FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, OR INFRINGEMENT OF THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY? MEDIA COVERAGE OF PRESIDENT KGALEMA MOTLANTHE FROM OCTOBER 2008 TO APRIL 2009 IN THREE NEWSPAPERS

By

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**Declaration**

I, Thembinkosi Gamlashe, student no. 206009429, hereby declare that the treatise for the Master of Arts in Media Studies is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another university for another qualification.

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Thembinkosi Gamlashe

Date...........................

This is a special dedication to my late mother, Nontikazi Evelyn Gamlashe, who had been a source of inspiration and support, and contributed so much to the person I am today. May her soul rest in peace. I would like to pass a special word of thanks to my family for the moral support lent. Lastly, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Janina Wozniak, for her crucial guidance during this study.
Abstract

The researcher attempts to assess in which respect the privacy of former President Kgalema Motlanthe may have been invaded during his presidency, in view of journalistic ethics and press codes currently in effect. The study will explore media practices based on media freedom at the time of publication, and assess whether this freedom is understood to suggest the infringement of the right to privacy in the coverage of the private lives of politicians in the media.

This study will therefore examine a sample of articles from the Sunday Times, City Press and Mail and Guardian, covering former President Kgalema Motlanthe’s public behaviour that related to his private life, assess which aspects of his demeanour became the subject of media coverage, and correlate such reporting trends with fluctuations in his political career.

The researcher will focus on the period when Kgalema Motlanthe was at the helm as the Head of State – from October 2008 to April 2009, and consider particularly the trends in the sampled press reports regarding his private life.

The study furthermore examines some of the legislative and normative changes that affected the media in South Africa after democratisation, to correlate the trends observed in the press coverage with legislation. This further serves to identify possible gray areas that arise from reporting on the freedom of the press and may lead to the invasion of privacy.
Chapter 1

1. Introduction

South Africa has always had a courageous and opinionated press. For over 40 years, the apartheid state tried to control the country’s newspapers using legislation, harassment and imprisonment of journalists. Through all this, South Africa’s press continued to report on all kinds of news. With the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, South Africa’s newspapers were freed from all the restrictions, (http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/constitution/news.htm).

Media freedom in South Africa is enshrined in the constitution of the country. According to Lloyd et al. (2010:15), South Africa has a Bill of Rights contained in Chapter Two of the Constitution. Section 16 deals with freedom of expression. According to the Constitution, everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes freedom of the press and other media; freedom to receive or impact information or ideas; freedom of artistic creativity, and academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

The right (outlined above) does not extend to propaganda of war; incitement of imminent violence, or advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

Section 36 sets out the limitations of rights. It states:

(1) The rights in the Bill of Rights may be limited only in terms of general application to the extent that the limitation is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom, taking into account all relevant factors, including the importance of the purpose of the limitation; the relation between the limitation and its purpose, and less restrictive means to achieve the purpose.

(2) Except as provided in subsection (1) or in other provision of the Constitution, no law may limit any right entrenched in the Bill of Rights (Lloyd et al. 2010:15).
According to Lloyd et al. (2010: 17), freedom of expression is not listed as one of the non-derogable rights of the Constitution. It has been balanced against other rights (such as equality, privacy and human dignity) on a case-by-case basis. The Constitutional Court is the final judicial arbiter of constitutional issues – though other courts may hear matters relating to this prior to the issue being brought before it. In addition, the South African Human Rights Commission, established by the Constitution as an independent institution, is charged with protecting and promoting constitutional rights.

According to Lloyd et al. (2010:18), the South African Bill of Rights is often lauded around the world. The Bill of Rights provides specifically for freedom of the media, and the limits of that freedom are clearly outlined. For example, exceptions to the freedom of expression require proof of incitement to imminent violence. South African media and civil society organisations generally guard their rights to freedom of expression fiercely – and there are ongoing debates in many fora about the subtleties of applying this right in relation to other rights.

Lloyd et al. (2010:19), quoting a 2008 African Barometer report on freedom of expression, observed:

The South African media enjoy considerable freedom of expression. This is evidenced by the frequency with which the media criticise the government, the ruling party, the police and many other public institutions and services. Investigative reporting is prominent and widely respected, (Loyd et al. 2010:19).

Nonetheless, Loyd et al. maintain that defamation cases are increasing with ANC President Jacob Zuma taking the lead as a frequent complainant. While intimidation of journalists by provincial government is decreasing, there are still incidents of media practitioners receiving angry phone calls from officials. The situation is worse, they argue, at local government level where especially community media are from
time to time threatened by councillors. In many cases, even allegations of corruption are not investigated for fear of reprisals. Generally, there seems to be a lack of tolerance of criticism amongst politicians.

According to Lloyd et al. (2010:20), South African media publish a significant amount of advertising from the government, and there are cases where government officials threatened to withdraw their custom from publications they regard as being excessively critical. A recent case in point was that of the cabinet spokesperson, Jimmy Manyi, who threatened to centralise government advertising under his control, and not to support newspapers that publicly criticise the government with any advertising from government, (Times Live, 09 June, 2011).

Commercial interest, Lloyd et al. (2010:20) argue, tends to exert even more pressure on media freedom: to a large extent, commercial enterprises escape the critical attention of the mass media who may be fearful of annoying the big advertising contributors.

This study will therefore, in view of the rather recent dawn of democracy in South Africa which gave effect to the freedom of press, assess to what extent this press freedom was misused in view of journalistic ethics and press codes currently in effect, using the case of former President Kgalema Motlanthe, whose privacy may have been invaded during his presidency.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the study

The aims and objectives of the research are to assess, in respect of a sample of articles about a particular politician over a particular period of time, in which respects journalists might misuse their authority or freedom of the press to defame an
individual for the purpose of sensationalist reporting, particularly about politicians as public figures.

Secondly, to identify possible media bias, disinformation or subjectivity in reporting in this sample of texts in view of the codes of conduct currently in effect.

Lastly, to establish, for this sample, whether the legislation of the freedom of press through the Constitution and other legal and ethical frameworks, has indeed created space for the unfair invasion of the privacy of individuals.

According to Shawcross (1991: 417) media bias involves the conscious manipulation of news and information to serve the interests of a government, business, racial group, individual or other ideology. Accusations of media bias arise when restrictions are placed on media access, news coverage is unbalanced, or pressure is placed on journalists, which jeopardises impartial reporting.

Disinformation, Shawcross (1991) maintains, is a form of propaganda, the deliberate dissemination of false or misleading information in order to manipulate or influence the public’s perception of certain situations or events, often to create a climate of fear or mistrust as a pretext for taking certain action.

Carruthers (2000:6) warns against disinformation:

> Journalists often protest loudly at state’s withholding of information, as it attempts to use the media as channels of misinformation, designed to confuse or deceive the public.

### 1.3 The research problem

Using the case study on the representation of Kgalema Motlanthe’s private life in three newspapers, the researcher seeks to examine the extent to which the concept
of freedom of the press in South Africa could be misused, resulting in the infringement or threat to the privacy of the individual.

In examining this phenomenon, the researcher will look at the trends identified in this sample of media reporting regarding the private life of President Kgalema Motlanthe, particularly where related to his romantic linkage with a young woman, while he was a Head of State. The researcher will examine the nature of media coverage President Motlanthe received regarding his private life from the time he took up office to the time of the general election which saw the coming into power of a new president.

1.3.1 Private vs public space

It is important at this point to briefly elaborate on the constitutional principle of privacy and to make a distinction between the private and public space. According to Krüger (2004: 194), South Africa’s Constitution states that the right to privacy includes the right not to have one’s person, home or property searched, one’s possessions seized or the privacy of one’s communication infringed.

When journalists intrude on the private space of a person they are reporting on, that’s an invasion of privacy.

Things that happen in the privacy of somebody’s home are, in general, private, while things that take place in a public place are not.

People in a public place cannot expect the same degree of privacy as in their own homes. They can be seen by anyone, and that means that they may be spotted by cameras or recorded by microphones, (Krüger 2004: 194).

Krüger (2004) maintains that people are entitled to keep details of their private lives to themselves. The publication of embarrassing facts can be an invasion of privacy. However, in this respect not all individuals are treated equally. Ordinary people have
significant rights to privacy, but celebrities, politicians and others who live their lives in the public eye forfeit a large part of these rights.

According to Krüger (2004: 194), the public has a right to know about the actions and behaviour of their elected representatives and other officials. Where private behaviour touches on their suitability for public office, such justification is clearly evident. Film stars and other celebrities are not held accountable in the same way but since they, too, benefit from being in the public eye, they are expected to face both praise and criticism of the public through the media. Such kind of prominence is, furthermore, hardly ever achieved without the willing, often eager participation of the person involved.

However, even prominent people retain some rights. Krüger (2004:194) quotes the editor of The Star, Moegsien Williams, as saying:

‘The rule of thumb for me is if Minister So-and-so is drunk over the weekend in his lounge at home, it is his business. If Minister So-and-so is drunk on a Wednesday in the office, it is my business. So yes, there are certain privacy rights that public figures have.’

Krüger (2004:197) further argues that another type of invasion of privacy is representation in a false light, that is, the publication of information that creates or supports a wrong public impression about somebody. Situations that might fall under this category are commonly treated as possible defamation.
Chapter 2

2. Literature Review

The literature review for the study will comprise of the background to South African media, its laws and regulatory aspects as well as the theories of the press that attempt to explain the role of the media in society.

2.1 Background on the South African media

Prior to the demise of apartheid in 1994 and the first democratic elections in South Africa, South Africa had a mainstream media consisting mainly of a public service broadcaster and four dominant newspaper and magazine groups that were owned and managed by white people and produced by mainly white male journalists, and strongly influenced by the National Party government until well into the 1980’s. The Western mode of media production was adhered to, including Western news values. Reporting on Africa and African events was thus limited, and the focus for the regime was on famine, war and corruption (Fourie, 2002:20).

Media ownership, according to Fourie (2002:20) was strictly regulated and a plethora of laws existed with the sole purpose of safeguarding the entrenchment and distribution of the apartheid ideology. In content, the mainstream media catered mainly for the white population and its needs, predominantly representing the white population’s Western history, culture, economic and political interests. To a great extent, the citizens remained uninformed about the misery of the majority of the black population who lived under the apartheid rule.

Fourie (2007) points out that with the publication of any material related to the exiled African National Congress (ANC), the PAN African Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), and with government-proclaimed “enemies of the state”, such as Nelson Mandela, in prison in Robben Island, a generation of white
people grew up who, until his release during the political re-orientation in 1990, hardly knew what Mandela looked like, let alone what he thought and what the liberation movements stood for.

Fourie (2007), argues that, with the exception of the contributions of a few alternative newspapers, it can be argued that the mainstream media contributed to a cognitive construct of an ordered white society that was firmly controlled by this state – an island of white well-being, progress and prosperity surrounded by a veritable sea of African corruption, lack of leadership, political incompetence and rapid economic and social decline. This level of ignorance among white population was maintained, among others, through the mechanisms of a state-controlled educational philosophy, even to apartheid-inspired interpretations and preaching of the Christian gospel, and through media that, on the one hand, supported apartheid ideology or turned a blind eye to its inhuman consequences but, on the other hand, were severely threatened, restricted and sensored.

2.1.1 A free press for South Africa?

The libertarian theory (as discussed in Chapter 3) of a free press places no limits on the freedom of the press since knowledge empowers the citizen (Overbeck et al. 1994, cited in Swanepoel 2006: 10). According to Swanepoel (2006), other scholars however take the view that, while freedom of the press should rarely give way to other interests, it is not an absolute right. She argues that the utilitarian concept of freedom of the press marries it with the right and the duty to read, to listen and to think. It is true that the interests of the community are served by the press, which, owing to the vast and commercial nature of the industry, is by default the chief source of public information. A free press has a duty to be the public’s watchdog – to bring the truth into the sphere of public debate. Concurring, Steenveld (2007:107) maintains that the South African media see their role as monitoring state functionaries and institutions as a means of holding them accountable to the electorate, and they cherish their independence and their right to media freedom to do so. The government is to be monitored and watched, while the media’s self-
identity should be that of a benign, politically neutral, altruistic institution, operating solely for “the public good”, and in “the public interest”.

Under the previous dispensation of parliamentary supremacy, the democratic right to freedom of expression, according to Swanepoel (2006: 10) fell within the realm of common law, which afforded certain controls and protection to the individual possessor of the rights that flow from this freedom. Under apartheid, freedom of expression was arbitrarily repressed by the Internal Security Act of 1982, and censorship legislated, which profoundly affected journalism and free political expression.

In the new constitutional dispensation, freedom of expression is entrenched in s 16(1) of the Constitution as everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes freedom of the press and other media (Morgan 2004: 15); and freedom to receive or impart information or ideas. This freedom has the status of a fundamental right that must be protected, respected and fulfilled, but is not absolute and is subject to certain limitations imposed by, among others, s 7(3) and s 36 of the Constitution, (Swanepoel 2006: 11).

With the advent of democracy, Wasserman (2004: 139) maintains that the media too were set free to act as a watchdog of the new and fragile democracy. This is, at least, the popular version of events, and one which the media itself often espouse and celebrates. Formally, this is true. There have been numerous confrontations between government and the media, but despite the alarmist voices heard on occasion from media quarters, these debates, before the conception of the Protection of Information Bill in 2010, centred mostly on differences of opinion regarding issues such as the “national interest” vis-a-vis the “public interest” and the differing views of the media’s role in post-apartheid society.
According to Wasserman (2004: 139), criticism such as that by former President Thabo Mbeki about journalists being “fishers of corrupt men” and similar accusations has been interpreted by the media as actual attacks on their freedom, and meetings between Mbeki and the media representatives were facilitated by the South African National Editors’ Forum (Sanef – http://www.sanef.org.za) in an attempt to smoothen working relationships. A Presidential Corps was also established, somewhat controversially, since the mere suggestion that politicians would travel on the same – equally controversial – presidential jet, to which the members of the fourth estate objected, preferring to keep a distance between them and head of state.

Regardless of developments, Wasserman (2004: 140) asserts that friction between the media and the government persists, and the parties mutually view each other with suspicion. On the whole, these debates – and the resulting tensions between the parties – could be viewed as a healthy part of what an emerging democratic public sphere is all about. Insofar as the debates took the form of public or legal confrontations, these should be seen as the result of different frameworks through which tenets such as “freedom of speech” and “the public’s right to know” were viewed, rather than an attempt to curb the media’s freedom. Unfortunately, the first decade of the democratic dispensation seems to have been marked more by the vigorous defence of opposing positions than committed attempts to examine the fundamental assumptions underlying these positions. The media anticipated the new government to pounce on them, while the new government viewed criticism by the media as questioning their legitimacy and ability. Seldom were these differences of opinion seen as part of the yet incomplete process of negotiation about how both these instances in a post-apartheid society should operate. The joint re-negotiation of roles and responsibilities, the refashioning of identities and the contestation of new configurations of political and symbolic power were sometimes too easily mistaken for intolerance and a descent into authoritarianism.

According to Wasserman (2004:140) the constitutional freedom of the media seemed unthreatened before the conception of the Protection of Information Bill, not least judging from the Constitutional Court judge Pius Langa’s remarks at a Sanef ten-year review seminar which were, according to Anthony Johnson writing in the
Cape Times, “overwhelmingly reassuring” regarding the future of press freedom in the country. Wasserman, however, cautioned in 2004 that some remnant of apartheid-era laws like the infamous Section 205 still represented an implicit threat to journalists, and as Johnson (as quoted in Wasserman 2004:140) points out, some incidents such as the withholding of crime statistics by government and the state’s obstruction of journalists wanting to cover protest action did send out worrying signals. However, in 2004 Wasserman (2004:140) still argued that a comparison of the South African chapter of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) with other countries in the region showed the greater extent of South African media freedom.

Since 2011, the Protection of Information Bill (Bill 6 of 2010) and the proposed media appeals tribunal are changing the parameters of the media landscape in South Africa severely. However, this treatise investigates the historical period of October 2008 and April 2009 and therefore does not engage with the current situation of the media under the influence this new Bill.

Wasserman, in 2004, inquired how the media implemented the freedom afforded to it under the constitution before the Protection of Information Bill, and how did it respond when faced with the challenge of contributing towards the transformation of society. A glance at the relevant legislation may clarify the new South African foundations for media functioning.

2.1.2 General media laws and regulations

Lloyd et al. (2010: 20) argued in 2010 that South Africa did not have a specific national press/media law. They argued that the Imprint Act (no 43 of 1993) required only that the name and address of the printer appear on any printed matter intended for public sale or distribution. Thus, media professionals and journalists (before the Protection of information Bill enacted in 2011) were not subject to special regulations but, as any other citizen, had to comply with general laws. Since the sample of texts for this study dates to 2008 and 2009, the discussion will not engage the later debate around the Protection of Information Bill.
Broadcasting and print media are regulated differently in South Africa, (Lloyd et al. 2010: 20). Lloyd et al. argue that the print media regulate themselves through the Press Council/Press Ombudsman established and funded by the Newspaper Association of South Africa (which represents the major newspaper groups). They maintain that the self-regulatory mechanisms were reviewed in 2007, and the structure expanded to include members of the public both on the Council itself and on structures to adjudicate complaints.

Lloyd et al. (2010) maintain that, essentially, the Press Council (made up of six representatives of media organisations and other six public representatives) approves of the Press Code and appoints a Press Ombudsman and members of an Appeal Panel, which was in the period of the sample for this study in October 2008 to April 2009, headed by a former judge and also included an equal number of representatives from the press and the public.

All newspapers and magazines that subscribe to the jurisdiction of the Press Council, as Lloyd et al. argue, are required to include in every publication the organisation’s logo and details of how to complain about any reports. Complaints from the public are first considered by the Ombudsman and attempts are made to mediate between the complainant and the publication. If a hearing needs to be called, the ombudsman presides, together with a member of the public and a representative from the media. Any decision can be appealed against to the Appeal Panel, (Press Council 2007).

The Press Council can order a publication found to be in breach of the code to publish an apology and/or correct the story, as well as print the ruling of the Ombudsman or Appeals Panel (Lloyd et al. 2010:22). Lloyd et al, argue that the Press Council has, since its restructuring in 2007, focused on creating awareness of its role amongst the public and ensured that journalists know and observe the code. They note that at the launch of a booklet outlining the code in December 2007, Ombudsman Joe Thloloe stated that in the 18 months between January 2006 and July 2007, his office had dealt with 268 cases (Lloyd et al. 2010: 22).
2.1.3 Press Ombudsman rulings on reportage of news

According to Krüger (2004: 36), any individual or group can complain to the ombud, on condition that they waive their right to legal action. But this does not mean that newspapers can be harassed by frivolous, fraudulent, or malicious complaints, or those that do not reveal *prima facie* a contradiction of the code. An offending newspaper can be ordered to publish a finding – yet no fines or other punishment can be meted out. The ombud deals with the editor on behalf of his or her newspaper, not individual journalists.

2.1.3.1 Reporting of news

The freedom of the press in South Africa is enshrined in the constitution of the country. Chapter two of the constitution states that everyone has freedom of expression, including freedom of the press.

The South African media is self-regulatory, but should observe certain journalistic codes of practice. According to the South African Press Code, the press should be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly. News should be presented in context and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation, material omissions or summarisation.

Only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the sources of the news, may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance. Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinions, allegation, rumour, or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly.
Where there is reason to doubt the accuracy of a report and it is practicable to verify the accuracy thereof, it shall be verified. Where it has not been practicable to verify the accuracy of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report, (Press Council 2007).

Contrary to the print media, broadcasters in South Africa have the option of either adhering to a code developed by the regulator (the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa and adjudicated by the Complaints and Compliance Committee (CCC) of ICASA, or of abiding by their own code administered by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA)(Lloyd et al. 2010: 23).

Self-regulation of the media is an important mechanism for protecting freedom of the media and must be guarded. This is recognised by the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights in its Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa – which states that “effective self-regulation is the best system for promoting high standards in the media”, (Lloyd et al., 2010:26).

In order to protect independent regulation, media organisations themselves need to ensure that self-regulatory structures are (and are perceived to be) effective in promoting ethics – not merely mechanisms to protect those they represent from criticism. Readers and viewers (important stakeholders) must be aware of such structures and endorse them so that politicians cannot easily sway popular opinion against the media to promote their own interests, (Lloyd et al, 2010: 26).
2.1.4 Other laws that impact on media and freedom of expression

Although the Constitution guarantees freedom of expression and information, and new legislation such as that governing the right to access to information promotes this, there are several apartheid era laws still on the statute books, which could (if utilised) impede the media and journalist, according to Lloyd et al (2010: 29). Given the Bill of Rights, however, any cases brought under such laws would have to take into account the Constitution in interpreting such legislation. A brief overview of these shows that the development towards the Protection of Information Bill in 2011 was not as unexpected as it may have seemed in the two years preceding its passing.

2.1.4.1 Access to information

The right to access to information is guaranteed in the Constitution in Section 32 (1):
Everyone has the right of access to-

a. Any information held by the state
b. Any information that is held by another person and that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights.

This right, according to Lloyd et al. (2010: 30) has been translated into the Promotion of Access to Information Act 2002 (PAIA). South Africa has stipulated that both public and private organisations are bound by this legislation. In the case of private institutions and individuals, a person requesting access to information has to show that this is necessary to exercise or protect other rights. The legislation states that a person can apply for access to information, and, if refused, can appeal such a decision internally before approaching the High Court.
2.1.4.2 Defamation

Defamation, according to Lloyd et al. (2010:31) is largely a civil rather than a criminal matter in South Africa and the relevant legislation is designed to protect a person’s reputation.

Given the right to the freedom of expression set out in the Constitution, the common law definition of defamation has evolved through a range of judgements since 1994. Lloyd et al.(2010) point out that the permissible defences against a claim of defamation are privilege (eg, the statement published were made by witnesses in court and reported, or by lawyers in a court or by legislators); that the statement was true and its publication was in the public interest; the statement was a fair comment in the public interest; the absence of intention to defame (mistake, jest, etc), and that the publication was reasonable (i.e., the publisher had good reason to believe the statements were true and had taken steps to verify them and the person ‘defamed’ was given a chance to respond).

According to Lloyd et al. defamation claims are traditionally used post publication to sue a newspaper, but have been cited in applications to interdict newspapers from publishing.

2.1.4.3 Privacy

Section 14 of the Constitution states that “everyone has the right to privacy”. The rights to privacy and to freedom of expression are weighed up on a case-by-case basis. The courts have generally recognised that the public interest in public officials may be higher than in other individuals (Lloyd et al. 2010: 32).

2.1.4.4 Access to courts

Other sections of the Criminal Procedures Act have also been identified by media organisations as potentially inhibiting the rights of freedom of expression and access
to information. This includes section 153, which allows a judge or magistrate to hold a hearing behind closed doors and order that no information about the case may be published, if this is in the interest of a fair trial. The Constitution however specifies that courts should decide issues in a fair public hearing (Article 34) and a case can only be held in camera with good reasons (i.e., in the interest of a fair trial). Other laws protect children – and thus a person under the age of 18 (if an accused, or a witness) may not be identified in the media (Lloyd et al. 2010:34).

2.1.4.5 Internal security laws

The Defence Act, No 42 of 2002, gives the State President the power to make regulations censoring information when a State of National Defence has been declared (Section 91 (2) (h)). Section 89 of the Act specifies that a State of National Defence can be declared if South Africa is, among other things, threatened by war or is being invaded, or under armed or cyber attack (Lloyd et al. 2010: 34)

Section 89 of the Act enables the Minister of Defence to make regulations outlining the classification of information, areas or facilities, whilst Section 83 states that such information may only be made public after 20 years have lapsed since the year the record came into existence. The Act emphasises however that this is subject to the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA). The Defence Act states that anyone responsible for publishing information which has been classified in terms of the Act, may be imprisoned for up to five years. Again this is made subject to the PAIA.

2.1.4.6 Equality

The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (Act No 4 of 2000) introduces measures which extend the hate speech limitation clauses in the Constitution to include harmful and hurtful speech. Section 10 of the Act prohibits not only speech which is advocating hatred and constitutes incitement to cause harm (as stipulated in the Bill of Rights), but also bars publication of material that “could reasonably be construed to demonstrate a clear intention to [...] be hurtful, be
harmful [...] promote or propagate hatred”. Specialised Equality courts are being established around the country in terms of the law, and it is as yet difficult to assess whether such clauses have been used against media as cases are not consistently reported (Lloyd et al. 2010:36).

### 2.2 Background on Kgalema Motlanthe

A biography of Kgalema Motlanthe published by Myburgh in *Politicsweb* in September 2008 states that Motlanthe was born in Alexandra Township on July 19 1949, and was the oldest boy of his parents' six children. His mother was a washer woman who later worked in a clothing factory. His father worked in Anglo-American's head office. He is the only male in the family who did not work for the company at one point or another.

His family moved from Alexandra to Meadowlands, Soweto in 1959. The formative influence in his early years was the church. "I grew up in the Anglican Church" he told Myburgh of *City Press* in 1992, "and was very close to the priests. They belonged to the Community of the Resurrection." He served as an altar boy for many years and at one point thought of becoming a priest, Myburgh notes (2008: No page number).

After matriculating from Orlando High School. Motlanthe worked for the Johannesburg City Council.

"They had what they called the commercial department, which was a glorified name for bottle-stores and agricultural marketing in the townships. I worked for about seven years as a supervisor of the Johannesburg Council bottle-stores in the townships," (Motlanthe, quoted by Myburgh 2008).

Myburgh maintains that Kgalema Motlanthe was an excellent soccer player and played for Spa Sporting Club in Pretoria and Rockville Hungry Lions in Soweto. In the early 1970's, he was "recruited into Umkhonto we Sizwe. He formed part of a
unit tasked with recruiting comrades for military training. The unit was later instructed to transform its function from recruitment to sabotage." (2008).

Myburgh reports that,

On 14 April 1976, two months before the uprisings in Soweto, he was arrested by the security police and detained in John Vorster Square for 11 months. He was tried, along with Stanley Nkosi and Joseph Mosoeu in February 1977 on Terrorism Act charges. All pleaded not guilty. Mr Justice Human found Nkosi and Motlanthe guilty and sentenced them to effective goal sentences of 10 years each. Mosoeu was acquitted." (Myburg, 2008)

Motlanthe spent a decade on Robben Island. These years, he said, were the "most enriching" of his life.

We were a community of people who ranged from the totally illiterate to people who could very easily have been professors at universities. We shared basically everything. The years out there were the most productive years in one's life, we were able to read, we read all the material that came our way, took an interest in the lives of people even in the remotest corners of this world. To me those years gave meaning to life." (Motlanthe, quoted by Myburgh, 2008)

Myburgh notes that Motlanthe was released from prison in April 1987 and joined the National Union of Mineworkers as an Education Officer. At the time of the formation of the NUM, there was deep concern within the political leadership over the difficulties involved in organising the mining sector. The Island leaders, of which Motlanthe was part, decided to deploy trusted cadres to help build the union and ensure that it developed (in a) progressive direction. Motlanthe volunteered for this task.

Myburgh (2008) points out that after the ANC was unbanned Motlanthe became chairman of the party's PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) region. He stepped down from that position in September 1991 to devote more time to his work for NUM. In January 1992 the Central Executive Committee elected him acting
General Secretary in January 1992 over Marcel Golding, the favourite for the position. Newspaper profiles of him described him then as a committed socialist and "120% ANC", but said that he was unsure whether to join the SACP or not.

According to Myburgh, Motlanthe served as secretary general of NUM until he was picked out as the ANC's candidate for secretary general in 1997 to replace Cyril Ramaphosa. He was elected unopposed to that position at the ANC's 50th National Conference in December of that year. He was re-elected unopposed in 2002, and he described the shift from the unions as a "mere deployment." (Myburgh, 2008).

Motlanthe formed an integral part of the new Mbeki-led leadership. As such, he was not uninvolved in three of the most destructive policies of the Mbeki-era - centralisation, the support for Mugabe in Zimbabwe, and AIDS denialism, (Myburgh, 2008)

Between late 1999 and early 2000 Thabo Mbeki expressed what became known as the doctrines of the AIDS ‘dissidents’ or ‘denialists’. For a while at least it seems that Motlanthe agreed with Mbeki’s views on the aetiology of AIDS and the toxicity and lack of efficacy of anti-retroviral medication.

In August 2000, Motlanthe disputed the causal link between HIV and AIDS and also referred repeatedly to the fact that the virus had (allegedly) never been isolated:

“That's the fundamental question because once it is scientifically isolated then the scientists will develop a proper counter for it and we will be much closer to the solution of the problem. That's why it's a symbol, it's not one disease, it's a symbol of opportunistic diseases which kill you because your immune system has collapsed," (Myburgh, 2008)

Myburgh reports that Motlanthe accused the pharmaceutical industry of trying to profit from the disease with inefficacious medicine:

“In this country we have seen a massive, massive campaign calling for a drug called AZT to be given to women who are rape victims".
When asked whether this campaign was backed by the pharmaceutical companies he replied:

"Well the producers of the drug they are very happy, they have so many sales persons, they think they could secure government approval and a commitment that it would be made available and it is something that has to be taken on a daily basis, made available to rape victims, pregnant mothers and that kind of thing, people who are living with HIV. They would make quite a rake in out of it and yet there is no proof that it actually helps."

In a follow-up interview in September 2000 he spoke passionately on the topic. He stated:

"There's a virus called HIV which is one of 69 possible causes of the collapse of the body immune system and our position is that from all accounts this virus has not been isolated and photographed and studied under controlled conditions as to what its behaviour is. Therefore it remains one of the many causes and not the sole cause of AIDS and therefore the response to AIDS is informed by that totally, that there is ongoing research work by scientists to try and isolate this virus. Now there are people who are driven by pharmaceuticals who say that that question must never be asked because pharmaceuticals produce drugs on the basis that HIV causes AIDS, period. It is the only cause of AIDS and that's it. Any other question, you are a dissident, you are bad, you are malicious, you are dangerous to society, you will be responsible for the deaths of so many children and this and that and so on. It's all crap from the pharmaceuticals," (Myburgh 2008).

Myburgh (2008: no page number) argues that by December 2002, Motlanthe had not yet moved from his earlier stance. In reply to a question from City Press's Jimmy Seepe about the lack of emphasis on HIV/AIDS at the party's conference, Motlanthe replied:
"The issue of HIV/AIDS has always been on the ANC agenda. The ANC approach to the disease is that we are not dealing only with a communicable disease. It takes more than a single drug to boost the immune system of a person. Poverty is critical in terms of what a person eats. We refuse to make the human body a dumping ground for chemicals. What we have not subscribed to is the belief that we should look at a single drug [as the only remedy]." (Seepe as quoted in Myburgh, 2008)

In early 2004, following the ANC's decision to embark on a comprehensive roll-out of anti-retroviral treatment, Motlanthe's views seem to have shifted completely. He told Jimmy Seepe:

"We don't regret the way we have dealt with the issue. We have approached this issue very comprehensively. We are in the same boat with the TAC now."

(Seepe in Myburgh, 2008)

Motlanthe defended the ANC government's previous stance on the basis that further time was required to find a suitable treatment:

"The government has been very cautious to ensure that when it embarks on treatment, such treatment should be sustainable. It must not be something that only grabs headlines just for a few months. The ANC knew it was going to reach a time when the roll-out was going to happen. It was a progression of events that needed to be undertaken."

Motlanthe, who had until then maintained a low public profile, was elected president of South Africa by the South African National Assembly following the resignation of Thabo Mbeki, and was widely considered to be acting as a "caretaker president" on behalf of Jacob Zuma. He served as President of South Africa between 25 September 2008 and 9 May 2009, completing the second elected term of Mbeki who was ousted during the ANC Polokwane Conference in 2008, (http://connect.in.com/kgalema-motlanthe/biography-164381.html).
He currently serves as both Deputy President of South Africa and as Deputy President of the ruling political party, ANC, in both cases under the current president and leader of the organisation, Jacob Zuma.

Zuma succeeded Montlanthe on 9 May 2009 in a presidential election held by the South African National Assembly, following the 2009 general election which had been won by the ANC. Despite his statements on HIV/AIDS in the past, Motlanthe, a left-leaning intellectual, is today seen as a highly-skilled political operator and a key figure behind the success of Jacob Zuma. (http://connect.in.com/kgalema-motlanthe/biography-164381.html).

Motlanthe’s great strength in the circumstances during his period of rule, according to Myburgh (2008), is as a moderating influence within, and on, the new ANC. Myburgh cites a profile by Fiona Forde (2008) in which she noted that there were a few individuals within the ANC who remained critical about him:

"To them he is the silent but strong force that exudes calm in a moment of panic - a man whose cool-headed outlook sees him through many a tough time. His is the voice of reason they regularly turn to in the sometimes disparate tripartite alliance. He is an intellectual of note, a comrade whose door is always open."

Motlanthe’s biography, as stated above, gives an impression of a man of integrity with moral values. It projects him as a ‘tried and tested’ leader, a public figure who is committed not only to the cause of his own party, but to the country in general. As a public figure, and a politician, Motlanthe is accountable to the general public, and his private life is subject to public scrutiny. But to what extent does the media misuse its freedom in invading the privacy of politicians in the name of ‘existing’ for the public good? This is the focus of this study.
Chapter 3

3. Theoretical Framework

As part of the theoretical framework that will guide the study, the following theories of the press will be discussed: the authoritarian, the libertarian, the social responsibility and the development theories.

3.1 The authoritarian theory

The authoritarian system has been most pervasive both historically and geographically, that is, it is the oldest of the four theories. It is based on the philosophy that the absolute power should rest in the hands of a monarch, a dictator, the ruling church or aristocracy, (Siebert et al., 1956: 2 and Yin, 2008: 6).

Yin (2008: 6) argues that the goal of the media under such a system was to support and advance the policies of the government so that it could achieve its objectives. In this system, the individual exists to serve the needs of a higher order which is the state or society. The media under such a system can be privately owned with the approval of the state, but the control of the media is in the hands of the government through licensing or legislation. All media have the support of the state and criticism of government is not allowed.

While this theory appears to be unsuitable for democratic societies, the regression of many nascent democracies into effective authoritarian government practices, particularly on the African continent, suggests that government relationships with the media indeed need to be illuminated against this model.

3.2 The libertarian theory

The libertarian theory, on the other hand, conceives that the state exists to serve the needs of the people. The government that does not serve the needs of the people
can be overthrown. The theory assumes that everyone has the right to seek and know the truth and express their ideas and opinions. Under the libertarian system, the government is not to be involved in controlling mass communication activities. The media are owned privately and everyone has the right to own and operate the media. This holds true for the South African media situation as the South African media is privately owned, and interested individuals or groups are allowed to establish and own their media organisations. The only restrictions on media are laws that are designed to protect the rights of individuals such as libel laws and privacy laws. The libertarian media serve as a watchdog of the government, and according to Cenite et al., (2008: 281) allow press freedom among its mostly advertiser-supported commercial media, which compete for audiences and are supposedly freer from government pressure than government-funded media.

According to Fourie (2007: 192) the libertarian theory views the media as a source of information and platform for the expression of divergent opinions, informing people about government affairs and other issues, and enable them to monitor their government and form their own ideas about policy. In other words, the media should be a ‘watchdog’, strive to report on issues accurately and fairly by making an effort to present both sides of the story. Fourie argues that in a libertarian dispensation the media should be free from government control and there must be a free market for ideas and information.

According to Yin (2008: 6) the libertarian theory holds that man is rational and an end in himself. The happiness and the well-being of the individual is the goal of society. Siebert et al. (1963:51) argue that under the libertarian concept, the media primarily fulfils two main functions – to entertain and inform. The state had no right to influence information published by the media.

The public could digest and select information it deemed useful, (Siebert et al. 1963:51 and Biagi 2007:34). A key weakness in the concept, according to Biagi, is the assumption that the media will not be influenced by other factors and that it will only report the truth at all times, and divergent views can be heard.
3.3 The social responsibility theory

The social responsibility theory developed from the libertarian theory and was first developed in the twentieth century United States by the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, which emphasised social responsibility of the press (Yin 2008: 7 and Biagi 2007: 347).

According to Yin and Biagi (2007:347) the social responsibility theory arises out of the concern over media monopoly. In the most developed countries, a trend towards media monopoly has been obvious since the 1960s, they argue. The typical pattern of a multiplicity of small media units representing different political viewpoints as conceived by the libertarian theory no longer holds. Siebert et al. (1956) already argued that without multiplicity of media opinions, the audience has little choice in the marketplace of ideas. In consequence, the social responsibility theory stipulates that the near monopoly position of media imposes on them an obligation to be socially responsible, to see that all sides are fairly presented and that the public has enough information to decide. If the media do not take on such responsibilities themselves, they risk the intervention of some public agency to enforce it.

The social responsibility theory, according to Siebert et al. (1956: 73) is a modification of the libertarian theory in its emphasis on the protection of individual rights against media monopoly through the media’s exercise of social responsibility, and required the publishers to assume moral responsibility.

In the South African context of the political tensions that led to Motlanthe’s presidency in 2008, this approach to media functions served to keep the population updated about the intensifying tensions within the governing party. It may however be argued that this is particularly difficult for pro-government media, and that, in the increasing conflict, critical opinions on matters of public interest are easily supplemented by any sensational information about even secondary matters in the lives of the relevant political players where this is deemed to influence their efficiency as political decision-makers. Similarly, during the presidency of Motlanthe, following this tense period and alongside the much-debated rise to power of Jacob Zuma, the media necessarily alerted the public in a similar manner.
3.4 The Development theory

The concept of development journalism in Africa is caught in the historical revolution of the theory of development communication. The development theory can be postulated in three historical moments, each with its own basic assumptions (Banda 2007: 154). The first such moment, according to Banda, was the ‘modernisation’ paradigm. It dominated the period between 1945 to 1965 and stressed the transfer of the technology and socio-political culture of modernity from the developed North to the Third World. It was generally assumed that a nation became truly modern and developed when it arrived at a point where it closely resembled Western industrial nations in terms of political and economic behaviour and institutional attitudes towards technology and innovation, and social and psychic mobility. The model is characterised by three mechanisms for ‘modernising’ the ‘traditional society’: psycho-sociological, institutional and technological. The ‘psycho-sociological mechanism entail ‘empathy’, or the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow’s situation, which is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings.

According Banda (2007: 155), there is a correlation between the expansion of economic activity being equated with ‘development’ and a set of ‘modernising’ variables, chief among which are urbanisation, literacy, mass media use and democratic participation. Recognisable within this view is the belief that the interaction between literacy and mass media can adopt modernising values and practices. Thus, the role of the mass media would be to create awareness of, and interest in, the innovations espoused by change agents. It is clear that this mechanism was influenced to a large extent by the two-step model of media influence, with the notion of ‘opinion leaders’ playing a key role in bringing about modernisation practices among their fellow citizens.

Secondly, Banda (2007:155) asserts that the diffusion approach looks at mass media as an ‘institutional’ nexus of modernising practices and institutions in society, functioning as ‘watchdogs’, ‘policymaker’ and ‘teachers for change and modernisation. This approach further holds that traditional societies would have to go through a five-stage model of transition, from a traditional economy to a modern
industrial complex: the traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption.

Thirdly, Banda (2007: 155) argues that ‘technological’ advances would, according to this model, assist the shift towards the modern society. Technology in and of itself is thus treated as another driving force for development. It was seen as pivotal to the growth of productive agricultural and industrial sectors, and therefore the transfer of technical know-how from the developed North was deemed crucial for development in Third World countries.

Supporting Banda’s view is Servaes (2009:50), who argues that the early phase of development communication was marked by Lerner’s modernisation paradigm, the basic idea of which is that mass media and mass communication stimulate and diffuse values and institutions that are favourable to achievement, innovation and consumption.

The second historical moment is the dependency-dissociation paradigm. This approach to development communication (and therefore development journalism) is associated with the elevation of the aspirations of the newly independent nations of the Third World from Western forms of modernisation (Banda 2007: 156, quoting Servaes 2004, Servaes 1991, 2002). This orientation was a reflection of a broader political agenda of ‘non-alignment’ espoused by the new states in Africa and Asia. These nations, which shared the idea of independence from the superpowers, formed Non-Aligned Nations. This movement, whose philosophy was to keep out of the Cold War between the West and the then Soviet Union, played an important role in the debate surrounding a new information and communication order.

According to Banda (2007: 156) the debate about the role of African media systems in the flow of information between and among nations reached a crescendo with the promulgation of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Africans had long been dissatisfied with what they saw as a negative image of them being projected by the major news agencies of the world. This was behind their cry for a NWICO in the late 1970s. The NWICO was the information counterpart of the
arguments put forth by Third World nations in the late 1970s for a New World Economic Order.

Banda (2007) argues that in the late 1970s, UNESCO took up the debate on behalf of the Third World. Within the heated political context of the time, the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) was created in 1979 by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). PANA’s aims were to let the voice of Africa be heard on the international news scene.

Banda (2007) asserts that in the traditional dependency-dissociation, Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanzania and Kaunda of Zambia espoused the ‘revolutionary theory’ of the press. Nkrumah articulated this theory in 1963 during the Second Conference of African Journalists. He argued that ‘the truly African revolutionary press’ existed in order to ‘present and carry our revolutionary purpose’ and ‘establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of injustice.

Banda (2007) argues that this ‘theory’ entailed greater state control of the media, a departure from the private ownership of media evident during the colonial period. Some nationalist leaders went so far as to articulate ‘philosophies’ to justify state ownership of the media. For example, former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda propounded the philosophy of ‘humanism’ which subjected all major societal institutions, including the media, to the custody of the state.

Banda (2007) argues that Kaunda maintains that, within the context of the ‘revolutionary press’ ideology, journalists and politicians alike saw the media as forging national and continental unity, encouraging economic development, and serving formal and social education, including adult literacy. Radio and television sets were thus installed in schools and community centres, rather than in private homes. Wilcox (1975: 24 in Banda 2007: 157) adds another dimension to the colonial state broadcasting systems thus became instruments of this ‘revolutionary’ ideology. It is largely from this ideology, and its institutional manifestations, that many activists for media freedom would like to extricate the modern-day equivalent of state broadcasting.
3.4.1 Development journalism

Following the participatory approach to development communication, Banda (2007: 158), quoting Kunczik (in Wimmer and Wolf, 2005) represents development journalism as an intellectual enterprise in which the journalist should form a kind of free intelligence, and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in a rational discourse and solve them by reasonable criteria free of social constraints. Accordingly, development journalism has the following tasks: (i) to motivate the audience to actively cooperate in development; and (ii) to defend the interests of those concerned. The credibility of journalism is crucial for the success of the project. Journalism thus needs to be decentrally and participatively structured to counteract the metropolis-trend in the various social processes.

This view of a journalism that is socially and intellectually engaged is supported by Shah (1996:146, in Banda 2007:158) who presents it as ‘emancipatory journalism’, which he claims offers a ‘more complete and complex’ perspective on the relationship between mass media and society in the context of the Third World. It is more complete because it provides a theoretical link between citizen’s access to mass media and social change, and because it articulates a specific mechanism through which journalists can participate in social change. It is more complex because it incorporates principles of diversity and fluidity in the process of building cultural identities and communities, and because it challenges journalistic practice by abandoning the idea of objectivity.

3.4.2 Development news

Shah (in Banda 2007:159), following his ‘emancipatory journalism’ perspective, sees development journalism as consisting of ‘news’ that

 [...] should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues. It should indicate the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and
include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions. It also should provide contextual and background information about the development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues on people, and speculate about the future of development. And development news should refer to the needs of the people, which may vary from country to country or from region to region, but generally include primary needs such as food, housing, employment; secondary needs such as transportation, energy sources and electricity; and tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition and dignity (Wimmer & Wolf 2005, in Banda 2007:159).

Shah’s hierarchical conceptualisation of ‘development news’, according to Banda, seems to relegate some societal needs to the ‘tertiary’ level, in contradistinction to what an increasingly less econometric view of development. For example, Amartya Sen, Banda (2007:159) notes, sees the expansion of freedom both as the primary end and primary means of development. Sen calls for ‘social development’ – enhanced literacy, accessible and affordable health care, the empowerment of women, and the free flow of information – as necessary precursors of the kind of development most economists are concerned about, namely an increase in gross national product, a rise in personal income, industrialisation, and technological advancement.

It can be argued, therefore, that development journalism, following Sen’s observation, should also focus on the extent to which ‘freedom’ (of conscience, assembly, media, etc.) is actualised in the lives of citizens. This will clearly be a departure from the ‘obedient’ kind of development journalism envisaged by post-colonial elites in the Third World, but is a fuller expression of development journalism. This holistic approach to development is consistent with the ten proposals of development journalism posited by Banda (2007: 160, quoting Galtung and Vincent in Gunaratne, 1996):

Whenever there is a reference to development, development journalists should try to make it concrete in terms of human beings. They should report on people as subjects, actors and agents rather than as objects or victims with needs deficit.
• Development journalism should focus on more than economics, because all other factors – military power, political power, cultural power, etc – have to do with development in some way or the other.

• More economic growth data will never do without accompanying dispersion data. In other words: development journalists must look at the income of the bottom 50 per cent or 10 per cent, as well as of the top per cent or 1 per cent.

• Development journalism should focus on both differences and relations within and between countries. For example, journalists should substantiate the relationship between the rich and poor. How, for example, does a wage freeze affect wage earners in relation to business people?

• Development journalism should focus on the totality of concrete life situations – the rich, the middle class, the working class, the poor, the dirt poor, etc. In other words, human life is rarely captured in black and white; there are always shades of gray.

• Development journalism should dwell on the dimension of democracy. Investigative journalism, for example, can serve as an aspect of the developmental role of the media.

• Developmental journalism should sometimes engage in ‘constructive’ criticism’ highlighting success stories, where necessary.

• Development journalism should allow people to talk. A useful approach is for journalists to sit down with people from high to low, discussing the meaning of development, thereby generating an enormous range of visions as well as how-to insights.

• Development journalism should sometimes let the people, more or less, run the media. This means giving people some media control by, perhaps, enabling them to produce their own programmes.

• Development journalism lets people run more of society, and then reports on what happens. In other words, development journalists should report on people’s movement and organisations, on people’s struggles to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct social meanings for themselves. In
a sense, development journalism becomes a recording of human existence in all its manifestations, (Banda 2007:160).

According to the development theory, the media is seen as important role in society – that of forging national and continental unity, encouraging economic development, and serving formal and social education. Many governments, including the South African government, prefer a developmental role of journalism over a libertarian press.
Chapter 4

4. Research methodology

Chapter 2 sketched the legal backdrop to media functions in South Africa and gave a background to Motlanthe’s appointment to the presidency. Chapter 3 outlines a number of theoretical models to media functions in South Africa. In the following chapters, the researcher will, firstly, conduct a content analysis of a sample of 30 articles from the three newspapers – Sunday Times, City Press and Mail and Guardian, over the period, October 2008 to April 2009, looking at key concepts and phrases used relating to Motlanthe as an individual. These will be identified, and attached as Appendix A. Trends in reporting will be identified and analysed. Secondly, the trends evident from this content analysis of media reporting will be correlated against the media theories to identify models of how the media understand their role.

For the content analysis, the researcher includes editorials, news articles and longer articles that represent negative or positive reporting or case studies. Online articles in the three newspapers – the Sunday Times, City Press and Mail and Guardian, over the period October 2008 to April 2009, will be reviewed and analysed. These sources are easily accessible, and will save time, travelling and photocopying costs.

Wimmer and Dominick (1997:229) assert that document study is the analysis of documents, that is, any written materials that contain information about the phenomenon for a study. According to these authors, one advantage of this methodology is that it allows research on subjects to which the researcher does not have physical access, thus cannot study by any other method.

The researcher does not exclude the possibility that the media may comment on news events according to a normative model of media behaviour and possibly have a motif for the possible intrusion into privacy, and therefore the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and developmental theories of media have been chosen because they define media behaviour as either free or controlled, and interpret aggressive journalism as an inherent part of the media landscape.
According to Fourie (2007: 192), libertarian theory views the media as a source of information and platform for the expression of divergent opinions, informing people about government affairs and other issues, and enable them to monitor their government and form their own ideas about policy. In other words, the media should be a ‘watchdog’, strive to report on issues accurately and fairly by making an effort to present both sides of the story. Fourie argues that in a libertarian dispensation, the media should be free from government control and there must be a free market for ideas and information.

Against this principal model, the freedom of the press and the invasion of privacy can be analysed in the context of events that unfolded during the time President Kgalema Motlanthe was at the helm of the country’s government. In the South African context, however, the media are held to have a strong sense of social responsibility due to the country’s recent emergence from an authoritarian system, and at least a significant part of the population is sharply aware of the potential for the government to revert to less democratic models of dominance. As mentioned above, pre-democracy laws that permitted media control have not all been summarily revoked, the governing party was undergoing a period of internal strain at the time and would have preferred such news to be controlled. Lastly, it may be argued that the developmental model might be favoured by a government in such a context.

In addition, therefore, the researcher will analyse the media statements by the African National Congress in view of a developmental theory approach to media coverage. This model of media functioning presumes that the press has a responsibility to support government for the implementation, and suggests that government may pressurise the media to refrain from criticism, even to the extent of silencing opposition, in the name of national development.
Chapter 5

5. Analysis and findings

The researcher conducted a content analysis of 30 substantial articles of a length of a page or more in the three newspapers. The content analysis of the news stories focused on media reports about President Motlanthe during the time he was acting as State President. The researcher focused on phrases, concepts or words that suggested invasion of privacy; public interest and freedom of the press; and non-adherence to the press code. In the analysis, the researcher has identified articles that projected President Kgalema Motlanthe either positively or negatively, and related these to issues of privacy or the media’s “watchdog” role as a principle of a free press.

Newspapers analysed are the Sunday Time, City Press and Mail and Guardian, from 0October 2008 to April 2009.

Sunday Times

Positive coverage:

The story, “Motlanthe: Stop slating Mbeki”, published by Wisani wa ka Ngobeni and Moipane Malefane on (April 19, Sunday Times 2009:1), depicts a strong character and good leadership qualities of President Kgalema Motlanthe as he was quoted reprimanding the influential ANC leader Fikile Mbalula for attacking President Thabo Mbeki in an open letter. According to the story, Motlanthe was the first leader in the ANC to rebuke Mbalula for his action. Mbalula wrote that Mbeki allowed the ANC to “stumble on the edge of an abyss, and decided to “spawn” COPE (Congress of the people) after being defeated as ANC leader by Jacob Zuma at the Polokwane conference in December 2007. Motlanthe reportedly said that Mbalula would have to explain his attack to the party’s NEC.

In the story, President Kgalema Motlanthe is projected as a leader who was not afraid to make an unpopular decision as long as it was in the interest of unity in the party and the country. This suggests one of the good qualities of a leader.
Charles Molele, (March 15, Sunday Times, 2009), publishes a story titled, “Motlanthe warns of slowdown”, in which he projects President Kgalema Motlanthe as a leader who is aware of an urgent situation in his country, and knows what could be done to save the country’s economy. The story relates to Motlanthe’s address to a job security conference of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa in Johannesburg, where he highlighted the effects of the global economic crisis of 2009. He therefore reportedly urged union members to mobilise one another to play a role in saving jobs and preparing to participate in the efforts to create decent work.

Here Motlanthe is projected as a leader with a vision – a crucial aspect of leadership – as well taking the interests of both the immediate community and the country much closer to his heart. The story reflects a socially responsible function of journalism, imparting information to the community and motivating a nation to trust in a leader as a result of his responsible approach to a problem situation.

Phumza Macanda (November 09, Sunday Times, 2008), publishes a story titled, “SA will escape recession”, in which she also projects Motlanthe as a positive leader who can instil confidence in other leaders and the public in general. Motlanthe is reported to have stated boldly: “Our financial institutions have been tested; and they have passed those tests with flying colours.” The reporting and the tone of the article suggests hope to an audience that may well be pessimistic in view of an evolving global crisis. In the article, Motlanthe is cited to dispel rumours of a crumbling South African economy, and offers the audience the hope that the recession could be controlled, given the challenging economic situation that faced the whole world. The story credits Motlanthe for his motivational abilities.

Eusebius McKaiser (November 04, Sunday Times, 2009) published a story titled, “Judge Cameron a surprisingly courageous choice”, in which he suggests that Motlanthe is himself a courageous and surprising leader who could make unpopular decisions as long as these are beneficial to the country. The author of the article wrote: “This time, the surprise is a popular one – the richly symbolic appointment of Judge Edwin Cameron to the Constitutional Court.”
In the story, “Motlanthe appeals for unity at the funeral of ANC veteran and unionist”, published by Victor Khupiso (January 04, Sunday Times, 2009), Motlanthe is projected as a leader who advocates peace and unity. He is quoted urging thousands of mourners at the funeral of ANC veteran Cleopas Madoda Nsibande in Benoni to be united and vote in the general elections of 2009.

In a related article titled, “President praises Ghana’s democratic poll”, published on January 04, 2009 (Sunday Times, 2009), the author shows Motlanthe strengthening relations with other African countries through his acknowledgment of Ghana’s newly elected President, John Atta Mills. He is quoted as saying that Mills carried the hopes for millions of Ghanians, the continent and the region. In this article, Motlanthe is portrayed as a leader with foresight who takes interest in well-being of other countries, as well as demonstrating an interest in building relations with other countries. This also emphasises the African continental cohesion pursued by South African politicians since 1994, as opposed to the segregationist politics of the preceding centuries during colonialism and Apartheid.

**Negative coverage**

The story, “We’ve gone from a breath of fresh air to the same stale rhetoric”, published by Mondli Makhanya (February 01, Sunday Times, 2009), portrays Motlanthe negatively.

Although Makhanya starts his column by praising President Motlanthe for convening a meeting with journalists and editors to share information and experiences in order to smoothen working relations between government and the media, he, however, sharply criticises Motlanthe, evoking both his alleged personal and political weaknesses. He writes:

“On that October day, we met with a man we all felt we could work with and fight if the need arose. Since then, a (brief) presidency that held so much promise has unravelled into a great disappointment. Nocturnal matters aside, Motlanthe’s tenure has been singularly unexciting and unimpressive. Even his address to the nation
have been rote an uninspiring. The last time he said anything that moved a soul was in his inaugural address.

“The reason for this is that Motlanthe took the “caretaker” part too literally. His colleagues at Luthuli House had forced him into accepting the caretaker presidency with the express understanding that he would just warm the bench and do as he was told.

“But in not wanting to be his own man, he continued on some of the previous guy’s bad path. He now finds himself a lonely man – with a party that is knifing him and a society that is lukewarm towards him.”

In this article, Makhanya insults Motlanthe’s intelligence by insinuating that he was being controlled by the ANC in Luthuli House, and as a President of the country had little chance for own input. He therefore calls him a “bench-warming” and “caretaker” without direction and responsibility. He humoristically refers to the allegations on the politician’s private life (“Nocturnal matters aside”) as more interesting than his publicised political work. The article shows an irreverent attitude to a politician lauded by the pro-government media as a solution to a political impasse, and the author’s use of humoristic, degrading and defaming words echoes the disappointment of the population.

In an editorial comment titled “Please lead, Mr President” (November 16, Sunday Times 2008), the author attacks Motlanthe’s character, pointing to his weak leadership. The author writes that Motlanthe is “easily bullied by former president Thabo Mbeki’s quiet diplomacy” towards politicians in other SADC countries on the one hand, and by factions within the ANC on the other. “It is a sign of weakness that Motlanthe and his fellow SADC leaders have adopted Mbeki’s kid-glove approach to Robert Mugabe.” In the article, Motlanthe is portrayed as a leader without an initiative nor ability to think for himself. Again, as Makhanya has done above, the author refers to him as a “bench-warming”.

An editorial comment titled “Mr President, or just a puppet (December 14, 2008) has elements of defamation or deliberately hurting an individual. The comment poses a question on Motlanthe’s ability ‘to hold his own as president of the country without
being beholden to the narrow interests of his party.' The author states that when Motlanthe was appointed, the nation welcomed him as a sober, soft-spoken reasonable man. The author further states, [...] ‘but we were deluded. The temporary president turned out to be a puppet whose strings were being pulled by people of much lower gravitas and moral standing than he.’ The author further claims that Pikoli, whom Motlanthe had fired as head of the National Prosecuting Authority, was a “greater” South African than Mbeki, Motlanthe and Zuma, thus challenging the president’s standing and credibility by suggesting a lack of political insight.

Firstly, the author questions Motlanthe’s ability to lead the country, and insinuates that he had no own voice as president. That statement was subjective and opinionated. Secondly, he refers to Motlanthe as a puppet, which is derogatory and defamatory. A puppet is a personification of a non-living object inferred with humanity by those who play with it. To call a person a puppet is dehumanising in itself, and a politician is entirely discredited by such a suggestion.

Lastly, comparing the leaders amounted to inciting the audience to think negatively about Motlanthe, which amounts to defamation. As a politician, Motlanthe has to contend with such comments in the media if the media model is libertarian or follows a social responsibility approach – however, in a developmental or authoritarian model, this comment would be judged as harmful and probably not tolerated.

Jim Jones (November 16, Sunday Times, 2008) published a story “Motlanthe cheerful but wrong” in which he depicts Motlanthe as a leader who does not readily relate the whole truth about matters discussed. The story is a deliberate influence of people’s perception of Motlanthe as Jones quotes Motlanthe assuring Parliament that South Africa would stave off recession in 2009, and the National Treasury dismissing the warnings that statistic that supports his assertion that the world recession was not going to pass us by, ‘no matter what the politicians and state functionaries might want us believe.’

As much as Jones could have incited the audience to think negatively about Motlanthe, thus denting his reputation and defaming him, he attempted to provide facts that supported his argument, and provided members of the public with factual
information, by drawing up statistics to support his assertion. Good journalism is about going beyond what you are told as a journalist so as to “feed” the public with right information. Here Jones managed to impact knowledge and ideas to the readership and proved to be “public watchdog”.

The story “Majali and the unpaid pigsty he left behind”, published by Megan Power (December 21, Sunday Times, 2008), touches on the privacy of President Kalema Motlanthe. The story is about an owner of a four-bedroom Sandown unit (in Johannesburg) rented by Majali, for three years, securing a default judgment against him for R124 000 in unpaid rent. In the story, Majali is associated with Motlanthe, and it is further mentioned that Majali was a key figure in the collapsed sale of a luxury Saxonworld home occupied by Motlanthe from July to November 2008, where Motlanthe left damage estimated at R500 000 when he left the property.

True story or not, publication of all these embarrassing facts about an individual amounts to invasion of privacy.

**City Press**

**Positive coverage**

In the editorial, “Why it’s not all bad that SA is like a classic western film” (February 01, City Press, 2009), Motlanthe is praised as a leader who preaches unity, and has achieved some successes despite his critics. The author wrote: “In Motlanthe we have a president who is continuing the search for peace on the continent through diplomacy.” In the same article, the writer asserts that Motlanthe also silenced critics who said he rubber-stamped decisions of Parliament by referring some bills – including the Film and Broadcast Bill – back to Parliament for reconsideration. Here, the author disputes reports that Motlanthe was taking orders from the ANC in Luthuli House. He is portrayed as a leader who could stand his ground against peer pressure.
In the story, “Glipses of a gloomy future” (February 08, City Press, 2009), published by Makhudu Sefara, Moffet Mofokeng and Sabelo Ndlangisa, following a state-of-the-nation address, Motlanthe is projected positively as an honest leader who could take the good with the bad. They write:

He humbled himself before Parliament and told the nation he understood the transient nature of his administration, which he meant he deliberately did not delve into the future. He correctly read the mood of doom in the country and correctly chose the theme of the hope and resilience of South African society.

In an editorial comment, “Motlanthe manoeuvres well in restricted space”, relating to the same state-of-the-nation address, published on 08 February (City Press, 2009), the author states that media reports had indicated that the ANC in Luthuli House “had him on a short leash” and had impressed upon him the need not to steal president-in-waiting Jacob Zuma’s thunder; that the “real” state-of-the-nation address would come from Zuma after the election. The story portrays Motlanthe in positive light, as a leader capable of changing and influencing the audience’s thought.

Fusi Motaung (City Press, 23 November, 2008), writes an article titled, “Fear divides comrades”, in defence of Motlanthe, following media reports highlighting an outcry from the ANC regarding the air time Motlanthe received from the SABC as compared to Zuma’s coverage. He wrote: “There was a time when Mbeki feared Zuma’s popularity and that drove a wedge between them. Today the same malady is rearing its ugly head. I do not see anything wrong with Motlanthe and how he is projected.” Instead of slating Motlanthe, the author pointed at alleged imaginary insecurities that are pervasive within the ANC.

In the story, “SA soccer’s Iron Lady hails Motlanthe’s change, published by S’busiso Mseleku on (26 October, City Press, 2008), Motlanthe is praised by Natasha Tsichlas for recognising the role played by women in sport – by adding more women to the board of the South African Local Organising Committee for the 2010 Fifa
World Cup. This projects his party, the ANC, and the government in good light as the ANC-dominated government advocates women empowerment.

Mariechen Walder and Sabelo Ndlangisa, (November 09, City Press, 2008), publish a story titled “President makes sure he will vote next year”, project Motlanthe as accessible people’s person when he queued and joked with ordinary members of community during a voter registration in Hatfield, Pretoria. This is important for a leader of his stature as it breaks the barrier between the so-called “ivory tower” leaders and the electorate.

**Negative coverage**

The story “Motlanthe vs Zuma”, published by Makhudu Sefara (City Press, November 16, 2008), in which the author compares the SABC coverage of Motlanthe to that of Jacob Zuma, has elements of incitement and creation of a negative impression against Motlanthe. In the story, Sefaro stated that the ANC had instructed the SABC to reduce its coverage of Motlanthe and stop projecting him in a presidential role to the disadvantage of the party’s president, Jacob Zuma. He further points to deep-seated divisions in the camp.

This has been denied by the ANC, with the party’s Secretary-General, Gwede Mantashe, saying in the article that the ANC was not in a position to tell the SABC which leaders to cover, because the party “was getting a raw deal” from the public broadcaster anyway. In addition, City Press asked the head of the Media Monitoring Project, William Bird, to evaluate how Motlanthe and Zuma were featured. In the period of the survey, which was a Thursday to Saturday, Bird found that Zuma could be “seen and heard speak” for 239 seconds as opposed to Motlanthe’s 61 seconds.

The story could incite average readers to adopt a negative attitude towards Motlanthe, and further contribute to the rift between Motlanthe and his fellow comrades. At this moment, there was speculation that Motlanthe will succeed Zuma after the 2014 general elections – something that Zuma and his camp are alleged to be uncomfortable with.
In the story, “Motlanthe sure to be JZ’s deputy”, published by Sabelo Ndlangisa (December 28, City Press, 2008), wrong or misleading information is disseminated. Ndlangisa stated that although Motlanthe’s future in government looked secure, he was under siege within his own party. The use of the word “under siege” could be an exaggeration. Exaggeration forms part of sensationalist reporting.

Moffet Mofokeng and Sabelo Ndlangisa (January 18, City Press, 2008), published the story “Blade’s out for Kgalema”, in which they mentioned an alleged vicious power struggle that had erupted for the position of the country’s deputy president, pitting ANC deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe against South African Communist Party leader Blade Nzimande.

The story proved to be a rumour, with some of those quoted in it (Motlanthe, Nzimande, Enoch Godongwana), dismissing it as such. According to the Press Code, reporting of news should be truthful, accurate and fair.

The story, “Motlanthe feels the heat”, published by Sefara Makhudu on (January 25, City Press, 2008), contains misleading information about Motlanthe. In the story, Makhubu stated that President Kgalema Motlanthe would not be available to serve in the cabinet that was expected to be led by ANC president Jacob Zuma after the elections. The story appeared to be deliberate dissemination of false information to create a climate of mistrust, as Motlanthe eventually took up the position of deputy president after the 2009 elections.

The article, “Motlanthe can’t claim high ground”, published by Nokuthula Mthembu (February 01, City Press, 2009), is a direct attack on the reputation of Motlanthe. Making a reference to the exposure of Motlanthe’s affair with a young woman, Mthembu said that Motlanthe was morally not infallible (“holier than thou”), and accuses Motlanthe – the innocent voice of reason – of hiding his true (lack of) morality. She also refers to Motlanthe as playboy, “even worse than Zuma”. This relates to the media coverage of Zuma’s sexual behaviour and the comparison
signals that both leaders are failing their constituency through immoral behaviour. The article appears to be exaggerated, is sarcastic and carries a lot of defamatory message – an indication of infringement of privacy.

The story “Not impressed by our prez” published by Russia Magomani on 15 February 2009 (City Press, 2009) portrays Motlanthe as a leader without a vision. In his state-of-the-nation address, Magomani argues that Motlanthe’s plan to mitigate the effects of the global economic crisis were naive and inadequate.

**Mail and Guardian**

*Positive coverage*

The article, “The presidential love life and the public interest”, published by Guy Berger (March 05, Mail and Guardian, 2009), comes to the defence of President Kgalema Motlanthe regarding the publication of his love life by the media. He writes: “Does this mean the love life of a politician, as distinct from fraud and bad debt, is fair game for coverage?” He goes on to say that the young woman’s admission that she had lied made a crucial mockery of the media’s claim of public interest in publishing the story in the first place. “South African journalism ought to do better than this.”

Ebrahim Harvey (February 20, Mail and Guardian, 2009), published the story “Talking with Motlanthe”, portrays Motlanthe as a frank leader who is not ashamed or afraid of talking about controversial issues, including those that relate to his private life. This approach appears to allow for flexibility in the judgement of moral behaviour by suggesting that a level of permissiveness is acceptable for a politician, and indeed lends him credibility, especially in a society where extramarital sexuality, if not socially sanctioned, ironically lends a positive image to the male perpetrator, as the coverage of Zuma’s affair and multiple marriages have shown.
**Negative coverage**

The editorial comment titled “One love” (Mail and Guardian, January 30, 2009), refers to Motlanthe as a “sugar daddy”, following his relationship with a 24-year-old woman who fell pregnant with his child. The author further states that, according to a group of South Africans canvassed, this was not considered a problem of credibility or values.

The publication of these embarrassing facts and reference to a state president as a sugar daddy appear defamatory, and making a moral generalisation based on a small population was not appropriate. The author lends implicit sanction to the extramarital affair by suggesting such public approval.

The story, “Motlanthe: ‘There is no struggle’”, published by Ebrahim Harvey (February 20, Mail and Guardian, 2009), refers to Motlanthe’s relationship with the young woman, but appears to be rather neutral in its approach. In the story, Motlanthe’s affair with the young woman is highlighted. Although the overall approach to the story is neutral, highlighting this affair was somehow intended to embarrass the president.

The story, “Big cheese’s squeeze”, published by Mmanaledi Mataboge (28 February, Mail and Guardian, 2009), gives an account of an interview that the Mail and Guardian held with President Kgalema Motlanthe’s girlfriend, Kelebogile Mmokwa. Mataboge tried on best to explore the relationship, but Mmokwa did not co-operate as the journalist would have liked. The only thing Mataboge could get as “evidence” of the relationship was a picture, slightly out of focus, of Motlanthe and Mmokwa on Mmokwa’s cell phone.

Sam Sole (February 16, Mail and Guardian, 2009), published an article titled “The personal is political”, attacking Pallo Jordan of the ANC for defending President Kgalema Motlanthe when the story of his love life broke. He wrote: “If a politician lies to his wife, were are entitled to speculate about what he might do. He further notes that unsafe sex is the driver of HIV/Aids. Department of Health’s HIV/AIDS
programme includes a focus on sexual responsibility in the Abstain, Be Faithful, Condomise campaign.” As much as the article is factual, it portrays Motlanthe as a hypocrite.

Mandy Rossouw, (03 October, Mail and Guardian, 2008), published an article titled “Reds moan about new Cabinet”, portraying Motlanthe as a leader who is sidelining members of the South African Communist Party in his cabinet. The report is sensationalist in nature as it goes on to suggest that the move heightened fears among ANC president Jacob Zuma’s left-wing supporters that they are being marginalised.

5.1 Interpretation of the trends identified in content analysis in view of legislation and regulation on the infringement of privacy

Sunday Times

The story, “We’ve gone from a breath of fresh air to the same stale rhetoric”, published by Mondli Makhanya (February 01, Sunday Times, 2009), and editorial comments, “Please lead, Mr President” (November 16, Sunday Times 2008) and “Mr President, or just a puppet (December 14, Sunday Times 2008), do not seem to adhere to the journalism principle of fairness. Makhanya insinuates that Motlanthe was being controlled by the ANC in Luthuli House, and as a President of the country had little chance for own input. He therefore calls him a “bench-warmer” and “caretaker” without direction and responsibility.

The editorial comments attack Motlanthe’s character, to the point that he is even called a puppet. The South African Press Code maintains that the Press shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly.

City press

In the stories, “Motlanthe sure to be JZ’s deputy”, published by Sabelo Ndlangisa (December 28, City Press, 2008), and “Motlanthe feels the heat”, published by
Sefara Makhudu on (January 25, City Press, 2008), contains misleading information about Motlanthe.

Ndlangisa stated that although Motlanthe’s future in government looked secure, he was under siege within his own party. The use of the word “under siege” could be an exaggeration. Exaggeration forms part of sensationalist reporting. Makhubu stated that President Kgalema Motlanthe would not be available to serve in the cabinet that was expected to be led by ANC president Jacob Zuma after the 2009 elections. This proved to be the opposite as Motlanthe became Deputy President after the 2009 elections.

According to the South African Press Code, news shall be presented in context in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation, material omission or summarisation, (Press Council 2007).

Mail and Guardian

The editorial comment titled “One love” (Mail and Guardian, January 30, 2009), refers to Motlanthe as a “sugar daddy”, following his relationship with a 24-year-old woman who fell pregnant with his child and the article “Motlanthe: ‘There is no struggle’”, published by Ebrahim Harvey on (February 20, Mail and Guardian, 2009), both seem to infringe Motlanthe’s right to privacy. According to Lloyd et al. (2010:32) Section 14 of the Constitution states that everyone has a right to privacy. However, Motlanthe, as a public figure, is bound to have a level of his privacy compromised.

In any case, the publication of these embarrassing facts and reference to a state president as a sugar daddy appear defamatory.

The story, “Big cheese’s squeeze”, published by Mmanaledi Mataboge (February 28, Mail and Guardian, 2009), Mmokwa (Motlanthe’s girlfriend) did not co-operate as the journalist would have liked. The only thing Mataboge (journalist) could get as “evidence” of the relationship was a picture, slightly out of focus, of Motlanthe and Mmokwa on Mmokwa’s cell phone. No other side of the story except the picture “evidence”. It could be argued therefore that the story was not balanced.
5.2 Interpretations of the models of media functions

Jim Jones (November 16, Sunday Times, 2008) published a story “Motlanthe cheerful but wrong” in which he depicts Motlanthe as a leader who does not readily relate the whole truth about matters discussed.

Jones attempted to provide facts that supported his argument, and provided members of the public with factual information, by drawing up statistics to support his assertion. Good journalism is about going beyond the job description as a journalist so as to “feed” the public correct information. Here Jones managed to impart knowledge and ideas to the readership and proved to be a “public watchdog”. This is the essence of the social responsibility theory and libertarian theories which emphasise protection of the individual through the media’s exercise of social responsibility, and required publishers to assume moral responsibility.

Jones’ article also draws on the libertarian theory which, according to Fourie (2007: 192) views the media as a source of information and platform for the expression of divergent opinions, informing people about government affairs and other issues, and enable them to monitor their government and form their ideas about policy.

In the editorial comment, “One Love”, (Mail and Guardian, 2009), the author draws on both the libertarian and social responsibility theories. The article questions Motlanthe’s commitment to the government’s programmes such as the HIV and Aids awareness campaign while at the same time calls for his accountability to the electorate and the implications of his actions.

In the story, “Motlanthe appeals for unity at the funeral of ANC veteran unionist”, published by Victor Khupiso, (Sunday Times, 04 January, 2009), Khupiso wrote that president Motlanthe called for ‘unity’ between South Africans and urged all citizens, especially the youth, to vote in the 2009 elections. In this article, Khupiso demonstrates elements of the development theory, which, according to Banda (2007) interprets the media as forging national and continental unity, encouraging
economic development, and serving formal and social education, including adult literacy.

In another article, “SA soccer’s Iron Lady hails Motlanthe’s change”, published by S’busiso Mseleku (City Press, 26 October, 2008) Motlanthe is depicted as leader who champions development initiatives such as the empowerment of women when he made a call for the increase of women representation in the male-dominated 2010 Fifa World cup Local Organising Committee. This kind of reporting is most favoured by the ANC and other political parties or governments.
Chapter 6

6. Conclusion

The researcher, through an analysis of a selection of articles from three newspapers – the Sunday Times, City Press, and Mail and Guardian – during Motlanthe’s period of governance examined the extent to which the concept of the freedom of the press in South Africa could have been misused, resulting in the infringement or threat to the privacy of the individual.

The researcher focused on the representation of Kgalema Motlanthe in these newspapers when he was president of South Africa between October 2008 and April 2009. Contrary to a popular opinion held by Motlanthe’s political party, the ANC, that the South African media had a hidden agenda against the party, the analysis of this sample of articles demonstrated that Motlanthe in actual fact received substantial positive coverage from the media. This is further supported by the ANC itself when it claimed, and later denied, that Motlanthe was covered more favourably than the sitting president of the organisation, Jacob Zuma, (http://www.trufm.co.za/blog/motlanthe-vs-zuma/).

During the period under investigation, (October 2008 to April 2009) in this sample there were more positive than negative articles about Motlanthe, and even in those that were considered negative, there was not concrete evidence suggesting that the privacy of Motlanthe had been unjustly invaded. It could be argued that the publication of information, private and public, was in the public interest. Motlanthe, as a state president, was a public figure, and therefore bound to surrender a level or degree of his privacy in view of the social responsibility and democratic participant models of media functioning. The media was indeed playing its watchdog role and rigorously reported on the first citizen.
6.1 Suggestions for further research

Further research may include an inquiry into the possibility of achieving objectivity in reporting on interim political leaders such as president Kgalema Motlanthe, given the strains within the ruling party behind the temporary leadership.

Another aspect could be an analysis of coverage Motlanthe received in the media, focusing on aspects of media ownership in influencing the news content.

Further research on the topic of this treatise might also include a comparison of judgemental media coverage of Motlanthe’s single reported infidelity and Jacob Zuma’s well publicised affair with an HIV-positive acquaintance prior to his ascent to presidency, and his subsequent polygamous marriage to another lady, to investigate the representation of male infidelity and promiscuity against the inherent valuation of polygamous marriages in the media.
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7.1 Newspaper articles analysed

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8. Appendix

Newspaper articles analysed
[DEBATE] : (Fwd) SA politics still wild and wonderful

Patrick Bond pbond at mail.ngo.za
Sun Apr 19 09:45:13 BST 2009


Motlanthe: ‘Stop slating Mbeki’ - Mbalula under fire about open letter to Thabo Mbeki
Wisani wa ka Ngobeni and Moipone Malefane Published:Apr 19, 2009

Silent: Thabo Mbeki has yet to comment on the letter

President Kgalema Motlanthe has lashed out at ANC heavyweight Fikile Mbalula for attacking former president Thabo Mbeki in an open letter published this week.

Motlanthe spoke for the first time on Friday about what he described as “unbecoming conduct” on the part of Mbalula.

The ANC deputy president is the first leader in the ruling party to come out publicly to rebuke Mbalula — considered to be one of the most powerful leaders in the party — for his open letter, in which he accuses Mbeki of betraying the legacy of former president Nelson Mandela.

In his letter, Mbalula, who is a member of the national executive committee and head of the party’s election campaign— claims Mbeki had allowed the ANC to “stumble on the edge of an abyss”.

Mbalula claimed Mbeki had decided to “spawn” COPE after being defeated as ANC leader by Jacob Zuma at the Polokwane conference in December 2007.

Mbeki has yet to respond to Mbalula’s letter.

Speaking exclusively to the Sunday Times from Mahlamba Ndlopfu, the presidential residence in Pretoria, Motlanthe said Mbalula would have to explain his attack to the party’s NEC. He said he had not read the full text of Mbalula’s letter and had not yet spoken to Mbalula about it.

“I have been trying to muster enough courage to read it so that I can talk to him about it. I did chat to the secretary-general (Gwede Mantashe) about it to find out what could have triggered this, and he was not clear,” Motlanthe said.
"I do not know what (Mantashe) has done or whether he has acted on that. It is the secretary-general's job to ensure that we all act and conduct ourselves within the constitution of the ANC," he said.

Motlanthe added that no member of the ANC had a right to criticise another member in the way Mbalula had tackled Mbeki.

"I just have difficulties in any ... of the membership of the ANC (who) decides to define any member of the ANC (as) outside the ranks of the (party) without due processes. The ANC constitution is very clear on the obligations and rights of each member."

Motlanthe said as a "bona fide" ANC member, Mbeki deserved to be treated fairly and with respect. "This is the least he deserves."

Motlanthe said the practice of ANC members addressing each other through open letters "needs to be nipped in the bud".

"I just think it is unbecoming ... I do not think it is a healthy way of either engaging or conversing as members... because you can foster divisions in the organisation by doing that."

He said he would talk to Mbalula to find out why "he thinks his letter enhances the ANC's image and chances in the elections".

"We have said over and over again that we must not talk about other parties, but we must talk about the manifesto of the ANC. I do not know what his letter seeks to clarify in terms of the ANC election manifesto."

Mbalula stuck to his guns yesterday, saying: "I remain firm in my views expressed in the letter and I therefore neither require permission of the ANC deputy president in advancing such views as a member of the ANC, nor expect him to agree with those views."

"It is rather disingenuous of comrade Motlanthe to suggest my actions are un-ANC when Thabo Mbeki's actions had all the hallmarks of undermining the unity and integrity of the ANC, yet he never saw it fit to call him to order," Mbalula said.

Motlanthe also broke his silence on the controversial spy tapes, which were instrumental in the National Prosecuting Authority dropping corruption charges against Zuma.
Motlanthe revealed that the National Intelligence Agency had not briefed him about the existence of the spy tapes, which implicate former Scorpions head Leonard McCarthy and his former boss, Bulelani Ngcuka, in a political conspiracy against Zuma.

Motlanthe said he had learned about the tapes on the day the NPA decided to drop the charges against Zuma.

He added that although he — as president of the republic — is the primary client of the NIA, he had not been consulted by the agency when it decided to declassify the top-secret tapes.
Courageous choice

Judge Cameron a surprise
Motlantohe says SA will escape recession
Mitchell urges appeals for unity at funeral of ANC veteran and unionist
President praises Ghana's democratic poll

JOHN Akufo-Addo's election as Ghana's president carried with it hope for millions of Ghanaians, the continent and the region, President Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday.

"South Africa renews its commitment to work together with you, for the political unity and integration of the African continent within the framework of the African Union and through our support for newly elected leaderships, as well as the AU institutions," Motlanthe said.

He said the election, which commenced on December 28, bore testimony to Ghana's respect for democracy.

"In this regard, our congratulations also go to the people of Ghana who have, through the ballot paper, shown their appreciation for democracy. South Africa looks forward to the consolidation and strengthening of bilateral political, economic and trade relations between our two countries," Motlanthe said. — Sapa
Please lead, Mr President

President Kgalema Motlanthe has a mere six months to prove that he is firmly in charge of a clean administration that carries no favour with cronies and holds no court with the mafia.

Over the past few weeks he has shown worrying signs of weak leadership, easily bullied by former president Thabo Mbeki's joint diplomatic allies in SADC on one hand, and by factionalism within the ANC on the other.

It is a sign of weakness that Motlanthe and his fellow SADC leaders have adopted Mbeki's kid glove approach to Robert Mugabe. Instead of pressing the wily dictator to accept the last legitimate election result, which the opposition MDC won, and engage in genuine power-sharing, they have put the squabbling MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai to share the Home Affairs portfolio. This allows Mugabe to maintain his strangle grip on the security and intelligence forces that brutally tortured MDC members.

This mollycoddling approach to the ageing dictator is not just disappointing, but a gross betrayal of the Zimbabwean electorate who voted for a change of government.

It is a sign of weakness that Motlanthe bowed to the demands of hardline belieks in Jacob Zuma's inner circle when he reneged on his decision to appoint former Eastern Cape MEC for finance, Dr GSK Gotingwenza, as deputy finance minister. Motlanthe had told Gotingwenza he was in line for the job, but, because Zuma's left-wing cohort argued that Gotingwenza was too close to the 'corrupt liberals' Trevor Manuel, Motlanthe relented.

It is also a sign of weakness that Motlanthe has remained silent on the dubious dealings of correctional services minister Nkosazana Dlamini. Parliament's ethics committee has let Balfour off the hook in the face of allegations that he acquired one of the luxury 4x4 vehicles by corrupt means.

The committee and Balfour himself have also distorted the source of the more than R700 000 that was paid towards settling one of the minister's cars, nor have they requested or seen Balfour's bank statements that would prove whether he paid for the car himself.

While there is nothing wrong in clearing Balfour, if indeed his car purchases are above board, the ethics committee is expected to hold parliamentarians to account by rigorous investigation of any allegation of corruption or wrongdoing.

Equally questionable is the fact that Balfour managed to get rid of the man who blew the whistle on him, his former correctional services director general, while Motlanthe was abroad.

Motlanthe might not want to rock the boat, as he is riding on borrowed time, but it is time to shift the focus from the personal grudges to the real issues of policy and members of his cabinet.

South Africans have a lot of faith and confidence in Motlanthe. He has brought gravitas and a human face to the Union Buildings. He should not let the country down by behaving like a mere bench-warmer. They want him to lead.
Mr President, or just a puppet?

This jury will not be swayed by the charisma of President Mbeki. He could hold his own as president of the republic without being beholden to the narrow interests of his party.

This week, when he freed National Prosecuting Authority chief Vusi Pikoli, who is a fine South African, he basically told us that our high expectations of him were misplaced. That, after all, he was just one of the gang of power mongers who bully their way through the body politic, defying the power that it intends to exercise. When Mbeki first appeared, the nation welcomed him — that sober, soft-spoken, reasonable man — as a breath of fresh air from the Machiavellian shenanigans of Thabo Mbeki himself and the duplicity of that dancing puppet Jacob Zuma.

We expected our short-term president to bring common sense to our national dialogue and place the people of this republic above petty parly politics. Many in the country, including some in the senior ranks of the ANC, publicly hoped that some would prevail and Mbeki be allowed to continue beyond next year's elections.

But we were deluded. The temporary president turned out to be the puppet whose strings were being pulled by people of much lower gravity and moral standing than his. As Zuma did his best to guarantee that cases against him, the independence of institutions have come to naught.

by firing the man who, in his report, described the then deputy director of public prosecutions, Mfeketo Mphatsi, as a person of unapproachable integrity and credibility. Mphatsi has paved the way for the appointment of another as NPA head. One who will let Zuma, with the help of high-level corruption suspects who Pikoli and the Scorpions had implicated, off the hook.

Gcina Mhlophe and Robert Mthuli are being pursued to oust Pikoli from his post. Pikoli has made it clear that he cannot continue to work with Mphatsi, who is on trial for racketeering.

It is clear that Pikoli served the security interests of the people of this nation, whom he decided to arrest Sisulu, the police chief who — by his own admission — went after the Gupta family to arrest Sisulu, with drug dealers, the Gupta family was indicted for racketeering.

Pikoli's decision was vindicated by an independent panel set up by the acting national director of public prosecutions, Mokoteli Mphatsi, who subsequently charged Sisulu. The arrest posed absolutely no threat to national security. The man and women in blue did not rise in protest. It was business as usual in the war against crime, with police officers and women greatly relieved that he was off the beat.

Pikoli is a man of honour and integrity who has served the country. He refused to be bought off by golden handcuffs offered to him by both the Mbeki and Mphatsi administrations.
Majali and the unpaid pigsty he left behind

President's shady pal in another legal battle over up-market home, writes Megan Power

Majali, a controversial figure in the property industry, has been embroiled in a legal dispute over a property he once owned in a prestigious residential area. The house, which was valued at $2 million, was left in a state of disrepair after Majali allegedly vacated it without paying rent. The landlord, a local developer, has filed a lawsuit against Majali, demanding the return of the property or compensation for the damages caused. The case is currently pending in court, and Majali has denied any wrongdoing.
Times Molamthe warns of slowdown
Falling commodity exports to knock SA revenue, writes Jim Jones

Motlanthe cheerful but wrong

There is a real world of industry, trade, finance and business. We have a world in which consumers across the globe are eating in their homes and avoiding purchases of cars and consumer durables.

So, what is the likely outlook for South Africa?

The world is already there, loud and clear. The country is going to struggle — well, at least as far as its exports and trade surplus are concerned. ArcelorMittal has already announced 20% production cutbacks at its local steel-making plants, in line with those at its facilities worldwide.

Demand for flat steel from major manufacturers and from makers of white goods has tumbled and seems set to remain low for as long as world economic stimulus is implemented by governments around the globe.

Let’s be realistic. Consumers in developed economies have had some tremendous shocks — job losses, credit crunch and an abrupt end to the free-spending days. And even if interest rates overseas are slashed further, will they return to their pre-crisis ways? “Not likely” is probably the right answer. Households will probably be doing whatever they can to reduce debt, not taking on more. And people who have still jobs will be trimming their sails for a world where a $60 oil price is still a perfect storm.

Consumer spending in developing nations, which was supposed to prop up the world economy, is looking increasingly problematic. India is projecting sharp declines (20% to 30%) in export sales over the next few quarters and demand from China is also declining.

Kumba Iron Ore is projecting sharp declines (20% to 30%) in export sales over the next few quarters and demand from China is also declining.

Brazilian iron-ore major Vale has announced cutbacks that will reduce.Util exports by more than 10% — in fact the cut will be more like 20%-25% — in response to lower Chinese demand. Across Asia, Rio and Vale have done the same, and have announced record sales elsewhere, with falling iron ore prices.

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Motlanthe manoeuvres well in restricted space

Motlanthe was expected from Friday’s state of the nation address by President Kgalema Motlanthe. After all, he is merely a caretaker president.

Media reports had indicated that the ANC losses at Luthuli House had him on a short leash and had impressed upon him the need not to steal president-in-waiting Jacob Zuma’s thunder; that the “real” state of the nation address would come from Zuma after the election.

Still, a nation expected its president to acknowledge that it is gripped by anxiety on many fronts. Politically, the infighting in the ruling party after its December 2017 Polokwane conference has had a profound effect on the nation’s psyche. Service delivery has ground to a halt in many parts of the country as too much is being postponed until the new administration takes over.

It is in that context that we were disappointed that Motlanthe chose not to announce the election date on Friday. The reason he put forward – this weekend’s voter registration drive – was not convincing.

It may be argued that knowing when the election is going to be could have galvanised many who have not registered, thinking there is still time.

Economically, South Africa has not been immune from the global credit crunch. Many sectors are shedding jobs, rendering thousands of families destitute as breadwinners are laid off. Those fortunate enough to still have jobs are finding it harder and harder to hold onto their homes and cars, with interest rates being so high, and are struggling to make ends meet while prices of food and transport remain sky-high.

Motlanthe pointed out that South Africa had not been as severely affected as many other countries. To his credit, he did acknowledge the Mbeki administration’s fiscal policies.

Motlanthe pledged that an ANC government would spend R10 billion in the next three years to reduce poverty and increase employment. We would like to know where the money will come from, and that no further social grants from birth to death, as promised in the ANC manifesto.

The reality is that at 12.5 million, the number of recipients of social grants is more than double that of personal taxpayers, who make up a mere five million – a number that is shrinking daily.

Motlanthe acknowledged that crime and corruption continue to preoccupy the nation, but provided no solutions.

Opposition parties charged that Motlanthe’s address was just electioneering for the ANC. A more sympathetic view would be that he tried to do the best with the little space available to him.

And by paying tribute to the Black Consciousness generation, which includes Moses Leotta, the leader of the Congress of the People, that founded the South Africa Students Organisation (Saso) in 1986, Motlanthe showed that he is a bigger man than the harshest of his party masters are so intent on restricting him with.
for the employed and perhaps lesser chances of getting employed for those sitting at street corners for any sort of job.

But Motlanthe the pragmatist also emerged during his address. While he eulogised, putting the ANC's achievements since the dawn of democracy, telling the populace it is in good hands with the ANC, Motlanthe also, to the visible disappointment of some ministers, wagged a finger at lingering problems and delivery bottlenecks.

Motlanthe did his bit for Futhi House, which faces a difficult election following the emergence of the Congress of the People from within the ANC's womb, by highlighting the ANC government's successes. While debunking the spectres of one-line AIDS/HIV statements of former president Mbeki by calling frankly to South Africans on antiretrovirals and prevention plans, Motlanthe also talked of impedi-

ments brought on by the negative attitudes of health workers and poor management of health facilities.

While Motlanthe talked of an improvement in the mathematics pass rate and almost universal access to primary education, he raised a finger at the persistence of teacher capacity problems in areas where capacity is what is required to "break the cycle of poverty."

Agriculture Minister Lulu Xingwana steered her eyes away from Motlanthe when he said: "We should of course acknowledge that the land redistribution programme as well as post-settlement support could have been handled faster and better."

Motlanthe also praised Mohoeko's "new government" and said: "I am not sure if we have had the chance to tell the country "I am sorry" that we have been lacking, especially in the implementation of the Employment Equity Act, saying that the country "is lagging in the high-growth stage.

Those in search of hope were, however, left wondering at what Motlanthe said should be done to correct the anomaly without committing himself, "an uncertainty," to a predetermined programme. Motlanthe walked on unfamiliar terrain. Had it with skill and guile. Perhaps circumstances conspired against him and this denied us his vision.

The temptation to say "don't despair" in the current political environment is high, the temptation to find solace in the past is overwhelming but, it is a glimpse into a better tomorrow that in the end always provides the most uplifting hope.
Motlanthe condemns Israel

AN international-relations expert expressed surprise that President Kgalema Motlanthe added his signature, in his capacity as president of the republic, to a media campaign condemning Israel.

The campaign features a petition signed by prominent South Africans and organisations condemning Israel, which they refer to as an apartheid state in the Middle East.

Siphamandla Zondi of the Institute for Global Dialogue said it was "not diplomatically wise" for Motlanthe to associate himself with the campaign in his capacity as president of the republic.

"The business of governing requires that a person balance their own strong views about a particular country with the need to maintain some kind of relationship with that country," he said.

Zondi said Motlanthe's association with the petition would not go down well with Israel and could strain diplomatic relations between the two countries.

"The state of Israel might decide to reciprocate and that would most likely hurt our business interests in Israel," he said.

Presidential spokesperson Thabo Masebe said: "We don't see any problem with people saying this issue of the Middle East needs to be resolved." - Staff Reporter
GLIMPSES OF A GLOOMY FUTURE

As President Kgalema Motlanthe addressed the nation on Friday, MAKHADO SIFARA, MOSFETI MOTOKXOHO and SABELO NDLONGISA found that he walked an unfamiliar tightrope with skill but failed to provide the necessary hope to lift the mood of the country.

They may not have been intended but President Kgalema Motlanthe's comments in jest about lowering the age of eligibility for pension in 50 could have been a serious hint about the political future, something surely missing from his speech.

"Since I am turning 50 this year, I will be retiring," he said.

Most members of Parliament laughed not only because they saw the irony as relevant to the drama unfolding in Motlanthe's political and personal life but perhaps because many of them are way past the new retirement mark.

Motlanthe humbled himself before Parliament and told the nation he understood the transient nature of his administration, which meant he deliberately did not drive into the future. He also correctly read the mood of doom in the country and correctly closed the theme of the hope and resilience of South African society.

He talked of democracy-supporting institutions that had been "tested in the recent past" — a not-so-direct reference to the judiciary — and assured the nation that "every one of them has passed the test to reveal a democracy that is exceptionally resilient." He talked of a people refusing "to be cowed by setbacks and hardships".

In the end Motlanthe ran short of giving the country the requisite inspiration, perhaps humbled by the looming election.

With his left hand cupped by the right, or his fingers almost playing around with his unbound speech, Motlanthe offered a tepid menu of ideas on what must underpin this hankering for new hope.

In desperation he looked at Bafana Bafana's three consecutive victories, hoping that the soccer team was earning itself for "above-expectation performances". But the recent victories of the cricket and rugby teams gave genuine fresh hope.

Politically Motlanthe was in an unenviable position. Appointed five months ago to finish off a term presided over by Thabo Mbeki — a term the tone and texture of which he might not have agreed with — there was little room for him to stamp his mark or make his signature statement.

The fact that he caught the term at its tail-end and that there are no guarantees of his return as deputy president, and some might say all guns are out for him, means that Motlanthe was unable to take the country on a journey of what is to come.

A journey that would lift society at large out of general doom in the same way Mbeki promised a "business unusual" approach for the "apex priorities" he had identified.

Still, there were expectations that Motlanthe's speech, given the dark clouds gathering around him, would provide light by showing that the current administration was not clueless on how to attend to some of the country's pressing challenges at this stage.

Motlanthe dangled, for example, the R590 billion economic stimulus package to help our country survive what he termed the "headwinds of economic turbulence" that have affected the globe. While this package was supposed to excite, many were left wondering who would finance it.

Motlanthe said "creative ways" to raise funds from "finance institutions and loan finance from international agencies as well as partnership with the private sector and utilization of funds controlled by workers like pension funds" would be looked at.

When Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says Motlanthe's speech was "wishy-washy" and shows that it was made by "a man walking on thin
SA soccer’s Iron Lady hails Motlanthe’s change

SUSUISO MSEL QUI

South African 2010 Fifa World Cup
Local Organising Committee (LOC)
board member, Natasha Tauchlas,
hails President Kgama
Motlanthe for adding more women to
the structure.

The new additions are Safety and
Security Minister Susan Shabangu
and Deputy Foreign Affairs
Minister Sue van der Merwe.

This brings to four the total of wom-
en on the 20-member board. The oth-
er member is Foreign Affairs
Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma.

Government has most women rep-
resentatives on the board with three
while football, that has a total of eight
members, has only one woman in
Tauchlas while there are now from
the business world.

The current board consists of
Molefe Oliphant, Irvin Khoza, Re-
mondlwa Mack, Kenneth Lepena,
Mabathu Mohamed, Kaiser Motaung
and Tauchlas from football.

Government is represented by
ministers Mabuza, Stro-
file, Jeff Radebe,
Sicelo Shiceka, Sue
van der Merwe,
Charles Nqabula
and Dlamini
Zuma.

The future of Fas-
on Falad, Sabc

Molefe and Susan Mabuza are
still uncertain following their recent
resignations from the cabinet.

Zwelinzima Vavi is the sole repre-
sentative of the labour sector.

“I am really proud of our presi-
dent,” Tauchlas told City Press on
Friday. “We need more women to be in-
volved in the structures that are pre-
paring for the 2010 World Cup.”

She said women were usually very
good at organizing and setting up
logistical structures.

“When you have an event as big as
the World Cup, you surely need the
input of women,” she said.

Tauchlas, dubbed SA soccer’s Iron
Lady and who is involved at different
levels of football administration from
the Premier Soccer League (PSL),
South African Football Association
(Safa), Confederation of African
Football (CAF) to the Federation of
International Football Associations
(FIFA), said she was pleased with her
contribution to soccer development.

“What pleases me the most is the
fact that I got involved when there
was still no money in football. For me,
it has been like being involved when
a tree is planted, watching it grow
leaves and eventually bear fruit,” she
said. She urged women to roll up their
ersleeves and work hard.

“Jorge all women to take the initia-
tive and don’t want to act only when
they are invited,” said Tauchlas.
THE ANC has allegedly ordered the SABC to reduce its coverage of President Kgalema Motlanthe and to stop projecting him as being too presidential, to the disadvantage of the party's president, Jacob Zuma.

In a startling move that points to deep-seated divisions in the camp, the ANC has allegedly asked the country's biggest media organisation not to project Motlanthe as being more of a statesman than Zuma.

Two news executives and a few reporters told City Press that the ruling party was concerned about increasing calls for Motlanthe to be allowed to continue as the country's president, even after the elections next year.

"We were asked in October to reduce our coverage of Motlanthe and focus on putting out a better image of Zuma. We have tried to resist this but there is only so much we can do," said one SABC source.

ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe emphatically denied this yesterday, saying the ANC was not in a position to tell the SABC which leaders to cover, because the party was getting a raw deal from the public broadcaster anyway.

They do not cover us objectively, so we don't have the luxury of saying 'increase this or reduce that'," said Mantashe, adding that the ANC did not see any contest between Motlanthe and Zuma.

Motlanthe has courted controversy for a while, contradicting several ANC leaders, including national treasurer Mathews Phosa, and taking sides with Blade Nzimande - publicly in what some see as an attempt to protect himself as the sole voice of reason in a camp of hotheads.
Molotshu has previously said that some attacks on the Constitutional Court from within the party were "out of line". The ANC Youth League said he was acting like a "paragon of correctness". The league also warned him not to act as if Zuma was no longer there. Mntwane said the ANC had only asked the SABC to be objective. "All those issues you are raising are being raised everywhere but not in the ANC. We do not think Molotshu is over-covered. He is squeezed like all of us," said Mntwane. Analyst Professor Sue Bootsen of Wits University said she was "not surprised at all" about the alleged Intra-Zuma camp battles. Bootsen said she knew that when the ANC decided who should replace former president Thabo Mbeki, those closest to Molotshu were those who had been at odds and could be difficult to dislodge from office. They preferred former National Assembly Speaker and current Deputy President Baleka Mbete because she was thought to be "weak" and easy to remove. Bootsen said the Zuma/Molotshu face-off made sense because it was becoming increasingly clear that for the ANC to disarm the Congress of the People (COPE) it needed a someone who was the embodiment of the values COPE espoused. "There can be no doubt that Molotshu would do much better than Zuma. He stood up to the Youth League, he spoke in defence of the cautioned against Zuma. He is good," she said. City Press asked the head of the Media Monitoring Project, William Bird, to analyse SABC TV’s English news bulletin from last Saturday to Thursday to evaluate how Zuma and Molotshu were featured. In that period Bird found that Zuma could be seen and heard speaking for 228 seconds as opposed to Molotshu’s 61 seconds. Bird said Zuma was featured only in items the SABC could not afford to ignore, such as the SADC summit that Molotshu hosted in Sandton, and other continental and global issues. Zuma, on the other hand, was "represented positively" on the campaign trail. Where he talked about the new party, Zuma came across as being "too defensive", talking about pursuing snakes, said Bird. Overall, Zuma is mostly shown speaking positively on a variety of issues, except where there is Julius Malema, because almost everything Molotshu says is negative. Bird said SABC spokesperson Rukuwongye said he spoke to all the people who were involved and could not find anyone who knew of any ANC instruction to cover Molotshu. An SABC source said the request to cover the head of state less came before Mbeki was "re-called". "I think they thought we were committed to covering Mbeki as a person and were being factional," she said. The latest request came in October, at a meeting on the fourth floor of the TV centre. The concern is that we project a statesman-like image and Zuma (who likes to sing and dance) as a pop star. They say where he is seen with Malema, the young man must be "wiped out", but Malema sits really close to Zuma," he said. Yesterday Rukuwongye said the SABC would defend its journalists against political attacks. Sheki Khumalo, an SABC board member responsible for news, last week said the board was aware that the SABC news team had come under severe pressure from various political organizations, some of which were being abusive to individual producers. This, he said, was expected to escalate with the election approaching.
Motlanthe sure to be JZ's deputy

Pres Nat

SABELO MOLANHISA

The future of President Thabo Mbeki's deputy, Kgalema Motlanthe, in government looks secure despite reports that he is under siege within his own party.

City Press reported a few weeks ago that there was tension between Zuma and Motlanthe, with some ANC officials instructing the SABC to limit its coverage of Motlanthe because he was being projected as more presidential than Zuma.

ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe this week contradicted party spokesperson Jesse Duarte, who had told SABC TV that Motlanthe would be deployed as head of the ANC’s political school.

Mantashe said there had been “very serious reasons” why the deputy president of the ANC could not be deputy president of the country.

The Sunday Times had reported that the ANC’s provincial executive was considering a motion to have Motlanthe as deputy president in government after the general elections.

One ANC Women’s League official suggested that while Zuma’s position as president in the next administration had been resolved by the ANC’s national conference in Polokwane last year, Motlanthe’s position as deputy president remained uncertain.

She said it was up to the party’s deployment committee to decide who to deploy as the next deputy president.

But an ANC provincial official said there could not be any justification for Motlanthe to be removed from government after next year’s general elections when his term as caretaker president ends.

“The issue of the deputy president is very clear. You can’t have a deputy president who can’t succeed the president. This is because we are trying to project into the future in terms of succession. Hence we did not agree with (former president Thabo) Mbeki on Zuma and Motlanthe,” the official said.

Asked what the party would do with the current deputy president, Baleka Mbete, the official said she would have to be offered a senior position in government in line with her seniority in the party.

“You can’t let her become deputy president,” he said.

Another party official said there was no need to debate the caretaker president’s future as the Polokwane resolution had implied that he should serve alongside Zuma in the government.

“If the president is guaranteed to be the president of the country, what are you saying about the deputy president of the ANC?” he asked.

The official said.

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MOFFET MOFOKENG

MOFFET MOFOKENG

A VITRIOLIC power struggle for the position of the ANC's deputy president has erupted in the ANC, pitting ANC acting deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe against SA Communist Party boss Blade Nzimande. Several sources have independently confirmed that there was a strong move to push for the appointment of the SAPC general secretary as the deputy president of the republic after the elections.

However, there are others in the leadership of the ANC who are adamant that there can be no debate that Motlanthe should become Jacob Zuma's deputy president should the ANC win the election.

City Press has learnt that a group opposed to Motlanthe was lobbying others in the ruling party to persuade Zuma to appoint Nzimande as the country's next deputy president.

There are people who don't like Motlanthe," an ANC national executive committee (NEC) member said on condition of anonymity, adding that some of those opposed to Motlanthe also served on the ANCYL.

On the other hand, senior SAPC leader and ANC NEC member Enos Godongwana was behind the rumours about Nzimande wanting to be deputy president so as to discredit him, especially now that the ruling party was conducting its list process.

Godongwana, who is a member of the ANCYL, told fellow comrades that Motlanthe should head the ANC political school instead of going to the Union Buildings as the country's deputy president.

Nzimande's proposal was rejected and the league insisted that Motlanthe should be the next deputy president of the republic.

An ANCYL NEC member said: "Nzimande hoped that once we endorsed his proposal, he would then move to the next step of providing an alternative, but he was dismissed even before he got to that point. We had to arrive at the decision that Motlanthe should be the next deputy president of the republic because that boy has come up with that proposal."

Mandela would not comment, saying he did not want to discuss rumours.

SACP spokesperson Maleka Maloka said that true is that there were attempts to use Nzimande's name to sow divisions in the alliance. "We are not dictating where he should go but we are simply saying you can't just not have him as a senior level in government." Last December, ANC leaders Ben Ngubane and Blade Nzimande contradicted each other on Motlanthe's role after the elections.

Mandela said the ANC was working on the assumption that Motlanthe would be the country's deputy president, while Duarte said Motlanthe would be deployed back to Luthuli House to focus on party work around policy and political education.

Duarte's comment caused consternation in the party. This was followed by rumours that Nzimande was so concerned about Motlanthe's future plans that he hatched a plan to embarrass him.

The rift between Motlanthe and Nzimande is said to be so tense that at one ANC national working committee (NWCO) meeting, Nzimande took Motlanthe on over his reasons for not signing the SABC Broadcasting Act.

Another ANC NEC member said Nzimande was so "obsessed with power" that the SAPC had proposed that the ANC form a super-cabinet after the elections in which Nzimande would be a "super-minister".

"Blade is obsessed with power. He thinks he is going to become one of the super-ministers. There is no super-minister in cabinet. All ministers are equal but he wants to create something powerful so that he can be that. These are the people who want to manipulate the ANC so that they remain in power," said an ANC NEC member.

At the last ANC Youth League NEC meeting, KwaZulu-Natal ANCYL chair Mzolisi Kanzo told his fellow comrades that Motlanthe should head the ANC political school instead of going to the Union Buildings as the country's deputy president.

Kanzo's proposal was rejected and the league insisted that Motlanthe should be the next deputy president of the republic.

"Kanzo hoped that once we endorsed his proposal, he would then move to the next step of providing an alternative, but he was dismissed even before he got to that point. We had to arrive at the decision that Motlanthe should be the next deputy president of the republic because that boy has come up with that proposal," Mandela would not comment, saying he did not want to discuss rumours.

SACP spokesperson Maleka Maloka said that true is that there were attempts to use Nzimande's name to sow divisions in the alliance. "We are not dictating where he should go but we are simply saying you can't just not have him as a senior level in government." Last December, ANC leaders Ben Ngubane and Blade Nzimande contradicted each other on Motlanthe's role after the elections.

Mandela said the ANC was working on the assumption that Motlanthe would be the country's deputy president, while Duarte said Motlanthe would be deployed back to Luthuli House to focus on party work around policy and political education.

Duarte's comment caused consternation in the party. This was followed by rumours that Nzimande was so concerned about Motlanthe's future plans that he hatched a plan to embarrass him.

The rift between Motlanthe and Nzimande is said to be so tense that at one ANC national working committee (NWCO) meeting, Nzimande took Motlanthe on over his reasons for not signing the SABC Broadcasting Act.

Another ANC NEC member said Nzimande was so "obsessed with power" that the SAPC had proposed that the ANC form a super-cabinet after the elections in which Nzimande would be a "super-minister".

"Blade is obsessed with power. He thinks he is going to become one of the super-ministers. There is no super-minister in cabinet. All ministers are equal but he wants to create something powerful so that he can be that. These are the people who want to manipulate the ANC so that they remain in power," said an ANC NEC member.

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"We know some of the people who are working on it, especially in the run-up to the formation of the new government," the member said. "We are not dictating where he should go but we are simply saying you can't just not have him as a senior level in government." Last December, ANC leaders Ben Ngubane and Blade Nzimande contradicted each other on Motlanthe's role after the elections.

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Duarte's comment caused consternation in the party. This was followed by rumours that Nzimande was so concerned about Motlanthe's future plans that he hatched a plan to embarrass him.
I am not impressed at all with last Friday’s state of the nation address by President Kgalema Motlanthe. His plan to mitigate the effects of the global economic crisis were totally naive and inadequate.

It is and will still be a mountain to climb for every country, including South Africa, so for the president to suggest that this global financial thunderstorm will miraculously skip our shores is total nonsense. It is important to note that the world is in a recession.

Honestly, I am not impressed with your address to your people, sir, in fact it was just a cut and paste job. I agree with the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that most South Africans have already begun suffering and things will become even worse in years to come. So the president must be sincere to the citizens and not tell lies.

The number of people now needing government assistance is rising all the time, considering the retrenchments, high food prices, the unstable fuel prices, and so on. So what the president said is fallacy.

Furthermore, President Motlanthe and his ruling party’s commitment to fighting crime and corruption is questionable. If he and the government of the day were committed to combating these, they would not have killed the Scorpions. He should have appointed an independent inquiry to probe this stink called the arms deal.

I do not think that fighting corruption is the ANC’s core focus since its leader, Jacob Zuma, is probably corrupt. I think the party should have asked him to go on paid leave until such time as his name is cleared. It is a shame that we will have a sitting president who remains a suspect in our eyes and at the same time we will expect him to combat crime.

I can say without any doubt that corruption is stealing from the poor and that the government is not doing enough to fight this disease.

But for you, Mr President, to rubber stamp the demise of the Scorpions, I am truly saddened.

RUSHA MAGOMANI
Ntsampioni Village, Limpopo
President to shun cabinet after elections

Motsamme's heat
Motlanthe can’t claim high ground

"Indlu yezi gqinama". This is applicable in the case of President Thabo Mbeki. His private life has now been exposed by the Jackson Thamaga faction to the public as not "better than thou". Motlanthe — the innocent voice of reason — is hiding his true morality. It is now public knowledge that the backers of Zuma, allegedly led by one Blade Nzimande, are out to discredit him as he is apparently now closer to Thabo Mbeki and has the backing of ANC intellectuals such as Puliso Jordan, Zola Skweyiya, Naledi Pandor and others.

The president is now painted as a playboy, even worse than Zuma, who is soon to marry his fifth wife. Motlanthe is being presented to the world as a person who disregards "safe sex" and dates young women who should rather look up to him as a father figure.

That is why the ANC has been issuing contradictory messages about his role after the upcoming elections, with spokesperson Julius Malema and Thabo Mphahlele, the ANC Youth League leader in Swaziland, proposing that he should go back to Luthuli House instead of becoming Zuma’s deputy at the Union Buildings. COPE must be on cloud nine in responding to such contradictions.

Fair enough, Motlanthe is not as holy as portrayed.

Maybe the ANC should now change its name to the African National Playboys.

Lastly, if those Nzimande conspiracies are true it wouldn’t surprise me if his type — Nyami Boo, Julius Malema, Pikelile Mkhize, Nathi Mthethwa, Angel Moshabela, Tony Yengeni and Zwelethu Zulu — are also behind this.

NOKUTHULA MYHERMBU
Newcastle
Fear divides comrades

The story “Motaung vs Zuma” (City Press, November 6 2008) reflecting to the allegation that “the ANC has ordered the SABC to reduce its coverage of acting President Kgalema Motlanthe and to stop projecting him as being presidential...” is worrying.

The ANC cannot cry foul since both Zuma and Motlanthe have received relatively fair coverage.

Why should the ANC be concerned that Motlanthe is being projected as presidential? Isn’t the caretaker president? How should he be protected – unpresidential?

How should the SABC do that when Motlanthe, as the deputy president of the ANC, is carrying out the mandate of the party?

These imaginary insecurities are pervasive within the ANC. There was a time when Mbeki feared Zuma’s popularity and that drove a wedge between them. Today the same malady is rearing its ugly head.

I do not see anything wrong with Motlanthe and how he is projected. It is Zuma himself who should start to project himself as being presidential. He should consider the following:

1. Tackle the obsession with Lebowa and Shikwars. After all, move talk about them is publicity to their advantage.
2. Stop the “nikesi” diatribe.
3. Neutralise Malema and his foul language.
4. Be intolerant of those calling others “dogs” just because they no longer identify with the ANC.
5. Sell ANC policies clearly and loudly and...
6. Be seen rescuing the constitution and justice system by reprimanding those who use phrases like “counter-revolutionary” and “we will kill for” and so on.

Motlanthe is not running away with the country’s presidency. It is Zuma’s choir members who might be shouting it away from him.

Fusi Motaung
Johannesburg
Why it's not all bad that SA is like a classic western film

On Friday President Thabo Mbeki will deliver his only state of the nation address before he bows out and makes way for our next president to be inaugurated, possibly on April 27, in celebration of our 10 years of freedom.

He will speak to the nation at a time when the country is gripped by elements of the good, the bad and the ugly.

The good...

We often do not celebrate enough how lucky we are as a country to have avoided the predicted bloodbath just before the 1994 election to negotiate peace, democracy and produce arguably the best constitution in the world.

Nothing auspicious was a country torn apart by racism and violent political intolerance that conspired to stifle our economic prosperity and political advancement.

Nor any more. We are normalising our race relations and have taken steps to roll back the frontiers of poverty and have extended help to the indigent.

In Motaenle we have a president who is continuing the search for peace on the continent through diplomacy. There is a ray of hope that the warring factions in Zimbabwe can finally implement the deal that will hopefully put an end to the misery of millions in that country.

Motaenle also allowed critics who said that he rubber-stamped decisions of Parliament, by referring some bills - including the Film and Broadcast Bill - back to Parliament for reconsideration of their constitutionality.

The bad...

The ANC government has decided to disband the most effective crime-fighting unit, the Scorpions, in disregard of public opinion. Furthermore, Motaenle has fired National Director of Public Prosecutions Vusi Pikoli for reasons that have little to do with his ability to do his work.

As Parliament, which is dominated by the ANC, debates whether to endorse Pikoli’s dismissal, there are reports that Pikoli may be replaced by a lawyer who was in the defence team of ANC president Jacob Zuma.

There are also disturbing signs of a growing lack of respect for the judiciary, which must worry all those who subscribe to the rule of law.

The ugly...

The politics of the gutter and of character assassination seems to be taking root in our national discourse. Motaenle, who for a long time was seen as the embodiment of the disciplined cadre, has been a victim of party politics as allegations about his private life and financial interests are exposed to all.

It was a risk for Motaenle to appoint a sceptical as an effective vice president, by being a good president he refused the temptation to be over-shadowing the crown prince - Zuma.

After all is said and done, we should not lose sight of the fact that this is real politics. It is robust, cruel and even dirty. There's no need for panic.
President makes sure he will be voting next year

MARISCHEN WILDOESE
BASILE MOHLOLWA

"I AM a new resident in Hatfield," joked President Kgalema Motlanthe when he rocked up at his local Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) tent to register for next year's general election yesterday morning.

The latest occupant of Maboneng, the president's official home in Church Street, Pretoria, tickled a tiny baby's feet and charmed a 75-year-old lady after he completed his civic duty in the tent.

Retired municipal official Ruby Rausmus, leaning on her walking stick, declared herself much impressed by her new president and neighbour.

As she also was with America's newly elected African-American president, Barack Obama.

One of the young first-time voters who turned up at the Hatfield IEC registration tent to add her name to the voters' roll was Dudu Ramola.

She will turn 18 only on April 22 next year, but she wanted to make sure that she will get her "say" in the outcome of the election.

"Every vote counts," said the teenager, another fan of Obama. "I watched his speech. It was very proud. It affects the whole world."

More than 1000000 people had visited the IEC website by midday on Friday, according to its CEO, Pansy Tlakula.

"The IEC is probably the most visited website at the moment," she said. "These numbers are growing by the hour."

The IEC was also receiving thousands of SMSes, at times 1200 SMS requests simultaneously, from people wishing to check their registration details.

To do this, South Africans are advised to SMS their ID number to 16989 or to visit the IEC website, www.elections.org.za, and enter their ID number.

A Human Sciences Research Council survey has revealed that 90% of registered voters are keen to take part in next year's election.
The presidential love life and the public interest

No one disputes that public interest was well served by exposing the private life of Carl Niehaus.

Except perhaps the man himself.

He was one of the most vocal African National Congress (ANC) people to condemn media intrusion into the personal affairs of President Kgalema Motlanthe.

Now we know that he had a particular interest in maximum privacy.

But does his case mean that the love life of a politician, as distinct from fraud and bad debt, is fair game for coverage?

Predictably, most people in politics vote for privacy no matter what. In recent weeks Minister Psallo Jordan has argued this case, while the Communist Party's Blade Nzimande has blasted the press for its coverage.

The debate evolved since its inception at the start of reports about Motlanthe's alleged romantic linkage to a young woman. Her admission that she had lied made a crude mockery of the media's claims of public interest in publishing the story in the first place.

It was not a proud moment for South African media standards.

In principle, there was little to differentiate the coverage from the reporting pioneered by the UK's Sunday Sport - if a person claims to have had sex with the ghost of Elvis, you're fully in order to report it.

As long as there's a real source making the claim, that's enough. You're not fabricating - merely reporting, and factually, what was actually said. Establishing veracity and public interest is then your responsibility.

South African journalism ought to do better than this. But in the past decade, there have been many reports that amounted to false information, arising from the failure to check source accuracy. The Thokozani Nkoko-up story is but one example.

The consequences of such poor practice are multiplying - particularly from the point of view of both private and public interest.


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Jordan wrote last week that "the only person who has been harmed in this disgraceful saga is Motlanthe" but it could be argued that the president’s dignified dismissal of the tale has enhanced his stature, and -- instead -- that it is, finally, the public interest credibility of the press that has been harmed.

It was in this context that editors in the South African National Editors Forum (Sanef) met Motlanthe in Pretoria last Friday. Dubbed as a background briefing not for attribution, the discussions ranged over the global economic crisis, Zimbabwe and job cuts in the media.

At the end of the two-hour dialogue, a member on the government side noted the proverbial unacknowledged "elephant" in the room. He went on to urge editors to reflect on the lessons of the Motlanthe coverage.

Motlanthe’s own response, long before the meeting, had also been to downplay the whole thing. Back then, he said he had more important things to worry about, and that the issue was one for Sanef and the Press Council to pursue.

His approach was to locate the controversy where it most properly belongs -- in the realms of Sanef self-scrutiny and Press Council self-regulation:

* Sanef operates not as an organisation, but as a forum, and on the basis of respect for each editor having his or her final say. Nevertheless, peer esteem plays a role there, even though the body will not normally pass comment on individual editors.

* The Press Council is made up of journalists and members of the public, with an express mandate to judge coverage, condemn bad journalism and compel apologies. It is subscribed to by members of Sanef.

Motlanthe may or may not complain to the Press Council. But a different approach to the saga is that of the Communist Party’s Nkomo who argued that it vindicated the ANC’s interest in investigating a statutory Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT).

His intervention serves a useful purpose because the ANC’s election manifesto neglects to tell voters that the MAT is part of the party’s policy package.

Although the MAT is far from being an electoral issue, one can foresee a post-election victory ANC government claiming a mandate to implement all of its policies -- including this particularly problematic one.

That South African journalism can also frequently be problematic, does not equate to the state regulation being the solution. At least in the Motlanthe girlfriend story, an unfettered press meant that the truth emerged in the end. Accurate journalism trumped falsehood without political compulsion.

The MAT would chill things right from the start -- like deterring newspapers from potentially controversial stories like that of Nkomo’s negative behaviour.

A press with journalistic problems is not ideal, but it is still better for society than a controlled one. Best of all, of course, is a self-regulating press which operates with the highest standards of journalism and public interest.


2011/09/26
One love

Who’d have known? Our straight-faced president Kgalema Motlanthe is a sugar daddy, as revealed in the Sunday Independent. According to the report, Motlanthe (29) will soon be bouncing a baby boy whose mum is just 24 years old.

According to a group of South Africans we canvassed this week, this is no problem. Meat is meat and a man must eat, it seems. Said Willem Minai of Mogale City: “Should Motlanthe die of hunger when there’s a queue of women waiting for him to ask them out?” Apparently not.

There is a growing consensus that we should be French about this whole matter of sex and politics. What pollution do we do to those boys in school—learning that the president is a woman. Of course, the president is a woman, as the case of former French foreign minister Raffaele Dalle highlights. The African way appears to be that polygamy is a case of the more, the merrier. As PM Motato, also of Mogale City, said: “Men are generally not happy with one woman ...”

Of course, there’s another side to the story. South African men and women have a long history of fighting against this kind of patriarchy, this archaic habit of turning women into blocks of meat to be filleted for a cell phone and a pretty dress. The Constitution explicitly declares us all equal before the law, men and women, black and white.

As Colette Lowe Morris will argue in our pages next week, progressive leadership cannot be squandered with polygamy, even though the Constitution protects traditional institutions.

The right to gender equality is a vital one that has been hard fought for, but it also happens to be a question of life and death. Transactional sex is driving the rate of HIV infection. Aids has cheated us of a generation of mothers and fathers, leaving millions of children orphaned, deprived of the nurturing foundation so essential to a decent life.

Our ruling party knows all this, which is why its education campaign against Aids is waged under the slogan: ‘AIDS affects us all, be faithful, condomize.’ It appears that the men who want to be our presidents do not care about these, regarding the billions of rands spent on the campaign pretty damned useless.

Leaders must surely embody the values they espouse and walk their talk. Or what is it but a charade? Sex is politics is all of our business, especially when we need all leaders in our society to nodle us towards behavioural change that will curb the still-growing rate of HIV infection.

At the AfCOS we like to make like Bob Marley and believe in equal rights, justice and “one love.”
Reds moan about new Cabinet

SACP irked by lack of communists in Motlanthe's new Cabinet

Mandy Rossouw

The complete absence of left-wing leaders in President Kgalema Motlanthe’s Cabinet has heightened fears among ANC president Jacob Zuma’s left-wing supporters that they are being marginalized.

Delegates to the South African Communist Party’s policy conference last week challenged the leadership on the absence of communists in President Kgalema Motlanthe’s inaugural Cabinet.

Delegates who attended the conference quizzed their leadership on why Motlanthe “ignored the communists”.

In addition the economic summit of the tripartite alliance, scheduled for this weekend, has been cancelled which the left believes is an important vehicle for influencing government policy.

Instead, a meeting of the alliance leaders will be held at which the appointment of the deputy ministers in vacant portfolios — finance, foreign affairs and correctional services — will be discussed.

At the SACP policy conference delegates complained that the party was not consulted about the appointment of the new Cabinet ministers, after one communist leader conceded that the appointments took place “without a great deal of consultation”.

Delegates and long-serving communists in government and the National Assembly, such as Tendai and Industry Deputy Minister Rob Davies and parliamentary transport committee chairperson James Cronin, could have been considered for Cabinet jobs.

Parliamentary justice committee chairperson Vuyisile Carrim was seen as a possible candidate for the post of justice minister vacated by Brigitte Mabandla. Mabandla was shifted to the public enterprises ministry, which the communists want to scrap.

“There is quite a lot of unhappiness about that,” said an alliance leader.

“Hopefully it will be different next year (after the elections) when people are appointed for the long term.”

Senior SACP leaders conceded that the 2010 “major deployment” by the ANC from Robben Island leadership presented an opportunity to show a reformatted party in which the left has more say. However, they tried to allay delegations concerned by under-scoring the temporary nature of the new appointments.

Said one: “This is essentially a holding operation and the sideways shuffle of people like Mantoe (Tshabala) Mbita, former health minister) and Mabandla showed that (the appointments) were about reassuring the public that this is as neutral as possible.”

Concerns about losing influence on the ruling party were also highlighted by the rejection of parliamentary seats for the SACP, on the grounds that “we don’t want to be seen as going against the ANC”.

Another SACP leader said the conference avoided pushing for communists in Parliament on an ANC ticket to articulate an SACP agenda.

“The ANC has made it clear that the SACP must not even join the ANC list or own seats on its own ticket. This contrasts with Zuma’s call some years ago for communists to become more left-wing viewpoints in parliamentary debates.”

“The SACP leadership” supposed that idea because there is an opportunistic concern by those who think the regime they helped establish in South Africa should remain in power, the leader said, suggesting that the leadership soft-pedalled because they have an eye on big jobs next year.

“The ANC has no plan for the ‘Pikethwaan’ project. They think they are owed positions and now they are deserting the cause altogether,” a provincial SACP leader said.

A fracture appears to be developing between ANC president Jacob Zuma and the left.

Said an ANC provincial leader: “He has not delivered on any promises and did not give in to any of their demands. The postponement of the economic summit is a big blow to them.

“The ANC is concerned with getting together the election manifesto. This summit is not their top priority, as the left would want it to be.”

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League is also scrambling to shore up its relevance. This week the league’s regional leadership on the KwaZulu-Natal North Coast condemned the weekend attack by Social Development Minister Zola Skwawana on league president Julius Malene.

In an interview with The Sunday Independent Skwawana said the league was an “embarrassment” to the party and had shown “shocking disrespect”.

People were calling every night complaining. “What are you doing about this child?” he was quoted saying.

North Coast league spokesperson Sihle Mzimela said certain people wanted to “replace Malene as a member.”

“We feel that people want him not to have the credibility and the respect that he demands. They want to downplay what he says. They don’t take Malene seriously and ridicule him,” he told Mail & Guardian.

But efforts by the elders to get the league to toe the line appears to be working higher up the ladder.

National league spokesman Floyd Shivambu said there were no plans to haul Skwawana before its executive committee if the young lions did not meet Malene prior to his becoming president.

“The ANC youth league did not succeed in influencing the choice of president as Zuma did not back his candidate for the presidency, Solly Msimanga, advised by ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe, opted for Malene, the as the most senior ANC member after himself.”
Molang: There is no struggle.
Big cheese's squeeze? - News - Mail & Guardian Online

Big cheese's squeeze?
Mmanaledi Mataboge - Feb 26, 2009 06:08

After two hours with Kelebogile Mmokwa, Mmanaledi Mataboge still can't work out if she knows the president intimately -- or at all.

When I call Kelebogile Mmokwa to ask her about rumours that she was never involved with President Kgalema Motlanthe, but had been set up by party insiders to create a scandal as part of a smear campaign against him, she invites us to visit her at her mother's house in Carletonville.

The photographer and I get hopelessly lost getting there, so Mmokwa walks several blocks to find us and escort us to the house.

She is chatty and mentions that she's still 23 (until April), but now that she's forever branded in the popular imagination as a, she'll go with the flow. Her make-up is immaculate, her hair freshly plaited and her nails French manicured.

A yellow gold diamond ring that, she says coyly, but vaguely, is an engagement ring from her "high-profile politician boyfriend" decorates her wedding finger.

The lounge is adorned with family photographs and an ANC flag, and her father's party's membership card is pasted to the wall.

Mmokwa seems relaxed and tells us to feel free to ask her anything. But at the first question -- how well does she know Kgalema Motlanthe? -- she changes her mind. "I don't think I like talking about my life."

She sets up again when asked about the inconsistency of her comments to media since the story first broke. "Well, you wrote the story, but are we going to break up? No ... The only person I'm worried about is Kgalaema. I'm worried about how he feels."

Almost an hour into our confusing conversation, it's still hard to say whether she is a presidential intimate or a troubled young woman seeking attention. Earlier one of her former classmates told me "she talks big." The classmate also claimed Mmokwa matriculated from Tshwane Secondary School in Sammehlo, not Carletonville High, as she says.

Her answers raise more questions as the interview continues: she gives different responses.

http://mg.co.za/article/2009-02-28-big-cheeses-squeeze

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to the same question and frequently contradicts herself. 'I know people say I am cuckoo -- they say I'm nuts,' she says at one point.

Perhaps sensing my scepticism, she shows me a picture of herself and Motalahe on her cellphone. It's in black and white, their faces are close to each other, but she refuses to show me the picture a second time when I ask, to check its authenticity. This is the only "evidence" Mmolawa has been able to produce of knowing Motalahe -- or even of having met him.

She becomes defensive when the authenticity of her claims are questioned and talks about herself in the third person. "I don't think Kelebogile Mmolawa runs the country. Kgalema does. After work he goes home, sees Kele, and they are happy."

While Mmolawa makes us drinks, we return to the mystery "high-profile politician" in her life: "I don't get to see him as much as I would like to because he is busy."

She is at pains to close up the "love child" issue, saying she miscarried in December last year. But she will say only that it was "a politician's child."

She says she attended Motalahe's inauguration in Cape Town and was in Polokwane for the ANC's 2007 conference, but won't say who invited her to the two events.

Mmolawa continues to hold out the teasing promise of more. "Let the dust settle. After the 22nd [the April election day] we will talk."

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The personal is political

If evidence were ever really needed to show that "the personal is political", then Pallo Jordan's attempt to wave his flaccid intellect in the Mail & Guardian editor's face provided that evidence in spades.

The patronising tone, the intellectual dishonesty, the preoccupation with elite egos rather than ordinary lives: all are emblematic of much of the ANC leadership.

Jordan's argument - full of straw men - is an exercise that might embarrass even Thabo Mbeki, who made the baleful non sequitur his weapon of choice.

Jordan claims it is only in repressive, puritanical societies that the private lives of politicians make headline.

In doing so he implies that tolerance of the middle-aged fling (such as that indulged in by Bill Clinton) somehow goes hand in hand with some kind of progressive politics.

The evidence for these assertions goes no deeper than a weak joke: one that embodies factual distortions that are evident elsewhere in Jordan's so-called "riposte".

Actually, there was a response to the Watergate break-in. Congress had begun work on impeaching Richard Nixon whom he resigned.

Not long ago, Italy - one of Jordan's examples of benign indulgence - was enthralled by the spat between Silvio Berlusconi and his wife, who demanded an apology in public after he flirted openly on television.

I'm willing to wager that Carla Bruni, trophy wife of French President Nicolas Sarkozy, makes as many headlines in France as anywhere else.

And in the Clinton example, the joke ignores the fact that the president's infidelity was exploited using powerful legal and publicity machinery to availability to the neo-conservatives to achieve hard-nosed political objectives that had nothing to do with genuine moral outrage.

Jordan glides over the possibility that the same kind of process may be operating here.

Indeed, we have it on good authority that the story about Kgomotso Motlatsi's extra-marital sex life was initiated by the denizens of Traduct House, not the hacks in the Star building.
There are grounds to criticise the story, but they have mainly to do with whether enough was done to check the story was factually correct -- not whether it was "provient".

Jordan's most pathetic straw man is Pope Pius XII: of course, people who don't have sex are not necessarily more moral than the rest of us.

The point is not sex. The point -- as much for politicians as for the rest of us -- is whether people choose to act on impulses that will cause hurt and may harm themselves and others.

If they do, we may, depending on the circumstances, be able to draw valid conclusions about their ethical standards.

Private behaviour is not necessarily a predictor of public morality, but neither is there an absolute divide between private life and public moral standing, as Jordan claims.

If a politician lies to his wife, we are entitled to speculate about what else he might do. Politicians are elected not only on the basis of policies, but also on a character assessment about whether they may wisely use the power with which they are entrusted, or misuse it.

Private indiscretions are sometimes a legitimate factor in making those assessments -- which is why, for instance, the sex morality of those seeking high office in the United States comes under scrutiny.

The president was given the opportunity to comment on the nature of his alleged relationship with the 24-year-old -- and seemingly declined.

So Jordan is correct to say we know little about it, other than the basic outline that he seemed to accept at face value: a wife, a long-standing extramarital relationship and a young adult pregnant with his child.

Because we have been given no extenuating circumstances, we are entitled to consider what this set of facts normally implies: multiple concurrent sexual partners and intergenerational unsafe sex.

The best research we have suggests that multiple partners combined with unsafe sex is one of the drivers of the HIV epidemic -- and that age disparity in relationships correlates with increased risk of HIV.

The influence of transactional sex -- between economically more powerful older men and younger women -- is likewise backed by the scientific literature.

And Jordan's blather about a woman's right to make sexual choices simply ignores research about how these choices can be distorted by unequal power relations.

All this is trite, which is why the Department of Health's HIV/Aids programme includes a focus on social responsibility in the Abstain, Be Faithful, Condom, campaign.

But this is clearly advice that powerful people such as Jordan are not obliged to heed -- given that they are in a position to treat HIV as just another "public health problem".

Jordan's hypocrisy smacks of whining about being denied the ultimate "perk of power": the right to use the wealth, authority and protection of high office to indulge in notching up conquests as though begrudgingly.