

**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**

**Thembinkosi Gamlashe**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Masters in Media Studies (Coursework) at the Nelson Mandela  
Metropolitan University**

**January 2012**

**Supervisor : Dr J Wozniak**

## **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.

.....

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.

## Contents

<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Chapter 1 .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.2 Aims and objectives of the study.....	8
1.3 The research problem.....	9
1.3.1 Private vs public space.....	10
<b>Chapter 2.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2. Literature Review .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2.1 Background on the South African media .....</b>	<b>12</b>
2.1.1 A free press for South Africa?.....	13
2.1.2 General media laws and regulations .....	16
2.1.3 Press Ombudsman rulings on reportage of news.....	18
2.1.3.1 Reporting of news .....	18
2.1.4 Other laws that impact on media and freedom of expression.....	20
2.1.4.1 Access to information .....	20
2.1.4.2 Defamation .....	21
2.1.4.3 Privacy .....	21
2.1.4.4 Access to courts.....	21
2.1.4.5 Internal security laws .....	22
2.1.4.6 Equality.....	22
2.2 Background on Kgalema Motlanthe .....	23
<b>Chapter 3.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>3. Theoretical Framework.....</b>	<b>29</b>
3.1 The authoritarian theory .....	29
3.2 The libertarian theory .....	29
3.3 The social responsibility theory .....	31
3.4 The Development theory.....	32
3.4.1 Development journalism.....	35
3.4.2 Development news .....	35
<b>Chapter 4.....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>4. Research methodology .....</b>	<b>39</b>

Chapter 5.....	41
<b>5. Analysis and findings</b> .....	41
Chapter 6.....	56
<b>6.Conclusion</b> .....	56
<b>7. Bibliography</b> .....	58
7.1 Newspaper articles analysed.....	58
<b>7.2 Secondary literature</b> .....	59
<b>8. Appendix</b> .....	62

## **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](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 impart 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, (Lloyd et al. 2010:19).

Nonetheless, Lloyd 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 censored.

### **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 Thlooe 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 Motlanthe 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 Times, City Press and Mail and Guardian, from 00ctober 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 and 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-warmer” 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-warmer”.

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 impart 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 Kamea Motlana. 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 Motlana, and it is further mentioned that Majali was a key figure in the collapsed sale of a luxury Saxonworld home occupied by Motlana from July to November 2008, where Motlana 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), Motlana is praised as a leader who preaches unity, and has achieved some successes despite his critics. The author wrote: “ In Motlana we have a president who is continuing the search for peace on the continent through diplomacy.” In the same article, the writer asserts that Motlana 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 Motlana 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, we are entitled to speculate about what else 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.

## 7. Bibliography

### 7.1 Newspaper articles analysed

- Berger, G. 2009. "The presidential love life and the public interest." *Mail and Guardian*. 2009. 03. 05
- Harvey, E. 2009. "Talking with Motlanthe." *Mail and Guardian*. 2009. 02. 20
- Harvey E. 2009. "Motlanthe: 'There is no struggle'." *Mail and Guardian*. 2009. 02. 20
- Jones, J. 2008. "Motlanthe cheerful but wrong." *Sunday Times*. 2008. 11. 16
- Khupiso V. 2009. "Motlanthe appeals for unity at funeral of ANC veteran and unionist." *Sunday Times*. 2009.01.04.
- Macanda P. 2008. "SA will escape recession." *Sunday Times*, 2008. 11. 09.
- Magomani, R.2009. "Not impressed by our prez". *City Press*.2009.02.15
- Makhanya, M. 2009. "We've gone from a breath of fresh air to the same stale rhetoric." *Sunday Times*. 2009. 02.01.
- Mataboge, M. 2009. "Big cheese's squeeze." *Mail and Guardian*. 2009. 02. 28
- McKaiser E. 2009. "Judge Cameron a surprisingly courageous choice." *Sunday Times*. 2009.01.04
- Mofokeng M. and Ndlangisa S. 2009. "Blade's out for Motlanthe." *City Press*. 2009.01.18.
- Molele, C. 2009. "Motlanthe warns of slowdown." *Sunday Times*. 2009.03.15
- Motaung, F. 2008. "Fear divides comrades." *City Press*. 2008.11. 23.
- Mseleku, S. 2008. "SA soccer's Iron Lady hails Motlanthe's change." *City Press*. 2008.10.26
- Mthembu N. 2009. "Motlanthe can't claim high ground." *City Press*. 2009. 02. 01
- Ndlangisa, S. 2008. "Motlanthe sure to be JZ's deputy." *City Press*. 2008.12. 28

- (No author). 2008. "Please lead, Mr President." *Sunday Times*. 2008. 11. 2008.
- (No author). 2008. "Mr President, or just a puppet?" *Sunday Times*. 2008. 12. 2.14
- (No author). 2009. "President praises Ghana's democratic poll." *Sunday Times*. 2009.01.04
- (No author).2009. "Motlanthe manoeuvres well in restricted space." *City Press*. 2009.02.08
- (No author). 2009. "Why it's not all bad that SA is like a classic western film." *City Press*. 2009.02. 01
- (No author). 2009. "One love." *Mail and Guardian*. 2009.02.30
- (No author). 2011. "Jimmy Manyi on government ad spend of R1billion." *Times Live*.2011.06.09
- Power, M. 2008. "Majali and the unpaid pigsty he left behind." *Sunday Times*. 2008.12. 21
- Rossouw, M. 2008. "Reds moan about new Cabinet." *Mail and Guardian*. 2008.10.03
- Sefara, M. 2008. "Motlanthe vs Zuma." *City Press*. 2008.11. 16
- Sefara, M. Mofokeng, M. and Ndlangisa, S. 2009. "Glipses of a gloomy future." *City Press*. 2009. 02.08.
- Sole, S. 2009. "The personal is political." *Mail and Guardian*. 2009. 02. 16
- Wa ka Ngobeni, W. and Malefane, M. 2009. "Motlanthe: Stop slating Mbeki." *Sunday Times*. 2009. 04. 19

## **7.2 Secondary literature**

- Banda, F. 2007. *An appraisal of the applicability of development journalism in the context of public service broadcasting*. UNISA Press: Pretoria.
- Biagi, S. 2007. *Media/impact: An Introduction to Mass Media*  
United States of America: Thompson Wadsworth
- Carruthers, S.L. 2000. *The Media at war*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

Cenite et al. 2008. *Perpetual development journalism? Balance and framing in the 2006 Singapore election coverage*. Taylor Francis Group: Routledge.

Fourie J. P. 2007. *Media Studies: Media history, media and society*. Cape Town: Juta

Fourie, J.P. 2002. *Rethinking the role of the media in South Africa*. Cape Town: Juta

Kgalema Motlanthe biography. <http://connect.in.com/kgalema-motlanthe/biography-164381.html> (accessed 11 November 2010)

Krüger, F. 2004. *Black, White and Grey*. Double Story Books: Cape Town

Lloyd, L. Duncan, J., Minnie, J. & Bussiek, H. 2010. *SA Media legislation and regulation*. Publisher?

Morgan, F. 2004. The price of freedom: professional capability. *South African Journal of Communication Theory and Research*. Vol. 30 Issue 1.

Myburgh, J.2008. "Who is Kgalema Motlanthe?"  
<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619?oid=10436..>  
(accessed 26 June 2011).

(No author).2008 "Motlanthe vs Zuma." <http://www.trufm.co.za/blog/motlanthe-vs-zuma/> Accessed 11 March 2012.

Press Council [South Africa].2007. "Part A: The South African Press Code."  
<http://www.presscouncil.org.za/pages/south-african-press-code.php>. Accessed 30 September 2010.

The Press in South Africa  
[http://www.southafrica.info/ess\\_info/sa\\_glance/constitution/news.htm](http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/constitution/news.htm).  
(accessed 19 March 2012).

Servaes, J. 2009. *Communication policies, good governance and development journalism*. UNISA Press: Pretoria.

Shawcross, W. 1991. *Information freedom and censorship*.  
Library Association Publishing Ltd: London

Siebert, F., Peterson, T. and Schramm, W. 1956. *Four Theories of the Press*.

University of Illinois Press: Urbana, IL.

Siebert, S., Peterson, T., and Schramm, W., 1963. *Four theories of the press: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois

Steenveld, L. 2007. The SARC's enquiry into racism in the media: Problematising state-media relationships. *Equid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 28 (1&2).

Swanepoel, P. 2006. Pre-trial publicity: Freedom of the press versus fair trial rights in South Africa? *Equid Novi*, Vol.27(1), Page 3-23.

Wasserman, H. 2004. The last word: All the news that is fit to sell? Media freedom, commercialism and a decade of democracy. *Journal of Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, Vol.23, Issue 2. Page??

Wimmer, R.D. and Dominick, JR. 1997. *Mass Media Research: an introduction*. ITP: Wadsworth.

Yin J. 2008. *Beyond the Four Theories of the Press: A new model for the Asian and the World Press*. Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication: Central Michigan University, Michigan.

## **8. Appendix**

### **Newspaper articles analysed**

**[DEBATE] : (Fwd) SA politics still wild and wonderful**

**Patrick Bond** [pbond@mail.ngo.za](mailto:pbond@mail.ngo.za)  
Sun Apr 19 09:45:13 BST 2009

<http://lists.fahamu.org/pipermail/debate-list/2009-April/021827.html>

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.

# Judge Cameron a surprisingly *(cons. Pres)* courageous choice

**P**RESIDENT Kgalema Motlanthe is developing a real knack for surprising us. First there was the firing of Vusi Phiso, based essentially on comments in a political report.

This time, the surprise is a fabulous one — the richly symbolic appointment of Judge Ebern Cameron to the Constitutional Court. Nobody doubts the obvious. He is a brilliant legal scholar who was head and shoulders above the other candidates. But constitutional interpretation is an inherently value-laden process. Hence the social and political head space of an appointee is important.

In Judge Cameron's case, we have a legal scholar who is also an activist judge. He has been very outspoken on the Thabo Mbeki government's Aids denialism. For this reason, Mbeki lacked the courage to appoint him to the Constitutional Court.

His appointment, linked with that of Barbara Hogan as minister of health, represents a powerful break from Mbeki denialism. Judge Cameron pushes the boundary between maintaining neutrality as a legal arbiter and courageously suspending neutrality in the face of overriding moral

We can look to him to bring a razor-sharp mind to bear on thorny constitutional issues, writes **Eusebius McKaiser**

considerations, such as a duty to speak out on HIV/Aids when lives are placed at risk because of irrational public policy.

None of the symbolism of what Judge Cameron represents would have been lost on President Motlanthe or Luthuli House. This appointment is both justified and brave. Of course his brilliance should not be restricted to his views on HIV/Aids.

There was also a tricky, identity near crisis that played itself out during the recent appointment hearings.

A submission by Advocate Vuyani Ngwenya bizarrely argued that Judge Cameron was not an adequately transformational character. Ngwenya's submission was a veiled attempt to racialise the appointment process.

While arguing that his was not a race-based criticism of Judge Cameron, he nonetheless highlighted the spurious fact that his appointment would mean that a white judge was replacing a black one.

Ironically, he also quoted extensively from the past three ANC conference resolutions on the judiciary, all of which explicitly rejected the racial transaction of equating skin colour with transformation.

When contrasting Judge Cameron's candidature with that of a black woman, the deliberate unsetting implication is that the mere fact of one's phenotype must count as a positive or negative in assessing how "transformational" one is.

Such crass racialism gives affirmative action and black economic empowerment a bad name. Fortunately, the Judicial Service Commission, Motlanthe and Luthuli House did not take the bait.

On the substance of his judgments, as well as the human rights cases he took on as an attorney, Judge Cameron's commitment to the progressive realisation of human rights is beyond dispute.

That is more important for South Africa than

PHUMZA MACANDA

SOUTH Africa's economy will slow in 2008 but a healthy banking sector will stave off a recession in the face of global financial turmoil, President Kgalema Motlanthe said.

Motlanthe told parliament on Friday that South Africans had to lower their expectations for growth, along with other emerging markets.

"We have had to lower our expectations too, not because our own financial sector is threatened, it is not," he told legislators.

## SA will escape recession,

"We are not going to enter a recession, and indeed we expect our economic performance to be better than that of many of our peers," he said, adding a multibillion-dollar infrastructure programme would help shore up the economy. The Treasury in October cut its growth forecast for 2008 to 3.7%, falling to 3% next year, much slower than the 5% the econ-

omy has averaged in the past four years.

Motlanthe said SA should be spared the worst of the crisis due to the health of the local financial sector. "Our financial institutions have been tested, and they have passed those tests with flying colours," he said the government and households should watch spending in order to withstand the crisis.

## Motlanthe says

SA's households are currently under strain from high inflation and interest rates after several years of strong growth that have boosted household rates of indebtedness.

The ruling ANC is under pressure from its leftist allies to increase spending on the poor and scrap its conservative fiscal stance.

Motlanthe also warned that SA could face

more power shortages. The nation suffered rolling blackouts in the first quarter of this year as Eskom struggled to meet demand.

"This summer will be a very difficult period when most of the maintenance will be undertaken... We urge all consumers, businesses and homes to be very careful about their use of electricity." Eskom will spend more than R33-billion over the next five years to boost capacity. Analysts say the bill could balloon by more than R100-billion in the difficult global credit environment. + Reuters

## Motlanthe appeals for unity at funeral of ANC veteran and unionist

VICTOR KHEWISO *pres 901*

Madiba Ntshande in Beaufort West, east of Johannesburg, Motlanthe also praised him for his strong character, describing him as a humble servant of the people. "We are gathered here to celebrate the life of a man who would have easily held a position in the organisation but never wanted to be elected. Instead, he chose to remain a servant of the people."

Addressing thousands of mourners yesterday at the funeral of ANC veteran Okeops

Motlanthe said Ntshande believed in peace and had told him, while on a visit to ANC headquarters before his death 10 days ago at the age of 81, that there had to be unity between his countrymen.

And those sitting in the front row of Beaufort City Hall — including Motlanthe, Thabo and Zanele Mbeki, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, Gauteng premier Paul Mashatile and ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantseke — put on a show of unity for his funeral. Mbeki and Motlanthe shook hands before proceedings got under way.

Ntshande, a textile trade unionist and founder member of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, was an ANC member for more than 60 years

and a close friend and confidant of Oliver Tambo.

He was one of the organisers of the Congress of the People in Kippaxton and one of the 1986 treason trials, along with Chief Albert Luthe and Nelson Mandela.

Ntshande is survived by his wife Sarah, four children, 11 grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

*pres 808*  
JOHN Atta-Mills's election as Ghana's president carried with it hope for millions of Ghanians, the continent and the region, President Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday.  
"South Africa reaffirms its commitment to work together

## President praises Ghana's democratic poll

with you, for the political unity and integration of the African continent within the framework of the African Union and through our sup-

port for Nepad, 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, showed 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

# Sunday Times

Established 1906

## Please lead, PRES Mr President

**P**RESIDENT 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 despots.

Over the past few weeks he has shown worrying signs of weak leadership, easily bullied by former president Thabo Mbeki's quiet diplomacy fellow travellers in SADC 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. 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 squeeze on MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai to share the Home Affairs portfolio. This allows Mugabe to maintain his steely grip on the security and intelligence forces that brutally harassed MDC members.

This molycoddling 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 caved in to the demands of hardline leftists in Jacob Zuma's inner circle when he reneged on his decision to appoint former Eastern Cape MEC for finance Enoch Godongwana to be deputy finance minister. Motlanthe had told Godongwana he was in line for the job, but, because Zuma's left-wing cohorts argued that Godongwana was too close to the "neo-liberal" Trevor Manuel, Motlanthe relented.

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

The committee and Balfour himself have not disclosed 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 ruling on borrowed time, but it is incumbent on him to place the interests of the country above those of his party 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?

**T**HE jury was out on whether Kgalema Motlanthe could hold his own as president of the republic without being beholden to the narrow interests of his party.

This week, when he fired National Prosecuting Authority chief Vusi Pikoli, who is a fine South African, he basically told us as a nation 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 our body politic, abusing the power vested in them by the citizens.

When Motlanthe was appointed, the nation welcomed him — that sober, soft-spoken, reasonable man — as a brief respite from the Machiavellian shenanigans of Thabo Mbeki and the duplicity of that dancing populist 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 party politics. Many in the country, including some in the senior ranks of the ANC, publicly hoped that sense would prevail and Motlanthe 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 gravitas and moral standing than he. All Zuma and his crew's assurances about respect for the independence of institutions have come to naught.

By firing the man who Frene Ginwala in her report described as "... a person of unimpeachable integrity and credibility", Motlanthe has paved the way for the appointment of a stooge as NPA head. One who will let Zuma, and the host of high-level corruption suspects who Pikoli and the Scorpions had implicated, off the hook.

Ginwala aided and abetted Motlanthe by curiously finding Pikoli guilty of insensitivity to national security interests when he did not accede to Mbeki's request to delay the arrest of Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi.

It is clear that Pikoli served the security interests of us, the people of this nation, when he decided to arrest Selebi, the police chief who — by his own admission — consorted with shady Mafia bosses and drug dealers.

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

Pikoli is a man of honour and integrity who has served the greater good of our country. He refused to be bought off by golden handshakes offered to him by both the Mbeki and Motlanthe administrations. He is a greater South African than Mbeki, Motlanthe and Zuma.

It is in his behaviour and conduct that we find the values and principles that our constitution aspires to.

Now if only we could find leaders who possess and value the courage, honour and integrity found in civil servants and ordinary South Africans like Vusi Pikoli.

# Majali and the unpaid pigsty he left behind

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

**T**he controversial ANC benefactor linked to a property scandal involving President Kgama Motlathle is embroiled in another legal battle over an up-market Johannesburg townhouse.

Saudi Majali, connected to a string of scandals involving top politicians, faces losing his assets to cover his debts.

Last month, the owner of a four-bedroom Sandown unit rented by Majali for three years secured a default judgment against him for R124 000 in unpaid rent. After failing to pay, a warrant of execution to attach his assets was issued three weeks later. A second summons against him is in the pipeline to recoup at least another R500 000 for damages he allegedly caused to the property before he moved out at the end of September last year.

This week, lawyers acting for Majali said their client had instructed them to apply for a rescission of the judgment and asked that the warrant be held back until they could do so. The owner has refused.

Majali emerged as a key figure last week in the collapsed sale of a luxury Saxonwold home occupied by Motlathle from July to November this year.

The Sunday Times revealed that Majali had sourced the house for Motlathle in May, a consultant to Majali's companies had signed the sale agreement a few weeks later and cheques for occupational rent had come from his companies. When Motlathle left the property on November 27, damage estimated at R500 000 was left behind. The collapsed sale and damages have plunged the owners into a financial crisis.

Legal action is pending against the consultant, Molotsi Sitoro, who entered



## Times Motlanthe warns of slowdown



South African economic growth in 2009 and 2010 is likely to be lower than previously expected owing to the current economic global crisis, President Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday. Union members refuse to sing national anthem Independent OnlineMotlanthe speaks on economy News24Reuters - Weekend Postall 26 news articles ±

The Times, Sat, 14 Mar 2009 22:26:52 GMT

Falling commodity exports to knock SA revenue, writes **Jim Jones**

## Motlanthe cheerful but wrong

FIN PRESS

**W**HO dare one believe? On the one side we have President Kgalema Motlanthe assuring parliament that South Africa will stave off recession next year and the Treasury dismissing the warning by ratings agency Fitch that recession could lead government to abandon its conservative economic policies.

On the other side of the argument we have the real world of industry, trade, finance and business. We have a world in which consumers across the globe are pulling in their horns and avoiding purchases of cars and consumer durables.

So, what is the likely outlook for South Africa?

The signs are already there, loud and clear. The country is going to struggle — well, at least as far as its exports and local use of raw and processed primary materials are concerned. ArcelorMittal has already announced 30% production cutbacks at its local steel-making plants, in line with those at its facilities worldwide. Demand for flat steel from motor manufacturers and from makers of white goods has tumbled and seems set to remain low no matter what economic stimuli are implemented by governments around the globe.

Let's be realistic. Consumers in developed economies have had some tremendous shocks — job losses, the 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 profligate ways? "Not likely" is probably the correct answer. Households will probably be doing whatever they can to reduce debt, not taking on more. And people who still have jobs will be trimming their sails for fear of ending up in the dole queues.

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 exports over the next few months and domestic demand fragility is underscored by the latest announcement that motor maker Honda is putting plans for a second Indian plant on ice.

And China? Its plans for an economic stimulus package appear to have been hurriedly cobbled together with insufficient consideration.

To make sense of prospects, then, we need to consider what is happening in the real world and how that will affect South Africa.

Brazilian iron-ore major Vale has announced cutbacks that will reduce its exports by more than 10% — in fact the cut will be more like 20-30% — in response to lower Chinese demand. Across in Australia, Rio Tinto has done the same while the third-largest producer, Fortescue Metals, has closed down altogether until next year, while Mount Gibson has done the same in response to demands by Chinese steel mills for delays to contractual deliveries. Here in SA, Kumba says that it has no cutback plans and that exports are helped by the fact its iron ore is better quality than that from Brazil and Australia. Wonderful? Maybe. But Vale and Rio have both said that they are reducing production and sales of poorer-quality ores, so their better ore will be competing with Kumba's.

Fact is that current iron-ore contract prices will not be repeated in 2009 — prices were driven into the stratosphere during the last round of price negotiations. But this round has been put on hold by Japanese steel mills that are unwilling to negotiate until the world's economic situation becomes more clear.

These cutbacks and threatened price reductions come at the end of a year in which record prices were being achieved for iron ore, a year in which Rio Tinto and others announced record sales tonnages and less than six months since Kumba and Transnet announced a 13-million-ton expansion of the annual capacity of the Sishen-Saldanha rail line and export facility to 80 million tons. It's all a reflection of the speed and threatened depth of the economic decline.

The iron-ore producers' travails are echoed by those of the ferro-chrome producers. At a recent conference, Samancor warned that production cutbacks of as much as 80% could be needed to prevent a collapse in prices. In any event, Samancor is already operating at 50% capacity, this past week Xstrata-Merafe announced a 30% cutback to an annual rate of some 1.2 million tons, Herculite is just about holding off cutting by 30-40% until December and the smaller IFM is cutting by 40%. All of which, according to some industry analysts, is unlikely to prevent ferro-chrome prices halving from their European \$2/lb benchmark in this year's third quarter to \$1/lb by early next year.

Don't let's fool ourselves, the strength of the nation's banks that Motlanthe reckoned will help protect

us from recession is only one side of the coin. Just based on iron ore and ferro-chrome alone, the country's exports could slide by R60-billion or more next year — that's equivalent to losing an entire month's exports, probably more.

We shall be saving on the cost of oil imports and, possibly, South Africans will be curbing their appetites for electronic gizmos and flashy imported cars.

So while the export side of our trade balance declines sharply, so, too, should the import side.

But how many jobs will be lost as our export processing base shrinks and as volumes moving both ways through our ports and harbours decline? Again, don't let us kid ourselves: the world's recession is not going to pass us by no matter what the politicians and state functionaries might want to have us believe.

## City Press

69 KINGSWAY AUCKLAND PARK JOHANNESBURG 2092

# Motlanthe manoeuvres well in restricted space

VERY little 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 bosses 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 2007 Polokwane conference has had a profound effect on the nation's psyche. Service provision 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 in-

terest 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 R690 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 to finance 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 Mosiuoa Lekota, the leader of the Congress of the People - that founded the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1969, Motlanthe showed that he is a bigger man than the harness his party masters are so intent on restricting him with.

ice", it is perhaps this lack of detail, in addition to the internal ANC contests for a post-Jacob Zuma administration, that cause confusion rather than give hope.

He took a stab at capitalism's shortcomings but found the helplessness brought on by the problem disarming.

"We can decry the greed, the short-termism and the carelessness of managers of big corporations which precipitated the crisis. We can condemn the policies of governments which took their eyes off the ball and allowed the rapacious licence of unregulated markets to wreak havoc on financial systems. We can do all this and we will be perfectly justified," said Motlanthe.

His point was that while justified, condemnation will not save jobs being shed, for example, in the mining and motor manufacturing sectors of our economy. Less demand for South African goods abroad means reduced production at home, which means less hours or fewer days at work

for the employed and perhaps lesser chances of getting employed for those waiting at street corners for any sort of job.

But Motlanthe the pragmatist also emerged during his address.

While he eulogised, punting 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 Luthuli 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 spectre of one-line Aids/HIV statements of former president Mbeki by talking frankly to South Africans on antiretrovirals and prevention plans, Motlanthe also talked of impediments 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 moved 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." Central to his message was that as a nation we had come far, and the road ahead - even if a bit tortuous - is nothing like what has been overcome.

Motlanthe also praised Mosiuoa Lekota as a struggle hero, mentioned alongside Black Consciousness icons Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Harry Nengwekhulu,

Strini Moodley and Mapetla Mohapi.

An ANC member said afterwards that this was vintage Motlanthe, reaching out and acknowledging friends and foes when others would simply have used this as an opportunity to castigate and condemn.

"In a way he was saying you contributed to the struggle and we acknowledge that. We believe you are lost, but that does not take away your credentials in the liberation movement," said the ANC member.

The attack on Lekota indeed came, albeit in a subtle manner. Without mentioning his name, and following Lekota's controversial and now withdrawn comments about affirmative action being racist and unconstitutional, Motlanthe offered political education: "In reality, a country that does not ensure the involvement of all its population at all levels of economic activity is certainly going to perform well below its actual potential," he said.

He did not have to mention Lekota by

name, but all in attendance knew who the attack was aimed at.

Motlanthe also correctly pointed a finger at the private sector's lackadaisical attitude to transformation, in particular the implementation of the Employment Equity Act, saying this attitude made our country "a laggard in the high-growth stakes".

Those in search of hope were, however, left wondering at what Motlanthe suggested should be done to correct the anomaly without committing the incoming administration to a predetermined programme.

Motlanthe walked an unfamiliar tightrope. He did it with skill and guile. Perhaps circumstances conspired against him and thus 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 overbearing too, 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, **MAKHUDU SEFARA, MOFFET MOFOKENG and SABELO NDLANGISA** found that he walked an unfamiliar tightrope with skill but failed to provide the requisite hope to lift the mood of the country

*Pres par poi*  
It may not have been intended but President Kgalema Motlanthe's comments in jest about lowering the male age of eligibility for pension to 60 could have been a serious hint about the political future, something sorely missing from his speech.

"Since I am turning 60 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 delve into the future. He also correctly read the mood of doom in the country and correctly chose 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 hamstrung by the looming election.

With his left hand cupped by the right, or his fingers aimlessly 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 five consecutive victories, hoping that the soccer team was gearing 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 R690-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 utilisation 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

S'BUSISO MSELEKU

**SOUTH AFRICAN 2010 Fifa World Cup Local Organising Committee (LOC) board member, Natasha Tschilas, has praised President Kgalema 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 women on the 20-member board. The other member is Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma.

Government has most women representatives on the board with three, while football, that has a total of eight members, has only one woman in Tschilas while there are none from the business world.

The current board consists of Molefi Oliphant, Irvin Khoza, Raymond Hack, Kenneth Lebenya, Mubarak Mohamed, Kaizer Motaung and Tschilas from football.

Government is represented by ministers Makhenkesi Stofile, Jeff Radebe, Sicelo Shiceka, Sue van der Merwe, Charles Nqakula and Dlamini Zuma.

The future of Esop Pahad, Jabu

Moleketi and Sydney Mufamadi is still uncertain following their recent resignations from the cabinet.

Zwelinzima Vavi is the sole representative of the labour sector.

"I am really proud of our president," Tschilas told City Press on Friday. "We need more women to be involved in the structures that are preparing for the 2010 World Cup."

She said women were usually very good at organising 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.

Tschilas, 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 sleeves and work hard.

"I urge all women to take the initiative and don't wait to act only when they are invited," said Tschilas.

# Motlanthe vs Zuma

TV portrays Kgalema too well

ANC wants Malema edited out

MAKHUDU SEFARA

THE ANC has allegedly ordered the SABC to reduce its coverage of President Kgalema Motlanthe and to stop projecting him as being so 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 South African Communist Party boss Blade Nzimande - publicly in what some say is an attempt to project himself as the sole voice of reason in a camp of hotheads.



Motlanthe has previously said that some attacks on the Constitutional Court from within the party were "out of ignorance". 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.

Mantashe said the ANC had only asked the SABC to be objective.

"All these issues you are raising are being raised everywhere but not in the ANC. We do not think Motlanthe is over-covered. He is squeezed in like all of us," said Mantashe.

Analyst Professor Sue Booysen of Wits University said she was "not surprised at all" about the alleged intra-Zuma camp battles.

Booyesen said she knew that when the ANC decided who should replace former president Thabo Mbeki, those closest to Zuma had cautioned against Motlanthe, saying he was too good and too strong a candidate 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.

Booyesen said the Zuma/Motlanthe face-off made sense because it was becoming increasingly clear that for the ANC to disarm the Congress of the People (COPE) it needed someone who was the embodiment of the values COPE espoused.

"There can be no doubt that Motlanthe would do much better than Zuma. He stood up to the Youth League, he spoke in defence of the judiciary. He is good," she said.

City Press asked the head of the Media Monitoring Project, William Bird, to analyse SABC TV's English news bulletins from last Saturday to Thursday to evaluate how Zuma and Motlanthe were featured.

In that period Bird found that Zuma could be "seen and heard speaking" for 239 seconds as opposed to Motlanthe's 61 seconds.

Bird said Kgalema was featured only in items the SABC could not afford to ignore, such as the SADC summit that Motlanthe 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.

But overall, "Zuma is mostly shown speaking positively on a variety of issues, except where there is Julius Malema, because almost everything Malema says is negative. But Zuma gets a lot of chance to speak while Motlanthe speaks only briefly", Bird said.

SABC spokesperson Kalzer Kganyago said that he "spoke to all the people who matter" and could not find anyone who knew of an ANC instruction to cover Motlanthe less.

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.

"The latest request came in October, at a meeting on the fourth floor of the TV centre.

"The concern is that we project Motlanthe in a statesman-like manner 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 edited out - but Malema sits really very close to Zuma," he said.

Yesterday Kganyago said the SABC would defend its journalists against political attacks.

Bheki 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 organisations, some of which were being abusive to individual producers. This, he said, was expected to escalate with the elections approaching.

# Motlanthe sure to be JZ's deputy Pres for

SABELO NOLANGISA

THE future of President Kgalema Motlanthe in government looks secured 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 Jessie Duarte, who had told SABC TV that Motlanthe could be deployed as head of the ANC's political school.

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

The Sunday Independent had reported that SA Communist Party boss Blade Nzimande and others were part of a team trying to block Motlanthe from being appointed Zuma's deputy in government after the general elections.

One senior ANC Women's League official suggested that while Zuma's position as president in the next administration had been resolved by the ANC national conference in Polokwane last year, who would fill the position of the 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.

"The deputy president of the ANC should be the deputy president of the country. We can't deploy him anywhere else," he 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 took over when Mbeki left because he is the second most senior official," the official said.

# Blade's out for Kgalema

*Nzimande mooted as contender for Motlanthe's post of deputy president*

MOFFET MOFOKENG  
and SABELO NOLANGISA

A VICIOUS power struggle for the position of the country's deputy president has erupted in the ANC, pitting ANC 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 SACP 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 at the country's next deputy president.

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

On the other hand, senior SACP leaders claimed that ANC NEC member Enoch 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 11th process.

They said Godongwana was bitter because the SACP had blocked his appointment to the position of deputy finance minister last year.

A senior SACP member said it was a lie that Nzimande wanted to be the country's next deputy president and the rumour was intended to undermine him and cast aspersions on his character.

"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 at a senior level in government."

Last December, ANC leaders Jessie Duarte and Gwede Mantashe contradicted each other on Motlanthe's role after the elections.

Mantashe 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 (NWC) meeting, Nzimande took Motlanthe on over his reasons for not signing the SABC Bill into law.

Another ANC NEC member said Nzimande was so "obsessed with power" that the SACP 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 be 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 JZ so that they remain in power," said an ANC NEC member.

At the last ANC Youth League NEC meeting, KwaZulu-Natal ANCYL chair Mxolisi

Kaunda 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.

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

An ANCYL NEC member said: "Kaunda 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."

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

SACP spokesperson Malesela Maleka said it was true that there were attempts to use Nzimande's name to sow divisions in the alliance. "We know the people who are

involved and we will raise this matter at an appropriate time with the ANC. We will give the names to the ANC," he said.

However, Maleka said it was not true that Nzimande wanted to be the next deputy president. "It is rubbish," he said.

Godongwana denied any knowledge of the rumours that he was peddling that kind of information about Nzimande. "The people spreading the rumours are cowards. What they are saying is not true," he said.

He denied that the SACP had blocked him from becoming deputy finance minister. Godongwana said there was a campaign to discredit his name in the run-up to the elections.

He said those spreading the rumours about him were also behind the circulating of an SMS in ANC circles suggesting that Nzimande should be the next deputy president.

# Not impressed by our prez

*Pres*  
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.

RUSSIA MAGOMANI

Nsimbhi Village, Limpopo

MAKHUDU SEFARA

*Pol Press*

PRESIDENT Kgalema Motlanthe will not be available to serve in the cabinet that's expected to be led by ANC president Jacob Zuma after the forthcoming elections.

Sources close to Motlanthe told City Press that the ANC deputy president was adamant he would return to Luthuli House to work for the ANC after the elections.

Motlanthe has told a few friends that he was under sustained attack from a group of people who do not want to see him return to the Union Buildings after the polls.

"He feels targeted. He feels all the guns are aimed at him, even about things that have nothing to do with politics. Now, suddenly, people are calling his partner, every company he has ever been associated with is under unofficial investigation."

"It's bad, he is barely coping with the terrible campaign unleashed on him at a time when we are supposed

# Motlanthe feels heat 'President to shun cabinet after elections'

to be fighting COPE (Congress of the People)," said a source close to him.

Motlanthe has been under pressure since he became the ANC's deputy president after the Polokwane conference more than a year ago.

Seen by some as the voice of reason but attacked by the ANC Youth League for acting "as if Zuma was no longer around", Motlanthe also made pronouncements that contradicted the populist culture that has now taken root in the ANC in the aftermath of Polokwane.

Motlanthe contradicted ANC parliamentarians who, emboldened by Zuma's victory in Polokwane, started making a noise about the dissolution of the SABC board - telling them they were the ones who had recommended the board to former president Thabo Mbeki.

Motlanthe, in an indirect reference to the SA Communist Party

leader Blade Nzimande, said shortly after the Constitutional Court ruled against Zuma on his application against the search and seizures that the attack on Chief Justice Pius Langa was based on ignorance.

Nzimande, who was at court, had criticised Langa for saying Zuma's litany of cases against the National Prosecuting Authority delayed his actual trial. Nzimande is now said to be behind a campaign to stop Motlanthe from being appointed as Zuma's deputy.

Nzimande has vehemently denied that he is campaigning against Motlanthe so that he can be appointed deputy president.

Another source said Motlanthe was counting on the fact that if he left government after the elections, he would earn the salary of a president for life, and ensure that his security and transport needs would be

attended to. This would free him to fight his political battles to succeed Zuma from Luthuli House.

"He knows it is better to fight your battle when you are in the ANC than when you are in government. So he will fight for his space based at the party," said a source.

ANC secretary general Gwede Mantsho told City Press that the issue of where Motlanthe would serve and in what capacity had not been raised as "an issue" in the ANC. "It is journalists who wish Kgalema will not stand (or be available for government service)," he said.

But Mantsho, indicating Motlanthe might not have his way, said: "There is no need for a party policy guide here. If we all did things because that's what we wanted, the party would be all the poorer."

ANC head of campaigns and mobilisation Fikile Mbalula, who also

serves on the national executive committee, told City Press that those who wanted Motlanthe-out "have uncontrollable ambitions" and were supported by others who were "not in the ANC".

Mbalula said people were entitled to say what they wanted about who should be Zuma's deputy in government but the ANC knew Motlanthe would deputise Zuma.

The ANC leadership was this weekend jockeyed in marathon discussions at Esselhof Park where the party held its national list conference to determine who would represent it in various legislatures throughout the country.

This happened as the ANC's big guest rival COPE launched its manifesto in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The results of the ANC list conference are crucial because it is expected that some of those who do not make it will join COPE, as election fever rises. It is expected that Motlanthe will announce the election date in a few weeks.

## Motlanthe can't claim high ground

*pres pol*

THERE is a Zulu saying that goes: "Indlu yegagu iyanetha". This is applicable in the case of President Kgalema Motlanthe, whose private life has now been exposed by the Jacob Zuma faction to the public as not "holier 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 Pallo 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 Jesse Duarte and Mxolisi Kaunda, the ANC Youth League leader in KwaZulu-Natal, 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 these Nzimande conspiracies are true it wouldn't surprise me if his type - Nyami Boo, Julius Malema, Fikile Mbatula, Nathi Mthethwa, Angie Motshelga, Tony Yengeni and Zwelinzima Vavi - are also behind this.

**NOKUTHULA MTHEMBU**  
Newcastle

## Fear divides comrades

*ques pn*  
THE story "Motlanthe vs Zuma" (City Press, November 16 2008) referring to the allegation that "the ANC has ordered the SABC to reduce its coverage of acting President Kgama Motlanthe and to stop projecting him as being so 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 he the caretaker president? How should he be projected - 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. Resist the obsession with Lekota and Shilowa. After all, more talk about them is publicity to their advantage;
2. Stop the "snakes" 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

# City Press

69 KINGSWAY AUCKLAND PARK JOHANNESBURG 2092

## Why it's not all bad that SA is like a classic western film

ON Friday President Kgalema Motlanthe 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 15 years of freedom.

His 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.

Not long ago ours was a country torn apart by racism and violent political intolerance that conspired to stagnate our economic prosperity and political advancement.

Not any more. We are normalising our race relations and we have taken steps to roll back frontiers of poverty and have extended help to the indigent.

In Motlanthe 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.

Motlanthe also silenced 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-busting unit, the Scorpions, in disregard of public opinion. Furthermore, Motlanthe 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. Motlanthe, who for a long time was seen as the embodiment of the disciplined cadre, has been a victim of dirty politics as allegations about his private life and financial interests are exposed to all.

It was a risk for Motlanthe to accept appointment as an effective regent president. By being a good president he risked the criticism that he was overshadowing 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

MARIECHEN WALDNER and  
SABELO NDLANGISA

"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 Mahlambandlovu, the president's official home in Church Street, Pretoria, tickled a tiny baby's feet and charmed a 79-year old lady after he completed his civic duty in the tent.

Retired municipal official Ruby Erasmus, 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. I was very proud. It affects the whole world."

More than 180 000 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 1 800 SMS requests simultaneously, from people wishing to check their registration details.

To do this, South Africans are advised to SMS their ID number to 32810 or to visit the IEC website, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za), and enter their ID number.

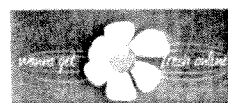
A Human Sciences Research Council survey has revealed that 80% of registered voters are keen to take part in next year's election.

The New BlackBerry®  
Bold™ 9900



Discover more

BlackBerry



# Mail & Guardianonline

Search

HOME NEWS | OPINION | BUSINESS SPORT ARTS LEISURE EDUCATION REPORTS | LEADER MULTIMEDIA PROPERTY IN THE PAPER

COMMENT & ANALYSIS COLUMNS BODY LANGUAGE CARTOONS EDITORIALS OMBUD LETTERS

JOBS | TENDERS | DATING

LOG IN | SIGN UP | MY DASHBOARD

THE SMART NEWS SOURCE [Sep 26 2011 14:25] [LAST UPDATED Sep 26 2011 14:25]

ADVERTISE WITH US | CONTACT US | STORY TIP-OFFS | M&G NEWSLETTER

OPINION | COLUMNISTS | GUY BERGER

Ads by Google

Send SMS

Email to SMS

Sending Mobile SMS

SMS Alerts



## The presidential love life and the public interest

GUY BERGER: CONVERSE - Mar 05 2009 09:59

0 Comments and 0 Reactions

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 Pallo 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 cruel 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.

### ARTICLE TOOLS

Print

Add to Clippings

Ads by Google

SMS from PC

SMS via Computer

Girlfriend

SMS on Phone



### LATEST ARTICLES IN THIS SECTION

- The importance of being Ernie
- Marching to the migrant's ever-evolving tune
- Come as you are: Nirvana's Nevermind turns 20
- Tearing up the rule book
- Fringe comes into its own

### Client Media Releases

#### Press Offices

Census critical: relevance of SA's largest survey

Synovate

Quirk Education releases latest edition of digital marketing textbook

Quirk

COP17 agenda demands more of business

Deloitte

Shoppers give thumbs-up to buying furniture online

bidorbuy

OpenWeb.co.za launches cheapest uncapped ADSL in SA, at R89 per month

OpenWeb

Publish press releases on the M&G



▼ CONTINUES BELOW ▼



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 not 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 Bulelani Ngcuka spy story is but one example.

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

### Find your perfect match now!

I am a: Man  
Looking for: Women  
Age Range: 25 to 35  
Current Location: Anywhere in South Africa  
Eastern Cape  
Free State  
Gauteng  
KwaZulu-Natal

☒ Only show profiles with photos

### IN THIS WEEK'S PAPER



#### SUBSCRIBE:

- Paper edition
- Kindle edition
- Digital edition
- Subscriptions

Read stories online

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 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 Nzimande who argued that it vindicated the ANC's interest in investigating a statutory Media Appeal 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 victorious 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 Ntseha'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.

#### TOPICS IN THIS ARTICLE

##### PLACES

- Motlanthe affair
- politicians' personal lives

##### PEOPLE

- Kgalema Motlanthe
- Cyril Ntseha

**"Shocking" Love Horoscope** [www.PremiumAstrology.com](http://www.PremiumAstrology.com)  
Shockingly accurate predictions about love, health & wealth - Free!

**Divorce Fast, Cheap, Easy** [www.divorcematters.co.za](http://www.divorcematters.co.za)  
Divorce Now! 100's of satisfied clients. Money back Guarantee

**SMS From Your PC** [smsfrompc.com](http://smsfrompc.com)  
SMS From Website Or Application Covers  
Vodacom, MTN Cell C and Int.

**Cheap Telkom Broadband** [www.telkomapp.co.za](http://www.telkomapp.co.za)  
Get a 3 Month Free Trial + Modem. 25GB, No  
Obligation Visit Us Now

AdChoices

#### COMMENT GUIDELINES

1. Please review our comment guidelines.
2. Post your comment in the block below and press "Post as ..."
3. Please allow between 15 minutes and 48 hours for your comment to go live.
4. Racist, sexist or stupid comments will be terminated with extreme prejudice.

Like

## ERROR

### The requested URL could not be retrieved

While trying to retrieve the URL:  
<http://www.facebook.com/plugins/li>

## twitter

@mailandguardian - Top stories & new flashes  
@NicDawes - M&G editor Nic Dawes  
@ChesRoperZA - Editor, M&G Online  
@journalistjane - M&G's weekly investigative journal  
@myfriend - Our weekly news feed

#### ADVERTISEMENTS



See more ads



See more ads

#### SPONSORED LINKS

- Business travel experts
- Domestic & Regional Airline
- Flowers & gifts
- Bulk SMS gateway

# One love

Pres  
Health

**W**ho'd have known? Our straight-laced president Kgalema Motlanthe is a sugar daddy, as revealed in the *Sunday Independent*. According to the reports Motlanthe (59) will soon be bouncing a bonny babe 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 Mntsi 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 politicians do in their beds is their business — unless, of course, the politician is a woman, as the case of former French foreign minister Rachida Dati highlights. The African way appears to be that polygamy is a case of the more, the merrier. As PM Melato, 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 cellphone and a pretty dress. The Constitution explicitly declares us all equal before the law, men and women, black and white.

As Colleen Lowe Morna will argue in our pages next week, progressive leadership cannot be squared 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 a million 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 ABC: abstain, be faithful, condomise. It appears that the men who want to be our president do none of these, rendering 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 in politics is all of our business, especially when we need all leaders in our society to nudge us towards behavioural change that will curb the still-growing rate of HIV infection.

At the MAC 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 marginalised.

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 as 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's policy conference delegates complained that the party was not consulted about the appointment of the new Cabinet members, after one communist leader conceded that the appointments took place "without a great deal of consultation".

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

Parliamentary justice committee chairperson Yunus 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 first "major deployment statement" by the ANC's post-Polokwane leadership presented an opportunity to show a reformed party in which the left has more say. However, they tried to allay delegates' concerns by underscoring the temporary nature of the new appointments.

Said one: "This is essentially a holding operation and the sideways shuffle of people like Manto [Tshabalala-Msimang, former health minister] and Mabandla showed that [the appointments] were about assuring 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 either toe the ANC line or win seats on its own ticket. This contrasts with Zuma's call some years ago for communists to argue more left-wing viewpoints in parliamentary debates.

"[The SACP leadership] suppressed that idea because there is an opportunistic concern by those who think the regime they helped establish in Polokwane should help them now," the leader said, suggesting the leadership soft-pedalled because they have an eye on big jobs next year.

"They are now the 'Polokwane class project'. They think they are owed positions and now they are deserting the class struggle," 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 consumed 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 Skweyiya on league president Julius Malema.

In an interview with *The Sunday Independent* Skweyiya said Malema was an "embarrassment" to the party and had shown "shocking disrespect". "People ... call me every night complaining, 'What are you doing about this child?'," he was quoted saying.

North Coast league spokesperson Sicele Mdletshe said certain people wanted to "reduce [Malema] to a nonentity".

"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 Malema seriously, and ridicule him," he told the *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 spokesperson Floyd Shivambu said there were no plans to haul Skweyiya before its executive committee as the young lions did with Motlanthe prior to his becoming president.

The youth league did not succeed in influencing the choice of president as Zuma did not back its candidate for the presidency, Baleka Mbete. Zuma, advised by ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe, opted for Motlanthe, as the most senior ANC member after himself.

# Motlanthe: 'There is no struggle'

By Graham Harvey

President Kgalema Motlanthe has left the door open to the possibility of serving as a deputy president under president Jacob Zuma and dismissed suggestions that he is locked in a battle for the post with SACP general secretary Blade Nzimande.

In an interview Motlanthe said there would be no point in campaigning for the position, as only the president appoints the deputy.

"I know of no such struggle between me and Nzimande. I also certainly do not operate in that manner. But, more importantly, the position of deputy president is not elected. So canvassing, campaigning and a struggle for that post are squabbles."

Motlanthe has been under pressure in recent weeks, with ANC colleagues publicly criticising him and allegedly leaking details of his love life to the media. He insisted he is unaware of unflattering about him in his party.

On his continued association with Thabo Mbeki, apparently a source of unease in the ANC, he said he saw no need to sever ties with the former president. "I've had a good relationship with him over the years and I can't stop that to please those who make such claims."

He indicated he is available to serve in a Zuma Cabinet. "Though it has always been a big passion of mine I've never said I want to return to Parliament to do political education after the elections and will not be available for government posts."

Responding for the first time to reports about his marriage and private life, Motlanthe said he should be interrogated on his performance as a president, while his family should be protected and his private life left out of the media.

"There exist no constitutional or legal requirements for a president to present a first lady to the public. Whether it happens is a purely circumstantial matter... which I shouldn't have to feel obliged to explain in detail."

"I'm well aware that I am a public figure serving the citizens and that they pay me for that, but this must have nothing to do with my children. They must have the space to lead normal lives."

Motlanthe was criticised by ANC parliamentarian chief whip Nyamathi Booi and the SACP for refusing to sign the SABC Amendment Bill, which he sent back to Parliament for reconsideration.

He replied: "What the general public doesn't know is that when a Bill is presented to a president it has to be translated into a second official language."

guage, which takes time.

"That is partly the reason for long delays in many Bills - in November 20 Bills were passed, but by December only five were translated. When the ANC chief whip in Parliament (Nyamathi Booi) came to see me he discovered this requirement."

"Then I have to consider objections from parties and send those for legal opinion and apply my mind to it. In the case of the SABC Bill my concern was that the removal of the SABC board must be accompanied by due process, which was not in place."

Motlanthe said the ANC would not

further humiliate embattled spin doctor Carl Nebeus by kicking him out of the party. "It's excessive to call for his dismissal from the ANC, especially since he's admitted his errors and appears genuinely repentant."

"Is it right to kick people when they're down? In the ANC we prefer not to do that."

"But in terms of values we all have things to think about and learn from this experience. In the ANC we are hopeful that the value of serving the party and government with dedication and integrity will triumph over crass materialism."

**More online** Read the full interview with Kgalema Motlanthe

Mail &amp; Guardian



Mail &amp; Guardian online

Search

HOME | NEWS | OPINION | BUSINESS | SPORT | ARTS | LEISURE | EDUCATION | REPORTS | LEADER | MULTIMEDIA | PROPERTY | IN THE PAPER

JOBS | TENDERS | DATING

NATIONAL | AFRICA | WORLD | AND IN OTHER NEWS | ZAPING | WEATHER | PHOTOS | AMBUSHING | WHAT'S ON

LOG IN | SIGN UP | MY DASHBOARD

THE SMART NEWS SOURCE | Sep 26 2011 14:23 | LAST UPDATED Sep 26 2011 14:23

ADVERTISE WITH US | CONTACT US | STORY TIP-OFFS | M&amp;G NEWSLETTER

NEWS | NATIONAL | GENERAL

Ads by Google

Send SMS

SMS Alerts

Cellphone SMS

Love Seat



## Big cheese's squeeze?

MMANALEDI MATABOGE - Feb 28 2009 06:00

0 Comments and 0 Reactions

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 24, 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. Even 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 revs 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 Kgalema. 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 that Mmokwa matriculated from Tlhoafalo Secondary School in Sannieshof, not Carletonville High, as she says.

CONTINUES BELOW



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

Ask your financial adviser about

glacier  
by Santam

click here

### ARTICLE TOOLS

- Print
- Add to Clippings

### Ads by Google

- Love Poems Quotes
- Child
- Love SMS
- Love Test

### LATEST ARTICLES IN THIS SECTION

- Hitwomen gotta be hitwomen
- Transparency a cure for the 'resources curse'?
- A sovereign Africa needs more dialogue
- Editorial: The sound of victory, for now
- Palestinians need an audience for their story

### Client Media Releases

#### Press Offices

Census critical: relevance of SA's largest survey

Synovate

Quirk Education releases latest edition of digital marketing textbook

Quirk

COP17 agenda demands more of business

Delella

Shoppers give thumbs-up to buying furniture online

bidorbuy

OpenWeb.co.za launches cheapest uncapped ADSL in SA, at R89 per month

OpenWeb

Publish press releases on the M&G



### Find your perfect match now!

I am a: ☐ Man ☐ Women

Looking for: ☐ Men ☐ Women

Age Range: 25 to 35

Current Location:  Anywhere in South Africa

Current Location:  Eastern Cape  Free State  Gauteng  KwaZulu-Natal

☒ Only show profiles with photos

### IN THIS WEEK'S PAPER



SUBSCRIBE:  
- Paper edition  
- Kindle edition  
- Digital edition  
- Subs promotions

Read stories online

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 Motlanthe 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" Mmokwa has been able to produce of knowing Motlanthe -- 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 Mmokwa runs the country, Kgalema does. After work he goes home, sees Kele, and they are happy."

While Mmokwa 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 clear 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 Motlanthe'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.

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

#### TOPICS IN THIS ARTICLE

##### TAGS

■ extra-marital affairs

##### PLACES

■ Capetownville

##### PEOPLE

■ Kgalema Motlanthe  
■ Kelebogile Mmokwa

**Will you have a baby?** [www.PremiumAstrology.com](http://www.PremiumAstrology.com)

The results are shocking! Free psychic reading sent right to you.

**Want to Divorce Fast?** [www.legalmart.co.za](http://www.legalmart.co.za)

Cheapest and Fastest Divorce in SA Afr. & Eng. Money back Guarantee

**Avis Rent a Car** [www.Avis.co.za](http://www.Avis.co.za)

Latest Seasonal Specials Including Weekend Rates From R160 per day.

**OldMutual Investment Plan** [www.OldMutual.co.za/investmer](http://www.OldMutual.co.za/investmer)

Make Your Money Grow! Apply for An Old Mutual Investment Plan Today.

AdChoices 




#### COMMENT GUIDELINES

1. Please review our comment guidelines
2. Post your comment in the block below and press "Post as ..."
3. Please allow between 15 minutes and 48 hours for your comment to go live
4. Racist, sexist or stupid comments will be terminated with extreme prejudice

Like


Comments for this page are closed.

Showing 0 comments

Sort by Popular now   Subscribe by email  Subscribe by RSS

Trackback URL <http://disqus.com/forums/i>

Blog comments powered by DISQUS

[Contact Us](#) | [About Us](#) | [Story Tips](#) | [Online Advertising](#) | [Print Advertising](#) | [Subscriptions](#) | [Topics A-Z](#) | [Mobile Sites](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [RSS Feed](#) 

All material © Mail & Guardian Online. Material may not be published or reproduced in any form without prior written permission.

## ERROR

The requested URL could not be retrieved

While trying to retrieve the URL:  
<http://www.facebook.com/plugins/li>

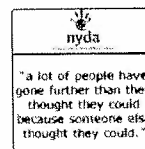
## twitter

@mailandguardian - Top stories & news flashes  
@NicDawes - M&G editor Nic Dawes  
@ChrisRoperZA - Editor, M&G Online  
@shabanguane - M&G Centre for Investigative Journ  
@mgfeed - Our whole news feed

#### ADVERTISEMENTS







See more ads



See more ads

#### SPONSORED LINKS

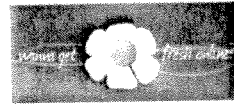
 Business travel experts  
 Domestic & Regional Airline

 Flowers & gifts  
 Bulk SMS gateway





**ADVERTISE YOUR BUSINESS HERE AND REAP THE REWARDS**



# Mail & Guardianonline

 Search

HOME NEWS **OPINION** BUSINESS SPORT ARTS LEISURE EDUCATION REPORTS TLEADER MULTIMEDIA PROPERTY IN THE PAPER

COMMENT & ANALYSIS COLUMBISTS BODY LANGUAGE OBITUARIES EDITORIALS OMBUD LETTERS

[JOBS](#) | [TENDERS](#) | [DATING](#)

[LOG IN](#) | [SIGN UP](#) | [MY DASHBOARD](#)

THE SMART NEWS SOURCE | Sep 26 2011 14:30 | LAST UPDATED Sep 26 2011 14:30

[ADVERTISE WITH US](#) | [CONTACT US](#) | [STORY TIPS](#) | [OFFS](#) | [M&G NEWSLETTER](#)

OPINION COMMENT & ANALYSIS

Ads by Google

Send SMS

Love Seat

SMS Alerts

Cellphone SMS



## The personal is political

SAM SOLE: COMMENT - Feb 16 2009 06:00

0 Comments and 0 Reactions

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 headlines.

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 when 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 sleazily 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.

▼ CONTINUES BELOW ▼

**THEY ARE WELL EDUCATED, WELL HEELED AND DISCERNING**

And in the Clinton example, the joke ignores the fact that the president's infidelity was exploited using powerful legal and publicity machinery available 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 Kgalema Motlanthe's extra-marital sex-life was initiated by the denizens of Luthuli House, not the hacks in the Star building.

### ARTICLE TOOLS

Print

Add to Clippings

### Ads by Google

SMS Sending

SMS Mobile

SMS Phones

Love Relationships

**THEY ARE WELL EDUCATED, WELL HEELED AND DISCERNING**

### LATEST ARTICLES IN THIS SECTION

- Zuma 'had no choice but to call inquiry'
- No end to bloodshed as Yemeni president bids for peace
- New Zealand cops detain SA reporter for 'drug dealing'
- Castro calls Obama's UN speech 'gibberish'
- Mandela's 46664 fashion line makes catwalk debut

### Client Media Releases

#### Press Offices

**Census critical: relevance of SA's largest survey**

Synovate

**Quirk Education releases latest edition of digital marketing textbook**

Quirk

**COP17 agenda demands more of business**

Dejante

**Shoppers give thumbs-up to buying furniture online**

biderbuy

**OpenWeb.co.za launches cheapest uncapped ADSL in SA, at R89 per month**

OpenWeb

Publish press releases on the M&G



### Find your perfect match now!

I am a: ☐ Man ☐ Woman

Looking for: ☐ Men ☐ Women ☐ Both

Age Range: 25 to 35

Current Location:

☒ Only show profiles with photos

### IN THIS WEEK'S PAPER



**SUBSCRIBE:**

- Paper edition
- Kindle edition
- Digital edition
- Subs promotions

Read stories online

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 "prurient".

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 tax 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 sexual responsibility in the Abstain, Be Faithful, Condomise 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 bagging grouse.

#### TOPICS IN THIS ARTICLE

##### TAGS

- morals
- politicians

##### PEOPLE

- Kgalema Motlanthe
- Pato Jordan

**"Shocking" Love Horoscope** [www.PatienceAstrology.co](http://www.PatienceAstrology.co)  
Shockingly accurate predictions about love, health & wealth - Free!

**Forex South Africa** [www.FOREXSA.com](http://www.FOREXSA.com)  
Learn how to Trade Forex Online 1 / 1 Training, Exclusive Pdf Guide

**SMS From Your PC** [BulkSMSFromSouthAfrica.com](http://BulkSMSFromSouthAfrica.com)  
SMS From Website Or Application. Covers Vodacom, MTN Cell C and Int.

**get the powers of comand** [www.getthepowersofcommand.com](http://www.getthepowersofcommand.com)  
find the secret and get the powers of comand.  
love, protection, finance

AdChoices

#### COMMENT GUIDELINES

1. Please review our comment guidelines.
2. Post your comment in the block below and press "Post as ..."
3. Please allow between 15 minutes and 48 hours for your comment to go live.
4. Racist, sexist or stupid comments will be terminated with extreme prejudice.

## ERROR

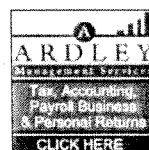
### The requested URL could not be retrieved

While trying to retrieve the URL:  
<http://www.facebook.com/plugins/li>

twitter

@mailandguardian - Top stories & new flashes  
@NicDawes - M&G editor Nic Dawes  
@Schoorpoort - Editor M&G Online  
@amabhungame - M&G Centre for Investigative Journalism  
@myfeed - Our whole news feed

#### ADVERTISEMENTS



See more ads



See more ads

#### SPONSORED LINKS

- Business travel experts
- Domestic & Regional Airline
- Flowers & gifts
- Bulk SMS gateway