
176.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 83 No. 332 1963 Winter	Republic of South Africa, 1964b:3
177.	<i>Men Only</i>	March 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
178.	<i>Men Only</i>	January 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1965b:6
179.	<i>Men Only</i>	May 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970l:8
180.	<i>Men Only</i>	March 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
181.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 36 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1971p:19
182.	<i>Men Only</i>	May 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1972g:6
183.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 39 No. 10 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974cc:14

184.	<i>Men Only</i>	Vol. 39 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1975a:3
185.	<i>Mini Sex</i>	No. 11 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974z:8
186.	<i>Modern Adonis</i>	No. 28 November 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1965k:18
187.	<i>Modern Adonis</i>	No. 31	Republic of South Africa, 1966g:5
188.	<i>Modern Man</i>	Vol. 21 No. 4 April 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1972b:89
189.	<i>Modern Man</i> <i>(Yearbook of Queens)</i>	Vol. 26 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964b:3
190.	<i>Modern Man Annual</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965a:7
191.	<i>Modern Man Quarterly</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1964j:10
192.	<i>Modern Man Quarterly</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1970u:6
193.	<i>Modern Sunbathing</i> <i>(The Nudist Picture News)</i>	Vol. 33 Nos. 2-188	Republic of South Africa, 1965a:7
194.	<i>Mr.</i>	Vol. 9 No. 7 May 1965	Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6

195.	<i>Mr. Annual</i>	1972 Spring	Republic of South Africa, 1974t:12
196.	<i>Muscleboy</i>	Vol. 3 No. 3 July-August 1966	Republic of South Africa, 1966f:10
197.	<i>National Nudist</i>	Vol. 2 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
198.	<i>National Nudist</i>	Vol. 2 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
199.	<i>Naturism in Austria</i> <i>(Special Edition)</i>	No. 105	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
200.	<i>Naturism in the Mediterranean</i> <i>(Special Edition)</i>	No. 104	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
201.	<i>New Direction</i>	Vol. 2 No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1972o:10
202.	<i>New Direction</i>	Vol. 2 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1972q:11
203.	<i>New Direction</i>	Vol. 2 No. 6	Republic of South Africa, 1972x:4
204.	<i>New QT</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1975a:3
205.	<i>Nude Living</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965d:6

206.	<i>Nudist Newsfront</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
207.	<i>Nudist Newsfront</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
208.	<i>Nudist Today</i> <i>(Official Journal of the American Sunbathing Association)</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1965d:6
209.	<i>Nudist Views</i>	1959 Fall	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
210.	<i>Nudist Views</i>	1959 Fall	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
211.	<i>Ortil's Naturist Youth in Greece</i> <i>(Special Edition)</i>	No. 104	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
212.	<i>Oui</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 October 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1972w:11
213.	<i>Parade Magazine</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1964e:10
214.	<i>Penthouse</i>	Vol. 4 No. 4 December 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1973g:12
215.	<i>Penthouse</i>	Vol. 4 No. 7 March 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973g:12

216.	<i>Penthouse</i>	Vol. 8 No. 1 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973v:10
217.	<i>Penthouse</i>	Vol. 4 No. 7 April 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973v:10
218.	<i>Penthouse</i>	Vol. 5 No. 9 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1974s:16
219.	<i>Penthouse</i>	Vol. 4 No. 3 November 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1974bb:13
220.	<i>Penthouse</i> <i>(The International Magazine for Men)</i>	Vol. 6 No. 2 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1974t:12
221.	<i>Penthouse</i> <i>(The International Magazine for Men)</i>	Vol. 6 No. 2 October 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974u:13
222.	<i>Penthouse</i> <i>(The Magazine for Men)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1965e:1
223.	<i>Penthouse</i> <i>(The Magazine for Men)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1965j:11
224.	<i>Physique Pictorial</i>	Vol. 14 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14

		October 1964	
225.	<i>Physique Pictorial</i>	Vol. 15 No. 3 June 1966	Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14
226.	<i>Pin Up</i>	No. 29	Republic of South Africa, 1973c:108
227.	<i>Pin Up [sic] Girls</i>	No. 14	Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12
228.	<i>Pin-up Glamour</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1969b:5
229.	<i>Pin-up Parade</i>	Spring	Republic of South Africa, 1971a:6
230.	<i>Playboy</i>	Vol. 10 No. 10 October 1963	Republic of South Africa, 1964i:9
231.	<i>Playboy</i>	August 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1973i:7
232.	<i>Playboy</i> [German Edition]	No. 12 December 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1973p:5
233.	<i>Playboy</i> [Italian Edition]	No. 9 September 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974v:12
234.	<i>Playboy</i> [Italian Edition]	No. 10 October 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974w:13
235.	<i>Playboy Bunnies</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1973j:12

236.	<i>Playboy Playmate Datebook</i>	1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974a:94
237.	<i>Playboy Plays With Words</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1972n:10
238.	<i>Playboy's Executive Reader</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1971i:2
239.	<i>Playboy's Girls of the World</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1971h:5
240.	<i>Playboy's Holiday Album</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1972i:5
241.	<i>Playboy's Phil Interlandi</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1971j:3
242.	<i>Playboy's Sex in Cinema 2</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1973b:125
243.	<i>Playgirl</i>	No. 26	Republic of South Africa, 1969g:12
244.	<i>Playgirl</i> <i>(The magazine for women)</i> [Also see: <i>Playgirl (The Magazine for Women)</i>]	Vol. 1 No. 1 June 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973e:9
245.	<i>Playgirl</i> <i>(The Magazine for Women)</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 July 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973v:10
246.	<i>Playmen</i>	No. 3 March 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968f:19

247.	<i>Playmen</i>	Vol. XI No. 12 December 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1973o:89
248.	<i>Pocket Man</i>	Vol. 20 No. 6 March 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964i:9
249.	<i>Pocket Playboy</i> [Also see: <i>The Pocket Playboy</i>]	No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1974j:5
250.	<i>Pornography in Color, Color Climax</i>	No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1971n:6
251.	<i>Pornography in Color, Color Climax</i>	No. 11	Republic of South Africa, 1971n:6
252.	<i>Privat Herrenmagazin</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1971n:6
253.	<i>Punch Goes Playboy</i>	Vol. 261 No. 6844 10-16 November 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971e:4
254.	<i>Rascal</i>	Vol. 2 No. 4 November 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1965g:6
255.	<i>Reeperbahn Sex Illustrierte</i>	9 August 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974gg:2
256.	<i>Regency</i>	Vol. 1 No. 3 October 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974c:9
257.	<i>Rogue</i>	Vol. 9 No. 1 January 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964c:14

258.	<i>Rogue</i>	Vol. 4 No. 9	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
259.	<i>Rogue</i>	Vol. 4 No. 9 December 1959	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
260.	<i>Romp</i>	Vol. 6 No. 54 July 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1970t:14
261.	<i>Rope, Garters and Gags</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1975d:31
262.	<i>Schlüsselloch</i>	No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1972j:85
263.	<i>Schlüsselloch</i>	No. 14	Republic of South Africa, 1972j:85
264.	<i>Schlüsselloch</i>	No. 16	Republic of South Africa, 1972s:84
265.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 4 No. 11 30 May 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1969a:8
266.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 5 No. 10 15 May 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970d:9
267.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 5 No. 12 26 June 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970e:4
268.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 5 No. 13 10 July 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970e:4
269.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 5 No. 18	Republic of South Africa, 1970f:4

		4 September 1970	
270.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 5 No. 20 2 October 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1970g:11
271.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 6 No. 19 27 August 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971d:7
272.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	21 April 1972	Republic of South Africa, 1972c:7
273.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 8 No. 13 30 March 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973d:5
274.	<i>Scope</i> [sic] [Supplement: City, 8 November 1968]	Vol. 3 No. 23 15 November 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968a:12
275.	<i>Sexpert</i>	Vol. 1 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1975a:3
276.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 14 Nos. 166-167 June-July 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
277.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 15 No. 169 September 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
278.	<i>Span</i> [Also see: <i>Span (People in the Pictures)</i>]	Vol. 15 Nos. 171-178 January-June 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
279.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 15 Nos. 180-181 August-September 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
280.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 16 No. 183	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6

		November 1969	
281.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 16 No. 188 April 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
282.	<i>Span</i>	Vol. 16 No. 190 June 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
283.	<i>Span</i> (<i>People in the Pictures</i>)	Vol. 12 No. 135 November 1965	Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4
284.	<i>Span</i> (<i>People in the Pictures</i>)	Vol. 12 No. 136 December 1965	Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4
285.	<i>Span</i> (<i>People in the Pictures</i>)	Vol. 12 No. 138 February 1966	Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4
286.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 13 No. 145 December 1965	Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4
287.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 13 No. 147 February 1966	Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4
288.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 15 Nos. 179-180 October-November 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
289.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 16 No. 181 December 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6

290.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 16 No. 184 March 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
291.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 16 No. 184 March 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
292.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 16 No. 187 June 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
293.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 16 No. 189 August 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
294.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 16 No. 191 October 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
295.	<i>Spick</i>	Vol. 17 No. 193 December 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1973m:6
296.	<i>St. Pauli Nachrichten</i>	No. 5 22 January 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971c:20
297.	<i>St. Pauli Zeitschrift</i>	No. 6 25 March 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1973t:7
298.	<i>St. Pauli Zeitung</i>	8 January 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971n:7
299.	<i>St. Pauli Zeitung</i>	29 January 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1971n:7
300.	<i>Suck</i>	No. 1 October 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1970s:11

	<i>(First European Sexpaper)</i>		
301.	<i>Sun and Health</i> <i>(International Edition)</i>	Vol. 31 No. 323 June 1967	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
302.	<i>Sun Era</i>	Vol. 1 No. 10 March 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
303.	<i>Sun Seeker</i>	No. 143	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
304.	<i>Sun Seeker</i> <i>(Corsican Naturism – Special Edition)</i>	No. 103	Republic of South Africa, 1967a:23
305.	<i>Suntrails</i>	Vol. 1 No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1970v:14
306.	<i>Supersex</i>	30 August 1967	Republic of South Africa, 1972b:89
307.	<i>Swank</i>	Vol. 16 No. 6 August 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1971o:10
308.	<i>Tab</i> <i>(The Pocket Picture Magazine)</i> [Also see: <i>TAB (The Pocket Picture Magazine)</i>]		Republic of South Africa, 1964j:10
309.	<i>TAB</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1970u:6

	<i>(The Pocket Picture Magazine)</i>		
310.	<i>The Bedside Playboy</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1966a:16
311.	<i>The Best from Playboy</i>	No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1970o:9
312.	<i>The Best from Playboy</i>	No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1971j:3
313.	<i>The Best from Playboy</i>	No. 6	Republic of South Africa, 1972f:6
314.	<i>The Best from Playboy</i>	No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1974d:49
315.	<i>The Female Impersonator</i> [Also see: <i>Female Impersonators</i>]	Vol. 5 No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1974m:4
316.	<i>The Male Figure</i>	Vol. 33	Republic of South Africa, 1966h:7
317.	<i>The New Man's Pleasure</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1 December	Republic of South Africa, 1972t:5
318.	<i>The New Men Only</i>	Vol. 36 No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1971i:32
319.	<i>The New Men Only</i>	Vol. 36 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1972d:12
320.	<i>The New Men Only</i>	Vol. 36 No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1972p:11
321.	<i>The Playboy Advisor</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1970k:3

322.	<i>The Pocket Playboy</i> [Also see: <i>Pocket Playboy</i>]	No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1974i:6
323.	<i>The Pocket Playboy</i>	No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1974i:6
324.	<i>The Twelfth anniversary Playboy Reader</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1966b:16
325.	<i>Tomorrow's Man</i>	Vol. 12 No. 12 November 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14
326.	<i>Tuk</i>	No. 58 June-July 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974z:8
327.	<i>Tuk</i>	No. 57 May-June 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974aa:9
328.	<i>Twen</i>	No. 7 July 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968e:32
329.	<i>Twen</i>	No. 11 November 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1969l:7
330.	<i>Urban Nudist</i>	Vol. 1 No. 11 April 1964	Republic of South Africa, 1964h:9
331.	<i>Vibrations</i>	Vol. 2 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1974g:7
332.	<i>Vibrations</i>	Vol. 2 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1974v:12

333.	<i>VIP</i> <i>(The Playboy Club Magazine)</i>	No. 8 1965 Holiday Issue	Republic of South Africa, 1966d:4
334.	<i>VIP</i> <i>(The Playboy Club Magazine)</i>	No. 37 1973 Spring	Republic of South Africa, 1973l:4
335.	<i>VIP</i> <i>(The Playboy Club Magazine)</i>	1973 Fall	Republic of South Africa, 1973n:10
336.	<i>Viva</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 November 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1974ff:9
337.	<i>Weekend Sex</i>	No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1975b:4
338.	<i>Wildcat</i>	Vol. 9 No. 7 January 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1974dd:29
339.	<i>Wildcat</i>	1972 Fall	Republic of South Africa, 1975c:7
340.	<i>Young Guys</i>	No. 15 February 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968c:14
341.	<i>Young Naturist</i>	No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1973t:7
342.	<i>Zeta</i>	Vol. 1 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1968b:18

	October 1967	
343. <i>Zeta</i>	Vol. 1 No. 6 April 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1968l:7

Appendix C – Pornographic magazines seized and subsequently proscribed in South Africa, (mid-April) 1975 to 1989

- Magazines' subheadings in (rounded brackets);
- Notes in [square brackets];
- South African magazines in **bold**.

	Title	Issue/Volume/Edition (where available)	Source
1.	<i>Adonis</i>	No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:2
2.	<i>Aktueel</i>	No. 83/42 22 October 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984c:2
3.	<i>Alle Menn</i>	No. 37 12 September 1978	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:2
4.	<i>Alle Menn</i>	No. 47 21 November 1978	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:2
5.	<i>Alle Menn</i>	No. 37 12 September 1978	Republic of South Africa, 1982:22
6.	<i>Anal Love</i>	Vol. 1 No. 2 August 1980	Republic of South Africa, 1983:2
7.	<i>Bikers</i>	1976	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:10

8.	<i>Blueboy</i>	Vol. XIV November 1977	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:12
9.	<i>Blueboy</i>	Vol. 40 February 1980	Republic of South Africa, 1984k:5
10.	<i>Bona</i>	Vol. 1 No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1984k:5
11.	<i>Bouncy Babes</i>	No. 7 1970 Spring	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:12
12.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 1 No. 5 May 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984l:1
13.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 2 No. 2 February 1985	Republic of South Africa, 1985c:1
14.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 3 No. 1 January-February 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986f:2
15.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	March-April 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986i:1
16.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 3 No. 4 August 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986l:3
17.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 3 No. 6 October 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986n:2
18.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	November-December 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1987a:2

19.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 1 January 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987b:1
20.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 4 April 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987f:2
21.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 6 June 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987j:2
22.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 7 July 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987k:2
23.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 9 September 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987m:2
24.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 10 October 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987n:2
25.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 11 November 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987o:1
26.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 4 No. 12 December 1987	Republic of South Africa, 1987p:2
27.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 5 No. 1 January 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1988a:2
28.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	Vol. 2 No. 1 November 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1989a:2
29.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	February 1989	Republic of South Africa, 1989a:2

30.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	August 1989	Republic of South Africa, 1989f:3
31.	<i>Bunny Girl</i>	August 1989	Republic of South Africa, 1989i:3
32.	<i>Candid</i>	No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:4
33.	<i>Candid</i>	No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23
34.	<i>Caper</i>	Vol. 20 No. 6 November 1978	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:126
35.	<i>Chance International</i>	No. 7	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:15
36.	<i>Cleo</i>	No. 87 January 1980	Republic of South Africa, 1982:4
37.	<i>Cleo</i>	Nos. 96-98 October-December 1980	Republic of South Africa, 1982:4
38.	<i>Cleo</i>	Nos. 100-101 February-March 1981	Republic of South Africa, 1982:4
39.	<i>Climax</i>	No. 43	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5
40.	<i>Climax</i>	No. 43	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23
41.	<i>Club</i>	Vol. 5 Issue 10 November	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23

42.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 7 No. 12	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:126
43.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 8 No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:26
44.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 3 No. 12 December 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23
45.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 7 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23
46.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 7 Nos. 7-9	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23
47.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 8 No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1982:23
48.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 2 No. 10 October 1973	Republic of South Africa, 1984a:18
49.	<i>Club International</i>	Vol. 13 No. 9	Republic of South Africa, 1985h:26
50.	<i>Color-Scala</i>	No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5
51.	<i>Continental Film Review</i>	April-June 1968	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5
52.	<i>Continental Film Review</i>	January-February 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5
53.	<i>Continental Film Review</i>	April 1969	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5
54.	<i>Continental Film Review</i>	April-October 1970	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5

55.	<i>Continental Film Review</i>	January-June 1971	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:5
56.	<i>Dapper</i>	Vol. 3 No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:22
57.	<i>Debonair</i>	Vol. 3 No. 12 December 1974	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:22
58.	<i>Debonair</i>	Vol. IV No. 1 January 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:22
59.	<i>Die Schönsten Playmates des Playboy</i>	Vol. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:17
60.	<i>Easyriders</i>	Vol. 12 No. 109 July 1982	Republic of South Africa, 1984a:18
61.	<i>Easyriders</i>	Vol. 13 No. 119 May 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984j:8
62.	<i>Easyriders</i>	Vol. 13 No. 121 July 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984j:8
63.	<i>Easyriders</i>	Vol. 13 Nos. 123-124 September-October 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984j:8
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323.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 17 No. 42 15 October 1982	Republic of South Africa, 1983:33
324.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 18 No. 21 27 May 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984a:12

325.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 18 No. 28 15 July 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984a:25
326.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 18 No. 38 23 September 1983	Republic of South Africa, 1984a:25
327.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 19 No. 7 17 February 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984e:2
328.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 19 No. 10 9 March 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984g:1
329.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 19 No. 29 20 July 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984p:1
330.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 20 No. 16 19 April 1985	Republic of South Africa, 1985e:1
331.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 20 No. 20 17 May 1985	Republic of South Africa, 1985g:1
332.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	21 June 1985	Republic of South Africa, 1985j:1
333.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 21 No. 21 23 May 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986j:1
334.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 23 No. 7 25 March 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1988c:1
335.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 23 No. 8 April 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1988d:1

336.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 23 No. 9 22 April 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1988f:1
337.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 23 No. 16 29 July 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1988i:1
338.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 24 No. 9 5 May 1989	Republic of South Africa, 1989c:1
339.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 29 No. 16 25 August 1989	Republic of South Africa, 1989f:3
340.	<i>Scope</i> [sic]	Vol. 30 No. 17 8 September 1989	Republic of South Africa, 1989h:3
341.	Screw	No. 499 25 September 1978	Republic of South Africa, 1982:33
342.	Se	No. 1 3 January 1979	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:25
343.	Sex Fantasy	Vol. 1 No. 10	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:87
344.	Sex Fantasy	Vol. 2 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:87
345.	<i>Solaire Universelle Nudisme</i>	Vol. 6 No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:91
346.	<i>Solaire Universelle Nudisme</i>	Vol. 6 No. 6	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:91
347.	<i>Solaire Universelle Nudisme</i>	Vol. 9 No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:91

348.	<i>Solaire Universelle Nudisme</i>	Vol. 10 Nos. 6-7	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:91
349.	<i>Solaire Universelle Nudisme</i>	Vol. 10 Nos. 9-10	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:91
350.	<i>Squire</i>	May 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984l:1
351.	<i>Squire</i>	June 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984n:1
352.	<i>Squire</i>	February 1985	Republic of South Africa, 1985a:1
353.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 3 No. 3 February 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984b:1
354.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 3 No. 7 June 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984n:1
355.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 3 No. 9 August 1984	Republic of South Africa, 1984p:1
356.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 4 No. 7 June 1985	Republic of South Africa, 1985i:2
357.	<i>Stag</i>	Set No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1986b:1
358.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 5 No. 3 February 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986d:2
359.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 5 No. 4 March 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986e:2

360.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 5 No. 9 August 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1986k:1
361.	<i>Stag</i>	Vol. 7 No. 4 April 1988	Republic of South Africa, 1988d:1
362.	<i>Stag's Art Collection</i>	No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1986h:2
363.	<i>Stag's World Famous Topless Models</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1986b:1
364.	<i>Sun</i>	Vol. 10 No. 12	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:98
365.	<i>Sun Bathing Review</i>	Vol. 22 No. 86	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:98
366.	<i>Sunshine and Health</i>	Vol. XXX No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:99
367.	<i>Supercycle</i> [sic]	No. 63 September 1986	Republic of South Africa, 1987c:1
368.	<i>Teenage Sex</i>	No. 12 December 1979	Republic of South Africa, 1983:17
369.	<i>Teenage Sex</i>	No. 14 April 1980	Republic of South Africa, 1983:17
370.	<i>Teenage Sex</i>	No. 5	Republic of South Africa, 1989c:1
371.	<i>The Best from Playboy</i>	No. 8	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:9

372.	<i>The Best of Penthouse Girls</i>	Vol. 3 No. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1985n:46
373.	<i>The Best of Penthouse Girls</i>	No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1985p:2
374.	<i>The Best of Penthouse Girls</i>	No. 3	Republic of South Africa, 1986c:2
375.	<i>The Best of Playgirl</i>	Vol. 1	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:9
376.	<i>The Girls of Playboy</i>		Republic of South Africa, 1981a:36
377.	<i>The Girls of Playboy</i>	No. 2	Republic of South Africa, 1984a:6
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379.	<i>Titbits</i>	Nos. 4647-4650 3-30 April 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:102
380.	<i>Titbits</i>	No. 4658 19-25 June 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:102
381.	<i>Titbits</i>	Nos. 4660-4663 3-30 July 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:102
382.	<i>Titbits</i>	Nos. 4665-4666 7-20 August 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:102
383.	<i>Titbits</i> <i>(Pubgoers' Special)</i>	1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:102

384.	<i>Titbits</i> (<i>Summer Special</i>)	1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:102
385.	<i>Vi Menn</i>	No. 22 27 May 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:108
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387.	<i>Vi Menn</i>	No. 24 10 June 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:108
388.	<i>Vi Menn</i>	No. 25 17 June 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:108
389.	<i>Vi Menn</i>	No. 26 24 June 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:109
390.	<i>Vi Menn</i>	No. 27 1 July 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:109
391.	<i>Vi Menn</i>	No. 28 8 July 1975	Republic of South Africa, 1981a:109
392.	<i>Vulcan</i>	Issue 21	Republic of South Africa, 1985m:45
393.	<i>Vulcan</i>	No. 21	Republic of South Africa, 1985o:44
394.	<i>Week-end</i> [sic] <i>sex</i>	No. 4	Republic of South Africa, 1982:20

395.	<i>Whitehouse</i>	Nos. 18-19	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:22
396.	<i>Whitehouse</i>	No. 35	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:22
397.	<i>Whitehouse</i>	No. 46	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:22
398.	<i>Whitehouse</i>	No. 36	Republic of South Africa, 1982:35
399.	<i>Zipper</i>	Issue 12	Republic of South Africa, 1981b:23
400.	<i>Zipper</i>	Issue 8	Republic of South Africa, 1984k:5
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