

GmB/044/0036/1



Republic of South Africa

Ministry of Home Affairs
and of Communications

Hendrik Verwoerd Building
Private Bag X9102
Cape Town
8000
☎ 021-465818

⚡ 527234

1988-03-21

Ref:AM 3/2/10/44

Messrs Grassroots Publications
Cine 400 Building
College Road
RYLANDS ESTATE
7764

Dear Sirs

STATE OF EMERGENCY: SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA

I wish to inform you that I have examined a series of five issues of your periodical Grassroots under the powers vested in me by regulation 7A(1) of the Regulations published by Proclamation R.97 of 11 June 1987 as amended by Proclamation R.123 of 28 August 1987 and R.7 of 15 January 1988. The issues examined by me are the following:

September 1987;
October 1987;
November 1987;
December 1987; and
February 1988.

Kindly take note of the fact that I am considering action under regulation 7A(1) to wit the issuing of a warning by notice in the Government Gazette in respect of your periodical. A prima facie indication of grounds of the proposed action are set out in the annexure hereto.

Should you wish to submit representations in terms of regulation 7A(4)(b) please note that such representations must be submitted to me in writing within a period of two weeks from the date of receipt hereof.

Yours sincerely

Stoffel Botha

J C G BOTHA MP

10

ANNEXURE

GRASSROOTS

Introductory note: The reports, articles, headings, photographs and letters in the following issues are also subject to being considered conjointly by me and with due regard being had to the cumulative effect thereof, in the process of determining their comprising a systematic or repeated publishing of matter or a systematic or repeated publishing of matter in a way which has or is calculated to have the effect contemplated by paragraph (a) of regulation 7A(1) and whether the effect such systematic or repeated publishing has or is calculated to have, is causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or is causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency as contemplated by paragraph (b) of the said regulation.

- (a) The report under the heading "Statements in Parliament: Organisations respond" in the September 1987 issue stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards a security force by inter alia referring to lawful security action as harassment (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (b) With reference to the report "Hangings Continue despite Appeals" (p.3) and the photograph on the same page in the September 1987 issue, the following:
 - (i) This report and photograph promote or fan the breaking down of the public order in the Republic or in any area or community in the Republic by bringing the judicial order which is a mainstay of the public order in disrepute by attempting to create the impression that people were sentenced to death because of their political opposition to the government (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iii)). These people which committed violent capital offences are labelled as "patriots" and prisoner-of-war status are claimed for them; and

- (ii) This report and photograph further promote or fan revolution or uprisings in the Republic by attempting to legitimise violence, revolution and the participants (patriots and prisoners-of-war) therein (regulation 7A(1)(a)(i)).
- (c) The report under the heading "Youth killed by Kitskop" in your issue of September 1987 foments or stirs up feelings of hatred in members of the public towards members of a security force by inter alia referring to a police force under control of a local authority as terrorists (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (d) Under the heading "Sam Khan - a fighter to the end" in the September 1987 issue, the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation is being promoted by giving positive publicity to a leader of the unlawful SACP (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (e) The letter by the "Football Crazy Comrade" in your issue of September 1987 promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation by referring to the leaders (symbols) thereof as our leaders (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (f) The report under the heading "'Trojan horse' victims remembered" in your issue of October 1987 stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards a security force by publishing a report about an incident that took place two years ago and by publishing wild unsubstantiated claims referring to soldiers and policemen (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (g) With reference to the report under the heading "Geneva Convention under spotlight" in your issue of October 1987, the following:
 - (i) The report promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation by giving publicity to the signing of the Geneva Convention in 1980 and to the implications of this signing of the convention by Oliver Tambo a leader (symbol) of the unlawful ANC (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).

- (ii) The report promotes or fans revolution or uprisings in the Republic by claiming in a subtle manner prisoner--of-war status for the participants in revolution ("wars of national liberation") (regulation 7A(1)(a)(i)).
- (h) The report under the heading "UDF responds to Police survey in Bonteheuwel" in your issue of October 1987 further stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards a security force by inter alia referring to security action as "harassing" (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (i) The report under the heading "Detentions condemned" in your issue of October 1987 -
 - (i) promotes the public image of unlawful organisations to wit the ANC and SACP by referring to the leaders (symbols) of these organisations in a positive manner (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v));
 - (ii) stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards a security force by publishing unsubstantiated claims of torture by the SA Police and SADF (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)); and
 - (iii) promotes or fans revolution or uprisings in the Republic by attempting to legitimise the participants in revolution (regulation 7A(1)(a)(i)).
- (j) The report under the heading "Cradock Remains United" in the supplement to the October 1987 issue -
 - (i) promotes or fans revolution or uprisings in the Republic by referring to a participant in the revolutionary actions as a "comrade" and a "soldier" (regulation 7A(1)(a)(i)); and

- (ii) stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards a security force by inter alia referring to security action as "raids" and depicting council police as greenflies that beats and threatens people (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (k) Under the heading "Defend, Consolidate Advance says the UDF" your publication in the October 1987 issue stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards the security forces by depicting the security forces as involved in the unlawful brutal repression of people "... through the barrel of a gun" (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (1) With reference to the report under the heading "75,000 Call for Sanctions" together with the relevant photograph in your issue of November 1987 (p.3), the following:
 - (i) This report and photograph promote the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation to wit the ANC by publishing positive support for the ANC and its leader (symbol) (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)); and
 - (ii) This report and photograph promote or fan revolution or uprisings in the Republic by publishing the views of an ANC leader in which the revolutionary armed struggle is "legitimised" (regulation 7A(1)(a)(i)).
- (m) In "Grassroots comment" in your November 1987 issue under the heading "We salute Govan Mbeki" the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation is promoted by saluting a leader (symbol) of the ANC as "... a true leader of our people" (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).

- (n) In the November 1987 issue under the heading "Mbeki's release: A great victory for the people" the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation is promoted by giving positive publicity to the leaders (symbols) of the ANC (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (o) The report in the November 1987 issue under the heading "ANC man released after 9 years on Robben Island" (p.7) promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation by giving positive publicity to a leader (symbol) of the ANC to wit Nelson Mandela (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (p) In the December 1987 issue under the heading "Mbeki will speak 14 December 1987 Good Hope Centre" the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation is promoted by the publishing of two photographs as well as a report under the heading "A huge welcome for Mbeki" on the front page of your publication (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)). The photographs and the report give positive publicity to a leader (symbol) of the ANC and are calculated to encourage people to attend the meeting he was about to address.
- (q) The report in the December 1987 issue "Sayco under attack" creates the impression that the lives of people in detention are in danger and in doing so this report stirs up or foments feelings of hatred in members of the public towards the security forces (regulation 7A(1)(a)(iv)).
- (r) The heading (December 1987 issue) "Mandela wins vote" together with the photograph which claims that 25 million Vote for Mandela, a leader (symbol) of the ANC, promotes the public image or esteem of this unlawful organisation (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (s) In the December 1987 issue under the heading "Defend, Consolidate Advance to People's power" the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation, the ANC, is promoted by referring in this report to a leader (symbol) of this organisation as "... one of the great leades (sic) ..." and as our leader (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).

- (t) The report in the December 1987 issue under the heading "Every youth a congress member" promotes or fans revolution or uprisings in the Republic by attempting to legitimise violence, revolution and the participants ("... our comrades on death row ..." and "... our comrades in prison ...") therein (regulation 7A(1)(a)(i)). In the report "... revolutionary greetings ..." is sent to these comrades.
- (u) Positive publicity is also given to the ANC in the February 1988 issue on the front page, under the heading "ANC calls for unity" In publishing such a statement, which can be regarded as a press release, of an unlawful organisation the public image or esteem of this organisation is promoted (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (v) In the February 1988 issue under the heading "Freedom songs in the land of van Riebeeck" your publication refers in a positive manner to the participation of the ANC in a "cultural festival" in the Netherlands and in doing so promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).
- (w) A letter under the heading "State propaganda on the increase" in the February 1988 issue promotes the public image or esteem of an unlawful organisation by referring to some of its leaders (symbols) as our leaders (regulation 7A(1)(a)(v)).