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## THE OPINION MAKERS

The Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. B.J. Vorster, speaking at the tiny Free State town of Koffiefontein on Friday, August 11, 1967, made an announcement which came as a great surprise.

He said that he had instructed his legal advisers to draw up legislation that would make it possible to take action against newspapers publishing untrue or distorted reports.

The Prime Minister explained: "I warned the newspapers before the last general election to discipline themselves, but they have taken no notice of my advice."

Heavy fines would be imposed, he said on newspaper companies whose employees were guilty of offending in terms of the proposed legislation.

As was only to be expected, Mr. Vorster's announcement was followed by a loud outcry in the South African Press, echoed by newspapers in many parts of the world.

Speaking in Durban a few days later, Mr. Vorster denied that he had any plans to muzzle the Press, and he explained that what he had in mind was the setting up of an independent tribunal which would, as he put it, "deal with ascertainable, factual lies in newspapers and pamphlets."

The publication of *The Opinion Makers* at this time is, therefore, most timely and should contribute something to the "fruitful discussion" which the Prime Minister suggested, supplying information and insights which the newspapers themselves cannot be expected to supply.

Indeed, this was the main purpose which the author had in mind when he began to write this book — that of drawing attention to one of the biggest unreported news stories of our times, the story about the Press itself.

Newspapers, whose self-appointed task it is to turn a glaring beam of publicity on any aspect of the contemporary scene which they consider newsworthy, are themselves agonisingly sensitive to light. Always eager advocates of debate or dialogue (as they now like to call it), there is nothing they hate and fear more than a debate in which they have themselves become the subject matter.

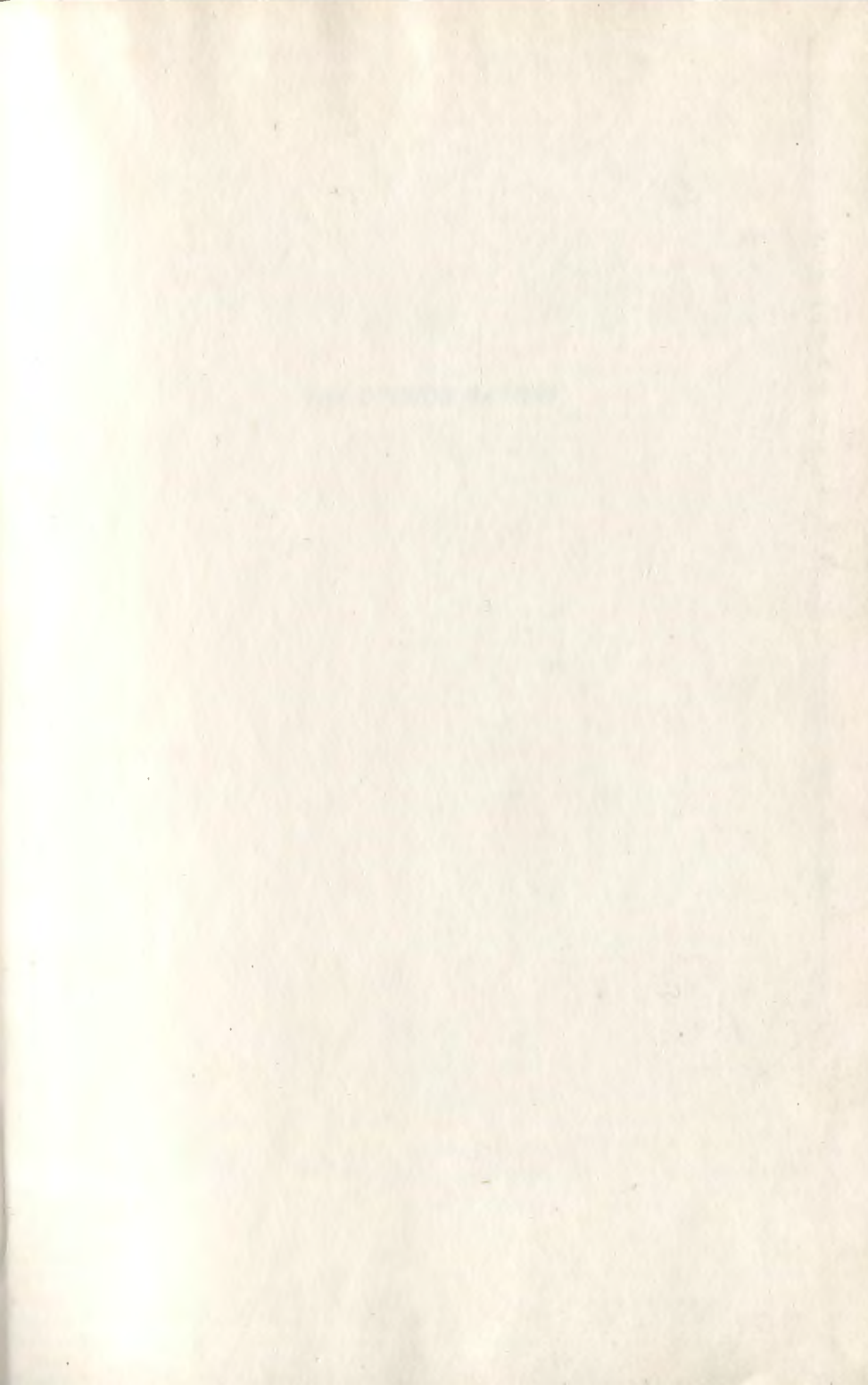
The result has been the creation of an almost impenetrable curtain of secrecy around the Press, its purpose, its methods and its activities.







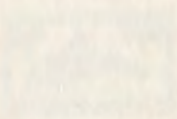






# The Opinion Makers

**THE OPINION MAKERS**

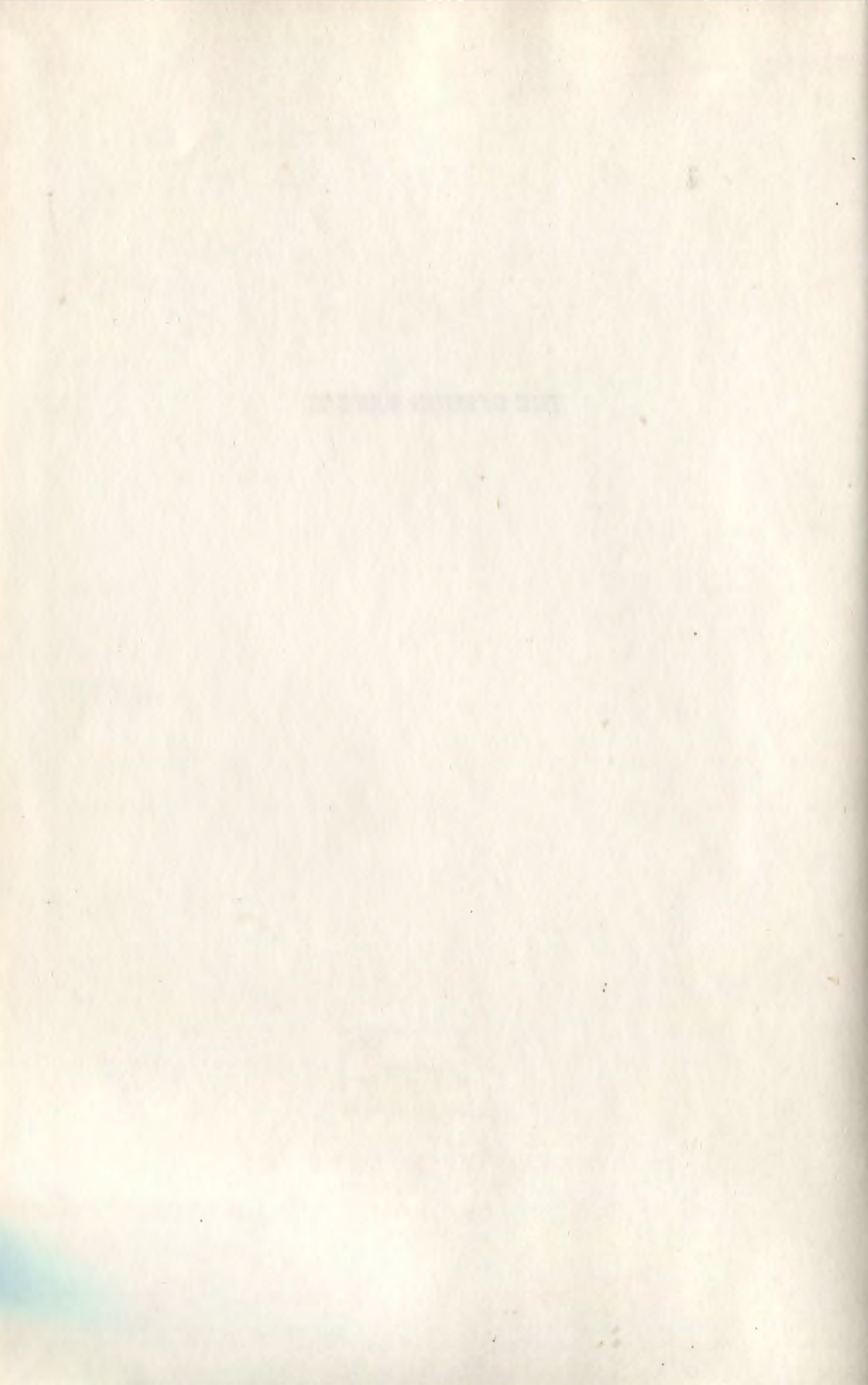


Published by the

University of Chicago Press

Chicago, Ill.





# The Opinion Makers

*by*  
**IVOR BENSON**



**DOLPHIN PRESS (PTY.) LTD.**  
709 President Centre,  
Pretorius Street,  
Pretoria.

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## PREFACE

I judge that a growing mass of people today are sensing the presence of "Invisible Government" in their affairs and suspecting that today's Western governments (particularly the British and American ones) have come under some occult influence which diverts their actions away from national interest and towards "World Government". This plan, plot or conspiracy (as you like it) has borrowed the once respectable name of "Liberalism" and is indistinguishable from original Leninism. The root idea is to break down all national boundaries, nationhoods and differences between peoples and so to clear the ground for the "World Authority" with its supreme headquarters, regional despots, polyglot armies and dispersed nations.

The most powerful weapon in the pursuit of this aim is control of The Press (and its ancillary media, radio and television). In recent decades control of The Press has been progressively extended until a condition of almost total uniformity has been reached in that area which the Opinion Makers instruct the masses to call "the free world".

In *The Opinion Makers* Mr. Benson makes a foray (the first, I think) into this central mystery of our time.

The Leninist ideal of "uniformity" was achieved through the power of a dictatorial state. The success obtained by different methods (for forcible ones were not possible in the West) is an extraordinary and formidable thing (for the denizens of the Free World still imagine they have "a free Press"! ). In fact, today's version of "Liberalism" (as expressed in the constant clamour for war at its headquarters, the Whited Sepulchre in New York) is purveyed by nearly all mass-circulation newspapers of the West today.

The days of rival editors (like those of Eatanswill) fiercely competing for the public mind, of Whig-or-Tory, Republican-or-Democrat, Protection-or-Free Trade organs have gone. Now all speak with one voice. The same fervour for "Liberalism" is to be found in leading journals in the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.



How has it been done? The one common factor discovered by the researcher is that Big Money controls the mass-circulation journals today: ergo, Big Money desires "Liberalism", the ultimate aim of which is that of original Leninism: the one-world-slave-state.

This phenomenon of our times has led to the virtual disappearance of the true journalist. Journalists nowadays do not stay in journalism because they cannot abide the servitude. The old giants, who plied a doughty and independent pen until the end of their days, are gone. Few editors today can offer independent opinions. Most must submit to the paramount dogma or cease to be editor.

"It is inevitable, and has not been denied, that the chief proprietor of a chain (of newspapers) can ensure that all the papers belonging to the chain adopt broadly the same policy on national issues . . . The proprietor's authority may be expressed merely in the choice of an editor who can be relied upon to produce a paper of a given kind. It may be expressed in an insistence on the adoption of a particular view of the importance of certain topics, and on the news values and policies which flow from such a view" (the Royal Commission on the British Press in 1949, quoted by Mr. Benson).

"In general the political views expressed by a national daily newspaper are those of the proprietor" (the British Central Office of Information, November 1947, also quoted by Mr. Benson).

This state of affairs, I may interpolate, has extended beyond newspapers to book-publishing and even bookselling. Since the last war a hundred books propagating the "Liberal" version of events have appeared for every one of a contrary nature (this is my estimate, but I think a sound one). Leading publishers have become scared by the outcry of "racialism" and "bigotry" from critics who would not remain critics unless they toed The Line, to issue anything upholding familyhood, kinship, nationhood or the Christian principle. As to booksellers, I personally know of a leading chain of bookstores which "vets" books before ordering them and will not stock books which cross The Line unless forced thereto by public demand.

Concurrently with this political uniformity has come an abysmal change in standards. A reputable writer, in my day, was free within three unwritten, but universally respected, rules: no blasphemy, sedition or obscenity. A publisher known to me was convicted, some three decades ago, for publishing an obscene work because, in one seven-word sentence, it made a veiled, implicit allusion to a Lesbian relationship. The same

publisher today, if he wished, could without hindrance publish a shelf-full of books on sexual perversion, all dressed in the language of obscenity.

To revert to the main theme, The Press, I believe the public masses are beginning to awaken because, of late, a few books have forced their way into print which expose the evil, in one aspect or another. Still the big publishing houses hold back and these writers achieve print, usually, only through small firms which are willing to "take a chance" in the hope that it may lead on to fortune (as well it may, for the tide of public feeling is turning against the occult thrall). Of these single-handed efforts, which are getting through to the public masses are such books as *The Fearful Master*, *None Dare Call It Treason*, *The Invisible Government*, *The Puppeteers*, *The Glass Lie*, *Fabric of Terror* and now Mr. Ivor Benson's *The Opinion Makers*.

Mr. Benson's is the first attempt, known to me, to go down to the root of the mystery of "ownership", "proprietorship" and "control" and to discover who are the Opinion Makers, these Brainwashers-plus who seek to mould the public mind for an ulterior purpose.

His task is one of the greatest difficulty because of the maze of concealment which surrounds this Bluebeard's Chamber. I recall that during the Second War Mr. Churchill's government at one stage became sufficiently perturbed by the doings of a mass-circulation daily (the *Daily Mirror*) to order an investigation of the proprietorship. The results, announced in the Commons (and available in Hansard still to any diligent researcher) merely made mystery more mysterious: the list of interlocking holding companies, nominees and the like meant nothing.

Nothing daunted, Mr. Benson has set out on this quest (the report relates chiefly to Southern Africa but the condition now general throughout The West is similar and the picture he gives may be taken by readers as a fair sample of the whole).

The quest is of such intricate complexity that, despite Mr. Benson's extraordinary industry in research and his immense effort of exploration, the reader cannot put a finger on any line and say, "This is the man" or "These are the men"; the interlocking ramifications are too many, and one might as well seek the beginning or end of an arabesque. But he *can* reach one indisputable conclusion: that "control" lies with Big Money, and that Big Money desires the denouement: World Government. (To those simple folk who ask ever and



again, Why should Big Money want to promote a revolution inherently destructive, the answer is: power is more than wealth and commands all sources of wealth).

Mr. Benson and I, I judge from the résumé of his career, are both refugees from The Press of our day. We are both of those who could not abide the servitude, he in his generation and I in my earlier one. I shook the dust of it from my shoes in 1938 when I quit journalism (and an anonymity which I preferred) to utter in a book (and thus gain an unwelcome publicity) the obvious platitude that Hitler was about to make war. This was anathema at the time to many who inveigh loudly against "Hitlerism" today, and I was much reviled as "a Red".

In the later decade, when I proved to be a writer of implacably conservative conviction, I was "smeared" right out of the market as a "fascist", "racialist" and the like, and never wrote again, after the early 1950's, until the Iron Curtain of falsehood around Rhodesia, which was set up by "Liberalism" in The West, provoked me, a second time, to venture into the lists.

Mr. Benson's experience, I judge, is approximately similar. He has fought a long lone battle for truth from whatever loophole in the obstructions he could find. He has scored some notable hits and successes in this campaign and now, with native courage and industry, has brought a bazooka to bear on the central strongpoint of mass-misinformation and obfuscation; the place where Opinion is made.

I hope his book will enlighten many readers about the way in which the mass-mind is moulded, and why (by the way, The Press calls it "world opinion"). Remember that, the next time you encounter the phrase, good readers. This book should show that what the public is told is not what it should know, but what it is desired to think by The Opinion Makers.

DOUGLAS REED.



## BATTLE GROUND OF THE MIND



## CHAPTER 1

# BATTLE GROUND OF THE MIND

*Let us only suffer any person to tell us his story, morning and evening, but for a twelvemonth, and he will become our master. — Edmund Burke.*

---

This book on Information, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare is addressed to the individual.\*

The purpose of it is to help him to fortify his mind against the Opinion Makers, those who manufacture public opinion in the mass, for the furtherance of their own political ends.

The purpose of it is to help the individual to come by an opinion which he can properly call his own.<sup>10, 35</sup>

If he can form an opinion of his own, it is more likely to promote his own interests, both as an individual and as a member of his community.

And if he cannot form an opinion of his own, he will have one given to him by the Opinion Makers.

An opinion given to him may not always be entirely bad — if it were so he would soon know — but it is primarily designed to further the purposes of the Opinion Makers on all important political issues.

And the purposes of the Opinion Makers in Southern Africa today are diametrically opposed to those of the individuals who make up the population of this large and strategically placed portion of the earth's surface.

The people of South Africa and Rhodesia need to be warned — and armed — against the Opinion Makers who have a set of purposes which the ordinary individual finds

\* It should be clearly understood that the word "individual" is used in its original, undefiled sense to mean One Person, as distinct from Society or Community. It does not mean the Leftists' "fragment of mankind", something to be moulded with the rest, "according to plan", but the Person who, whether he knows it or not, is responsible and answerable for what he does or allows others to do with him, answerable to himself, his family, his community and his God.

hard to understand, because they have to do with the world-wide power struggles of our times.

Hence this book — addressed not to the masses who would not understand it, but to the individual who has already begun to suspect that there is something wrong with some of the services of information he has been getting.

It is the minority of individuals, willing and able to take on the burden and responsibility of forming genuine opinions, who determine the fate of a nation.

We must make sure that we have enough of them.

They are needed in politics.

They are needed in the public communications media, like newspapers and broadcasting services which genuinely try to supply the community with the information and guidance it needs.

They are needed in the professions which must always be expected to supply a nation with a large proportion of its leadership material.

They are needed in the schools and universities and in the churches — in all the places where the ordinary man goes to seek an enlargement of his powers and a deepening of his consciousness.

Tough, resilient, highly developed individuals are needed no less in commerce and industry; and they cannot have these qualities until they have learned life's first lesson: that we are no more than we know and understand.

Before all else, we need to know and understand — and that means knowing how to get at and interpret information.

It all starts with the individual; his acceptance of full responsibility and answerability for the opinions he calls his own.

It needs only a few individuals who insist on getting to the bottom of things, who insist on tracking down and studying "the other point of view", and the healthy tone of a society is assured, along with its safety.

The end result is a collective public opinion that is tough, sophisticated, habitually critical and alert against hostile Opinion Makers — in short, a genuine public opinion in contrast to a brain-washed, manipulated public mind.

The need for more information about Information and a tearing down of the Iron Curtain with which the Opinion Makers have surrounded this subject should be obvious at a time like this when the people of South Africa and Rhodesia are at the receiving end of a world-wide campaign of propaganda and psychological warfare, conducted from without and



from within.

The best remedy is not an answering propaganda, the substitution of one state of brain-washed persuasion for another, but rather the building up of a tough public mind, thoroughly alert to the danger and ever on its guard against attractive, ready-made opinions — especially those which rationalise and flatter cowardice and weakness.

Under the blasts of hostile propaganda, the people of South Africa and Rhodesia must acquire a resistance.

There are clear signs that this is already happening. Wherever the Opinion Makers of the Liberal Establishment are at work, in all countries of the Western world, thoughtful and intelligent people are becoming increasingly suspicious and distrustful of the mass media which supply the so-called public opinion, pretending always to reflect it.

In South Africa and Rhodesia there have been important political developments in recent years in open defiance of the Opinion Makers.

Efforts by a powerful section of the South African Press in 1961 to launch a Progressive Party as an alternative to the United Party which had been abandoned as being incurably conservative, ended in almost total failure. Only one Progressive candidate was returned to Parliament in what was probably the costliest election campaign in the history of South African politics.

Rhodesians, taking to heart the painful lessons of the Federation era, produced a new political party, the Rhodesian Front, from the grass roots and elected a government of their own in defiance of a powerful Press which had dictated their political thinking from the days of the Chartered Company.

It is hoped that this book will help to promote a healthy process that must be seen as profoundly organic in character.

Nature is beginning to fight back.

But it is a race against time. We must do all we can to hasten a natural process. We must understand what has been happening to us; what is happening; what could happen.

The urgency of the task partly explains the character of this book. It is a throwing-together in a more permanent, more accessible form, of a number of broadcast talks and articles and public addresses dealing with the subject of Information, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare in the context of the cold war in which both South Africa and Rhodesia are involved.

If a hasty treatment of a complex subject leaves something to be desired, the alternative might have been a book much delayed — or no book at all.

Where the purpose is not to tell readers all about Opinion and the Opinion Makers, but rather to quicken interest in a subject of national importance and to stir the individual to inquire and to make the best use of his own mind, it could even be argued that pot shots at the subject from different angles are likely to achieve more than a scholarly analysis.

If there has not been time enough for a textbook on Information, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare, there has at least been time for a quick, escorted tour of portions of a battleground still littered with the political corpses and debris of the last three or four years.

We need to be able to distinguish clearly between the two kinds of "information" which reach the people of Southern Africa — the real information which they need and which has been sought out and interpreted from a viewpoint centred in their own interests and values; and the other, propaganda, tendentious news reporting and persuasion, designed primarily to promote the political purposes of those who supply it.

Examples, however, speak louder than generalisations.

Let us consider for a moment how an important section of the English-language Press in South Africa told the story of the escape from Marshall Square Police Headquarters, Johannesburg, of Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe, two of the leading spirits in the Communist conspiracy of 1963 which was uncovered when the police swooped on a country residence at Rivonia.

In much of this reporting Goldreich and Wolpe and their relatives and friends were presented in a sympathetic light, and the police who had to deal with them were frequently presented as being harsh and cruel.

One of the favourite tricks of certain English-language newspapers was to try to arouse public sympathy for the hunted men by trailing two babies before the attention of their readers.

Here is the story as I told it at the time in a radio talk:

"How cleverly and innocently these babies were interposed between the public mind and the missing men! There was Mrs. Wolpe's baby and Mrs. Mulla's baby and, for good measure, we were told that Mrs. Mulla was expecting another baby.

"*The Daily Mail* had two baby pictures on the same page in a news story about four men sought by the police. Bless me if the *Mail* didn't turn up a couple of days later with another baby — still unborn. Mrs. Kantor, the wife of another man detained under the General Law Amendment Act, is also expecting a baby! Why did they stop there, I wonder? Are



none of the policemen's wives expecting babies?

"Then there was the story about Mrs. Wolpe having had her face slapped by the police. This was not presented as a rumour but as an allegation supported with two affidavits — an affidavit, by the way, is a sworn statement.

"Not only was Mrs. Wolpe quoted as saying that her face had been slapped, but readers were given the circumstantial detail that she lowered her voice as she made this allegation. When a full enquiry was called for by the Minister, what happened? Mrs. Wolpe denied she had ever made such a statement. But now the *Mail* carried another well-written interview with Mrs. Wolpe again exhibiting the police in a most unfavourable light.

"There is no telling who originates an untrue story like that of the face-slapping. But more of them we shall certainly have. Because they pay off. The story may be denied, as often it is bound to be, but those who launch these stories know that sympathy once evoked is not easily cancelled or set in reverse. Therefore it always pays certain people to make a bid for public sympathy by the use of such devices."

The newspapers knew perfectly well that public sympathy was overwhelmingly on the side of the police; indeed, the police were astonished by the number of offers of help they received from the public in their efforts to track down the missing men.

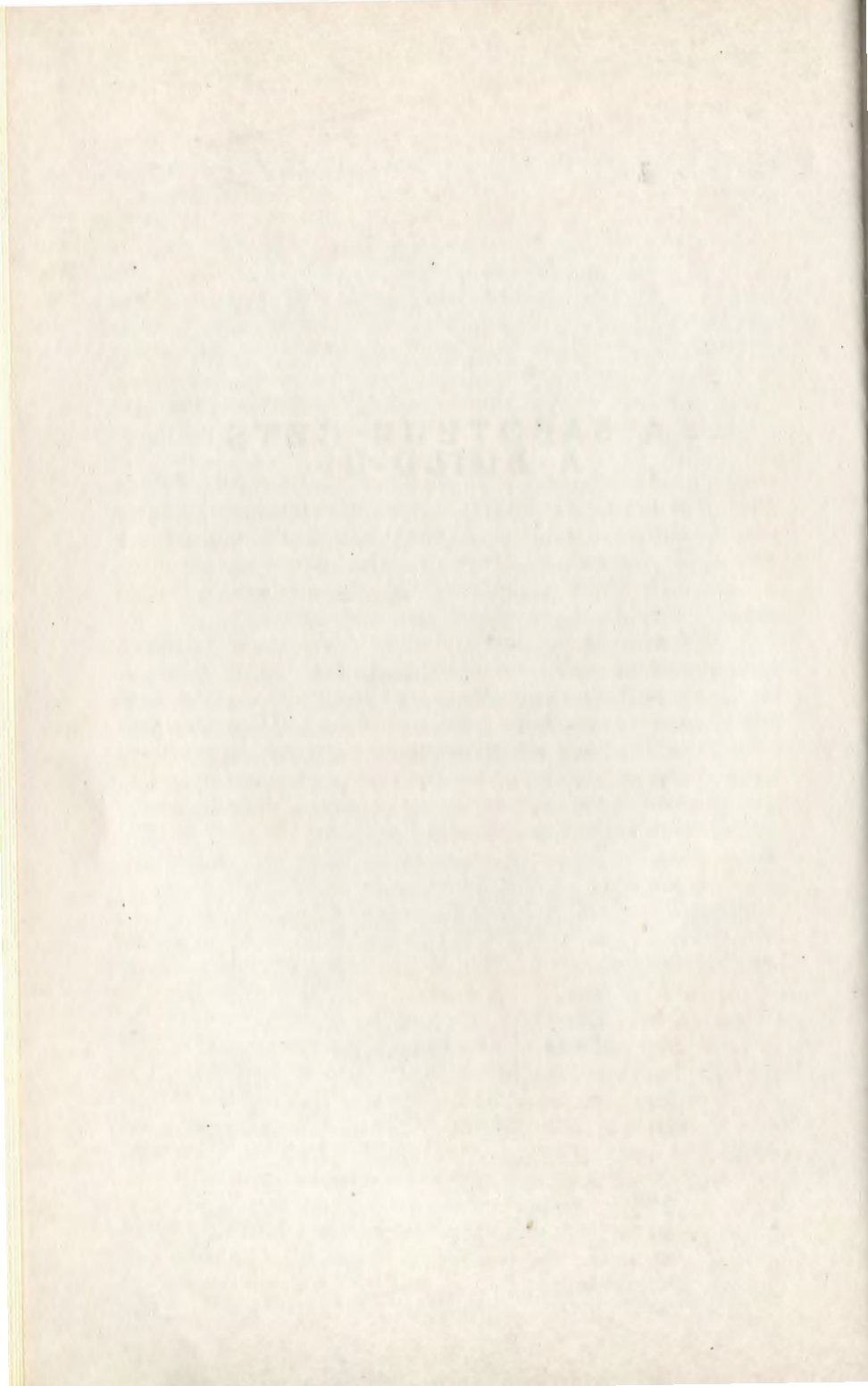
Yet newspapers which habitually claim to mirror public opinion and sentiment did not, either in their news columns or their leading articles, reflect the public mood over the escape of the two Communist conspirators.

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## A SABOTEUR GETS A BUILD-UP



## CHAPTER 2

### A SABOTEUR GETS A BUILD-UP

*A section of our Press is doing a magnificent job.*  
— Abram Fischer (South African Communist leader).

The policy of trying consistently to disarm public hostility and to win sympathy for South Africa's most dangerous enemies was demonstrated again in the case of Frederick John Harris, found guilty and executed for the Johannesburg station bomb outrage in which an elderly woman was killed and a child severely injured.

Newspapers which had for years given Harris the maximum of publicity and encouragement in his efforts to embarrass the South African Government and people in the realm of international sport now did their best to explain his monstrous crime as a "mistake" and to represent the killer as an idealist and a martyr to a noble cause. One newspaper even compared him with one of the heroes of South African history.

The subject was ventilated in an article of mine in *The South African Observer* in its issue of May 1965 reproduced in full below.

\*     \*     \*

ON March 17 this year, the Mayor of Kitwe, Zambia, moved in the town council that two of the principal streets should be renamed in honour of the men who were hanged for the murder of Mrs. Lilian Burton in 1960.

The crime of which the two men were convicted is still painfully fresh in our memories.

The man who found Mrs. Burton and her two children on the Mufulira road on May 8 after their car had been stoned and set alight by a Native mob, with the occupants still inside, later described in court the condition in which he found the 39-year-old mother:

"She was screaming all the time and was holding a small piece of cloth in front of her. She was naked apart from that. She was severely burnt all over and her face was terrible to

look at. Lumps of her hair had been pulled out."

It was the two principal perpetrators of this monstrous crime whom the Mayor of Kitwe was now proposing to honour as national heroes and martyrs.

It was felt, he explained, that they had contributed to Zambia's struggle for freedom and should be remembered by posterity as men who had died for an ideal.

Similar efforts have been made by certain English-language newspapers in South Africa to make a martyr and national hero of Frederick John Harris, the 27-year-old school teacher who was hanged in Pretoria in April for the murder of 78-year-old Mrs. Ethel Rhys in the Johannesburg station bomb outrage towards the end of last year.

If some of these newspapers had been party to the crime — which, of course, they were not — they could not have done more to shield Harris from public indignation and to exhibit him, as in the case of the Zambia affair, as a brave man who died in the service of a noble cause.

Every persuasive device has been used to induce the people of South Africa to feel sorry for the killer, a potential mass murderer, and to plant in their minds the notion that he was motivated by pure idealism.

Take this sample from an article in the Johannesburg *Sunday Chronicle*, a newspaper owned jointly by the powerful Argus Company and the South African Associated Newspapers, a couple of days before the execution:

"Young Davey Harris chomps nonchalantly on an apple, cooing with pleasure as the juice wets his chin. Behind him and beyond the reaches of his infant mind, a clock ticks its life away. The sound reaches Mrs. Ann Harris at her place of vigil next to the playpen. She glances automatically at her left wrist."

The theme of course is that Harris's last moments were also ticking away and the reader is invited to imagine himself in a similar situation.

The killer's innocent baby son was thrust before the reader's attention twice again in the course of a short article — for fear, possibly, that his attention might be invaded by thoughts about other innocent victims of circumstances, the children who received severe burns and disfiguration in the station explosion.

There is nothing like a baby for evoking sympathy: "Mrs. Harris stretches forward to retrieve an over-sized chunk of apple from nine-months-old Davey's mouth. Then she continues: 'I go to the jail every day . . .'"

And occupying more space than the entire article was a



huge picture of Mrs. Ann Harris — again with the baby, of course.

"Idealism led Harris to Bomb Action," cried the *Pretoria News* in a two-column heading over a report of Harris's unsuccessful plea for clemency.

"He died with a political song on his lips," reported the *Rand Daily Mail* on April 2; 'although first reports said he had sung a hymn. A Roman Catholic chaplain who was present near the end said afterwards: 'He had no last wish or message'."

Several other newspapers mentioned this political song which the *Mail* described as the American freedom riders' song, "We Shall Overcome". This being the song adopted by the "Civil Rights" movement in the U.S., it could naturally be expected to have had a strong appeal to non-White agitator elements in South Africa.

The *Cape Argus* also got into the act. In a prominently-placed letter from a reader, we learned from the *Cape Argus*:

"Perhaps Harris will be best remembered by English-speaking South Africans as the brilliant schoolboy genius who brought countless hours of enjoyment to so many listeners of the mid-1950's on the schoolchild Radio Quiz programme."

The suggestion, of course, is that the man should not be remembered as the killer who planted a great bomb on a crowded station concourse.

Harris's co-conspirators in the bomb-outrage, now safely out of reach of the law, could have asked for nothing more sympathetic than the article which appeared in the *Sunday Times* on April 4, occupying half a page, with, of course, another picture of Mrs. Harris and her baby.

"My last hours . . . and my life . . . with John Harris," said the heading across six columns.

Nothing was left unsaid that might help to exonerate the killer from blame and establish him in the public mind as a man who "had died for his beliefs":

"He faced death bravely. Our last two days were calm and strangely happy. I am told that John died without bitterness. He died deeply regretting the harm that had come to the innocent victims of his act. He died forgiving the treatment meted out to him while he was detained. He held no malice towards his former friends and colleagues who gave evidence against him when they appeared as state witnesses in the case."

The message of the *Sunday Times* article is clear: Harris was a saintly sort of person. And again: "John did not plan things to turn out as they did. He told me repeatedly that he

had meant this as a demonstration and that he could not understand why things had gone wrong."

Again the message is clear: The placing of a massive time-bomb close to where people were sitting in the busy station concourse, at a busy time, was not really a crime — only an unfortunate mistake!

This kind of handling of the news was, of course, only to be expected from newspapers which, all down the years, have promoted the same sort of "ideals" for which Harris lived and died — always, however, with less danger to themselves.

No intelligent observer would suggest that these newspapers or their owners want to see a Communist take-over in South Africa. Far from it! What they want is a Liberal take-over! But in the meantime both Liberals and Communists have a common interest in opposing a national and conservative government — hence the confused and often misleading picture of a partnership between the two.

They speak quite often as if they speak from the same camp, and the Communists — even those in Moscow — make no secret of the fact that these so-called "progressive forces" are promoting a Communist cause.

Communist literature everywhere is filled with references to the need to work with and harness the zeal of the "progressives".

Not surprisingly the United Nations spokesman of Communist-dominated Guinea came right into the open and hailed Harris as "a martyr" as did Communist newspapers and radio stations all round the world.

Moscow Radio, East Berlin Radio and the Russian newspapers "Pravda" and "Izvestia" all took much the same line as leading South African newspapers, all representing Harris as a man who had died for a noble cause.

They made no bones about it — they called it the Communist cause.

One Moscow commentator, for example, took the line that the station bombing was all arranged by the police:

"It is my opinion that the police had special orders to fabricate an especially horrible act of sabotage and to charge a prominent opponent of apartheid with the crime . . . their choice fell on Harris."

The significant fact that emerges is that apart from such wildly improbably flights of fancy, certain South African newspapers on the one hand, and Communist organs of opinion abroad, were very much in phase on the subject of John Harris, all alike seeing him as a martyr in the cause of "progress".



Certainly there are few signs of any antagonism between Communism and the Big Money Press. They work together very well. The one says openly that it wants revolution here and now. The other wants no struggle against Communism, only a "dialogue" — something which could not suit Communism better.

They do not represent revolution and anti-revolution but only two different phases of the same social, economic and intellectual revolution, each with its own tempo and its own set of priorities.

An important section of the South African Press does everything that could be required of it by the Communist conspirators — always, however, just this side of self-incrimination. That is the effect of its policies, however innocent and well-meaning its owners and the journalists it employs.

The lesson of the last few years, which the Harris case merely underlines, is that this Press and the groups and individuals it promotes and encourages, do not constitute a legitimate opposition as provided for in our democratic constitution, but are an alien, hostile intrusion, threatening the integrity and very existence of our nation.

The official Parliamentary Opposition admits almost as much — at long last! Was it not Mr. Henry Tucker, the Transvaal chairman of the United Party who said that his party lacked three things — party workers, money *and a Press!*

We must expect that the reality of this situation will become increasingly apparent in the months ahead as the men of Big Money and the world Communist conspiracy, rivals in their furious antagonism to the politics of local patriotism, step up their pressures on South Africa and Rhodesia.

Our people will cease to ask in astonishment: "What game are these newspapers playing?"

They will know — and they will demand appropriate action.

They will know, for example, what the East London *Daily Dispatch* means when it prints, as it did on January 26, what is described as "a striking, symbolic picture of James Ochwata, a Congolese rebel, who is reported to be recruiting mercenaries in Kenya to help the rebel fighting forces in the Congo".

This rebel, whom the *Daily Dispatch* finds so inspiring is pictured (across three columns) under a huge portrait of Jomo Kenyatta; while on the other side of the same page, just for good measure, is a four-column picture of the rebel Congo "leaders" at a Press conference.

And all part of the "African Edition" of the *Daily Dispatch* for circulation in the Transkei!

Certainly the newspapers are cleverer at keeping out of trouble than some of their intellectually and spiritually sick counterparts on the university campus.

During the past two years a total of 87 students, ex-students and lecturers of English-language universities in South Africa clashed with the law as a result of activities aimed at undermining South Africa's state authority, in terms of the 90-day clause.

A survey shows that in a list of 75 cases on which judgment was passed, the University of the Witwatersrand supplied 30. Next came Cape Town with 20. Rhodes had 12, Natal 6 and Fort Hare 2 (while it was still under control of Rhodes University). There were twelve people whose university background could not be determined with certainty, although they had had higher education.

Stellenbosch was the only Afrikaans university yielding a person in the above category. He was sent to prison for attempting to blow up the Hospital Hill police station.

Many of the names on the list have been those of prominent members of Nusas (National Union of South African Students).

The impudence of the Leftist Press is matched only by the impudence of the Leftist academician.

Thus we find Professor I. D. MacCrone, Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, deploring what he calls the "smear campaign" against Wits, while admitting with his next breath "the involvement of four members of the academic staff and some dozen students in acts of sabotage".

In a classic example of confused thinking, the learned professor describes recent criticism of the university and of the student body as "childish and nonsensical", and a moment later he expresses the hope that NUSAS has been taught "a sharp lesson" through the "folly and ineptitude of some of its leaders".

If there is another important lesson to be learned from the events of the last few months, including the various sabotage and subversion trials, and capped by the station bombing, it is that our country's real enemies, both the internal ones and external ones, are White; and that in this much publicised struggle of the "oppressed Bantu", the Black man never was anything more than a pawn in a revolutionary game which Liberals and the men of Big Money, hypnotised by their own aims and "ideals", do not seem to be able to understand.



And yet another lesson South Africans will have to learn quickly, is that there is no place for moderation in this fight to maintain our racial and national integrity.

There are no moderates in the camps of our Liberal and Communist enemies. They want nothing less from us than complete surrender to their equality doctrine and to their new One-World order of race-less and nation-less cosmopolitans.

We are facing the worst kind of extremists in this struggle, and we cannot afford the luxury of moderation, complacency or timidity.

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THE WORLD'S PRESS  
WAS THERE

## CHAPTER 3

# THE WORLD'S PRESS WAS THERE

*Unprecedented opportunity to spread political lies, using ignorance and prejudice, can destroy the critical faculty by competent use of emotionalism till people are agreeably ready to deceive themselves — Sir Philip Mitchell (Governor of Kenya, 1947).*

Instead of generalising about the world Press and trying to analyse it as a world phenomenon, let us rather take a look at the world Press at work on an unforgettable occasion when the spotlight of a thoroughgoing judicial inquiry was turned on it.

I refer to the Southworth Commission, presided over by Mr. Justice Robert Southworth, a British judge, which investigated the reporting by the world's Press of an incident in front of Ryall's Hostel, Blantyre, Nyasaland (now Malawi), on the occasion of the visit of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, towards the end of January, 1960.

Briefly, what happened was this: while the British Prime Minister was being entertained to lunch at Ryall's Hotel, the Nyasaland Police were having a busy time in the street outside trying to control a noisy demonstration by members of Dr. Banda's Malawi Party. The incident was watched by a great contingent of journalists representing the world's biggest newspapers and news agencies.

As one of the reporters himself put it: "The International Press corps was there". These were not ordinary journalists; they were the stars of the profession.

It is important to remember, too, that these journalists were reporting what was happening before their eyes in the bright light of an African noonday in an area which was described by the judge himself as being about one-sixth the size of a football field.

This time, no hearsay, and excusable error reduced to the irreducible minimum!

What the judge had to find out was whether the allegations against "individual officers of the Nyasaland Police or others" were true. That meant, incidentally, that he had to find out whether Press reports dealing with the incidents in front of Ryall's Hotel, reports which were given great prominence in newspapers all around the world, were true or untrue, correct or incorrect.

The report which was presented to the Governor on May 2 may go down in history as one of the most interesting and significant official documents of the century in which we live, for it represents a carefully considered evaluation by a British judge of the performance by an important section of the world Press on an occasion of considerable historic significance — the 1960 journey through Africa by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Harold Macmillan, the journey that culminated in the British Prime Minister's historic "Winds of Change" speech in Cape Town, the speech which marked the commencement of massive political changes all over the continent of Africa.

The commission heard evidence from 81 witnesses. These comprised 10 representatives from the United Kingdom daily Press, 9 representatives from the Press and broadcasting services of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and South Africa, 17 European officers of the Nyasaland Police, 12 African members of the Police force, and a number of other people who were present in front of Ryall's Hotel on January 26.

The evidence of all these witnesses, plus a collection of photographs and cine films taken by professionals and amateurs, made it possible for the commission to produce a clear and unchallenged account of what actually took place.

The Press accounts of what took place are summarised in the following selection of headlines which appeared next day in Britain's leading newspapers:

"Premier sees ugly riot in the sun." (*Daily Express*).

"Riot during Macmillan reception. Nyasaland clash with Africans." (*Daily Telegraph*).

"Rioters clash round Premier. Shaming scenes at Blantyre." (*News-Chronicle*).

"Police blunder starts battle." (*Daily Mirror*).

"Heavy boots on bare feet . . . punches from Police." (*Reynolds News*).

"Blunder at Blantyre. British Police provoke riots on Macmillan visit." (*Daily Mail*).

"Vicious, violent — then came the rain." (*Daily Herald*).



The reports shocked public opinion all around the world. The London *Daily Mail* reporter wrote:

"I watched a sickening spectacle today: a riot provoked by senior British Police officers outside an hotel where Mr. Macmillan was attending a luncheon. This is a bitter thing to say, but I must say it. It was a struggle which any London policeman would have stopped before it began.

"But riot truckloads of pro-Banda demonstrators were arrested, stones were thrown and the Premier's visit was marred by ugly scenes and weeping.

"With the whole of the international Press corps, I watched a leading Blantyre policeman do these things to Africans who never hit back:

"Strike them across the stomachs with his stout, black, unyielding cane;

"Knee Africans who were pleading for symbolic arrest;

"Strike women;

"Deliberately, time after time, stamp on women's bare feet;

"Encourage junior officers to do the same thing, fortunately without success."

Although the newspaper reports differed in many important particulars, the central message of most of them was that the police had behaved with shocking brutality, beating harmless, defenceless people and stamping on their bare feet.

The effect produced in the United Kingdom by the bulk of this reporting was such that, two days after the incident, one British national daily felt duty bound to publish an article with headlines one-and-a-half inches high which screamed to its millions of readers: "Name these guilty men! Stop these bullies once and for all." The article went on:

"Outside Mr. Macmillan's hotel in Blantyre, Nyasaland, a shameful, brutal, unnecessary clash between police and African demonstrators was provoked — by senior British police officers! The Herald demands: Name these men! There is no denying what happened. It took place under the eyes of experienced reporters representing the Herald and other British newspapers . . .

"Such crazy, ignorant, savage behaviour recalls the Hola camp scandal in Kenya. It made certain there was a riot. This man is short, thick-set, about 36 years old, with a short ginger moustache. We want him named. We want him tried. We want to hear his defence, if he has one.

"Name also the officer in charge of the whole operation — the man responsible for this fiasco. This brutal, barbarous,

bullying attitude of mind must be kicked out of our Colonial administration . . . Need we be surprised when hatred builds up in the hearts of friendly Coloured folk when boneheads are let loose to knock them around with batons."

Sweden's *Stockholms Tidningen* using a report from its London correspondent, evidently written up from the reports in the British newspapers, with a few embellishments of his own, wrote:

"The black masses acted calmly and with restraint until white police started to tear their banners away and attack them with truncheons.

"With uncontrolled brutality they whipped the black women and men and received willing assistance from local white civilians . . .

"The incident was also immediately echoed in the English parliament where the Minister for Colonial Affairs had promised the indignant home front to undertake at once an official investigation."

Not only did these reports appear in the British and Swedish Press — they were relayed all over the world and in many cases published under sensational headlines.

When newspapers containing some of these reports reached Blantyre, local residents who had been present while Mr. Macmillan was at lunch, were dumbfounded. Some of them said that at first they were convinced that the reports referred to a wholly different incident which had occurred after they had departed.

The editor of Blantyre's own *Nyasaland Times* published a special article under this heading: "Shameful". This word referred not to the alleged police brutality, but to the reporting, and the local editor relieved his pent-up emotions with paragraphs like these:

"I charge them with the deliberate distortion of facts.

"I charge them with shameful neglect of their duties.

"I charge them with bringing a proud profession into contempt."

One British national daily had a picture on its front page purporting to show an African woman demonstrator being "slapped down by the police". A film of this particular incident left the commission in no doubt that the photograph was taken while a chivalrous white police officer was helping the girl to her feet after she had slipped and fallen.

"Heavy boots on bare feet" — the author of that piece had to admit under cross-examination that the police officers wore the usual regulation light shoes.



The "Black Marias" mentioned by another journalist turned out on closer inspection to be ordinary police jeeps.

One reporter saw "thousands of Africans, followers of the Malawi Congress Party" surging around the hotel to demonstrate before the British Prime Minister.

Another saw only "hundreds of demonstrators" at the same time and place.

The commission's final count, which no one cared to dispute, was "between fifty and eighty, probably nearer fifty".

The "baton-swinging police major" described by one correspondent was proved conclusively to have been carrying only a thin, short, swagger stick.

Here is the commissioner's own summarised account of what actually happened:

"About 800 or a thousand people of all races, for the most part Africans, gathered outside Ryall's Hotel. A group of these, probably something between 30 and 50 in number, exhibited placards and shouted slogans, refusing to remain behind a police cordon along the side of the road. The entire incident took place on a straight stretch of road covering an area less than one-sixth of the size of a football field. These dimensions include the verge of the road where most of the bystanders were assembled, and which is strictly outside the area of the demonstration. The entire episode from beginning to end appears to have occupied not more than forty minutes. As far as can be ascertained, the amount of skin lost by both police and demonstrators as the result of injuries received on this occasion would hardly cover an area of one square-inch, probably no more than the area of a penny postage stamp; and it does not appear that the amount of blood that was shed would be sufficient to test the capacity of an ordinary mustard-spoon. Contemplating the measure of the injuries sustained by the demonstrators, one cannot avoid the reflection that when the face of Helen launched a thousand ships and brought Agamemnon and the great Achilles to the shores of Phrygia, it hardly achieved as much as Miss Phombeya's toe when it brought the paladins of Fleet Street in the aerial Argosies of our day across two continents to appear before your commissioner in the remote highlands of middle Africa."

The commission learned that a most diligent search by all the parties concerned had revealed no worse injury in this "ugly riot" than a small bruise on the toe of one of the women demonstrators which was described in a medical report as being "consistent with a toe having been stubbed against some hard object".

The commissioner also quoted, with obvious approval, the

remark of "a member of the public" in Blantyre to the effect that "after hearing the evidence given before your commissioner and comparing it with newspaper reports of the incident outside Ryall's Hotel, he began to wonder whether there really were any atrocities in Hungary just over three years ago".

The question that will be asked, out of a sense of fairness to the reporters concerned, is whether there were not on that occasion any factors which might help to explain or excuse so many reports that were proved to be widely at variance with the truth of what occurred.

It is far easier to find factors which should have contributed to the highest degree of responsibility and efficiency on the part of the reporters:

1. This time they did not have to depend on information supplied from "usually reliable sources"; they were reporting what took place before their eyes in bright daylight in an area which they could survey at a glance.
2. The occasion was one of obvious historic importance — no less than the African tour by the Prime Minister of Britain.
3. Most of the reports were prepared not by spare-time journalists, or "stringers" as they are called, but by the stars of the journalistic profession, picked men sent with the Prime Minister on his tour, or highly-paid reporters regularly employed on the "Africa beat".

These journalists were, in fact, supplying for the benefit of newspaper readers (and radio listeners) all over the world some of the reporting that accompanied political changes of tremendous consequence to the continent of Africa and, as we now find, to the whole world.

They were helping to create "world opinion" which in turn must influence the policies of governments on matters of the greatest consequence for the future.

An analysis of the reports produced some astonishing results.

One reporter saw "thousands of demonstrators", while others admitted to seeing less than a hundred. One of them described the "eighty or so" demonstrators as "standing amiably there under the eucalyptus trees". His estimate of the numbers was quite good, but he had to admit after having inspected the scene later that there never had been any eucalyptus trees either in front of or beside Ryall's Hotel.

However different in their estimates of the crowd and in their accounts of what actually occurred, the reports, with a few notable exceptions, had a plainly discernible common



denominator; they identified the African demonstrators as "the good guys" and anyone who in any way opposed or discouraged the demonstrators (in most cases the police) as the "bad guys".

There was thus a powerful bias, expressed in terms of sympathy and hostility, running through nearly all the reports: such reports were thus calculated to promote and hasten political change in the direction of the overthrow of the British Colonial administration in this part of the world.

It may well be argued that there is a good case to be made out for the dismantling of the colonial system in Africa, but the task of the Press, according to its own description of its role, is not to serve as a political demolition squad but to supply its readers with accurate, impartial news capable of forming the basis of enlightened political thinking.

The proceedings of the Southworth Commission are mentioned in this discussion of the Press because they constitute a rare modern historical accident: a thorough judicial scrutiny and evaluation of the reporting by a group of the world's leading journalists on an occasion that only too obviously called for the highest standards of responsibility and professional skill.

The report cleared the much-maligned police officers so thoroughly that no newspaper, as far as I know, so much as mentioned the subject of the Blantyre "riot" again, apart from a few brief — very brief — references to the report of the commission.

An entire image of "an ugly riot" in which the police acted with "uncontrolled brutality" handing out punishment on all sides with "heavy boots on bare feet" and "swinging batons and truncheons" simply evaporated under judicial inspection.

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The following are the main points of the report:—  
 1. The Committee has received many suggestions from the public and from the medical profession, and has endeavoured to deal with them in a practical manner.  
 2. The Committee has endeavoured to deal with the suggestions in a practical manner, and has endeavoured to deal with them in a practical manner.

3. The Committee has endeavoured to deal with the suggestions in a practical manner, and has endeavoured to deal with them in a practical manner.  
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19. The Committee has endeavoured to deal with the suggestions in a practical manner, and has endeavoured to deal with them in a practical manner.  
 20. The Committee has endeavoured to deal with the suggestions in a practical manner, and has endeavoured to deal with them in a practical manner.

CHAPTER I

# THE TRUE ROLE OF THE PRESS

The life of the people is the life of the Press. It is the life of the people that the Press is to reflect and to guide. It is the life of the people that the Press is to serve and to protect.

There is no other life than the life of the people. There is no other life than the life of the people. There is no other life than the life of the people.

The people are the life of the Press. The people are the life of the Press. The people are the life of the Press.

It is the life of the people that the Press is to reflect and to guide. It is the life of the people that the Press is to serve and to protect. It is the life of the people that the Press is to reflect and to guide.

It is a simple life in the Press. It is a simple life in the Press. It is a simple life in the Press. It is a simple life in the Press. It is a simple life in the Press.

The press is the life of the people. The press is the life of the people. The press is the life of the people. The press is the life of the people. The press is the life of the people.





## CHAPTER 4

# THE TRUE ROLE OF THE PRESS

*Here shall the Press the people's right maintain,  
Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain;  
Here Patriot truth her glorious precepts draw,  
Pledged to religion, Liberty and Law.*

— *Motto of Salem Register.*

The key to any proper study of the Press is an insight into what the journalists themselves would call the "Press ideal".

Before we can know whether any particular newspaper is doing its job properly, we must first know what it should be doing.

The essential task of the Press in any community is embraced by that phrase — the "Press ideal".

This is what we have in mind when we speak or write about defending the "freedom of the Press". We mean the freedom of the Press to perform its properly appointed task. We do not mean the freedom of the Press to do as it pleases.

It is a simple faith in the "Press ideal", however vaguely comprehended, which gives to the young person taking his first job in a newspaper office the secure feeling that he is entering upon a vocation, that his work is going to be interesting and of service to the thousands or millions who read his newspaper, ensuring for him high status in his community.

The power and prestige of the Press during the last 100 years can be traced in the same way to the notion, ever-present in the public mind, that the Press performs a duty of prime importance, that it is the properly appointed guardian of a whole set of precious public values, that although it must sustain itself commercially, it exists primarily for the purpose of rendering public service and is, therefore, different from other commercial undertakings.

Always present to influence thoughts about the Press and attitudes to the Press, both inside and outside the newspaper offices, is this concept of a "Press ideal" which the public encounters most frequently in the form of slogans and phrases which have to do with the defence and preservation of the "freedom of the Press".

Plainly, therefore, what is needed before there can be any accurate evaluation of any section of the Press as we know it and experience it, or any study of the role of the Press in the modern world, is a simple and clear restatement of the "Press ideal".

In order to produce such a definition or explanation we must begin at the beginning.

And in the beginning we did not have the Press.

But we had information, we had ideas, we had discussion, we had persuasion, we had opinion and opinion-making.

Information is one of the few all-important things in life.

Throughout nature there exists an indissoluble bond between information and action, with the quality, effectiveness, purposefulness or utility of action always dependent on the quality and quantity of the information; and an organism will flourish or perish, or continue to drag out its existence in a state of diminished vitality, according to the quality and quantity of the information it is able to extract from its surroundings and its ability to interpret such information.

The Press is a comparatively recent invention, but the functions it performs or is supposed to perform, are as old as the human race and some of them even older — those of gathering, sifting and interpreting the information which a community must have if it is to survive and unfold its inner possibilities.

A newspaper which is conscientiously performing this task as the loyal servant of the community (and not the servant of sectional interests within the community) can be said to be fulfilling the "Press ideal".

The best and most trustworthy information is that which we can get and process for ourselves. Armed with this kind of information, we act with the utmost firmness and resolution. Our minds are clear. We know what we are doing.

But in modern society, we can get for ourselves only a small proportion of the information we need.

The next best is information supplied by those we know well and have learned to trust.

A Press we have learned to trust can be said to have succeeded reasonably well to live up to the "Press ideal".



In many parts of the world today the Press is not trusted. In too many cases, it has betrayed the "Press ideal". It is not serving the community. It is serving sectional interests in the power struggles of our times.<sup>20, 25, 42, 48, 45</sup>

In too many cases the Press has failed.<sup>16, 27, 49</sup>

But the ideal remains because the task, the duty, the public need for sound information — these remain.

The "Press ideal" can be safe only in the hands of the journalist because it is essentially his ideal, a professional ideal which only he can experience to the full.

When power passes from the journalist to the owner, the "Press ideal" is at once in jeopardy because the owner is under constant temptation to use his Press for other purposes.

The "Press ideal" was never more fully and more frequently fulfilled than in the days when newspapers were small and when the owner and editor were often the same person.

The "Press ideal" was never so grossly or so frequently betrayed as today when the power of the Press means little more than the power of the owner to use it as he pleases.

No aspect of the "Press ideal" is more widely misunderstood than that which has to do with the much-publicised principle of "impartiality".

Some journalists and newspaper owners lose no opportunity of describing themselves as "completely impartial" in the handling of news.

The description is misleading.

No one can be "completely impartial" in that context. A genuine "Press ideal" does not require it.

What it does require before all else is honesty — the honesty of journalists and owners towards themselves and towards the public they claim to serve.

The word "impartiality", as used only too frequently, is a painted lie. It sounds fine; used properly, it stands for something fine. As loosely used by some journalists and newspaper owners it has no clearly defined meaning; it only evokes a feeling of approval; many simple folk salivate to order when they hear it, vaguely associating it with words like "honesty" and "fairness". All "good guys" are "impartial", especially if they happen to be journalists.

A genuine "Press ideal" requires partiality as well as impartiality.

A newspaper and the journalists it employs must stand for something. There must be some things they hold dear and worth defending. There must be some things which have to be deprecated. In short, they must be partial to some interests



and values.

It has always been considered right and proper that a newspaper, like the ordinary citizen, should stand for and be ready to defend the community it serves. That means country and people.

The honest newspaper does not deny partiality. It proclaims it and defines it. Such a newspaper does not have to be afraid, because it knows that its partiality will be endorsed by all or most of its readers. For such is the character of a partisanship that embraces the real interests of the community, that it does not have to hide itself.

Those who betray the "Press ideal" prefer not to declare and define their partiality. They cannot do so without defeating their own purpose, which is to impose on the community opinions and attitudes primarily designed to further sectional interests — although these may, it is true, sometimes coincide with those of the community.

Unable to declare and define their partiality so that their readers can test it against the contents of the newspaper, they seek refuge in the idealistic hocus pocus of an unattainable "complete impartiality".

There are some matters in which every individual and every newspaper must take a stand: or be damned with Danté's guilty ones who were neither for God nor against Him.

The "Press ideal" provides scope for a genuine impartiality to be applied where it is needed.

A newspaper which aims to live up to the "Press ideal" must try always to be impartial in regard to inevitable and legitimate oppositions of interest which are not so deep or so wide that they cannot be embraced by the common interests of the community.

A healthy society requires a certain amount of internal tension. It needs the competition of interests and of ideas. Internal oppositions of this kind liberate energy, generate creative vitality, raising the tone of existence for all.

In a free society of the kind we have and which we are trying to improve rather than to destroy and replace, there must always be such oppositions of interest: as between those who employ and those who are employed, producer and distributor, city and country.

There is even a necessary and inevitable tension between rulers and ruled, between people and government. There are rivalries and oppositions of interest between church and state and even among churches, all healthy rivalries if kept within bounds. The list could be lengthened indefinitely.

In the realm of the mind, in philosophy and religion, too, our kind of society demands the vigorous pitting of ideas against each other as a process most likely to produce the best results for all.

Here is a field in which the newspaper, true to the "Press ideal" does its best to practice "impartiality". It tries to stand aloof and view with a refined professional detachment all those oppositions of interest and values within the community which do not fall outside the scope of a shared loyalty to the community.

In so doing, a newspaper can provide a service of tremendous social significance.

Printing news about all, it breaks down barriers of concealment that tend to rise quite naturally between contending interests or between groups which represent contending ideas and attitudes inside the community.

Everywhere and on all planes, a good newspaper interprets one side to the other. The farmer understands better the viewpoint of the townsman who consumes his products. The employer understands better the viewpoint of the employee, and vice versa. Rulers understand better what is going on in the minds of the ruled. Civil servants take care not to promote their own interests at the expense of the community.

Oppositions of interest, some of them good, some of them not so good, are prevented from deepening and hardening into hostilities which must in the end be harmful to all.

Thus, by applying a policy of impartiality, a newspaper acts like a catalyst, producing out of inevitable rivalries and oppositions of interest, synthesis in the place of conflict, with the end result of a robust society supported by many sound, energetic, enterprising individuals.

Why, then, has the "Press ideal" not been universally realised?

Because the all-too-human owners of newspapers (and other media of mass communication) often prefer to use them differently — to promote personal interests and sectional power interests with which they happen to be associated. And they employ for this purpose disorientated intellectuals, men without a faith, who set in the place of the community and its claims, an abstraction called "humanity", in the process betraying their community and rendering precious little service to mankind.

Let us be fair to these men and honest with ourselves: they are like most of us, neither better nor worse; but they use immense power and they operate in a field where human frailty can have the most appalling consequences.

The danger lies in trusting any group with so much unregulated power.

Self-deceived and self-betrayed, these journalists present to their thousands or millions of readers a confused, contradictory, unintelligible picture of the world, thus helping to spread discouragement and neurosis.

Is it any wonder that so many people to-day are haunted by a sense of the purposelessness of existence and the meaninglessness of life when their minds are shackled to alien purposes, when so many of the meanings put into their minds are other men's meanings serving other men's purposes?

When our activities are truly our own, illuminated by our own knowledge and serving our own true purposes, only then can we enjoy a secure feeling that life is rich and exciting and purposeful.

They betray much who betray a genuine Press ideal.

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## IN THE FAIRYLAND OF OWNERSHIP



## CHAPTER 5

### IN THE FAIRYLAND OF OWNERSHIP

*Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets. — Napoleon.*

If we want to know whether we can trust a particular newspaper, we don't listen to the editor's protestations of disinterestedness, his claim to be the living embodiment of all the loftiest ideals: we track down the owner, trace all his other interests and activities and affiliations.

No matter how sincere an editor might be, no matter how free he might feel, he is, after all, the man chosen for the job by the owner who knows what line he wants to pursue.

In a statement entitled "News and Views", issued in 1957, the British Central Office of Information says:

"In general, the political views expressed by a national daily newspaper are those of the proprietor."

A Royal Commission, reporting on the British Press in 1949, summed it up in these words:

"It is inevitable, and it has not been denied, that the chief proprietor of a chain (of newspapers) can ensure that all the papers belonging to the chain adopt broadly the same policy on national issues and consider local issues from broadly the same point of view . . . The proprietor's authority may be expressed merely in the choice of an editor who can be relied upon to produce a paper of a given kind. It may be expressed in an insistence on the adoption of a particular view of the importance of certain topics, and on the news values and editorial policies which flow from such a view. It may be expressed in close participation in day-to-day editorial decisions."

In the history of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company (*Today's News Today*, page 269) it is written that the policy of the paper is, that laid down by the directors, and



they have the right "when necessity arises" of giving specific instructions.

This is true for Britain, South Africa or any country in the world. It is the owner, not the editor who decides how a newspaper shall be used — and against what and whom. But to "track down" the owner of a certain kind of newspaper is more easily said than done.

Anyone can find a needle in a haystack: it only requires time and patience. But it needs a superhuman courage and pertinacity to try to penetrate the great pyramid of companies and trusts in which somewhere the real owners of the principal South African and Rhodesian newspapers lie hidden.

Who, for instance, controls the *Cape Times*?

The Press Commission in South Africa, with all its resources and statutory powers could give us no more definite answer than this:

"It would appear, however, that the Syfret's Trust Co. Ltd., from the nature of its business and its past relationship with the *Cape Times* could possibly, if it wished, control the *Cape Times* Ltd."

This much we do know, both Syfret's Trust and the *Cape Times* had at the time of writing the same man as chairman — Mr. Clive Corder.

Today, however, it does not follow that the chairman of a great commercial organisation is the real boss. He may be a mere servant, like the directors of so many of the mining and finance companies, nominated representatives, men with delegated powers and always under supervision and direction.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the secrecy which surrounds the ownership and ultimate control of many of the most powerful modern media of mass communication is inseparable from the kind of influence which these media exert in politics.

In 1957 the Rhodes Trustees were: Sir Edward Peacock, Lord Hailey, Sir Archibald Nye, Viscount Harcourt, The Very Rev. John Lowe, Sir Geo. Abell and Sir Oliver Franks. Sir Edward Peacock is a director of the London form of Baring Bros. & Co. Ltd., through which the Rhodes Trustees operate. Baring Bros. & Co. Ltd., is owned and run by the Baring family, the oldest of all banking dynasties in Britain. The present head of the family, Lord Cromer, son-in-law of Lord Rothermere of the London Daily Mail, is the Governor of the Bank of England. There are four other separate peers in the family, including Lord Ashburton, brother-in-law of Lord Harcourt (Viscount Harcourt above) who is a partner in Morgan

Grenfell, an important Merchant Bank in Britain, closely associated with another prominent Merchant Bank, Lazard Frères, and with the New York firm of Pierpont Morgan. Lord Harcourt is related to the Morgan family and is also chairman of the huge Legal and General Insurance Co. Sir Geo. Abell is a director of the Bank of England. Sir Oliver Franks was offered the Governorship of the Bank of England, but turned it down. He is a former Ambassador to Washington.

These then are some of the interests of some of the men in the Cecil John Rhodes Trust. They are the men who appoint the Abe Bailey Trustees through which the S.A. Associated Newspapers group is controlled. They are the men who at one stage were offered virtual control of the Argus Newspapers group, as we shall see later.

The shareholding in S.A. Associated Newspapers in 1961 was as follows in percentages:

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Union and Rhodesian Mining and Finance Co.<br>and Bailey's Nominees (Pty.) Ltd. .... | 49.71              |
| Bond Jackson Investments .....   | 19.67              |
| Kingswell Group .....  | 19.67              |
| Lindbergh Group .....  | 10.46              |
| Hall, Brown, Badham .....  | .49                |
|  | <hr/> 100.00 <hr/> |

Then in 1962, it was reported that the Abe Bailey Trust, working through Syfret's Trust, had obtained the Jackson 19.67 per cent, bringing its holding to a decisive 69.38 per cent.

It would appear, therefore, that the lines all lead back to the Cecil John Rhodes Trustees who also seem to provide a definite link between the Argus Group and the S.A. Associated Newspapers Group. Not only did the Rhodes Trustees appoint two Argus Voting Trustees (John Martin and W. H. A. Lawrence) as Abe Bailey Trustees, but when the Argus Voting Trust was founded, 12,500 of the 70,344 shares in respect of which the voting rights were settled on the Argus Voting Trustees, were transferred from Central Mining and Investment Corp. to the Cecil John Rhodes Trustees.

One of the clearest personal connections between the Cecil John Rhodes Trustees and the Argus Group was Geoffrey Dawson (previously Robinson) who in quick succession was taken from the Colonial Office for Milner's "kindergarten", then made editor of *The Star* in 1905 (probably on Milner's recommendation and Corner House's insistence), then editor



of the London *Times*, then Secretary of the Rhodes Trustees and eventually a Rhodes Trustee, and in the course of these appointments acquired such influence and power in ruling British circles that in the days of his Rhodes Trusteeship he was jokingly called "the secretary-general of the British Establishment".

Anyone wishing to sharpen his wits for a Grand Master's chess battle could hardly do better than gather all the available information and then try to work out for himself precisely who are the men who finally control the policies of the newspapers of the S.A. Associated Newspapers group. This group comprises the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Express*, *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post*.

The *Landstem*, with its large circulation among coloureds, is jointly owned by S.A. Associated Newspapers, The Cape Times Ltd., Mr. Harry Oppenheimer and Sir de Villiers Graaff.

The investigator would have to piece together a jig-saw puzzle of appalling complexity.

Let us have a look at some of the pieces. Sir Abe Bailey, as we all know, was an important personal shareholder in what were then two separate concerns, the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times* — his holdings were 40 per cent and 22.67 per cent, to be precise.

One quarter of old Abe's estate, including all the *Mail* and *Sunday Times* shares were taken over after his death by the Abe Bailey Trust which set up a limited liability company, the Bailey Trust (Pty.) Ltd., to serve as a repository of these assets.

Now watch this closely, as the stage magician would say.

In 1950 the Abe Bailey Trust sold its *Mail* and *Sunday Times* shares to the Union and Rhodesian Mining and Finance Company.

That would mean, would it not, that the Bailey Trust interests had got rid of these shares? But wait! The Union and Rhodesian Mining and Finance Co. was only one of the Subsidiaries of Bailey's Nominees (Pty.) Ltd., all of whose shares are, or were, held by the executors and administrators of Sir Abe's deceased estate.

It would appear then (to borrow the Press Commission's cautious phraseology) that the real power behind the Bailey block of newspaper shares are the trustees of the Abe Bailey Trust. Or would it?

In June 1956, these Bailey trustees included Sir Derrick Bailey, G. E. D'Arcy Orpen (then chairman of the Syfret's Trust and the *Cape Times*), E. M. Hind, W. H. A. Lawrance



(then a prominent figure in the Argus Company), plus — guess who? The late A. van der Sandt Centlivres, who retired as Chief Justice *only* in January 1957.

But — and this is important — the Bailey trustees are appointed by the Cecil John Rhodes Trust, and the South African agent of the Rhodes Trust is then Syfret's Trust, whose chairman, Mr. Clive Corder, is (or was) also chairman of Union and Rhodesian Mining and Finance Company, which controls the S.A. Associated Newspapers group and The Cape Times Ltd.

Got it?

Anyone who feels inclined to carry the investigation further must now track down all the trustees of the Cecil John Rhodes Trust and their affiliations.

The original trustees (in 1902) were Lord Rosebery, Lord Grey, Lord Milner (who unknown to the public, was chief shareholder in the *Pretoria News* while he was Governor of the Transvaal), Dr. Jameson (of the notorious Raid), Sir Lewis Michell (of the Standard Bank of S.A.), Bouchier Francis Hawksley (Rhodes's London attorney) and Sir Alfred Beit (one of the founders and major shareholders in the Corner House Group and Rhodes's close friend and associate in the development of the diamond industry. A relative of his, Sir Otto Beit, was later a large shareholder in the Argus Printing & Publishing Co., owning just on 10,000 shares).

But the S.A. Associated Newspapers set-up is only child's play when compared with the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, which owns or controls *The Star*, *Cape Argus*, *Daily News*, *The Friend*, *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, *Pretoria News*, *Sunday Tribune*, the Afrikaans-language Sunday paper *Die Sondagstem*, *The World* (an English-language daily for Bantu readers) and *Ilanga Lase Natal*, a Zulu-language weekly. All these are published in South Africa.

In Rhodesia the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. through its subsidiary, The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co., controls *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, *Rhodesia Herald*, *Umtali Post*, *Sunday Mail* and *Sunday News*.

The Argus Printing and Publishing Co. was formed in 1888 by Francis Dormer. Cecil John Rhodes's name does not appear in the list of initial shareholders, but shortly afterwards he was a substantial shareholder and the dominant influence in the company.

From 1895 to 1902 when Rhodes died, the Argus Newspapers were Rhodes' instruments for "engineering a war" (see J. A. Hobson: *The War in South Africa*). Hobson, who visited

South Africa just before the outbreak of the war in 1899, wrote of the "Press conspiracy, the chief object of which was the conquest of the Government and the conscience of Great Britain".

Perhaps even more forceful comment on the early history of these newspapers is the evidence of the founder of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., and first editor of *The Star*, Francis Dormer.

In his book, "*Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanerland*", Dormer had this to say:

"So early as the beginning of 1895, I parted company with this same newspaper organisation (the Argus Printing and Publishing Co.), as the most emphatic means that were open to me of marking my dissent from the policy of intervening in the affairs of the Transvaal on which Mr. Rhodes had already made up his mind to embark."

After the Jameson Raid, Mr. Dormer was recalled to the editorship of *The Star* to try and patch up relations with the Transvaal Government but, he writes:

"The newspapers which took their cue from Groote Schuur (Rhodes) commenced a furious and seditious agitation the moment the Raiders and Reformers were out of Mr. Kruger's hands."

He found his position untenable and resigned.

"My successor in the editorship of *The Star*," he writes, "had served his apprenticeship in Kimberley, and from start to finish of his career in Johannesburg there could never be the slightest doubt as to his design to set the heather ablaze if he could."

And so it was. Three years of scorching war followed, during which every technique was used by the Money Power to drive a wedge between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

This was the *hereditas damnosa* carried forward into 20th-Century South Africa.

After Rhodes's death, his associates, the Barnatos, the Joels, the Ecksteins, and Wernher and Beit consolidated their power and formed their grip on the Argus newspapers through the control of Corner House and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company.

The Press groups in Southern Africa have never deviated from their purpose which is to place and keep political power in the hands of the Money-Power wielders; and that has always meant relentless hostility to the peoples' natural leaders who represent and articulate a local and indigenous political interest



which is necessarily conservative and patriotic.

Mr. Morris Broughton, a former editor of the *Cape Argus* says in his book, *Press and Politics of South Africa*:

"There is also the need to get rid of the invisible man who sits on the other side of the editorial desk in nearly every English newspaper office. There he is, exasperating, silent, and solemn — the ghost of Paul Kruger. It is against him and his image that, fundamentally, the vials of inky scorn, irony, wrath, eloquence and repudiation are still poured out."

General J. B. M. Hertzog, Dr. D. F. Malan, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, and now Mr. Ian Smith in Rhodesia — all who have asserted the political autonomy of the people of Southern Africa against the claims of Big Money to run the politics — have stepped into the shoes of President Kruger and secured their share of "inky scorn, irony, wrath, eloquence and repudiation".

From 1911 to 1931, the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. was under the undisputed control of two of the most powerful Gold Mining groups, namely the Corner House Group consisting of the Central Mining and Investment Corp. and Rand Mines on the one hand and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. on the other hand — these two mining groups accounting for 40% of South Africa's gold production at that time.

Incidentally, the Central Mining and Investment Corporation is not a South African company, but is registered in London.

The Press Commission says: "At no time since 1925 have the majority of the boards of either Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. or Central Mining and Investment Corp. been South African nationals".

Between these two groups they controlled well over half the shares in the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.

The man who succeeded Rhodes as the dominant influence in the Argus newspapers and who expanded their scope and activities was John Martin. From 1916 to 1949 he was the force behind Corner House and the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. He became the head of Corner House in 1926, and, in the thirties, president of the Chamber of Mines and a Director of the Bank of England, while remaining chairman of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co.

In 1931, the Central Mining and Investment Corp. held 70,344 shares in the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., and because it was feared that a group of dissatisfied French shareholders, through their holding of bearer shares in the Corporation, might secure control of the Corporation, and thus be able



to control the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., it was decided to protect the control by the formation of the Argus Voting Trust and transfer these shares to persons sympathetic to the interests controlling the Corporation.

The voting rights of the 70,344 shares were thus settled on the Argus Voting Trust.

Central Mining and Investment Corp. Ltd. continued to hold 20,334 of these shares without voting rights. The remaining 50,000 shares were transferred as follows: Baring Nominees Ltd. (for the Cecil John Rhodes Trustees): 10,000; The Central News Agency: 10,000; The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.: 7,500 shares.

The Voting Trustees appointed in 1931 were Sir Reginald Holland and John Martin ensuring a strong link with Corner House by virtue of both trustees' positions there. They were charged with the duty of exercising the votes so as to promote a defined policy for the newspapers controlled by the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. By 1955 the Voting Trustees controlled the votes in respect of 183,928 shares which represented 49.49% of the total votes.

It appears that Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. was not let in on the secret formation of the Argus Voting Trust, but that this was a confidential arrangement between Central Mining and Finance Corp. and the directors and executives of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., in both of which John Martin was a dominant figure.

The Argus Voting Trustees were drawn from the directorates of Central Mining and Finance Corporation and Rand Mines and the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., thereby placing Corner House in a much stronger position than Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co.

What is interesting is that initially the whole block of 70,344 shares were offered to the Cecil John Rhodes Trustees through Baring Bros. and Co., Ltd. They took an option on the shares, and after negotiation instructed that the shares be sold as set out above.

When in 1955 the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. bought from Barnato Bros. Ltd. its entire shareholding in the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., it increased its shareholdings to 33.35% which was a larger percentage than that controlled purely by the Corner House Group, which was then in the range of about 20%.

The position at that time was that a combination of any two of the three — namely Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co., the Corner House Group and the Argus Voting

Trust — could exercise effective control of the Argus group of newspapers, the Argus Voting Trust holding the voting rights of just on 50% of the shares. John Martin died in 1949, and it is believed that the Argus Voting Trustees were trying to get complete control, but that Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. stood in the way.

Then in 1956, the Glazer brothers tried unsuccessfully to take over the Corner House Group and were outwitted by a combination of Gold Mining Companies and American capital which formed a company under the name of Rand American Investment (Pty.) Ltd., with American multi-millionaire, Charles W. Engelhard, as chairman. This company acquired control of the Corner House Group.

So, for all appearances, the control of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., remained practically the same, except that a new man, Charles W. Engelhard, became the leading figure in the Corner House Group.

But this is only part of the story. Rand American Investment (Pty.) Ltd. was four or five years later practically reduced to a name only. According to the S.A. Financial Year Book of 1961, the entire shareholding of Rand American Investment (Pty.) Ltd. was taken over by Mr. Oppenheimer's De Beers Investment Trust.

Then a year later the entire shareholding of De Beers Investment Trust, Ltd., was taken over by Rand Selection Corporation, of which Mr. Harry Oppenheimer is the chairman; and from then on, Mr. Charles W. Engelhard became a director of Mr. Oppenheimer's Rand Selection and Anglo American, and Mr. Oppenheimer became a director of Central Mining and Investment Corp.

In this way Mr. Oppenheimer, through Rand Selections, acquired 12.2% of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company's shares, which at that time was the amount held by the Corner House Group.

The reason for this low percentage is that after the unsuccessful Glazer bid, the Argus Voting Trustees saw the opportunity of raising a scare that if one of the mining groups should hold too large a block of shares in the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., and the group should fall into the hands of people who were not sympathetically disposed to the traditional policy of these newspapers, the result, from their point of view, could be disastrous.

So in another move, the Corner House Group was persuaded to dispose, through the Argus Voting Trust, of 50,000 shares to "people who are sympathetically disposed towards the Argus Printing and Publishing Co."



At the same time the Corner House shareholding in the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. was released from the conditions of the Argus Voting Trust and the position of the Voting Trustees weakened. Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co., in the same move agreed to reduce its shareholding from 33.35% to 18.58%, by also disposing of 50,000 shares through the Argus Voting Trust.

By 1961 the distribution of shares among the three main holding groups was: Rand Selections and Central Mining and Investment Corp. — 12.2%; Johannesburg Consolidated Investment — 18.58%; and the Argus Voting Trust — 25.84%; leaving the last mentioned still in the strongest position.

Then in March, 1963, Rand Selection Corporation entered into a transaction with Johannesburg Consolidated Investment whereby 950,000 shares in Rand Selections were given in exchange for 633,000 shares in Johannesburg Consolidated Investment and Rand Selections gave Johannesburg Consolidated Investment a R5-million loan with the option of converting it into shares.

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, through Rand Selections, thereby acquired control of another 15.58% of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company's shares, which, with the 12.2% acquired through the Engelhard - Corner House - Rand American - De Beers - Rand Selection transactions, gave him control of 30.78% of the votes in the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., as against 25.84% of the votes controlled by the Argus Voting Trust.

In clinching this deal, it would appear (to use once again the cautious terminology of the Press Commission) that Mr. Oppenheimer became the undisputed boss of the Argus Company, both in South Africa and Rhodesia.

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, which only Mr. Oppenheimer could supply if it exists, it is his policy as owner which the newspapers of the Argus Company pursue; although it does not necessarily follow that Mr. Oppenheimer intervenes in the day to day running of his newspapers. Where owner, management and journalists are all operating on the same political wavelength, it is seldom necessary for any clear directives to be passed down the line. On the contrary, everything possible is done to prevent this from ever having to happen.

As to Mr. Oppenheimer's interests, both political and financial, there is little room for doubt. What he stands for politically can be summed up in the fact, which he has himself admitted, that he launched the Progressive Party and that at



the 1966 general election he threw the massive weight of his personal support behind Mrs. Helen Suzman, the one and only Progressive to be returned to Parliament.

What Mr. Oppenheimer represents in politics can also be clearly discerned in Anglo American's own very plush and somewhat highbrow journal *Optima*.

The editorial policy pursued uniformly down the years by the major English-language newspapers can likewise be summed up in a few words: to oppose by every means within their power the kind of political attitude and values which emerge spontaneously among the South African people, both Afrikaner and English, both white and black, and to agitate unceasingly for Leftist political policies which the electorate has vehemently rejected.<sup>4, 9, 13, 21, 33, 40</sup>

In a word, these newspapers have abandoned all pretence of reflecting the political sentiments and aspirations of their readers and, in that sense, can be said to be un-South African.

But not only did Harry Oppenheimer become the biggest newspaper boss. He also, by virtue of the Argus Group's control of the S.A. Press Association (SAPA), and SAPA's connection with Reuter and Associated Press, became the *news* boss of South Africa and Rhodesia.

A study of the workings of SAPA shows that no resolution of real significance can be taken without the votes of the Argus newspapers:

"The South African Press Association was formed in 1938 with the ostensible object of bringing into being a news-gathering and news-distributing agency that was to be organised and run by the newspapers in South Africa and Rhodesia in their mutual interest. The real object was however to entrench the newspapers and particularly the publications under the control of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co." (H. Lindsay Smith in his book *Behind the Press in South Africa*, published in 1946).

In this way the Oppenheimer power also manifests itself in the S.A. Associated Newspapers Group with which he, however, has no visible link-up except that the present editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* was moved into his position straight from the Head Office of the Anglo American Corporation and that the Associated Group's newspapers were always the most militant supporters of Mr. Oppenheimer's Progressive Party.

This chapter is based substantially on information contained in the first portion of the report of the South African Press Commission. Although there may have been some changes in the Press ownership structure since then, there is no reason to suppose that the main conclusions have been in any way invalidated.



## OFFICIAL OPPOSITION HAS NO PRESS

At the time of the election of the President of the United States, the official opposition of the Democratic Party to the administration of the President-elect was not only a matter of fact, but also a matter of principle. The official opposition of the Democratic Party to the administration of the President-elect was not only a matter of fact, but also a matter of principle. The official opposition of the Democratic Party to the administration of the President-elect was not only a matter of fact, but also a matter of principle.

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## CHAPTER 6

# OFFICIAL OPPOSITION HAS NO PRESS

*Sing, Muse, (if such a theme, so dark, so long,  
May find a muse to grace it with a song.)  
By what unseen and unsuspected arts  
The serpent Error twines round human hearts.*

— William Cowper.

An important section of the South African Press no longer tries to disguise the fact that it has ceased to reflect the sentiment of the great majority of its readers on issues involving no less than the survival of the nation as we know it.

It has thus given a new meaning to the word "opposition".

It is no longer an opposition Press in the traditional sense that it opposes and criticises the government of the day — a perfectly legitimate role — but that it opposes the declared will of the entire electorate, regardless of party.

With the exception, of course, of one party represented in the House of Assembly at the time of writing, by a single member.

The situation today, therefore, is that even the official opposition — the United Party — has no Press at all. Sometimes it appears as if the *Sunday Times* has become the spokesman of the United Party — but all the other contents of that paper belie any such notion.

This is a most interesting state of affairs.

For one thing it makes nonsense of the newspapers' own definition of their role in the affairs of the nation. The freedom of the Press, as they themselves quite often remind us, is not their own freedom but that of the public they serve. And the rights which they claim, they claim on the grounds that these are a genuine function of democratic society, supplying a service of trustworthy information and in turn reflecting the sentiment and will of the electorate.

So long as newspapers do that, they can always expect their readers to rally to their defence if and when their freedom is threatened.

But what happens when it has become common knowledge that they no longer reflect public sentiment, when they themselves daily dissociate themselves from public sentiment?

The reporting of events connected with the escape of certain detained persons from Marshall Square only brought more clearly into relief the gulf that has appeared between these newspapers and the public they claim to serve.

Some papers are only a little more blatant than others.

Thus, the *Sunday Express* gave one of the fugitives, Goldreich, the freedom of its front page to put his case to those who might be disposed to sympathise with him.

In what was described as an "exclusive interview" he was allowed to explain that his escape from Marshall Square was not just a "personal escape" but was a "political gesture".

Inside the paper more space was given to efforts to explain Goldreich, if that is the right word, and to glamorise the whole episode of the escape. Goldreich was described as being "generous to a fault", always popular at school, very sympathetic and understanding, and so on and so on.

The reader was not told what all this had to do with the reporting of the movements of a member of the banned Congress of Democrats who had fled from South Africa to avoid trial on a serious charge involving the security of the state.

Glamorisation was the theme of a good deal of reporting from Francistown where certain reporters seemed to have had free access to the fugitives at all times — even in the middle of the night!

Meanwhile interviews were refused to representatives of the Afrikaans Press.

In one of these reports from Francistown, the *Rand Daily Mail* told a sentimental story about Goldreich at Marshall Square, how he drew a picture of a large bowl of flowers in the dust of the exercise yards as a message of farewell to his wife.

The question that will naturally be asked is this: for whom is this kind of reporting intended? No one can surely pretend today that whites, who make up the bulk of the newspaper reading public, like to read this kind of story, or gaze, day after day, at pictures of the escaped men sitting about or playing cricket at Francistown!

A clue to the right answer is perhaps provided in one of the remarks attributed to Goldreich in the *Sunday Express*



interview.

For this is what he said: "Contrary to reports in the South African Press of a feeling against us in the country, the African townships were seething at the news of our escape and even people remote from politics were absolutely thrilled by our escape and hoping for its successful conclusion."

While there is no evidence to support the statement that the native townships were "seething" at the news of the escape, we were left in no doubt by Goldreich as to where the sympathetic response was mainly being sought.

And the question which every newspaper reader will have to answer for himself is whether an important section of the Press of South Africa, having abandoned all hope of converting the white electorate to its way of thinking, is now angling its news and pictures so as to produce the maximum impact on the increasing number of non-European readers.

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The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of spontaneous generation.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the evolution of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the evolution of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of natural selection.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the development of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the development of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of the development of life.

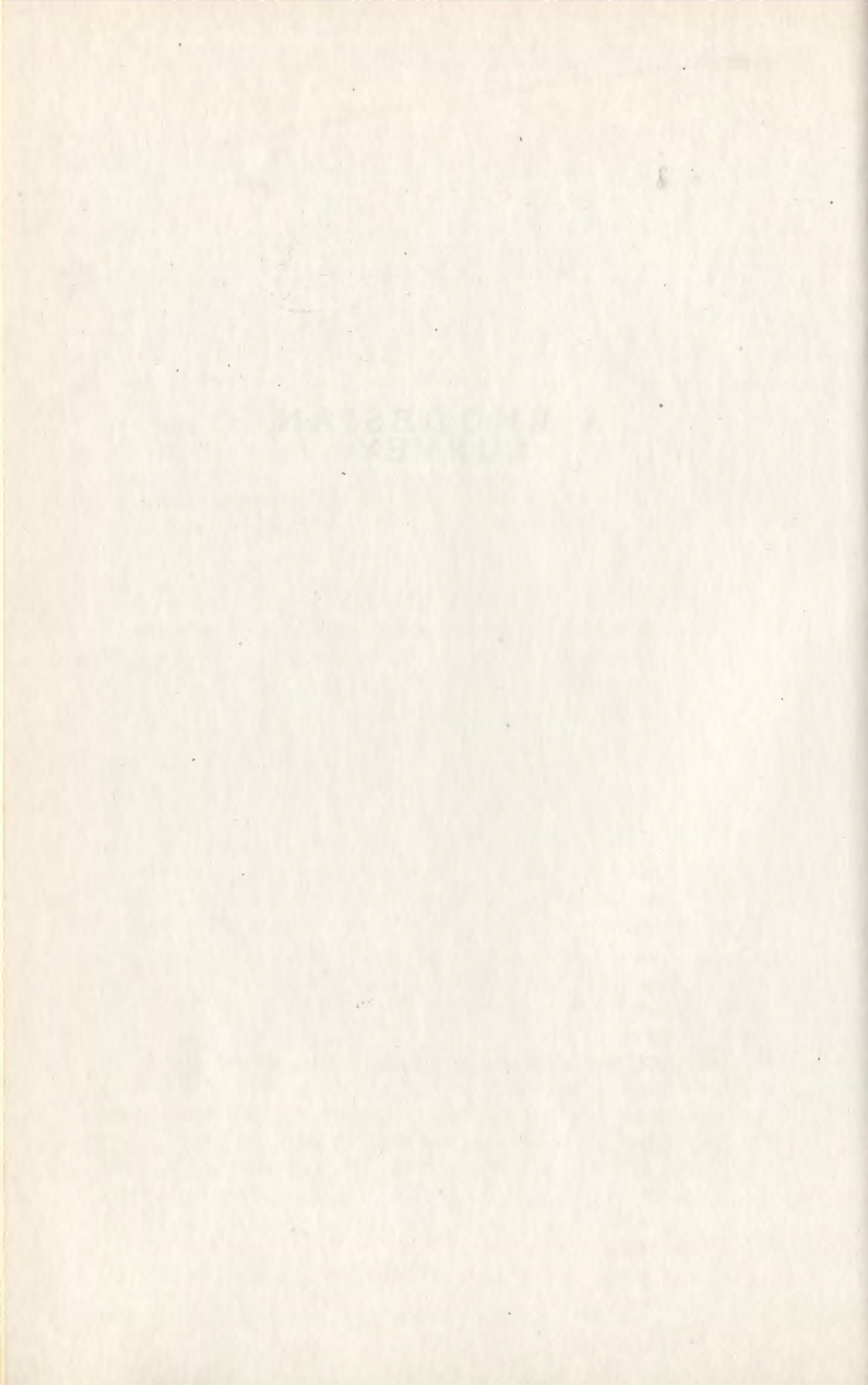
The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the future of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the future of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of the future of life.

The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the origin of the universe. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of the universe, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of the origin of the universe.

The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the future of the universe. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the future of the universe, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of the future of the universe.

## A RHODESIAN SURVEY





## CHAPTER 7

### A RHODESIAN SURVEY

*We have imposed a total trade ban on the rebel regime in Rhodesia. We have blocked their sterling balance in London and cut off their oil supplies . . .*

*There will be no interference with the free flow of books, periodicals and films to Rhodesia. — Harold Wilson.*

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Rhodesia's situation as a target of propaganda and psychological warfare was discussed by the author in an address to an unofficial meeting of the Mashonaland Rural Division of the Rhodesian Front in Salisbury on September 27, 1965. A transcript of the address is reproduced in this chapter.

First of all I want to thank you for the opportunity you have given me today to speak to you on a subject that has occupied my mind a good deal in the last year and a half — Rhodesia's situation in the Psychological War.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak to you because I take the invitation as another sign that the people of Rhodesia are getting a clearer insight into the real nature of the struggle in which they and their country are involved. And it is all the more gratifying to find this show of interest among people like those who make up this audience and who exert a considerable influence in the conduct of the affairs of their country.

My task this afternoon is not an easy one — but it could be, (and quite often has been) much more difficult. How I can handle so vast and complex a subject must always depend on how much my audience wants to know.

There can be no doubt that some Rhodesians are learning very quickly, and I have come across a few individuals who, after only a few weeks' study of psychological warfare, have made remarkable progress.

Some people go after knowledge of this kind with great

eagerness and enthusiasm. Their minds are wide open. Their interest is aroused and they learn quickly.

Others again — and these often include individuals of exceptionally high intelligence — learn only very slowly and have to be pushed all the way. Or they close their minds altogether and refuse to learn anything about a subject which they find unpleasant and alarming. They are like the legendary ostrich which, on the approach of danger, buries its head in the sand, convinced that a danger which is no longer seen is danger removed.

A world made free from danger in this way is no doubt a comforting illusion — while it lasts. But the shock of the sudden demolition of a protective illusion can be very painful.

With some people, it is as if a valve in the mind has closed tightly to exclude any clear knowledge of the danger. Since this happens with so many people, and even among the most intelligent, the ability to close the mind in this way may well be a kind of safety device provided by nature as a necessary protection for the individuals concerned.

Instinctively, I suppose, we know just how much of the stress of battle we can stand. And when we realise, perhaps sub-consciously, that the stress is going to be too much, our minds throw up a barrier and permit no more of the dangerous stuff to pass.

The real battle is then fought only by those who can stand the strain.

The truth about Communism and about all the other evil influences which advance the cause of Communism does produce this effect that it lays a heavy burden on the mind and spirit. It identifies and points out enemies where none were seen before. It makes the whole world seem suddenly more dangerous and more threatening.

The truth piles on the tension.

And how much of the truth we can stand depends on something more than intelligence. It depends on morale. It depends on how firm a grip on life we have. It depends on the quality and the quantity of our faith. Ultimately it is a religious question.

If our life burns with a bright clear flame, then we can take a lot of the truth with its burden of tension. If not, then we must do our best to defend our guttering morale.

Each individual must decide for himself if he will fight and where he will fight, whether in the front ranks or among the baggage carriers in the rear.

This afternoon I have the advantage of knowing that my audience has some knowledge of the subject which I am to



discuss and that they are prepared to open their minds to what I have to say. If that were not so, then you would not be here — or, rather, I would not be here speaking to you.

Equally perplexing for anyone who has to speak on this subject is the problem of deciding how much of the subject he can hope to handle properly in the time at his disposal. The battle for the mind, the struggle against the revolutionary Left, is conducted simultaneously in many different ways on many different planes.

Wherever we turn we see the same battle being fought — in our universities, in our schools, in the Press, in business and finance and even in the civil service. And, as we are so frequently reminded in Rhodesia, no group is more deeply involved in the battle of words and ideas than the ministers of religion — in fact some of them seem to have little time and energy for anything else.

What I should like to do this afternoon is to try to provide a brief and simplified analysis and survey of the situation as I see it right here and now in Rhodesia.

First of all, therefore, it must be made clear that the people of this country have, for some years, been at the receiving end of a relentless campaign of propaganda and psychological warfare.

As a leading member of your Party remarked the other day: "We were not only brought to the brink of disaster; we had one leg over the edge of the precipice." All this was done by pressure applied to the public mind.

What future generations may read with incredulity and astonishment is that the people of Rhodesia were brought to this desperate situation, step by step, always with their own acquiescence, or at any rate with the acquiescence of leaders in whom they had reposed complete faith.

I am always open to correction on the subject of Rhodesia's political history, but I am aware of no single instance when a decision was forced on the people of Rhodesia. They were persuaded — they did as they were persuaded.

After a barrage of propaganda conducted in the Press and on the public platform, they were persuaded to barter Rhodesian independence for the rather nebulous advantages of Federation.

They were persuaded in precisely the same way to accept the 1961 constitution in spite of dangers written into it which, viewed from this distance of time, are more plainly apparent.

Rhodesians know the sorry story only too well. It is not my purpose here today to turn this conference room into a

sort of wailing wall by reminding you of the sorrow and shame of the past — but only to make this point with all the power at my command: That the people of Rhodesia were pushed to the very brink of the precipice of disaster by propaganda and psychological warfare, much of it conducted by an alien Press — if not alien in language and nationality, alien certainly to the will and the values and the real interests of the people of Rhodesia.

And only when they had one leg over the edge with a gruesome drop beyond, did they wake up and decide that they had been pushed far enough.

We can laugh about that today. To laugh about it is a healthy reaction. But let it not be said by future generations that after these painful experiences you still had not learned the supreme lesson:

That everything a community does depends on getting its facts right; that any community, if it is to survive and to prosper and pass on its heritage for its children, must get firmly to grips with this question of information and must forever be on its guard against information and persuasion that come from sources beyond its control.

For this is the ABC of independence, for the individual as for the community, that you do not allow yourself to be controlled by those who control the information you get.

And it is the beginning of all political wisdom that a community guards its supplies of information as it guards its very existence — for the two are inseparable, like life and food or life and water.

No one can form any idea of the potency of the propaganda weapon as a means of overcoming political resistance, no one can form any clear idea of the danger of the propaganda weapon, who has not gained a clear insight into the real meaning of information and the processing of information, in the scheme of life.

What the smallest and most elementary living creatures take entirely for granted — access to information — this we must now think about and study and understand fully if we are to defend ourselves properly against all the cunning devices of modern propaganda warfare.<sup>23, 26, 29, 30, 44</sup>

It is no longer safe to react normally, as of habit, to all the information that reaches us from time to time from many different quarters. We must recognise that our minds have been turned into a battleground and that there can be no victory which does not begin there.

In order to drive home the importance of information and the processing of information, I could hardly do better, I think,



than to repeat, with a few afterthoughts what I said in a radio talk in South Africa in June 1964:

"Information is vital, every bit as vital to the living organism as air and water. Therefore nature has provided every living creature with ingenious means of gathering information — the information it needs — and of processing this information and translating it into purposeful activity.

"The little snail has eyes on the ends of long horns with which to explore its surroundings — and gather information.

"Every living creature reaches out incessantly for the information it must have if it is to survive and unfold its inner possibilities. Eyes, nose, ears, sensitive organs of touch and taste, all are instruments which living creatures employ in their quest for information. And the brain, or its substitute in more primitive creatures, is the instrument which sifts incoming information, selecting and arranging that which is relevant and discarding the rest.

"Already among the social animals we see the first signs of a delegation to one or two individuals of the onerous and responsible task of gathering and interpreting information, in some ways similar to that which prevails among men.

"In a herd of buck or zebra or giraffe there is always one whose particular duty it is to be on the look-out and to sound the alarm at any approach of danger.

"Among all groups of human beings, from small tribes to great nations, and all groups within nations from the smallest family business to the greatest industrial and financial corporations — wherever people are united by a common purpose and have to make decisions leading to action, we find the same intense pre-occupation with the collection and correct interpretation of information. The firm that gets more information or gets it sooner than its rivals tends to go ahead, while firms which fail to keep themselves informed tend to languish and finally to vanish from the competitive scene. The same applies to nations.

"For any army in the field, information is nearly always a matter of life and death and the intelligence corps is to the army what eyes and ears and nose and brain are to the human individual in time of trial and danger."

I am sure I am telling many of you no more than what you have learned from your experience in the last war when I say that human nature can supply vast reserves of courage in situations of great danger, provided men have an exact knowledge of their situation. On the other hand, there is no more potent cause of confusion and panic than a realisation that we are, from the information point of view, in the dark, that we



do not know what is happening around us.

All this sounds perfectly obvious and hardly worth stating. Yet it is elementary truths like these which can be overlooked, with appalling consequences, in the highly complex kind of society in which we live.

Do we always know whence comes the information that forms our political attitudes and decisions? Have we always known? Have we always known who selects it and interprets it for us, suggesting what our attitudes should be and what decisions we should make?

Did the Rhodesians themselves decide to vote "Yes" in 1961 or did they vote "Yes" because they were told to do so?

Have we always been as confident as the snail in the trustworthiness of our sources of information on questions of supreme national importance, here and in South Africa, in the last 30 years or more?

Or have we just permitted our minds to be shaped and conditioned and our political decisions handed to us, all most plausibly rationalised, by people of whose real interests and real motives we have known little or nothing?

## THE PRESS

This brings me to what is for millions of people the world over one of the most baffling problems of our times — the Press.

In Rhodesia today the Press is not quite the problem it used to be. The chairman of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists, Mr. John Parker, himself admitted after the last general election (1965) that never before had the Press in Rhodesia been held in such low esteem. He was talking about the newspapers he serves.

The Chairman of the Salisbury Branch of the Guild of Journalists, Mr. Paynter, complained a few weeks later that journalists in Rhodesia were treated as social outcasts and had even been threatened with physical violence.

Mr. Parker and Mr. Paynter were not exaggerating.

What it comes to is that the Press in Rhodesia has been stripped of a great deal of its former power to influence public opinion and to shape Rhodesian politics.

The problem of the Press, however, has not been entirely solved. We still find in Rhodesia a lot of confused thinking on this subject. Some people say we should go on fighting the Press as we have been doing for some time. Others say it is time to call off the battle and try to win the editors' co-operation.

It is most necessary today when so much depends on public opinion, both here and abroad, that we should have the clearest ideas on this subject of the Press as a phenomenon of the modern world, and not only of the Press as we experience it here in Rhodesia.

What is needed on this occasion is not another attack on the Press, but this time a coldly objective analysis and description of it.

We may have to attack the Press from time to time. And we may have to use it and work with it. Our first object should be to understand it.

The main reason why the ordinary citizen finds it so hard to understand the Press and adopt a clear attitude towards it can be stated quite simply: Because there are two images of the Press.

The two images of the Press are seldom seen apart.

The one is superimposed on the other.

You have all seen a photographic print which has been made from a negative that was double-exposed, so you will know what I mean when I say that we nearly always get two competing images of the Press in the same mind-picture.

The comparison can be explained quite simply.

The picture of the Press which the ordinary citizen forms, as I have said, is like a print made from a double-exposed negative.

He gets a glimpse of one view, then a glimpse of the other view and then he finishes up with a confused, mixed up view which makes no sense at all.

The situation is further confused as the Press on the one hand, and its critics on the other, call attention to the particular view they would like to take precedence in the public mind.

It is the task of political analysis to separate the two images and to present them one by one. And I shall proceed to do that.

*Image No. 1:* We find it almost impossible to do without newspapers because newspapers render a service which we feel we need and because, by and large: they do render a service efficiently and conscientiously.

When we read that the Springbok team has defeated New Zealand Combined Universities by 12 points to 8, we can be reasonably sure that this is true. And we are pleased to get the news because we want to know. We have learned from experience, too, that mistakes rarely occur in the published lists of the latest share prices or in the reports of the current tobacco sales. Some of us need this information. The report of a fire in a furniture shop in Manica Road can be relied



upon to be as accurate as human fallibility will permit. Nor do we have to be suspicious and on our guard as we read what Hurricane Betsy has been doing along the Florida coast — a little exaggerated and dramatised, perhaps, but good enough for our purposes.

The reports of court proceedings, as anyone knows who has worked on a newspaper, nearly always represent a standard of accuracy and impartiality seldom attained by the ordinary citizen when he tells some story about what he has seen or experienced. Court reporting in general is remarkable for its accuracy and impartiality. It has to be.

Most newspapers, most of the time, contain a good deal of useful information, skilfully and conscientiously reported.

That is image No. 1, the image which the Press projects of itself in the handling of any news in which the interests of the owner or the editor, whether ideological or political, are in no way involved.

In the reporting of a rugby match most journalists try very hard to be just as impartial as the referee. And in the reporting of a case in the courts — with very few exceptions — they make a real effort to be as fair as the magistrate or judge.

Now this image of efficiency, conscientiousness and impartiality is projected in almost every issue of a professionally run newspaper, so it is always present in that double picture of the Press which is formed in the public mind.

*Image No. 2:* Now we see the newspaper when the political and ideological interests of the owner are involved. Here, instead of dealing only in generalities I propose to refer you to a source which is above suspicion. I refer to the report of the Southworth Commission which investigated the reporting of the incidents in front of Ryall's Hotel, in Blantyre, Malawi (then Nyasaland) on the occasion of the visit by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan in January 1960. You will remember he was on a tour of Africa and was on his way to Cape Town where he delivered his memorable "Winds of Change" speech.

I have been accused of harping on this rather lurid piece of contemporary history, but with your permission I want to harp on it again, and I will tell you why: the fairness of this sample of modern reporting cannot be seriously challenged. It is like a spoonful from the boiled egg: it tells the whole story.

(The story of the Southworth Commission is told in Chapter Three.)

The report of the Southworth Commission presents us with a brilliantly clear picture in miniature of the modern Press *when political and ideological motives are at work.*



This is Image No. 2 in that baffling double-exposure of which I was telling you.

The reporting at Blantyre in January 1960 was only a sample of the kind of reporting that had been going on for some time, and the purpose of it, hidden perhaps even from the reporters, was to condition public opinion, especially in the United Kingdom, for the speedy dismantling of British political power in Africa.

And the only thing that was unusual about the Blantyre episode and its sequel was the fact that a piece of modern high-pressure political propaganda was pinned down and placed under the microscope of a thorough judicial inquiry.

There has been no let-up since 1960.

Here is a piece of hostile propaganda which appeared recently in the London *Sunday Times*, every bit as bad as anything that was investigated by the Southworth Commission. The heading speaks for itself: "Now McCarthyism is rising in White Rhodesia".

Those of you who have read it will agree, I am sure, that the purpose of so-called news of this kind is not to inform and instruct but only to whip up public hostility against Rhodesia and to condition public opinion, especially in the United Kingdom, for any drastic action against Rhodesia that certain people may be tempted to take later.

Now therefore let us look at the two images of the Press, side by side.

Image No. 1. When it can be and nearly always is thoroughly impartial, when it renders a genuine, disinterested service to the community, when it tries really hard to live up to the high ideals which it always proclaims.

Image No. 2. When it is being used by those who own and control it as an instrument of political and ideological warfare, one of the most important weapons in the power struggles of our times.

Each of these two images has its own psychology and ethical code — the one a code and psychology of amity and the other a code and psychology of war.

Mix the two pictures, mix the two psychologies and codes and you have the muddled picture of a Press which pleases, baffles and angers the ordinary citizen.

Loudly exclaiming against a hostile Press will get us nowhere. We must understand what it is so that we can disable it, deflect its aim and sometimes even use it to promote our own honest purposes.

For this is one of the most important facts of our times:

the Press is an instrument of modern political warfare and it is all the more dangerous precisely because it can be given two personalities and can be camouflaged as part of the machinery of public service and civil amity.

It is only in polite duels between gentlemen that either contestant has a choice of weapons.

In the great political and military struggles, the weapons are supplied, and indeed dictated, by the circumstances of the times.

And among the most potent weapons dictated by the circumstances of the times in which we live are the media of mass communication — the Press is one of these.

In Rhodesia we have made some progress since we got our leg back from over the edge of the precipice. We have a hostile national Press, but it has been partly disabled. We also have radio and television, the control of which has been placed firmly in the hands of the people of this country. With these two weapons we could, if required, safeguard our position on the information front.

If the local Press will stick as close as possible to Image No. 1, giving us all the latest news about Hurricane Hilda or about the rugby at Newlands or the landslides in Chile or Peru, we should leave it alone; because a Press can be quite useful and we do not yet possess one of our own.

The two images of the Press can be awfully confusing, but if we understand the Press we can exploit to our advantage this ambiguity, this split personality which afflicts so many working journalists.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL-WARFARE

Now I want to discuss briefly another aspect of psychological warfare which is little understood, and which, in my opinion, could produce the most serious consequences in Rhodesia because it touches on the question of national unity.

We have discussed the role which ordinary information plays in our lives and I have reminded you how the whole course of events in Rhodesia has been influenced by campaigns of carefully selected news, opinions and persuasion — in the Press, on the radio and from the public platform.

Information and persuasion of this kind have no lasting effects. What we are told one day can be wiped out a few days later and replaced by another set of effects, in much the same way that different pictures follow each other in succession on the television screen, each one wiping out the one that went before.



Far more dangerous, because so little understood, is the kind of permanent mind conditioning that has been produced by Left-Liberal propaganda in the last 20 years and more.

What is now planted is not a simple opinion or state of persuasion which can be changed as more facts are produced and explained, but an attitude of mind which is more or less fixed and can condition a man's reactions and his thinking to the end of his days.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the tensions and misunderstandings which we find in our own country today arise from influences of this kind.

The psychologists call this the "conditioned reflex".

This is the scientific name for something that can be explained very simply without the use of any difficult terms.

And the simplest and easiest way to explain it is to tell you about the earliest experiments with conditioned reflexes carried out by a Russian scientist called Pavlov.<sup>24</sup>

Pavlov carried out some simple experiments with dogs which went something like this: A moment before the dog got his food, an electric bell was sounded. After this had happened at a few successive mealtimes, the professor found that as soon as the bell was sounded and even before there was any food in sight, the dog would begin to salivate; the saliva would drip from its jaws. He was exploring what scientists now call the stimulus-response mechanism of the mind, and he soon found that much the same results could be produced with the human mind.

An entire science of psycho-politics has been built up on the results produced by these simple experiments which any of us could repeat at home, using our own dog as a subject.

And psycho-politics is perhaps the most dangerous single weapon in the armoury of Communist psychological warfare which has been used relentlessly in the last 20 years, not only by the Communists but by all the propagandists of the Left who quickly spotted a weapon that could be used with deadly effect against the habitual honesty and trustfulness of the ordinary citizen.

Even the most intelligent conservatives have had to be brought almost to their knees by psycho-political warfare before they could be persuaded to apply their minds to the study of subtle and vicious devices which they themselves would never have dreamed of using.

When we do apply our minds to the conditioned reflex as a device of modern political warfare, we find it is quite simple.

Now let us consider how the conditioned reflex works in psychological warfare.

A dog may salivate or cringe to order at the ringing of a



bell, but how are similar results produced among people?

Every really effective Left-oriented newspaper can provide us with examples, so let us look again at that cutting from the *London Sunday Times*.

The main heading across three columns in type nearly an inch high says: "Now McCarthyism is rising in White Rhodesia".

Note that word "McCarthyism".<sup>6</sup>

The mere mention of that word today makes some people cringe (inwardly at any rate) like the dog in the experiment.

For millions of peoples it MEANS nothing. It is merely a psychological signal that triggers off an emotional reaction, and they cringe to order. Or they are simply frightened. And any thoughts they may have when they hear the word are no more than an attempt to rationalise a reaction which they cannot resist.

There are a number of other words and phrases used in the same way: "Fascist", "Nazi", "Rightwing extremist", "Mosleyite", "Witch-hunt", "Police State", "Dictatorship".

With words like these, a sort of electrified fence has been erected in the realm of public opinion, passing through the minds of countless individuals.

How many of you, I wonder, have seen an electric fence in operation? It is a useful device for fencing in cattle when they are being sorted out, where permanent kraals or enclosures are not available, which is generally the case on a large modern ranch.

The fence consists of a single strand of bare copper wire supported on short staves pressed into the ground. As soon as the cattle have been surrounded, a harmless high-tension current is put through it and any beast that touches the wire gets a shock, rather like a shock we get when we touch the spark plug of a motorcar when the engine is running. And when all the cattle have had a couple of shocks, their reflexes have been conditioned and it is no longer even necessary to switch on the current. A glimpse of the wire, festooned as it so often is with pieces of cloth, gives them a fright and they step back into line.

A similar trick has been used on a massive scale in psychological warfare since the end of the last war. An electrified fence has been erected in the realm of the human mind as a means of keeping mankind, like so many cattle, under the control of the Left, away from the Right.

Since the end of the last war there has been a never-ending stream of horrifying films and radio and television programmes

and books and articles in the Press about Nazism and Fascism — never, you will have noticed, about Communism.

Millions of people all over the Western world have been shocked again and again by stories of the concentration camps and about Nazi ferocity — but never with stories about the slaughter of 30,000 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest in Eastern Poland, or the massacre of millions in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, and more millions in occupied Europe and in China in recent years.

No opportunity has been lost of charging with dread everything that has to do with the Revolutionary Right — that is Fascism.

Hollywood, since the last war has served as little more than a monstrous propaganda machine in the service of the Left. Not even a piece of entertainment like "The Sound of Music", a film which was shown recently in Rhodesia and South Africa, is allowed to reach the public without its little dose of propaganda shock treatment.

We all know what we are fighting in Rhodesia. There is not one of us I am sure, who is interested in promoting a Right wing revolution that will overthrow the existing order. Nor are we interested in conducting vicious witch-hunts against those who happen to have political views different from our own. We are fighting to preserve the open society which, for all its defects, we know is the safest and best — for us!

We stand opposed to the extremists of Left or Right.

We are conservatives. We want to conserve that which has been handed down to us and that which we have created in Southern Africa in the last three hundred years.

But the difficulty and the danger with which we have to contend today is that many of our own people stand like frightened cattle in the presence of an electrified fence which has been erected in the realm of the human mind.

Their reactions have been conditioned by 20 years of incessant propaganda and mind-conditioning so that they tremble to order when they hear words like "McCarthyism" and "Rightwing extremists" applied to anyone in their own ranks who has had the nerve to offer any kind of effective opposition to the Leftist revolutionaries.

Their aims and their interests and their values are the same as ours, but when they get the enemy's propaganda signals they begin to edge over to the Left and they look askance at any of their comrades who fail to do the same.

A man may have been a hero on the field of battle, but when he finds himself the target of a massive smear campaign, when he sees his own comrades scared by the words that are



hurled at him, when he sees his comrades edging away and perhaps even getting ready to disown him, then, unless he is protected by a powerful faith, he is almost sure to be knocked out of the battle.

If Rhodesia is ever overthrown by this kind of psychological warfare we may be sure of this: some new tags will be hung on the propagandists' electrified fence, "Frontism", "Smithism", "Van der Bylism" will be the new words to frighten others who might be tempted to offer real resistance to the Left.

Once we have an insight into the realities of psychological warfare, then our battle on that front is three-quarters won. Knowledge of these things must enter into the counsels of our nation if we are to resist the onslaughts of propaganda and to strike back effectively.

We cannot lose this battle if only we know how it is being fought and we cannot win unless we do know.

We need this knowledge, too, if we are to repair the damage that has already been done in our midst.

I refer to those among us who, in varying degrees, have had their minds conditioned so that they must be considered as casualties in the psychological war.

In a shooting war it is easy to distinguish those who have been wounded from those who are still sound, and to place the disabled well behind the battle line where, if they can no longer fight, they will not be a burden to those who can.

Psychological warfare too, has its walking wounded, some of them gifted individuals who could be most useful — but not in the thick of battle.

The trouble is that these "propaganda shell-shock cases" do not always understand their own condition; they are, therefore, inclined to regard their reaction to the propaganda of the Left as normal and sensible and those of their unwounded comrades who cannot be so easily intimidated as rash, dangerous and foolish.

And so we find, as the propaganda heat is turned on, that tensions and antagonisms are liable to arise in our ranks among people who are 100 per cent in agreement as to aims and ends, with the danger always of a separation into two camps — in the one camp those who can stand a lot of heat and pressure, and in the other camp who would do almost anything to have the heat turned off.

These are realities of the psychological war which I discuss with some trepidation because I know that in these matters, where unity itself is at stake, the deepest feelings of individuals



are involved.

A soldier can wear his wounds with pride, but no-one would willingly admit that he has become a casualty of psychological warfare, that he has become a propaganda shell-shock case.

And yet there is no more shame in being wounded in the mind than in the leg or arm.

Those whose reflexes have not been conditioned and who can offer more resistance to psychological warfare have no reason to feel superior because in psychological war, as in a shooting war, most casualties occur where we are more frequently exposed.

In most cases that is the only difference. If many Afrikaners in South Africa have remained remarkably immune to the kind of propaganda which plants conditioned reflexes, if they are not so easily scared by certain words and epithets like "Fascist", "McCarthyist", and "Extremist" that is not necessarily because they are so much tougher than the rest of us, but only because their language, hardly known outside South Africa, has given them a considerable degree of shelter. The Hollywood propaganda machine does not reach them so easily. And millions of words of ingenious propaganda in the medium of English have passed harmlessly over their heads in the last 20 to 30 years.

So the correct attitude to differences of feeling and response in our own ranks, if these differences are not to be allowed to undermine our unity in the face of a common danger, should be one of understanding and charitableness that keeps together in one camp all those whose real aims and real values are the same.

This does not mean, of course, that some individuals are not constitutionally more robust and resistant and that there are not others whose weaker instincts make them more susceptible to political warfare. The weak, like the poor, will always be with us and must be protected, for they include, oddly enough, some of the most gifted and useful members of the community.

Once again, therefore, let us recognise that the psychological warfare of the last 20 years, conducted by the Left, has produced some lasting effects among our people and that we have among us quite a number of so-called propaganda shell-shock cases which we must handle with sympathy and understanding if they are not to be consolidated into a separate group and used by the enemy as a means of dividing us at a time when unity is important.

Now, to conclude, I want to say a few words about a class of information that is seldom discussed but which could be decisive in a struggle like ours.

We have seen how information and the correct interpretation of information are necessary for the simplest actions in life — these are the facts for which we have to reach out all day long no matter what it is we are doing or propose doing.

We have seen how we have run the risk of losing our freedom when the supply and control of essential information are no longer in our own hands.

We have also seen how lasting effects can be produced by propaganda which plants conditioned reflexes, like an electric fence, in our minds.

What we are told from day to day can inform us, deceive us or frighten us.

But what we are told can also inspire us — and this is a very special kind of information which we in Southern Africa must have if we are to hold out against the pressures which are going to be brought to bear in the next two or three years.

If history has one great lesson for us here in Southern Africa it is that a tiny group of people, informed in this way, can make nonsense of any disparity of numbers and material resources.

There is an information which speaks to us as a race and awakens in us the voices of our ancestors whose message it is that life is never so exciting, never so worth while, as when we set aside our own selfish interests and live and fight for the future — the future which only our children and their children will know.

The people of Rhodesia need to be called away from their selfish individual pursuits and told what is no more than the truth: that history has made this little nation one of the pivots of the history of the 20th century and that the eyes of the world are upon it.

In the kind of world in which we live, the strength and determination of 200,000 people could change the history of a continent and help to change the history of the world.

To be one of those 200,000 people is a rare privilege of which every Rhodesian should be immensely proud.

United in such a thought we are a force of which the whole world must take notice.

Just think of it! Luton town in England has a population not much less than the white population of Rhodesia.

How many people outside Luton know anything about Luton?

Ask any ordinary citizen in the United Kingdom and he would promptly reply: "Luton? Of course I know Luton. Luton has been much in the news lately. Don't you read the newspapers?"

"Much in the news? How much in the news?"

"Why, don't you know that Luton town has been relegated to the Second Division?"

Luton has been relegated to the Second Division in League football! That is Luton's present claim to international fame!

Meanwhile the eyes of the world are on Rhodesia.

No one is permitted to ignore us as we stand, quietly defiant, at one of the great cross-roads of history.

When we speak and write of these things, we deal in that other kind of information that addresses itself to the human heart and sets free an invincible courage that can come from no other source.

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## THE STRINGER AND HIS TRADE

THE STRINGER AND  
HIS TRADE



## CHAPTER 8

# THE STRINGER AND HIS TRADE

*Condemned to drudge, the meanest of the mean,  
And furbish falsehoods for a magazine.*

— Byron.

Until fairly recently, few people in South Africa and Rhodesia not directly connected with the Press had ever heard of the word "stringer". To-day stringers are quite often in the news and we are told that stringers have had a lot to do with the hate campaign directed against South African and Rhodesia by certain overseas mass media of communication, including newspapers.

Consequently the word "stringer" has acquired an unpleasant meaning in the public mind which it does not entirely deserve.

What, exactly, is a stringer? In most cases, he is a local correspondent of an overseas newspaper or news agency. He is not paid by the week or month but generally by the number of words, the price varying according to the kind of story and the prominence it is given. Thus, more is paid for a front-page story than for one inside the newspaper, more for a story at the top of the page than for one lower down.

The stringer is paid more by a news magazine like *Time* or *News Week*, or a newspaper like *The Daily Mirror*, all with sales running into millions, than by a small paper in Australia or Canada.

And quite often, a stringer will get a special bonus payment for a story which has just the right kind of popular appeal or one which has produced the desired kind of public reaction.

Before we go any further, however, one important fact must be made clear. Stringers, in general, are a well-meaning lot who have to work hard in the little spare time their regular

jobs allow, in their effort to earn a few extra pounds or rands a month. As a class, they have been given a bad name by a few.

The South African Press Commission reports that three-fifths of the cabled news dispatched to the British Press from South Africa during the period 1950-55 was sent by stringers connected with the English-language Press.

None whatever was sent by any journalist connected with an Afrikaans newspaper.

In all, 93 stringers dispatched news to the British newspapers, contributing 45.62 per cent of the political news classified as "faulty", 60.19 per cent of the "bad" and 78.81 per cent of the "very bad".

The 93 would not all have been active at the same time.

The worst offenders are always a relatively small minority; thus we find that stringers in Johannesburg and Cape Town between them accounted for 90.11 per cent of the political reporting and those on one newspaper, the *Cape Times*, in the words of the Commission, "made a more substantial contribution than the stringers of any other newspaper towards the formation of the distorted picture of the South African political and racial scene reported in the British Press".

After the Commission had issued the first portion of its report, some of these stringers appear to have taken fright, for the Commission found a "marked improvement" after 1960.

The task of sending the bulk of the material needed for the manipulation of British public opinion on the subject of politics and race, was then taken over by full-time representatives of overseas newspapers and news agencies.

But let us not be unfair to stringers as a class. There have been good ones who resisted the temptation to introduce an anti-South African or anti-Rhodesian flavour into their writing — as there are bad one who, as the familiar phrase puts it, "would sell their old grandmothers".

When I think of the "grandmother-selling" variety, I am reminded of an occasion a few years ago when I was visited in my Johannesburg flat by a journalist acquaintance. He was all smiles, like the Cheshire cat in "Alice in Wonderland", and he was in a hurry to tell me why.

In his hand, as he sat down, were five battered envelopes gaily adorned with foreign postage stamps, and these he shuffled and opened fanwise, and looked at admiringly, as if he had a winning hand of poker.

Fate had certainly dealt this hard-working stringer a Royal Flush, for each envelope, as he proceeded to show, contained



a handsome cheque. And he expected, so he told me, that the next post would bring some more.

All this money had come to him for a single news story he had telegraphed a few weeks earlier to a leading Sunday newspaper in Australia. This newspaper had passed it on to other smaller papers which were now paying separately for "second rights".

It was the kind of story that nearly always sells best, a human story arousing pity and indignation, a story of "man's inhumanity to man". It was a story, too, that exhibited South Africa, the land of its origin, in a most unfavourable light.

This particular stringer, a cheerful and pleasant companion to all who knew him, was not a South African citizen. He had no interest whatever in politics. He had no wish to injure South Africa's good name. He only wanted to make money. And he knew how to make money with a cable form and a typewriter.

Some stringers earn more money from newspapers abroad than from the firms which employ them at home. They have their lean months, and they have their bumper harvest months when cheques come floating down on them like manna from heaven.

A classic example of a "winner" which brings big cheques, and many of them, is provided by a story which appeared in a leading South African newspaper about a young Bantu who was said to have been kidnapped and used as a slave for several years on a farm in the Northern Transvaal. The hero of this sentimental masterpiece, this "tear-jerker" *par excellence*, was now back at Lady Selbourne Township, near Pretoria, sorrowfully seeking traces of his mother and other relatives. There was even a picture of him, a forlorn spectacle, sitting on a stone against the background of township houses.

That story was telegraphed all over the world and was given great prominence in newspapers with daily sales running into many millions.

For scores of millions of people, this story of the "escaped slave", this variation on the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" theme, provided a horrifying example of the conditions which were supposed to prevail in South Africa — then, and to this day, Target No. 1 of the world's Leftist Opinion Makers.

It was not long before someone recognised the young Bantu from his picture in the Press and the story was quickly proved, beyond any shadow of doubt, to be a total fabrication. We may be sure it was not invented by the reporter. South African journalists do not write nor do their newspapers publish reports known to be false. But false stories are more



readily believed and are less likely to be properly checked when they tend to promote a newspaper's editorial policy.

No overseas newspaper that I know of ever admitted in its columns that the story was false — such an admission, after all, would have disturbed that confidence between newspaper and reader which is so much desired.

Here was a piece of hostile propaganda that did South Africa a great deal of harm, creating in the minds of millions an impression exceedingly hard to erase.

Some of the stories sent abroad by stringers are, in my opinion — and I have seen plenty of them — the ultimate in journalistic irresponsibility, both at the sending and the receiving end. The stringer does not care what he sends and can invent with liberty because there is no way in which he can be called to account. Denials in South Africa and Rhodesia have no effect in Australia, Canada or the United Kingdom. The reporter is well paid; the editor gets the kind of story that helps to push up the sales of his paper; while the owner produces the kind of manipulated public opinion which he desires.

Who could disturb a deal in which interests are so tightly knit?

One of the most powerful motives at work, as we have seen, is that of cupidity. Only a few of the journalists at the sending end can be said to be politically hostile to their country or to have any decided attitude on the race question. Most stringers, most of the time, are interested only in making some extra money.

The journalists in the overseas newspapers which publish these stories — the editors and news editors, in particular — can generally be regarded as similarly non-political in their attitudes. They are mostly interested in producing newspapers making a powerful impact on the minds of their readers. Their earning capacity and their status as journalists is assessed, very often, according to their skill in pushing up the sales of their newspaper. Most of them would have little or no insight into the long-range political purposes which they are helping to promote.

But there are other motives at work which reach right to the heart of the question, motives quite different but which mesh in with the others.

Why would scandalous stories about South Africa and Rhodesia push up the sales of newspapers in Australia, America and the United Kingdom? Why do people who make up the newspaper-reading masses "go for" stories of this kind? What is the appeal, for example, of a "tear-jerker" like the one about

the Bantu who was said to have escaped from cruel enslavement on a Transvaal farm?

Part of the answer to questions like these is that the newspaper-reading masses — as distinct from the intelligent and discerning minority — have a hunger for “strong meat” which will help to relieve them of a form of suffering we know as boredom.

“Strong meat” for these people consists, among other things, of newspaper stories, articles and pictures which exploit to the maximum the tension between Good and Evil, stories about the “good guys” who are very, very good, and about “bad guys” who are very, very bad. What is wanted is something the reader can believe and which will swing him between the extremes of indignation and pity. What is not wanted is news about people as he knows them, people who are almost invariably a baffling mixture of good and bad, calling for a neutral attitude.

Promoters of professional wrestling tournaments understand this psychology very well and they often contrive to make the audience admire one of the fighters and hate the other, sometimes to such good effect that the police have to be brought in to prevent a riot or to escort the “villain” from the ring.

Nor is it entirely a matter of dispelling boredom. There are other psychological factors which the modern professional Opinion Makers understand very well and know how to exploit.

The individual who, much multiplied, makes up the masses in the great population centres of the world, is a rather sick animal, loaded with an accumulation of private resentments which he picks up in the process of trying to “adjust” himself to society.<sup>2, 24, 47</sup>

A newspaper story of injustice and unkindness arouses his indignation and provides him with a means of safely discharging some of this pent-up emotion.

Hence, he is inclined to accept news stories of this kind uncritically, if not eagerly, and to allow his political attitudes to be influenced by them. His defences, if he ever had any, are down.

People also yearn for an outlet for their more generous emotions, their sympathy and pity, emotions which are often stifled in the highly industrialised, competitive environment of our commercial civilisation. Not unmixed with this need to exercise the generous emotion of sympathy, we must expect to find a similar need to indulge self-pity.

Reaching about in my mind for a live example to illustrate this point, I was reminded of an experience many years ago when, as a young reporter, I was sent to write an article about



the dreadful slum conditions then prevailing outside a certain South African city (and which I might add, prevail no longer — that was 40 years ago).

In a lengthy illustrated article describing the dreadful conditions in which a number of people were living, I happened to mention a visit to an Indian-owned shack where the dog was kept chained inside a rough wooden cage.

There was a flood of letters from readers indignantly protesting on behalf of the dog but not one letter demanding that something be done about the people.

What was the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals doing about it? That was the theme of most of the letters.

Quite unconsciously, these letter-writers had grasped at an opportunity of discharging harmlessly (that is, at no cost to themselves in time or money) a generous emotion deeply implanted in human nature.

The psychology is easy to understand. It is felt to be "safe" to give free rein to feelings of pity when the object is a dog for whom someone else can be held responsible. It is even "safer" when the objects of pity are thousands of miles away, on the other side of the globe, therefore least likely to knock at our doors and ask us to translate our pity into deeds.

A good deal of harmful, dangerous stuff accumulates in human minds, especially in the great population centres of the world. Hate campaigns against South Africa and Rhodesia or Portugal, public agitations in India and Pakistan, all help to canalise resentments which breed in the masses and to discharge them safely at some remote target.

There is nothing like a hated enemy abroad for diverting public anger over evils at home; artful politicians in many parts of the world understand this as a useful principle of political action.<sup>1, 27</sup>

There can be no doubt, however, that the most important and most dangerous of all the motives which combine so smoothly in campaigns of hostility in the Press, radio and television, is that of a world conspiracy to overthrow one of the last great bastions of genuine local autonomy and independence and to remove an obstacle that lies athwart the path of the one-world revolutionaries of the Left.

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## PRESS FREEDOM — NO DEBATE!

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The second of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It is a nation of people who have come from many different parts of the world, and who have brought with them their own customs and traditions. This has made the United States a melting pot of different cultures and peoples.

The third of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The fourth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The fifth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The sixth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The seventh of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The eighth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of love. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The ninth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The tenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of faith. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The eleventh of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of courage. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The twelfth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of wisdom. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The thirteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of strength. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

## CHAPTER 9

### PRESS FREEDOM — NO DEBATE!

*Who ever knew Truth to be put to the worse in a free and open encounter? She needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings, to make her victorious; those are the shifts and defences which error uses against her power. — John Milton.*

Newspapers of the Liberal Establishment lose no opportunity of holding forth on the subject of the Freedom of the Press, but they can never be drawn into a genuine debate with those who allege that this precious freedom is being abused.

In 1963-64 when Radio South Africa broadcast a series the author's talks analysing the performance of the Press, certain newspapers kept up an incessant clamour, but repeated invitations to spokesmen of these newspapers to take part in a properly controlled debate over the air were ignored.

A written invitation to the senior editor of the Argus Group of newspapers, or his nominee, was likewise refused.

Representatives of the Liberal Press disappeared like cats up a tree when pursued on their very own subject, a subject on which many people would have expected them to be the most articulate spokesmen and most courageous debaters.

A final challenge to the South African Liberal Press came in two radio talks which I broadcast in April, 1964, summarised below:

I have been speaking from one side of this gulf for close on a year, analysing and criticising a Press which, as I see it, is not fulfilling its proper function.

Interestingly enough, there has been very little defence of the newspapers except by the newspapers themselves. There have been few signs of a public rally to the defence of a Press which has always claimed to be the mirror and mouthpiece of public opinion.

A debate carried on in this fashion -- across a great divide



— makes little real progress, since each side tends to ignore the arguments produced by the other.

Genuine debate means getting together and testing one set of views against the other, when poor arguments are often quickly exposed.

As far as I am aware, not a single fact or argument that I have advanced in the last year has been answered — except, of course, with an occasional torrent of abuse.

The defence which the Press puts out from time to time reminds me of a scratchy old gramophone record with tune and words we have heard a thousand times before.

“You’re only as free as your newspaper”. — This has begun to sound like a refrain that could be set to music.

“You’re only as free as your newspaper”. — We found it once again in an article by the Assistant Editor of the *Johannesburg Star*, Mr. Rene de Villiers.

It sounds fine and in a sense it is perfectly true, but it leaves a great deal of genuine criticism unanswered.

It would have been interesting I am sure, to have Mr. De Villiers in the studio and to ask him to explain some of his remarks but he isn’t here, so I shall have to do the best I can without him. Let us take a few examples.

Mr. De Villiers begins his first article as follows: “So much political mud has been slung at newspapers in recent years that South Africans are in danger of forgetting that there is a direct relationship between the liberty of the individual and the freedom of the Press”.

First of all, I should like to put these few questions to the writer: “Why are criticisms of the Press always described as ‘mud-slinging’ and ‘smearing’, and why are those who dare to criticise the Press, always angrily attacked? Why is criticism of the Press described as ‘propaganda’? Why is so little of it ever answered?”

Very few people in South Africa can claim any exemption from criticism by the Press. The Government and its servants are exposed at all times to the most searching criticism — as well they should be. One of the main tasks of the Press is to draw attention to the faults of others and journalists are never so happy as when they can expose some public scandal under headlines that fairly burst out of the page.

No one blames the newspapers for doing that. On the contrary, fault-finding is part of the business of every newspaper which we all heartily approve. Cinema shows are reviewed — and sometimes sharply criticised. Dramatic performances are criticised, sometimes quite cruelly. Every department of sport has its specialised critics. And of course, no one has

ever suggested that radio should not be criticised. Every newspaper of any importance has its regular radio critic who considers it his business to analyse every aspect of broadcasting from the impromptu quips in the early morning session to the policy decisions of the Board of Governors.

Honest criticism is built into our Western way of life. Although some of us may sometimes pull an ugly face when given a dose of this medicine, we all agree that criticism is an excellent thing, that it stimulates a healthy self-criticism and that the health and progress of our kind of society would be impossible without criticism in big and regular doses.

Long essays could be written about the energising, fructifying virtues of criticism. But I am sure I have made my point. We are all enthusiastic about the great value of criticism.

This being so, is it not surprising — even a little amusing — to find that the most zealous practitioners of criticism in our society — the Press — fears criticism as a cat fears water?

Or, to use a different metaphor, the Press clenches its teeth like a case of lock-jaw when offered some of its own excellent medicine — criticism.

The Press claims a total immunity from criticism and it is no use denying that this claim has been granted to an almost astonishing degree. In many countries the Press has become like the sacred cow of India which must not be touched or chivvied no matter what it does.

That is why the Press sees all criticism as “mud-slinging”, or “propaganda” or as “threats to the ideal of Press freedom”. In other words, criticism of the Press is represented as a form of sacrilege. And Press freedom is thus made to mean not only the freedom TO criticise but also freedom FROM criticism.

“If the newspapers lose their freedom,” Mr. De Villiers warns his readers, “individuals inevitably lose their liberty and their country moves from a democracy into some form of dictatorship.”

Here we see how the Press, when criticised, tries to gain the sympathy and support of its readers by telling them that *their* freedom is in danger, that the critics of the Press are the promoters of dictatorship and tyranny.

Quite frankly, I can think of nothing more tyrannical and dangerous than the idea which has been planted in the public mind that people who happen to own and run newspapers are above all criticism and should be answerable to no one but themselves.

Still anxious to gain the sympathy of his readers, Mr. De Villiers goes on: “The best newspapermen would never ask to



be given rights which ought not to be available to the humblest citizen in a democratic society."

But I doubt very much whether Mr. De Villiers really means what he says, since freedom from criticism is certainly not one of the freedoms enjoyed by the ordinary citizen, as we are all reminded every day of our lives.

The ordinary citizen is not a law unto himself. He is free, but only so long as he behaves himself, so long as he conforms to a set of criteria prescribed by the group or the society to which he belongs. He is free to drive his car upon the public highway but if he drives dangerously he is punished.

The *Star* has said in a leading article: "Individual and Press freedom are inseparable; the one is an exact gauge of the other."

I would go further and say that criticism and the health of a society are inseparable, the one is a gauge of the other. The more vigorous and penetrating and fearless the criticism that a nation can stand, so much healthier and stronger will it be.

But in this context the word criticism needs to be defined. It must be sound criticism. That means that it must be criticism that springs from a set of values and motives which belong to our society. Otherwise, how can criticism further our values and our interests?

It is not enough to criticise a section of our own Press and to point out its innumerable faults of commission and omission.

What is needed as never before is a clear insight into the genuine Press ideal and a set of criteria which will enable every individual to see for himself whether he is being well served by the particular newspaper he reads.

We need to know precisely what we mean when we say that a free society needs a free Press or, as the Assistant Editor of the Johannesburg *Star* has put it, that "Press freedom and the liberty of the individual are inseparable".

Do we mean that newspaper owners must be totally free, answerable only to themselves for what they do — and for what they fail to do?

Do we mean that they must be free not only to produce and distribute newspapers, but free to misuse these rights to their hearts' content?

Is that what we mean?

Does Press freedom include the right of a newspaper, or a whole group of newspapers, to set itself up as a propaganda agency for our nation's most vicious and external enemies?



Is this what we mean when we say that a democratic society needs a free Press?

We cannot answer questions like these until we have clarified our ideas and until we know precisely what we are defending when we defend Press freedom.

What we are defending, I believe, can be reduced to one simple proposition: The freedom of the Press, is basically the property of the people and not of the Press. It is a freedom exercised by the Press on behalf of the community in which it operates.

The freedom that is at stake is not that of the newspapers to supply or withhold information as they think fit or to persuade as they think fit — it is the nation's freedom of access to the information it needs in order to be able to protect and promote its own vital interests.

There was a time when the expression "war by other means" meant little more than the diplomatic manoeuvring whereby one nation tried to impose its will on another without recourse to a shooting war, or of so weakening an opponent's position that the minimum force was needed to complete the victory.

Today "war by other means" means, before all else, war by propaganda, war by pressure and persuasion exerted directly on the population of the nation under attack, a form of war whose aim is to produce a surrender without the need for any fighting or at any rate with the minimum of fighting.

It is against this background of a world-wide power struggle conducted largely on the plane of public information and persuasion, with news services often designed to overthrow resistance rather than to inform, that it is necessary today to examine very closely and with great determination all our notions about the freedom, the duties and responsibilities of the Press, the radio and television.<sup>18, 22, 27, 48, 50</sup>

The first requirement, surely, is that information should come from sources that are fully known and trusted.

What would be the situation of an army in the field, if instead of having an intelligence corps of its own, staffed by its cleverest and most trusted people, it had to rely on a service of information supplied by unknown people who might even be working for the other side?

And yet this is the sort of situation that does occur when nations that imagine that they are living in peace, allow one of the most vital functions in their society to be performed by people of whom they know little and that little sometimes rather disconcerting.

In many parts of the world today those who control vast

newspaper chains and radio and television networks have appointed themselves to supply a function on which the health, the confidence, the freedom and the very survival of whole nations are ultimately dependent. For this highly important task they have needed only one qualification — the possession of enough money to buy and to run the newspapers and other media of mass communication.

The Press must be free — no one denies that — but it must be OUR Press, promoting OUR values and OUR interests. Only such a Press has any claim to the freedom to govern itself in OUR society.

Who are the owners of the Press? Who are the individuals who ultimately control it? What are their real motives? Whose interests do they promote? What is the source of the values and the criteria which regulate their policies and their behaviour?

A Press which can answer questions like these and can identify itself fully and frankly with the values and interests of the community in which it operates, need not fear any curtailment of its freedom.

For the people will rise up like one man to defend it.

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## EMASCULATION OF THE JOURNALIST



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## CHAPTER 10

# EMASCULATION OF THE JOURNALIST

*We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are Jumping Jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are the property of these men. — John Swinton (former American editor).*

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People generally like to hear about newspapers and the way they are run. The reason for this interest and curiosity is that newspapers so seldom talk about themselves — except to praise themselves and proclaim the ideals for which they stand. But they are never found critically examining each other in public. In fact, they are seldom criticised by anyone who really knows and understands newspapers.

Newspapers should be criticised like everything else in the state and they should not be angry and upset when they are. For newspapers themselves tell us about the great value of criticism. And they are quite right. Governments should be criticised. Artists and musicians should be criticised. Town councils should be criticised.

Criticism, provided it is honest and well informed, is an excellent thing. It is good medicine. It puts us all on our toes and if applied in the right spirit, improves the whole tone of society.

The people best qualified to deliver some healthy criticism of newspapers are not the working journalists themselves. They are too close to the matters to be criticised and they have a perfectly natural fear that too much frankness about their own profession and industry might prejudice their chances of promotion.

The kind of person best equipped to criticise newspapers intelligently must have been at the centre of things. And he

must be there no longer, as I have already pointed out. Not someone who has been cast out but rather someone who has managed to climb out — from over the wall rather than from under.

A man, for example, like Mr. Morris Broughton who resigned two or three years ago as editor of the *Cape Argus* — some years before he was due to retire. He has written a book which can be thoroughly recommended to anyone wishing to get a better grip of Press and Politics of South Africa. Indeed, that is the title of his book.<sup>4</sup>

Anyone reading that excellent book is bound to admit that it is informed by a spirit of fairness and kindness. Mr. Broughton did not stamp out with a bitter grievance. He withdrew quietly, saddened by the realisation that this profession had not given him the chance that he had confidently expected to have as he mounted the ladder of promotion.

This is what that gifted journalist has to say about South African newspapers which he served for the greater part of his life:

"The English newspapers also have a common outlook and a single orientation. They are unanimously in opposition, anti-nationalist, greatly pre-occupied with politics and frankly and forcefully partisan, however this last might be qualified. Yet they have lost the political struggle. They cry incessantly in unvarying and eloquent voices. They cry down the wind. Where they seek to be effective, they are dismayingly ineffective. They are no longer able to influence the course of events, and though still largely unaware of it, have become the last thing they intended to be and that which avowedly they most oppose — a source and perpetuator of division on every plane, social, economic, political and spiritual."

He also tells us that the real power in the South African Press rests with the owners and not the editors. It rests with the owners, he says "through their instruments the business managers and directorates". He goes on: "There is no genuine editorial power of decision, only and fundamentally, of conformity."

And he remarks that when General Hertzog, as Prime Minister, once called a conference of editors to discuss with them a Press Law he was contemplating, he was astonished to find that he was addressing himself to persons who had not the kind of power he had taken for granted they had.

Mr. Broughton was not angrily denouncing the Press he had served for so many years. He was criticising it intelligently because, he genuinely believes in the feasibility of a Press that will render society that service, which, according to theory, it



always does.

Like so many people still actively engaged in the newspaper industry, he was saddened as he contemplated the awful gulf that separates the ideal to which all pay lip-service, and the actuality which we encounter every day, morning and evening, and even on Sundays, as our Press.

The key to the whole question, as Mr. Broughton also points out, is the down-grading of the profession of the journalist, not only here but in almost every country where newspapers are produced. The editor used to be a power in the land, a man fearlessly trying to apply an exacting code of professional conduct.

But why not use a former Argus Company editor's actual words? Here they are:

" . . . the balance of power rests to this day with the owners, through their instruments, the business managers and directorates. This obtains in most of the English newspapers down to such details as the employment of a junior typist, the recruitment of editorial staff, use of transport for editorial purposes . . . a junior reporter's expenses . . . payments to a contributor. There is no genuine editorial power of decision, only and fundamentally, of conformity. The largest news gathering agency, the South African Press Association, is an ownership organisation and does not have an editorial man on its governing board or commanding any real voice in its direction and policy."

This statement of the situation can hardly be challenged when, as Mr. Broughton goes on to point out:

"In the history of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, page 269, it is written that 'the policy of the paper is that laid down by the directors' and they have the right 'when necessity arises' of giving specific instructions. This is plain and honest. It makes clear where the final authority and power rest."

The spiritual emasculation of the editor produces consequences that are felt everywhere, making the working journalist an apologetic sort of creature instead of a man who knows in his heart of hearts that he is rendering a genuine, disinterested public service and hence need take no nonsense from anyone.

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## A DISTORTED PICTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA



A DISTORTED PICTURE  
OF SOUTH AFRICA

## CHAPTER 11

# A DISTORTED PICTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA

*They cry out most loudly about the freedom of the Press who mean to misuse it. — Goethe.*

The report of the South African Press Commission, presided over by Mr. Justice J. W. van Zyl has had little impact on the public mind, for reasons arising out of its supreme merit: it is probably the most thorough study of the methods and purposes of politically partisan newspapers and news agencies that has ever been carried out anywhere in the Western world.

Being so thorough and so comprehensive, it is necessarily voluminous, so much so that few people will find the time to read it.

The Commission did its job so painstakingly and so thoroughly that after 14 years of hard work in which it was assisted by a sizeable staff, much of the task set down in its terms of reference remained unaccomplished. The commission never got around to studying the operations of the South African Press except in so far as it contributed to the flow of news to mass media outside the country's borders.

There can be no doubt, however, that the two portions of the report finally submitted to Parliament are highly authoritative and the conclusions supported with facts to the satisfaction of the most fastidious judicial mind.

The Commission heard millions of words of oral evidence and afterwards examined, analysed and classified mountainous stacks of written material including cables and telegrams for a period of five years, all retrieved from the Post Office.

It is important, therefore, that some of the Commission's main conclusions should be set down in some accessible, more permanent form since few members of the public are ever likely to have the time to explore the complete report of which only

a few cyclostyled copies were made.

These generalisations fully support accusations which have been made against certain newspapers and news agencies down the years and they can hardly be described as unfair when presented without all the supporting evidence, being, as they are, of such a kind that anyone can test them against his own observations inside South Africa and abroad.

As in the case of the Southworth Commission (which inquired into the world Press reporting of incidents outside Ryall's Hotel, Blantyre, in January 1960 on the occasion of the visit of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan) the findings of the South African Press Commission were not given the publicity they deserved; and what publicity they did get was in many cases coloured with the antipathy of a Press which had come rather badly out of the ordeal of scrutiny.

One interesting and highly significant fact emerges early in the report: the Commission had little criticism of the general news despatched from South Africa and more particularly news dealing with mining, scientific, financial, economic, industrial, agricultural and educational matters. News dealing with these matters is described as being generally "fair and reasonable".

The Commission found, on the other hand, a preponderance of bad and very bad reporting in messages dealing with politics and race affairs. The two can be considered as one, since racial matters are only interesting to the overseas Press because of their political implications.

Analysing 1,665,214 words of reporting on politics done by correspondents for the British Press alone, the Commission classified 9.42 per cent as good, 14.63 per cent as fair, 29.25 per cent as bad and 46.70 per cent as very bad.

What this means is that 75.95 per cent of the material dealing with political matters gave a distorted picture of the South African scene and that there was little in the remainder that had the effect of a corrective.

Much of the power of the Press to exert political influence rests on the fact that it can feed propaganda into a channel which already carries a good deal of useful, conscientious and skilful reporting on a host of non-political matters.

The Commission investigated the reporting of the South African scene by four world news agencies — Reuters, Associated Press of America, United Press International and Agence France-Presse.

The most important of these from South Africa's point of view is Reuters since it is abundantly served by the South African Press Association which, in turn, draws most of its material from the English-language newspapers.



Thus an investigation of Reuters' overseas reporting of the South African scene substantially reflects the reporting by SAPA and the English-language Press of the country.

Once again, the Commission finds that SAPA's reports to Reuters on matters other than politics are generally fair and factual and contained in the period under survey little comment other than that needed to place the news in perspective.

According to a summary of the second portion of the Commission's report prepared by the State Information Department, this is what the Commission had to say about SAPA's political news supplied to Reuters over the five-year period:

"The political problems were virtually never reported against the historical background or in relation to the linguistic and racial plurality in South Africa. The Government's policy was either not reported or insufficiently or wrongly reported. Legislation proposed or passed by the Government to deal with South Africa's problems was generally correctly reported in a single cable. But all manner of criticism of this legislation was subsequently reported, even criticism which was patently without foundation. The racial scene . . . was depicted largely in terms of the criticisms of some of those non-Whites who were opposed to the traditional race policy of South Africa and very often in Communistic terms. The scene was depicted to a large extent from documents or statements given to the Press by non-Whites or non-White organisations and it appeared that Communists . . . had a considerable share in the drafting of the documents.

"The minor political parties, political groups or movements, dissidents and deviators and persons of little public standing or political following were so over-reported as largely to obscure the policies of the two main political parties, the National Party and the United Party."

The Commission comments that the reporting done by SAPA was really a reflection of the South African English-language Press.

Reuters' full-time correspondent during the period under review is even more severely criticised. He is accused of over-reporting the United Party (and what was supposed to be the English-speaking) point of view to such an extent that his reporting amounted to little more than campaigning for this point of view. Some of his reports also campaigned for what was supposed to be the non-White point of view.

"From time to time," says the summary, "minor political parties, groups and movements and dissidents were over-reported and left out of perspective. The critics of the Government were over-reported and the points of view of the National

Party and the Afrikaans-speaking section under-reported or given only in the terms of those opposed to or disapproving of them".

Bad as was all this reporting, it was not nearly as bad, in the view of the Commission, as the general run of the reporting by full-time representatives of Associated Press of America, United Press and Agence France-Presse.

Extravagant propagandist utterances which do not give a true picture of the situation in South Africa were systematically selected for reporting — such was the considered opinion of the Commission after it had minutely examined and classified millions of words of reporting by the news agencies, stringers and full-time correspondents.

Spokesmen of the South African Indian Congress were reported more fully and more frequently than the spokesmen of the Government and the official Parliamentary Opposition.

During the second half of 1950 — 18 months before the start of the Indian Passive Resistance campaign — Dr. Dadoo, president of the Congress and a named Communist, received more prominence in SAPA cables to Reuters than was received by either the Prime Minister or the Leader of the Opposition. Government and Opposition speeches answering or criticising Dr. Dadoo were virtually never reported.

The Commission draws special attention to the manner in which Communists have been reported to Reuters. The selection of the matter to be reported in connection with the Government's Suppression of Communism Act, is described as "one-sided and tendentious".

Named Communists were fully and frequently reported. The Government's reasons for combating the dangers of Communism were very scantily reported. The actions and utterances of named Communists were fully and repetitiously reported, and the most vehement and extravagant accusations against the Government were often reported verbatim: No replies to these were reported.

The cables thus created the impression that the named Communists were victims of intolerance and suppression while the disfavour with which the bulk of the people of South Africa regarded these people was not reflected.

In order to arrive at some assessment of the extent to which SAPA reported Communists as expressing the views of the non-whites, the Commission took at random 50 names of non-whites who were reported in SAPA's cables as spokesmen of non-whites and non-white organisations. Of these six were named Communists, 12 had been convicted under the Suppres-

sion of Communism Act and seven were named Communists who had also been convicted under the Act. According to this random sample, half of the non-whites reported by SAPA were named Communists or persons convicted of Communist activities.

Most of the views expressed were not taken from speeches and addresses delivered at public meeting but were taken from statements issued to the Press, and there could be no doubt, says the Commission, that Communists had had a hand in the drafting of many of these.

Although the Commission was not directly investigating the South African Press, there can be no doubt that in the two sections of its report there will be found a painstakingly accurate portrait of an important section of this Press as it operated in the period 1950-55, delivering to the major newspapers and news agencies of the world a thoroughly misleading, viciously propagandist account of the South African scene.

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## CHAPTER 12

### NEWS — OR POLITICAL WARFARE?

*How shall I speak thee, or thy power address,  
Thou God of our idolatry, the Press?  
By thee, religion, liberty, and laws  
Exert their influence, and advance their cause;  
By thee, worse plagues than Pharaoh's land befel,  
Diffused, make earth the vestibule of hell:  
Thou fountain at which drink the good and wise,  
Thou ever-bubbling spring of endless lies,  
Like Eden's dread probationary tree,  
Knowledge of good and evil is from thee.*  
— William Cowper.

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* carried on its front page on August 14, 1966, a lead story under an eight-column banner headline which read: "Open Nat. War on Nat. Extremists".

Above this there was a heading in smaller type which read: "True Meaning of Attacks on S. E. D. Brown: Dr. V. also Seen Behind Move".

The same front-page position was occupied in the next issue of the *Sunday Times* by a report which declared in solid black headline type across nine columns: "Hertzog's Afrikaner Orde Exposed", followed by another heading which said: "Ultimate Aim to Oust Verwoerd and Take Over Nationalist Party".

These two reports, typical of scores of similar reports which could be offered as examples, are discussed in this chapter because they represent a type of journalism against which the people of South Africa need to be warned and protected.

Here we see political and psychological warfare presented in a national newspaper in the guise of ordinary news reporting.

Whatever may have been the intention of the writer of these two pieces, their effect is unmistakable. They represent

an all-out attack on a number of people, some of them prominent in politics, the main target being Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, who was bluntly accused of scheming and plotting "to oust Dr. Verwoerd and take over the Nationalist Party".

Statements are made in these reports which, if believed, must bring these men into intense disfavour among South Africans in general and, more particularly, among their closest political associates.

The message is loud and clear: These are dangerous extremists! They are not to be trusted by their colleagues in the National Party!

The people of South Africa need to be able to recognise this kind of journalism for what it is — if it even deserves the name of journalism. It is propaganda. It is political warfare. It is character assassination.

There is another good reason for choosing these two reports as examples — attacks by the *Sunday Times* on the same individuals can be expected to continue, for it is obvious that these men have become a special "target area" for the leftists, especially those who conduct their battle from within our borders.

A succession of South African cultural and political leaders have been the victims of similar attacks down the years.

Properly understood, such attacks are the highest honour that can be conferred on a national leader — but there is little comfort in honours if attacks are allowed to succeed.

Dr. Verwoerd was attacked in this way throughout his political career, and by no newspaper more frequently and more savagely than the *Sunday Times*.

If Dr. Verwoerd must rank first in the *Sunday Times's* honours list, second place must surely go to the present Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, who, as everyone knows, never came more heavily under attack from a section of the English-language Press than when, as Minister of Justice, he was locked in a struggle with the forces of sabotage and subversion in this country.

A newspaper reader who has learned to recognise psychological warfare when he sees it never falls into the error of accepting it as genuine news, and he can be said to have been armed in his mind, better able to defend his own interests as an individual and better able to defend the interests of his country and his community.

The two reports about the so-called "Pretoria extremists"



cannot stand up to one moment's critical examination as news. Not only are they hostile, but they are false and misleading. What right has the *Sunday Times* to decide for its readers who are "extremists" and to blackguard them with this epithet? Goldreich and Wolpe and Abram Fischer were never so branded by the *Sunday Times*!

Unless a newspaper reader has become thoroughly suspicious of his Press and has acquired a sort of built-in immunity, he is defenceless against false statements, especially those he reads in massive headline type.

"S. E. D. Brown's Paper subsidised by Hertzog's Secret Fund" — how is the unprotected reader to know that this statement is totally untrue?

"Ultimate Aim to Oust Verwoerd and Take Over Nationalist Party" — who is to warn him that this is totally untrue, if he has not learned how to detect the difference between news and propaganda?

Before he can make any progress at all, the newspaper reader must lose his attitude of innocence. He must stop being gullible. He must stop being a simpleton. He must get out of the habit, deeply ingrained in some people, of automatically believing every word he reads in print. Most people don't believe what they are told by word of mouth; their minds are alive and critical as they listen to the spoken word; their minds must be critical also when they read.

The reader with an awakened, critical mind would have noticed at a glance that the *Sunday Times* is violently hostile towards the people who figure in the reports of August 14 and 21 and that consequently these reports are valueless as news, as information needed for the formation of sound opinions.

One good example is better than thousands of words of description and explanation. So let us examine another example of character assassination, this one taken from the columns of the rather ponderously respectable Johannesburg *Star*.

This report was printed in the *Star's* issue of November 5, 1963, and is chosen from hundreds of similar examples for two simple reasons — 1: It is an almost classical example of the technique of character assassination, and; 2: The victim of it is a world-famous politician with a well-nigh immaculate public character.

The heading which was in quite large type and stretched over three columns, speaks for itself and accurately represents the contents of the report: "Barry Goldwater — Why Americans Call Him the most Frightening Man since McCarthy".



How many marks does a newspaper reader deserve for realising at once that he is not going to have a fair and objective report about Senator Goldwater? Very few marks indeed — and yet we may be sure that many of the people who read that report in the *Star* took it in at a gulp, never doubting that they were being correctly informed about a man who looked like gaining the Republican nomination in the forthcoming American presidential election.

In fairness to the *Star*, it should be pointed out that this report did not originate in its own editorial offices; it had been printed a day or two before in the London *Daily Mail* and had come from the *Daily Mail's* New York correspondent.

The writer's purpose should be obvious: that of presenting a thoroughly ugly image of Senator Goldwater and of urging the public to think of him with fear and loathing — “the most frightening man since McCarthy”.

To call this kind of report “news” is an abuse of the English language. It is political and ideological warfare. In particular, it is character assassination, a spurious substitute for the kind of reporting the reader is entitled to expect where the subject handled is no less than a forthcoming American presidential election.

Senator Goldwater is presented as a “bad guy” — there is nothing good to be said about him. Even his apparent virtues turn out, in this report, to be evidence of the bad in him.

Everyone knows that Barry Goldwater is a highly successful businessman; that is something that might count in his favour. The reader is quickly informed, however, that he “inherited rather than created his multi-million-dollar departmental store”. He is a Republican, which might also count in his favour among supporters of the Republican Party — but no, Goldwater is not a Republican by genuine conviction for he “flipped a coin to decide” whether to be a Republican or a Democrat. He is also a non-smoker, but is allowed no credit for his abstinence — he is a non-smoker, says the *Star* report “because his mother told him that smoking would stunt his growth”; in other words, because he could be easily scared!

Even Senator Goldwater's popularity has to be given an ugly explanation! Here the writer has a real problem — how is he to explain that “the most frightening man since McCarthy” has now become “the talk of America” and is already, as no one could deny, “far ahead in the drive for the Republican nomination”?

The problem is neatly solved by an expert leftist pro-

pagandist: "Senator Goldwater is showing, by the way his utterances mesmerise the country, that there is something profoundly wrong with the system that produced him".

That sentence contains a wealth of meanings for those who have learned to read between the lines. In politics, certain people are not to be reported but only deplored! From the point of view of a liberalist journalist, Senator Goldwater has no right to exist; he does not represent a legitimate point of view even when he looks like becoming a presidential candidate; he is only the symptom of something "profoundly wrong"!

In one sentence, the London *Daily Mail's* correspondent has exposed the liberals' psychology of intolerance and suppression. There must be freedom of expression — but not for conservatives! Any kind of thinking basically different from their own does not have to be reported because it is evil and ugly, the symptom of something "profoundly wrong". The public (on all other occasions flattered with the notion that its opinion represents the highest form of truth) cannot be trusted with fair reports of a conservative's utterances; the public must be protected against the danger of being "mesmerised".

The *Star* report represents, in miniature, the massive and concentrated campaign of character assassination which the liberals (and the Communists) used against Senator Goldwater in the subsequent presidential election. There was obviously no other way in which he could be prevented from reaching the White House.<sup>27</sup>

The wonder of that election was that in a country drugged by 30 years of leftist indoctrination and the almost total suppression of conservative ideas and opinions, Barry Goldwater was still able to poll close on 27,000,000 votes.

These 27-million Americans demonstrated that they had acquired a high degree of resistance to the leftist opinion makers.

But what had Barry Goldwater's possible nomination as presidential candidate to do with South Africa? The interest in the United States is understandable, but why should a British newspaper with a national circulation wish to denigrate him? And why should a leading South African newspaper present to its readers so ugly a picture of a man who, at that stage, seemed to have a fair chance of becoming the president of the United States?

The question might also be asked why almost the entire English-language Press in South Africa excluded from its



columns any portrait of Barry Goldwater and any account of his political philosophy which might have rendered intelligible his enormous appeal to the people of America?

There can be only one answer: Because, in the context of the present world-wide struggle between the forces of liberalism and conservatism, Goldwater stood for a national, patriotic insight into human affairs — something which all leftists (again, including the Communists) regard as something that must be stamped out at any price. Goldwater stood for the values and the insight and the kind of political thinking which have given South Africa a powerful national government and which threatens the Liberal Establishment and its internationalist aims everywhere.

The *Sunday Times* stories about the so-called "Pretoria extremists" were not as skilfully written as the London *Daily Mail* piece which the *Star* reprinted, but they fall into the same category, befouling a political or ideological adversary whose powerful appeal to the public makes him too dangerous to engage in genuine debate.

The world-wide suppression of conservative ideas and values and the personal denigration of all effective conservative spokesmen must be seen as one of the great evils of the age in which we live.<sup>6, 20, 27, 32</sup>

Why are they doing it? What is it all about? Richard M. Weaver, in his brilliant little book "Ideas Have Consequences" (not to be had in South Africa's chain bookstores) answers the question in one sentence: "The proprietors of the Stereopticon have a pretty clear idea of the level at which thinking is safe for the established order. They are protecting a materialist civilisation which is growing more insecure and panicky as awareness filters through that it is over an abyss".

The evil of leftist suppression is one which threatens not only the nation and the White race everywhere, but also plants disorder in the personal life of the individual. It represents a problem which the individual must somehow try to solve for himself if he is to have opinions and attitudes which he can call his own and if he is to save himself from the bewilderment and chronic mild confusional insanity which are the price he must pay in the end for a controlled, manipulated mind:

It is hard for any individual, as we all know, to have to think for himself, and he may never be able to think for himself entirely; very few ever do; but it is hell for any man to have to live in a mental world that is not sufficiently his own. The problem is one that presses most heavily on the educated classes whose members, because their intelligence has been enlarged by education and experience, find them-



selves under an unavoidable compulsion to try to form an intelligible picture of the world around them.

The educated man for whom the world has ceased to make any sense is a sick and unhappy man.

An American, Archibald MacLeish, has some telling comments to make on a type of journalism which now dominates the American scene, darkening the minds of the reading masses. Writing in the *Magazine of the Library of Congress* as long ago as 1941, he says: "Defamation of character is not new in American or in any other journalism, but the systematic use of the Press to meet the issue by confusing the issue and to answer the adversary by befouling him is an invention of our time".

"It employs its hired gunmen," says MacLeish, "... to assassinate the reputation of all leadership, and it distorts the particular issue, not to win the particular issue but to make all issues irrelevant and meaningless".

In one short paragraph — indeed, in one sentence — MacLeish reaches to the heart of the question: the effect of systematic attacks on leaders is to "assassinate all leadership".

Before the political representatives of Money Power can take over the control of a community, that community's natural leaders must be knocked out and removed from the scene. The natural hierarchy must be destroyed before it can be replaced with an artificial one.

What is it all these men have in common who have been the targets of the most vicious attacks and news-slanting by the South African English-language Press since before the South African War?

Why were men like the late General J. B. M. Hertzog, Dr. D. F. Malan and Mr. Johannes Strijdom so viciously assailed? Why was the late Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, represented by liberalist media of communication all over the world as an ogre? Why was the present Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, attacked all down the years? Why today are similar attacks being made against people like Dr. Albert Hertzog, Mr. J. A. Marais, M.P., Mr. S. P. Botha, M.P., Dr. Connie Mulder, M.P., Dr. P. J. Meyer (chairman of the Board of Governors of the S.A.B.C.) and others?

Why — if not because these men were, or are, recognised as the natural leaders of the Afrikaans-speaking community, leaders connected to their community by ties of language, history, sentiment, tradition — in short, flesh of the flesh of the community they represent?

These are the men who have always addressed the Afrikaners (and now address the English-speakers in ever-

increasing numbers) in the language of the heart as well as that of the mind.

The leftist propagandists who are the instruments of Money Power, have no answer to these eloquent men whose message, if it gets through at all, addresses itself to the deepest political instincts of the people. They have a magnetic effect, they "mesmerise", as the London *Daily Mail* would say, because they are spiritually and intellectually "in phase" with the community they address.

That explains why these men are so seldom fairly and accurately reported, why no serious effort is ever made to answer them and why the only method which can be used against them is to blackguard them, to represent them as dangerous, evil men against whom the public must be protected.

Intellect alone (that is, liberalism) has no chance in any genuine dialogue or debate against the powerful combination of Intellect and Instinct which the Hertzogs, the Strijdoms and the Vorsters of South African politics have always represented so brilliantly.

" . . . To assassinate the reputation of all leadership . . . " — There you have it in a few words! Once this purpose has been achieved, the people are like a flock of sheep, leaderless and helpless — and the political representatives of Big Money take over, not as leaders but as proprietors!

From "character assassination", it is but a step to physical assassination.

No one would suggest that those who conduct campaigns of personal denigration in the Press want to see their adversaries murdered — but who can deny that character assassination brings with it increasingly the danger of physical assassination?

Experience all over the world has amply demonstrated that the leader who is daily represented by his political enemies in Press and Radio and Television as a monster and an ogre walks in danger of his life.

Shocked by the news of the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, the editor of "Punch", Bernard Hollowood, had this to say:

"There is a fearful dilemma. The newspapers, catering for the multitudes and seeking ever larger circulations, deal in instant political platitudes and ready-reckoner assessments of virtue and vice. Mr. X is a badman, dangerous, a menace. He is pilloried daily in leading article and cartoon, and the peculiar licence of the age makes it possible for writer and artist to heap calumny



upon calumny with total irresponsibility and without any semblance of regard for fact. It is the Way of the World in 1966.

"No one should be surprised that some people accept this journalistic deceit as gospel and believe what they have read because they 'saw it in the newspaper'. It should not, therefore, surprise anyone that cranks and idiots, from time to time, should decide to take the law into their own hands and try to right imagined, trumped-up or wildly exaggerated wrongs by brute force, by destroying the focal points of dispute and controversy."

The situation which has been created for the Western world by this kind of journalism is summed up by Hollowood: "Those who campaign for freedom to print anything and everything do not seem to be aware of the appalling dangers involved. Licence to distort is harmless enough when readers are capable of recognising distortion; when readers are semi-literate and mentally off-balance it can create a world of illusion, of imaginary evil, of ogres and fiends. Licence to distort can and does promote a licence to kill. We are stuck with a popular Press that values its freedom to publish and be damned more highly than it does the C. P. Scott maxim that facts are sacred."

The struggle against the propagandists of Big Money who so skilfully wield the instrument of character assassination must be clearly recognised as a struggle by the people of South Africa to save themselves by saving their own genuine leaders.

How is the battle to be fought?

How can South Africa's genuine leaders be protected against the poisonous, undermining attacks which have continued week after week, year after year, in a section of our Press?

These leaders can expect very little protection from the law of the land.

In South Africa, as in most of the countries of the Western world, the law has failed to keep pace with the progress of political and psychological warfare; the law takes no account of modern scientific propaganda techniques. The law of defamation, in particular, is about a century behind the times; hence the ingenious devices of modern character assassination pass through its net of precedents and definitions like water through a sieve.

A former British Prime Minister once spoke in the House of Commons about what he called "the sophisticated lie". What he meant by that was that ingenious, sophisticated people today seldom or never tell a simple, old-fashioned lie. In-



stead, they tell a "sophisticated lie"; they deceive without ever exposing themselves to the risks of what could today almost be called "an honest lie"!

What we also have today, especially in the realm of politics, is "sophisticated defamation". Newspapers and other media of communication (like the B.B.C.) find they can damage or destroy a man's public and private character without exposing themselves to the danger and inconvenience of an action for damages.

A group of newspapers, or a news-gathering agency, or a single newspaper, can destroy a man's public image and knock him out of politics without once giving him a chance to seek redress in the courts. It may be obvious to everyone else that the newspapers are "gunning" for a particular public man and that they are intent on destroying him — and yet there may be a total absence of the evidence of "animus injuriandi" which would satisfy the courts in an action for damages.

In "sophisticated defamation" there is seldom any clear evidence of "animus injuriandi". Members of the editorial staff are never told to slant the news against a particular individual. To do so would be both dangerous and unnecessary. The newspaper must at all costs preserve and protect the illusion that it is strictly impartial and that even when it is heaping ignominy on some defenceless public figure, it is only doing its job of "objective reporting".

The sophisticated technique which is used against the individual is precisely the same as that which is used against a political party or a government; it is the technique which has been used against the National Party Government in South Africa all down the years.

Mr. Justice J. W. van Zyl, chairman of the Press Commission, placed his finger on this technique when he drew attention in his report to what he termed "the preponderance of bad and very bad reporting in messages dealing with politics and race affairs".

In short, the animus against the disliked individual is simply built into the newspaper's editorial policy, producing, in the course of time, "a preponderance of bad and very bad" news about him.

Without any risky instructions ever having to be given, a high premium is placed on news about the victim which happens to be of a derogatory character, and the staff understands that any other news in which the victim figures is of "low news value".

The working journalist is expected to have what is called

"a good nose for news", but there is no universally valid set of criteria to guide him. Each newspaper develops its own set of criteria and standards, its own scale of values. This is called the newspaper's "editorial policy". The journalist who wants to get on in the world, quickly absorbs and understands and helps to implement his newspaper's "editorial policy". When he attends a political meeting (or it could be a parliamentary debate) where his newspaper's "bad guy" is being attacked, he does not say to himself: "Here is a chance of having a bash at Mr. —". What he says (often even believing it himself): "Here's a damned good story"; and he writes it up with enthusiasm, knowing that it will get a prominent place in the paper and will help build up his reputation as a reporter with "an excellent news sense".

Reporter, sub-editor and even editor can then congratulate themselves on their skill and flatter themselves with the idea that they are being honest and conscientious. By an ingenious process of sophistication, they hide their guilt from the public, from the courts — and even from themselves!

The time has come when South Africa's legislators should try to close the gap between the law of defamation and the realities of sophisticated defamation and character assassination.

A newspaper editor would not dare fling a glass of clean water into the face of a political leader he dislikes. That would be physical assault, severely punishable by law. Even a light push is technically an assault and is quickly and easily punished by the courts, at very little inconvenience, and no expense whatever, to the victim.

The penalty for a proved physical assault is serious. The fine may be small, but the perpetrator has been convicted — he now has a criminal record! The law attends to the entire business. The victim does not have to raise a finger on his own behalf; the law is his constant defender against the injuries of physical assault.

With assaults against a man's character and public image it is different. Against the severe injuries which can be inflicted on the individual (and on the community he serves) there can be today no remedy unless the defamer makes the rare mistake of exposing himself to an action for damages under our antique laws. Even then, no matter how gross and apparent the defamation, the victim can expect no immediate help from the law but must fight his own battle at great inconvenience and often at appalling financial risk to himself; indeed, if he does not possess a good deal of money to throw into the battle in the courts, he cannot fight at all but must suffer in silence.



Experience in South Africa has proved that the people who stand in most need of protection are the people's leaders. It is against these individuals that sophisticated defamation, or character assassination, produces the most damaging results. A community which tolerates such an evil takes a terrible risk for which future generations could be called upon to pay dearly.

The law of defamation is antique and needs to be reformed. No matter how the law is altered, it will always be evaded and circumvented by someone; that is only to be expected; but that is no excuse for leaving the law as it is, hopelessly out of register with the realities of the dangerous times in which we live. The law can never be watertight, but it can be much more effective than it is. Public men can never be given complete protection; they don't need it; but that does not mean that they should be left totally unprotected. The "character assassins" cannot be reformed by any process of law; the passionate desire to overthrow a people's natural leaders will always be there so long as wielders of great financial power try to gain political power as well; Money's ruthless fight against the politics of the human heart cannot be stopped; it has been going on throughout history.

But — it is the duty of the nation's legislators to strengthen the position of natural leadership by all possible means. More restraints can be placed on the power which owners of mass media of communication can and do wield. The character assassin cannot be stopped, but more hazards can be planted in his path. These hit-and-run accusers are not courageous men. They do not have a cause for which they are prepared to suffer. They are not the metal of which heroes and martyrs are made. Make their nasty game a little more dangerous and many of them would lose their nerve very soon.

The nation must not allow its will to be paralysed by the appalling din which an alien-oriented South African Press raises at the least hint of any possible curtailment of that licence to distort and defame which it is pleased to call its "freedom".

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## AN EXPERIMENT WITH CENSORSHIP

the first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people into California and the establishment of the state of California in 1850. The second of these was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Colorado and the establishment of the state of Colorado in 1876.

The third of these was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Nevada and the establishment of the state of Nevada in 1864. The fourth of these was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Idaho and the establishment of the state of Idaho in 1890.

The fifth of these was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Montana and the establishment of the state of Montana in 1889. The sixth of these was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Wyoming and the establishment of the state of Wyoming in 1890.

The seventh of these was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1863. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Utah and the establishment of the state of Utah in 1896. The eighth of these was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1863. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Arizona and the establishment of the state of Arizona in 1909.

The ninth of these was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people into New Mexico and the establishment of the state of New Mexico in 1906. The tenth of these was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Texas and the establishment of the state of Texas in 1845.

The eleventh of these was the discovery of gold in Louisiana in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Louisiana and the establishment of the state of Louisiana in 1804. The twelfth of these was the discovery of gold in Mississippi in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Mississippi and the establishment of the state of Mississippi in 1821.

The thirteenth of these was the discovery of gold in Alabama in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Alabama and the establishment of the state of Alabama in 1801. The fourteenth of these was the discovery of gold in Georgia in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Georgia and the establishment of the state of Georgia in 1788.

## CHAPTER 13

### AN EXPERIMENT WITH CENSORSHIP

*And the other side of this belated freedom — it is permitted to anyone to say what he pleases, but the Press is free to take notice of what he says or not. It can condemn any "truth" to death simply by not undertaking its communication to the world — a terrible censorship of silence, which is all the more potent in that the masses of newspaper readers are absolutely unaware that it exists. — Oswald Spengler.*

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There are some useful lessons to be learned from Rhodesia's experience with Press censorship in the weeks following the declaration of independence on November 11, 1965.

Censorship officers walked into the offices of the two daily newspapers, *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury) and *The Bulawayo Chronicle* moments after Mr. Ian Smith had concluded his broadcast address to the nation and they were just in time to prevent special editions going onto the streets.

The subsequent presence of the censors in the offices of the newspapers in Rhodesia was entirely at the request of the proprietors, the idea being to reduce to a minimum any delay in the clearing of material for publication.

Stories in the South African Press to the effect that the censors forced their presence on the newspapers were totally untrue.

Events in Rhodesia have demonstrated once again that Press censorship is a weapon of severely limited utility. No methods have ever been devised, or are ever likely to be devised, whereby a hostile Press can be converted by a process of control into a friendly or even neutral Press.

All that censorship has been able to achieve in Rhodesia — and that was all that was needed at the time — was to harass a hostile monopoly Press, deflect its propagandist aim and prevent the conduct of a properly co-ordinated campaign



to prevent the new regime from establishing itself in power.

One of the prices which governments generally have to pay for Press censorship is that of a certain amount of public resentment.

People do not like to have their Press censored, even when they know it is one-sided and hostile.

The ordinary citizen, no matter how low his intelligence rating or how susceptible he may be to harmful propaganda (perhaps even because of such susceptibility), is always quite sure that he needs no protection, and he is inclined to be resentful when he finds that some portion of the "news" has been withheld from him.

This is one of the facts of life to which every government must adjust itself in one way or another.

This resentment at the idea of being protected against propaganda is something which the newspapers themselves have done their best to stimulate and to exploit as a part of the defence of their own "freedom". They have done it again in Rhodesia with displays of white space in the editorial columns to indicate where the censor has been at work, each one calculated to arouse the curiosity and annoyance of the reader.

Where a paragraph has been cut out of a leading article, the entire article has often been omitted, thus helping to create a false impression of the severity of the censorship.

It is very much to the credit of the Rhodesians that, with few exceptions, they were not much troubled by the censorship. They were assisted in this attitude by their enthusiasm for the cause of independence and their trust in Mr. Smith and his government, and they saw in the censorship, and the Press reaction to it, no more than a continuation of the political warfare in which the newspapers of the Argus Company, both in Rhodesia and South Africa, have always been active protagonists.

Press censorship is a negative device. It can partly disable a hostile Press but it cannot restore a proper balance in the selection and dissemination of the news. Its employment can, therefore, be justified only in a time of crisis when national security prevails over all other considerations.

Censorship can easily be justified in Rhodesia where a real state of war can be said to have prevailed from the moment of the unilateral declaration of independence.

State control of the Press, however satisfactory the immediate results, leaves unsolved the real problem which is that of securing for the community a service of news and news interpretation designed to arm it mentally and morally.

No kind of control can change a bad Press into a good Press. The only answer is to have a good Press and there can be no good Press which is not owned and controlled by individuals who share the real interests and values of the community it serves.

In a shooting war the same principle holds good. If one side is armed with artillery, the other side must also have artillery if it is not to fight under an appalling disability. If one side brings tanks into the battle, the other side must do the same.

If, in the silent struggles of our times, the "cold war" which is no less war for being cold, one side is armed with newspapers and other media of mass communication, there is nothing the other side can do, in the long run, except arm itself with the same weapons of war.

In the meantime, where some form of Press control has to be applied for its immediate effects, there is need for more ingenuity than some governments have exhibited in the past in making this as effective as possible. The white spaces in the Rhodesian newspapers, each one a silent protest against censorship, could have been avoided if advice had been sought from someone familiar with journalistic techniques.

The weakness in the Rhodesian censorship regulations and in their application must all be traced to an anxious concern to make things as easy as possible for a hostile Press. This solicitude the newspapers repaid by doing everything in their power to embarrass the Government.

If censorship regulations are to be more effective, the act of censorship must be differently defined. The onus must be placed on the publisher to produce a finished product that will meet with the censor's requirements. The inclusion of matter not acceptable to the censor would then involve the publisher in delay, inconveniences and expense in putting things right. There would then be some penalty attached to non-co-operation, whereas in the Rhodesian operation the entire burden of inconvenience was borne by the representatives of the Government.

The important fact about the Rhodesian censorship, however, is that it has been substantially successful. Its results must be assessed not in terms of the missing paragraphs but in the overall effect of throwing a hostile Press into confusion at a time when it could have been most dangerous.

If there is another lesson to be learned from Rhodesia's experience it is this: the newspaper-reading public of all Southern Africa has shown little desire to spring to the defence of the Press.



Criticism of censorship has been supplied almost exclusively by the newspapers themselves.

The newspapers have been careful to handle the subject of censorship in such a way as not to give rise to a genuine public debate of all the issues involved or to enable their readers to understand the Rhodesian decision to impose censorship in its proper context — the war context which must always justify exceptional measures in the restraint of certain freedoms.

Some facts in life loom so large that we are liable to lose sight of them altogether.

Everyone can see and understand censorship when it is applied by the government. But few people can see and understand another fact that should be obvious: that every newspaper operates a system of selection and evaluation, including and emphasising some items and excluding others, which has all the effect of a thoroughgoing system of censorship — except that it is a thousand times more effective.

The same is true, necessarily true, of all those who have to do with the collection and writing of news, whether it be an agency like Sapa or Reuter, or a broadcasting station like the R.B.C., B.B.C. or S.A.B.C.

All are controlled — what a meaningless jumble their news services would be if they were not!

It is thoroughly misleading to try to create the impression, as Liberal journalists so often do, that their newspapers are never "controlled". The question to be asked in respect of any particular newspaper or radio station or news service is not whether or not it is controlled, but: who controls it? and to what end?

When a government intervenes, as in Rhodesia, it is not introducing controls where none existed before; it is merely trying to modify the control exercised by the owners through the journalists they employ.

A community in such circumstances is not confronted with a choice between good (a free Press) and evil (Press censorship) but a choice of evils in which the lesser must always be preferred.

For the Rhodesians it was a choice between a censored Press and an uncontrolled hostile Press.

The ordinary newspaper reader, in his innocence, is inclined to feel resentful when he realises that censorship has deprived him of some of the "news", but he is blissfully unaware of a vast, all-embracing process of selection and evaluation, operated by he-knows-not-whom, whereby some news is given to him in great abundance with all the emphasis



of typographical display, while news of another kind is reduced to a minimum.

Little does he realise that his political attitudes and opinions can be manipulated and regulated far more effectively by the kind of control which his newspaper exercises than by the rather crudely obvious control exercised by a censorship officer.

Where there are no white spaces and other devices to warn him, the newspaper reader simply has no way of knowing that something is missing which he might have read with interest and instruction.

He finds the views of certain individuals given enormous prominence, but there is nothing to warn him that a vastly different picture could have been presented if the opinions of other individuals had been given equal prominence.

Sometimes, too, when "the other view" is given some space, how is the defenceless reader to know that this could have been far more effectively expressed?

Conservatives who express their ideas badly, often doing their own cause more harm than good, can generally expect privileged treatment in the Liberal Press while a severe censorship is often exercised against the few who can express the conservative point of view forcefully and effectively.

This process of Press self-censorship, which plays up one side and plays down the other, is applied, of course, with all the innocence in the world by journalists who have no difficulty in persuading themselves that the attitudes and opinions, they like are good while contrary opinions are bad and, therefore, of little news value and hardly deserving of any publicity.

Many gross examples are available of the sort of censorship which newspapers of the Liberal Establishment apply in their exclusion of news harmful to their cause. Two are supplied below — neither of them ever challenged:

#### EXAMPLE No. 1

Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, told some 200 journalists at a news conference in London on October 23 (1965) that he had regular confidential reports of the "sordid happenings" in some countries in Africa with Black governments.

In September a very highly-placed Black in one country had tried to assault a 19-year-old stenographer. He had locked the door of the office but had forgotten there was a back door through which she managed to escape in an hysterical state of mind.

In the past year Mr. Smith had details of eleven cases of similar behaviour of high-ranking people in African governments. All were still in their governments and not one had been prosecuted.

In some places European parents dare not now let their daughters go to school without escorts. That was the kind of conduct which Rhodesia was resisting.

When asked if Blacks should be denied universal franchise because one minister had tried to seduce a stenographer, Mr. Smith reported angrily: "It was not a case of seduction. It was attempted rape. How would you feel if that happened to your wife or daughter?"

*East Africa and Rhodesia*, the British weekly periodical, adds this comment:

"We have often criticised national newspapers for the suppression of facts which the country should have had faithfully reported. Saturday's Press conference provided a significant example of such suppression.

"Angered by the cynicism of one questioner who obviously knew nothing about Africa, Mr. Smith mentioned the attempted rape of a young white secretary in an African-governed state by a very prominent Minister who still remains in the cabinet, and against whom no action has been taken by the President (who constantly calls upon his countrymen for higher standards of conduct).

"Because the inquirer countered sarcastically, the Prime Minister added that he had the details of eleven cases of attempted assault of that kind by African Ministers during the past year. Such a revelation, we suggest, deserved to be generally reported.

"So far as we can discover, it has been mentioned, and then not fully, in only one paper, the London *Sunday Times*. Why did all the other important journals decide to withhold from their readers a striking statement which would, of course, have been most inconvenient to the British politicians who have misjudged African affairs so disastrously?

"Was that the reason for non-publication? The Prime Minister had not made his disclosure frivolously. Its purpose was to indicate the rapid deterioration in standards, a deterioration which Africa's Blacks are prepared to accept but which Rhodesia will not risk."

#### EXAMPLE No. 2

The Parliamentary Secretary for Information, Mr. P. K. van der Byl, today (August 5, 1964) issued a statement in



which he drew attention to what he described as "one-sided and thoroughly misleading reports" of the troubles in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia where many lives have been lost recently in clashes between the police and armed forces on the one hand and adherents of the Lumpa religious sect on the other.

Mr. Van der Byl's statement goes on:

"As a sound public opinion in Southern Rhodesia depends on accurate reporting, especially of events of the African continent, I consider it my duty to point out that there is strong evidence that the root cause of the trouble in Northern Rhodesia was the persecution of adherents of the Lumpa church for their refusal to participate in African nationalist politics and subversive activities, a fact which has not been given the prominence it deserves.

"It should be remembered that hostility between the Lumpa people and U.N.I.P. (the present ruling African nationalist party) came to a head early in 1963 when the churchmen resisted intimidation and would have no hand in widespread public disorders which included the placing of barricades across main roads.

"This statement must not be construed as any criticism of the actions of the Northern Rhodesian Government which has the unenviable and unavoidable task of restoring order, but only as criticism of the Press handling of news of the utmost importance to this country."

It can be stated as a general rule with few exceptions, that information setting the rulers of the new African states in an unfavourable light is liable to be excluded or played down — if it even gets reported by journalists in these new states who live in constant peril of being summarily expelled for trying to do their job properly.

African nationalism, after all, is an instrument in the hands of the power wielders of the Liberal Establishment and this instrument must not be blunted by unfavourable publicity.

Liberal newspapers will drag almost anything into the forum of debate, invading the privacy of groups and individuals in the process, but they draw a line at any genuine discussion of the Press and the processes by which news is gathered, evaluated and handled for final presentation to the public.

Only a newspaper which can identify itself fully with the genuine interests and desires and values of the community it serves can afford to nail its flag to the mast and invite public scrutiny of the criteria which guide it in the selection and presentation of the news.



Thus we find *Rhodesian Property and Finance*, a monthly journal published in Salisbury, boldly setting out its editorial policy in its issue of June, 1963:

"In the light of events elsewhere in Africa, of the excesses of Pan-Africanism and of the erosion by British and American policy of all that the European in Africa has built up by his industry and commerce, *Property and Finance* has felt compelled increasingly to present the White man's point of view lest it go by default. For the editors are convinced that unless that point of view is vigorously and factually stated, hostile elements at home and abroad may well succeed in sapping Rhodesians' own resolution and thus ensure another debacle in Africa."

Viewed against the actual performance of *Property and Finance*, nothing could be clearer or more honest than this statement of a newspaper's viewpoint.

The Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation has likewise made a frank statement of the principles which guide its staff in the evaluation and presentation of news programmes.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation can afford to be equally frank and anyone listening to the news and news commentaries on Radio South Africa is clearly aware that the policy that is being applied is that of promoting South Africa's national interests against internal and external enemies, and of correcting the imbalance of the English-language Press.

Why then do Liberal media always claim to represent no viewpoint at all? Why do they claim always to be "objective" in their handling of the news? Why, if not because this formula sounds good but is meaningless and confusing and throws a mantle of respectability over activities which might otherwise be more easily recognised as hostile?

"Impartiality" can also be interpreted as impartiality towards the country's enemies, both internal and external, and can supply a seemingly idealistic motive for giving the maximum of publicity to utterances that could do harm — not to mention the unceasing efforts by most of the newspapers of the Liberal Establishment to arouse sympathy for subversives and saboteurs who have fallen into the hands of the police.

The truth is that there are as many ways of presenting the news as there are viewpoints.

The news cannot be reported "objectively" — that is to say, without reference to some set of human interests and values. Wherever there is selection and evaluation ("copy-tasting" as it is called in the newspaper office), there must be a set of "news values", and these must always proceed from

some centre of interests, some viewpoint.

Exceptions which can be quoted do not overthrow this general rule.

And nowhere does the viewpoint exert a more powerful influence than in the handling of political news, which is inevitably coloured with human fears and desires.

Wherever there is any opposition of interests, whether in trade, commerce, industry, politics, religion, or international affairs, men see the same event or situation with different eyes; and they report it differently.

The important question for any community, therefore, is: Who watches events for us? Who brings us the news? Who helps explain the news? Is he one of us? Are his interests and values the same as ours?

The viewpoint is all-important and can spell the difference between survival and disaster especially today when propaganda and psychological warfare have become the most important single instrument of war, the means whereby one set of people seek to impose their will on another set of people.

War never was anything else than that, whether it be a shooting war or a "cold war".

In Rhodesia where a small nation is struggling for survival, it is the viewpoint of a hostile monopoly Press which has made censorship a necessary evil.

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## RHODESIA'S TV LESSON FOR SOUTH AFRICA



## CHAPTER 14

### RHODESIA'S TV LESSON FOR SOUTH AFRICA

*Here is super-hypnotism. Here the welcomed mesmerism of the permissive herd. All the techniques of the hypnotist are here: the shining object on which we fasten our eye; the compulsion of light; the monotony of mood and repetition; the mind lulled and the message reiterated. — E. Merrill Root.*

*It is the great projection machine of the bourgeois mentality, which we have already seen to be psychopathic in its alienation from reality. — Richard M. Weaver.*

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South Africa has some useful lessons to learn from Rhodesia's experience with television, and they all add up to the simple conclusion that the South African Government has been wise to stand firm against a great deal of well-organised pressure and to insist on waiting until some means might be found of separating television from some of the evils which have attended it in other countries.<sup>28, 50</sup>

The first problem which presents itself with television, and the source of most of the others, is that of control. Here the Federal Government failed completely. Rhodesian television never was Rhodesian, except, in a purely legalistic sense, until early in 1965 when, on the insistence of the Rhodesian Front Government, control of Rhodesia Television (RTV), a limited liability company, was acquired by the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation.

What had happened to the Federation's television (and that meant Southern Rhodesia's, too) was described in a few words in the Legislative Assembly on December 2, 1964, when Mr. Clifford Dupont, then Minister of Justice, said referring to the Federal Government: "... they allowed the virtual complete control of the television service of Rhodesia, which



is a national asset, of great national importance particularly at the present time, to remain in the hands of people outside this country".

It was one of the first major achievements of the Smith Government — some called it "the little U.D.I." — to get firmly to grips with the problem and to make sure that in future, control of the television service would be clearly and visibly in Rhodesian hands.

The opportunity came with the dissolution of Federation when the 15-year contract previously entered into by the Federal Broadcasting Corporation and Rhodesia Television automatically became null and void with the disappearance of one of the contracting parties.

The basis of the old contract was that the Federal Broadcasting Corporation remained the broadcasting authority for television with RTV responsible, as "programme contractor", for the supply of television programmes and the conduct of all business in connection with advertising. All the F.B.C. had to do was to transmit.

Key to the Rhodesian Government's problem was the tracking down of the elusive element of control in an arrangement as complex as a Chinese jig-saw puzzle, which it had inherited from the Federal Government.

The important facts which emerged can be summarised as follows:

- 1 — Rhodesia Television (RTV), a company in which the Argus Company's subsidiary, the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, had the biggest single holding of voting shares (37 per cent), turned out to be little more than an agent for International Television (ITV), another company registered in Rhodesia but whose claim to being Rhodesian was even more slender than that of RTV.
- 2 — The company in effective control of Rhodesia Television was, therefore, ITV which figured as RTV's "commercial managers". Indeed, ITV, by virtue of its contract with RTV had "undisputed control at operational level of all sales, sales promotion, programme planning, programme acquisition and programme selection".
- 3 — Even outside "operational level" control by ITV was exercised, in the words of the agreement, "in co-operation with the General Manager of RTV". But then RTV was also bound by its contract to appoint as General Manager a person nominated by ITV!

These facts, and many others equally interesting, emerged

in the debate in the Rhodesian Parliament in December 1964, introduced by the Opposition and forming part of a vigorous campaign in the Press and on television itself, aimed at forcing the Government to abandon its take-over plan.

The Government, however, was in an impregnable position. The old agreement between the broadcasting authority and RTV had been allowed to operate for a year as an interim arrangement, but there could be no new contract between R.B.C. and RTV without Government approval. And if such approval was withheld, RTV's principal trading asset — a contract — simply ceased to exist.

Speaking in Parliament of the role of ITV, Mr. Dupont said:

"This company is claimed as a Rhodesian company. That is quite true. Its registered office is in Rhodesia, but it is interesting to note the directors. There is a Mr. Frank Sidney Lamping, who is of South African nationality, domiciled in London; there is a Mr. Edgar Charles Blatt, of British nationality domiciled in Johannesburg; there is a Mr. Richard Leveson Meyer, of British nationality, domiciled in Lausanne; a Mr. Roy Thompson, a Canadian national domiciled in London; a Mr. Joseph Levine, a South African, domiciled in Johannesburg; a Mr. David Andrew Pinnell, British, of Salisbury and Mr. Peter Cookman, British, of Salisbury, also. You will notice out of these directors only two are resident in Rhodesia . . . "

Mr. Dupont also had something to say about Rhodesia Television (RTV):

" . . . all the directors are domiciled in Rhodesia with the exception of Mr. Slater, who is chairman and managing director of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, but it is interesting to note the companies, whose names I will give you who signed the main agreement between the Federal Broadcasting Corporation and the Rhodesian Television company and who are the holders of the founders' shares. The holders of the founders' shares are the only people who have any voting rights in Rhodesia Television.

"They are the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, Phillips (Rhodesia) (Pvt.) Ltd. . . . Lonrho Investments Company Limited, Central African Television Holdings (Pvt.) Limited, Donside Investment Trust Pvt.), International Television (Pvt.) Limited — that is the one I have been referring to — Thompson British Holdings Limited, who were the proprietors of the African Daily News, I believe, and Video Holdings. Some of these companies, it is interesting to note, are interlocked. In one of them, that is the Central African Tele-



vision Holdings (Pvt.) Limited, three of the directors of the company, Mr. D'Enis, Mr. Smidt and Sir Andrew Strachan, are also directors of Rhodesia Television. Likewise in the Video Holdings, other founder shareholders, Mr. Meyer and Mr. Pinnell are also directors of Rhodesia Television. The other directors of Video Holdings, Mr. Lamping, Mr. Black, Mr. Meyer and Mr. Pinnell, are directors of International Television. Shareholders in Video show large holding on behalf of Mrs. Lamping and Mrs. Meyer. I have given this information, which is factual, in order to prove to the House where the virtual control of our television service lies."

RTV's main line of defence was the argument that the real controllers of the television service was the broadcasting authority — formerly the F.B.C. and now the R.B.C. — and *The Sunday Mail*, a newspaper owned by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company (and biggest shareholder in RTV) listed seven of the controls which it claimed the R.B.C. could exercise under the old agreement, if renewed. Two of these seem irresistible and decisive:

- (a) "The Corporation can prohibit any programme and can specify the type of programme it requires to be broadcast", and
- (b) "Since the Corporation own and physically control the transmitters they can, should they wish, prevent the transmission of any or all the programmes".

The truth about all these "controls", however, was that, however impressive they might appear to be in pure theory and on paper, they amounted to little more than a power to interfere after the mischief had been done. And there could be no interference by the Government or the broadcasting authority without the risk (some would call it a certainty) of an uproar in the Press involving hundreds of well-connected shareholders and thousands of television viewers who would naturally be the first victims of any interruption or dislocation of the service.

The Parliamentary Secretary for Information, Mr. P. K. van der Byl, declared that the control provisions of the contract between the broadcasting authority and RTV could best be compared with an imagined contract between a passenger in the back seat of a motorcar and the driver — "no such contract could obscure the fact that it is the driver who controls the car and that he can, if he so wishes, give his passenger a very rough ride".

The net result of the kind of control that prevailed under the original agreement was a television service vigorously orientated to the Left, and the channel for every kind of propaganda and pressure calculated to guide the thoughts and



attitudes of the people of Rhodesia in accordance with Leftist-Liberal requirements — which the Leftists themselves would naturally regard as the true centre and perpendicular of balance and impartiality.

Since the control of RTV passed to the R.B.C. and, therefore, indirectly, to the Government of Rhodesia, there has been some improvement, especially in the news services and in live programmes initiated locally, but the problem of the control of the end product: what the people of Rhodesia finally see and hear on television, has by no means been solved.

The main obstacle to reform is the commercial character of the television undertaking. As a limited liability company whose shares are quoted on the stock exchange and which is answerable to its shareholders for the dividends it pays or fails to pay, policy is necessarily dominated by commercial requirements.

In spite of the fact that television represents a national service of the utmost importance, especially at a time when Rhodesia is virtually at war, it gets no state subsidy or assistance of any kind. The public interest must always take second place where it cannot be reconciled with the pecuniary interest of the widely dispersed shareholders who still include people prominently connected with the Press. And the board of RTV must always be painfully aware that any attempt to reverse these priorities must inevitably produce an immediate chain reaction of unpleasant consequences inside the company and in commercial circles generally which never take kindly to any disturbance of what it regards as sacred commercial principles.

Moreover, the present masters of television, the nominees of the R.B.C., are left to wrestle with the intractable fact that it is virtually impossible to get regular and sufficient supplies of programme material which can be considered as clean — that is, free from propaganda.

Roughly 60 per cent of RTV's present supplies of "packaged programme" most of it in the form of 16 mm sound film, comes from the United States and 40 per cent from the United Kingdom; and the motive of Leftist mind-conditioning and control can be clearly detected in nearly all of it, including even the cowboy films and children's bed-time entertainment.

Programme material of this kind is both harmful and commercially irresistible because it combines with its subtle messages of demoralisation and undermining, high standards of technical excellence and considerable entertainment value. In other words, the hook of propaganda is well baited. It gives the masses what they want, what is best calculated to tickle their jaded appetites, and with it something they would never

suspect. All down the line from where the television films are bought to where they are finally flashed on the television screens, they are handled by people who are probably innocent of any desire to deal in propaganda; but there can be no doubt that much of this programme material, at source, is deliberately subversive, clearly designed to undermine at depth all those ideals, standards of personal conduct and habitual disciplines which constitute character in the individual and make for strength and cohesion in a community.

In short, much of the product of the mass-manufacturers of "canned" entertainment, especially in the United States, is nothing less than a form of psychological warfare, aimed primarily at impressionable youth and designed to produce lasting long-range effects advantageous to the political aims of those who put it out.

The devices that are used are too many and too complex to be catalogued here, but all can be referred to one simple, underlying idea: that of turning upside down all those values which for centuries have been the source of Western European power and achievement. Everything that was traditionally considered good must now be denigrated or ridiculed and everything that was considered bad excused, exonerated and hailed as good.

The consequences of this kind of sub-ethical mind conditioning are only too obvious to-day all over the Western world, especially among the young people. The purpose of it is the same as that which motivates all Leftist-Liberal propaganda: that of obliterating all distinctions of race and class and nation, corrupting the individual and reducing him to a condition of arrested development, and, in general, downgrading, equalising, plasticising the human race as a necessary preliminary to the realisation of the grim ideal of a one-world state.

A television service which insinuates this kind of poison to the masses from centres across the seas is an evil which wise men can easily avoid, but once admitted, as in Rhodesia, hard to control and harder to eradicate, and all the more so when it has been joined to the community by innumerable veins and arteries of common interest and by the appetites of an unsuspecting public.

All that is needed to cure the evil, or avert it, is that the truth should be known. Few people have an opportunity of learning because it is a problem hardly ever ventilated in public. The partnership of Leftist Press and Leftist television in many countries can hardly be considered an accident of chance, for it ensures for television that freedom from searching

scrutiny and genuine public debate which constitute its first and last defence.

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## THEY DEFEND REDS, ATTACK SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa the white-minority Government is attacking the Reds and the Negroes.

The South African and British newspapers are busy with the attack on the Reds and the Negroes in the New York Times which is frequently mentioned as one of the most influential papers in the United States.

In 1922 when the Government was leading "blackmail" from Johannesburg, the New York Times wrote that it was "the only paper which has a policy of 'no compromise'" and it has the action of the British Government. The British Government, in 1922, the South African Government, which was the only newspaper which was not a "blackmail" paper.

This will show us the attitude of the South African Government towards the New York Times. The South African Government, which is the only newspaper which is not a "blackmail" paper.

The South African Government, which is the only newspaper which is not a "blackmail" paper, is the only newspaper which is not a "blackmail" paper.

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# THEY DRIED REDS ATTACK SOUTH AFRICA

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been arrested in connection with the attack on the South African government. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

1. [Name] 2. [Name] 3. [Name] 4. [Name] 5. [Name] 6. [Name] 7. [Name] 8. [Name] 9. [Name] 10. [Name] 11. [Name] 12. [Name] 13. [Name] 14. [Name] 15. [Name] 16. [Name] 17. [Name] 18. [Name] 19. [Name] 20. [Name] 21. [Name] 22. [Name] 23. [Name] 24. [Name] 25. [Name] 26. [Name] 27. [Name] 28. [Name] 29. [Name] 30. [Name] 31. [Name] 32. [Name] 33. [Name] 34. [Name] 35. [Name] 36. [Name] 37. [Name] 38. [Name] 39. [Name] 40. [Name] 41. [Name] 42. [Name] 43. [Name] 44. [Name] 45. [Name] 46. [Name] 47. [Name] 48. [Name] 49. [Name] 50. [Name] 51. [Name] 52. [Name] 53. [Name] 54. [Name] 55. [Name] 56. [Name] 57. [Name] 58. [Name] 59. [Name] 60. [Name] 61. [Name] 62. [Name] 63. [Name] 64. [Name] 65. [Name] 66. [Name] 67. [Name] 68. [Name] 69. [Name] 70. [Name] 71. [Name] 72. [Name] 73. [Name] 74. [Name] 75. [Name] 76. [Name] 77. [Name] 78. [Name] 79. [Name] 80. [Name] 81. [Name] 82. [Name] 83. [Name] 84. [Name] 85. [Name] 86. [Name] 87. [Name] 88. [Name] 89. [Name] 90. [Name] 91. [Name] 92. [Name] 93. [Name] 94. [Name] 95. [Name] 96. [Name] 97. [Name] 98. [Name] 99. [Name] 100. [Name]



## CHAPTER 15

### THEY DEFEND REDS, ATTACK SOUTH AFRICA

*Truth's a dog must to kennel; he must be whipped out, when Lady, the brach may stand by the fire and stink. — King Lear.*

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The time is long overdue when a beam of light should be thrown on some of the more vociferous of South Africa's critics abroad.

The South African and Rhodesian newspapers quote freely from leading articles and reports in the *New York Times* which is frequently described as one of the most influential journals in the United States.

In one such article, under the heading "Blackmail from Johannesburg", the *New York Times* attacks what is called South Africa's "heinous policy of racial separation" and defends the action of Mr. Robert Kennedy, the (then) President's brother, in receiving Patrick Duncan, a man who has openly identified himself with subversion and violence.

This will come as no surprise to those who know how the *New York Times* confused American public opinion when the Communists were in the process of taking over Cuba.<sup>49</sup>

What help are we to expect in our fight against Communist subversion from a newspaper which until the last moment continued to defend Castro, holding him up to public admiration as a Cuban hero and a great agrarian reformer?

One of the most active generators of this great smoke-screen was the *New York Times'* special representative in Cuba, Herbert L. Matthews, frequently described as "a distinguished authority on Latin America".

Mr. Matthews declared again and again, *on his honour*, that "Castro isn't a Communist, never was a Communist and never will be a Communist".

His book on the same theme appeared on the news-stands only a couple of days before Castro publicly boasted that he had been a Communist since adolescence.

If you think all this has detracted in any way from Mr. Mathew's reputation as a "distinguished authority on Latin America", then you don't know Mr. Matthews and you don't know the *New York Times*.

What stories some of our newspapers could tell about some of our most outspoken critics in the United States and Britain, if only they were inclined to do so!

Let us, therefore, turn the spotlight on the Columbia Broadcasting System,<sup>32</sup> commonly known as CBS, the people who produced the television film "Sabotage in South Africa".

After producing a vicious propaganda film aimed at anti-Communist South Africa, we find this same CBS under scrutiny by the United States Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee for producing films that were only too obviously intended to place the Communist Castro in a most favourable light.

The CBS and one of its star newsmen, Robert Taber, first came to the notice of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in 1960 when an organisation known as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was being investigated.

Taber, it was found, had a long criminal record including convictions for kidnapping, armed robbery and car theft. Questioned about his tie-up with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Taber denied on oath that this group was financed with Castro money. When further evidence proved that he lied, Taber fled to Cuba where he continued to operate as a CBS cameraman.

Now let me quote what Senator Dodd, acting chairman of the United States Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee said about TABER and CBS:

"It is something to ponder that a man like Taber would worm his way into a top position on the CBS staff, get himself assigned and then have his totally pro-Castro presentation purveyed to the American public by one of the biggest television networks."

There can be no doubt that the film *Sabotage in South Africa* was carefully designed as a CBS contribution to the psychological warfare against South Africa, with no other purpose than that of stirring up hostility against the Republic and of helping and encouraging subversion and sabotage.

Sixteen-millimetre versions of the film have been produced in large numbers and have been distributed all over the world.

Radio and television in the United Kingdom are not taking a back seat in this game of trying to generate world-wide hostility to South Africa.

After the BBC showings of the CBS film *Sabotage in South Africa*, the British public was later treated to another

false and slanderous report on South Africa in the series *World in Action*.

This time it was not the BBC but ITV — and the new film came from an organisation called Granada Television.

Mr. Peter Howard spoke for many shocked and saddened Englishmen when he condemned British radio and television at a Moral Rearmament assembly in London.

Parliament, he said, should deal with the corrupting influence of the BBC, some of whose programmes were like "a spiritual sewer being emptied into the nation's homes".<sup>28, 50</sup>

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## MORE EFFECTIVE THAN BOOK BURNING





## CHAPTER 16

# MORE EFFECTIVE THAN BOOK BURNING

*Real education must ultimately be limited to men who insist on knowing; the rest is mere shepherding. — Ezra Pound.*

One form of secret censorship and mind-control which has been practised for years in South African and Rhodesia with complete success is that of a book trade which excludes books and periodicals which are either neutral politically or contrary to the requirements of the Moneyed Establishment with its liberalist thinking.

The subject was raised in the South African Parliament early in 1965 when Mr. J. A. Marais, the National Party member for Innisdale, described this form of mind-control as being every bit as reprehensible as the burning of books in the Dark Ages and even more dangerous and damaging because it proceeds undetected by the great majority of people.<sup>12</sup>

Further attention was drawn to the subject later in the year when a motion was introduced at the National Congress of the Rhodesian Front at Salisbury calling upon the Government to enquire into suppression of freedom of expression and discussion in the book and periodical trade in Rhodesia and drawing attention to what was described as "the almost total ban on all books and periodicals which present the conservative point of view".

The Rhodesian Front motion formed the subject of an article which the author wrote at the time, extracts from which are given below:

The motion to be discussed at the Rhodesian Front Congress means that there are people in Rhodesia today who clearly recognise that the battle for Rhodesian survival can no longer be confined entirely to the party political plane, and that the maintenance of a powerful government, capable of resisting all the pressures of the world revolution, calls for a public mind fortified on all planes, including the intellectual and

religious.

And that, in turn, means access to information and ideas needed to meet the challenge of the Left.

The invisible mind-control operated in Rhodesia is indistinguishable from that to be found in South Africa — which is hardly surprising when it is remembered that the firm which dominates the book trade in Rhodesia, is little more than an extension of South Africa's Central News Agency. And so subtle and efficient is this control that even senior employees in the Rhodesian book trade are genuinely surprised when it is suggested that they are not supplying all the literature needed for a sound study of the modern scene.

The books and papers which are available make a magnificent display in the shop windows, on the shelves and on the counters — the other much-needed books and papers make no impact whatever because they are missing!

And, of course, there are no great empty spaces on the shelves to advertise to the world the fact of their absence!

A good example provided by Mr. Marais serves equally well for Rhodesia.

When the late John F. Kennedy was a candidate for the American presidency he had already written two books, both of which were everywhere seen on Rhodesian and South African bookstalls before, during and after the election campaign.

One of the candidates in the last American presidential election was Mr. Barry Goldwater, who also had two books to his credit, the one entitled *Why Not Victory?* and the other *Conscience of a Conservative*. These, in spite of the fact they were available in the United States in low-priced paperback editions, were *not* to be seen in the "chain" bookshops in either country.

Enquiry for them invariably produced the same reply: "There has been no demand for these books." As in the case of scores of other books which could be named, the customer was told that if he cared to place an order, the book would be imported — but, of course, he might have to wait anything up to two months to get it.

This excuse about the lack of demand for any book calculated to harden political resistance in South Africa and Rhodesia is liable to wear very thin when customers can see massive sales displays for Left-inclined books in the windows and on the counters — not to mention the review pages of the local newspapers!

Recently in Salisbury, by one of those strange accidents which do occur from time to time even in the best-regulated



Liberal newspapers, there appeared on the leader page of the *Rhodesia Herald* an excellent review of James Burnham's brilliant political analysis *Suicide of the West*.

Whether this review was written in Rhodesia or whether it was a syndicated article from abroad will probably never be made public, but the immediate result of its publication was a lively demand. A few copies were available in one of the smaller, privately owned bookshops, but the reply from the staff of the bigger shops was the standard one: "Sorry, we do not have it — there has been no demand for it."

Since then copies of *Suicide of the West* have been coming to Salisbury in ones and two's as ordered, always after a delay of a couple of months.

Meanwhile, the same big bookshops have been making strenuous efforts to thrust upon the Rhodesian public other books calculated to discourage political resistance and undermine morale.

Windows are filled with copies of *The White Tribes of Africa* by Richard West, a viciously anti-Rhodesian, anti-White "survey", opened at different pages to give the passerby a glimpse of the pictures with which it is illustrated.

This is, of course, an ideal book for Bantu political agitators and "intellectuals" by whom, no doubt, most of them were bought. There is no need ever to order this book. When the one lot has been sold out the customer is told: "We have another lot coming in next week" — or perhaps the week after.

Nor is there any need to order books such as *Anatomy of Britain*, whose author, Anthony Sampson, is also far out on the Left.

One of the most interesting aspects of this insidious form of mind control through literature is the blurring of the lines of responsibility.

However the blame is to be apportioned, the owners and managers of bookshops in Rhodesia and South Africa cannot exonerate themselves entirely since it is obviously their duty to find out what books and periodicals are being published and to make sure that a balanced selection of these is available to the public.

Most of the influence, we may be sure, is exerted way back down the line with the book publishers and wholesale distributors.

Stanton Evans, writing in the *American National Review* towards the end of last year, summed up the situation as follows:

"The communications industry, ranging from television to book publishing, is in thrall to the ideologues of the Left. With



infrequent exceptions, any literary product ranging from middling Liberal to outright Marxist can find its way to the public almost instantaneously . . . The bookstalls for years have groaned with the productions of the Wright Millses and James Baldwins and Fred Crooks; the book clubs press them upon their army of readers; the bookseller lists acclaim their celebrity; the commentators of Press and TV hawk them strenuously . . .

"While these spokesmen of the Left are pressed insistently upon the American public, conservatives find the same circuits closed against them. Almost any conservative writer can tell you a horror story involving one or another of the big commercial book publishers (this writer, for one, approaching a publisher with a book idea about the current campaign, was told: 'We publish only Lyndon B. Johnson books'). Rare is the complimentary mention of a conservative spokesman in a national magazine; rarer the conservative who can find his way onto a national TV show. At least 90 per cent of the products of today's communications industry are orientated to the Liberal-Left, without disguise or apology."

Americans living in a Leftist-Liberal dominated country are busy working out their own remedies. Publishing houses like Devin-Adair, Henry Regnery Company, Holt, Rinehart & Winston and Noontide Press, from small beginnings, grow stronger every day as they move in to meet the intense need and hunger for books presented from another point of view; and the monopolists of the Left are shocked as they find a book like John A. Stormer's *None Dare Call it Treason* running to more than seven million sales in less than seven months.

Delegates attending the congress of the Rhodesian Front may want to know, however, why a nation which has installed a powerful conservative government should continue to languish intellectually for want of a balanced selection of reading matter.

No one asks that Leftist books be excluded from the bookshops — the conservative mind has nothing to fear so long as it has some information and some honest discussion with which to nourish itself.

Suggestions that this Liberal-Left suppression of information and discussion can undermine resistance to the Communist conspiracy are sure to be greeted with ridicule.

But what do the Communists themselves say about it?

Here is Earl Browder, former leader of the Communist Party in America, in his book *Socialism in America*:

"The American Communist party's role in the 1930's is perhaps the most complex factor, most difficult to evaluate in retrospect, and therefore a very controversial subject. A few characteristic features, however, seem to be indisputable. En-

tering the 1930's as a small ultra-Left sect of some 7,000 members, remnant of the fratricidal factional struggle of the 1920's that had wiped out the old left wing of American socialism, the Communist Party rose to become a national political influence far beyond its numbers (at its height it never exceeded 100,000 members) on a scale never before reached by a socialist movement claiming the Marxist tradition. It became a practical power in organised labour, its influence became strong in some state organisations of the Democratic Party (even dominant in a few for some years) and even some Republicans solicited its support. It guided the anti-Hitler movement of the American League for Peace and Democracy that united a cross-section of some five million organised Americans (a list of its sponsors and speakers would include almost a majority of Roosevelt's cabinet, the most prominent intellectuals, judges of all grades up to the State Supreme Courts, church leaders, labour leaders, etc.). *Right-wing intellectuals complained that it exercised an effective veto in almost all publishing houses against their books, and it is at least certain that those Right-wingers had extreme difficulty getting published . . .* " (Italics added).

The book trade's silent ban on neutral and conservative literature operates with equal effectiveness against periodicals.

A publication which vigorously projects a conservative view, like *American Opinion*, is represented as being not quite respectable and is rigorously excluded from the counters.

*National Review*, another American publication designed for those who live in a more rarified intellectual atmosphere, is likewise "banned" both in Rhodesia and South Africa, although it may be specially ordered and one or two small, independent bookshops may even have a few copies on regular supply.

But a periodical does not have to be conservatively orientated in order to call down upon itself the book trade's anathema.

*U.S. News and World Report*, a highly authoritative news review designed to meet the needs of leaders in commerce, industry and the professions must be specially ordered, and an airmail copy then costs ten shillings or one Rand per copy, against half-a-crown a copy for Liberal-Left, viciously anti-South African, anti-Rhodesian publications like *News Week* and *Time Magazine*, which are imported in bulk and air-freighted at a cheap rate.

Nor can *U.S. News and World Report* be classified as "conservative" — all it does is present both points of view on national and international issues with a ruthless professional



fairness; in short, it does what all the Left-Liberal papers say *they* do.

Even wall maps are not overlooked as a channel for Leftist propaganda.

A *Daily Telegraph* map of Africa, prominently displayed in bookshop windows in Salisbury and Bulawayo shows "Sharpeville" and "Cato Manor" — names much bandied about by propagandists of the Left of all shades — in type just as big as that used for "Germiston", "Ladysmith" and other large towns in South Africa.

This map seems to have gone to press just a little too soon to include Rhodesia's "Harari", "Highfield", "Wha Wha" and "Gonakudzingwa".

Needless to say, it includes no pointed references to scenes of massacre and mayhem in so many of the newly independent African states.

The discussion of this question of books and the book trade in South Africa and Rhodesia — no matter how little emerges directly out of such discussion — is a most important step towards providing a remedy.

But before anything can be done, people must find out what is going on. The veil of secrecy must be penetrated, and it may well be found that when this has been accomplished and a sufficient number of people realise at last that their supply of reading matter is being tampered with, then remedies will follow almost automatically.

The people of South Africa and Rhodesia can help to put this matter right, even acting as individuals. They can find out what books and periodicals are available and take the trouble to get hold of some of them. They can also help by bringing pressure to bear on their local book stores and libraries to order these books and periodicals and put them on display.

In most cases, members of the staff in bookstores and libraries do not know that such literature exists and are quite willing to help.

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## BRAIN-WASHING IN THE THEATRE

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## CHAPTER 17

### BRAIN-WASHING IN THE THEATRE

*Drama, poetry, philosophy, even science and history are turned into leading articles and feuilletons written with an unashamed bias against everything that is conservative and has formerly inspired respect.*  
— Oswald Spengler.

The subject of Leftist psychological warfare was given a limited public airing in South Africa when *Die Vaderland*, one of the most wide-awake of the Afrikaans newspapers, asked some searching questions about a proposal, then being much publicised, to stage *The Case of Robert Oppenheimer*, a play by Heinar Kipphardt, an extreme Leftist and prominent member of the "50 Group" in Western Germany.

The questions, plus a few caustic comments, were addressed to the officials of the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (P.A.C.T.), a state-subsidised organisation responsible for the conduct of a portion of South Africa's "people's theatre".

After a lively controversy in the Press which lasted a couple of weeks, the matter was placed before the Administrator of the Transvaal by a deputation from the South African Council to Combat Communism, and the staging of the play was forbidden.

If the debate did nothing else, it exposed as never before the gullibility of some of the appointed guardians of South Africa's national theatre, who appeared to have noticed nothing wrong about an offer of the English "world premiere" of this "play of the decade" from the very people who, for a year or more, had been conducting a vindictive boycott of the South African stage as a protest against Separate Development.

This was not the first piece of high-powered Leftist propaganda which P.A.C.T. had sponsored. *The Case of Robert Oppenheimer* was merely the most blatant and, as it turned out,



the hardest to defend.

The Leftist infiltrators of the South African theatre, having got away with a great deal, including nasty pieces like *Dark of the Moon* and *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* now overplayed their hand rather badly, as they are always liable to do.

The truth about *The Case of Robert Oppenheimer*, which anyone can verify for himself who will do a little background reading from official documents, is that this play is a perfect example of anti-anti-Communist propaganda. It is designed, somewhere down the line if not by the actual producers, to plant in the public mind a lively dread (and hatred) of those who actively oppose the Communist conspiracy.

It is part of the Communists' own struggle to promote their cause by concentrating propaganda attacks on the few who are fully alive to the danger and who raise their voices most effectively in warning.

This play was also designed to rehabilitate in popular esteem a nuclear scientist, a pioneer of the atom bomb project, whose clearance to handle secret data was suspended by the American Atomic Energy Commission in 1945 and who, until his recent death, was still officially classified as a security risk on the grounds of "character".<sup>34, 42</sup>

The South African version of the play is an even more effectively contrived piece of anti-anti-Communist propaganda than the original version, as the version intended for South African audiences has introduced into the opening scene a brand new "villain" who does not appear in the original play — a man who had nothing to do with the process against the atom scientist in 1945 — the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.<sup>6</sup>

For the "world premiere" in South Africa, there was to be a massive photographic enlargement of the former chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, plus words and noises not supplied by the original author, all obviously designed, once again, to instil a suitable fear and detestation of people like McCarthy who are so unwise as to look for Communists anywhere except in Russia and China.

Right from the start, then, the facts were false in a play which one Johannesburg drama critic had the nerve to describe as "a strict documentary based on the eminent scientist's trial".

There can be no disputing the facts.

The man who set in motion the process against Dr. Robert Oppenheimer was President Eisenhower, and he did this after an urgent White House conference where he and representatives of the Department of Defence and the Atomic Energy

Commission had studied a dossier submitted by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Head of the Federal Bureau of Investigations.

The "security risk" status was conferred on Dr. Oppenheimer not by McCarthy's committee but by a three-man panel headed by Mr. Gordon Gray and duly approved by the full Atomic Energy Commission.

M. Stanton Evans, editor of the *Indianapolis News*, sums up the facts as follows in his book *The Liberal Establishment* (Devin-Adair):

- 1 — Oppenheimer gave up to 1,000 dollars annually to the Communist Party for a period of four years, overlapping both the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the commencement of Oppenheimer's participation in the atomic energy project.
- 2 — Responsible officials in the Communist Party in the San Francisco area said Oppenheimer was a Communist.
- 3 — Oppenheimer's wife had been a Communist and had been married to a Communist prior to her marriage to him.
- 4 — Oppenheimer's "intimate friend", Jean Tatlock, was a Communist.
- 5 — Oppenheimer's brother, Frank, was a Communist.
- 6 — Frank's wife, Oppenheimer's sister-in-law, was a Communist.
- 7 — Oppenheimer's close friend, Haakon Chevalier, was a Communist fellow-traveller.
- 8 — Steve Nelson, a well-known Communist, was a frequent guest in Oppenheimer's home.
- 9 — Oppenheimer lied either to a military intelligence agent, or to the Gray Board itself, about an attempt by Chevalier to obtain information about the atomic bomb.

The real "Case of Robert Oppenheimer", as officially recorded and documented in 1945, is so clear and so conclusive that his defenders and apologists, if they had more legs than a centipede, would still not have a leg to stand on in any honestly conducted debate.

Not nearly so easy to discover and analyse is the propaganda message in other Leftist plays like Bertolt Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, *The Good Woman of Szechwan* and Howard Richardson's *Dark of the Moon*.

Here the purpose is to reach much deeper and to manipulate human attitudes at their ethical source.

One of Brecht's more obvious purposes in *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* is to establish in the minds of Western audiences a sympathetic identification with the aims and the efforts of the Russian people to make Communism work; and in both plays there are subtle and persistent efforts to habituate his public with Communist thinking and Communist attitudes to



life. His plays indoctrinate at depth.

Another of Brecht's motifs, as one of his Johannesburg drama critic admirers herself tells us, is "the theme of consent — how far the individual should be willing to sink his private beliefs and feelings in the common cause and agree to become part of the mass".

The surrender of individual responsibility needs a philosophy and a rationalisation, especially among the educated and half-educated, and Brecht does his best to supply one — while himself taking good care to preserve his own creative independence.

He is a representative of Active Communism preaching its devitalising sermon to Passive Communism.

Could there have been some doubt in the minds of the officials of P.A.C.T. about the Communist orientation of Bertolt Brecht? Hardly likely, when Dora Sowden, the "Rand Daily Mail" theatre critic was able to write on July 10, 1965, under the heading "P.A.C.T. Will Perform Communist's Play": "Here is a play by an avowedly Communist author . . ."

What all this comes to in the end is the planting of moral corruption; the destruction of the individual at his moral centre so as to make him more amenable to manipulation and control in the mass.<sup>3, 8, 24</sup>

The well-springs of will in the individual must be poisoned before the masses can be ready for the kind of regimentation which the Communists are already applying behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains and which they have in mind for the rest of us.

It is true, and in fairness it should be plainly stated, that not all the plays which promote Communist purposes are written by Communists. Many of them are written by people who are aware of no political orientation whatever. And in most cases, they are produced, boosted and applauded not by Communists but by people who could more accurately be described as "Liberals", people who, in the words of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover "do more to promote Communist causes than the Communists themselves could do".<sup>7, 80</sup>

A writer of decadent, demoralising literature is picked up by the propagandists of the Left, whether Liberal or Communist, and can find himself famous overnight — if "famous" is the right word in this context.

Whatever their intentions or the measure of their understanding, all these people — writers, producers and drama critics — are dealing in one of the most dangerous of all forms of poison and the community must be warned.

Self-acknowledged writers of the Left have always recog-



nised the importance of the stage as a platform from which to project their ideas and popularise their attitudes.

If there is one form of psychological warfare against which the people of the Western world are almost totally defenceless it is that which is conducted through the medium of public entertainment — above all, the cinema, television screen and the live theatre. All are theatre in the true sense of the word, purporting to be “the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time”, according to Hamlet’s definition.

When the ordinary citizen is being entertained, then all his defences are down. For who expects those who entertain him to be his enemies or the instruments of his enemies? His mind is wide open. He is exposed as at no other time to subtly planned persuasion and undermining.

This goes for all public entertainment, from the so-called “pure entertainment”, like Edmundo Ros and his hip-swaying coloured semi-nudes at one end of the spectrum, to highbrow, avant-grade theatre like the plays of Jean-Paul Sartre, arch-priest of the Far Left.

The modern church cannot compete with the cinema, the “telly” and the stage as means of forming or changing moral attitudes.

There is an old Chinese saying that a “fish always begins to rot in the head”. What this means is that there can be no social decay which does not begin with the intelligentsia, the educated few who always exert a disproportionate influence in society by reason of the opinions they express and the decisions they have the power to make.

The Leftist live theatre aims its message at the important minority, flattering its vanity with arty-crafty productions which the more honest, less inhibited masses would condemn out of hand as rubbish; flattering the intelligentsia, too, with the suggestion that it is being permitted to join in the vanguard of intellectual progress, where the going is sometimes necessarily a little obscure.

What cannot be done in the name of modern enlightenment and progress!

One of the plays booked to go on the South African stage, Joe Orton’s *Mr. Sloane*, was described by a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper as “dealing frankly with the relationship of a young man with an elderly woman and a homosexual”. And another play, *Sister George*, still stronger meat for our bored sophisticates, was described as “the story of four women who are seduced by one another and all become lesbians”.

What strange problems these Leftist artists select for dissection and discussion on the public stage!

"Mr. Sloane", so we are told, "arrives in a London boarding house at the age of 22. He is seduced by the 50-year-old landlady and remains her lover until her 40-year-old brother seduces him".

"Are we so foolish," indignantly asks a Johannesburg drama critic, 'as to imagine that by not offering these dramas, the problems they pose cease to exist? Are we more offended, perhaps by having our attention drawn to the problem than to the problem itself?'"

Another question will suggest itself: Is it not possible that society has some more important problems, problems nearer home for most people, than that of a young punk torn between his elderly landlady and her homosexual brother?

Problems, for example, like that of an alien theatre emptying its deadly secretions into our nation's cultural life?

Could anything be more improbable on the face of it than the enthusiasm with which all this "carrion art", as the editor of *Die Vaderland* has described it, is received by people who regard themselves as educated and cultivated?

Could anything be more improbable than the spectacle of leading personalities in a national theatre organisation like P.A.C.T. so captivated by novelty, Bohemian hocus-pocus, exoticism and obscurantism — not to mention the exhilarating shock of "the four-letter word" with which some of these plays are sprinkled, as with asafoetida sauce? So fascinated and captivated that they fail to grasp the sinister, undermining message that is always present?

Here, it would seem, they enjoy all the excitement and self-congratulation of being most daring — without any of the risks and inconveniences usually attached to daring.

How much safer to be daring and "with it", than to be so daring as to condemn all this Leftist bluff and condemn these plays for the vile muck they are!

The pattern of Leftist literature varies little. As Ayn Rand puts it so brilliantly in her book, *For the New Intellectual*:

"We are shown a line-up of murderers, dipsomaniacs, drug addicts, neurotics and psychotics as representatives of man's soul — and are invited to identify our own among them — with belligerent assertions that life is a sewer, a fox-hole, or a rat race, with whining injunctions that we must love everything, except virtue, and forgive everything, except greatness."

The freedom which this spurious art exalts is one which sows a poison at a point in human nature where most harm can be done, freeing the individual from a personal responsibility that binds him to a clear distinction between good and



evil.

The message of it is always the same: "Everything is permitted. No one is to blame for anything."

This "carrion art" hero-worships degenerates and failures, transferring all responsibility for failure and unhappiness to an abstraction called "society", or to the entire class of those who have not failed; and it does its best to create more degenerates, more failures and more chronically unhappy people by romanticising and dramatising their condition and by obliterating the concepts of impropriety, obscenity and blasphemy.

The successful and happy it cunningly attacks with the virus of a "guilt complex", trying always to persuade them that it is "immoral" not to spread the fruits of their industry, self-discipline and prudence "into all the rat holes of the world" — as Tom Anderson has put it.

If we look all the way down the line from where the play is written to where it is finally presented on the stage, or on the screen, or on the television tube, there is just no telling where guile ends and innocence and folly begin.

Thus we find a dramatic critic in *Die Transvaler*, describing as "a jewel" a play, promoted by known Leftists, which contains "infanticide, blasphemy, a rape scene in a church and a religious revival scene in which Christianity is mocked in the vilest terms".

Let us call things by their proper names.

These plays which the Opinion Makers of the Left always greet with enthusiasm, are subversive in their effects, no matter what the intentions of their writers and those who present them might have been.

They are subversive of the attitudes and norms of personal conduct which go with sound character.

They are subversive of those intellectual and spiritual qualities which combine to give a nation the power and the will to resist its enemies and to fulfil its destiny.

How then are we to account for the blindness and gullibility of South African cultural leaders, like those to be found in P.A.C.T., who can find nothing wrong with a play like "*The Case of Robert Oppenheimer*"?

No doubt they are clever and well-meaning people; no doubt they are highly proficient as technicians of the stage and drama; but they are poorly informed about the great ideological struggle of our times and of the devices used by the propagandists of the Left.

They are too much concerned with expertise and method and too little concerned with content.

They seem to lack an adequate philosophy of the arts,



and especially of the drama. They do not seem to understand the real meaning and purpose of dramatic art.

We may be sure they strive to conform to an exacting set of theatrical criteria — what they lack is another set of criteria which recognises the deep need which the individual seeks to satisfy with true theatre. The ordinary man who makes up the audience is not primarily concerned with the skills of theatrical technique; he is mainly concerned with what the drama has to say.

If they understood the purpose of all forms of cultural activity they would have a set of criteria which would enable them to distinguish immediately between good and bad, between that which promotes our purposes and that which promotes alien and hostile purposes.

Even the most poisonous muck can have skill in its composition and more skill in its presentation; as bad as it is, it can be a masterpiece of professional expertise; it can satisfy an exacting set of technical requirements.

But how does that help us if the content is bad? If it is hostile and is aimed to harm us?

Too many of our cultural leaders, especially in the realm of dramatic art, have their minds imprisoned by a set of criteria, and standards, which is purely technical. If a play like Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* is technically sound and is expertly produced, as it is sure to be, they are satisfied that it is just what is needed for the South African national theatre.

They cannot tell the difference between *our drama* and an *alien drama*, a drama which deepens *our* understanding of *our* situation and fortifies *us* and that other drama which is designed to weaken and destroy us.

Technical criteria are not enough. We can admire the technical excellence of our enemy's planning and execution on the field of battle, but that is no reason why we should help him to win his battle by making sitting targets of ourselves.

Unless we are armed with an adequate insight and an adequate philosophy, our cultural activity and more specially that portion of it which is supported with taxpayers' money, is worse than useless — it becomes a source of danger because it offers the enemy an undefended front where he can have it all his own way; a front on which, to add insult to injury, he can even use our money and all our other resources to destroy us.

As for some of the plays which have been put on the stage in South Africa and loudly praised in the Press, we

flatter them by suggesting that it needs insight and a philosophy to discover their rottenness. All that is needed is a nose.





## CANDLES ARE LIT

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## CHAPTER 18

### CANDLES ARE LIT

*The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness and let us put on the armour of light. — Romans XIII: 12.*

The question which presents itself in the end is this: What can we do?

What can we do about mass media of communication which misuse the freedom we give them? What can we do about the Opinion Makers of the Liberal Establishment and of the Communist conspirators who so skilfully ride the world-wide liberal trend in thought? What can we do to get through to the millions with the message they need and will understand?

The message of this book is that an answer has been found and is already being applied. It only needs to be applied more vigorously and by more people. The problem has been solved; all that remains is to do something about it.

The remedy that has been found and is being applied with varying measure of success has nothing whatever to do with the control of existing media of communications — it is a break-through to a wider and more vigorous exercise of freedom.

So let us stop waiting for some magic solution to the problem of the wholesale misuse of freedom by the giant media of public communication, some formula which will wipe out the evil. The answer to bad Press, Radio and Television geared to sectional power interests is — another Press, additional channels of communication which will enable us to penetrate the blockade.

When we know what, in all the present circumstances, is the only possible answer then we shall stop waiting for miracles to happen, concentrating all our energies and ingenuity instead on doing the things that have to be done.

We have already wasted too much time and squandered too much effort because we did not really understand the problem and we had never stated it correctly even to ourselves.



This book can be regarded as an attempt to state the problem as it presents itself, more particularly, to the people of South Africa and Rhodesia who are today the targets of a relentless campaign of Leftist propaganda and psychological warfare.

Much of the problem has been stated, therefore, in the idiom of the present struggle to preserve the southern end of Africa as one of the last bastions of Western Christian civilisation.

What is described, however, is a world problem which will be recognised wherever the communications monopoly of the Left is being resisted and fought, especially in the United States where there are now people fighting back with marvellous courage and vigour.

The problem has been misunderstood because it has too frequently been reduced to the final simplicity of this sort of question: "How are we to prevent media of mass communication from misusing the freedom they enjoy?" An enormous amount of energy has been expended in attempts to find an answer to that question, all in vain.

The proper question is: "What can we do?" That shifts the responsibility back where it belongs. Not "What can we make *them* do?", but "What can *we* do?"

And it has turned out that we can do a great deal once we understand clearly that nothing will be done unless we ourselves do it.

We have wasted too much time waiting for governments to do something. The South African Press Commission spent thirteen years studying the problem and produced in the end a marvellously accurate and detailed description of the English Press monopoly. But it produced no solution, because the problem cannot be solved by any form of control which a government can apply or which the Press itself can be compelled to apply.

A red light flickers in our minds from the moment we begin to seek a solution in the direction of some limitation of the freedom of communication and expression.

In countries like Rhodesia and South Africa where the governments are constantly at loggerheads with a powerful monopoly Press, it would be temptingly easy to clamp down on the Opinion Makers of the Left. Rhodesia introduced Press censorship under its Emergency Regulations from the date of the declaration of independence (November 11, 1965), but no one is happy about it; it offers no lasting solution of the problem with which the people of that country have had to live for many years.

The truth must be faced: It is impossible to apply any form of direct state control without placing freedom itself in jeopardy.

Human nature being what it is, no one is to be trusted with power to control the dissemination and interpretation of information (except at a time when national security prevails over all other considerations), not even the politicians we like and admire and are willing to trust in everything else.

Politicians dislike criticism, and the more they deserve it and need it, the less they like it.

The health of any Western European community requires continuous tension between those who make and carry out political decisions and those responsible for keeping the public informed.

From causes that lie deep in human nature, rottenness thrives where criticism is suppressed and where those in positions of power and responsibility cannot be called to account.

We can have no excuse for not knowing this, because we have had a lot of experience of both conditions — freedom and unfreedom.

South Africa has taken a lead in finding and applying the correct remedy on a big scale.

There could have been no national conservative movement and no independent Republic without the insight of political leaders like General J. B. M. Hertzog and Dr. D. F. Malan who realised at the beginning of South Africa's struggle for independence that an existing Press can be fought only with another Press — that is, by an enlargement of Press freedom.

The circumstances of history made possible in South Africa something that has remained well-nigh impossible in most other countries: the setting up of a rival conservative daily Press in opposition to a long established and richly financed Liberal Press.

The circumstances included a national language problem. It was possible to gear the new national Press to the Afrikaner's passionate determination to defend his language, and all those traditions which go with language, against the Liberal Establishment's tireless efforts, ever since Lord Milner's day, to wipe them out.

A national conservative Press has been firmly established in South Africa and can be regarded as invulnerable so long as it does not forget its origins and its mission and allow itself to be undermined and destroyed from within.

Although confined to one language — Afrikaans — it today expresses the will and sentiments of a nation of many languages, united as never before.



South Africa is fortunate also in having a national broadcasting service, run by a statutory corporation, which can be counted on to offset some of the harmful effects of an almost total English-language Press monopoly.

Radio South Africa has proved once again that the remedy does not lie in attempts to stifle or control the Liberal Press. All that is needed is to redress an imbalance by making sure that the national and conservative viewpoint is also articulated.

In our zeal to try to restore balance in our media of public communication we are liable to forget that the conservative viewpoint alone would be equally bad. What our kind of civilisation needs, if it is not to deteriorate into tyranny and decay, is the continuous tension of a rivalry of ideas and values.

That is something the Liberal Opinion Makers do their best to exclude.

The most valuable lessons for the world come from the United States where the worst possible conditions of public communication appear to be in the process of generating the best possible remedies.

The Americans, so long regarded as the "country cousins" of Western culture, are moving rapidly to the front in the struggle to rescue the Western mind from its internal enemies.

Something like four thousand organisations and groups, including churches, are now answering back the Opinion Makers of the Left, enough of them to justify the publication of a national directory with their names and addresses. And all these groups have come up from what the Americans themselves call 'the grass roots' — the spontaneous combination of the impulses of many individuals, each one responding to a sense of personal responsibility for what is happening in his country.

Not everybody can own a great printing Press, turning out millions of newspapers every day. Not everybody can own and control a Radio and Television network. But almost anybody can have some pamphlets printed and distributed. And many people, once they know it has to be done, can find the means to produce small periodicals and even write a book or two.

Probably the most important break-through in the United States has taken the form of the paperback book, printed cheaply and in large numbers — a highly effective modern equivalent of the pamphlet of two centuries ago which preceded the Press as the main channel of communication on matters of public concern.



Hedged in on all sides by the giant monopolies of Press, Radio and Television, the Americans reached back in time and made modern once more the pamphlet, a most potent weapon which small groups and even individuals can afford to use.

A paperback like John Stormer's *None Dare Call It Treason* sold more than seven million in as many months and it has been selling ever since at a prodigious rate all over the English-speaking world.

The soaring sales of scores of paperbacks, like Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative* and Edward Griffin's *The Fearful Master*, and the success of high-class periodicals like *American Opinion*, *National Review*, and half a dozen others, means again that the Press in the United States has been made freer and that the threat to freedom is being countered in the only way possible, by an enlargement of freedom.

All over the Western world the lesson is being learned:

*It is better to light one candle  
than to curse the darkness.*

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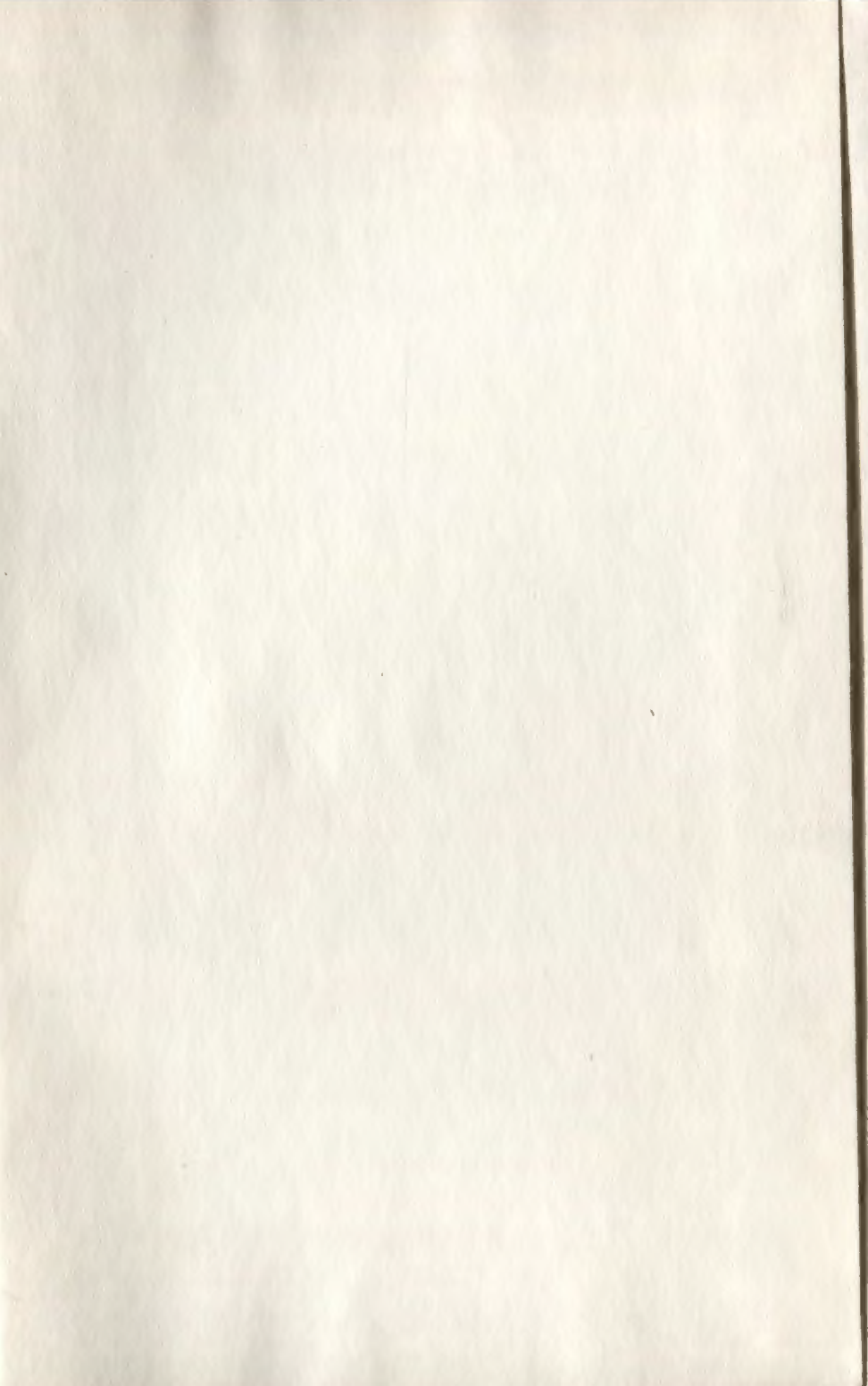
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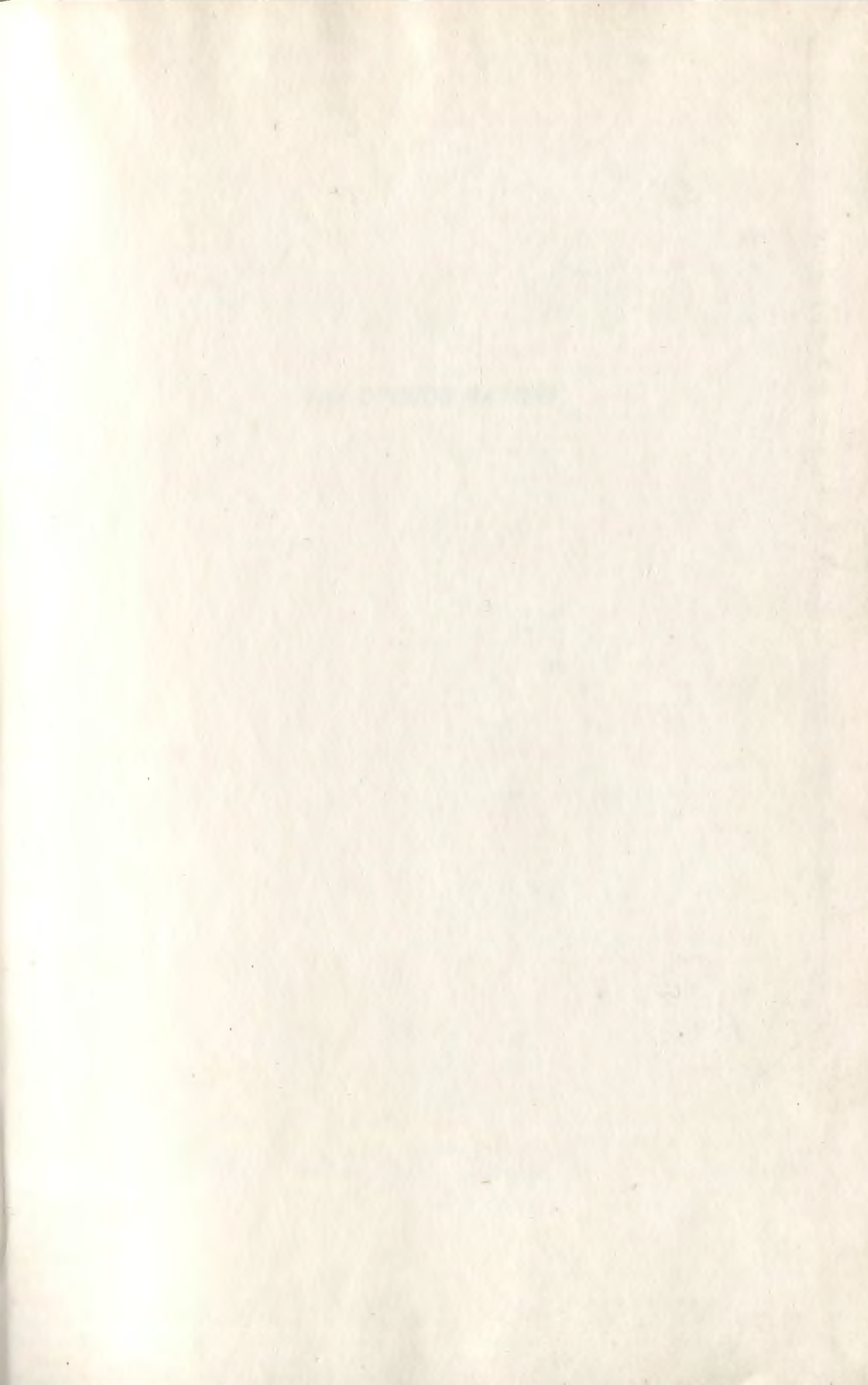
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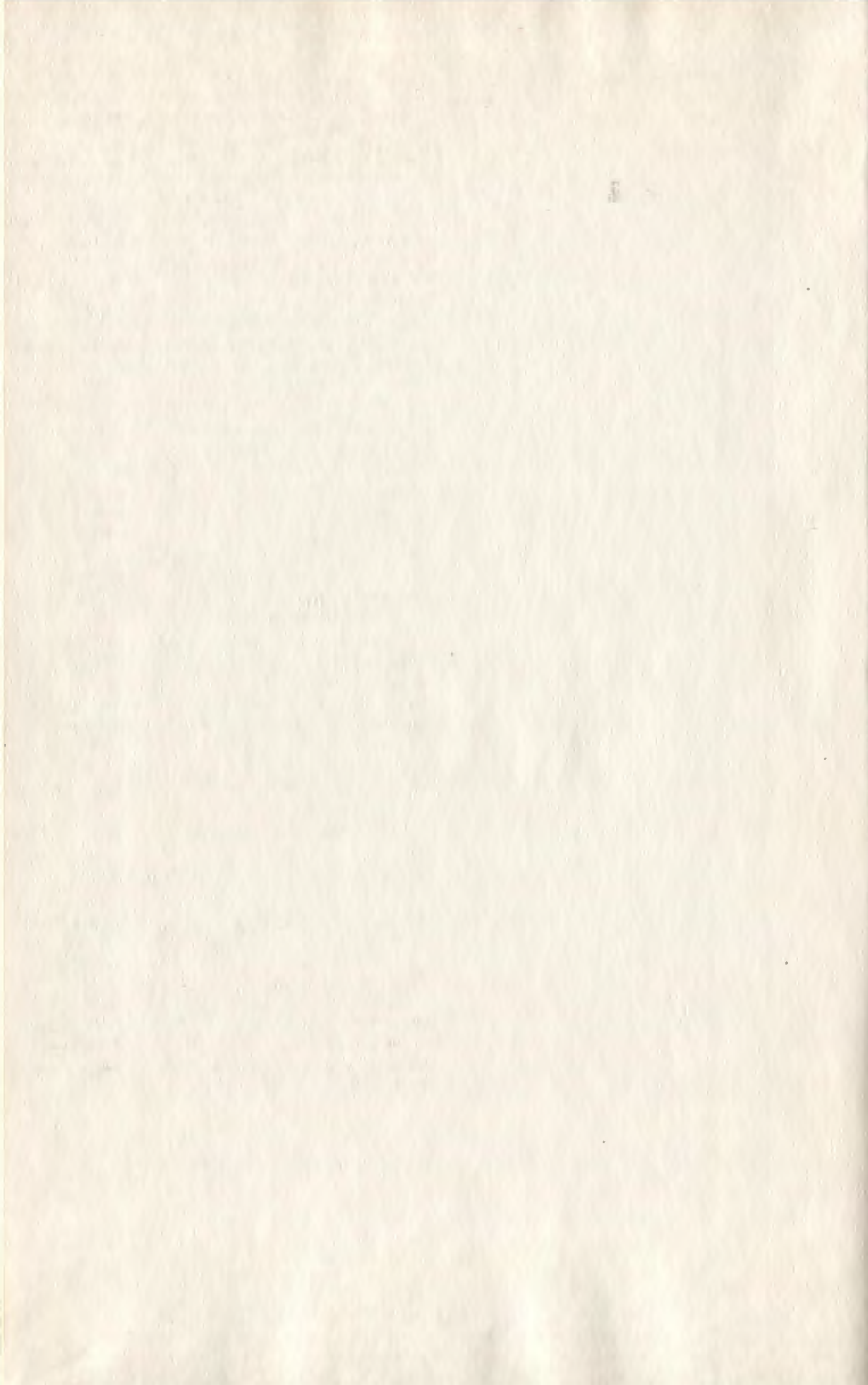
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THE OPINION MAKERS

J. BENSON





The author of this book has laid bare the reason for this insistence on total secrecy — a hostile Press is in the same situation as a stage magician; the audience only needs to be told what is being done and how it is being done, and the illusion is dispelled.

Now that the South African Government appears to be about to grasp the nettle of Press control, the public debate (or as much of it as will be permitted by the Press) can be expected to hinge on a few simple questions: Does the public interest require such legislation? Is it really necessary? What is this thing called "Press freedom"? Is this some precious ideal which could be endangered?

By throwing some light on these and other questions, the author helps the reader to answer them for himself. He shows that the "Press freedom" that is to be defended is the property of the public and not of the Press.

It is not the freedom of the owners of the giant media of communication to behave as they please; what is at stake is the public's freedom of access to the information it needs, and must have, if it is to form sound opinion.

Experience in many parts of the world has shown that a Press cannot be effectively controlled from without. Censorship is useless except for military purposes in times of national emergency. Press councils and control boards, operated by the newspaper industry or with its co-operation, have also proved time-wasting and useless. All that can be done is to try to modify the control exercised by the owners and their employees.

The law of defamation is an example of what can be done. Newspapers cannot be prevented from trying to destroy the public influence of some person they do not like. They cannot be prevented from blackguarding politicians and others who have been marked for destruction. But the law of defamation makes the game dangerous.

The Prime Minister evidently had something like this in mind when he spoke about the need for a national tribunal to investigate and take action against "ascertainable, factual lies".

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### THE AUTHOR

Ivor Benson has close links with South Africa and Rhodesia. He was born in Bethlehem in 1907 and was taken, when still a small child, to Rhodesia where he completed his primary schooling at Que Que. His family then moved to Natal and he completed his secondary education at the Durban High School before joining the *Natal Mercury* as a cadet reporter.

He has worked on a number of South African and Rhodesian newspapers and also had two spells in Fleet Street, London.

He has travelled extensively in Africa and Europe. In 1939 he was in Poland and Danzig a couple of months before the commencement of World War II and later in the same year he was in Finland for a month before the Russian invasion, later passing through Norway on his return to the United Kingdom just in time to avoid being trapped as the Germans marched in.

Then followed five years in the South African armed forces, first with the armoured cars in Abyssinia and the Western Desert and later as a tank officer with the Sixth Division in Italy where he was injured in action in front of the Gothic Line.

After the war he interrupted his wanderings from time to time to return to journalism and was Chief Assistant Editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* for 14 exciting months before making his

final break with full-time newspaper work in 1959.

The greater part of 1960 Benson spent travelling alone in Central Africa, and he was in the Congo in time to witness the stirring events just before and after the granting of independence.

A skilful political analyst and a prolific and colourful writer, Benson has exerted an influence in South Africa and Rhodesia that is difficult to assess because much of his work has been published anonymously.

He was virtually unknown to the public before 1963 when he joined the South African Broadcasting Corporation and delivered a short series of talks entitled "The Press and Public Opinion", followed by other talks on the Press and another series on Communism which attracted a great deal of public attention and sharp criticism from certain quarters.

Now firmly established as one of the most articulate spokesmen of the conservative view and an eloquent defender of South Africa's national cause, he was engaged by the Rhodesian Government in June 1964 as Information Adviser, and he continued in that role for a year and a half, always the favourite lightning conductor for Leftwing wrath.