



**The Anti-Censorship Programme**

*Fourth progress report*

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## 1. Executive summary

One of the most striking things about the period under review (April-September) is the significant rise in the number of cases brought to the attention of the Anti-Censorship Programme (ACP) involving the state's use of violence against peaceful and unarmed demonstrators.

Two such examples have been reported here; the first took place in Johannesburg and the second in Harrismith in the Free State. In the first case, sixty members of the Landless People's Movement (LPM) were arrested on April 14 which was election day for allegedly holding a political activity contrary to the provisions of the Electoral Act (No 73 of 1998). The genesis of this arrest related to the fact that the LPM had, during the run-up to South Africa's third democratic elections, launched a campaign dubbed "No Land, No Votes". The movement had through the campaign successfully mobilised its constituencies not to vote unless there is a credible and speedy land reform process in the country.

LPM therefore decided to hold a demonstration on this day and notified the authorities as required by legislation governing public gatherings. However, as they prepared to assemble in one of the urban townships, they were violently arrested and held in police cells overnight before being released on bail the following day. Four of the members alleged that while in police custody that night, they were subjected to acts of physical torture, harassment and intimidation through a variety of means including suffocation by use of rubber tubing and attempted kidnapping, by members of the Crime Intelligence Services. This disturbing scenario led the FXI to host a joint press conference with the LPM and this was covered widely by the country's media. The matter is currently under investigation- albeit too slowly- by the police watchdog body, the Independent Complaints Directorate.

In the second case, a high school student Teboho Mkhonza was shot and killed by police in late August as he participated in a peaceful demonstration in the Free State Province town of Harrismith. The demonstrators had engaged in a series of public protests to highlight the lack of delivery of basic services by the local authority and the apparent indifference to their grievances by government officials.

There are also two other cases that have been reported to the FXI but not captured in this report as the ACP is still investigating them. In the first case, FXI was informed that a teenager Marcel King, was shot and killed in June by private security guards hired by the Durban Municipality in Phoenix, a poor black township in Durban. In this incident, it was reported that residents were preventing the council from disconnecting their electricity supply and it in this process that one of the guards physically assaulted King's mother. The teenager was shot as he came to her aid. ACP is still investigating the matter and will act on it once full information becomes available.

The second incident related to the arrest and claims of physical assault by fourteen residents in Mount Moriah, Durban, on 27 April 2004, after police alleged that the residents had participated in an "illegal gathering". The demonstration was organized to demand a solution to the unacceptable housing situation and a scrapping of the rate debts. This march was preceded by a series of actions to protest against inferior housing in the area.

Marchers began to assemble at 7 am, one hour before the scheduled time of the march stipulated in the permit. The marchers were then approached by the South African Police Service, who disputed that they had 'permission' to march and ordered the crowd to disperse for staging an illegal gathering and interfering with traffic and business interests. While attempts were being made to disperse the demonstrators, the police attacked and drove cars into the crowd, injuring three people.

They appeared in court on Wednesday 28th April. According to police, the permit that they

received specified a starting time of 8am, and since residents were found on the road at 7am they were arrested. After the defense produced the permit and made arguments based on their constitutional right to assembly, demonstration and picket, the state withdrew the illegal gathering charge but insisted on an admission of guilt fines of R150 each for allegedly blocking the traffic.

Another notable and worrying trend in the last six months has been the appearance of internet based censorship where big corporations have threatened to take legal action against satirical websites for "trade mark" infringement. In the one case presented in this report, South Africa's telecommunications giant Telkom threatened to sue the owners of a website dubbed "Hellkom", for five million rands, for parodying both the company's name and its keypad logo. We are fortunate to report that due to our intervention as well as the wide publicity which this matter garnered in the media, Telkom appears to have backtracked on its threats and we are hopeful that the matter will not eventually result in litigation.

With regards to general media censorship matters, ACP has moved swiftly to engage with community media seeing that this sector rarely gets sufficient support from the mainstream freedom of expression lobby groups that are by and large urban based. In this respect, we report about our intervention in a case involving a journalist working for the *Limpopo Mirror* and *the Zoutpansberger* newspapers who was threatened with physical assault by a member of the Operational Response Unit (formerly Public Order Policing Unit) while covering a demonstration in Makhado, Limpopo province. We also report about the case of a small-medium town newspaper in Oudtshoorn in the Western Cape which had advertisements by the municipality withdrawn because of what the municipality dubbed as the paper's "one-sided, non-objective and biased" reporting of its activities.

During the preceding six months, the ACP has also intervened as a "friend of the court" in the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) in Bloemfontein in the action brought by South African Breweries against Cape Town satirical T-shirt maker Justin Nurse. Though Nurse's appeal was dismissed by the SCA with costs, we are exploring ways of pursuing this case further by petitioning the Constitutional Court and are awaiting Nurse to make the relevant application.

ACP's campaign for legislative amendment has commenced with one meeting having taken place already with the editor of the country's leading weekly newspaper the Mail and Guardian. Follow-up meetings are planned with editors from other major newspapers during the remaining part of the year. In the same vein, the programme has commissioned an expert legal opinion on the constitutionality of the Regulation of Gatherings Act (No 205 of 1993), which has established that certain sections of this statute are constitutionally suspect. We will soon present this opinion at a workshop planned by the Social Movements Indaba later this year.

Similarly, ACP has decided to revive its campaign against the Anti-Terrorism Bill now in the final stages of discussion in Parliament. This campaign will constitute of organisations that were involved in the 2003 leg as well as others such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions. As mentioned in this report, the head of the ACP held a series of meetings with communities and leaders in KwaZulu-Natal in September, around ways of kick-starting the campaign with a view to either having the Bill shelved, or mounting a Constitutional Court challenge if it is passed by Parliament.

On a positive note, funding has been secured to launch a constitutional challenge against section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act (51 of 1977), which the state has used from time to time to compel journalists to give evidence in court. As we do not have an active case in our files in this area at the moment, we have circulated a request to the print and broadcasting media as well as organisations working in the field of media freedom to identify such case or cases and alert us as soon as possible.

Education and training workshops with community radio stations are continuing apace with meetings having taken place in the Western Cape in August and in KwaZulu-Natal in September. The programme hopes to host at least one final round of workshops before the end of this year. Participation in seminars and conferences both inside and outside the country has been extensive. For instance the ACP head attended the Annual General Meeting and Strategic conference of the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX) in Baku, Azerbaijan in June and has presented papers in seminars and workshops in a diverse range of fora.

Internally, the evaluation of the ACP has been completed and the Executive Committee of the FXI is currently considering the evaluator's report. In a nutshell, the report makes recommendations around how the work of the programme could be enhanced even further for instance by placing more emphasis on proactive rather than reactive interventions and embarking on a comprehensive study around impediments on freedom of expression in South Africa.

Finally, since the beginning of July, the programme has been able to make use of the services of a private attorney and some of the long-standing cases that had matured to the litigation stage have already been referred to him. We are hopeful that the work of the programme will receive additional boost once the Legal Unit and law clinic become fully functional.

(Author's note: All the ongoing cases as well as some of the activities captured in this report have already been introduced and discussed in the first three progress reports. We urge the reader to access these reports at: <http://www.fxj.org.za/allframes.htm> or place a request for the printed version from FXI's offices)

## **2. Overview of ongoing and new cases handled since March 2004**

### **2.1. The Khayelitsha Anti-Eviction Campaign**

This case has been referred to the attorney (see executive summary) for further action.

### **2.2. The case of Sonya Roets**

This case has also been handed over to the attorney.

### **2.3. The case of Justin Nurse**

Advocate Gilbert Marcus appeared *pro bono* (without charge) on our behalf as *amicus curiae* before the Supreme Court of Appeal in Bloemfontein during the appeal hearing on 30 August. Unfortunately, in its judgment delivered on 16 September, the court ruled against Nurse who had sought a reversal of the earlier decision by the Cape High Court, which had declared that his use of the words "Black Labour, White Guilt" violated South African Breweries' (SAB) registered trade mark. In its judgment, the Supreme Court of Appeal held that Nurse was:

*"Using the reputation of Sabmark's well-known trade mark, which has been established at considerable expense over a lengthy period of time, in the course of trade in relation to goods to the detriment of the repute of the mark without any justification. Such use and detriment is unfair and constitutes an infringement of the said provision. The appellant's reliance on the freedom of expression is misplaced. It did not exercise its freedom, it abused it."*

Additionally, the court observed that Nurse was at liberty to use other means to criticise or parody SAB by using its marks on T-shirts, or on flags, or on anything else as long as this was not done in the course of trade. ACP has held a discussion with Nurse with a view to identifying and implementing the next course of action and has also contacted Advocate Marcus to seek his opinion on how to move forward. We have decided to be enjoined to the case as *amicus curiae* (friends of the court) at the Constitutional Court stage on the grounds that South Africa's common law of trade marks ought to be subjected to the right to freedom of expression and not vice-versa. It is our view that the Supreme Court of Appeal erred by not giving freedom of expression the required weight in this regard. Furthermore, the Constitution urges that when applying a provision of the Bill of Rights to a natural or juristic person, every court *"must apply, or if necessary develop, the common law to the extent that legislation does not give effect to that right."* In our opinion, the court did not apply its mind sufficiently to this fundamental requirement.

### **2.4. The Dulcie September book**

On September 23, the Pretoria High Court ruled on that Witold Walus, the complainant, was not entitled to view and vet the manuscript before hand as this would amount to "editing it prior to its

publication". The court added that there is *"no precedent in South African law that entitles a party to obtain copies of written or printed material which may refer to such party."*

ACP has welcomed this judgment.

## **2.5. The "Hellkom" case**

In August, South Africa's telecommunications giant Telkom threatened to sue the owner of a website named Hellkom for damages amounting to R5 million for alleged trademark infringement. In caustic terms, the "Hellkom" site parodies Telkom's name and keypad logo, but be that as it may, the site is basically a forum for airing grievances by those opposed to Telkom's high tariffs and poor level of services. ACP intervened immediately and issued a press statement supporting the site and its criticism of Telkom, which received wide publicity in the print and electronic media. As we said in the statement:

*"Telkom's claim that the use of the words "Hellkom" and "Telscum" as well as the use of certain graphics and logos on the "Hellkom" website amounts to the infringement of a registered trade mark as prohibited by the Trade Marks Act is spurious. Trademark infringement only occurs where an individual or individuals use a registered mark to deceive or cause confusion and also for a pecuniary benefit. This is not the case with the site under dispute."*

It appears that our intervention combined with the wide support the site received from the public forced Telkom to reconsider its decision and nothing has been heard from the corporation ever since.

## **2.6. LPM Matters**

### **2.6.1. Election Day Gathering and torture allegations by LPM members**

In the run-up to South Africa's third general elections since the advent of constitutional democracy in 1994, the Landless People's Movement (LPM) initiated what it dubbed the "No Land, No Votes" campaign seeking to peg voting in the elections with the delivery of land to the majority landless black citizens. On 14 April, which was election day, LPM mobilised its members to hold a protest in one of the black townships in Johannesburg and gave the requisite notice to the state as required by the Regulation of Gatherings Act.

But as the LPM members gathered for the protest, police violently descended on them and arrested and thereafter took them to one of the police stations where they were held overnight before being released on bail the following day. They were later charged with holding a political activity on election day contrary to section 108(a) of the Electoral Act which states that *"on voting day no person may-...hold or take part in any political meeting, march, demonstration or other political event."* ACP hired legal counsel who assisted to get the members released on bail.

What is of particular concern nevertheless is the fact that four of the members; Ann Eveleth, Maureen Mnisi, Samantha Heargraves and Moses Mayekiso, made disconcerting allegations about their ordeal in the police cells during the night of 14/15 April. They stated that members of the Crime Intelligence Services (CIS) physically tortured them (Ann and Samantha) or otherwise used violence, harassment and intimidation against them (Mnisi and Mayekiso). FXI convened a joint press conference with the LPM on 28 April where the four members narrated their ordeal in the hands of CIS operatives. Local media highlighted these claims widely after the conference

and in May, a number of human rights organisations sent a protest letter to the National Minister of Safety and Security around this matter.

A charge of police torture was laid with the Independent Complaints Directorate and investigations, albeit at a very slow pace are still continuing. Meanwhile, the state is pursuing its case against the arrested members and ACP has been providing media support to ensure that the members' plight receives as much publicity as possible.

### **2.6.2. Mangaliso Kubheka and the hate speech allegation**

After assisting Mangaliso Kubheka of the Landless People's Movement (LPM) to file his reply to the Human Rights Commission in April, the commission in July set aside its earlier finding of "guilty" against him for allegedly making hate speech remarks and the matter has now been re-opened. In September, the ACP assisted Kubheka to draft a letter to the commission as requested in answer to the allegations. We are awaiting further developments around this matter and will continue to render all necessary support in defence of Kubheka's right to freedom of expression.

### **2.7. Matter of journalist working for *Limpopo Mirror* and *Zoutpansberger* newspapers**

This matter involves a journalist who was threatened with physical assault by a police officer while covering a public demonstration in Makhado in Limpopo province. The journalist, Frans van der Merwe, alleged that during the demonstration, a certain inspector Mulaudzi threatened to "take out his uniform and kick him". ACP was asked to intervene by the publisher of the two newspapers and as a result, we sent a letter to the office of the Member of Executive Council (MEC) for Safety and Security in Limpopo Province asking that the matter be investigated promptly and that necessary action be taken. ACP also sent letters to the National Police Commissioner as well as the police watchdog body the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD).

A number of letters have been received from the MEC's office stating that the matter has been investigated and subsequently referred to the ICD. We are still pursuing it and have continued to liaise with the relevant personnel in the MEC's office to ensure that the complaint is not swept beneath the wheels of bureaucracy.

### **2.8. Matter of *'Die Hoorn'***

*Die Hoorn* is small-medium newspaper published and circulated in the town of Outdshoorn in the Western Cape. In August, ACP received information that the Greater Oudtshoorn Municipal Council had taken a decision to suspend all interactions with the newspaper including the placing of advertisements, legal notices and sending of press releases because the paper was "one sided, non-objective and biased". ACP then sent a letter to the Municipal Manager expressing its concerns and stating that this amounted to censorship against the newspaper on the basis of the latter's press activities. We are making follow-ups on this matter.

### **2.9. Shooting of demonstrators in Harrismith**

On 30 August, Police opened fire on a group of fleeing peaceful demonstrators in Harrismith, a semi-urban town in the Free State Province, and as a result a 17-year-old high school student Tebogo Mkhonza was killed. The demonstrators were protesting against the lack of delivery of basic services as well as unsatisfactory responses to their grievances by the local authority. The shooting received widespread media publicity and resulted in government sending a top-level delegation to the area composed of State and Provincial ministers to engage with the local

community. ACP convened a planning meeting in FXI's offices on 14 September that was attended by representatives from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, the Institute for Security Studies, the Human Rights Institute of South Africa and the Landless People's Movement. ACP also acquired a copy of the videocassette shot at the scene by an amateur photographer, which clearly shows police opening fire on the dispersing protesters.

The aim of the meeting held at FXI was to explore ways of formulating a collective response on how to engage relevant state institutions such as the Presidency, the Ministry of Safety and Security and the ICD among others, as well as the role that oversight bodies like the Human Rights Commission should play in regards to the rising use of violence by state law enforcement agencies. It was agreed that ACP would draft a working document detailing the incidences of police and other state agencies' use of force and violence against demonstrators, which will then be used as a template to lobby the identified state functionaries or institutions. This work is now in progress.

### **2.10. Matter of van Heudsen and Cape Town City Council**

Peter van Heudsen is a Cape Town based social activist who has been threatened with legal action by the Cape Town City Council for painting the slogan "SA. READ INDYMEDIA.ORG" "DON'T HATE THE MEDIA, BE THE MEDIA!" on the front wall of his house. Indymedia is a world-wide independent media website with chapters in many countries around the globe. The Council alleges that the painting is a violation of its by-laws on advertisements and signage, which prohibit the exhibition of "unauthorised signs". Van Heudsen has countered that the by-law exempts advertisements or signs done for non-profitable organisations and additionally sought help from the ACP. We are addressing this matter and have already given preliminary legal advice to Van Heudsen.

### **2.11. Gay pride parade arch**

For the last 14 years, South Africa's gay and lesbian community has held a colourful annual parade in which they march through the streets of Johannesburg and its suburbs. This year however, the organisers-the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE)-were informed by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department that they would not be allowed to march on 25 September unless they gave a commitment not to have their members dressed in attire that disguised their facial features. The metro police also threatened to arrest anyone who turned up at the march wearing any form of disguise. In doing so, the local authority claimed that it was invoking the provisions of section 8(7) of the Gatherings Act, which prohibits anyone participating in a gathering to disguise their facial features.

ACP contacted the NCGLE offering them support and issued a press statement saying it threw its full weight behind the demonstrators to march in whatever attire they deemed fit. A few days before the march, the metro police department retreated from its position but it was not lost on us that they backed down only after the coalition indicated its firm determination to go ahead with the march and also due to the strong media publicity around the matter.

## **3. The Anti-Terrorism Bill**

Parliament revived this Bill at the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) level in June and discussions are taking place before the select committee on Safety and Security. ACP is attempting to re-start the campaign mounted last year against the Bill and is already making arrangements for a meeting with a number of organisations in Johannesburg. In the last week of September, the ACP head addressed various individuals and organisations in Durban and

participated in a radio discussion programme where the current version of the Bill was subjected to critical analysis. Follow-up meetings IN Durban and possibly Cape Town have been planned in the remaining part of the year.

#### **4. Campaign for legislative amendment**

A meeting was held between the head of the ACP and the editor in chief of the Mail and Guardian on August 18 where among other things, it was agreed that the ACP head would prepare a summarised version of the main laws that violate freedom of expression in the country. This meeting was called as a result of disquietude expressed by some newspaper editors, that there was a dramatic rise in defamation law suits against the media and that action was required on the part of the ACP. Specifically, it was mentioned that the Mail and Guardian newspaper was facing a barrage of lawsuits in this regard. The proposed summary will be published as an opinion piece in the Mail and Guardian. Haffajee will also facilitate meetings with editors of other newspapers through the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef) during the rest of the year.

In similar vein, the ACP commissioned an expert legal opinion on the Regulation of Gatherings Act (205 of 1993), which investigated the constitutionality of the Act, and whether it is possible to bring a Constitutional Court challenge against it. Though the opinion concluded that the Act largely conforms to the Constitutional precepts on the right of assembly, demonstration and picket, it pointed out that the following two provisions are suspect:

1. Section 3(2) of the Act which authorises a responsible officer (local authority) to prohibit a gathering outright if notice is given in a period of less than 48 hours; and,
2. Section 11(1), (2) which impose collective and extensive civil liability for riot damage on all those who plan, organise or participate in a gathering that eventually turns violent.

Furthermore, the opinion stated that the manner in which local authorities have recently made decisions regarding notices for some of the assemblies and demonstrations organised by the social movements is clearly *ultra vires* (beyond their jurisdiction) the powers granted to them by the Act. One such example related to a notice by the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee to the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) dated 17 February 2004 of their intention to march against the City Council on 3 March 2004. In prohibiting the proposed march, the JMPD amongst other things said that the organisation had in the past engaged in "the unlawful removal of pre-paid meters and intimidations (sic) to contract workers tasked to lay the underground pipes".

Clearly, past conduct by an organisation or its members that has nothing to do with the behaviour of such members during a gathering is not one of the reasons stipulated by the Act for prohibiting a proposed march or demonstration. In any event, the Act seeks to regulate future conduct rather than alleged past behaviour. It is these kinds of administratively flawed decisions that the opinion says are subject to review by a court of law.

ACP and the Social Movements Indaba are planning to hold a three day National Anti-Repression workshop during which the ACP head will present the findings of the opinion and canvass ideas on how to institute a challenge against the Act in the near future. Funding for the opinion was secured from the Foundation of Human Rights.

#### **5. Education and training workshops with community radio stations**

These workshops were held in the first week of August in the Western Cape and in Kwa Zulu-Natal in the last week of September. In the latter case the training content was expanded to include training on community radio licensing and community radio sustainability and was presented by Virginia Setshedi, organiser of FXI's recently established Media and ICTs programme. We plan to host the next round of workshops in Gauteng before the end of the year.

Broadly, the workshops' objective is to critically examine issues that confront community radio stations such as the four-year radio licensing process and problems of their financial sustainability. They are also aimed at engaging stations on how they construe their right to freedom of expression and its limitations, as well as South Africa's legal and policy framework for broadcasting.

Some of the issues identified during the discussions included the fact that some stations found it difficult to understand the licensing application or re-application process, they had problems of financial sustainability and they lacked an active organising forum through which they can lobby for their collective needs at the national level. Additionally, a number of stations said they sometimes had to contend with demands from members of the public over broadcasts that allegedly affected them.

From the evaluation forms distributed to participants at the end of each workshop, it is apparent that the training was well received and many of them expressed support for it including the need for additional workshops. We propose to conduct an evaluation on the usefulness and success of the workshops at their conclusion in the course of next year, in order to identify whether and in what ways the training could be improved.

## **6. Seminars and conferences**

### **6.1. IFEX conference**

The ACP head attended the International Freedom of Expression Exchange Annual General Meeting and strategic planning conference in Baku, Azerbaijan from 13-18 June. Besides participating in a wide range of discussions at the conference and assisting in drafting some of the conference's resolutions, he also made a presentation on the ACP's 2003/4 publicity, education, awareness and lobbying campaign against South Africa's Anti-Terrorism Bill. This campaign was used as one of the conference's case studies.

### **6.2. No Guts, No Story, No Glory seminar**

The ACP head made a presentation at this seminar which was held from 19-20 August in Bela Bela, Limpopo Province. This seminar is held on an annual basis, and it targets exclusively the community print media.

### **6.3. Eisa/IAJ Conference on community media and the elections**

The ACP head presented a paper during this conference hosted by the Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (Eisa) and the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ) between 2-3 September on the "Role of the Media in Promoting Democracy and Good Governance". His paper dwelt at length with the changed terrain of media ownership and media's manipulation by market forces rather than the traditional role of media as an impartial arbiter of information in the public interest.

#### **6.4. iWEEK conference**

This is an annual conference that brings together many of the dominant players in the country's Information and Computer Technologies (ICTs) sector. In 2004, the conference took place in Johannesburg from 15-18 September and the head of the ACP was invited to present a paper on how new surveillance legislation in South Africa (SA) and abroad is violating people's rights to privacy and freedom of expression.

#### **6.5. Highway Africa conference**

At the invitation of the Open Society Institute for Southern Africa (OSISA) the ACP head attended and presented a paper at the Highway Africa Conference in Grahamstown on 18 September. The same paper presented at the iWEEK conference was also delivered at this conference as the subject was the same i.e. Internet surveillance and state violation of the rights of communication and privacy.

### **7. Conclusion**

The nature of activities and problems dealt with by the ACP during the last six months demonstrate the fact that censorship in South Africa is rising rather than dissipating and this creates concern that much more needs to be done to deal with the problem. On the one hand, ACP has worked at full steam to try and turn back the tide of censorship, but on the other, there is a realisation within the programme that the rising caseload requires a combination of both proactive and reactive measures if we hope to tackle censorship sufficiently. This should include a direct attack at the causes of censorship rather than merely addressing its manifestations. For this reason the legislative amendment campaign assumes a great deal of importance and will take center stage during the next phase of the programme's activities.

We remain worried however that mere legislative reform is not sufficient, as there is a need for a complete institutional shift on the part of the State and particularly its law enforcement agencies. The latter have time and again resorted to unlawful means in their bid to coerce or intimidate individuals who seek to exercise their constitutional right to freedom of expression. It is apparent that there is a growing degree of impunity on the part of these agencies based perhaps on the notion that no action can be taken against them by their superiors or other institutions established by the Constitution to foster and advance constitutional democracy. It is a disconcerting situation indeed.

Whereas these problems may seem daunting, the ACP will continue to play its critical role of standing at the fore-front of the defense of freedom of expression by utilising a variety of means including legal and popular measures. Our key objective is to ensure that free expression not only receives more rather than less emphasis in the daily discourse of this nation, but that it is also acknowledged as one of the central pillars underpinning South Africa's constitutional democracy. It is an objective that we hope to pursue with determination during the next phase of this programme's activities.

That we are capable of achieving this goal is not a far-fetched idea because as evidenced by the statement below from the evaluation report:

*"In a short space of time the ACP has established itself as the leading programme in the country in pursuance of freedom of expression. From what amounted to a standing start a little less than two years ago, the programme's output is as extensive in its scope and impressive in its quality".*