

**PROPAGANDA AS USED IN THE OFFICIAL SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE
FORCE MAGAZINE – *PARATUS*, 1970-1988**

By

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I declare that the Master's dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree MIS (Publishing) at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.

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“The roots of education are bitter, but the fruit is sweet” - Aristotle

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ABSTRACT

Wartime lends itself to a particular form of communication. This type of communication is often regarded as propaganda, which is used to promote or alternatively dissuade pro-war fervour. This theory is no different during the Border War of South Africa (1966-1989). During the years that the war waged, the public's sentiment towards the war had changed instigated by the continuing political unrest found both in South Africa and on its borders. The South African Defence Force (SADF) attempted to use its official magazine *Paratus* to disseminate pro-war communication in order to subdue the objectors and sway public opinion. Thus, this study aimed to understand how the magazine was used as a propaganda medium in terms of its editorial philosophy. Furthermore, attention was given to the main propaganda devices used in magazines as well as in *Paratus* itself, while changes in the editorial philosophy of the magazine during wartime formed the background of the study. By making use of the single case and longitudinal study, continuous data from a core single source, from 1970-1988, was investigated to gather data including the cover, advertisements, letters, articles and design features that will form the subject of rigorous content analysis in order to obtain rich and holistic information. An amalgamation of the propaganda devices identified by Lasswell (1927), the Institute of Propaganda Analysis – the IPA (1937) and the Propaganda Model (1988) was used as set criteria to base this propaganda study on. The study is rooted in a comprehensive literature review in order to contextualise the findings and avoid bias from the researcher. Ultimately, the study revealed that pro-war and Afrikaner nationalism and Calvinism ideals were supported and furthered through the means of mass communication approaches, specifically that of strategic communication, agenda-setting theory and framing, as well as propaganda devices, most notably the glittering generalities and transfer propaganda devices, while the ideology of anti-Communism alongside the rhetoric of “total onslaught” also formed part of the narrative of the magazine.

Key words:

Propaganda; mass communication; strategic communication; agenda-setting; Border War; *Paratus*; SADF; IPA; Propaganda model; magazine; Calvinism; Afrikaner nationalism; anti-Communism; total onslaught.

CONTENTS

List of abbreviations	8
List of figures.....	9
Chapter 1: Introduction	11
1.1. Introduction	11
1.2. Background and context	11
1.2.1. <i>Paratus</i> – a brief history.....	12
1.2.1.1. The title of the magazine as part of the editorial philosophy	13
1.2.1.2. The purpose of the magazine as part of the editorial philosophy	14
1.3. Problem statement and rationale.....	15
1.4. Research problem	16
1.5. Purpose and objectives of the study	16
1.6. Clarification of key concepts.....	17
1.6.1. The use of the term <i>Border War</i>	17
1.6.2. Propaganda.....	17
1.6.3. War propaganda	17
1.6.4. Agenda-setting theory	18
1.6.5. Editorial philosophy	18
1.6.6. Nationalism	19
1.7. Methodology	19
1.7.1. Single case study	19
1.7.2. Longitudinal analysis	19
1.7.3. Content analysis	20
1.7.4. Literature overview	20
1.8. Limitations of study and scope	22
1.9. Value of study	23
1.10. Division of chapters	23
1.11. Conclusion	24
Chapter 2: Literature review – Theoretical approaches.....	26
2.1. Introduction	26
2.2. Propaganda	27
2.2.1. Definition	27
2.2.2. War propaganda	30
2.2.3. Mass communication and propaganda.....	32
2.2.3.1. Mass media and propaganda	33
2.2.3.2. Strategic communication.....	33
2.2.3.3. Media representation.....	35
2.2.3.4. News representation	35

2.2.3.4.1. Agenda-setting	36
2.2.3.4.2. Framing	38
2.2.4. Propaganda devices and/or techniques.....	40
2.2.4.1. Lasswell’s six significant factors in successful war propaganda	41
2.2.4.2. The Institute of Propaganda Analysis	42
2.2.4.3. The Propaganda Model	43
2.2.5. Approaches to wartimes propaganda studies of posters, newspapers, with specific attention to magazines.....	44
2.2.5.1. First World War	45
2.2.5.2. Second World War.....	49
2.2.6. <i>Paratus</i> magazine – a unique propaganda study.....	54
2.3. Magazines.....	58
2.3.1. Magazine functions and purposes	58
2.3.2. Editorial philosophy	60
2.3.2.1. Title	61
2.3.2.2. Purpose of the magazine	61
2.3.2.3. Type of content	61
2.3.2.3.1. Editorial content	61
2.3.2.3.2. Design	63
2.3.2.3.3. Advertising.....	65
2.3.2.3.4. Voice	66
2.3.3. The audience	66
2.4. Conclusion.....	67
Chapter 3: Literature review – Historical background.....	69
3.1. Introduction	69
3.2. Social and political context: 1960s to late 1980s.....	69
3.2.1. Afrikaner nationalism and neo-Calvinism	69
3.2.2. Apartheid.....	72
3.2.3. Border War.....	74
3.2.3.1. SADF	74
3.2.3.1.1. National service/conscription	75
3.2.3.2. Origins of the Border War.....	78
3.2.3.3. Turning point in the Border War.....	79
3.2.3.4. State of emergency.....	81
3.2.3.5. Lead up to and conclusion of the Border War.....	82
3.2.4. Censorship.....	83
3.2.5. Anti-apartheid struggle material/propaganda.....	86
3.3. Conclusion.....	87

Chapter 4: Methodology.....	89
4.1. Introduction	89
4.2. Research design	90
4.2.1. Research methodology	90
4.2.2. Case study	91
4.2.2.1. Single case study	92
4.2.2.2. Rationale for case study	93
4.2.3. Longitudinal analysis	94
4.2.3.1. Sampling procedures	94
4.2.4. Data collection	95
4.2.5. Content analysis	96
4.2.5.1. Propaganda devices and/or techniques.....	98
4.3. Data analysis and presentation	99
4.4. Validity and reliability.....	106
4.4.1. Criteria for analysis.....	106
4.4.2. Literature review	107
4.5. Limitations of method	109
4.6. Alternative methodologies.....	110
4.7. Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 5: Data gathering and presentation.....	113
5.1. Introduction	113
5.2. Data presentation in terms of editorial philosophy elements.....	113
5.2.1. Advertisements.....	114
<i>Target audience</i>	115
<i>Advertisements versus advertorials</i>	116
<i>Language</i>	118
<i>What was advertised?</i>	119
<i>Products identified</i>	121
<i>Services identified</i>	123
<i>“Other” identified</i>	125
<i>Companies identified</i>	127
<i>Colour usage</i>	129
<i>Image placement</i>	130
<i>Propaganda devices</i>	132
<i>Propaganda devices used</i>	133
5.2.1.1. Summary for advertisements.....	136
5.2.2. Covers	137

<i>Name change</i>	137
<i>Masthead/title</i>	138
<i>Colour of masthead/title</i>	140
<i>Typography of masthead/title</i>	140
<i>Logo on covers</i>	142
<i>Language of covers</i>	143
<i>Type of images on covers</i>	144
<i>Image(s) used on covers</i>	145
<i>Cover lines used</i>	146
<i>Propaganda apparent on covers</i>	147
5.2.2.1. Summary for covers.....	151
5.2.3. Content.....	152
<i>Total content</i>	152
<i>Pure editorial</i>	153
<i>Feature articles</i>	156
<i>Articles</i>	157
<i>Other types of content</i>	157
<i>Language</i>	159
<i>Editorial approach</i>	161
<i>Images used</i>	165
<i>Types of images used</i>	167
<i>Colour usage</i>	168
<i>Propaganda devices</i>	168
5.2.3.1. Summary for content.....	176
5.3. Conclusion	176
Chapter 6: Analysis and discussion	178
6.1. Introduction	178
6.2. Target market.....	178
6.3. Voice	180
6.4. Themes	181
6.4.1. Nationalism and neo-Calvinism.....	181
6.4.1.1. Nationalistic symbols used on covers	181
6.4.1.2. National servicemen and advertisements	183
6.4.1.3. National service and articles	186
6.4.1.4. Editor’s letters	187
6.4.1.5. Christmas messages	189
6.4.1.6. Flag anthem.....	191
6.4.1.7. Transfer propaganda device	191
6.4.2. Total onslaught.....	193

6.4.2.1. International support	193
6.4.2.2. Book reviews.....	196
6.4.2.3. Advocacy as an editorial approach.....	196
6.4.2.4. Anti-communism filter and name-calling device.....	198
6.4.3. Glittering generalities as a key propaganda device.....	200
6.4.4. Winning Hearts and Changing Minds (WHAM).....	204
6.4.4.1. Changing minds through covers.....	204
6.4.4.2. Heroics of the SADF.....	205
6.4.4.3. Recognition and remembrance by the SADF.....	206
6.4.4.4. Letters of thanks from readers.....	207
6.4.4.5. Introduction of minorities in articles.....	208
6.4.5. Militarisation and military capability.....	210
6.4.5.1. Technology and weapon prowess	210
6.4.5.2. Armaments industry	211
6.4.5.3. Overviews and representations of various sub-division of the SADF	212
6.4.5.4. SADF promoting SADFI	213
6.4.6. Gender norms and masculinity.....	215
6.4.6.1. Advertisements of products.....	215
6.4.6.2. Introduction of women’s column	219
6.4.6.3. Sport	220
6.4.7. Community.....	221
6.4.7.1. Readers’ letters.....	221
6.4.7.2. Auxiliary forces.....	221
6.4.7.3. Penpals	222
6.4.7.4. Advice provided to national servicemen	222
6.5. Conclusion.....	224
Chapter 7: Findings and conclusion.....	225
7.1. Introduction	225
7.2. Sub-research question 1.....	226
7.3. Sub-research question 2.....	229
7.4. Sub-research question 3.....	232
7.5. Sub-research question 4.....	235
7.6. Main research question.....	237
7.7. Limitations.....	240
7.8. Value of study.....	241
7.9. Suggested future related studies	241
7.10. Conclusion	244
Reference list	245
Appendices.....	265

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CF	Citizen Force
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DTA	Popular Democratic Movement of Namibia
ECC	End Conscription Campaign
FNLA	National Liberation Front of Angola
FTF	Full-time Force
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IPA	The Institute of Propaganda Analysis
JMC	Joint Monitoring Commission
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
NP	National Party
NWAC	National War Aims Committee
OPO	Ovamboland People's Organisation
PAC	Pan African Congress
PM	The Propaganda Model
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
RICU	Research and Information Communication Unit
SAAF	South African Air Force
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAP	South African Police
SASM	South African Student Organisation
SATS	South African Transport Services
SSC	State Security Council
SWAFT	South West African Territory Force
SWANU	South West African National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
UDF	Union Defence Force
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNHCR	United States High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHAM	Winning Hearts and Minds

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page number
Figure 2.1.: Editorial philosophy (Morrish and Bradshaw 2012)	61
Figure 2.2.: Editorial content approaches (Caldas-Coulthard 1996)	63
Figure 4.1.: Issues selected, per sample	95
Figure 4.2.: Master list of propaganda devices	99
Figure 4.3.: Data analysis criteria	105
Figure 5.1.: Target market (in terms of gender)	115
Figure 5.2.: Changes in target in terms of gender	116
Figure 5.3.: Ratio of target market in terms of gender	116
Figure 5.4.: Advertisements versus advertorials	116
Figure 5.5.: Changes in advertisements and advertorials	117
Figure 5.6.: Ratio of advertisements and advertorials	117
Figure 5.7.: Language	118
Figure 5.8.: Changes in language	119
Figure 5.9.: Ratio of English versus Afrikaans	119
Figure 5.10.: What is advertised?	120
Figure 5.11.: Changes in what was advertised	120
Figure 5.12.: Ratio of products and services	120
Figure 5.13.: Ratio of products/services and other advertisements	120
Figure 5.14.: Products identified	121
Figure 5.15.: Changes in products advertised	122
Figure 5.16.: Ratio of vehicles and electronics	122
Figure 5.17.: Ratio of cigarettes and alcohol	122
Figure 5.18.: Services identified	123
Figure 5.19.: Changes in services advertised	123
Figure 5.20.: Ratio of vehicles, services and storage	124
Figure 5.21.: "Other" identified	125
Figure 5.22.: Changes in "other" identified	126
Figure 5.23.: Ratio of job and study/training/jobs	126
Figure 5.24.: Companies identified	127
Figure 5.25.: Changes in companies identified	128
Figure 5.26.: Ratio of SADF and Sandock-Austral	128
Figure 5.27.: Colour usage	129
Figure 5.28.: Changes in colour usage	129
Figure 5.29.: Ratio of yes versus no in colour usage	129
Figure 5.30.: Image placement	130
Figure 5.31.: Changes in image placement	131
Figure 5.32.: Ratio of yes versus no in image placement	131
Figure 5.33.: Propaganda devices	132
Figure 5.34.: Changes in propaganda devices	132
Figure 5.35.: Ratio of yes versus no in propaganda devices	132
Figure 5.36.: Propaganda devices used	133
Figure 5.37.: Changes in propaganda devices used	135
Figure 5.38.: Ratio of glittering generalities versus the other propaganda devices	135
Figure 5.39.: October 1970	138
Figure 5.40.: December 1970	138
Figure 5.41.: December 1981	138
Figure 5.42.: Masthead/title	138
Figure 5.43.: Changes in masthead/title	139
Figure 5.44.: Colour of masthead/title	140
Figure 5.45.: Changes in colour of masthead/title	140
Figure 5.46.: Typography of masthead/title	140
Figure 5.47.: Typography used on covers	141
Figure 5.48.: December 1975	141
Figure 5.49.: December 1976	141
Figure 5.50.: December 1977	141
Figure 5.51.: Changes in typography of masthead/title	142
Figure 5.52.: Logo on cover	142
Figure 5.53.: Changes in logo on cover	143

Figure 5.54.: Language of cover	143
Figure 5.55.: Changes in language of cover	143
Figure 5.56.: Type of images on cover	144
Figure 5.57.: Changes in type of images on cover	144
Figure 5.58.: Image(s) used on cover	145
Figure 5.59.: Cover lines used	146
Figure 5.60.: Changes in cover lines used	146
Figure 5.61.: Propaganda devices on covers	147
Figure 5.62.: Changes in propaganda devices used	148
Figure 5.63.: Ratio of glittering generalities and testimonial	148
Figure 5.64.: Ratio of glittering generalities and transfer	148
Figure 5.65.: Total content	152
Figure 5.66.: Pure editorial	153
Figure 5.67.: Changes in pure editorial	153
Figure 5.68.: Ratio of editor's letters and readers' letters	154
Figure 5.69.: Changes in feature articles	156
Figure 5.70.: Changes in articles	157
Figure 5.71.: Other types of content	157
Figure 5.72.: Changes in other types of content	158
Figure 5.73.: Language	159
Figure 5.74.: Changes in language	160
Figure 5.75.: Ratio of Afrikaans versus English	160
Figure 5.76.: Editorial approaches	161
Figure 5.77.: Changes in editorial approaches	164
Figure 5.78.: Ratio of reportage and human interest	164
Figure 5.79.: Images used	165
Figure 5.80.: Changes in images used	166
Figure 5.81.: Ratio of images used, yes and no	166
Figure 5.82.: Type of images used	167
Figure 5.83.: Changes in type of images used	167
Figure 5.84.: Ratio of types of images used, photograph and drawing	168
Figure 5.85.: Colour usage	168
Figure 5.86.: Propaganda devices versus none	169
Figure 5.87.: Propaganda devices	169
Figure 5.88.: Propaganda devices (without glittering generalities) versus none	173
Figure 5.89.: Changes in propaganda devices	174
Figure 5.90.: Ratio of glittering generalities and other propaganda devices	174
Figure 5.91.: Changes in propaganda devices (without glittering generalities)	174
Figure 5.92.: Changes in no propaganda devices identified	175
Figure 6.1.: December 1974	183
Figure 6.2.: December 1980	183
Figure 6.3.: December 1988	183
Figure 6.4.: Lexington 1970	216
Figure 6.5.: Texan 1981	216
Figure 6.6.: Revere 1981	216
Figure 6.7.: John Rolfe 1985	216
Figure 6.8.: Winston 1986	216
Figure 6.9.: Winston 1988	216
Figure 6.10.: Black Label 1970	217
Figure 6.11. Black Label 1971	217
Figure 6.12.: Squadron 1988	217

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Wartime lends itself to a particular form of communication. Conradie (2016: 35) states that it is a type of communication that promotes “coherent support for the war effort amongst the different factions” by implementing “radical measures”. This type of communication can easily lead to propagandist material, which can be used to promote or alternatively dissuade pro-war fervour. It is often used in an attempt to maintain public support for the war effort. This type of communication influences and/or helps shape a jingoistic public opinion regarding the war taking place.

This theory is no different when applied to the Border War of South Africa, which lasted 23 years making it one of Africa’s longest conflicts. During the years that the war was waged, the public’s sentiment towards the war changed, instigated by the continuing political unrest found both in South Africa and on its borders (Steenkamp 1989). Pro-state communication was considered necessary to subdue the objectors to the continuous warfare and promote militaristic values embodied in the apartheid Nationalistic rhetoric in South Africa. Various approaches were undertaken in order to sway public opinion, such as implementing “total war” (an act that assembles all of the assets of society to fight the war, while the prime concern of the government is that of warfare over non-combatant needs) and “total strategy” (a response made by the apartheid government to threats to southern Africa, with focus on political, economic, diplomatic and military defence) tactics (Scholtz 2006). The South African Defence Force (SADF) played a significant part in disseminating the ideology of the apartheid government (Seegers 1987) and therefore becomes a key apparatus in the ideological struggle and the swaying of public opinion in apartheid South Africa. However, we know little about the means of communication used by the SADF during wartime. It is with this background that the study was originated in order to investigate wartime communication for the majority of the conflict, aimed at the South African Defence Force as a primary market and the general public as a secondary market, disseminated by an official institution, in this case *Paratus* magazine.

1.2. Background and context

South Africa’s longest war started in 1966, when the South West Africa’s People’s Organisation (SWAPO) instigated guerrilla assaults from neighbouring countries against South Africa’s occupation of South West Africa (now known as Namibia). In effect, the South

African Defence Force (SADF) fought a counter-insurgency war against SWAPO. The counter-insurgency war later included the Angola's People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) once Angola achieved independence from Portugal in 1975. This resulted in a battle of ideologies, between the proxies of Cuba and Russia, encompassing Communism and Marxist ideologies, often labelled as the “*rooi gevaar*” (red danger), versus South Africa's own Nationalist ideology. South Africa itself was attempting to implement a revolutionary war, by reinforcing the apartheid political movement. A revolutionary war consists mainly of propaganda and political work, in order to establish a revolutionary movement among society, to “win their trust and support” (Scholtz 2006: 21). Vo Nguyen Giap (1968: 68) reiterates this idea by stating “political activities were more important than military activities and fighting less important than propaganda”. This also led to the “total strategy” implemented by P.W. Botha, the then Minister of Defence and later Prime Minister of the National Party (NP), in which all “means and instruments available should be effectively integrated into one consolidated effort” (Scholtz 2006: 24-25).

In 1967 conscription in the SADF became mandatory for white males, for up to a year. In 1977 the conscription years were increased to two years' mandatory service in the SADF (Addison 1980: 207, Baines 2009: 22, 2014: 2, Kotze 2015: 42, Rees 2012: 4). From 1972 black men were employed in the capacity of policemen and soldiers.

The end of the Border War in 1989 came about due to pressure from the United Nations for South Africa to accept UN Resolution 435, which calls for the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and for the transfer of power to the people of Namibia. The end of the Soviet Union, symbolised by the fall of the Berlin wall in November 1989 (and metaphorically the fall of communism) also influenced South Africa's stance for the ongoing conflict (United Nation Security Council, n.d.). The end of the Border War also revealed signs of upcoming change as South Africa entered a democratic movement only five years after the conflict was declared over.

1.2.1. *Paratus* – a brief history

Between 1966 and 1989, SADF communications were mostly placed in its official magazine, *Paratus*. *Paratus* magazine was born out of *Kommando* (alternatively known as *Commando*) that had been in publication since 1949, appearing monthly and as a bilingual magazine, published in Afrikaans and English simultaneously. In 1970, the name was changed to *Paratus*, following a reader competition launched by *Kommando*; the criteria for the winning name are

unknown. *Paratus*' first publication appeared in October 1970, and its final publication appeared in April 1994; this magazine was also published bilingually, like its predecessor, in Afrikaans and English concurrently. *Paratus* was generally aimed at members of the military, featuring a wide variety of information regarding ranks, armaments and strategies. However, the magazine was also aimed at the general public (with family members of SADF members as the secondary market). The primary aim of *Paratus* was to “mirror events and developments in and around” the SADF (Moll 1981: 20).

1.2.1.1. The title of the magazine as part of the editorial philosophy

The first issue of *K(C)ommando* was published in December 1949. Since its inception it was published monthly and bilingually, appearing in Afrikaans and English. In October 1970 it was announced that the official periodical of the SADF would feature a new name, namely *Paratus*. The new title of the magazine was brought about a call to the readers of the then *K(O)mmando* in 1969 to a competition to change the name of the official magazine. It is stated in the October issue of 1970 that only one reader, namely Commander J. Ploeger from Pretoria, sent in a suggestion for the name change, and thus he won the competition's prize of R20.00. This resulted in the name change to *Paratus*. The name is derivative of “*paraat*” which loosely translates to “preparedness”. Several references within the content of the magazine refer to military and spiritual preparedness as a key characteristic of the SADF, and therefore the editorial team of the magazine deemed the new name as appropriate. The spiritual suggests an underlying religious tone used to narrate the official magazine of the SADF; in doing so, the magazine appears to adhere to Afrikaner Nationalism policy and doctrine. The described preparedness also alludes to the ongoing Border War, and the South African military's readiness against the threat of Communism.

With the change in title, the magazine also had a change in editorial approach. Up until middle October 1970, the editorial team consisted of South African civilians that reported to a military editorial committee. The editorial committee was made up of representatives of the three forces that made up the SADF namely the South African Navy, the South African Airforce and the South African Army. This editorial committee gave way in 1973 in order for *Paratus* to become part of the Directorate Public Relations; this suggests that a more official and formal communication process was deemed necessary, as well as a magazine that formed part of the greater communications of the SADF. The editorial team became entirely militarised with the inception of *Paratus*. This was further enforced in May 1974 with the appointment of a Senior

Staff Officer Magazines, namely Captain JC Niewoudt. The editorial committee from 1974 onwards consisted of the Director Public Relations, the Senior Staff Officer Magazines (from the SA Navy), the SSO Communication Services, the three communicative officers of the South African Navy, the South African Airforce and the South African Army, as well as the editor of *Paratus*. This change in staff is very important for the editorial direction of the magazine, as with the inception of the new editorial team the communication medium became controlled by the military, meaning that the output and publication of the magazine would consist of the decision-making of the SADF and to an extension, the NP. From this point onwards, as can be seen in the name change, staff change and eventual attempts to rebrand the magazine, the SADF deliberately associated itself with the magazine and therefore one can come to the conclusion that the magazine represented the beliefs, values and ideological stances of its institution, namely the SADF and the NP. The editor-in-chief of *Paratus*, Major JH Moody, was in charge of the magazine until the magazine disbanded in 1994.

1.2.1.2. The purpose of the magazine as part of the editorial philosophy

In Chapter 1, Moll (1981: 20) is quoted stating that the primary aim of *Paratus* was to “mirror events and developments in and around” the SADF. This is reiterated in the commemorative issue published in an article written by Major Müller (1974: 18), asserting that *Paratus* had since its outset (even when known as *K(C)ommando*) sought to be a worthy reflection of the SADF, while keeping the readers up to date on the interests concerning the Defence Force. The notion of “mirror” implies objectivity and therefore one becomes inclined to believe the content of the magazine to be trustworthy and true, as opposed to question the content and compare, where possible, with other related sources. Therefore, the magazine framed itself as to be a reputable source of information, and because of the Defence Act No 44 of 1957, the magazine was also one of few media outlets given permission to publish content and photographs pertaining to the South African military, the magazine essentially was left as an undisputed source of information. Ultimately the magazine strove to build camaraderie and team spirit within the SADF, while fostering better cooperation and strengthening a better view of the SADF.

Paratus itself made mention that its editorial team first and foremost were made up of military personnel and were not professional journalists or writers. The editorial team characterised *Paratus* as inclusive, specifically mentioning that the editorial team was made up of members

of the highest rank to national servicemen, and all members within the SADF were encouraged to contribute, further restating solidarity within the SADF.

It is important to note here that magazines tend to be a heteroglossial communication tool, meaning that more than one viewpoint is provided in a text. This alludes to the fact that more than one author contributes to the writing of the content found within a magazine. This supplies the possibility that the voice of objection to the overall editorial philosophy may come to the fore in individual elements within the magazine. This means that the purpose of the magazine may have been impacted by scores of contributors in order to communicate the overall editorial philosophy of the magazine as well as the institution it represented, namely the SADF.

1.3. Problem statement and rationale

Border War related studies have only recently become a field for investigation. A study completed by van der Waag and Visser (2009) investigated the available literature (academic and non-fiction) on the Border War as a subject matter and identified the following as topical fields and the main trends in scholarship currently: official historical literature, campaign and battlefield history, regimental history, and finally biography, autobiography and prosopography, which is the study of the common characteristics of a historical group, used when individual bibliographies are difficult to trace, ultimately resulting in a collective study. This clearly identifies a gap in the research field of communication during the Border War, as research with the main focus on war communication published by a national defence force, has not been done in South Africa, and has only been briefly touched on in an international context. Thus, this research will take on a different perspective of the Border War by focussing on communication and its uses of propaganda. This research will add to and build upon the existing scholarship related to Border War studies, as well as propaganda studies in an international context.

Paratus magazine was and still is to this day frequently referenced as a source for those studying the various areas of the Border War as revealed throughout the literature (Addison 1982, Bredenkamp and Wessels 2014, Cock 1988, Conway 2013, Fokkens 2006, Kotze 2015, Moll 1981, Schaap 2011, van der Waag and Visser 2009, van Heerden 2014, Visser 2006). However, no systematic analysis has been done on the publication itself in the context of the Border War, with a study by Warden (2017) examining *Paratus* in conjunction with *Salut* and *SA Soldier* from a post-Border War and near-democratic perspective (1990-1994). Since *Paratus* is seen as such a valuable source of information, it could be significant to study the

source itself to gain insight into the editorial philosophy of the magazine and why it was considered to be the medium of choice of the SADF, and as a result to understand why a magazine was chosen by the SADF to be an official disseminator of propaganda.

Paratus is the official magazine of the SADF, and one of only two magazines to be financed by the SADF (with *Militaria* being the other). *Militaria* is an academic journal and therefore is not suitable for the objective of the current study, since the current study will attempt to understand how the magazine portrayed itself to the general public as opposed to academics or scholars. *Paratus* is also the only regularly published magazine on any aspect of the SADF.

Moll (1981: 20) states that *Paratus* is the most significant “organ for the dissemination of military propaganda” and therefore it becomes a crucial case to examine in order to get a clearer understanding of the SADF’s disposition in the overall creation of propaganda and to act as a political mouthpiece for the SADF and in turn the National Party, the apartheid government party.

1.4. Research problem

1.4.1. Main research problem

This study will be guided by the following main research question:

To what extent was *Paratus* magazine used as a propaganda medium for the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, in terms of its editorial philosophy, during the Border War?

1.4.2. Sub-research questions

1.4.2.1. What are the main propaganda devices used in magazines for ideological purposes?

1.4.2.2. What propaganda devices are evident specifically in *Paratus*?

1.4.2.3. How did the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* change during the Border War?

1.4.2.4. Did the changes in the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* influence the propaganda devices used?

1.5. Purpose and objectives of the study

The overall purpose of the study at hand is to investigate the official magazine of the SADF, *Paratus*, as a communication medium for propaganda during the time of the Border War, 1970-1988. This will be achieved by examining the editorial philosophy as can be gathered through the analysis of the content that the magazine regularly published. The editorial philosophy, as

will be explained in the clarification of key terms below, is considered to be the ethos of a publication. By investigating the editorial philosophy, key information becomes available regarding the stance that the magazine had towards subject matters related to its time. As the magazine originates as an official institution's communication medium, the overall ideology of its mother institution (either the SADF or the NP) will become apparent in its content. The objective of the study is then to gather what propaganda devices were used by the editorial board, how the editorial philosophy had to adapt to follow the changing political situation in South Africa, and the greater international environment such as the Cold War, and whether or not the changes in the editorial philosophy resulted in an altered approach to propaganda usage by the editorial team.

1.6. Clarification of key concepts

1.6.1. The use of the term *Border War*

Baines (2014: 2) discusses the different connotations that various people within society have associated with the name *Border War*, the war waged between 1966 and 1989. Alternative terms for the conflict include the “Bush War” and “Angola and Namibian conflict” (Baines 2015). As this period in time is also associated with a lot of injustice and is considered to be emotionally loaded, it is important to be respectful of the effect this period had on those who were negatively impacted. In this study the term *Border War* will be used, without the intention to offend those who are antagonistic towards the term and how it was presented as well as what it symbolised during the apartheid era, or to promote any of the ideologies or political movements that the term encompassed. The term *Border War* will be used as the most generic and unemotional term during this thesis to contextualise South Africa during this period. The name *Border War* is also the most common usage of this period in time amongst scholars, therefore it is also deemed the most appropriate term.

1.6.2. Propaganda

Propaganda is notoriously difficult to define, and therefore it is needed to look at a variety of definitions, in order to establish a definition that is appropriate for the objective at hand. The concept is a contested one, and this will be discussed further in Chapter 2. However, the following definition is deemed fitting for this study (compiled from assorted definitions, and therefore cannot be credited to a single source):

Propaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt by the propagandist to advance their objective(s) through the manipulation of text, images, symbols

and data in order to gain active or passive participation from the public to whom it is directed.

It should be noted that the concept of “manipulation” is not inherently sinister, as it only refers to the idea that (any) material undergoes a process of editing by the producer, so that the agenda of the producer is met (see more on agenda-setting theory and editorial philosophy in Chapter 2).

1.6.3. War propaganda

War or wartime propaganda differs from other forms of propaganda by having a clear objective that has a connection with a specific war, and usually comes in two forms, either pro-war (usually used by governments and war industrialists) and anti-war (generally used by conscientious objectors or enemy supporters). Brown (1969:12) suggests that the propagandist aims to stimulate an emotional connotation to the war, with emotions such as hatred or approval of the war effort. Propaganda is, ultimately, used as a weapon during wartime.

1.6.4. Agenda-setting theory

Agenda-setting theory is a theory derived from mass communication theory, with specific focus on news representation. Agenda-setting theory asserts that the media are presented in such a way as to influence the way in which the information is being conveyed and finally deduced by the consumer (or reader, in terms of print culture). It establishes focus on certain events, issues, and people, as well as directs the value that consumers add to the information, as Shaw (1979) argues that readers are more likely to add value to information when the media represent the information as valuable. It has been argued by some that agenda-setting theory (and other counter-parts such as framing and indexing, and gatekeeping theory that are considered to form part of mass communication theory) can be likened to certain devices and elements found in propaganda. These concepts form the basis of the theoretical framework for this study and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

1.6.5. Editorial philosophy

The editorial philosophy defines the reason for a specific magazine’s existence and its editorial pattern. The following elements make up the various aspects of an editorial philosophy: title, purpose of the magazine, type of content (including editorial, design and advertising), and finally, the voice or tenor of the magazine itself (Morrish and Bradshaw 2012: 33).

1.6.6. Nationalism

Nationalism is regarded as a political ideology that usually appertains to patriotism, which is allegiance to one's country. However, it is also considered to be an extreme form of patriotism with derogatory connotations attached to the term.

Afrikaner nationalism stems from the original term and is therefore a political ideology that has affiliation with the Afrikaner community. It was impacted by anti-British beliefs, because of the Anglo-Boer wars. Afrikaner nationalism is considered to be a key ideology for Afrikaners in South Africa, reinforced by their own language that is Afrikaans and the belief that the *volk* (Afrikaner people) should govern South Africa and separate themselves from others, in terms of race as well as language (Bulmer and Solomos, 2012: 1, Dubow, 1991: 2).

1.7. Methodology

1.7.1. Single case study

The research project will make use of a single historical case study design – this means that the study will only investigate a singular case, in order to complete the study, namely *Paratus* magazine from its first year of publication in December 1970 (the first issue of the magazine already took place in October 1970) until the final issue during the year 1988 (Baxter and Jack 2008: 549, Gromm, Hammersley and Foster 2000: 51, Pickard 2013: 104, Yin 2003: 39). This makes up the publication lifespan during the Border War.

1.7.2. Longitudinal analysis

In order to achieve applicable and justifiable data, it is essential that a longitudinal study must form part of the research methodology. Therefore, for the sake of this study a single recurring case namely *Paratus* magazine will be examined by looking at the archives of the magazine; these archives will be subject to data gathering, in terms of content, design and advertising (this includes the table of contents, editor-in-chief's letter, readers' letters, interviews, feature articles, advertisements and other content).

Paratus magazine was published monthly, making a total of 283 issues for its entire life of publication. For the sake of this study, the sample of the case study has been identified as the final issue of each year the magazine was published during the course of the Border War, in order to be consistent. This means that the December issue of each year, ranging from 1970 to 1988, will be subject to analysis. This will result in a total of 19 magazine issues that will be examined in their entirety. The final issue of each year of the magazine was chosen since final

issues usually give reportage on other eventful happenings that occurred during the year, therefore highlights of each year will be apparent, while changes will also reveal themselves in this longitudinal manner, by examining the magazine during the entire Border War timeframe.

Longitudinal analysis proves to be an effective way of analysing magazines, as is proven in the study by Rory Pilosof (2012) on voices of white farmers in the magazine *The Farmer*, over a period of 40 years. This longitudinal method allowed Pilosof to make conclusions regarding continuities and the dissolving relationships between farmers and land, belonging and race.

1.7.3. Content analysis

In order to answer the proposed research questions, it is necessary to make use of content analysis. According to Babbie (2008: 350) content analysis is a method frequently used to study recorded communication and is also a form of unassuming research that permits the researcher to examine the topic without influencing the outcome. Mouton (2015: 165) suggests that the research will analyse the content of texts and goes on to say that content refers to “words, meanings, pictures, symbols, themes or any message that can be communicated”.

The identified issues of the magazine will be analysed in their entirety, including the cover, advertisements, articles, letters and design features. By analysing the magazine in its entirety the researcher will be able to identify any and all key themes and changes that occur in the magazine. The editorial philosophy of a magazine can only be clearly and reliably identified by analysing design, content and advertising components of the said magazine. Klaehn (2009: 49) observes that “sources, emphasis, placement, fullness of treatment, context, tone and evident range of debate on central issues and topics” are recognisable and therefore researchable elements that make up media discourse, and as a result the editorial philosophy of a magazine. When one applies propaganda devices and/or techniques to the editorial philosophy one will be able to identify whether or not the editorial philosophy adheres to propaganda approaches. Therefore, the editorial philosophy of a magazine plays a significant role in terms of the representation of informative material. By analysing these aspects, one will be able to identify key emphasis of the editorial philosophy and in turn the editorial board to gain understanding as to what was considered worthy and important to communicate to the readers of the magazine. By analysing these aspects of the editorial philosophy in a qualitative approach, one will be able to gather details in an exhaustive fashion.

1.7.4. Literature overview

A literature review is vital for this study to ensure that it is established in a contextual and theoretical framework. By having the case study rooted in a comprehensive literature review, the study will no longer function in isolation. The two key strands that this study brings together are wartime and communications. The main trends in scholarship on the Border War include topics relating to war, the SADF on a macro level, the social and political context of South Africa circa 1960-1990, and dominant ideologies found in South Africa in the suggested timeframe. Gary Baines (2004, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2014) and Leopoldt Scholtz (1998, 2006, 2013) are invaluable sources regarding the Border War, and will be used alongside other scholars to provide historical context to the war. Graeme Callister (2007) and Graeme Conway (2008, 2012) are two specific scholars that have investigated the use of conscription by the SADF and will be used as a departure point for the examination of conscriptions, while Annette Seegers's (1987) work on the SADF itself will be used to illuminate its role in the military and the propagation of the apartheid movement. A brief overview of anti-apartheid struggle material/propaganda will be mentioned by making use of Houston and Magubane's (2006) work, *The road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2 (1970-1980)* to give perspective on other propaganda material circulating during this period. Saul Dubow (1992) is one of the pioneering scholars in Afrikaner nationalism and his work will be used to explain the link between Calvinism and Afrikaner nationalism and how this can be perceived as the predominant ideologies of the time that the apartheid regime was based on.

The study is situated within the framework of communications and magazine theory. Mass communication and its many areas focussing specifically on strategic communication, with specific attention to agenda-setting and framing theory, will also be analysed as a dissemination tool for propaganda. Studies of propaganda, its various definitions, propaganda theorists, war propaganda, types of propaganda and specific concentration on propaganda devices and techniques, will thus be considered, with specific attention to Moll's (1981) study on the use of propaganda in *Paratus* of a specific case study, namely the 21 (Black) Battalion, while Lasswell's (1927) work on propaganda in the First World War, Miller *et al's* (1937) Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) during the Second World War, and Herman and Chomsky's (1988) Propaganda Model will be considered for understanding of propaganda devices. These theories and/or models will not only contextualise the research problem but create a backdrop to which the research questions can compare and as a result answer. In addition, this theoretical

background will be essential in developing a list of elements relating to propaganda that can be used as the main initial criteria for the content analysis of *Paratus*.

1.8. Limitations of study and scope

Yin (2003: 42) explains that a potential limitation of a single case design is that a specific case may not necessarily convey the expected results, and therefore the researcher needs to investigate with caution so as to minimise the possibility of misrepresentation of evidence. Since the suggested research methodology lacks multiple cases it is difficult to make generalisations regarding the influence of print war communication on Afrikaner ideology and rhetoric. But as has been stated previously the study will make use of a longitudinal case study that attempts to understand trends, representation and changes in a singular source, and therefore this results in justifying a singular case study.

Another limitation is that the study proposes only a specific timeframe and does not cover the entire publication lifecycle of the magazine. This is done so that the focus remains on the context of wartime, causing the study to be bound to this period, namely 1970 to 1988. As this study is focused on wartime communication through the use of propaganda, it is necessary for the study to be limited to the Border War itself. Again, the use of content analysis on all aspects of the editorial philosophy serves as a credit to the study and therefore serves as a counteractive method to the single issue over the span of 20 years. In this method, more detailed analysis can be done and overall provide a clearer view of yearly change, as opposed to changes between issues. The latter is an important study, but does not form the scope of said study.

Furthermore, the study aims only to examine aspects of propaganda and ideology that can be identified and linked to the editorial philosophy of *Paratus*. This means that aspects such as the operations of the magazine and the history of the magazine itself will not be investigated. In the case of themes and representations the study will draw threads to the overall propaganda base of the study.

The content is also subject to misinterpretation and bias from the researcher. Nevertheless, the researcher will systematically ensure that all design, advertising and content components of the suggested magazine issues are analysed in order to draw up key trends and changes. Furthermore, the researcher will make use of a comprehensive literature review in order to contextualise all findings to ensure that the analysis is as unbiased and objective as possible.

The literature review, and the respective use of criteria in search of propaganda devices will contribute to the validity and reliability of the study overall.

1.9. Value of study

The main original contribution of this study is its examination of an official defence force publication during wartime, within the context of propaganda devices. Furthermore, this study will provide insight into the use of mass communication theories and devices as propaganda devices that can be used in future propaganda and mass communication related studies.

The study will provide information that can be in turn used as a valuable source in the studies of the Border War. The study will attempt to understand how the readers of a propaganda magazine may have been influenced in terms of their belief systems and/or helped shape nationalistic public opinions of the Border War while it was in progress (Conradie 2016: 5-6). The study will also give a unique perspective of Nationalistic and pro-state propaganda, as opposed to Liberalist and anti-state and anti-apartheid struggle material that has been the focus by researchers, both in South Africa and internationally, to date (Coombes 2003, Gilbert 2007, Seidman 2001 to name but a few). This will be useful in order to better understand the Afrikaner nationalist ideology of the time, in a war-setting.

1.10. Division of chapters

In the introductory chapter of this study, background and contextualising information has been presented in order to place the magazine in a greater socio-political framework. The rationale and justification for the study at hand as well as the specific singular case study of *Paratus* itself has been discussed. The research problem in terms of the primary and secondary research questions has been laid out, with the main research problem being to what extent was *Paratus* used as a propaganda medium for the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, in terms of its editorial philosophy. A brief research methodology that is deemed suitable for the study has also been described. Finally, the initial chapter also listed a few key concepts to ensure that the use of these concepts is consistent and coherent.

The literature review will take place over two chapters, with the first chapter investigating the theoretical approaches that will ground the study in the wider literature available on the current study, while the second chapter of the literature review will provide a more detailed overview of the historical context. Chapter 2 will focus on propaganda as theory which will form a key base for this literature review, including definitions, war propaganda, and devices and/or

techniques. Mass communication as a tool for propaganda, and magazine theory will be key to understand the overall editorial philosophy of the said case, as well as to understand mass media as a form of mass reach.

Chapter 3 will continue and conclude the literature review by examining other themes such as the Border War, the SADF, the social and political context of South Africa, circa 1960-1990, as well as ideologies including Nationalism and Calvinism.

Chapter 4 will concentrate on the methodology of the study. The research design and methods will be discussed, as well as techniques for validity and reliability, and data collection instruments. Furthermore, this section will explore the limitations of the proposed methodology as well as alternative research methodologies.

Chapter 5 will consist of data gathering and analysis, thus the chapter will be the practical component of the content and text analysis. By implementing the suggestions for the longitudinal framework, the magazine will be subjected to analysis of the table of contents, the editor's letter, readers' letters, featured articles, advertisements, interviews, articles and other content material that may appear in the magazine. Any discrepancies during the data gathering process will be given specific mention.

Chapter 6 will discuss the data that has been gathered and analysed, therefore the findings, in relation to the research questions will form the discussion of the chapter. Key themes and changes during the suggested timeframe, propaganda methods, and finally, the manner in which the magazine was used as a propaganda medium, will be considered.

Chapter 7 will be the final chapter of the thesis. All final thoughts will be encapsulated as well as recommendations for future studies will be suggested. This will conclude the research study.

1.11. Conclusion

The research problem has aimed to propose a plan for investigation of the manner in which an official magazine, namely *Paratus* can be used as a propaganda medium by an official institution of war, in order to promote the Afrikaner nationalist ideology of the period.

The proposed research project will also go on to investigate the change in terms of the editorial philosophy of *Paratus*, as well as to identify what propaganda devices are evident in the magazine. Finally, the investigation will seek to answer whether the changes in the editorial

philosophy influenced the propaganda devices used, and in effect the way the magazine itself was used as a propaganda medium.

The study proposes to make use of a qualitative research design, by implementing a single case study and combining it with a simple, longitudinal study. The case study will make use of content analysis of the data gathered by examining the magazine in its entirety, including the cover, advertisements, articles, letters and design features. The study will be rooted in a comprehensive literature review in order to ensure that findings are linked to related matters and previous studies and thus avoiding bias from the researcher.

CHAPTER 2: Literature review – Theoretical approaches

2.1. Introduction

By having discussed the conceptual framework in the introductory chapter of this thesis, it is necessary to delve deeper into key theories and theoretical approaches of using a magazine as a propaganda medium, and to bring the subject-matter closer to home, to the local setting of the Border War and the social South African context of the time. Mouton (2015: 86-87) and Pickard (2013: 25) explain that a literature review is used as a complementary research methodology since it will form the theoretical framework for empirical research. A literature review will root the study in this said theoretical framework by placing the research problem in historical context and assisting the researcher by analysing data in comparison to other similar research projects (Leedy 1980: 64-65). The literature review of this study will be divided into two parts, with the current chapter focusing on theoretical approaches, while the following chapter will finish off the literature review with an overview of the historical context that enveloped the mass communication medium that is *Paratus*.

This chapter will present comprehensive reading into propaganda, its many definitions and theorists both on an international and local scale. War propaganda as a specific type of propaganda will be analysed and will be placed in context by looking at examples from the First World War and the Second World War, as both world wars contributed to war propaganda as we know it today. Propaganda devices and/or techniques, with specific reference to Lasswell's criteria, the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) and the Propaganda Model (PM), will also be given attention in order to set a list of criteria to answer the research question for this thesis: to what extent was *Paratus* magazine used as a propaganda medium for the Afrikaner ideology, in terms of the editorial philosophy? Furthermore, mass communication theory will be investigated as a tool for propaganda in order to place the use of a magazine as a dissemination tool in a theoretical structure. Mass media and strategic communication, as well agenda-setting and framing are key features of mass communication that will be discussed. Magazines' use in the military or in war will contribute to the understanding of the medium as a wartime communication medium.

Magazine theory is another branch of information that will be looked at in order to understand *Paratus* as a magazine, and to achieve a clearer recognition of its editorial philosophy. Specific attention will be given to editorial philosophy and all its various components, including editorial content, design, voice and tone.

2.2. Propaganda

It can be found throughout the literature that propaganda as a concept has been discussed by many theorists and scholars, with the twentieth century being labelled as “a century of propaganda” (Jowell and O’Donnell 1986: 201, Monama 2016: 145, Scriver 2015: 395). The original meaning of the word was associated with missionary service, as it was closely connected with the Catholic Church. Brown (1969: 10-11) states that the distribution of ideas or beliefs as implemented by the Catholic Church can be seen as cultivated and artificial dissemination and was a deliberate act. Up until the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the word propaganda was used to refer to any plan or project, system and/or association that was used to disseminate new ideas and the word was mostly used by officials within the Catholic Church. When the word propaganda was used in the general vernacular it had positive or valued connotations (Botha 2000: 8, Brown 1969: 11-12, Jowett and O’Donnell 1986: 48, McArthur 1992: 812). Botha (2000: 8), however, argues that propaganda already had a stigma attached to its definition since its inception, as the missionaries of the Catholic Church used violence in some cases as a means to spread and force their message, therefore alluding to the manipulation of public opinion.

It was only with the inception of First World War that propaganda as it is known today was implemented on a large, international scale. The negative connotations associated with propaganda were only reinforced by the vast propaganda campaign undertaken in the Second World War, most noticeably by Hitler’s Nazi Party. Propaganda has been part of society ever since in a more noticeable manner and is not restricted to wartime. In today’s information society, the public is bombarded by news or information in a variety of media. The majority of news or information disseminated through these channels is not neutral and the overall objective is to influence the receiver’s perception in order to advance the sender’s objective or motive, which alludes to mass communication approaches, specifically agenda-setting and framing (see point 2.2.3.4.1. and 2.2.3.4.2.) (Botha 2000: 2, Hachten 1992: 114). Although a propaganda campaign should be judged on what the propagandist’s end-goal is, the general consensus regarding propaganda remains that it is untrustworthy and devious (Botha 2000: 9, Holtman 1967: 165).

2.2.1. Definition

Propaganda as a concept presents pitfalls in terms of establishing a definition due to the various sub-research fields that propaganda is linked to, including but not limited to communication

studies, sociology, psychology, political science and military studies, and within each of these sub-fields different definitions arise and are applied to the respective studies. As a result, no single definition is used in the varying disciplines (Botha 2000: 9, Katz 1982: 43, McLaurin 1982: 2). Therefore, to create, so to speak, a definition that will be suitable for the study at hand, it is necessary to view a few of the various existing definitions related to propaganda and what propaganda entails.

Lasswell, as one of the original scholars on propaganda as a research field, wrote in 1927 that “[p]ropaganda is the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols”. He put emphasis on public opinion and their manipulation through stimuli which include images, references to historical prejudices and ideas of racial superiority while symbols could be of a verbal or visual manner to evoke a specific and favoured response. In Lasswell’s original definition he suggested that propaganda could either be positive or negative and that the *context* is the deciding factor. Doob (1935, 1948) alternatively wrote that propaganda can be regarded as “a *systematic attempt* by an *interested* individual (or individuals) to *control* the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of *suggestions* and, consequently, to control their actions” (emphasis in the original). The language used by Doob suggests that he believed propaganda to be inherently negative and therefore he falls short to provide a neutral definition of propaganda. However, Doob’s definition recognises the vital part that culture and society play in terms of contributing to the foundations of propaganda as well as the stimuli to be utilised for a specific reaction. In this definition one can see that propaganda can be used as a tool to be employed, however, to suggest that propaganda is inherently negative is false. Childs (1949) writes that propaganda entails the “... dissemination of ideas and information for the purpose of inducing or intensifying specific attitudes and actions”.

Qualter (1962: 3) states that propaganda is “... the deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given situation the action of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist”. Ellul (1965) writes that “[p]ropaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization”. Willcox (2005: 16) suggests that this definition as provided by Ellul consists of elements that are considered imperative for a successful definition of propaganda. The choice of the phrase “active or passive participation” is greatly important since this phrase permits the scope of public reaction to the propaganda

suggested to include both active supporters, but also those who passively accept the propagandist's objective and do not dispute or oppose it. Therefore, the propagandist can be content with quiet acceptance of the passive part of the population who are hesitant to question the propagandist's motives or ideologies. Brown (1969: 25) is of the opinion that propaganda is "... the attempt to induce in others the acceptance of a specific belief without giving any self-evident or logical ground for its acceptance, whether this exists or not".

Moll (1981) suggests that propaganda can be regarded as continuous and repetitive and must have a well-defined ideological direction. Jowett and O'Donnell (1986: 16), pioneers in propaganda research, advocate the following definition of propaganda, "[p]ropaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desire intent of the propagandist". Castriota (1986: 5) suggests that propaganda is the aggressive dissemination of a distinct point of view for a specific purpose. De Vito (1986: 130) is of the opinion that propaganda is "[O]rganized persuasion; the spreading of ideas and values through a variety of persuasion devices.

Frankel (1988: 142) proposes that propaganda is "any systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose" and goes on to say that this attempt is usually determined by the national interests of the propagandist and therefore it can be deemed as unsuitable for other nations. Thomson (1999: 5) encourages the definition of propaganda as "the use of communication skills of all kinds to achieve attitudinal or behavioural changes among one group of people by another".

Willcox (2005: 17-18) found through his research that propaganda cannot always be predetermined, since the propagandist may be forced to play his or her hand if circumstances allow, however he quite clearly writes that "editorial policy could arguably be described as systematic only if one suggests complicity with the government propagandist". This recognition is important for a study regarding mass media, in a format such as a magazine where the editorial philosophy is a key factor in how the magazine is operated and what editorial decisions are made regarding content recognised as suitable for the magazine's target market. Willcox (2005: 20) advances the definition of propaganda as follows, "[P]ropaganda is the conscious or unconscious attempt by the propagandist to advance their cause through the manipulation of the opinion, perception and behaviour of a targeted group", and concludes by stating that it is the propagandist's exertion to manipulate "text, images, symbols and data" to the public that differentiate propaganda from other forms of communication. Payne (2009: 110-

111) suggests that propaganda is “the deliberate attempt to persuade the public through communication of a narrative, that your particular idea is right” with the intent to sway public opinion and goes on to say that although facts are important in propaganda, perception and memory are deciding factors in successful propaganda. Scriver (2015) goes on to say that propaganda is used to “direct public sympathies and attitudes”.

Therefore, for the sake of this study, as briefly stated in Chapter 1, different approaches to the definition of propaganda have been amalgamated to create a definition suitable for the investigation at hand. The following definition will be used, as it is deemed to be the most comprehensive definition related to media and propaganda as this definition includes characteristics associated with mass communication approaches as well as qualities of propaganda:

Propaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt by the propagandist to advance their objective(s) through the manipulation of text, images, symbols and data in order to gain active or passive participation from the public to whom it is directed.

It is important to note here that the propagandist may not acknowledge that the communication conveyed to the target audience is necessarily propaganda, but may rather be regarded as the propagandist’s “truth”. Therefore, in the context of *Paratus* and the institution that it represented it becomes possible that the editors of the magazine represented from their perspective the true account of affairs and happenings in the SADF. The advantage of historical analysis is that from an objective point of view, one can now deem that communication is or is not propaganda, through systematic examination. It therefore also becomes all the more important to make use of definitions as set out as above, as the definition does make leeway for both positive and negative communication, and as the receiver of the communication one can then make one’s own interpretation. At the very least, this definition alludes to the idea that deliberate intention with the promotion of a specific agenda forms part of propaganda, whether or not the propagandist views the communication as propaganda or not.

2.2.2. War propaganda

The First World War was unique in many ways, with the most significant aspect of the war being that it is regarded as the first “total war” in modern history (Monama 2016: 145). This meant that it was a war in which there are few restrictions in terms of the weapons used, the terrain or partakers in fighting during the war involved, or the goals sought. Therefore, the general rules of war are disregarded in total war. Jowett and O’Donnell (1986: 207) note that

it is a war which requires the “cooperation of entire populations, both militarily and psychologically”. With the impetus of mass communication through mass media, the production of propaganda could be done on a large scale (Scriver 2015: 395). Brown (1969: 11) mentions that it was during the First World War that “propaganda was used as an official weapon in total warfare of modern times” and that it was used in an attempt to impact the final result of the war. The need to establish public support for the war effort for all parties, spearheaded the “development of modern war propaganda” (Scriver 2015), while borrowing methods from the disciplines of marketing, advertising and public relations (important here, see strategic communication 2.2.3.2.) (Brown 1969, Kingsbury 2010). As Bernays (1942: 6) mentions, it was during the First World War that the various parties involved recognised the importance of “selling their national aims and policies” to the general public, whether targeting their own nations in terms of morale and support for the war (Monger 2011, 2014) or targeting the enemy to demoralise, weaken and avert support for the war effort (Brown 1969). The use of propaganda as a tool of warfare during the First World War became all the more important as it was realised that sustaining morale was just as valuable as “sustaining the military effort” (Taylor 2003: 176). Aron (1954) writes that modern propaganda was deemed imperative since the soldier and the citizen had essentially become a singular person. The general public needed motivation from its leaders, most notably the government of the time, to justify the reason to the public, who regarded itself as innately conflict-free, to enter the war.

Brown (1969: 82) describes that the chief aims during the First World War, and argues that these aims can be seen from every war since, are: (1) to assemble and manage hatred against the enemy, while undermining the morale of the enemy; (2) to assure the Allied forces of the validity of the Allied cause, and to expand as well as maintain the “fighting spirit”; (3) to establish and nourish the camaraderie between the Allied parties as well as reinforce the belief that the Allied parties were honourable in their effort and would be triumphant; and finally, (4) to establish and corroborate the alliance of the populace fighting with the Allied party. It is clear from these aims that the general idea of building strong interrelationships with the Allied forces and fostering good attitudes towards the war effort, while establishing attitudes of hatred towards the enemy, was key to the propaganda of the First World War.

Brown (1969: 12) writes that in war propaganda the propagandist is attempting to evoke strong emotions of hatred or approval for or against another group from motives of expediency, strategy or plain greed. Emotional pressure is fundamental to the whole process of propaganda creation.

2.2.3. Mass communication and propaganda

Mass communication as a subject field is expansive and an important component for the understanding of the manner in which propaganda is communicated to a mass public. Mass communication can take place through a variety of different media, such as print media, film, broadcasting, recorded music and new electronic media (Baran and Davis 2015, Fourie 2015, McQuail 2011, Wright 1959).

The definition of mass communication is quite expansive as Wright (1959) explains. As is the case with Wright's (1959: 4) definition, the study will make use of a sociological orientation to the subject of mass communication, therefore the focus remains on human communication, i.e. examination of the relationship among "phenomena in the human or social world" (Baran and Davis 2015: 8). Mass communication takes place when a sender employs a technology, which is available in a variety of media, to communicate with a large audience (Baran and Davis 2015: 5, Janowitz 1968: 41-53). Mass communication is aimed toward a comparatively large-scaled, heterogeneous and anonymous audience. Mass evokes the idea of comprehensive (McQuail 2011: 56, Wright 1959: 6), thus the reach of the message is considered to be any audience confronted by a communication during a period of time, and of such a quantity that the communicator cannot interact with the receivers on a "face-to-face basis". This suggests that the messages are one-directional, meaning that the sender has an impersonal relationship with the audience. The messages are transmitted publicly and usually done in such a fashion so that the messages reach the audience simultaneously. The nature of the message is momentary, as well as standardised and usually a "commodification of content" (Baran and Davis 2015: 7, 328-331, McQuail 2011: 56-58, Wright 1959: 6-8) Mass communication is systematised communication (Durham and Kellner 2006: 313, Wright 1959: 7).

McQuail (2011: 57), however, challenges the choice of communication in the term "mass communication". He explains that communication is an act that requires participation, i.e. at least two participators, namely a sender and a receiver, in which the receiver has the opportunity to respond, share and/or interact. He goes on to say that communication is equated to transmission, where the information in the form of a message is sent to the receiver in an asymmetrical fashion, meaning that the relationship is implicitly one-sided and impersonal.

2.2.3.1. Mass media and propaganda

Mass media refers to the outlet being used to disseminate the mass communication. Media therefore become a tool in order to process and distribute the information on a large scale. It should be noted that mass media are not necessary to effectively communicate to a mass audience, as is proven as early as the Middle Ages where churches used mass dissemination in order to propagate their ideas and belief system to a wide audience (McQuail 2011: 24). Mass media serve the function of certain communicative purposes, needs or uses as well as the forming of regulation and control. The modern varieties of mass media came about with the printed book, which gradually led to a change in content from religious texts to more secular and popular material. The printing press also notably led to the creation of the newspaper and its varieties of political press, prestige press, popular press and local and regional press. Other print media were established such as comics, pamphlets, reports, maps, posters and handbills to mention but a few. Other than the printed book and newspaper the most noteworthy printed media is that of the periodical magazine. Key features of the magazine are deemed similar to that of the newspaper, and include regular and frequent appearance, available in the public domain; it is considered to have relative freedom in terms of what it publishes, however it imposes a form of self-censorship, imposing topicality on its contents, and it has the ability to be consumed by individuals or in a group setting (McQuail 2011: 28, 31-32). Films, broadcasting in terms of radio and television and recorded music are deemed to be other forms of traditional mass media. There are various different communication channels including, but not limited to, print channels such as newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, books, posters, postcards, postage stamps, letters, art channels such as artworks, literature, dramas, cultural exchange programs, music and songs, dances, spoken or oral channels such as parades, festivals, speeches, loudspeakers, film channels such as films and television, radio channels and diplomatic channels, such as civil action projects and visits from leaders (Botha 2000: 85, Federation of American Scientists 1979, Rogers and Shoemaker 1971: 251). Mass media is often used for the dissemination of propaganda; this is done in order to reach as many people (the masses) as possible in as short a time span as possible (Hiebert 1995: 1, Rogers and Shoemaker 1971: 252).

2.2.3.2. Strategic communication

McQuail (2011: 572) writes that strategic communication is usually common during election campaigns as well as political news, in which the candidates make use of certain strategies in

order to maximise a favourable presentation of the political situation. Strategic communicators make use of intelligence gathering and persuasive techniques and utilise these techniques in the form of mass media. Schultz and Schultz (1998: 21) make use of the concept of integrated marketing communication when discussing strategic communication and give the following definition: “a strategic business process used to plan, develop, execute, and evaluate coordinated, measurable, persuasive brand communication programs over time with consumers, customers, prospects, and other targeted, relevant external and internal audiences”. Wilbur (2017: 211) argues that strategic communication is not necessarily tied to market processes.

The vast majority of research on strategic communication is based on the assumption that it is a type of communication both legitimate and necessary for a society to function efficiently. However, Wilbur (2017) argues that strategic communication shares characteristics with propaganda and the way in which it operates and disseminates information to an awaiting audience and goes on to say that strategic communication is a theoretical approach to study propaganda. This can be seen in his study on ISIL’s propaganda magazine *Dabiq*, where he discovered the terrorist group used the institution’s magazine as a form of strategic communication to achieve organisational goals, in agreement with neo-institutional theory. He asserts that if neo-institutional theory, altered to fit with strategic communication approaches, has the ability to explain as well as predict what a propagandist does, other strategic communication approaches may have the potential to be applied to propaganda research (further details on propaganda strategies and devices will be discussed in 2.2.4). Keeping this in mind, it is clear that organisations need communication in order to operate.

As seen in the definition provided by Schultz and Schultz (1998), “*persuasive brand communication*” (emphasis placed by the researcher) is used by organisations and therefore it can be argued that organisations (such as the SADF) create communication in order to further the “brand” or philosophy of the organisation to a specific target market, albeit internal or external. The term “propaganda” has a negative connotation as established in the readings on different definitions, therefore terms such as “strategies” and “publicity schemes” are rather used as a means to explain the type of communication done, although the similarities between propaganda and “strategic communication” and “publicity schemes” ultimately have the same goal: to persuade the target market.

2.2.3.3. Media representation

Reid (2015: 198) states that a distinction should be made between the act of representation and the theoretical examination of the theory of representation; academics are concerned with the theory of the “sign or representation”. Another distinction should be made between the visual and the textual representation, since they are separate subjects for investigation. Reid (2015: 199) gives the simplified explanation of representation as that of mediated versions of reality. Summers (1996: 3) reiterates this explanation by stating that a representation is a rendition of resemblance, and even goes so far as to say that it is imitation. Barnouw (1989: 453) states that a representation acts as a placeholder: it stands in place of the original. It can also be viewed as an approach whereby the original object or “the intellectual/philosophical” abstraction is duplicated by the artist, communicator and/or sign-maker (Geraghty, 1996: 265).

Authenticity and credibility are important factors that are critiqued when analysing representations, because these two aspects will lead to the society believing in the genuine quality of the representation (Reid 2015: 200). The accuracy and integrity of the representation is particularly significant in terms of news representation, where news should be valid and factual. Fourie (1997: 251-253) writes the following on Ernst Gombrich’s perception and representation theory:

Gombrich argued that representations, the act of representation and our perceptions of representations are based on schemata, selections, decodings, stylistic variations, active orderings, and on expectations.

This questions the objectivity, credibility and authenticity of representations of messages such as news, by editorial board members since the way in which the communicator perceive and represent reality influences the end-product and thus the eventual viewer and/or reader (Reid 2015: 213-215). Expectations are also relevant, since the viewer and/or reader anticipates the meaning or perception behind the representation – this contributes to the questioning of authenticity and credibility of representations.

2.2.3.4. News representation

Mowlana (1997: 41) problematises defining news by stating the following,

The definition of news in many studies falls short of a comprehensive and universally accepted definition. In fact, there is doubt whether there can be a definition of what constitutes news which will be acceptable to all.

De Beer and Botha (2015: 228-242) attempts to supply a comprehensive definition of news in a Western society. The researchers suggest that news is a representation of reality, by being that which is reported in the media of “events, issues and trends” (De Beer and Botha 2015: 233). The reportage of these so-called events, issues and trends can occur prior, concurrently or succeeding when an occurrence transpires. De Beer and Botha (2015: 233) are clear that news is not “synonymous” with an event, issue and/or trend. It is an attempt by media organisations as well as those people employed as news agents by said organisations, to assemble the essential framework of specific events and trends, in the structure of a newsworthy report. This definition implies that news is confined by policies such as cultural, political, economic and ethical frames of reference and refers back to the notion that any or all material is subjected to manipulation (referring to propaganda). News is also subject to the editorial philosophy of the editorial organisation, quality of the news medium (e.g. television or radio broadcast, newspapers, magazines etc.), the demographic profile, wants and needs of the target market and the social, including political, system in which the news medium functions, as well as the need to distinguish itself from other kinds of reality perceptions (De Beer and Botha 2015: 233; Johnson-Cartee 2005). This ultimately suggests that “news” is manipulated to some degree (in some cases more than others), in order to suit the editorial philosophy of the said institution, and/or the expectations of the target market.

Agenda-setting and framing are two of the most significant theoretical approaches to news in relation to propaganda (De Beer 2000; De Beer and Botha 2015: 234).

2.2.3.4.1. Agenda-setting

Shaw (1979: 96) argues that the media are persuasive in a unique way in which the media create focus on specific events, issues, persons and also direct the importance that the consumers of the media content attach to public matters. Shaw (1979) goes on to say that the public is inclined to give importance to what the media assigns importance to. McCombs and Shaw (1972: 176-185) illustrate that agenda-setting can lead to opinion formation of the viewers and/or readers of the news. De Beer and Botha (2015: 239), Kiousis (1999) and Golan and Wanta (2000) take this notion even further by predicting that agenda-setting helps to explain to people what and “how” to think about notable news topics. As Cohen (1963) so eloquently writes, mass media “may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*” (emphasis in the original). Critics of the agenda-setting theory argue by making use of the uses and gratification approach that

consumers of media content do not become passively overpowered by mass media, as they engage with the content and choose what content is relevant to them to consume, meaning that consumers selectively use the media (Bauer 1964) which again alludes to the fact the observational bias takes place. This approach draws attention to audiences' fluctuating expectations of media.

Agenda-setting theory is applicable to needs of the audience other than the need for news and can be applied to functions of mass communication such as entertainment needs, escapism needs and instructional needs and so forth. Media may be used to instruct and evaluate issues, but it also has a function of reinforcement of other media sources and can be used selectively by the audience to satisfy these needs. Shaw (1979: 101) explains that agenda-setting theory claims that "people's understanding of much of social reality is copied from media" as people are inclined to heed according to readily available evidence – this evidence being found within media. However, agenda-setting theory acknowledges that interpersonal influences as well as the consumer of the content have the ultimate impact on how to consume the media as well as how to react to the media content. Scheufele (2000: 302) and Cobb and Elder (1971: 905) use the phrases agenda-building or media agenda-setting; these concepts are interested in "how issues are created and why some controversies or incipient issues come to command the attention and concern of decision makers, while others fail". Therefore, agenda-building or media agenda-setting is concerned with the process by which the agenda of the media is manufactured. Rogers and Dearing (1987) also state that it is necessary to differentiate between different agendas, with this current study being concerned with the priorities of the media.

Noelle-Neumann (1973) identifies three operating characteristics of media that are relevant in the agenda-setting theory and include ubiquity, consonance and cumulation. Ubiquity refers to the widespread and almost omnipresent nature of mass media, which are available to all to satisfy informational and/or entertainment needs, as well as individual gratifications. Consonance refers to the conformity of media content, as a general agreement on specific topics are found throughout the media and also refers to a general monopoly of media and the absence of counter-messages. One can argue that this just forms part of the editorial philosophy, however it is clear that content is being manipulated with a specific intention/agenda in mind. The monopolising of what topics, themes or issues are presented in the media reinforces people's attitudes, as people are inclined to become more adamant regarding public matters when they are reassured that other people are also reacting in the same manner; this can be seen, for instance, in readers' letters in traditional media such as newspapers and magazines.

Shaw (1979: 103) argues that “their perceptions, dependent on the media, of what most citizens hold can create a compulsion to conform”. Cumulation refers to the repetitive nature of certain topics, trends or themes that are represented in the media. This means that the chosen and repeated information control the attention of audience. Cumulation is therefore regarded as a rhetorical device of propaganda (and will be discussed in detail in point 2.2.4.). Repetition is considered to be a key characteristic of brand reinforcement (as seen in advertising and strategic communication and propaganda). Dearing and Rogers (1996: 15) assert that agenda-setting is affiliated with other types of effects such as the bandwagon effect, a spiral of silence and media gatekeeping.

Wanta, Golan and Lee (2004) studied the media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations by implementing a national poll and a content analysis of network newscasts. It became apparent in their findings that the more media coverage a specific nation received, the responders believed that the specific nation was important to U.S. interest, effectively adhering to the agenda-setting hypothesis. In turn, the researchers found that the more negative coverage a specific nation received from the media, the responders were negatively situated towards the specific nation, again, adhering to agenda setting. The researchers concluded that positive coverage had no specific impact on the public. Kiousis and McCombs (2004) examined the impacts of agenda setting effects in terms of attitudes toward political figures during the U.S. presidential election of 1996. The findings showed that when the media provided more coverage on a specific political figure, the likelihood of public salience would increase accordingly. Although agenda-setting theory comes across more in mass communication theory research, one can still argue that agenda-setting takes place in media that have the potential of becoming a propaganda medium, as discussed in the theory and examples above.

2.2.3.4.2. Framing

De Beer and Botha (2015: 239-241) define framing as: “[t]he selection of certain thematically related news attributes for inclusion on the media agenda, when a particular news object is reconstructed and represented as a news report”. Framing can therefore be regarded as the contextualisation and representation of events, in order to enable people to consume and understand said events (Tuchman 1978: 192). Objectivity and authenticity can therefore once again be a problem in reconstructing news in such a manner. Hemanus (1976: 102) argues that news cannot be objective, since journalism cannot be objective as all journalists write from

specific frames of reference, which means that framing is already invested in the journalist's writing and may then lead to (unintentional or intentional) bias.

The concept of “framing” has been used as a placeholder for “frame of reference”, “context” or “theme”. Entman (1993) summarises the main features of framing as the following: define problems, identify causes, make moral judgements and propose solutions by making use of several textual devices, including the use of certain words or phrases, inferences of certain contextual references, the decision to make use of specific imagery, providing typical examples and so forth. Framing of the same incident can be done in various ways and is dependent on the intended audience who will consume the content and the context in which the audience finds itself. Nelson *et al* (1997: 569) state that frames are used in order to influence opinions by “stressing specific values, facts and other considerations” ensuring that the issues being framed appear relevant or even more important.

The issue of relevance is important in framing theory as Sherif (1967) notes that individual judgements and perceptions are impacted by cognitive and psychological factors, as well as the individual's ability to make these decisions based on the ability to find relevancy in the framing, by being in a frame of reference that the individual can understand. Scheufele (1999) identifies two types of framing, namely media frames and audience frames. Media frames refer to the organisation of an idea or concept that provides meaning to a development of events and assist members of the editorial team to quickly identify and categorise information as well as to package it in such a way that it is easy to comprehend by the intended audience (Gitlin 1980: 7), while audience frames refer to the “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information” (Entman 1993: 53), similar to that of the schema theory, which is a theory used in psychology and cognitive science, describing how patterns of thoughts or behaviour categorise itself in terms of the information regarding these thoughts or behaviour and the relationships that the individual has towards them. Therefore, this study will make use of media frames as this study is concerned with how an editorial team “manipulates” content to fit its editorial philosophy and its target market.

Tuchman (1978) indicates five factors that may potentially impact the way in which the editorial team frame a given issue and in turn make decisions in terms of the approach that the content will be presented in. These factors include but are not limited to: social conventions and values, organisational coercions and limitations, demand and intimidation of interest groups, editorial routines as well as ideological and political predispositions of the editorial

board and team. This gives the study at hand the opportunity to make use of framing techniques in order to establish whether the editorial team presents content in such a way as to follow their own editorial philosophy, as well as the organisation's (in this case, the SADF) policy and stance.

Chong and Druckman (2007) investigated the impact of democratic competition on the influence of the establishment to frame public opinion. Data was gathered on the opinions of both adults and college students toward the management of urban growth as well as the right of an extremist group to organise a rally. Their results revealed that framing effects are more dependent on the qualities of the frames, as opposed to the frequency of the frames. Furthermore, they indicate that competition changes what is being reported, however it does not eradicate the influence of framing. Nelson, Clawson and Oxley (1997) examined the impact of news frames on the tolerance and understanding of the Ku Klux Klan. The researchers provided the research participants with one of two local news stories regarding a Klan rally that differed by frame, namely, one framed the rally as a free speech news story, resulting in more tolerance from the participants, while the second story was framed as upsetting public order, resulting in less tolerance from the participants. They conclude that frames influence permissiveness by changing the perceived importance of public order values. Iyengar and Simon (1993) researched the news coverage of the Gulf crisis and its effect on public opinion, by making use of agenda setting, priming and framing theories. Their results showcased that the amount of news coverage correlated to the proportion of Gallup poll responders suggesting that the Gulf crisis was considered to be the U.S.'s most pressing problem (agenda setting). Furthermore, the content data, indicating that the news coverage was concerned with military affairs, as well as survey data, revealed that responders that indicate that they were exposed to television news in mentionable quantities, were in greater support for military (framing).

2.2.4. Propaganda devices/techniques

Since it is so difficult to give a generally accepted definition of propaganda, in turn, it also becomes problematic to define a set of propaganda devices or techniques implemented by the propagandist(s). Lasswell (1927: 629) writes, propaganda may include "rhetoric, images, music, national holidays and other significant cultural symbols". These devices are used in an attempt to manage and control public opinion (Doob 1948).

There are three frequently referenced sources when discussing propaganda devices and/or techniques, namely Lasswell's (1927) six significant factors in successful war propaganda, the

Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) framework (Miller *et al* 1937), and the Propaganda Model developed by Herman and Chomsky (1988).

2.2.4.1. Lasswell's six significant factors in successful war propaganda

Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (1927) was one of the first and the most influential works regarding the role of propaganda in war, following the First World War. Scriver (2015) suggests that it is regarded important for various reasons, as Lasswell identifies that propaganda acts through the use of culturally important symbols, as a means to systematise public opinions. Furthermore, Lasswell realised the significance of the propagandist within times of conflict and/or war. Finally, Lasswell explained that propaganda is deliberate and intentional. It was Lasswell's analysis of the First World War propaganda that caused him to assert that there are six significant factors evident in successful war propaganda:

1. Guilt should be fixed on the enemy for creating the current conflict or war situation.
2. A claim of unity should be made, by claiming mutual history will result in undoubtable victory. This is usually done with religious innuendo, specifically Christianity.
3. The goal of the war effort should be transparently defined and must appeal to culturally held ideals and beliefs.
4. Examples of the enemy's perversion and degradation must be distributed to the public in order to strengthen the argument that the enemy is solely responsible for the conflict or war situation.
5. Negative and damaging news should be represented as enemy deception and untruth. This is done in order to prohibit discord and discouragement of the Allied (supporters of the war effort) parties.
6. Atrocity stories regarding the enemy should be disseminated. This will result in dehumanising the enemy and rationalise the violent behaviour of the Allied parties (Bernays 1942: 236, Brown 1969: 85-86).

These factors resulted in the departure point for several propaganda content analyses and are still frequently used as a basis for examination, as can be seen in the introduction of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA), which will be discussed in the following point, as well as for instance Scriver (2015) and Willcox (2005) respective investigations into Gulf War and Kosovo press coverage and propaganda usage.

2.2.4.2. The Institute of Propaganda Analysis

The Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) was founded by Columbia University professors Clyde Miller, Kirtley Mather and Edward Filene in 1937, in order to inform the American society regarding the risks of propaganda, by recognising, analysing and assessing propaganda materials and messages (Miller *et al* 1937: 210). This organisation was born out of reaction to the start of the Second World War due to general concern regarding the expanding amounts of propaganda and its influence on the American public's ability to think analytically. Miller *et al* (1937: 211-216) identify seven common propaganda devices, which include:

1. *Name calling device*: Creates negative connotations and associations through the use of derogatory words and categorise “those individuals, groups, nations, races, policies, practices, beliefs, and ideals which he would have us condemn and reject” (Miller *et al* 1937: 211).
2. *Glittering generalities device*: The propagandist associates his/her objective with the use of “virtue words”, appealing to “emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood”. The general vocabulary includes: “truth, freedom, honor, liberty, social justice, public service, the right to work, loyalty, progress, democracy, the American way, Constitution-defender”. This technique is used to improve acceptance and approval without analysing the evidence.
3. *Transfer device*: “The propagandist carries over the authority, sanction and prestige” of an entity that the public respects and holds in high esteem, “to something he would have us accept”. Religious or national symbols are often used in the transfer device, since these symbols evoke emotion.
4. *Testimonial device*: This device makes use of references or recommendation of a specific, ideal person or institution that supports the objective(s) of the propagandist(s); the positive associations already confirmed in the person or institution will promote the propagandist(s) goal(s).
5. *Plain folk device*: This device is favoured by politicians or persuaders by presenting themselves as people similar to the general public, in order to identify with the public.
6. *Card stacking device*: Deception techniques such as over-emphasis and under-emphasis are used to draw attention to “truths”, while deflecting other information. The propagandist(s) makes use of lies, censorship and distortion (Miller *et al* 1937: 215).
7. *Bandwagon device*: The cliché phrase “everybody is doing it” is used by the propagandist(s) to present information in such a way as to appear to be already accepted by

the public, therefore individuals should also adhere to this belief or ideal as presented by the propagandist(s).

The IPA (Miller *et al* 1937: 216) state that these devices are aimed at the public's emotional responses, and write in conclusion: “[W]ithout the appeal to our emotion – to our fears and to our courage, to our selfishness and unselfishness, to our loves and to our hates – propagandists would influence few opinions and few actions”.

Sproule (2007: 131) argues that the IPA's framework is too simplistic and does not add significant approaches to what Lasswell (1927) already identified prior to the Second World War. However, the framework is still regarded as one of the key models for investigating propaganda and propaganda devices.

2.2.4.3. The Propaganda Model

Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky developed the Propaganda Model (PM) as a conceptual model in political economy in 1988. The model is “analytically and conceptually” in the examination of how “ideological and communicative power” associate with “economic, political and social power” and to examine the resultant impacts upon media output of commercial and corporate control or ownership as opposed to government institutions (Klaehn 2009: 43). This model signifies the most important development in the analysis of the media's role in war propaganda in democratic states (Scriver 2015).

The Propaganda Model (PM) describes a series of five filters which draw attention to the central “structural constraints that impact overall patterns of media performance” (Herman and Chomsky 1988: 1-35, Klaehn 2003: 359, 2009: 43-46). The filters consist of:

1. The ownership, size, owner wealth and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms will influence media behaviour. This will eventually support a conservative or reactionary section of a political system bias within mainstream media discourses.
2. The PM notes that advertising is the primary income source for most commercial mass media, therefore the media discourses are inclined to represent the stakes of advertisers and the subsequent markets. Thus, it can be said that the political-economic environment has a significant impact on the shaping of mainstream news discourses.
3. The reliance of the media on information provided by institutionally affiliated sources such as government usually control news discourses and therefore represents institutional interest on a large scale. The PM is thus concerned to describe the magnitude to which

specific features of media texts shape news discourses so as to stimulate deliberate and favoured readings.

4. The authoritative institutional participants hold the necessary social-political power to deploy control, whether subtle or not-so-subtle, over “patterns of media performance”. This is done by organised “*flak*” (Mullen and Klaehn 2010: 218) (emphasis in the original) that reflects an apparatus of social control.
5. Originally labelled as the “anti-communism” filter, the fifth filter of the PM has been modified to “refer to dominant ideological elements”. Therefore, the final filter is concerned with broadening perception and interpretation of “how ideological power intersects with political-economy and dimensions of social class”. As Herman and Chomsky (1988: 29) wrote in the original model, “[T]his ideology helps mobilize the populace against an enemy” and since the notion is blurred it can be directed “against anybody advocating policies that threaten property or support accommodation with Communist [dominant ideology] states and radicalism”. Klaehn (2009: 46) writes that the fifth filter is an element with which to investigate the manner in which fear is used within media discourses, while Chomsky and Barsamian (1998: 41) illustrates that this (fear) is dependent on specific contexts.

The PM emphasises the manner in which ideology, communicative power and media material and narratives are associated with social organisation, cultural education and ubiquitous social, political and economic imbalance (Chomsky 1997, Klaehn 2009, Winter 2007).

These three different approaches are argued to be of most importance in the analysis of propaganda for this study. In Chapter 4, the most recurring propaganda devices achieved from these models will be selected in order to form part of the analysis process.

2.2.5. Approaches to wartime propaganda studies of media, with specific attention to magazines

It is important to investigate different approaches to wartime propaganda studies, in order to contextualise the current study. Different media are used to disseminate propaganda, specifically in a wartime setting, so this section will investigate the First World War and Second World War as these were the wars that promoted the value of propaganda usage in wartime, by expanding on its usefulness as a means of warfare.

2.2.5.1. First World War

David Monger (2011) studied the link between soldiers and civilian life during the First World War focusing on Britain. He investigated the part played by the National War Aims Committee's (NWAC – this was a government-oriented organisation with the aim to oppose what was considered civilian war-weariness) use of propaganda to create ties between the soldiers and the home front. The researcher found that representation was a key method in the use of propaganda, in terms of showcasing civilian activities, community and domesticity to promote Britain as being the same as when the soldiers left for war. Monger (2011: 332) calls this domestic propaganda. Furthermore, the use of soldiers as propagandist figures was also prominent, as the NWAC believed that public meetings were the most necessary and effective means of propaganda to further the British ideals to the civilians. The NWAC also used the soldiers to further this patriotic narrative, by making use of discharged soldiers to talk openly and plainly with civilians in order to ask for their contribution or participation in the war, as there could be no doubt from a soldier, as explained by Monger (2011: 346)

“[S]oldier propagandists were valuable as their wartime service enabled them to speak plain. Exhortations from one civilian to others to work harder risked causing resentment by those who could ask what contribution the speaker made. With servicemen there was no doubt”.

Monger notes that specific language such as “pacifists” was used to label anyone who did not agree with the act of war. Name-calling was also used: German misconduct was construed as godless, while British values were portrayed as Christian-like. The core idea was that of duty: for both the civilians and the soldiers.

The NWAC used the newspaper *Welcome* to disseminate its narrative of a “concurrent community” as a practical medium for propaganda that was officially supplied to servicemen on leave. Monger (2011: 334) notes that language and imagery were central to this official newspaper. The NWAC approach with *Welcome* was less direct than their efforts had been with the civilians; the focus on the newspaper was on entertainment and everyday topics and was considered to be a passive propaganda approach. Monger (2011: 336, 342) goes on to write that *Welcome* contributed to the importance of repeated images and rhetoric, as well as the concept of nostalgia, and therefore this became seen as fundamental issues of the NWAC and in turn the British government. Imagery that was seen as important involved church spires, women seen as a reward for the soldier, as well as evoking happier times that lay ahead post-war, with domesticity being another key symbol for Britain during the Great War. These

symbolisms and images were used by evoking a more personal stake in the war so that the soldiers would have familiar attachments to home, as well as community, with a clear stress on loyalty and devotion (Monger 2011: 345). Repetition is a clear propaganda device used by the NWAC, as well as a more subdued approach to propaganda with a mixture of entertainment, useful information and images of “unspoiled paradise of domesticity” (Monger 2011: 349). It can be seen in this study that official print media has been used in the past as a form of propaganda.

In a later study, Monger investigated the contradicting representations of propaganda specifically created for women by discussing women’s interconnections with and employment by the NWAC, during the First World War. The researcher bases his study on various articles with a mixture of nationalistic rhetoric, “practical domestic tips” and consideration of women’s so-called “new” work (Monger 2014: 518). The NWAC, as found within his previous study, sought to instil ideas of patriotism among British civilians, with specific attention to women towards the end of the First World War. Again, Monger (2014: 519) reiterates the fundamental message as narrated by the NWAC as focusing on duty and sacrifice. Monger (2011: 519) points out that the propaganda efforts changed from explicit atrocity stories to a portrayal of “reconceptualised patriotism”. The NWAC was commissioned to provide propaganda to women in a confidential and well-known format, with the decision made to publish a so-called “woman’s page/column” in local newspapers (Monger 2014: 520). The decision to make use of a print medium was further condoned by the fact that women were more active in print, as opposed to public forums and/or speaking, meaning that the propaganda made for women was in turn also made by women. These articles emphasised that wartime women’s roles should not be considered unusual (such as undermining the role of men’s role in wartime), but rather complementary and furthering domesticity and serving the national community. Furthermore, women were prompted to preserve their traditional domestic roles, while also learning new skills to help the community. In propagating already existing ideals and roles, the emphasis by the NWAC was put on the already existing roles of women and how these roles were already deemed appropriate for wartime.

In the previous study conducted by Monger (2011) he found that the propaganda aimed at soldiers (men) used the image of the woman as a reward. In this study, Monger (2014: 522) notes that propaganda for women preserved the need to defend “women from atrocious enemy behaviour”. This in turn elevated men’s status as protectors. The propagandists of the NWAC also applauded the women’s contribution to wartime, focusing on nurses, auxiliary forces and

munitions workers. Monger (2014: 526) notes that the NWAC had a dedicated publication department in order to disseminate the propaganda being created, varying from individual pamphlets, newspapers, specialist journals and the weekly magazine *War Supplement*. The articles in the women's columns later shifted to the *War Supplement*, therefore, establishing a clear link between the content of the articles and the war, provided the reader with a mixture of practical family advice, as well as information regarding women's work during the war, using rhetoric of clear patriotism. It is clear that this was a propaganda effort by the NWAC, since the organisation's speakers openly stated that what the organisation disseminated was indeed propaganda. During this time the negative connotations with propaganda was not so embedded in society but were regarded as a neutral effort of disseminating information. Again, as seen in Monger's (2011) previous study, the propaganda approach was more passive and indirect, with less focus on the "enemy" and more focus on the British effort. Repetition, familiarity and recognition were regarded as key approaches to the propagandists' narrative. Therefore, Monger (2014: 536) concluded that the special propaganda aimed at women adhered to the larger narrative propagated by the NWAC in terms of patriotic duty and the value of each individual's contribution, while also following traditional patriarchal views of women as victims and women as rewards.

Other propagandists used the First World War as a backdrop to further their own agenda. This notion is explored in Angela Smith's (2003) article, "The Pankhursts and the War: suffrage magazines and First World War propaganda". The Pankhursts are well-known for their feminist movement in Britain and their campaigns for equal voting rights for women. With the onset of the Great War in 1914, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst altered their campaign, to no longer oppose the Government, but rather join forces to support the war. This was accomplished by changing their periodical *The Suffragette* to allow for this new agenda, by renaming it *Britannia* in an attempt to focus on patriotism and imperialism. Simultaneously, Sylvia Pankhurst in turn also altered her political crusade by focussing on socialism, feminism and pacifism; all these ideologies were captured in her magazine *The Woman's Dreadnought*, with clear attention to topics related to women, social injustices and the suffragette movement. Sylvia's style differs from her sister's Christabel by being more directed, clear, as well fact and statistic oriented. Christabel's rhetoric was passionate, and Smith (2003: 105, 109) notes that in modern reading, her voice may even be regarded as embodying extremist values. The focus of *Britannia* was set on the "patriotic conscience" and uses symbols of the woman as warrior within its publication. Its design and layout were portrayed as bold, with "large, striking and emotive

cover images” (Smith 2003: 106). The editorial philosophy during this time is clear for *Britannia*: Britain and patriotic duty must be put first on any agenda, while the Germans in particular were condemned, with pacifism regarded as just as bad. The magazine instigated criticism against the pacifist press and inadvertently also attacked *The Women’s Dreadnought*, by calling pacifism “demoralising and mischievous”. Several instances of detached writing occurs, and Smith (2003: 109) argues this diminishes the passion with which Christabel wrote in *Britannia*. *The Women’s Dreadnought* also furthered its own intentions by publishing articles arguing against militarism, conscription and the ammunitions industry; the war was not Sylvia’s objective, but rather served as an opportunity to shed a light on other issues. Smith (2003: 114) states that the choice of language and symbolism used repetitively throughout the two publications were key methods in their respective propaganda efforts. Thus, a historical backdrop such as a war serves as a platform for those with other agendas or ideologies to spread their own propaganda.

Tiaan Conradie (2016) brings the use of propaganda during the First World War closer to home, with his Master’s thesis on pro-war editorial cartoons and propaganda posters during the Great War in South Africa. The focus of the study was to establish how the cartoons and posters were used to recruit soldiers from British colonies, by using a semiotic theoretical framework. Conradie (2016: 38) argues that cartoons represent one of the more effective propagandistic visual methods as they, as well as posters encompassed the majority of the South African’s idea of nationalism, loyalty and duty as South African citizens. The rate of the newspapers in which these cartoons circulated and were consumed was regular, in some cases even daily, therefore, the medium served well to convey the message(s) quickly. Conradie (2016: 39) notes that the editorial cartoons were aimed at a specific target market, therefore, the choices of cartoon made by the editorial team would reflect what the readers of the newspapers wanted to see and/or read. Having analysed the editorial cartoons and posters in their entirety, he showed that these visual entities absolutely represented the views of a pro-war press, through repetitive underpinning of the political, moral and nationalistic ideologies to a South African nation that was politically divided and unsure regarding their role in the Great War, as a British colony. Conradie (2016: 44-46) notices in several of the cartoons that he analysed for his study that the representation of active participation was deemed important by showcasing the act as being “physical beneficial”, and that the portrayal of body language should encapsulate “might, morality, and resolve” while at the same time “condemning neutrality”. The symbol of sports was greatly prevalent in the cartoons that discussed the topic of war, by specifically using rugby

and the symbol of the Springbok as a means to show victory in the face of adversity. Therefore, once again, body language, symbolism, and repetition are clear propaganda approaches undertaken in the creation of these cartoons. In one of the cartoons analysed, the image of a woman is used to symbolise South Africa; the traditional ideas of women as victims, as well as rewards comes across again, with the focus on the soldiers' duty to preserve the nation as well as Christian values. The services provided by the soldiers were propagated as being the ultimate sacrifice in the light of patriotism. The propaganda used here was not only directed to gaining pro-war fervour from the community, but also stifling Afrikaner nationalism that was on the rise during this time by actively demonizing any support for their ideology and labelling it as disloyal and unpatriotic (Conradie 2016: 69). The researcher goes on to write that this was necessary to maintain support for war as a British colony. Ultimately, participation in the war was presented as a life-altering adventure.

2.2.5.2. Second World War

The IPA had a profound impact on how researchers approached their studies of propaganda, especially studies related to the Second World War, as well as studies being conducted during this timeframe. Julius Yourman (1939) effectively showcases how the IPA propaganda devices were prevalent in the propaganda used and disseminated by Nazi Germany. His study is unique as it was completed at the beginning stages of the war, therefore, the devices that he found that were frequently used in Nazi Germany's propaganda, were already obvious to the trained eye early on. Yourman (1939: 148) notes that the Nazi regime coordinated a uniform platforms and channels to communicate their message, by making use of the press, schools, radio (which was a favourite during the Second World War), films and religious entities. These various platforms were used to convey "one will, one voice, one opinion". Again, language and rhetoric proved to be very important for the Nazis, as they used terminology such as "degenerate", "malicious" and "alien enemies", as well as describing communism as an ultimate evil "forced upon them" (Yourman 1939: 149). Emotive language was important and refers to both the name-calling device and the glittering-generalities device. As was found in the propaganda used during the First World War, patriotism was deemed very important with the Nazi using the "*Volk*" to encompass all the virtues and values that the propagandists wanted to disseminate to the German public, such as "honesty, decency, good workmanship, good will, fine imagery, and rich emotionalism". It was also found that religion contributed to the ethos of Nazism, although not in a traditional sense, as the "deification" of Hitler became apparent in the propaganda disseminated, while condemning religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Catholicism.

Manliness was also an important symbol portrayed in the ideology of militarism and the dominance of women. These ideas were already instilled from a young age, already noticeable in toys such as soldiers, tanks, and guns, and in the education of cadets. Hitler also partly attempted to make him one of the people and a common soldier, as a means to appeal to the masses. Furthermore, Yourman (1939: 156) notes that censorship as a propaganda method was used profoundly within the Second World War, to smother facts and intercept discussions of the dissatisfaction of oppositional forces. It was acknowledged by the Nazi regime that conveying “falsehoods” was necessary to serve their purpose, resulting in the negative connotation to propaganda that is known today. A very clear form of censorship was destroying literature (both academic and non-academic) that was deemed inappropriate by the Nazis, such as communist and Jewish content. By controlling the press, it can be deduced that a form of framing and gatekeeping became apparent, both which are considered mass communication devices. Finally, the Nazi regime used hatred to unite the German people and served as the catalyst and motivation to wage war against all that opposed the Nazi ideology.

Wartime propaganda posters also seem to have been a favourite medium for dissemination. McCrann (2009) specifically mentions that art in the form of wartime posters was an effective medium for propaganda during the Second World War. She uses Cialdini’s six original tendencies of persuasion as theoretical background to her study, although she warns that persuasion and propaganda should not be confused. Once again, the IPA’s devices are found in her analysis, and she mentions specifically that the government as an authority figure is a clear propaganda technique in the posters that she examined. She discerns two key themes regarding the authority figure device, namely the employment of women, as well as self-censorship of the public, as a means to protect their country against the so-called enemy. In establishing a clear enemy, the idea of “us vs them” as discussed by Laswell (1927) becomes apparent and is used in the propaganda. The “us” functioned as a unifying tool against a common threat to the people’s way of life. McCrann (2009: 60-61) also notes that language and symbols were important in the make-up of the propaganda, for both the Nazis and the ally forces, however, she argues for the symbols to be effective, it is necessary that the target market of the propaganda all share the same meaning of the symbol, which seems to indicate as Conradie (2016) did in his study that decisions regarding propaganda, whether it be editorial or governmental, need to be directed at a target audience that share the same ideals as that of the propagandist. McCrann (2009: 62) writes that “[I]n order to be a successful method of *communication*, the images on propaganda posters should be part of a substantially shared

cultural narrative” [emphasis placed by researcher]. In conclusion, McCrann (2009: 65) argues again for the repetition of values, symbols, language of the narrative, and by using historical imagery to evoke an emotional response from the viewer.

Jacqueline Pretorius (2016) further explores the use of posters as a propaganda medium in her study on South Africa’s role in the dissemination of posters during the Second World War by the Mobile Visual Instruction and Propaganda Section of the South Africa Union Defence Force (UDF). Pretorius (2016: 573) argues that the posters advertised the ideals that the UDF wanted to disseminate, as a form of propaganda, since the posters used various symbols and statements that are similar to persuasion (as McCrann in 2009 argued). Key themes that came across in these posters were the safety of the soldiers in terms of their health, education on British and liberalist ideals, as well as sustaining the public morale (similar to what Monger (2011, 2014) established during the First World War). Pretorius (2016) also pays attention to the design and production elements of the posters, drawing parallels between advertising methods of the time and propaganda devices. The notion of “us vs them” comes across again in the posters directed at a South African audience as the founder of the Mobile Visual Instruction scheme wanted the South African soldiers “to know what they are *fighting for* not only *against*” (Pretorius 2016: 577). Pretorius (2016: 580) links the propaganda efforts with publicity schemes, which is considered to be a type of strategic communication, therefore supporting the argument as laid out by Wilbur (2017) that strategic communication theory does indeed share characteristics with propaganda. Symbolism again proves to be an important component of the design of the propaganda posters, with attention given again to the symbol of the springbok and the notion of masculinity. The propaganda efforts by the Union of South Africa were similar to that of international propaganda approaches, with the Mobile Visual Instruction and Propaganda Section creating their own version of the IPA’s propaganda devices, which warns citizens and soldiers of the “good and bad” “propaganda tricks” (Pretorius 2016: 588). The use of name calling, and glittering generalities propaganda devices as pointed out in the IPA are once again seen here, with the establishment of a clear enemy (the “fascist”), and the desire for freedom.

Print media was decidedly an effective way to disseminate propaganda, with newspapers a favourite. However, Chetty (2005: 30) notes that magazines also played a part in the informing of the public regarding the events that took place during the Second World War. In her study she analysed the use of the magazine *Libertas* as well as several newspapers to discuss how print media served as propaganda to depict gender and racial identities. Chetty chose *Libertas*

that was aimed at a larger community than only military personnel in order to understand how the war constructed these identities in a more personal approach. She found that the content published by independent magazines closely followed the narrative of official institutions, although she allows for wartime censorship to also play a role in the content development, meaning that certain information was illegal to be published, therefore the narrative effectively needed to be adhered to. Chetty (2005: 30) further notes, as Conradie (2016) did, the target market for the majority of the South African publications was white, and “identified itself with the origins of the white settler population in South Africa”. Therefore, the editorial philosophy of the majority of the magazines would reflect this. *Libertas* celebrated white domination of South Africa, while also promoting a unified white identity, with “a union of Afrikaans and English” (Chetty 2005: 31). This was practically done by publishing articles in both languages. The ideological disposition closely followed that of the Union Party during the Second World War, therefore understanding of a patriarchal society, white dominated, Britishness, and Christian-like values, were important characteristics to advocate. Chetty (2005: 31-32) confirms that masculinity was a key trait and could be seen in the magazine at the time, where the masculine was celebrated, while war was linked to sports and physical prowess of the white male was promoted; the symbol of the springbok here is found once again as a symbol of victory and masculinity. Apathy and inadequate responsibility were qualities deemed unusable to the Union of South Africa, and therefore pacifism was equated with forming an alliance with the enemy. Nationalistic and patriotic pride was essential themes in *Libertas* and these terms, along with “idealistic”, were often used to define what it was to be South African. It was found that gender roles were presented in the traditional form, with women as rewards and victims who could only serve to the capacity of auxiliary forces, with their work often described as glamorous. Chetty (2005: 38) notes that “female camaraderie and socialisation” were important traits to foster and maintain. The mythology of the “*volksmoeder*” is also found throughout Chetty’s (2005: 40) analysis of the magazine; “the cultural icon of Afrikanerdom who endured as mother of the nation during great adversity” was used to depict the patriotic tasks performed by the women that participated in the war as the magazine made use of traditional imagery to propagate support for the war.

In the doctoral thesis of Fankie Monama (2014) titled “Wartime propaganda in the Union of South Africa, 1939-1945”, he conducted a study to encapsulate the manner in which wartime propaganda was implemented, and how it was received from a South African perspective, during the Second World War. He studied a variety of different approaches to war propaganda,

but also gave mention to magazines as a channel for propaganda. It was found that a service magazine titled *Clamp* was published in-house by the 22 Air School in 1942, with the aim “to amuse and to arouse” (Monama 2014: 247), as well as acknowledge its ideological stance against Nazism. Therefore, it can be seen that this magazine supported the government’s approach to war. Another magazine created for the armed forces, by the 6th Armoured Division, called *The Sable* was published in 1943. Its market was focused on the troops and it envisioned “artistic and literary” focus. It was the first magazine in South Africa to “reproduce war art in colour” (Monama 2014: 247). Other than literature and art, the magazine also featured articles on sports as well as cartoons aiming to entertain. Monama (2014: 250) elaborates a bit more on the official publication by the Director of Military Intelligence, *I.c. Digest* that was in circulation for the majority of the war, from 1941-1945. The magazine featured a variety of articles, with content ranging from “morale, war production, pension policies, culture and identity, UDF salaries, food and famine, ‘native’ economic problems, demobilisation benefits and even warnings against Axis propaganda” (Monama 2014: 250). However, this is as far as Monama elaborates on official magazines during wartime in a South African context, which provides a clear gap in research done on magazines specifically in South Africa as official disseminators of wartime communication, and propaganda.

Propaganda has a very clear political undertone and is often used to further a political agenda, as opposed to just functioning as a communication tool during wartime specifically. Monama (2015: 147) investigated South Africa’s “institutional apparatus for war propaganda during the Second World War”. He noted, as had Chetty (2005), that the state of South Africa was torn between Afrikaner nationalistic sentiments, driven by Dr DF Malan, and those who were pro-war. The internal conflict made it necessary for the Union of South Africa to implement a “volunteer policy”, which in turn needed a great drive of encouragement in order to appeal to the masses. Monama (2015: 147) found that publicity and propaganda became important fields of focus as a means to advance “the mass mobilisation of public support for the war effort”. As was the case in Pretorius’s (2016) study, Monama uses the concepts of publicity and advertising as tools for propaganda, which in turn substantiates, once again, strategic communication theory’s place in propaganda studies. The main priority of the South African information services was to combat the propaganda disseminated by Nazi-Germany; this was done mainly with broadcasting on the radio, as well as “jamming” the broadcasts made by “German-based Zeesen radio” (Monama 2016: 148). Other than radio broadcasting, focus was also placed on the press as it was believed that the press was the most influential entity that could form the

public's opinion into a unifying one. One way this was done was by exposing opposing propaganda for its factual inconsistencies and incorrectness. Reasons for South Africa's involvement served as a rationale and were repeated constantly, as was the concept of "fighting against" and "fighting for" used in the UDF's rhetoric. Propaganda efforts were deemed important and sensitive, and as a result the UDF chief press officer demanded that the military manage its own propaganda campaigns or, at least, administer closer control over the Bureau of Information (this may have led to future closer control of propaganda efforts by the South African military during future conflicts, such as the Border War). Monama (2016: 158) ultimately found that although the war propaganda efforts did not fundamentally fail, they did suffer because of lack of cohesion and unity within the information services of the UDF and the Smuts government, as well as independent propaganda and publicity establishments. Finally, Monama (2016: 158) noted that the low morale caused by the war, and not efficiently inhibited by the then government, gave the National Party the opportunity to gain support, and finally gaining electoral victory in 1948, essentially the start of a new ideology with renewed propaganda and publicity efforts of its own.

2.2.6. *Paratus* magazine – a unique propaganda study

It has been seen throughout the literature available on propaganda that propaganda devices and/or techniques root the majority of propaganda studies, as a means to analyse the way the content is used as propaganda, in whichever medium. It has been found that propaganda studies rarely focus on magazines as a medium, and rather place focus on audio-visual media such as radio and film (Lazerfeld and Merton 1943), and printed media in the form of newspapers (Monger 2011, 2014). McQuail (2011: 56) argues that these media types suit propaganda best as they follow the traditional definition of mass audience, of being an anonymous, large-scaled and heterogeneous and that the concept of mass refers to one-directional communication, as the sender has a more neutral relationship with the audience. The focus on mass media and mass communication research is predominantly oriented at the news genre, with reportage and authoritative style of writing and presentation of content a favourite approach. Magazines in this sense are different from other forms of mass media as the medium relies on a more homogenous target group. Magazines depend on a personalised relationship between the text-producer and the audience, in most cases, with feedback and a sense of community central to a magazine's ethos, which is based on an individualisation of a mass target group. Feedback can be received in either a personal manner or in the form of opinions. Magazines have various strategies on how to get feedback from their market, with the most common of these strategies

being a letters page dedicated to readers of the magazine. For institutional types of magazines, a clear homogenous target market is still important, arguably even more so than in general consumer magazines, and will still adhere to the basics of feedback and sense of community within the institution itself, in the form of its print medium.

However, not just in the field of propaganda studies are magazines under-represented in an academic context, as Holmes (2007) identifies clearly that magazines as a mass communication medium are an under-researched field, in comparison to newspapers that have a wealth of academic literature on the medium. While some investigation has been done on magazines, the majority of research is done on advertising in magazines, the consumerism culture created and furthered by magazines (which in itself may be regarded as a form of propaganda studies) and gender depicted in magazines, usually from a feminist approach. This reason alone makes a study of *Paratus* as a magazine significant and unique.

Content analysis is regarded as a favoured methodology when examining propaganda in print media (be it newspapers, newsletters or posters), although in most research articles it is not explicitly mentioned as a methodology. Researchers usually move directly towards the analysing of the material, by examining the content in a systematic and consistent manner, without describing their process (Chetty 2009, Conradie 2016, McCrann 2009, Monger 2011, 2014, Payne 2009, Scriver 2015, Willcox 2005). It can be argued in order to establish whether or not a medium makes use of propaganda, as well as how the medium makes use of propaganda it is necessary to engage with the content in an intensive and methodical manner, so that the most holistic view of the content can be achieved. Another preferred approach to examine propaganda in the linguistic field is by making use of critical discourse analysis. Propaganda is typically investigated in the psychological, communication, sociological, linguistic, historical, visual culture, cultural theoretical approaches, and militaristic spheres of studies.

The focus of propaganda studies is often fixed on election campaigns in the United States (Scheufele 2000, Shaw 1979), while the focus of war propaganda studies is very much centred on the United States and United Kingdom, with a current focus on terrorism and propaganda (Scriver 2015, Wilbur 2017, Willcox 2005). The First World War served as the background for the first major war propaganda study (Lasswell 1927), with several theories, considerations and devices created out of this significant war (Monger 2011, 2014). The Second World War with more advanced technologies, led to greater means of propaganda dissemination with the

US and UK leading the propaganda fight against Nazi-Germany; the use of radio and poster propaganda during this time proved invaluable (McCrann 2009, Miller *et al* 1937, Yourman 1939). Some investigation into Cold War propaganda proved to be examining the uses of psychological warfare, with the two concepts used interchangeably (Botha 2000, Federation of American Scientists 1979). The Gulf War has also been a more recent field of study in terms of propaganda, with mass communication theory and propaganda tools and/devices making up the studies (McQuail 2011, Scriver 2015, Willcox 2005). From a South African perspective, some investigations has been done on the Anglo-Boer Wars (Potter 2005), both the World Wars (Chetty 2005, Conradie 2016, Monama 2014, Pretorius 2016) in terms of print media, such as posters, newspapers and comics, and the anti-apartheid struggle material (Coombes 2003, Gilbert 2007, Seidman 2001). Some studies also venture into evangelical propaganda, which the missionaries deployed in Southern Africa (Kirkaldy and Kriel 2006, Kriel 2016). Attention has also been given to censorship within apartheid South Africa as a form of propaganda (Gordimer 1994, Matteau 2012, Merrett 1994).

Throughout the literature it becomes apparent that propaganda studies rarely venture into official war communication print media, with one of the closest investigations written by Monger (2011) in which he investigates an official newsletter commissioned by the National War Aims Committee (NWAC) for the British public during the First World War. Other official communication during wartime can be found in the form of guidelines for the public in terms of how to recognise propaganda during the Second World War (released by the IPA in 1937), while the Federation of American Scientists (1979) released official documentation regarding the inner-workings of propaganda, in various media, with specific attention to psychological warfare during the Cold War. It is also observable that studies of war propaganda are usually short-lived, meaning that the study usually spans the duration of the war; the First World War lasted four years, while the Second World War lasted six years, whereas the Anglo-Boer Wars lasted a year, and three years respectively, and considering that even the Gulf War lasted only a year, it can be seen that propaganda studies rarely have the opportunity to be of a significant longitudinal nature. The Border War presents that opportunity, having lasted 23 years, it can be considered to be a longitudinal study. Also, it should be noted that the same official publication was published throughout this time, making it a constant and consistent representation of the war and its various counterparts.

In the aforementioned study in Chapter 1, by van der Waag and Visser (2009) titled “War, popular memory and the South African literature of the Angolan Conflict”, the authors

investigate the currently available literature, both academic and non-academic, on the Border War. In the study, the authors make specific reference to *Paratus* as a service magazine, with a specific agenda to nurture and expand the ideology of total onslaught. According to the authors, the magazine showcases the belief that moral standings and the instilling of the ideology that is associated with apartheid can be found throughout the content that *Paratus* published, stating that it “colours the stories they carried”. Van der Waag and Visser (2009) even go so far as to label *Paratus* as an autobiography of the SADF, in the paper’s historiography, by stating that an autobiography discloses bias and specific emphasis, as well as ignorance and other weaknesses. Therefore, a specific agenda, and in turn propaganda, is thought to be the basis for *Paratus*’s editorial philosophy.

The most related study regarding the examination of *Paratus* magazine as a medium of propaganda has been completed by Terence Moll in 1981 in which he investigated the role of the military apparatuses of the South African social formation during the various crises during apartheid South Africa. He examined *Paratus* magazine as being the foremost ideological tool at the disposal of the SADF. He writes that *Paratus* is a “military propaganda machine which reproduces the hegemonic ideology of ‘ethnic populism’” (Moll 1981: 1), by focusing on a specific case study of the 21 (Black) Battalion which received considerable coverage within the magazine, in order to “impress” the international reader and to eliminate any questions regarding the racial presentation in the Defence Force. Moll’s study is a singular case study within *Paratus* magazine, and was also written during a time that the magazine was still published and circulated to the public. In his study, he provides an overview of various factors that influenced the magazine and its content by giving attention to the Total Strategy movement implemented after 1976 by key figure General Magnus Malan to counter the intricate onslaught that was during the time that the study was being conducted, taking place. Furthermore, Moll wrote on the SADF and its influence as a “repressive state apparatus” as well as the racial makeup of the SADF. He touches on the role of women in the SAAWC (South African Army Women’s College) and defines their roles as being administrative, bureaucratic and focused on communication, however he does not go into depth regarding the said role. Moll also states that cadets and education formed a vital method of ideological mobilisation against Communism. He provides a quote in his paper directly from *Paratus* magazine itself (the October issue of 1979), written by General Malan: “... die amptelike lyfblad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag, het ‘n toenemende noodsaaklike taak binne die breë spektrum van ons volksweermag en die begrip van totale nasionale strategie” (“... the official magazine of the

South African Defence Force has an increasing important task within the wide spectrum of our nation's army and the understanding of total national strategy") (Moll 1981: 22) . It can be found within this quote that the intention of the magazine did indeed have a clear ideological framework and agenda, as it has been stated as such by an official within the SADF, as well as publicly published within the medium itself. Moll finally asserts that *Paratus* became a form of official communication, instead of a mere publication that belonged to itself.

However, as Moll investigated the use of *Paratus* as a propaganda medium while the Border War was still taking place, and the magazine was still in publication, the objectivity of the researcher is limited. An added advantage of investigating history is that the researcher is no longer limited to his or her own frame of reference, as the researcher of history now has the ability to examine the case with new-found objectivity that time allows. By examining *Paratus* magazine in this capacity new insights to what is now thought to be general knowledge regarding the stance of the magazine as a propaganda medium, can be established.

2.3. Magazines

2.3.1. Magazine functions and purposes

Magazines have a heterogeneous function, meaning that they are composed of unrelated parts, and the format is subsequent to change over time. The heterogeneity function allows the magazine's content to be structured in such a way that it is segmented and hybridised. This function allows the readers of the magazine to engage with the content as will fit their needs and/or desires at any specific time (Hermes 1993: 133). This means that the reader is entitled to selectively choose what content to read, in what order to read it, without disrupting the flow of the magazine, and the decision-making process is entirely guided by the consumer's preference, time and attention. By recognising this function, one in turn also recognises that the reader of a magazine does not take on a passive role when utilising the magazine. There exists an interactive and interdependent relationship between the magazine's content and the reader of said magazine. Furthermore, the interdependent relationship between the magazine's content and the reader provides insight that both text and context, which is the sociocultural framework in which the magazine and reader are situated in, are important factors in any magazine related study (De Vaal 2007: 30). This participatory function of magazines is what McQuail (2011) argues against in terms of a suitable propaganda medium, since propaganda is often regarded as a specific message conveyed to the masses without participation from the receiver and needs to be taken into account when one analyses propaganda in a magazine.

The important attribute of magazines namely that they succumb to change over a specific period is important to identify as it provides validity to the argument that magazines are regarded as sociocultural and cultural-historical journals. This is because magazines are regarded as gathering-hubs of information of a specific period as well as the discourses used during this specific period. Holmes (2007: 511) states that magazines usually have a longer lifespan than other forms of media and therefore they provide the opportunity to gather and analyse data over an extended period in terms of “the changes in the concerns of individual readers” as well as the subsequent communities from which the readers originate and as a result become useful historical documentation. De Vaal (2007: 29) takes this argument further by asserting that in the academic context historiographers today make use of imagery to reconstruct occurrences of the past; this imagery is found in abundance in magazines, and therefore magazines should not and cannot be disregarded as valuable historical sources. De Vaal (2007: iii) makes this argument in her Master’s dissertation on women’s magazines as sociocultural journals. She argues that by studying magazines from such a perspective one becomes enabled to “report on the norms, values and habits particular to a specific era – yielding information that can be applied in reconstructing images of reality”.

Magazines have various functions and aims as McLoughlin (2000: 39) explains, “[T]he answer to this [what the function of a magazine is] is from whose viewpoint the question is posed”; whether it is the perspective of the reader or the producers of the text. However, the three main aims of all magazines are to entertain, to inform and to instruct. De Vaal (2007: 30) argues that these three aims are applicable to any editorial content and vary in terms of “*konsentrasies*” (concentration) and “*kombinasies*” (combination) in all types of magazines. Holmes (2007: 510-511) suggests that magazines can serve an important role as “informers and educators”, while Abrahamson (1996: 1) indicates that magazines have a distinctive function of bringing important interpretative information to a national audience, while simultaneously appealing to a fixed target market. Dreyer (1980: 49) writes that the following are considered to be functions of a magazine in the South African context, although these functions can be generalised to other contexts than South Africa as well:

- Provides information through the publication of a variety of articles on a number of different topics.
- Guides readers to form opinions by including some topics to the publication agenda, while censoring other topics.
- Entertain its readers by being an escapism tool.

- Publishes advertisements in an attempt to persuade potential consumers to make use of certain products or services as displayed in the advertisements.

It can therefore be concluded that magazines offer five key purposes; these purposes do not have to function in isolation and magazines usually provide a combination with one purpose becoming a clear theme within the magazine. It is important to note that it is important for an editorial board to decide on a clear purpose for a magazine in order to establish a clear identity with which both the reader and the text producers can associate and identify with. The key purposes include: (1) inform, (2) interpret, (3) entertain, (4) advocate, and (5) provide a service.

2.3.2. Editorial philosophy

The editorial philosophy (sometimes referred to as the editorial policy) defines the reason for a specific magazine's existence and its editorial pattern. The following makes up the various aspects of an editorial philosophy: title, purpose of the magazine, type of content (including editorial, design and advertising), and finally, the voice or tenor of the magazine itself (Morrish and Bradshaw 2012: 33). By establishing a clear and well-defined editorial philosophy the editorial team will have a better understanding of what the magazine is attempting to do, as well as an appreciation for the intended target market. Furthermore, as magazines are often regarded as commodity products, the editorial philosophy is closely connected to the overall brand of the magazine and functions as a differentiating tool from one magazine and another. The table below captures the different elements of the editorial philosophy, while these elements are discussed in the table below.

Editorial philosophy
1. Title
2. Purpose of the magazine
3. Type of content
3.1. Editorial content <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.3.1. Editor's letter 3.3.2. Pure editorial (including readers' letters) 3.3.3. Editorial content (articles) approaches
3.2. Design <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.2.1. Cover <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.2.1.1. Basic format 3.2.1.2. Logo and supplementary information 3.2.1.3. Illustration 3.2.1.4. Cover lines 3.2.2. Typography 3.2.3. Images

3.3. Advertisements
3.3.1. Traditional advertisements
3.3.2. Advertising hybrids: advertorials
4. Voice

FIGURE 2.1: EDITORIAL PHILOSOPHY (MORRISH AND BRADSHAW 2012)

2.3.2.1. Title

As mentioned, there are various aspects that make up an editorial philosophy and contribute to the identity of the magazine, with the first aspect being the title of the magazine. A common characteristic of titles of magazines is that the title is short and to the point, alluding to a specific niche. McLoughlin (2000: 6, 15) suggests that the title plays an important role by assisting in the shaping of readers' expectations, thus the front cover serves as a preview of sorts that provides the reader with comprehension of the inner workings of the magazine. Goddard (1998: 80) writes that a correlation can be made between the brand name of products (i.e. magazines) and the expectations of the readers, by explaining what the brand represents.

2.3.2.2. Purpose of the magazine

The purpose of the magazine has already been discussed in point 2.3.1. in conjunction with magazine functions; once again a clear purpose of the magazine contributes to the mission and vision of the magazine. The editorial philosophy is the key factor of how a magazine will present itself to its intended target market, and therefore, the editorial philosophy is used to further the magazine's agenda (in this sense, "agenda" is not seen as derogatory term, but rather as the overall "purpose" of the content).

2.3.2.3. Type of content

The type of content being published within the magazine is a telling characteristic of what the magazine aspires to be and who it is targeting. As the type of content is separated in three sub-categories namely editorial, design and advertising, it is necessary to briefly look at each sub-category.

2.3.2.3.1. Editorial content

In terms of editorial content, several magazines feature a section, usually placed at the beginning of the magazine, near or on the same page as the table of contents, in which the editor-in-chief of the magazine writes a letter addressed to the reader directly. In this letter, the reader is considered to be someone that shares similar views and beliefs to what the magazine

stands for, apparent in its editorial philosophy. The length of these letters is dependent on the editor-in-chief's personal preference, as well as how much space is available in a specific issue. The editor-in-chief's personal style of writing also becomes apparent; however, it should also closely follow that of the magazine's overall stance (McLoughlin 2000: 74).

Another sub-section of editorial content, also known as pure editorial, is that of readers' letters. McLoughlin (2000: 49) asserts that the letters page within a magazine serves as a "forum" on which the readers are able to communicate with the magazine's text producers as well as other readers. It becomes a platform for readers to view the relationship they share with the editorial team, and the community of readers that share interests, needs and desires that the magazine adheres to and satisfies. McLoughlin (2000: 56) goes on to state that there is some belief among readers that reader letters are manufactured by the text producers. She goes on to argue that even when reader letters are indeed authentic, the letters still succumb to editing for several reasons, including: not all reader letters that are directed at the magazine are published within the magazine and undergo a screening process, while the letters that are fit for publication also undergo a form of editing as a specific heading is created by the text producer(s) and this is usually done in an entertaining manner.

Therefore, it can be argued that readers' letters are not the most reliable source when investigating responses and reactions from the reader to the content being published by the text producers. However, readers' letters have the potential to reveal the editorial philosophy of a specific magazine, by disclosing what the magazine's editorial team deem appropriate for publication. The letters page also gives information regarding how the magazine wants to portray its readers to a wider reader community and society at large, to circulate a certain perception of the magazine.

Although the manner in which readers respond and react to media content is a valuable research field, this study is not focused on reception and media effects studies. This study does not focus on media effects or reception of the audience per se, as readers' letters cannot be perceived as a true reception of the content, as the editorial board will implement self-censorship in order to appeal to the overall editorial philosophy of the magazine and will create a form of feedback loop, releasing "public letters" that reflects the editorial team's editorial policy (Lang and Lang 1981). This study focuses on the content, how the content is represented; this may allude to the potential effect the content may have on the readers.

Editorial content takes on a variety of different positions and may include, but are not limited to, the following approaches, (Caldas-Coulthard 1996):

Editorial content approaches	
Approach	Description
Service or advice	The content is written in such a way as to create an expectation of action on the part of the reader. This is often regarded as an approach that may have the potential of influencing the readers, in terms of their decisions on practical issues taking place in their lives.
Opinion	The articles take on a specific stance, dependent on the text producer as well as the editorial philosophy of the magazine and is clear in the writing style of the content. The articles have the potential to be influential, however they are not written with the intention to influence the reader. Advertorials follow opinion-based writing, and therefore can be seen as an influence by the advertiser, rather than the journalist. Reviews are also regarded to be opinion-based.
Profile	The articles are centred on a specific person(s) and take on a biographical, autobiographical, personality sketch, institutional profile, and synthesised interviews, as a stance.
Reportage	This is often regarded as news, as mentioned above. The articles are used to shed light on social and political issues, by synthesising the information readily available, from a variety of sources. Interpretation on the part of the text producer is vital, as well as trustworthiness of the communication.
Essays	This approach is regarded as a conservative approach, as it was a favourite form of magazine journalism when the magazine was originated. It provides an account of manners and morals, as well as issues that are currently being discussed in a political, societal or cultural capacity. Linguistic structures give a representation of a variety of tones and voices, with a respectable voice being predominant.
Human interest	Human interest reporting is often more appealing to readers than news about politics, economics and society (Curran <i>et al</i> 1981, Dahlgren and Spark 1992). However, that does not mean human interest cannot be regarded as news, as it does not necessarily differ from news, other than the writing style, in which the text producer writes the text in such a way as if the “story” is told from the reader’s point of view, by adopting a certain attitude towards the reader (Hughes 1940).
Fiction	The approach is also closely linked to essays, as this is also a traditional form of magazine journalism. It provides fictional short stories, journals, extracts from novels and/or poetry, aimed at entertaining the reader.

FIGURE 2.2: EDITORIAL CONTENT APPROACHES (CALDAS-COULTHARD 1996)

2.3.2.3.2. Design

Design elements contribute to the editorial philosophy, by being a consistent aesthetic format that readers can identify from the other masses of magazines, as well as the overall stance that the magazine represents. As has been mentioned before in terms of editorial content, a title

contributes to the overall brand of the magazine – it is an identifying feature that sets the magazine apart from other competitors. A feature that goes hand-in-hand with the title of a magazine is the cover of a specific magazine and is also arguably one of the most important design features. McLoughlin (2000: 15) notes that apart from the title, the cover serves as a preview to the potential consumer of the product, while McCracken (1996) states “the cover serves to label not only the magazine but the consumer who possesses it”. The cover is the first interaction that the consumer has with the magazine, therefore it needs to be distinctive, attention-grabbing, accessible, and have a certain level of “drawing power”, while at the same time be able to communicate its character and content (White 1982: 1). Covers consists of four elements, including: (1) the basic format, (2) the logo and supplementary information (e.g. date, volume and issue), (3) the illustration, and (4) the cover lines (White 1982: 3). This provides the researcher with a set of criteria for analysing covers. Covers’ formats should be standardised, as this builds brand recognition and provides the magazine with a sense of familiarity to its readers. The placement of cover lines are important, as the top left hand corner is the position on the magazine’s cover that is read first, therefore, the most important topics or issues that the text producer wants the reader to view will be in this position (McLoughlin 2000: 14-15). The cover lines should also function as the cover and title of the magazine would; the cover lines need to be appealing in wording and presentation to the reader, while consistent and standardised graphology and typography assists the reader to connect more easily to the presupposed content. Elements of consistency and standardisation are important throughout the content design and layout of a magazine.

Another noteworthy element that makes up a magazine is the use of typography, where the choice of type for headlines, lead-ins, content and subscripts should complement each other, while being different point sizes in order to distinguish different functions of type as well as draw attention to the elements that are considered to be of more importance by the text producer. The type should also be readable and clearly visible to the consumer, especially the body text as this will make up the majority of the content. It is also suggested that a serif type is used for body text, while san serif type is used for headlines, however, this can also be inverted as the designer sees fit. Consistency in terms of typography usage for different departments (e.g. feature articles versus service and advice columns) is another salient aspect of good design, as the reader will subconsciously grow accustomed to the use of certain type on certain articles (White 1982: 71-72).

In the representation of different departments White (1982: 90-93) suggests that the following approaches should be followed: (1) editorial content (as opposed to advertisement) should be understated and predictable, (2) colour usage is important to alleviate dull content, however, it should be used wisely as opposed to being overly colourful, where the message gets lost in the kaleidoscope, (3) patterns should be repeated in a uniform manner and this has to be done in such a way as to replicate the original design elements as this is the only repetition that works effectively, (4) package the material in an unconventional manner in order to appear fresh and new, and (5) the departments' design elements should relate to the cover as well as the feature sections; this is a particularly important approach as this refers back to the notion that the magazine should be presented as a whole and that it is a singular product that the reader will consume, as opposed to each department functioning in isolation. Therefore, the magazine's design elements become a systematic apparatus that coordinates multiple pages based on "graphic consistency of colour, texture, [and] scale" (White 1982: 94-95).

The incorporation of images, as well as combining text with images, are also important features of design. Images are argued to be aesthetically pleasing to the eye of the reader and play an important role in the magazine's overall attraction to the potential consumer. Furthermore, images can encompass thoughts in a visual capacity, which may be easier to absorb by a reader. Magazines' columns of texts are often considered to be unorganised, as the columns must allow for the text to be wrapped around the visual images in order for the images and the accompanying text to work together harmoniously and present a uniform whole (McLoughlin 2000: 28).

2.3.2.3.3. Advertising

Advertising is an important aspect of the magazine as it accounts for revenue for the magazine. However, it is important for the editorial board to take into account the demographics and specifics of the magazine's intended audience when selecting advertisements, in order to have the biggest impact. Advertising hybrid models are also found within magazines in the form of advertorials – it is important for the editorial team to indicate an advertorial clearly and ensure that it follows the style and type of commodities or services that are applicable to the potential target market. Advertising revenue is an important feature that differentiates magazines from other types of media, as this is one of two main income resources (with the other being subscription revenue). It is this feature that also contributes to the notion that magazines

reinforce and impart consumer culture and this has been studied in both economical and ideological capacities, with specific focus on women's magazines.

2.3.2.4. Voice

The tone of voice of a specific magazine concludes the editorial philosophy of said magazine. Voice refers to the style that the text producer uses in order to communicate about a certain topic to the target audience. The tone of voice is dependent on the type of content that the magazine publishes, e.g. a news-oriented magazine will have a more authoritative and neutral tone of voice than a tabloid magazine which is entertainment-centred. The tone of voice also refers to the ideological stance that the text producer positions him-or-herself. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, as a linguistic determinism viewpoint, proposes that the language that is used by people may influence or determine the way in which they perceive the world; therefore, language usage may impact people's ideological disposition (McLoughlin 2000: 82). By using this hypothesis, it can be said that text producers of magazines use specific language cues that represent their viewpoints and use it in such a manner to attempt as to influence the readers of the magazine. The tone of voice of the text producer should represent the overall ideological disposition (in terms of the editorial philosophy) of the magazine, in a consistent and coherent manner in all forms of communication that the magazine disseminates to its readers. This again, refers to framing; the mass communication approach makes specific use of "attributes" such as language to convey a specific kind of message to the audience.

2.3.3. The audience

Holmes (2007: 514) suggests that magazines are very reader-focused. Magazines establish an audience, which is regarded as the process of finding a group of readers that will fit in with the editorial philosophy of the magazine's overall stance. The process includes that the magazine will always aim its content on a specific and defined market and will base its aims on the needs, desires, hopes and fears of that group, establishing "a bond of trust" between text producers and text receivers and/or readers. Once a bond of trust has been established the magazine will incite and motivate readers to form a community between the readers and other readers, as well as readers and the magazine itself. Finally, since a sense of community is apparent between the text producers and the readers, as well as other readers, a close relationship exists between the media and its users and can the magazine in turn react immediately and directly to any changes in readership as well as changes reflected in the broader sociocultural environment.

2.4. Conclusion

As a literature review aids the theoretical framework of any study, and even more so in terms of historical research, the literature review needs to be comprehensive and give an overview of a variety of topics that impact the understanding of a broader phenomenon – that being the use of a print medium in an official capacity to disseminate propaganda.

As propaganda is at the root of the study, it became necessary to investigate all the available definitions of propaganda in order to establish a comprehensive definition that is deemed appropriate for the study at hand and is summarised as being deliberate and systematic communication. This reinforces the argument that propaganda and media policy share similar characteristics by both being intentional and methodical. Furthermore, propaganda devices and/or techniques are almost always readily available in propaganda studies, and the most common devices have been listed, by investigating Lasswell's six most important factors in successful war propaganda, the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) and the Propaganda Model. Different approaches to propaganda studies have been investigated, as well as looking specifically at the role of magazines during wartime as a communication medium for propaganda.

Mass communication theory plays an important role in order to frame the theory on which the study can be built. Mass communication and its sub-sections were included in the study of propaganda, as a tool for propaganda dissemination and persuasion. It has been identified that mass media is the tool used to disseminate the communication to a mass audience. Agenda-setting theory suggests that text producers choose content in such a way as to serve the purpose of the communicators, as opposed to the audience. Agenda-setting theory proposes that media may be used to instruct and evaluate issues. However, there have been valid arguments made that the text producers need the consumer to find the content being distributed appealing, for the content to be consumed in the first place; furthermore, the audience also plays an active role in deciding whether or not to consume the content, as well as whether or not to react on the content. Framing has been identified as another technique that content producers make use of when they select certain news attributes to include on the media agenda when constructed a news report. Framing suggests that no content is ever written without bias, as the journalist inherently has a frame of reference from which he or she works from. Framing refers to the use of specific wording or syntax, and innuendos in order to elicit a preferred emotional response from the consumer.

For the sake of this study, magazines as a mass medium were examined. It has been found that magazines are an under-researched print medium. Magazines have various functions, with the main being to entertain, inform and instruct. Magazines have a different relationship with the consumers than other forms of media, since magazines are regarded as personal objects and in turn need to provide a sense of personalisation, individualisation and community between different readers of the same magazine, as well as between the reader and the magazine itself. Feedback and response from readers are invaluable tools for the editorial team of magazines in order to improve on the content being originated and targeted at the audience. An editorial philosophy plays an important role in the positioning of a magazine and its overall approach to content generation. The editorial philosophy determines the reason for a specific magazine's existence and combines all the facets of the magazine into one coherent whole.

The following chapter will explore the literature review further, by examining the historical background that contextualises the current study, with background on apartheid, the Border War and the SADF.

CHAPTER 3: Literature review – Historical background

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter examined the various theoretical approaches that related to the current study with the overarching theme looking at propaganda studies, with a specific focus on print media as mass communication medium, as well as magazine theory. This chapter will take the literature review further, by examining, in more detail, the historical background of the Border War and apartheid regime, expanding on the information given in the introductory chapter.

This literature review will investigate the history and context of the Border War, understanding the South African National Defence Force (SADF) as an institution as well as its role in accordance with the National Party (NP). Specific attention will be given to the conscriptions and as a result the conscripts themselves, who make up the primary market for the case study at hand. Furthermore, the greater social and political context of South Africa during the 1960s to late 1980s also need to be examined to place the Border War in the appropriate frame of reference.

3.2. Social and political context of South Africa: 1960s to late 1980s

The socio-political context of South Africa during the 1960s to late 1980s is important to understand how the magazine functioned in its greater environment. Not only does the study attempt to understand how the magazine was used during a war period, but also to understand how the magazine reflected change in the movement towards a democratic South Africa, in the lead-up to the end of the Border War. Ideologies that influenced the political movement of apartheid will be investigated in order to understand the underlying ideology of the SADF as a war institution of the NP, and as a result the editorial philosophy of the magazine.

3.2.1. Afrikaner nationalism and neo-Calvinism

The concept and system of apartheid cannot be fully understood or discussed without giving attention to the underlying ideologies that made up the controversial policy. Apartheid is synonymous with the supremacy and union of Afrikaner nationalism (Giliomee 2003a, Hughes 2010: 397). Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaner Calvinism, Christian-nationalism and neo-Calvinism are ideologies that are linked, and terms used interchangeably, therefore one cannot separate Afrikaner nationalism from neo-Calvinism, and thus, cannot separate these ideologies and the formation, systematising and implementation of the apartheid doctrine. Dubow (1992:

209) asserts that Christian-nationalism played a decisive part in the establishment of and approach to apartheid as moralistic and cultural justification of human differentiation in terms of race to assemble a cultivated and sophisticated logical system that was used by ideologues to make suggestions on race and superiority, rather than explicitly claim apartheid to be total mass-segregation.

Both Boer Wars and the Second World War were important catalysts for radical ideas which resulted in the creation of apartheid. The Second World War created a need for a secondary industry specifically focussed on production of armaments. This caused Africans that were skilled in these production methods to work in this secondary industry. As a result, the Afrikaner population was left apprehensive of the employment and continuous growth of Africans in industry, as the Afrikaners were left unskilled and amateurish (Dubow 1992: 211, O'Meara 1996: 41). Another cause for the formation of apartheid was the two opposing ideologies that came to the fore during the Second World War. As South Africa was still under British colonial rule, South Africans were expected to fight for and represent the Crown, which caused discontent and disagreements between the Afrikaners and English South Africans. On the other hand, Nazism and the racial superiority notions, as well as the fight for the poor Germans after the economic hardships that Germany endured after the First World War, resonated most deeply with the Afrikaners, and support grew for totalitarian rule. Some far-right nationalists were supporters of the Nazi doctrine and believed a similar approach should be undertaken in South Africa itself (Dubow 1992: 216, Giliomee 2003b: 373, Pretorius 2015). Therefore, after the war, it was unsurprising for South African nationalists to discuss the topic of racial policy with renewed fervour. Wilmsen, Dubow and Sharp (1994: 348) point out that ethnicity becomes more prominent when “individuals are persuaded” to pledge to a mutual sense of identity when confronted with ominous economic, political and/or societal agencies. During the Voortrekker Centenary celebrations in 1938 new enthusiasm for militancy was clear as the celebrations encompassed the increase of nationalist sentiment as well as a sense solidarity and unity, while specific attention was placed on the history of the Afrikaner as the “volk’s divinely-willed destiny” loomed in the near future (referring to Laswell’s criteria for war propaganda) (Moodie 1975: 154).

In 1944, the *volkskongres* (people’s congress) adjusted its political weightings toward racial issues and played a pivotal part in initiating the notion of apartheid to the Afrikaner nationalist movements in its entirety (Dubow 1992: 216); these principles included the following: (1) a procedure of apartheid should be implemented in reciprocal interest of both white and ethnic

population of South Africa; this system would then in turn give the non-white society the opportunity to expand and improve their own regions and finally control it themselves; (2) it was the Christian duty of whites to function as protector and custodian of the indigenous people of South Africa until such time as they attained the means to make their own decisions about their fate (this proved to be specifically important in South West Africa, in terms of South Africa's incessant involvement); (3) no further miscegenation should occur in the interest of all of society; (4) the responsibility of white people residing in South Africa was to secure full administration over all features of government in white regions and this control should be retained at all costs; (5) any policy that attempted to detribalise or denationalise any individual must be dismissed; (6) and, finally, the prosperity of the non-white society should be pursued in order to develop the feeling of value and honour within an individual as well as in his or her own *volk*. As Rhoodie and Venter (1960: 113) observe, the process of implementing apartheid as a legalised policy would only emerge in the 1940s after the National Party won the elections in 1948.

Dubow (1992: 217) argues that Afrikaner Calvinism constituted the moral and religious premise for apartheid and goes on to state that the essence of apartheid can be organised in three sub-categories namely: (1) racial separation based on theology; (2) prior experience of Afrikanerdom; (3) and, the conclusions of science.

When one investigates these sub-categories more carefully, one is able to identify a blueprint that the NP government used to propagate the apartheid doctrine. In the first instance of scriptural injunction, Christian-nationalism was used as a flexible belief system that was utilised in such a way as to benefit the apartheid cause. The Kuyperian-inspired theories greatly influenced the apartheid doctrine, which placed specific focus on biblical explanation mixed with Afrikaner history and philosophy (Bloomberg 1990: 105-107). This appealed to the rhetoric of Christian duty. The central vindication for this theory was the idea of God as the "Great Divider", in which God used separation in His creation. This theory makes use of the differentiation between one nation from another and uses the story of Babel to substantiate this reasoning even further, when God caused the nations to speak in different languages and consequently separated a singular nation into several entities. Dubow (1992: 219) asserts that this "romantic understanding of Calvinistic history" that can be traced back to the Boer War during 1899-1901, "helped Afrikaner ideologists to articulate a heroic mythology in which they portrayed themselves as God's 'chosen people'", ultimately deifying the Afrikaner people. The

“chosen volk” was a known ideological propaganda rhetoric device used by Nazi-Germany (see point 2.2.5.2., Yourman 1939).

In terms of the second sub-category, the history of the Afrikaner people was used to invoke the idea of the “Chosen People”, and their experience in battle appealed to tradition, which served as a powerful device to legitimise the apartheid policy. The use of notions such as continuity and determination were used and in turn it linked the present with the past, therefore the people will be more willing to accept this policy. As Dubow (1992: 225) writes “[I]deological innovation ... was naturalized as the past confirmed its special authority on the present”. In this notion, the use of Afrikaans as an official language of South Africa became all the more important.

The final sub-category referred to the findings of science as a means to justify the apartheid policy. This category was heavily influenced by the ideas of race superiority enforced and propagated by the Nazi doctrine; however, it was also influenced by the idea of colonialism and race superiority that was found in British ideology, and then also the segregation taking place in the United States. It made use of biological reasoning by explaining that miscegenation may lead to inferior characteristics, while the Boer race was superior to even that of its European ancestry (Eloff 1942). Eloff (1942: 75-76) goes on to say that matrimony between whites and non-whites were undesirable due to the inharmonious nature of racial disposition and social heritage; as a result, only total apartheid could secure the preservation and conservation of race purity.

3.2.2. Apartheid

Apartheid was a system implemented by the South African government from 1948 to 1991 that entailed institutionalised and legislated racial segregation and bigotry. The first recorded use of the word “apartheid” is debated, however it is widely considered to be as early as in 1929 (Caliendo and McIlwain 2011: 103-105) and has been in use ever since in regard to Afrikaner nationalism, most notably by Daniel Francois Malan’s National Party administration where “apartheid” and what it represented were used as slogans to win the 1948 elections; this slogan turned into legislation (Dubow 1992, Ottoway 1993: 23-26). Even before the National Party’s winning election in 1948, some characteristics of apartheid had already come to the fore in the form of white minority rule and community-based segregation of black South Africans from other races – this later broadened to encompass pass laws as well as land designation (Cock and Nathan 1989: 36-37).

The Sharpeville crisis in 1960 is considered one of the most crucial crises during the initial years of apartheid. The ANC declared that the party would launch a campaign against the Pass laws as well as the minimum wage; the Pan African Congress (PAC) in turn abruptly also announced that it would have its own campaign that would start 10 days before the campaign of the ANC. During the initial afternoon of the PAC demonstrations desperate white policemen opened fire on the unarmed crowd in the township of Sharpeville. As a result, 69 people were killed while hundreds more were left wounded. Sharpeville, however, was not an isolated situation as there were further killings in the Langa and Nyanga townships in Cape Town (O'Meara 1996: 100). These massacres ignited international horror and disgust as well as extensive domestic protests. The tragedy in Sharpeville led to the founding of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement which played a significant role in the movement to end apartheid and to move South Africa towards a democratic state; furthermore, the events also caused a retreat of foreign capital as share prices on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange crashed (Gurney 2009). The first of several state of emergencies during the apartheid era was declared on 30 March 1960. State spending on the military grew by 63.6 per cent between 1960 and 1962. By the start of the 1970s the budget of the military was 747 per cent more than at the start of the 1960s (an increase from R44 million to R329 million); during this increase in military spending, detention without trial, house arrest and banning of organisations that were deemed inappropriate by the government, torture of political prisoners, prolonged prison terms and number of death sentences all became common practices during this bleak time during apartheid, as a widespread atmosphere of fear polluted the entire society (O'Meara 1996: 109).

After a brief spike in the economy after a minor collapse in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in 1969, the economy was left to rise, only to deteriorate again in 1973, with an advanced recession in 1976. This recession was caused by the lack of foreign exchange, as South Africa was plagued by boycotts and embargoes set by international parties. In turn, the recession saw a considerable increase in the number of unemployed African workers and by 1976 an estimated 2.3 million Africans were left unemployed (O'Meara 1996: 177).

The 1970s were an important decade in the liberation struggle of Southern Africa. With the independence of Mozambique and Angola from Portugal in 1975, transformation in Southern Africa was in the air (Marsh 1991: 153). Gurney (2009: 483) argues that the transformations and attaining of independence provided “forward bases from which to infiltrate South Africa and Namibia and open up a new front along Zimbabwe’s eastern border”. In turn this created a sense of optimism for the anti-apartheid activists in South Africa, by showcasing that even

administrations and governments of unmatched authority can be displaced. O'Meara (1996: 180) suggests that these events of independence and the SADF's withdrawal in March 1976 from Angola helped to provoke the important occurrence of 16 June 1976. On 16 June 1976 school students marched through Soweto and were shot down by the SAP; this resulted in an outbreak of student protests as well as strikes from workers that submerged South Africa; the students used the protests to object to education in Afrikaans and in turn to reject the entire overarching apartheid system (Gurney 2009: 480). Therefore, the crises of the 1970s during the apartheid regime raised distinct concerns, such as the recession causing no economic growth, the morality of apartheid being questioned after the Soweto uprising, while the SADF's pronounced withdrawal from Angola caused a "*crisis of regional hegemony*" (emphasis in the original) and the rise in military spending and activity (Price 1991: 62-65).

3.2.3. Border War

The longest conflict in Southern Africa started in 1966 and ended in 1989 when South Africa withdrew its troops from Angola and Namibia. It is the purpose of this section to contextualise the war in order to better understand the overall ideology of the war, the initial reason for war and how the SADF and the National Party (NP) justified the reason for the ongoing campaign in South West Africa (now known as Namibia) and eventually venturing into Angola.

Note, for the sake of this section instead of using the current term Namibia, the researcher will use South West Africa, as this was the name of the country during the time of the Border War and to refer to Zimbabwe as Rhodesia as was commonly known during the given timeframe.

3.2.3.1. SADF

During the 1960s South Africa was limited to the ever-growing seclusion from the global community, with the continuous growth in the threat of communism on the African continent in light of the process of decolonisation, the South African government was forced to radically make changes in terms of size and preparedness as well as competence of the South African Defence Force (SADF). As a result, the citizen force (CF) units were expanded and by 1962 a full-time force (FTF) was implemented, in an attempt to trounce the drawbacks of the CF with its extended periods of inactivity as well as intricate and prolonged mobilisation procedures (Dorning 1987: 19).

With challenges arising in South West Africa and Angola, the SADF was further confronted to respond to its own internal forces. This led to the decision in 1974 to systematise the South

African Army's conventional force into two divisions, namely the 7 SA infantry Division and the 8 SA Armoured Division. COIN operations became all the more important in the training and equipping of the SADF by 1975. Furthermore, in order to enhance a greater manpower, a system of voluntary extension of National Service was launched in 1974.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) is a problematic term, as noted by Seegers (1987: 144), since it does not give an indication of the full force of what the military entailed, and she goes on to say that academics have come to insist on using the phrase: security establishment, or otherwise, defence community. These two terms suggest a far greater expansion of the South African military, including the SADF and the noncivilian Department of Defence, the armaments and related industries, including the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armscor), as well as the South African Police (SAP). Seegers (1987: 144) provides an exhaustive list of the South African military, apart from the sections mentioned above, including Military Intelligence, the National Intelligence Service, the Atomic Energy Commission and its subordinate agencies, the South African Transport Services (SATS), the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), SASOL, certain intellectuals from universities as well the State Security Council. This rather comprehensive scope of the South African military is important to take note of since it can be seen with this overview that the South African military had means and authority that stretched beyond any conventional military.

Seegers (1987: 166) goes on to say that the SADF did not present itself as “neutral” and had a far greater responsibility and part in the manner in which the government operated itself, than the average military authority. It contributed to the ideological position of the country – and was considered to be an instrument of racial (as well as male) domination, whereas it deemed itself to be the only force “capable of restoring law and order” (Dale 1980, Seegers 1987: 143).

3.2.3.1.1. National service/conscription

The South African military made use of a ballot and volunteer system while it was still recognised as the Union Defence Force (UDF) during both World Wars and beyond (Dorning 1987: 3-19). The ballot system proved to be unfair and discriminatory, as it was a system of chance and proved to be unpredictable (Dorning 1987: 19). In 1965, alternative procedures of military service were investigated to replace the flawed ballot system. By January 1968, a new system, as recommended by the Groenewoud Committee, was implemented whereby all medically fit male South African citizens qualified for military service in the year in which

they turned 18 years of age; training could last up to a maximum of one year (Callister 2007: 52, Dorning 1987: 19). One of the most significant changes that this new system entailed was that in the Defence Act of 1967 the term “military training” was replaced with “national service”; the new phrasing implied that while the men were in training, they were also eligible to be utilised in service as the military though necessary. The SADF increased the term of conscription from nine months to two years as the SADF believed that they needed a strengthened manpower both on the borders and within South Africa itself (Baines 2008: 215).

Overall, during the early years, the conscription system was accepted by the majority of white South Africans, meaning that the majority of the white population did not oppose national service, although it was not necessarily favoured. Callister (2007: 57) argues that one reason why conscription, at this time until the middle 1970s, was not widely opposed, was due to the perception that the SADF was not a champion of apartheid and was instead solicitous of the territorial defence of the South African borders. Furthermore, the South African military represented an organisation in which men had patriotically served during two World Wars, when the military was still known as the UDF. A generational-concept was evoked, where the young men’s fathers served in the South African military during the Second World War, and now they had the opportunity to follow their fathers’ example (Fowler 1995: 1). Fowler (1995: 64) also suggests that military service provided young white South African men the opportunity to get out on their own; this became known as a rite of passage to become a man, which served as a dichotomous reaction to conscription (Baines 2008: 215).

The white South African community, with the Afrikaner more so than the English-speaking, were considered to be pro-state and therefore did not oppose the authority of the NP (Callister 2007: 60). Frankel (1984: 144) argues that the notion of the “volk en vaderland” (society and fatherland) in the Afrikaner society within South Africa remained an important belief to live up to and could also benefit a man and his family’s status within society if he served for his country. Callister (2007: 61) and Conway (2008: 77) argue that Christianity contributed to the belief that conscription was a Christian duty, as motivated by the Dutch Reformed Church; this in turn not only gave the conscription system a moral stance but also a religious backdrop for the motivations of the Border War and the apartheid doctrine, coinciding with Afrikaner nationalism as an ideology. Callister (2007: 62) also notes that the cost of not conforming to this new system would be too high, since refusing to serve the mandatory conscription was punishable by a prison sentence for up to two years. As the Border War became a more prominent and dangerous conflict from mid-1970s as well as in the 1980s, the South African

government used the threat of the “rooi gevaar” (red danger) or more commonly known as Communism to coerce the public into fear. The NP used this fear as “a means to justify conscription and military preparedness” (Symons 2016: 3).

Conway (2012: 33) argues that one of the most homogeneous characteristics of the South African society during the apartheid era was “progressive militarisation, in terms of both activity and the social conditions necessary for war making”. Symons (2016: 9) writes that basic training served an important purpose in the depersonalisation of the young conscripts, with the practice of initiation into the South African military necessitating the “stripping away” of the young male’s individuality and selfhood. Baines (2012: 6) reiterates this once again by stating that conscripts were subjected to indoctrination by the SADF during their basic training. Callister (2007: 53) writes that this was a concern to a part of the South African society, even as early as the inception years of the conscription system in the military, that the SADF “might become a NP recruiting ground and that conscripts would be a captive audience for the Nationalists to work on”. This is an important idea to take note of, as all communications coming from an institution with a strong connection to the NP would inherently adhere to the Afrikaner nationalist ideology, while also being a breeding ground for nationalist propaganda to the so-called “captive audience”.

The general acceptance of the conscription system began to change from the early 1980s. Robb (2014: 22) argues that a mere 20 per cent of conscripts were passionate about and committed to the Border War.

It is uncertain how many men were affected by the conscription system. Baines (2008: 215) notes that between the years 1967 and 1994 an estimated 300 000 young white men were conscripted by the SADF. In contrast, Williams (2008: 24) estimates that more than 600 000 young white males were conscripted between the year 1968 and 1993, more than double the estimates of Baines (2008). In the year 1978 the SADF had manpower of approximately 45 000, which was not made up only of national service-men, with this number soon increased to 100 000; Steenkamp (1989: 177) argues that this number is aggrandised and that by 1988 the SADF’s manpower was merely made up of 15 000 men. This number may prove to be exaggerated still if one takes Baines’ (2008) calculations into account, with the cumulative number seeming to be 405 000, however this number proves to more realistic than 100 000 men strong in a single year. One may argue that the figures vary so greatly because of the SADF’s need to rebrand their reputation: by having the numbers of national servicemen seem

greater than it was, the SADF's manpower seem to be better and exceeding that of its adversaries.

3.2.3.2. Origins of the Border War

The premise for the Border War was based on the search for independence from South African rule and involvement by the South West African people, led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), who in turn became the leading governmental party opposing the National Party (NP) of South Africa. It is widely considered that the Border War officially started on 26 August 1966, with the initial conflict and bloodshed between the South African security forces at Ongulumbashe with 130 men and nine paratroopers entering the SWAPO base (Dale 2007: 199, Scholtz 2006: 26, 2013: 7); Ongulumbashe was the military base of SWAPO as set up in 1965 and would later become a hub of SADF control (Weaver 1989: 91). Scholtz (2006, 2013: 11) notes that the SADF was scarcely involved in the early years of the Border War implementing a low-intensity insurgency, however, during this time SWAPO attempted to intensify and expand its political militarisation of the people in the Ovambo, Kavango and Caprivi region.

During these initial low-intensity insurgency years, counter-insurgency (COIN) attempts in northern South West Africa were assigned to the South African Police (SAP) with little involvement by the SADF – by only allowing a police presence the South African government adhered to the League of Nations' mandate (even though it had been dismantled by this time) that there may not be any militarisation in South West Africa (Robb 2014: 13, Scholtz 2013: 12). This mandate came about because the conclusion of the First World War and simultaneous defeat of Germany, South West Africa was consigned to South Africa under the abovementioned League of Nations mandate (Larsdotter 2014, Scholtz 2013: 2). This notion of entrustment, however, changed after the process of decolonisation was started post-Second World War (Robb 2014: 11). The United Nations Assembly denied South Africa to annex South West Africa and considered it illegal in a series of resolutions with the first occurring in 1966 (Scholtz 2013: 2, Kagan-Guthrie 2009: 66, Robb 2014: 11); however, this did not hinder South Africa to continue to administer South West Africa as an unofficial fifth South African province and exerted apartheid policy in the country's entirety as well as created racial homelands for the non-white populace.

The South African government used the pretence of the mandate to criminalise the activity of SWAPO's militarisation which the SAP in the initial COIN operations had to eradicate and as

Dale (2007: 201) points out, allowed the South African government to ignore SWAPO as an authorised and lawful national organisation. Furthermore, the decision to make use of the police force rather than the military was further substantiated by the fact that the South African military during the initial years of the Border War was considered to be lacking experience, sophisticated weaponry and man-power (Scholtz 2013: 7-8). The SAP would prolong COIN operations until 1974, when the SADF officially recognised the Border War (Scholtz 2013: 7). The South West African Police had a counterinsurgency branch placed by the SAP in South West Africa and was responsible for “identifying, arresting and interrogating insurgent agents and rehabilitating those who could be won over for the government side” (de Visser 2011: 91). Known as Koevoet, this quickly became an exceptionally effective search-and-destroy unit and was infamous to the local population due to Koevoet’s “destruction of crops, homes and sometimes a complete kraal, physical abuse and torture during interrogation” (de Visser 2011: 91-92).

The increase of a higher intensity insurgency by SWAPO’s guerrilla attacks, and the national strikes of the inhabitants of South West Africa during 1972 led to a greater role for the SADF to play within the Border War, despite their lack of experience. The SADF had gained man-power due to conscription (see point 2.4.4.1. for more detail on conscription and its role in the SADF), bettered their firepower and also trained their soldiers specifically in COIN operations since 1960 (Scholtz 2006: 27). By 1973 the SADF had imported equipment and personnel in the territory (Steenkamp 1989: 26) and on 1 April 1974 the SADF accepted all formal responsibilities from the SAP (Robb 2014: 14). Larsdotter (2014: 8) notes that South Africa’s primary goal was to prevent the so-called indigenous “communists” any opportunity to use the neighbouring countries (with specific focus on South West Africa, Rhodesia and Angola) as a means to launch guerrilla attacks against the South African government, since the African National Congress (ANC) maintained and subsequently increased its own armed and political struggle against the apartheid doctrine of the NP.

3.2.3.3. Turning point in the Border War

The SADF finally confirmed responsibility for the Border War on 1 April 1974 and as Scholtz (2013: 13) points out the timing of this acknowledgment was greatly important, since the Portuguese fascist dictatorship, known as the *Estado Novo* (New State or Second Republic), was displaced in a coup merely 24 days later; this resulted in Portugal withdrawing itself from its colonies in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. It is with this decision that the Border

War would significantly change in both momentum and direction, furthermore this decision made the South African Border War more deliberately entwined with the Cold War which was occurring simultaneously on an international scale, with main participants being the United States of America (USA) versus the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Larsdotter 2014: 9), as Cuban and Russian (alleged Communist countries) became involved on the Southern African scene.

An Angolan civil war soon followed the independence from the Portuguese government. Cuba soon became involved in the civil war to aid the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA); the MPLA is a political party that has governed Angola since Angola's independence. Later on, the USSR, otherwise known as the Soviet Union also provided its support for MPLA's cause (Bridgland 1990: 5). The South African government identified the participation of communist Cuba and the Soviet Union as a risk to South Africa's own conservatism and Afrikaner nationalism ideology; the NP used this new entrant as grounds to enter Angola (Larsdotter 2014: 9). The South African government used the rhetoric of the communist as the identified "them", threatening the South African way of life and the apartheid doctrine, by continuously referring to those who opposed the South African way of life as communists. This resulted in the SADF entering Angola in 1975 to aid the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FLNA), who also received assistance from the USA, against the MPLA (and soon the SWAPO) forces who were blatantly Marxist-Leninist organisations (Addison 1980: 207, Bridgland 1990: 3, Scholtz 2013: 15). The hope for the South African government was that this support would prevent any further and independent aid for SWAPO and its allies. However, the MPLA soon gained power in Angola and in turn the Angolan government became a valuable ally for SWAPO (Larsdotter 2014: 11).

With SWAPO's transformation into an orthodox Marxist-Leninist party and its end-goal being to unite the Namibian (as SWAPO referred to South West Africa) people in a state where social status would become irrelevant, as based on the principles of socialism and communism, South Africa's participation in the Border War became more entwined in the Cold War as the Cold War essentially was a battle of ideologies, with communism and socialism, opposing democratic values. The communist movement of SWAPO and MPLA gave South Africa the motivation that the NP were preserving liberal democracy. Furthermore, with the support of Cuban and Soviet Union forces the South Africa government were given more reason to believe that it was encountering a communist "Total Onslaught" and in effect considered themselves

the final defence of Western civilisation, free-market and Christian-Judaic democratic values in Africa (Baines 2004: 4, Esterhuyse 2009: 19). Drewett (2008: 94) suggests that from apartheid South Africa's viewpoint it was South African white men's duty to defend their country against this communist threat.

By 1977 South Africa found itself in a situation where it would most likely lose the Border War; this was further problematised by the fact that they were considered by both local and international parties to be illegally occupying South West Africa (Scholtz 2006: 31). The SADF made use of its white conscripts in order to address the conflict that SWAPO caused, however this proved to be unsuccessful to a large degree. These soldiers proved to be unsuitable, even though they were considered to be a fair sample of the white community of South Africa, and being persuaded by racist and patriarchal ideologies, proved to not be adequate when dealing with "tribal blacks of whom they knew nothing and understood even less" (Scholtz, 2006: 29). Eugene de Kock (1998: 65), the infamous police assassin in service of the apartheid government, notes in his memoirs that the South African troops were not "bush-savvy". Furthermore, the SADF could not distinguish between the local population and the insurgents which in turn created animosity between the SADF and the inhabitants.

After the failure of Operation Savannah, the clandestine intervention in the Angolan War of Independence as well as the Angolan Civil War led by the SADF, the process of reinvention of the SADF was significantly promoted. The SADF introduced the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) in 1980 in response to the conscripts' failure to engage effectively with the local inhabitants as well as the SWAPO insurgents (Dale 2007: 202). Steenkamp (1989: 194) explains that the SWATF incorporated a variety of support and specialist units and most importantly these units consisted of mixed racial and ethnic battalions. Scholtz (2006: 32) writes that the SWATF contributed 70 per cent of the manpower, while 90 per cent of the SWATF was "non-white". Not only was the SADF itself being reinvented, but its reputation as well.

3.2.3.4. State of emergency

The 1980s caused the National Party, then under the leadership of P.W. Botha, to become significantly concerned with national security. Several factors during the 1980s led to these concerns, such as the continuous boycotts from the international market, causing pressure on the South African's armaments industry to create weaponry for national security, while also bettering the technology against adversaries' armaments. Furthermore, discontent regarding

the national service system came to the fore, with the establishment of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in early 1980, which attempt to aid those who opposed the conscription system, causing concerns among the SADF in terms of manpower, morale and motivation for continuous national (and border) security. The powerful state security apparatus was implemented against an expected escalation in violence both on the borders of South Africa as well as internal conflict. This resulted in the 1980s becoming synonymous with political unrest and implementing various states of emergencies (Fox *et al* 1998: 167). While the Border War was ongoing military interventions were required by the SADF, the SAP and strict enforcement of security legislation within South Africa itself.

On 20 July 1985, the South African government declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts, including the Eastern Cape and the Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging regions, soon followed by the Western Cape (Pomeroy 1986: 226). During this state of emergency an ever-expanding number of organisations were banned while many individuals were detained. It is estimated that approximately 2436 people were detained under the Internal Security Act (Legum 1989: 668). This newly implemented Internal Security Act gave the SAP and the SADF authority to perform as was seen fit without consultation of the constitution or the government. By June 1986, the state of emergency was broadened to comprise the entire South Africa. Offences that were punishable up to ten years imprisonment during the various state of emergencies included, but not limited to:

- Threatening someone verbally in a government considered inappropriate manner.
- Possession of documentations perceived by the government as threatening.
- To advise anyone to strike or oppose the government.
- Disclosure of personal information of anyone arrested under the state of emergency, unless the information was released by the government.

The NP continuously extended the state of emergency period and it prevailed until 1990 when it was revoked by the then South African president, F.W. de Klerk.

3.2.3.5. Lead up to and conclusion of the Border War

Up to 1984 the SADF remained relentless in their attacks on SWAPO, with the pinnacle of the operations occurring with Operation Askari from December 1983 to 1984; during Operation Askari the MPLA was forced to seek accommodation with South Africa. The accommodation was governed through the Lusaka Accord which entailed an agreement between Angola and South Africa to end war within Angola, while in reciprocation, the MPLA would heretofore

not accommodate SWAPO in its attempt for rule over South West Africa (Larsdotter 2014: 16-18, Scholtz 2006: 37-38). Through the cross-border operations, the SADF were victorious in averting SWAPO from extending their own operations to an area of contact that would become too large to deal with the insurgents, as only the Ovambo area continued to be an area through which the SWAPO insurgents could enter South West Africa (Scholtz 2006: 38).

United Nations mediated negotiations under the UN Commissioner for Namibia, Martti Ahtissari, who played an important role in getting the Constitutional Principles agreed to by relevant parties including SWAPO and the Western Contact Group. These negotiations were orchestrated in order to achieve peace in and independence for South West Africa, which would after the negotiations be known as Namibia. The agreement by relevant parties would in effect form the framework for the South West Africa's democratic constitution. South African forces finalised their withdrawal from Angola on 30 August 1988, ahead of the finalisation of negotiations for peace and independence (Scholtz 2013).

3.2.4. Censorship

During the apartheid regime, South Africa was no stranger to the enforcement of censorship by the NP government on a variety of platforms and subjects, including film, literature, music and other forms of public entertainment. The continuous control of information by the NP and SADF were argued to be wartime censorship (meaning, information that could not be disseminated because of sensitive information related to the war effort), and in turn became a precursor for important information to not reach its target market. During the time that the state of emergency was implemented, censorship was enforced even more rigorously in order to create content that would support the government during a time of crisis. Censorship and apartheid are intrinsically connected, as Gordimer (1994: 151) argues that censorship causes intellectual isolation and that it is used in the “grand design of apartheid”. Matteau (2012: 34) reiterates this by linking censorship with “political and intellectual repression”. Merrett (1994) considers censorship a “political tool” that is used to administer distribution and, in effect, consumption of information. Censorship itself is often described as a form of propaganda, with the IPA referring to it as the card stacking device. Coetzee (1996) argues that the censor's ideological, governmental and moralistic motives are integral to how the censorship system was implemented in South Africa. Gordimer goes on to state that:

“[C]ontrol of information is merely one of the functions of censorship; its ultimate purpose as a political weapon of apartheid is to bring about a situation where there

is ‘no communication’ between South Africa and the world of ideas that might cause us to question our way of life here, and ‘no communication’ within our society between the sections of a people carved up into categories of colour and language” (Gordimer 1994: 151).

While the issue of censorship during the apartheid era has been studied by a variety of researchers, censorship plays a particular role during wartime. During the Border War, there were two important government enforced declarations that influenced the manner in which information was disseminated and therefore impacted the publication processes within South Africa, as well as South West Africa (now Namibia). This involved the Defence Act No 44 of 1957 Section 118 and 119, which involved the improper disclosure of information, and the Publications Act No 42 of 1974, with specific focus on Chapter II, which involved publications or objects.

The Defence Act No 44 of 1957 Section 118 is concerned with the improper disclosure of information. This draws specific attention to the publishing of content in any newspaper, magazine, book or pamphlet and is also extended to radio and other forms of communication. It states that any information relating to the organisation, movements or placement of the SADF or any of its auxiliary service members, any vehicles used for naval or military purposes is prohibited unless it has been authorised by the Minister or under his authority. It goes on to include “any statement, comment or rumour relating to any member” of the SADF, as well as any ventures or campaign undertaken by the SADF or other international defence forces, deliberately made in such a manner as to embarrass the South African government in its “foreign relations or to alarm or depress members of the public” is also disallowed, on exception if the Minister or those under his authority have authorised the publication thereof. This excerpt of the Defence Act gives specific attention to the prevention of all publications that consist of “any secret or confidential information relating to the defence of the Republic, or any information relating to any works proposed, undertaken or completed for or connected with the fortification or defence of the Republic” – the same exception of authorisation applies. It draws particular notice that any owner, printer, publisher or editor of any form of publishing that publishes any content related to the information described as above, will be subject to an offence and therefore “proceedings in respect thereof may be taken against all or any of such persons” (Acts Online n.d.). The Defence Act No 44 of 1957 Section 119 entails several similar notions that Section 118 does, however its focus is particularly on the prohibition on the taking of photographs or the creation of sketches of military premises or installations.

The Publication Act No 42 of 1974 had the purpose to provide the management of certain publications or objects, including films and other forms of public entertainment. For the sake of this study, Chapter II of the Publications Act is of particular importance. This chapter gives specific attention to publications or objects. The Act could prohibit the production, distribution, importation or possession of publications or objects that were deemed unacceptable by the committee; this decision would also be made public in the government *Gazette*. Anyone who did not comply with this, would be subject to an offence, except on the authorisation of the directorate. The committee resided over the power to declare any periodically published publication or object as unfit for consumption, if it was of the opinion of the directorate that it was undesirable; as a result, the committee would declare all editions of the said publication or object undesirable. Any person(s) that would have liked to apply for the publishing of content material or object would apply and await the decisions by the committee as it was submitted to the directorate. After an intermission of two years from the date that a publication or an object was declared objectionable and unwanted, any person would apply to the directorate to reconsider the publication or object; in the turn the publication or object would be investigated by the committee in order to establish whether this publication or object was now considered to be agreeable in its opinion. In turn the director would then inform the person(s) that made the application regarding the outcome of the decision by the committee, as well as the reasons for the said decision. The Act went on to publish a list of the publications or objects that was approved by the committee in the governmental *Gazette*. The Act discussed the duties of publishers and explicitly states that a publisher had the duty to ensure that the name and business address were printed clearly as well as in the official languages of the country, i.e. Afrikaans and English, in every copy of every publication published by the said publisher. It provided due warning that if the publisher did not comply with this section of the act the publisher would be guilty of an offence. In Chapter VI of the Act, it stated that the Act and its amendments also applied to the region of South West Africa, including the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel (Publications Act 42 of 1974).

Matteau (2011) examined the readership of literature banned under the laws described above, with specific focus of state of South Africa's underground network for distribution of these censored literature. Ultimately, she found that even though censorship was implemented in South Africa, South Africans found a way to read banned books, therefore, actively engaging in the South African literary industry as well as the wider socio-political happenings. McDonald (2009) produced a comprehensive overview of the censorship apparatus, by

analysing the censors, publishers as well as the authors' role as well as response to the censorship, as well considers the practical and ideological context in which books are created, distributed and received. Du Toit (1983) provides a statistical audit of the publications submitted to the censorship boards as discussed in Publications Act 42 of 1974, in the above section, in his essay "[T]he rationale of controlling political publications" and attempts to investigate the makeup of political publications' authority.

3.2.5. Anti-apartheid struggle material/propaganda

The 1970s also served an important political backdrop for the anti-apartheid political underground structures, specifically that of the ANC. With the banning of opposing political organisations in the 1960s, the oppressed perceived this time as a "political vacuum" (Houston and Magubane 2006: 372). However, underground political structures remained and included: political activities of various organisations, political education, propaganda, military commissioning of recruiting members internationally, as well as providing military training to the new-found recruits. Indres Naidoo, arrested for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK; the MK served as the armed wing of the ANC) activities reportedly recollects at the time of the arrest that there was hearsay about the ANC's political movements, such as leaflets and illegal publications being distributed, but that "the presence of it was not felt" (Houston and Magubane 2006: 376). As mentioned, youth political movements against the apartheid regime contributed an important role in the overall overthrowing of the apartheid system, with youth militarists especially being fundamental in the struggle for liberation, under the creation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO). SASO were known for searching for relevant reading material that may motivate, inspire and provide strategies that would aid the South African cause, with Timothy Williams noting that because of the banning of the anti-apartheid organisations as well as censorship being heavily implemented, there was very little literature on South Africa's political state, and therefore during the 1970s members of SASM were influenced by the United States, such as the Black Panther movement and notes by Martin Luther King (Houston and Magubane 2006: 376). By February 1974 Thabo Mbeki, then based in Swaziland, was able to smuggle ANC literature into South Africa – this literature was then distributed to universities (Houston and Magubane 2006: 380). An effective propaganda medium in 1973 and 1974 was the radio, in the form of Radio Freedom, with groups coming together to listen to the broadcasts. Propaganda material also came to the fore as seen in the underground newspaper of the South African Communist Party (SACP), *Inkululeko-Freedom*, as well as the Congress Alliance's publication *Searchlight*. Other propaganda material included

an illegal congress newsletter aimed at the Indian community, the dissemination of ANC pamphlets at mass public gatherings, such as the mass demonstration outside court in March 1976, during the trial of the Black Consciousness pioneers (Houston and Magubane 2006: 439). Anthony Holiday, a member of the SACP, started producing propaganda material in the late 1970s, and distributed the material through the mailing system as well as placing the material in congested crowds, such as at universities. He later went on to produce the journal *Revolt*, which he wrote and distributed himself.

By 1975 at least 25 anti-apartheid couriers as well as propaganda revolutionaries had been trained. Another main responsibility of the propagandists included obtaining and providing the London office with relevant information on South Africa's military, social, political, economic or labour state. David Rabkin created the newspaper *Vukani* in 1972 which aimed to provide information on actualities, political examination on the South African situation, Marxist theory as well as military action activities (Houston and Magubane 2006: 443). It was the overall intention of the various propaganda activists to draw the public's attention to the apartheid oppression as well as giving insightful views into the policies of the ANC, with specific focus on the call to arms.

3.3. Conclusion

A brief history and contextualisation of the Border War was examined, stating that the war lasted 23 years, thus it became the longest ongoing conflict in Southern Africa. South Africa attempted to implement its own racial ideology in the policy that is the apartheid movement in South West Africa, while the natives grew weary of ongoing occupation of their country. When Angola gained its independence from Portugal, it served as a catalyst for other African countries to acquire independence for themselves. The SADF attempted to suppress the continuing uprisings, to little avail. The continuous warfare, as well as international sanctions on South Africa led South Africa to economic turmoil; South Africa was urged by the UN to resolve the conflict. By April 1989 South Africa withdrew its forces from South West Africa.

The South African Defence Force was the driving force behind the military endeavours during the Border War. Conflict in Southern Africa as well as internationally challenged the number of permanent force members of the SADF, thus conscriptions were implemented in 1967, obligating South African white of the age of 18 to undergo military training. This was met with relatively no objection from the South African public and served as a characterisation of the Border War's military personnel. It has been established that the SADF played a far more

important role than merely being the military component of the government, as the South African military had means and authority that were beyond any conventional military.

Apartheid served as the dominant term for the description of South African life during the duration of the Border War, and Afrikaner nationalism and neo-Calvinism were two ideologies that were important in maintaining the apartheid movement. It has been found that religion and religious motivation serve as strong rationale for the ongoing Border War conflict (the fight against “communism” as so frequently is mentioned). The state of emergency and total strategy implemented by the NP led to censorship being heavily implemented in all forms of communication, and publishers needed the permission and authority of the directorate of publications or the Minister of Defence himself.

By gaining thorough understanding of the various topics, the researcher becomes enabled with the necessary tools to further the research by being able to place the methodology in the context of the theoretical approaches such propaganda devices, as well as any findings that can be rooted back to the context of the theoretical understanding of mass communication and magazine theory, as well as the historical background of apartheid, prominent ideologies of the apartheid doctrine, the Border War and the SADF.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

By having delved deeper into the key issues surrounding the Border War and official print media communication and propaganda by the South African military, the researcher becomes enabled to draw up a conceptual framework for the methodology that the study will make use of in order to collect the data, as well as analyse the data once it has been gathered. A research methodology is necessary in order to root the empirical study in a key strategy (Pickard 2013: 99). A research methodology is not limited to a singular method and can make use of a number of different methods in order to achieve understanding of the research problem and subsequent questions. It is needed to choose a specific method(s) to ensure that the research investigation can be completed most effectively and thoroughly.

This methodology will take some notions that have been discussed in the introduction chapter further, by discussing them in more detail. Qualitative research methodology as the main research paradigm will be discussed in order to establish what the overall approach to the study at hand will be, and what it entails. Furthermore, the research design in terms of a case study design and longitudinal analysis will be discussed in order to frame the approach. Sampling procedures, as well as reasons for the sample, will be considered.

Specific attention to content analysis will be given, especially in terms of qualitative content analysis. Mention of the Propaganda Model (PM) will be given, with reference to the filters that are applicable to this study and will form part of the methodical approach. The propaganda devices and/or techniques that have been identified in the literature review, will be mentioned, to indicate what devices will be searched for during the analysis of the data gathered from the source material.

Data collection instruments and data presentation will be explored so as to give an indication how the mass of information gathered from *Paratus* magazine will be displayed, as well as how the findings from the content analysis of the data gathered will be showcased, in order to answer the research problems of this study. Validity and reliability are important factors in any methodical consideration of any empirical study, and therefore, criteria for analysis for the study will be reviewed, while the use of a comprehensive literature review as a form of rationality and trustworthiness, will be briefly examined.

Finally, the chapter will look at the overall limitations of the methodology as set out throughout the chapter, while alternative research approaches will be suggested, and ultimately conclude the chapter.

The research methodology that is considered throughout this chapter has been designed with the research questions in mind that are at the core of this study. The main research question is as follows:

To what extent was *Paratus* used as a propaganda medium for the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, in terms of its editorial philosophy, during the Border War?

The sub-research questions that will be answered through the use of this research approach are as follows:

1. What are the main propaganda devices used in magazines for ideological purposes?
2. What propaganda devices are evident specifically in *Paratus*?
3. How did the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* change during the Border War?
4. Did the changes in the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* influence the propaganda devices used?

4.2. Research design

4.2.1. Research methodology

The main research methodology for the study will consist of a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is empirical research in which the investigator examines a phenomenon by making use of “textual, descriptive narrative” (Pickard 2013: 325). Qualitative research attempts to answer questions concerning the social experience. Furthermore, it aims to comprehend people’s beliefs, experiences, attitudes, behaviour and interactions. It is regarded as non-numerical data, although it can be presented in numerical format (Pickard (2013: 274) warns against this, suggesting that the focus should remain on the experience as opposed to quantifiable data). The overall aim of qualitative research is to gather in-depth understanding of human behaviour.

For the sake of this study, the qualitative research approach’s aim is that of contextual or descriptive research, as a means to understand the specific case, which is *Paratus* in its wider context, as well as understanding the case itself.

However, qualitative methods will not be the only approach for this dissertation. In order to present the data, the use of graphs is necessary in order to quantify the substantial data gathered from the source material, *Paratus*. Therefore, quantitative methods are needed to present the data in a more manageable manner, while also increasing the ease of which the data can be read. Although the main aim of the study is to understand the case of *Paratus*, quantifiable data will increase the validity of the study, by showing numbers and percentages of the various elements that make up the magazine, its editorial philosophy, as well as understanding to what extent the magazine was used as a propaganda medium for the advancement of the Afrikaner ideology, and therefore a key component to answering the main research question of this thesis.

4.2.2. Case Study

As Yin (2014:13) so comprehensively explains, a case study is an actual exploration of a “contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context”. Pickard (2013: 101) emphasises this definition by clearly stating that a case study research method is created to examine a specific occurrence within a specific context. The examination has a specific purpose and aim. Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg (1991) assert that a case study is most suitable when the research is of a holistic and in-depth nature. Stake (1995) suggests that “instrumental” case studies are used to explore the phenomenon more deeply than what is clear to the spectator or commentator. This research will make use of an instrumental case study, which is to investigate a specific “phenomenon or theory” (Pickard 2013: 102) where the case study will function as a stimulus for the examination, specifically in the context of this study the phenomenon is propaganda while propaganda theory in collaboration with mass communication devices will be explored. Baxter and Jack (2008: 544) state that a qualitative case study methodology provides essential tools for the researcher to enable the researcher to investigate intricate phenomena within context.

Yin (2014: 29) identifies five components of a research design that are significant for case study research, including:

- The case study’s questions
- The case study’s propositions or hypothesis (if applicable)
- The case study’s unit of analysis
- The logic connecting the data to the hypotheses (if applicable)
- The criteria for interpreting the findings

Therefore, the researcher will be relying on the research questions as established in Chapter 1, and again introduced at the beginning of this chapter, to guide the case study process. The unit(s) of analysis will be discussed in 4.2.3.1. when the sampling procedures will be considered, while the criteria for interpreting the findings have become visible through the literature review in Chapters 2 and 3 and will be given mention in point 4.3.

4.2.2.1. Single case study

The case study will make use of a single case design – this means that the study will only investigate a singular case, in order to complete the study, namely *Paratus* magazine (Baxter and Jack 2008: 549, Gromm, Hammersley and Foster 2000: 51, Pickard 2013: 104, Yin 2003: 39).

Yin (2014: 51-53) rationalises that one uses a single case study if the case study is a representative or typical case study, or a longitudinal case study. A representative or typical case study is a case which may represent a “typical” or archetypal occurrence. This is applicable to *Paratus* magazine since this is considered to be a representative periodical of the war periodical genre. Although other war magazines exist, such as *Kommando* with its English counterpart *Commando* (albeit, as discussed in Chapter 2, a version of *Paratus*, where merely the name of the magazine was changed), *Militaria* (1969-1996), *Warrior* (1981-1997), the South African Police service’s *Servamus* (1907-), *War in Peace* magazine (Portuguese army in Mozambique and Angola), *Paratus* magazine is deemed the official war publication published by the SADF themselves, making it the most representative war publication available in the South African context, with a pro-war and pro-Afrikaner stance, during the Border War.

Tellis (1997) indicates that single case studies are valuable for “revelatory cases”, which refers to the examiner now having the opportunity to access a phenomenon that was hitherto inaccessible. This rings true for the case study of *Paratus*, since censorship laws implemented on all military communication made it difficult to objectively analyse the magazine. Furthermore, the objectivity that time provides, gives the researcher the opportunity to examine the magazine in the context of the history that the Border War and apartheid regime had caused on the South African society, and therefore pro-state and pro-war communication can be examined justly.

Tellis (1997) states that the matter of “generalization” is always apparent in a case study, as it is a frequently critiqued point in the literature. Yin (2014: 40-44) presents a robust report of

the difference between analytic generalisation and statistical generalisation, by explaining “[I]n analytic generalization, previously developed theory is used as a template against which to compare the empirical results of the case study”. Tellis (1997) goes on to say that incorrect terminology such as “small sample” contributes to the misinterpretation of generalisation of case studies, since the terminology refers to a single case study “as though a single-case study were a single respondent”. A single case study is therefore not used in an attempt to generalise any findings, but rather used in order to expand the understanding of prior existing theory.

Yin (2014: 106, 108-109) discerns six principal sources of evidence for case study research, including: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participation-observation and physical artefacts. For the sake of this research project, the researcher will make use of archival records and/or documents, namely the archives of *Paratus* magazine. Yin (2014) indicates that this type of evidence is stable, since it can be examined repeatedly and unobtrusively as it existed prior to the case study, it is precise, and has broad coverage as it is continuous documentation over an extended period of time. However, Yin (2014) also points out some shortcomings of this type of evidence, by stating that the researcher’s own bias may influence the outcome of the final results, while selection bias from what the researcher decides to investigate may also influence the findings. This, however, is not applicable here, as this study attempts to overcome this by examining the magazine in its entirety.

4.2.2.2. Rationale for case study

Paratus magazine was chosen as the appropriate war periodical for the study, since it is considered the predominant and official magazine published by the National Party government and even more specifically the SADF. Even though the researcher will only be able to generate data from a singular source, the data that is expected to be generated is that of a rich and profuse nature. The time-frame of the magazine is also deemed appropriate since the study will attempt to investigate the entire duration of the Border War, dating from 1970 to 1988 (four years into the Border War and during a time in which the Border War became more openly discussed although still tightly controlled by various parties, ranging from government to the SADF themselves). By investigating the entire duration of the publication during the Border War, the study becomes more viable and trustworthy, since it gives a comprehensive representation of the magazine, as opposed to intermediate snippets of social and political history and the history of the magazine. Therefore, the magazine is in continuous publication, and thus appropriate for a longitudinal study.

4.2.3. Longitudinal analysis

In order to achieve applicable and justifiable data, it is essential that a longitudinal study must form part of the research methodology. Therefore, for the sake of this study a single recurring case namely *Paratus* magazine will be examined by looking at the archives of the magazine; these archives will be subject to data gathering, in terms of content, design and advertising (this includes the table of contents, editor-in-chief's letter, readers' letters, interviews, feature articles, advertisements and other identifiable content).

A longitudinal case study refers to a case that has been studied at two or more different points in time. Yin (2014: 53) writes, "Whatever the time intervals or periods of interest, the processes being studied should nevertheless reflect the theoretical propositions posed by the case study". The Border War and the apartheid regime were both prolonged events, therefore, in order to understand the case more clearly, it becomes necessary to view the case in its entirety, meaning that the entire Border War period is used for the timeframe for the study of *Paratus*. Another motivation for the use of a longitudinal case study is that censorship played an important part during the Border War and since censorship was implemented at various stages, for example the Publication Act No 42 was implemented in 1974, while the state of emergency was implemented from 1985, it is deemed necessary to examine the duration of the war, in order to retrieve a comprehensive presentation of the magazine's editorial philosophy, with various external factors taken into account such as state of emergency, and censorship of Border War related material, and the extent to which it was used as a propaganda medium.

The study will combine qualitative research methods, with some quantitative research methods in terms of data presentation, which includes a single case study design with content analysis of all the components that make up the editorial philosophy of the magazine, with historical research methods.

4.2.3.1. Sampling procedures

As has been mentioned in point 3.2.2.1 under the single case study section, Yin (2014: 51-53) provides five rationales for a researcher to make use of a single case study design. The final rationale for a single case study design is a longitudinal case, which refers to the investigation of the same case over a specific period of time.

Paratus magazine was published monthly, making a total of 283 issues for its entire life of publication. For the sake of this study, the sample of the case study has been identified as the

final issue of every year the magazine was published, in order to be consistent. This means that the December issue of each year, ranging from 1970 to 1988, will be subject to analysis. There is one exception however: in the year 1973 the November issue will be examined as there was no December issue of that year. As it was decided to make use of the final issue of each year for analysis as it is argued to encapsulate the important happenings of that specific year in the final issue, the same argument is made for the November issue, while the November issue also provides an opportunity of other types of articles that are not related to Christmas and/or festive season. This will result in a total of 20 magazine issues that will be examined in their entirety. The final issue of each year of the magazine was chosen since final issues usually give reportage on other eventful happenings that occurred during the year, therefore highlights of each year will be apparent, while changes will also reveal themselves in this longitudinal manner.

1988	Dec.
1987	Dec.
1986	Dec.
1985	Dec.
1984	Dec.
1983	Dec.
1982	Dec.
1981	Dec.
1980	Dec.
1979	Dec.
1978	Dec.
1977	Dec.
1976	Dec.
1975	Dec.
1974	Dec.
1973	Nov.
1972	Dec.
1971	Dec.
1970	Dec.

FIGURE 4.1: ISSUES SELECTED, PER SAMPLE

4.2.4. Data collection

Since the data that will be analysed is of a secondary nature, the archives of *Paratus* magazine need to be collected. The archival material is readily available in UNISA's library for perusal. The archives of *Paratus* magazine will be collected, in terms of the sampling that has occurred in point 4.2.3.1. This means that one issue per year will be collected. As discussed, the December (and final issue of each year) from 1970-1988 will be collected. This makes up the duration of the war.

Once the archival material has been identified in the archives of the university library, the researcher will gather the data of each element of the magazine that makes up the editorial philosophy, meaning that the content (readers' letters, editor's letters, articles, table of contents, and all other related content), design (cover, photographs, and elements of design that will be incorporated with the actual content of the magazine) and advertisements (actual advertisements that are found within the magazine) will all form part of the collection process. The data will be collected with a clear and consistent set of criteria which will contribute to the reliability of the study at hand.

4.2.5. Content analysis

In order to answer the research questions, it is necessary to make use of content analysis. According to Babbie (2008: 350) content analysis is a method frequently used to study recorded communication and is also a form of unassuming research that permits the researcher to examine the topic without influencing the outcome. Lombard *et al* (2002: 587) argue that content analysis is particularly “appropriate and necessary” for the principal rationale for mass communication research, which is the study of “messages”. Mouton (2015: 165) suggests that the research will analyse the content of texts and goes on to say that content refers to “words, meanings, pictures, symbols, themes or any message that can be communicated”. Content analysis is a “systematic” approach for analysing message content – an instrument for interpreting and distinguishing the evident communication behaviour of the “selected communicator” (Budd, Thorp and Donohew 1967: 2, 12). Berelson (1952: 122) explains that qualitative content analysis brings specific attention to the objective of a “communicator” or the influence of the communication on the audience – the content serves as a departure point for the researcher. Berelson (1952: 122) goes on to say that interpretation of the content will form part of the analytical process. Finally, Berelson (1952: 123) infers that qualitative content analysis focuses on the content as a “reflection of deeper phenomena”.

Content analysis is often approached from a quantitative methodology perspective, with the focus on identifying and quantifying the content in text with the overall aim to understand the “contextual use of the words or content”, being described through the use of statistics (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1278, 1283). Cavanagh (1997) suggests that content analysis is “flexible” for the analysis of text-oriented data, and as a result Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1277) argue that content analysis is therefore appropriate for a qualitative study. Weber (1990) goes on to say that the type of content analysis methodology will be determined by the researcher’s aim as well as the research problem at hand. While other research approaches exist to analyse text data, other than qualitative content analysis, such as grounded theory, phenomenological research, ethnographical research as well as historical research, qualitative content analysis places emphasis on the elements of language as communication, while observing the content or contextual meaning of the text (Lindkvist 1981, McTavish and Pirro 1990). Kondracki and Wellman (2002) provide an indication as to where textual data might be originated from, while one of these options includes print media. The main difference between quantitative and qualitative content analysis is that a qualitative approach goes further than the counting of words as a means to examine language, and in turn examines the use of text exhaustively in

order to classify large amounts of text into several, manageable, categories that constitute homogenous definitions (Weber 1990).

Hsieh and Shannon (2002) identify three qualitative content analysis approaches, including conventional content analysis, directed content analysis and summative content analysis. For the sake of this study, the researcher will make use of a directed content analysis. The purpose of a directed content analysis is to authenticate or broaden and expand a theoretical framework or theory (Hsieh and Shannon 2002: 1281). This directly relates to the study at hand, as there are various theories available on propaganda studies, and the use of content analysis in these studies, while the literature review in Chapter 3 provides a historical framework on the Border War. A directed content analysis provides the researcher with the opportunity to expand on the theoretical framework on propaganda usage in war, specifically in a South African setting, as well as what is known of *Paratus* and its editorial philosophy. Hickey and Kipping (1996) suggest that a directed content analysis approach is more structured than that of a conventional approach. This is because the researcher makes use of existing research, theories or theoretical frameworks in order to identify key concepts as initial categories into which the researcher will then divide and categorise the data that is being analysed. In this way, the propaganda techniques and/or devices as established in Chapter 2 can be used as an initial framework for the researcher in order to identify to what extent *Paratus* was used as a propaganda medium, as well as establish what favoured propaganda devices were used in the magazine.

The identified issues of the magazine will be analysed in their entirety, including the cover, advertisements, articles, letters and design features. By analysing the magazine in its entirety, the researcher will be able to identify any and all key themes and changes that occur in the magazine related to the editorial philosophy and propaganda usage of the magazine. The editorial philosophy of a magazine can only be clearly and reliably identified by analysing design, content and advertising components of the said magazine. Klaehn (2009: 49) observes that “sources, emphasis, placement, fullness of treatment, context, tone and evident range of debate on central issues and topics” are recognisable and therefore researchable elements that make up media discourse, and as a result the editorial philosophy of a magazine. When one applies propaganda devices and/or techniques to the editorial philosophy one will be able to identify whether or not the editorial philosophy adheres to propaganda approaches. Therefore, the editorial philosophy of a magazine plays a significant role in terms of the representation of informative material. By analysing these aspects, through the means of a directed content analysis, one will be able to identify key emphasis of the editorial philosophy and in turn the

editorial board to gain understanding as to what was considered worthy and important to impose on the readers of the magazine. By analysing these aspects of the editorial philosophy in a qualitative approach, one will be able to gather details in an exhaustive fashion.

4.2.5.1. Propaganda devices and/or techniques

Within Chapter 2, the three most frequently referenced sources in terms of propaganda and its various devices and/or techniques were discussed, with Laswell's criteria, the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) and the Propaganda Model (PM), being identified as the key criteria associated with propaganda and propaganda studies.

By examining a variety of sources, as discussed in Chapter 2, it can be seen that the IPA still remains a fundamental set of techniques and/or devices that are considered when studying propaganda. In the literature different words and phrases are used to identify similar techniques and/or devices as the IPA presupposes.

For the sake of this study a master list of propaganda devices and/or techniques has been created in order to serve as a set of criteria when the researcher analyses the data for propaganda usage in *Paratus* magazine. This master list will then be used consistently and vigorously as a means to identify the propaganda device(s) used for specific elements of the editorial philosophy. The propaganda devices chosen for this study, with a few selected identifiers/criteria will be discussed in the table below. The selected identifiers/criteria had been sourced from the available literature on the propaganda devices, referencing specifically the IPA's model. For the full master list for propaganda devices, see Appendix A attached. The full master list for propaganda devices made use of the available literature on propaganda devices, while also making use of the of the directed content analysis approach, meaning that all the data cannot be coded through the initial identifiers as established through the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 2, however, the data are identified and analysed at a later stage. In this way, as the analysis advances additional codes or categories are established, while the initial coding schemes or categories identified through existing research can be revisited and polished. Hsieh and Shannon (2015: 1283) assert that existing theory and/or theoretical frameworks will be used by the researcher to "guide" the discussion of the findings as generated by the data analysis.

MASTER LIST FOR PROPAGANDA DEVICES	
Device	Identifier/Criteria
Anti-communism filter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Communism - Marxist - Soviet Union
Atrocity stories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fear - Indoctrination - Violence
Band wagon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Everybody’s doing it”
Card stacking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Censorship - Lies
Glittering generalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democratic values - Freedom - Virtue words - Western values
Goal of war effort	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Destruction of enemy - Hate campaign
Guilt fixed on enemy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enemy - Us versus them
Name calling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terrorism
Nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical references
Plain folk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ordinary
Testimonial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Authority figure
Transfer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nationalist symbols/themes - Religious symbols

FIGURE 4.2. MASTER LIST OF PROPAGANDA DEVICES

4.3. Data analysis and presentation

Yin (2014: 123) suggests that the researcher make use of a case study database, when presenting the gathered data. He goes on to explain that the researcher may make use of a researcher’s report in the form of an article, report, book or oral form when posing the data.

Qualitative research attempts to establish trends in thought and opinions as opposed to statistical analysis, however, the data that will be gathered from the study will be analysed in a quantitative and systematic manner in order to gain understanding in terms of trends and changing of the editorial philosophy of the magazine, as well as any changes in the extent of the use of propaganda and propaganda devices in the magazine. Furthermore, the study will attempt to showcase the pro-war methods used by the editorial team to justify and promote the Border War to its readers, in a quantifiable manner by indicating tendencies and movements in percentage and ascending fashion. This is all necessary in order to identify any significant

changes over a specific period of time, as suggested by the study at hand 1970-1994, by making use of a longitudinal analysis (Creswell 2009:15, Menard 1991:11). Slater (1990: 121) explains that qualitative analysis will include “information reduction, synthesis and trend plotting”.

Finch (1990: 140) suggests the following phases for data presentation:

- Initial familiarisation with issues arising
- Compiling a list of key themes
- Systematically indexing all the data
- Charting the data’s themes
- Refining the charted material
- Describing the emergent story

These fixed phases will be put to use when the researcher starts to write up the data analysis of the data gathered from the sample selected and then discussing the various elements that make up the editorial philosophy, before combining the analysis across the various elements.

In order to present the data, it is also necessary to break down the data into the units of analysis. Since the study is an examination of the editorial philosophy of the magazine, the units of analysis are comprehensive, as the units will examine the three components that make up an editorial philosophy, namely advertising, covers and content, as well as their subcategories.

To analyse the data that has been gathered, it is important to separate the different types of data. This means that the editorial philosophy components that have already been identified in Chapter 2 need to be mentioned once again.

The editorial philosophy makes up the content and essence of the magazine and will thus form the basis on which this analysis will take place. For the sake of the data presentation, the different components of the magazine will be presented and briefly discussed separately, while discussion of the data will be more focused on themes.

Advertisements:

Before one can start with the analysis of advertisements, it is first important to identify and separate advertisements from other elements in the editorial philosophy. The following criteria will be used to identify an advertisement:

- It is clear from the content that a specific service or product is being sold

- The company's name and/or logo appears on the same page where the service or product is seen
- An image of the service or product usually accompanies the content
- There is usually some integration of images and texts, with pull-quotes printed bigger than the content. This must not be confused with other types of content that also incorporate images and texts: these incorporations must be done in the presence of the company's name and/or logo and where a specific service or product is being sold

Advertisements are different from other types of content, as it is content that is created outside of the control of the magazine. This means that although advertisements that are placed within the magazine are chosen by the company that wishes to place it because of the target market of the magazine, as well as the magazine's board (whether this is the editorial board or the marketing department) choosing advertisements that comply with the editorial philosophy of the magazine, the content of the advertisements itself is not created by the magazine's personnel. However, as mentioned, the editorial philosophy comes across through the decision-making process of the advertisements.

Further differentiation needs to be made in terms of the classification of who the target market is for a specific advertisement, specifically in terms of gender. Although it is difficult to state with complete certainty whether an advertisement is aimed at primarily male or female, it is important to keep the following questions in mind when analysing an advertisement:

- Who is presented in the advertisement? If a picture is used, is it of a man or woman?
- What is the placement of the man or woman?
- What is the setting of the advertisement?
- What is the phrasing or word choice of the advertisement?

These questions, once answered, may assist in the classification of the target market in terms of gender. The choice of gender depicted in the image used for the advertisement is an indication to who a specific advertisement is aimed at. If more than one gender is represented in the image used, refer to the main focus point of the image – this again will provide a sign to who the primary market for the advertisement is. The setting, if applicable, will also influence the way in which the advertisement is perceived, with a more relaxed and specifically family setting referring to family life (target audience is then both male and female), while a more formal and stylised setting may give a specific sign to what gender the advertisement is aiming. Finally, the phrasing or word choice may also be indicative to who an advertisement is aimed,

for example if the phrasing is that of suggesting or referring to a man, one may conclude that the advertisement is aimed primarily at males. This, however, does not mean to say that advertisements cannot target another, secondary audience.

Another distinction needs to be made between a traditional advertisement and a hybrid advertisement, otherwise known as advertorials. Advertorials are still regarded as advertisements, as by the criteria set out above, with the added feature of being written in the style and format of an article. This means that an advertorial has more text (content), providing an opportunity for more information. Advertorials also does not necessarily feature the company's logo in the contents and will focus more on the name of the product/service being advertised. However, an advertorial is clearly distinctive from other articles by showcasing information of a specific service or product being sold.

The following information will be gathered from the analysis of advertisements, and will be gathered consistently so as to remain systematic in the investigation process:

- Identify whether it is a traditional advertisement, an advertorial or other (identify, if other)
- Identify the language the advertisement has been published in (Afrikaans or English)
- Identify the usage of space/size that the advertisement makes up of the A4 page
- Identify what service or product is being advertised
- Identify the company that is providing said service or product
- Identify the use of colour (e.g. monotone, four colour etc.)
- Identify what images are presented, if any
- Identify a possible target audience (language, gender, occupation)
- Identify what, if any, propaganda devices are used in the advertisement (in order to identify the propaganda device(s) the master list of propaganda devices will be used as a guide)
- Identify the frequency of the advertisement being placed in the suggested timeframe of analysis (this will be done after all advertisements have been analysed in order to draw up an alternative analysis of trends and importance)

Covers:

Covers form an important part of the makeup of a magazine. Not only are covers one of the main drawing points in terms of gaining potential buyers, covers also contribute to the overall

brand and presentation of the magazine. Covers, therefore, are created with a specific purpose in mind and all elements chosen to be present are done so for a specific purpose. The following criteria will be used to analyse the magazine cover, in terms of content:

- Title/masthead
- Cover lines
- Logo

The following criteria will be used to analyse the magazine cover, in terms of design:

- Image(s) used on the cover
- Colour usage (yes/no) (if yes, identify)
- Specific typography (worth mentioning)
- Incorporation of image and type/cover lines

Content:

The content of any magazine makes up the most expansive section. This is where the editorial philosophy comes across most clearly, as this is the element of the editorial philosophy where the feature articles, articles, pure editorial sections including the editor's letters, table of contents and readers' letters, as well as other types of content such as reviews, competitions, games and so forth can be found. This is what the readers will read and therefore the content of the magazine is chosen with great care in order to adhere to the editorial philosophy and in turn, direct its readers to a certain stance or agenda (whether intended or not, manipulation of the content does occur). The following criteria will be used to analyse the magazine's content, in terms of content:

- Type of content
 - Pure editorial (identify which of the following):
 - Editor's letters
 - Table of contents
 - Reader letters
 - Feature articles
 - Articles
 - Other (e.g. games/reviews etc.) (identify)
- Title of said article

- Language
- Key theme/topic (synopsis of article)
- Editorial approach (identify which of the following):
 - Advice
 - Advocate
 - Entertainment
 - Human interest
 - Informative
 - Instruction
 - Opinion
 - Profile
 - Reportage
- Propaganda device(s)

The following criteria will be used to analyse the content, in terms of design:

- Image(s) used in content
- Colour usage (yes/no) (if yes, identify)
- Specific typography (worth mentioning)
- Incorporation of image and type/pull-quotes/images

As described above, the units of analysis are broken up into their various subcategories. Each issue that has been selected through the sample, meaning that the final issue of each year that was published, from 1970 to 1988, will undergo the same systematic and consistent analysis. Each issue will draw up its own report/database with these categories included, in order for the researcher to log the analysis.

Separate documents will be created which will be used to log the units of analysis, by consistently, systematically and manually filling in the data that is being analysed. See the following table that demonstrate how the data will be logged (the advertisements and covers in a Microsoft Word document, while the content will be logged in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet) and therefore categorised for the various elements of the editorial philosophy:

Data analysis of advertisements in <i>Paratus</i>	
Year	
Advertisement/Advertorial	
Language (Afrikaans/English)	
Space/size	
Product/service/other (identify)	
Product/service identified	
Company/product name	
Colour usage (yes/no; if yes, identify)	
Image placement (yes/no; if yes, identify)	
Target audience	
Frequency	
Propaganda device(s)	
Data analysis of covers in <i>Paratus</i>	
Year	
<i>In terms of content</i>	
Title/masthead	
Cover lines	
Logo	
Language	
Propaganda device(s)	
<i>In terms of design</i>	
Image(s) used	
Colour usage (yes/no; if yes, identify)	
Specific typography (worth mentioning)	
Colour of title/masthead	
Incorporation of image and type/cover lines	
Data analysis of content in <i>Paratus</i>	
Year	
<i>In terms of content</i>	
Pure editorial (editor's letters/table of contents/reader's letters)	
Feature articles	
Articles	
Other (identify)	
Title of said article	
Language	
Key theme/topic (synopsis of article)	
Editorial approach (service/advice/opinion/profile/reportage/essays/human interest/fiction)	
Propaganda device(s)	
<i>In terms of design</i>	
Image(s) used in content.	
Colour usage (yes/no; if yes, identify)	
Specific typography (worth mentioning)	

FIGURE 4.3. DATA ANALYSIS CRITERIA

Once this logging or coding has taken place, the results will be presented in the form of a suitable graph/chart including pie charts, bar and column graphs, with the percentage of the

occurrence over the span of the timeframe, meaning 1970-1988, in order to reveal an overall trend.

Changes over the timeframe, thus 1970 to 1988, will be reflected in a clustered column graph, according to the units of analysis, in order to reveal changes in the longitudinal analysis.

These data presentation techniques will enable the researcher to discover trends over an extended period of time, as well as establish favoured techniques implemented in the editorial philosophy. Once the data analysis has been completed, discussion of the findings will take place as a means to answer the research questions at hand.

4.4. Validity and reliability

4.4.1. Criteria for analysis

Systematic classification of units of material into categories for the purpose of description and measurement is a pivotal phase of the analyst's work. Form and conventional-meaning oriented analysis begins with the setting up of units and categories on the basis of explicit signal characteristics.

Gerbner (1958: 97) argues through the above-mentioned quote that coding and classification in both data gathering and presentation elevates the validity and reliability of the content analysis being conducted. Tellis (1997) reiterates this by stating that the identification of the unit(s) of analysis also contributes to the internal validity of a case study. When the unit(s) of analysis are identified, and examined repeatedly and consistently, the study's findings and results will be more acceptable, than if a researcher haphazardly and disorderly analysed the data gathered. In terms of this study, the units of analysis therefore also serve as a criterion for validity and reliability. This is because the units of analysis indicate that all the components that make up the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* magazine will be subject to data gathering and analysis. The units of analysis include content, design features as well as advertisements. By examining the magazine in its entirety, no part of the magazine will be left out for scrutiny, making the analysis more holistic in its approach, which in turn ensures that the study is more reliable.

Tellis (1997) gives mention to specific elements that the researcher needs to give attention to in order to ensure that the analysis is of a high standard. These criteria include: indicating that all relevant evidence/data has been used, all relevant and possible explanations were discussed in order to provide a fair and just overview of the findings, that the examination confronts the most important aspects of the case study in alignment with the research questions, and finally,

that the researcher's knowledge, understanding and experience of the certain case are used to the full potential to aid the study. Therefore, the researcher of this study can ensure that the study remains valid and reliable by adhering to the criteria above. The researcher must indicate and ensure that all the data has been analysed of *Paratus* magazine, as set out by the data sampling procedures in terms of all the relevant issues. Furthermore, since the unit(s) of analysis indicates that all the different parts that make up the editorial philosophy of the magazine, will be examined, the researcher must ensure that all the elements (design, content and advertising) are covered when gathering the data, and ultimately examining the evidence. When the researcher analyses the data gathered from *Paratus* it is important that the examiner investigates all possible meanings that the content analysis may allude to. This means that various readings gathered from the literature review will be used to come to a solid conclusion. The analysis furthermore addresses the most important aspect of study, which is the editorial philosophy and the usage of propaganda devices in the mass communication medium. The literature review will have imparted the researcher with the necessary understanding of propaganda as a phenomenon in order to investigate *Paratus* as a phenomenon in its own right.

4.4.2. Literature review

Mouton (2015: 86-87) explains that a literature review is used as a complementary research methodology since it will form the theoretical framework for empirical research, while Pickard (2013: 25) suggests that a literature review can be a main research methodology in itself in which the research explores the research topic both within the researcher's own discipline, while also investigating the topic across other disciplines as well. Machi and McEvoy (2009: 4) define a literature review as "a written document that presents a logically argued case founded on a comprehensive understanding of the current state of knowledge about a topic of study". Webster and Watson (2002: xv) argue that a comprehensive and valuable literature review is "complete and focuses on concepts". Once all the relevant information regarding a research topic has been gathered, the researcher will be able to identify what research data is currently available, the gaps within the field of study that are linked to the researcher's research problem as well as discern whether the proposed methods of a researcher are applicable to the research topic as well as the validity of the methods (Pickard 2013: 26).

It is this final mention of Pickard that contributes to the validity and reliability of the proposed study. A literature review roots any study in a theoretical framework by placing the research problem in historical context and assisting the researcher by analysing data in comparison to

other similar research projects (Leedy 1980: 64-65). A literature review is especially vital for this study to ensure that it is established in a contextual and theoretical framework. By having the case study rooted in a comprehensive literature review, the study will no longer function in isolation. The literature review has taken on the task to examine the available literature on topics relating to the research problem. These topics include investigation into the Border War, the SADF on a macro level and discussion of the members of the SADF with specific attention to the conscripts. Mass communication and mass media form a theoretical section of the literature review and focusses specifically on news representation with particular attention to agenda-setting and framing theory, while magazine theory with specific mention of editorial philosophy and its various components also provides context that the study is not only built on but applies to the content analysis methodology. The social and political context of South Africa circa 1960-1988, dominant ideology found in South Africa in the suggested timeframe, and comprehensive insight in propaganda, its various definitions, propaganda theorists, war propaganda, types of propaganda and specific concentration on propaganda devices and techniques are all important factors found through the means of a comprehensive literature review.

The various approaches found throughout the literature revealed that the methodology of content analysis is a preferred approach in the study of print media and propaganda, suggesting that the methodology outlined in this chapter is valid. Furthermore, the discussion of the propaganda model (PM) in the literature review, reveals that it is appropriate, as per the researcher's discretion, to apply as a methodological approach in propaganda textual analysis. The topics as explored in the literature review not only contextualise the research problem, but also create a backdrop to which the research questions can compare and as a result answer, increasing the validity of the research method.

Paratus is often used as a source for reference in the various approaches to Border War studies, as discussed in the introductory chapter. A comprehensive literature review regarding the topics mentioned in the above paragraphs provides the researcher with clear understanding of the topics of discussion in *Paratus* itself. The literature review therefore becomes a tool for the researcher to compare the contents of the magazine, with researchers of the Border War have been able to identify to be a more truthful presentation of the Border War. Therefore, the literature review is not merely a complementary component of this study but serves as an integral instrument to the overall research methodology to make the findings more valid and reliable for future studies.

4.5. Limitations of methodology

Yin (2003: 42) explains that a potential limitation of a single case design is that a specific case may not necessarily convey the expected results, and therefore the researcher needs to investigate with caution as to minimise the possibility of misrepresentation of evidence. Since the suggested research methodology lacks multiple cases it is difficult to make generalisations regarding the influence of print war communication in society, as well as to make any comparisons between different print war communications. But as has been stated previously the study will make use of a longitudinal case study that attempts to understand trends, representation and changes in a singular source, and therefore this justifies a singular case study. This methodology also only examines print media as a propaganda medium for Afrikaner nationalism, as opposed to viewing different media, including audio-visual, other print media including books and newspapers, as well as radio. This means that this study does not give a comprehensive view of all the propaganda approaches that the National Party may have undertaken in order to promote the apartheid regime to the wider society. This rationale is more applicable to the limitation of the scope of the study, as opposed to a limitation of the methodology. The methodology discussed throughout this chapter, gives the researcher, as well as other future researchers the groundwork of one propaganda medium used by the SADF, to investigate the broader propaganda landscape implemented by the NP.

Content analysis is a favoured methodical approach for the study of propaganda in print media, however, content analysis is not without its critics. In the study of mass communication researchers are encouraged to undertake quantitative research, to evaluate traits of a message or object, reach a conclusion in terms of concordance analysis with other independent coders (Lombard *et al* 2002: 589). Since content analysis is considered to be flexible in its design, a variety of different researchers in various fields may make use of the methodology. This in turn draws attention to the unavailability of a clear definition and process available to the method, and therefore, potentially limits the execution of content analysis (Tesch 1990). Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1283) warn that if a researcher relies too heavily on the theory in a directed content analysis approach he or she can become blind to the “contextual aspects of the phenomenon”. This can be prevented by examining the theory or theories used in order to establish categories for data analysis, in advance and to understand it thoroughly as to increase the correctness of the predetermined categories. However, qualitative approaches to content analysis are made difficult as the content is subject to misinterpretation and bias from the researcher. Nevertheless, the researcher will systematically ensure that all design, advertising

and content components of the suggested magazine issues are analysed in order to draw up key trends and changes. Furthermore, the researcher will make use of a comprehensive literature review to contextualise all findings to ensure that the analysis is as unbiased and objective as possible.

4.6. Alternative research methodologies

Alternative research approaches to this proposed study would be to include multiple case studies. This will mean that more war periodicals would have to be included in the study. It has the advantage of introducing comparison between the data gathered from several sources included in the study. This means that a more rounded perspective on propaganda in official war publications can be made. Comparative analysis will then be essential for a multiple case study, as there is no purpose of examining multiple cases without comparing the findings, trends and themes with other related cases. However, this type of research is not applicable to this study, since the chosen case study served as the official publication from the then-military, as *Paratus* is considered to be the only comprehensive publication on the SADF during the timeframe of the Border War that was regarded as a general interest magazine, with other material being financed by the SADF such as *Militaria* being aimed at scholars and academics of military and war. By examining a singular case for an extended period of time, rich and key information from the source that it comes from will be accumulated and a comprehensive study on the editorial philosophy, changes, themes and trends within the single case can be identified, providing the opportunity to conduct a larger study of war publications in general, and comparing the findings with one another.

Another approach includes a single-issue study. This means that a single issue of the magazine is used to gather and analyse relevant data; by examining a single-issue the researcher is enabled to gather data from the entire issue. However, this method is complicated by the decision on what issue to choose in order to gather and analyse the data from. A single-issue study causes the research to be in isolation, with no other elements to compare it to. Furthermore, a single-issue study does not enable the researcher to gather data over an extended period of time and in turn the researcher cannot identify key changes and trends over the suggested time-frame. Therefore, the researcher cannot conduct a longitudinal analysis, which forms a key component of the research method.

Finally, a quantitative research methodology could have formed the main research paradigm. A quantitative method would then quantify the data, for example in terms of how many times

does a specific phrase or suggestion by the editorial board occur in the magazine. A quantitative research approach for content analysis is frequently favoured by researchers in the field of mass communication, with the focus on intercoder agreement, where more than one researcher finds consensus regarding the various criteria of analysis, with a percentage then being worked out to validate the data. Quantifiable approaches are more statistically oriented, therefore in turn the findings generated are regarded as being more trustworthy than that of a qualitative approach. However, for the sake of this study, a qualitative research methodology is more suitable since it produces more rich and ample information regarding the manner in which the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* contributed to the forming and maintaining the Afrikaner nationalism ideology as set out by the apartheid government; this form of research would not have been achievable by a quantitative research methodology. Instead, features of data presentation will be implemented by quantifying the data and will then also be taken further by interpreting these findings by comparing the findings to the comprehensive literature review.

4.7. Conclusion

The research methodology as outlined in this chapter, reveals a specific approach in order to answer the research problem(s) discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis. The overall qualitative research approach means that the researcher will focus on “textual, descriptive narrative” (Pickard 2013: 25) and holistic in-depth data gathering, and analysis as opposed to statistical analysis.

The single case study method to study the publication lifespan of *Paratus* magazine showcases that *Paratus* is an appropriate case to examine in terms of official war communication in a South African context, since it is a unique but representative case to examine. Longitudinal analysis is necessary to investigate this case, in order to examine *Paratus* over its entire publication lifespan. It has been identified that the final issue of each year that the magazine had been published is deemed appropriate to study in this longitudinal manner for the duration of the Border War.

Content analysis forms the greatest component of this study. Content analysis is considered to be a systematic approach for analysing message content. This refers to the editorial philosophy of the magazine, being examined in a systematic manner, including the content, design and advertising of the magazine, with its various sub-categories. This study will make use of Hsieh and Shannon’s (2002: 1281) directed content analysis approach in order to broaden and expand the theoretical framework of propaganda studies, in a South African context.

The Propaganda Model's (PM) fifth filter will serve as a guideline to identify the use of propaganda in official war communication. The propaganda devices and/or tools identified in Chapter 2 will serve as a set of criteria for the researcher to answer the sub-research question to identify what propaganda devices are used in *Paratus*.

Ultimately, this study is rooted in a comprehensive literature review in order to compare the findings generated by the researcher to other findings concluded from similar studies, while also comparing the findings to the overall actual history of the Border War.

CHAPTER 5: Data gathering and presentation

5.1. Introduction

In order to answer the research questions presented in the introductory chapter and then again in Chapter 4 (Methodology), it is necessary to collect and analyse the data that makes up *Paratus*. Since the study has been classified as predominantly qualitative, the data that will be generated and investigated must be rich and detailed (Pickard 2013: 267).

After implementing the research methodology, as discussed in Chapter 4, the archives have been collected in order to analyse the particulars that makes up the magazine. In order to make the data gathering and the eventual analysis more seamless and feasible, the data is separated into three main categories, namely, advertisements, covers and content (this refers to the editorial content such as pure editorial, feature articles and articles). With each category, especially with content, the data will then be categorised again, set against specific criteria, for example, advertisements can be categorised as advertisements or advertorials. The data presentation will therefore be quantified in the form of graphs, referring to the quantitative research methods discussed briefly in Chapter 4.

For the purpose of the study, the duration of the Border War in South Africa, in which *Paratus* was available, meaning 1970 to 1988, is examined in order to gain in depth understanding of the use of the magazine during wartime specifically, in terms of communication and propaganda to the South African public. This extended period will be particularly helpful in identifying changes in the editorial philosophy's approach to propaganda in the medium. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the December issues of *Paratus* was chosen as the most suitable for analysis, with the exception of the year 1973, in which the November issue was used due to availability; this results in 19 issues of *Paratus* that are examined in order to gain data.

5.2. Data presentation in terms of editorial philosophy elements

In order to present the data that has been gathered, it is important to separate the different types of data. This means that the editorial philosophy components that have already been identified in Chapter 2 need to be mentioned once again.

The editorial philosophy makes up the content of the magazine and will thus form the basis on which this analysis will take place. The criteria of the various components as discussed in Chapter 4 will be used in the data gathering and presentation.

One of the methods used to make the study more reliable is by examining the magazine in its entirety, to review not only the various components such as advertisements, covers and content, but by reviewing each component completely. This means that a substantial number of data became apparent once the data gathering process started, and not all of the data becomes relevant to the study of propaganda. The data that has been generated, but does not fit into the current study can be found in the Appendices, with specific appendices such as B: Space/size of advertisements/advertorials, C: Complete list of companies identified in the advertisements, D: Colour(s) used, E: Typography, F: Key words used in the cover lines, G: Pull-quotes. It is clear from this list that the majority of the design elements gathered from the data does not have an impact on the overarching research question of this thesis, which is to understand to which extent propaganda was used to further the Afrikaner nationalist ideology through the means of *Paratus*.

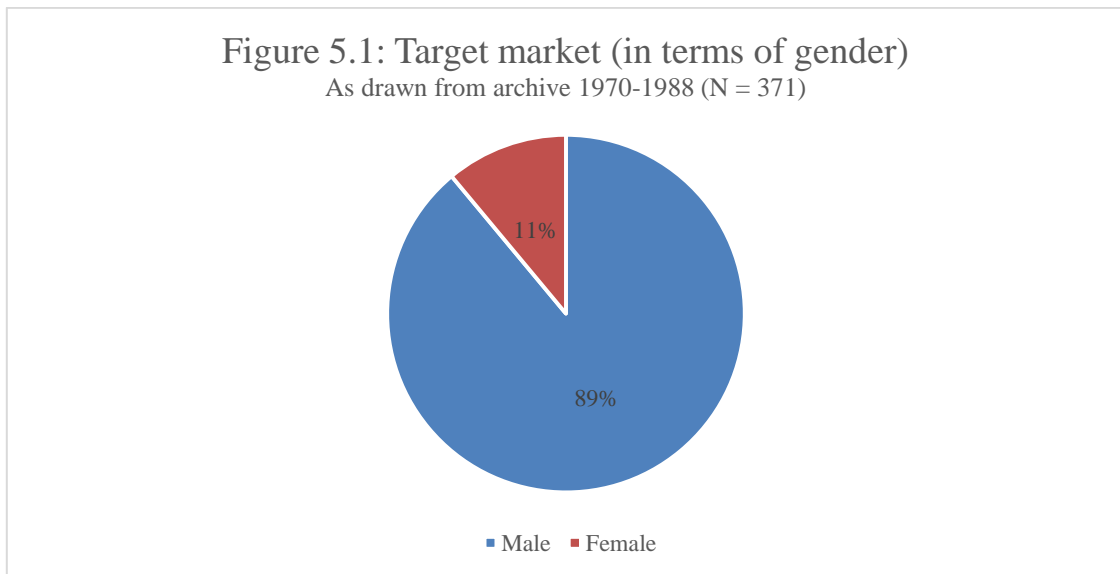
5.2.1. Advertisements

Before any discussion on advertisements can take place, it is important to point out the absence of any advertisements during the years 1973, 1975 and 1976. 1974 only featured one advertisement, while 1977 and 1978 featured five advertisements for each year. This is contrast to the rest of the magazine, and even to magazines at large. As advertisements are a key characteristic of magazines, it is unusual for a magazine to feature no advertisements for three years, with another three years only featuring a combined total of 11 advertisements.

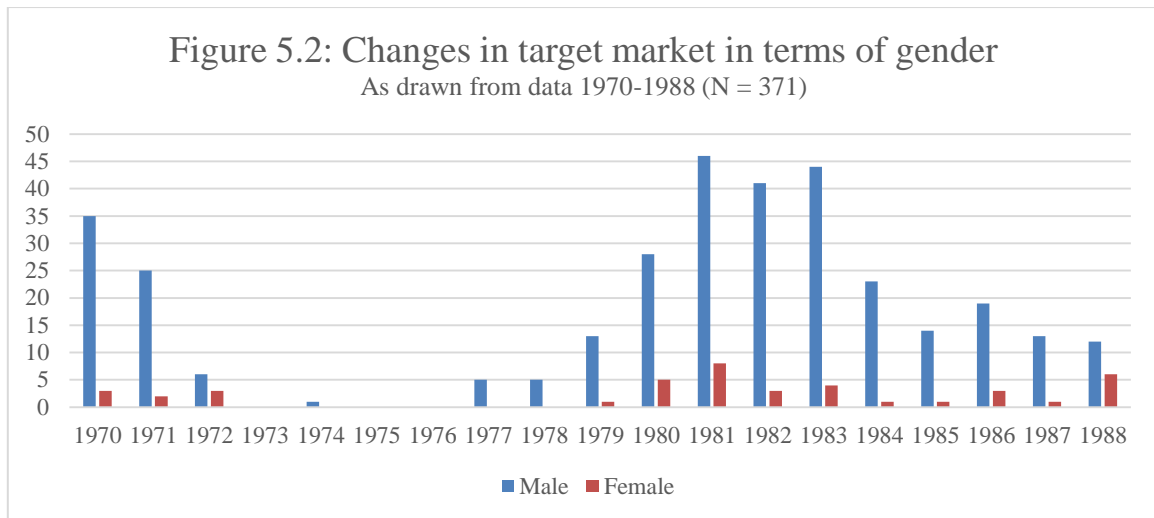
Paratus declared that advertisements were placed in the magazine until March 1973 and then suspended as it took up too much editorial space. This lessened readers' ability to keep up to date with the goings-on of the SADF, since the SADF was ever growing. This statement was made in the December issue of 1974 (page 16). This promise, however, was short lived, as one can see that advertisements were again placed from 1977 onwards, albeit at first in low numbers. In 1978, the editor in chief, apologised for the "thinner" magazine, stating that because of the "current" economic climate and lack of funds, the magazine suffered as a result. The economic climate mentioned here referred to the international boycotts that plagued South Africa during the apartheid years. The year after this message, a definite increase in advertisements can again be seen, with 1981 featuring a grand total of 54 advertisements, reflecting the need for funding. The number of advertisements from 1980 onwards mirrored the economic difficulties that South Africa underwent, with international boycotts already occurring from 1960s, but with renewed efforts by British anti-apartheid campaigners from

1976 onwards. The recession that hit South Africa coincides with the need for more financing from external funders. After more advertisements were placed within the magazine, funds began to grow – one can see this in the increase in colour usage in the advertisements. Furthermore, the increase in the number of advertisements also led to an increase in the total extent of content as well, resulting in a bulkier magazine.

Target audience



It is clear that the market of *Paratus* is primarily male, with 330 advertisements primarily aimed at males, while 41 advertisements/advertorials were primarily aimed at female (and even then, to some degree include male targeting). In terms of race, only in one advertisement (1982) regarding a job opportunity explicitly stated that coloured and black males were also encouraged to apply for the position, while “all racial groups” can apply for a position advertised in 1984. Often, in advertisements/advertorials presented as a study/training/job opportunity, the requirements include being a white male, and educated to some degree (often labelling having mathematics up to standard seven or eight as essential), while salaries are often influenced by the completion of national service.

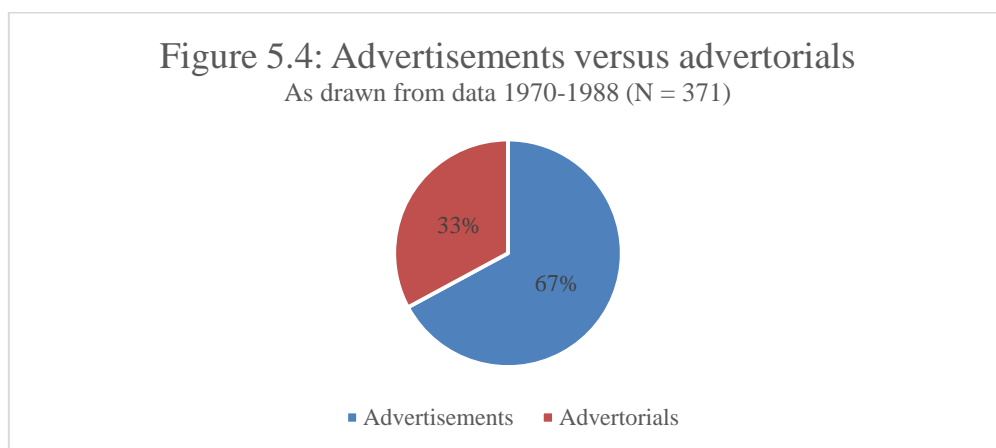


Year	Ratio
1970	12:1
1971	13:1
1972	2:1
1973	0:0
1974	1:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	5:0
1978	5:0
1979	13:1
1980	6:1
1981	6:1
1982	14:1
1983	11:1
1984	23:1
1985	14:1
1986	6:1
1987	13:1
1988	2:0

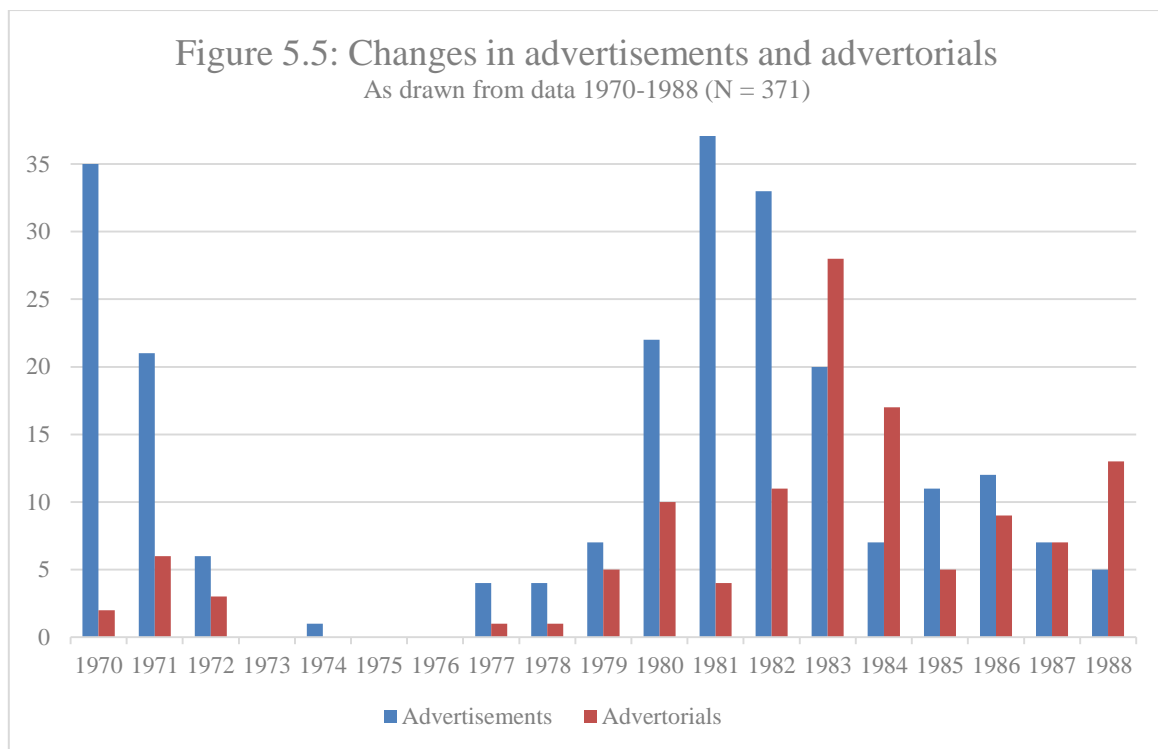
FIGURE 5.3.: RATIO OF TARGET MARKET IN TERMS OF GENDER

A trend towards the inclusion of advertisements primarily (as well as, in most cases, for both male and female) aimed at women can be seen only from 1980 onwards, with the most advertisements for a female readership in 1981 with a total of eight, while this is also the year that published the most advertisements aimed at men, with a total of 46. This coincides with the inclusion of a women’s column/page introduced from 1981 in *Paratus*. The changes in target market in terms of gender can also be seen reflected in the ratio figure (figure 5.3), with the highest ratio being 14:1, and the lowest 1:0, indicating that the advertisements placed in *Paratus* primarily targeted males.

Advertisements versus advertorials



It can be seen that *Paratus* used traditional advertisements more often, with 249 occurrences, while advertisement hybrids, otherwise known as advertorials were used 122 times throughout the timeframe of the magazine in the issues analysed.



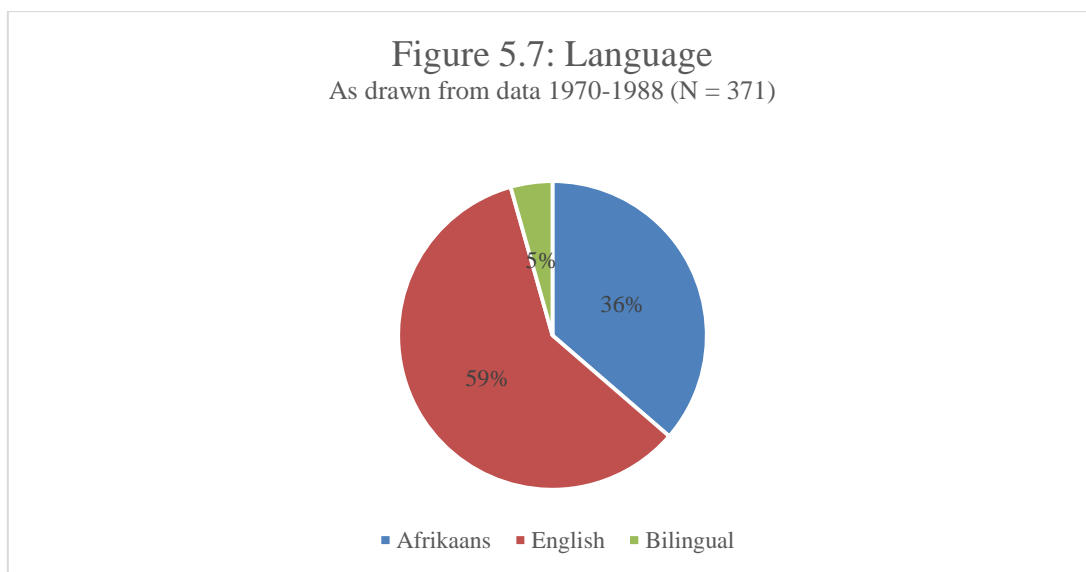
Year	Ratio
1970	18:1
1971	4:1
1972	2:1
1973	0:0
1974	1:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	4:1
1978	4:1
1979	1:1
1980	2:1
1981	13:1
1982	0.7:1
1983	0.4:1
1984	2:1
1985	2:1
1986	1:1
1987	1:1
1988	0.4:1

FIGURE 5.6.: RATIO OF ADVERTISEMENTS AND ADVERTORIALS

In the above graph, it is important to note that there were no advertisements (both traditional and hybrid advertisements/advertorials) placed in *Paratus* during the years 1973, 1975 and 1976. In the year 1974 only one advertisement was published. As mentioned in the pie graph, traditional advertisements were most often used, and the bar graph also illustrates this. There appears to be a trend towards the use of advertorials as opposed to traditional advertisements during the late 1980s, with significant increases in 1983, with 28 versus 20, 1984, with 17 versus 7 and 1988, with 13 versus 5. Advertorials were often chosen for longer pieces, such as advertisements that were financially oriented, such as savings. One such example can be seen in the 1981 issue: an advertorial featuring information for Allied Bank on a savings account aimed at soldiers. Most often, services were presented in advertorials as opposed to advertisements, while products would more likely be presented in traditional advertisements.

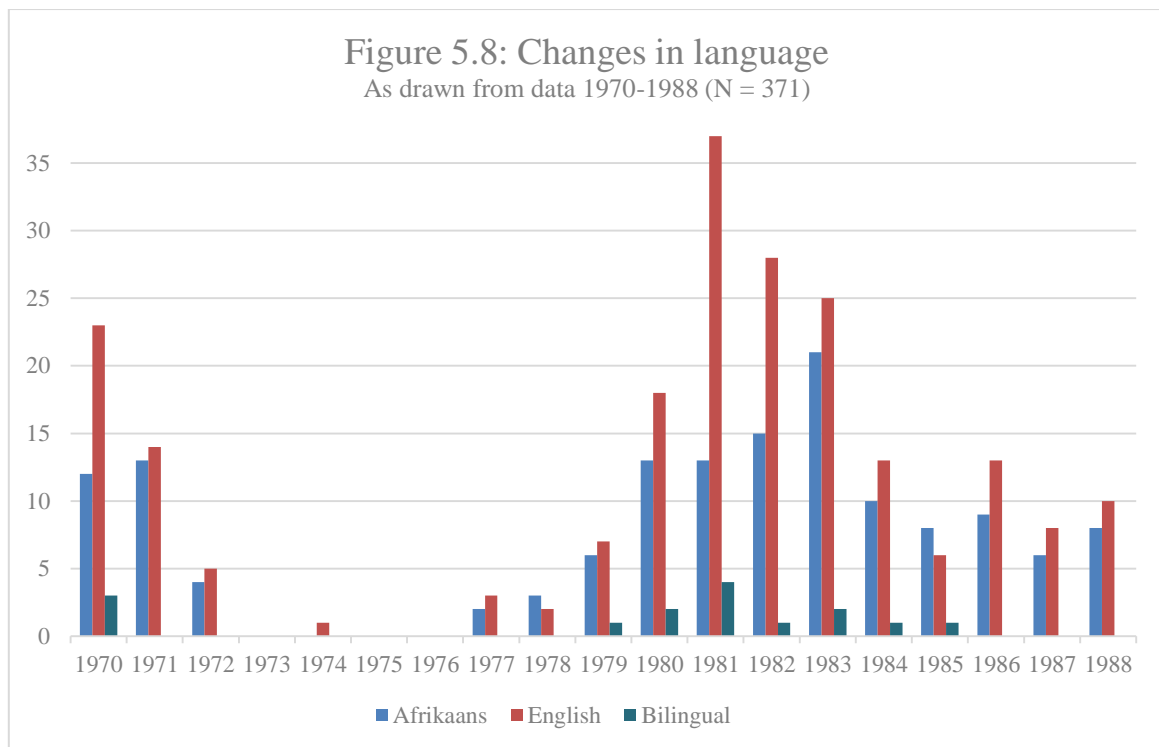
As stated previously, advertorials provide the opportunity of more control than the traditional advertisement, which may be a reason as to why there was a growth in advertorials from 1983. As the political situation in South Africa grew more unpleasant, the need for greater control in terms of communication (this extends to advertisements) may be deemed important. This is also clear in the ratio figure (figure 5.6) that advertisements were used more regularly than advertorials, with the highest ratio being 18:1. Although fairly close in terms of ratios the increase of advertorials from the 1980s led to three separate instances where the ratio was 0.7:1 and 0.4:1 (twice).

Language



Although *Paratus* describes itself as a bilingual magazine, only 17 advertisements/advertorials placed within the magazine over the timeframe were published both in Afrikaans and English. English can be seen as the language of choice when it comes to advertisements/advertorials with 230 of these elements published in English, while Afrikaans only featured in 141 advertisements/advertorials.

Bilingual advertisements (both traditional and hybrid) were used for study/bursary opportunities (1970, 1980), military tanks (1979, 1980, 1981), bus services dedicated to national servicemen (1981, 1982, 1983), a specific vehicle (Pugeot), Christmas greeting (1970), jewellery specifically rings (1981), and Christmas presents (1984). Other elements of advertising (this will be presented in the graphs below) were published in both Afrikaans and English, separately from 1970 to 1988.



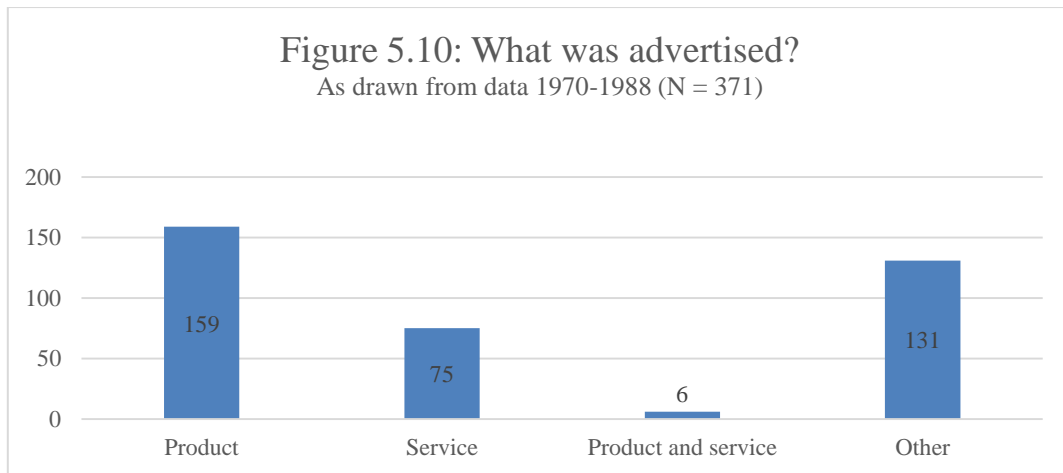
Year	Ratio
1970	12:1
1971	13:1
1972	2:1
1973	0:0
1974	1:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	5:0
1978	13:1
1979	6:1
1980	6:1
1981	6:1
1982	14:1
1983	11:1
1984	23:1
1985	14:1
1986	6:1
1987	13:1
1988	2:0

FIGURE 5.9.: RATIO OF ENGLISH VERSUS AFRIKAANS

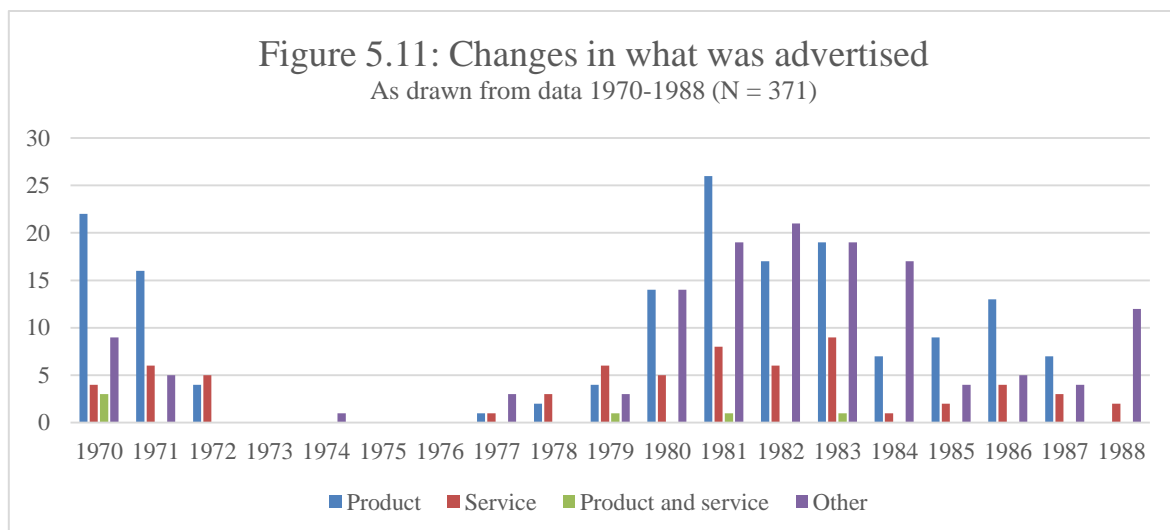
It can be seen in the above graph that English was used most often throughout the study timeframe. 1970 reveals 23 English advertisements/advertorials placed, while 12 Afrikaans and three bilingual make up the total. In 1981 37 English advertisements/advertorials were placed while only 13 Afrikaans and four bilingual were published. This difference in number of English advertisements/advertorials placed can once again be seen in 1982, with 28 English, 15 Afrikaans and one bilingual. The lack of adhering to the language policy is even clearer in the ratio figure (figure 5.9) where the highest ratio is 23:1 in 1984, while an average of 13:1 slanted towards the use of English as favoured language for advertisements is identifiable.

What was advertised?

It should be noted that in order to present the various items advertised in *Paratus*, the presentation will first focus on what was advertised, and then follow with individual graphs presenting three of the four areas identified in the graph below.



Products were most often advertised in *Paratus*, with 159 occurrences, while “other” elements, made up 131 occurrences. Services were advertised a total of 75 times, while both products and services simultaneously only occurred six times.



Year	Ratio
1970	6:1
1971	3:1
1972	0.8:1
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	1:1
1978	0.6:1
1979	0.6:1
1980	3:1
1981	3:1
1982	3:1
1983	2:1
1984	7:0
1985	5:1
1986	3:1
1987	2:1
1988	2:1

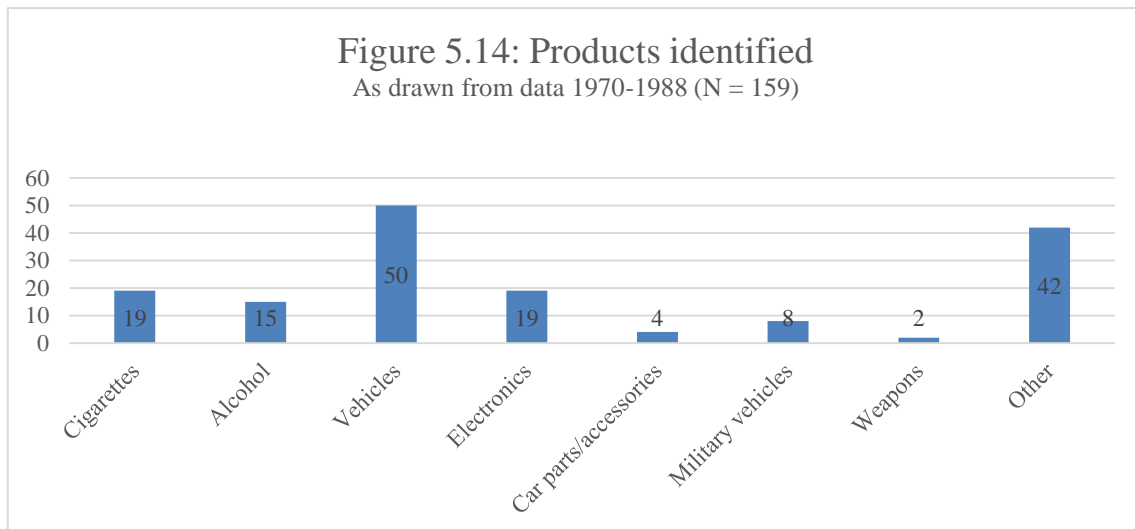
FIGURE 5.12: RATIO OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

Year	Ratio
1970	3:1
1971	5:1
1972	9:1
1973	0:0
1974	0:1
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	0.6:1
1978	5:0
1979	3:1
1980	1:1
1981	2:1
1982	1:1
1983	2:1
1984	0.5:1
1985	3:1
1986	3:1
1987	3:1
1988	0.1:1

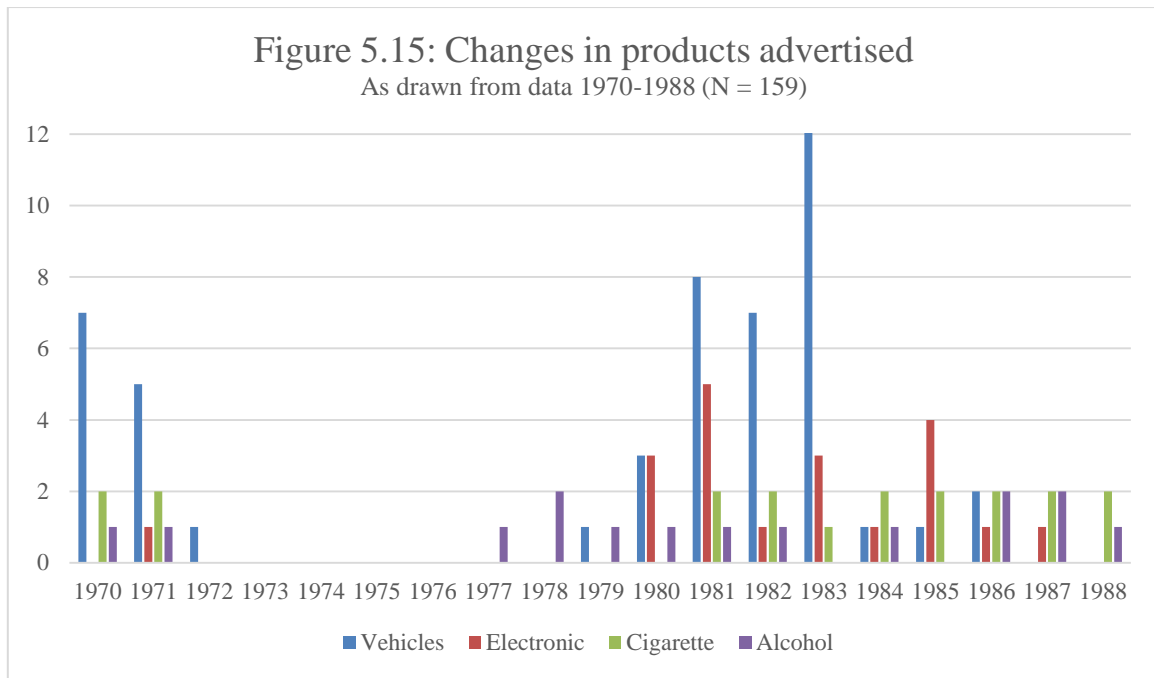
FIGURE 5.13: RATIO OF PRODUCTS/SERVICES AND “OTHER” ADVERTISEMENTS

In the bar graph above, one can see that products were advertised most often during the years 1970, 1971, 1981, and 1986. However, the “other”, identified below as specifically study/training/job/bursary opportunities and Christmas greetings with a few individual other identified advertisements, follows products as a category quite closely, specifically in the years 1970, 1980, 1981-1984 and 1988.

Products identified



The majority of the products advertised in *Paratus* were vehicle-related, which includes various cars, motorcycles, aircraft and boats, occurring 50 times during the timespan of the analyses. This is closely followed by an element labelled “other”, which makes up various singular products advertised throughout the magazine and includes a grader, petrol, clothing, oil, lightweight lattice mast, industrial and engineering related products, bulldozer, fine spinners and weavers, stationery, machine tools, book offer, outboard engines, game and trainer equipment, watch, pain killer cream, personal keepsake of Border Duty, jewellery, rings, sunscreen, chewing gum, yo-yo, sailboard, food, lamps, helmets, golf, furniture, Christmas presents, exercise cycle, paper, pool related products, and an anti-theft system; this makes up 42 appearances. Other products that also featured in the magazine include electronics appearing 19 times, cigarettes appearing 19 times, alcohol appearing 15 times, military vehicles (including strike craft and tanks) appearing eight times, car parts or accessories appearing four times and weapons appearing twice.



Year	Ratio
1970	7:0
1971	5:1
1972	1:0
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	0:0
1978	0:0
1979	1:0
1980	1:1
1981	2:1
1982	7:1
1983	5:1
1984	1:1
1985	1:4
1986	2:1
1987	0:1
1988	0:0

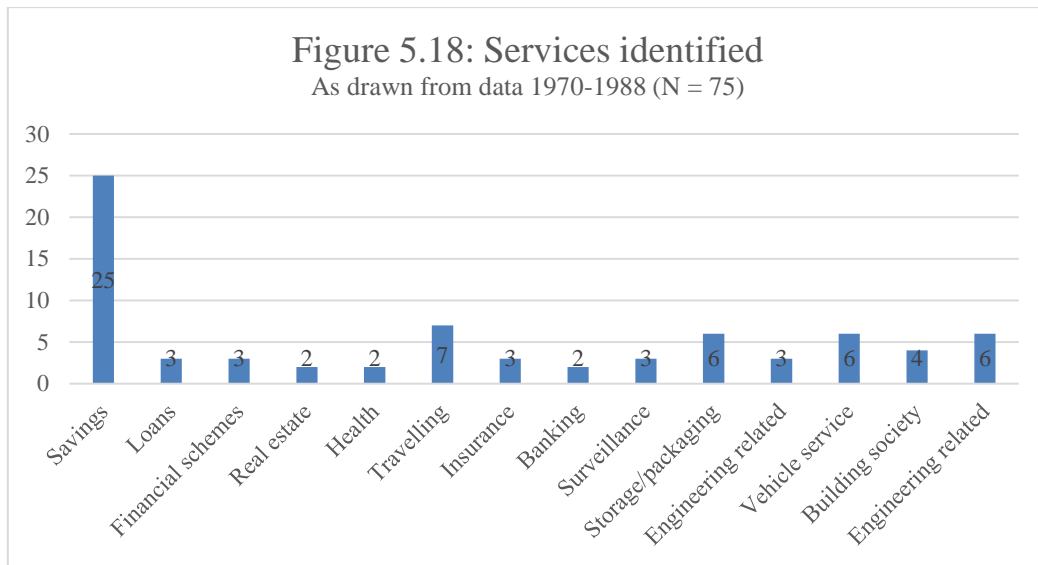
FIGURE 5.16: RATIO OF VEHICLES AND ELECTRONICS

Year	Ratio
1970	2:1
1971	2:1
1972	0:0
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	0:1
1978	0:2
1979	0:1
1980	0:1
1981	2:1
1982	2:1
1983	1:0
1984	2:1
1985	2:0
1986	1:1
1987	1:1
1988	2:1

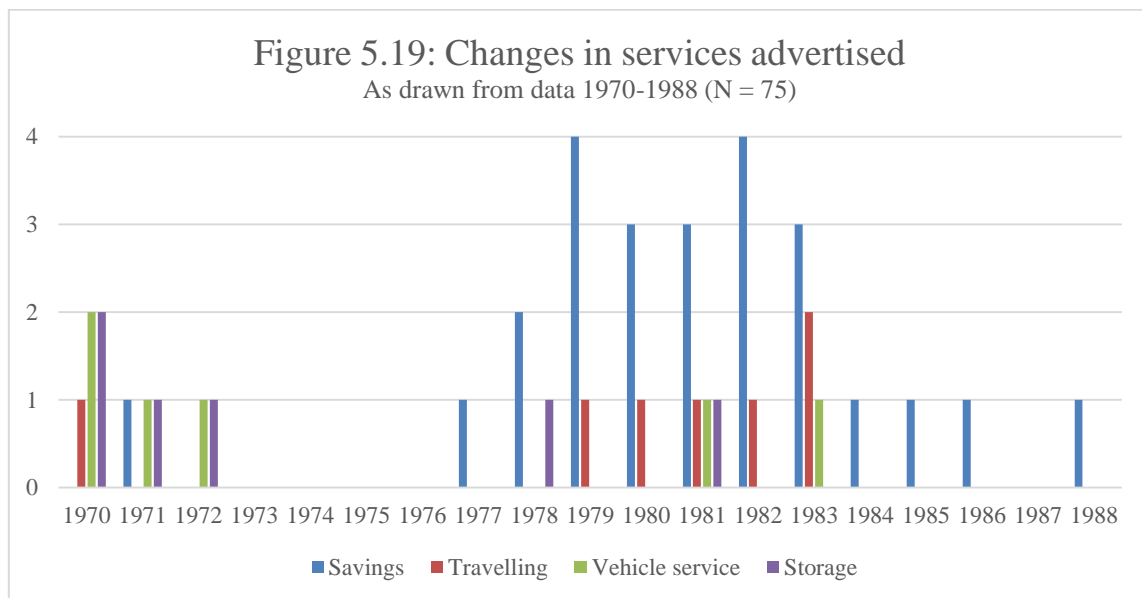
FIGURE 5.17: RATIO OF CIGARETTES AND ALCOHOL

Only the top four represented products as found in the bar graph title “products identified”, are presented in the “changes in products advertised” bar graph. In this graph, one can note that vehicles were often the favourite product to be advertised, with several occurrences in a single issue, as can be seen in the years 1970 (seven advertisements), 1981 (eight advertisements), 1982 (seven advertisements) and 1983 (14 advertisements). A trend towards electronic products can be seen from 1980 to 1987 with regular advertisements placed during this time. Alcohol was advertised almost every issue except for the years 1972-1976, while cigarettes were advertised regularly, except for the years 1973-1979 and 1988.

Services identified



It can be seen that the majority of the services advertised in *Paratus* were financial related, as can be seen in the 25 occurrences of savings related services, followed by three financial schemes, three loans, three insurance, two real estate, two banking, with travelling (including bus related services and weekend pass) occurring seven times, while storage, packaging and agents and stockists, and vehicle services both occur six times. Surveillance occurred three times, and engineering related services occurred six times.



Year	Ratio
1970	1:1
1971	1:1
1972	1:1
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	0:0
1978	0:1
1979	0:0
1980	0:0
1981	1:1
1982	0:0
1983	1:0
1984	0:0
1985	0:0
1986	0:0
1987	0:0
1988	0:0

FIGURE 5.20: RATIO OF VEHICLE SERVICE AND STORAGE

In the bar graph above one notice that savings-related service advertisements grew in numbers specifically from 1977 onwards, with the years 1979 and 1982 featuring the most savings-related advertisements with a total of 4 for both respective years. Storage-related service advertisements were found regularly at the early stages of the magazine as can be seen in the years 1970-1972, while it was found again in 1978 and 1981. Vehicle-related services shows a similar pattern being found in 1970-1972 and then again in 1981 and 1983. Travelling-related service advertisements also features a bit haphazardly, appearing in 1970, then again in 1979-1983.

During analysis of the various services identified within *Paratus* one particular service became apparent, namely financial related services. A combined total of 31 financial related services were advertised within the magazine, with savings related services making up the biggest section at 25 advertisements. Other related services included loans, financial schemes, insurance and banking.

An advertisement was placed in 1971, making use of half of an A4 page, with the adspace purchased by FINAID (EDMS) Bpk. The advertisement clearly stated that cash loans were applicable to military personnel, specifically national servicemen, while an informal drawing of a man walking with cash in his hands accompanied the text. The same advertisement was placed in 1972. In 1983 an advertisement placed by Wes Bank also featured loans as a service provided by the bank, featuring a photograph of the exterior of several vehicles. The bank promised to provide national servicemen with the loan “fast”.

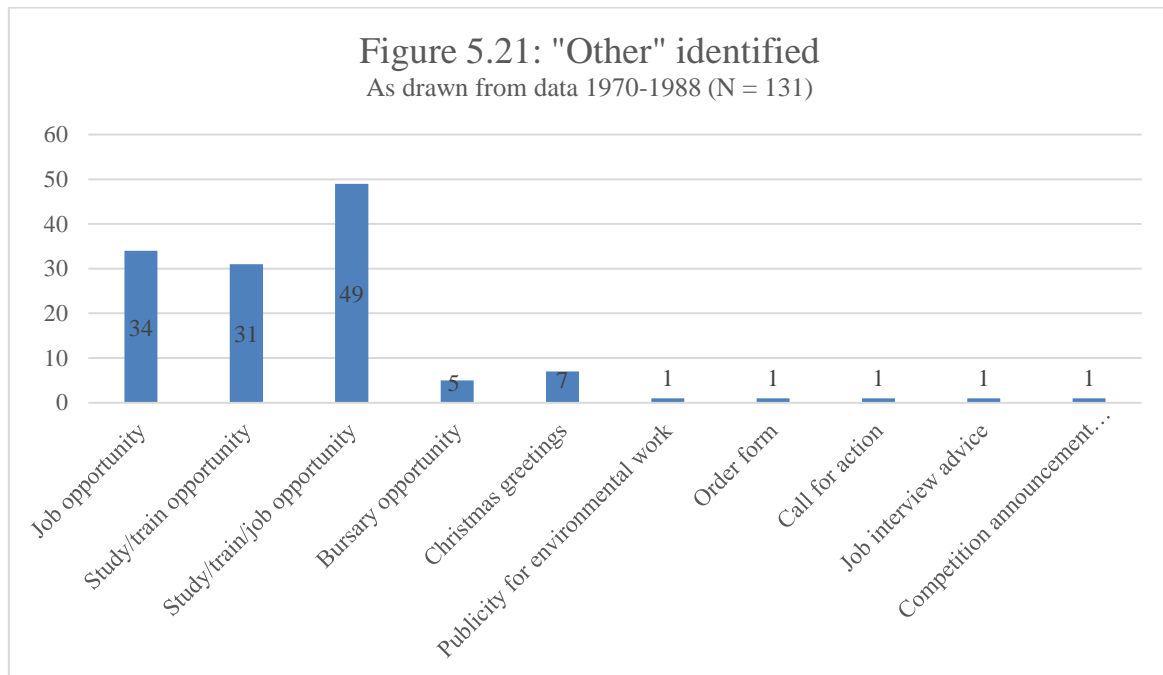
In 1972 an advertorial was placed revealing a service for funeral insurance. The adspace was purchased by AVBOB. The advertorial was aimed at families, thus here revealing that the target market was considered to be both female and male, as is referred to “... ons bied die beste voordele vir u gesin in ons nuwe Versekeringsplan 88 ingebou het” (“... we offer the best benefits for your family in our new Insurance plan 88.”) Life insurance was discussed in the advertorial placed in 1981 by Sanlam, which was again aimed at families, both male and female. The advertorial aimed to provide “protection” to the family. The image that

accompanied the text is that of a photograph of a mother sitting with her two children. Life insurance was again found in 1987 placed by Bancura in an advertorial. The service was aimed at male and female, as it was family oriented. The advertorial highlighted the benefits of having life insurance for one’s family.

An advertorial was placed in 1982 by Nedbank regarding banking services that the bank offered. Although no target market was identified, the photograph that accompanied the text represented several males watching the progress of construction taking place, therefore alluding to the idea that the banking services were mostly related to a male market. Another advertorial was placed by Nedbank in 1983 that again featuring banking services. This time around however, the company clearly states that the bank provided specific services to “army leavers”.

The same advertisement was placed by Santam Bank in 1985, 1986 and 1987. The advertisement provided financial schemes ranging from a variety of financial services, including personal loans, overdraft facilities, savings and investments. The advertisement does not allude to a specific target market; therefore, one can conclude that it is aimed at both male and female readers of *Paratus*.

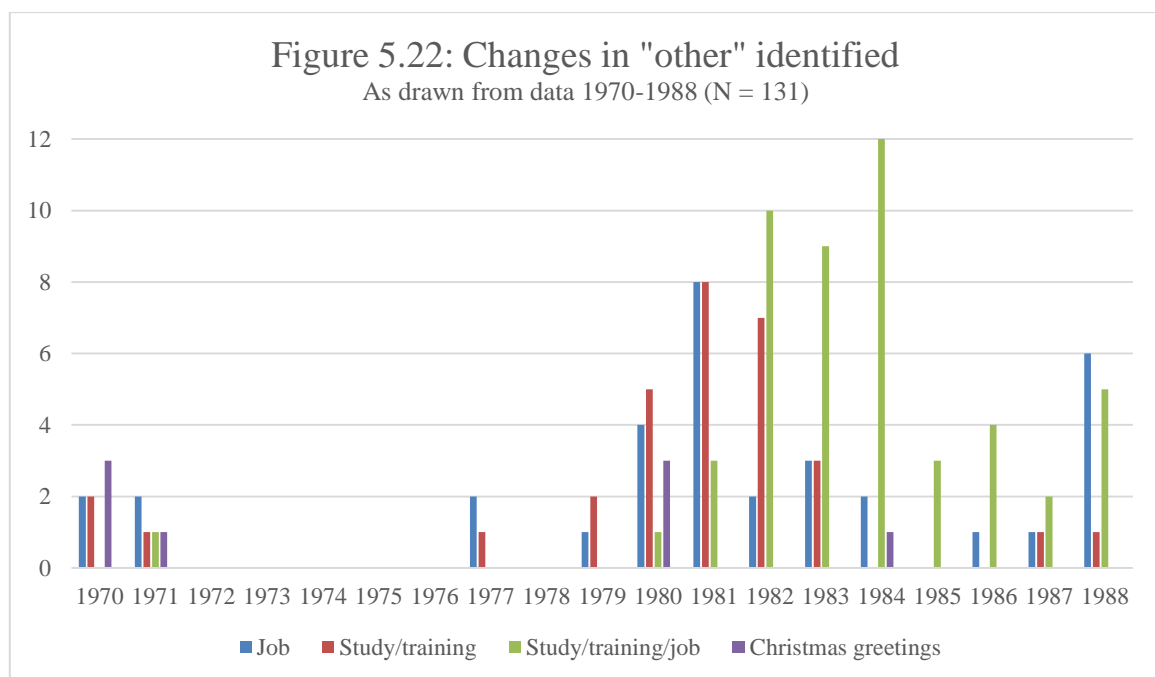
“Other” identified



It is necessary to discuss the “other” advertisements placed within *Paratus*, with specific focus on the study, training and job opportunities as this made up a combined total of 114

advertisements among the 371 total advertisements placed within the magazine, close to 31 per cent, while the remaining four per cent is made up of bursary opportunities, Christmas greetings, publicity for environmental work, order form, call for action, job interview advice and competition announcement winner.

It is clear that *Paratus*, its board and institution felt a need for advertisements/advertorials to be placed regarding life after serving in the military, with a specific focus on job study, training and job opportunities within a singular organisation; this occurred 49 times of the 131 “other” advertisements found in *Paratus*, while 34 pure job opportunities can be found in the magazine and 31 study and train opportunities is represented; five bursary opportunities also make up this section of the “other” advertisements/advertorials placed. Other advertisements/advertorials included seven Christmas greetings from various external companies, and then a single occurrence of publicity for environmental work (1970), order form (1970), call for action (1974), job interview advice (1983), and competition announcement winner of an external competition published within the magazine (1983).



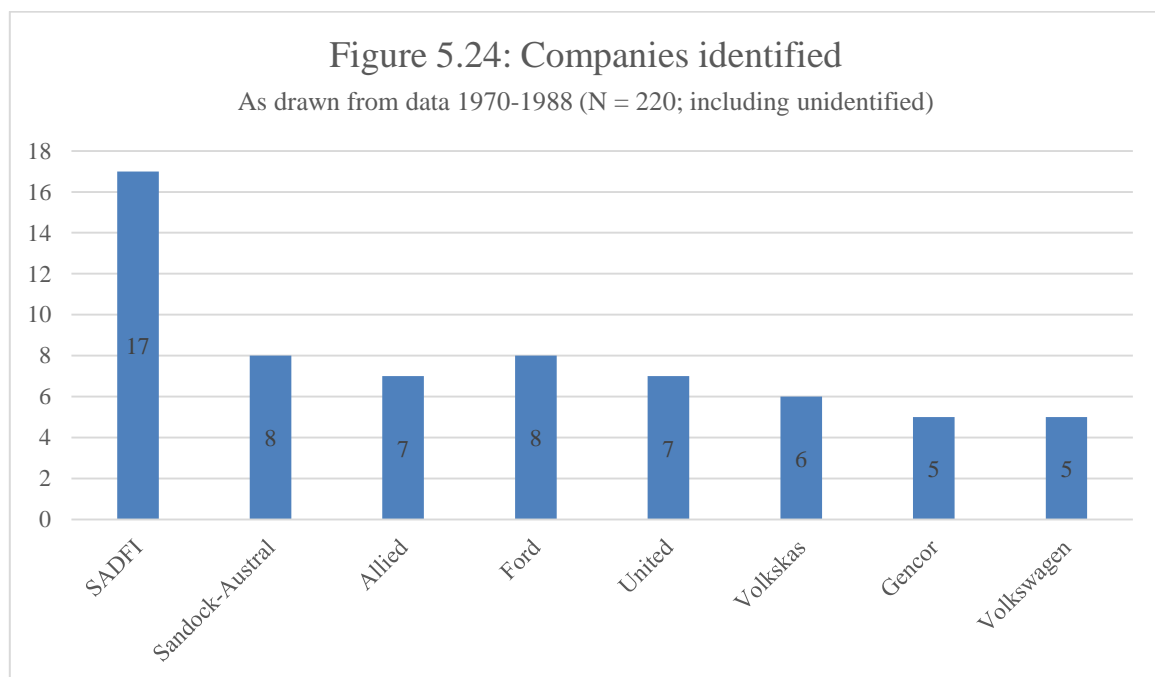
Year	Ratio
1970	2:0
1971	2:1
1972	0:0
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	2:0
1978	0:0
1979	1:0
1980	4:1
1981	3:1
1982	0.2:1
1983	0.3:1
1984	0.2:1
1985	0:3
1986	1:4
1987	1:2
1988	1:1

FIGURE 5.23: RATIO OF JOB AND STUDY/TRAINING/JOB

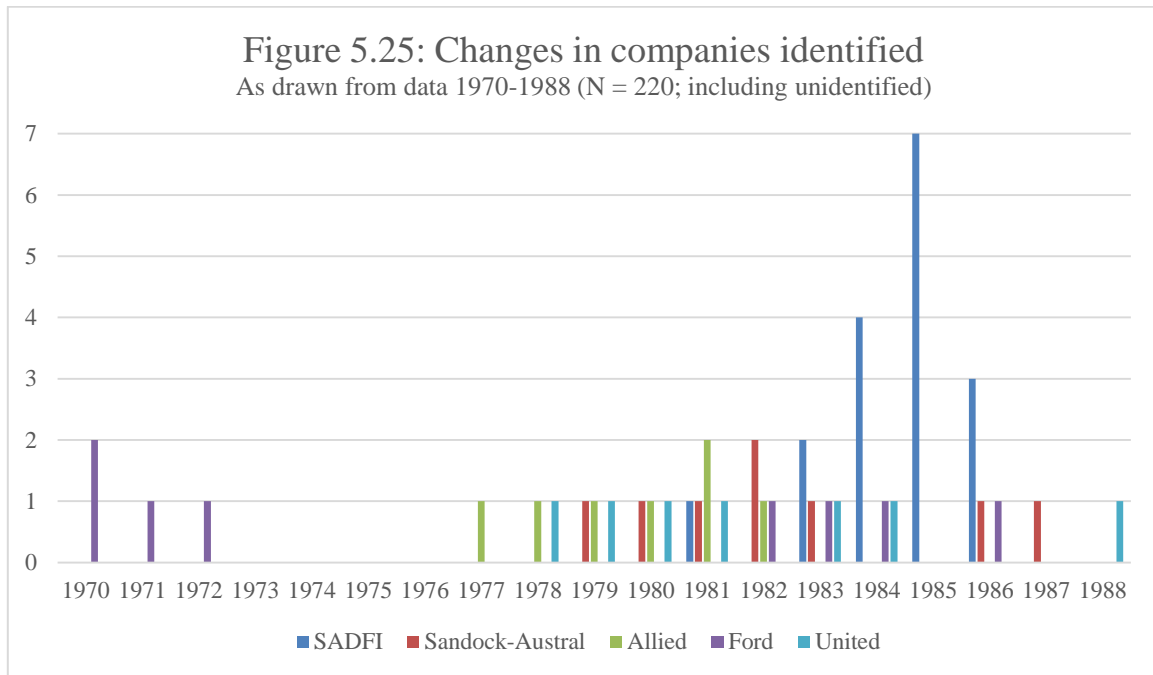
Represented in this bar graph, are only the following categories: job opportunity, study/training opportunity (this includes study and training as individual opportunities as well as a combined opportunity), study/training/job opportunity (this includes study and job opportunities, training and job opportunities and study, training and job opportunities as a combined opportunity) and Christmas greetings. It was decided per the bar graph illustrating the total of “other” elements identified that these categories should be further analysed in terms of changes across the timespan of the study as these come across most often. It can be noted that Christmas greetings were deemed important in 1970, 1971, 1980 and 1984 as these are the only years in which Christmas greetings/messages were advertised. It can be seen that job opportunities were advertised most regularly, appearing every year, except in 1972-1976, 1978 and 1985. This is also reflected in the ratio figure (figure 5.23) where job advertisements generally appeared in greater numbers, most significantly in 1980, with a ratio of 4:1. The combined opportunity of study/training/job can be seen to have escalated in the years 1982-1985, with a combined total of these years of 34 advertisements. The direction of advertisements giving information on study/training/job opportunities are also reflected in the ratios, with the highest being 1:4.

Companies identified

The following chart only features the companies that advertised five and more times throughout the timespan of analyses, excluding the unidentified companies. For a complete list of the companies identified within the magazine, please refer to Appendix C.



In the above table, one can see that the majority of the companies only advertise once-off, as 158 companies used this approach. The South African Defence Force Institute (SADFI) advertised most often, resulting in a total of 17 times, while Sandock-Austral Limited, a military vehicle and weapon manufacturer company, and Ford, a vehicle manufacturer company, both advertised eight times. Of the banks, Allied and United both advertised seven times, respectively, while Volkskas advertised six times in total.

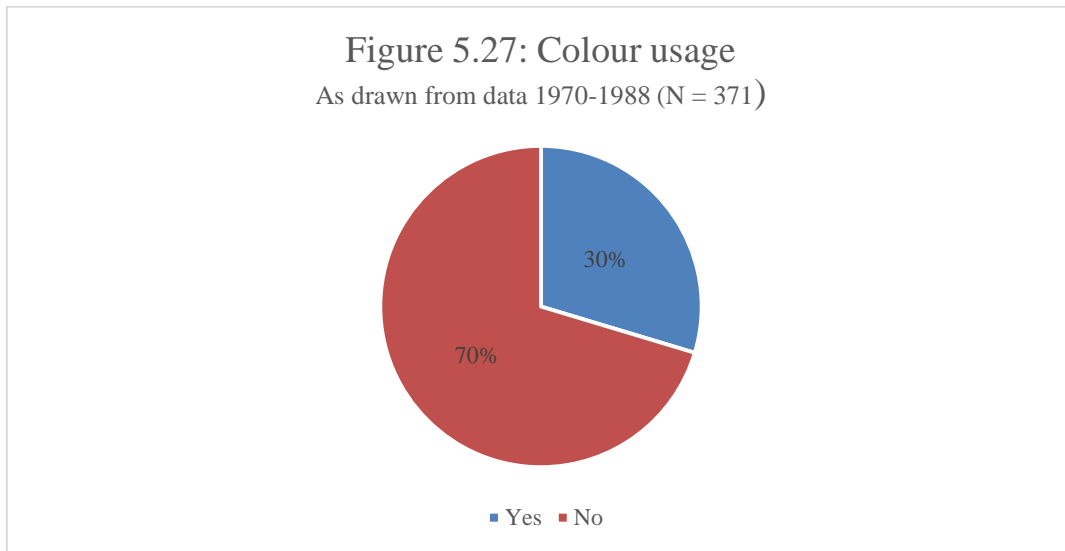


Year	Ratio
1970	0:0
1971	0:0
1972	0:0
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	0:0
1978	0:0
1979	0:1
1980	0:1
1981	1:1
1982	0:2
1983	2:1
1984	4:0
1985	7:0
1986	3:1
1987	0:1
1988	0:0

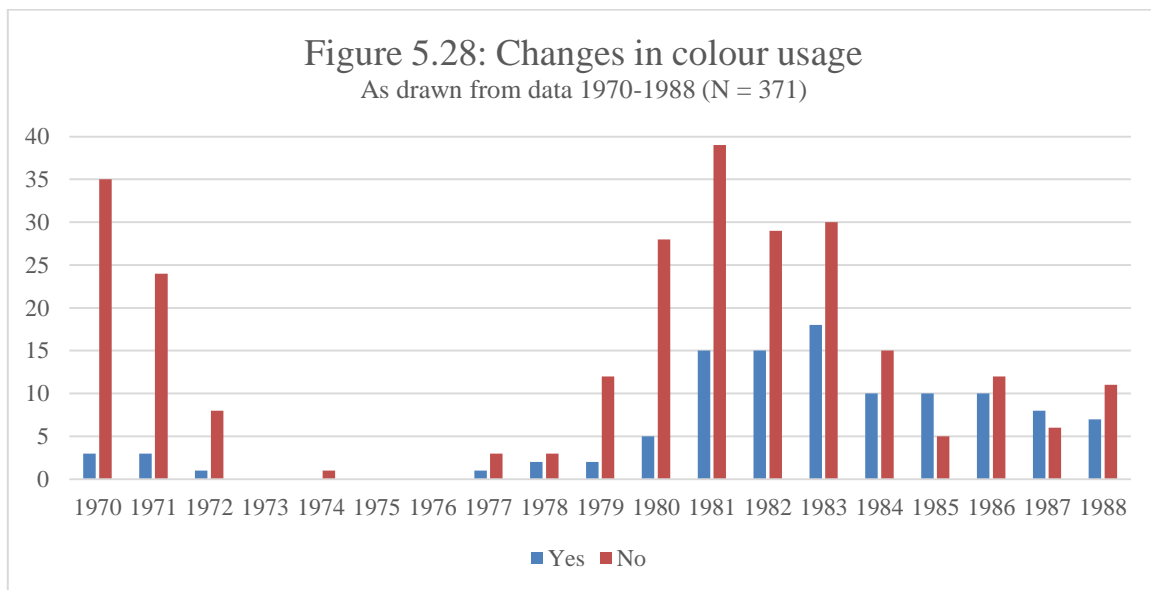
FIGURE 5.26: RATIO OF SADFI AND SANDOCK-AUSTRAL

In the bar graph above, only the top five companies identified in terms of frequency of advertisements are mentioned. One can see that at the beginning years of the publication only Ford advertised (1970-1972), followed then by Allied that advertised at regular intervals from 1977-1982. United also started advertising only from 1978 at regular intervals until the year 1981, with a quick break until 1983-1984 and then finally once again in 1988. Sandock-Austral advertised at regular intervals from 1979-1983, and then again from 1986-1987. SADFI published the most advertisements (a total of 17 as discussed in the pie graph mentioned above), during the years 1981, and 1983-1986.

Colour usage



The majority of the colour used in *Paratus* was of a monotone nature, meaning black and white, making up 261 advertisements/advertorials, while only 110 advertisements/advertorials made use of colour.



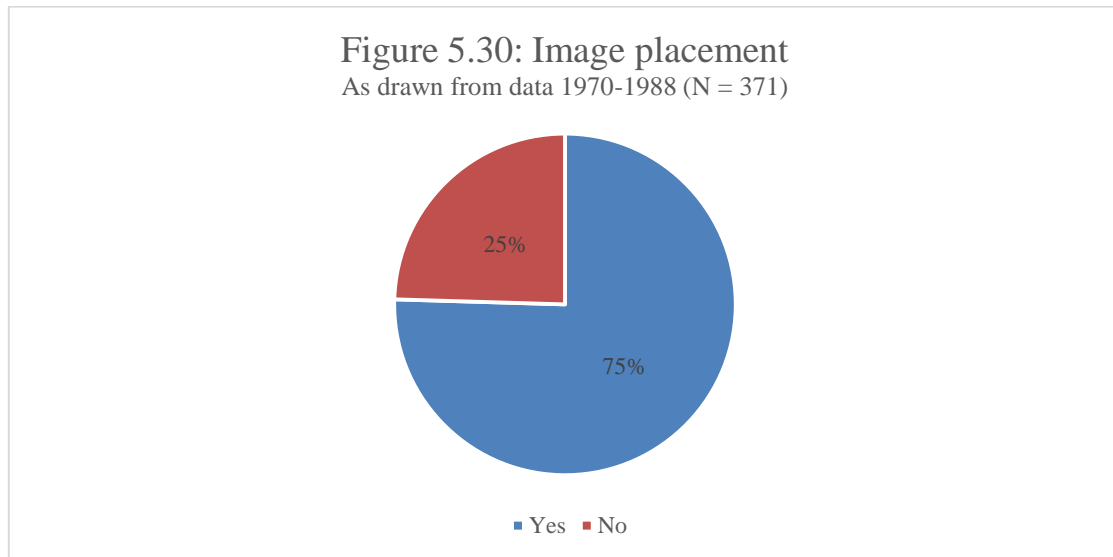
Year	Ratio
1970	0.08:1
1971	0.1:1
1972	1:8
1973	0:0
1974	0:1
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	1:3
1978	2:3
1979	0.1:1
1980	0.1:1
1981	0.4:1
1982	0.5:1
1983	0.6:1
1984	0.6:1
1985	2:1
1986	0.8:1
1987	1:1
1988	0.6:1

FIGURE 5.29: RATIO OF YES VERSUS NO IN COLOUR USAGE

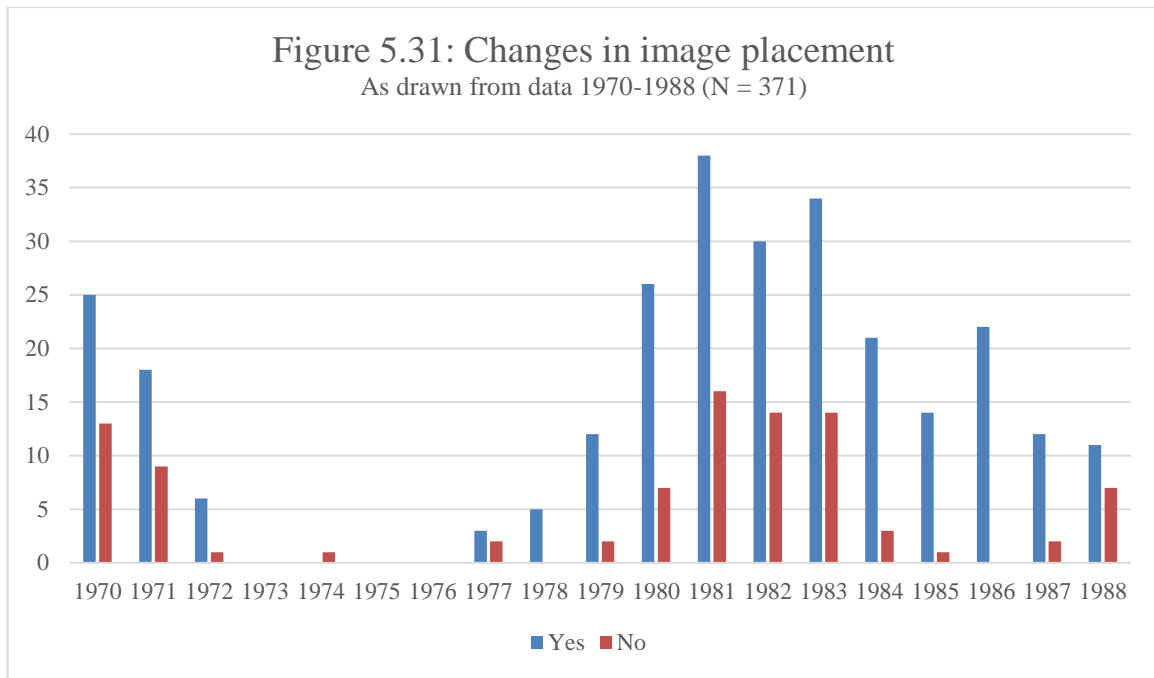
In the above bar graph, one notes that colour usage in advertisements only began to increase from 1980 onwards, with 1985 presenting the only instance with more colour advertisements

placed than no-colour advertisements, which coincides with an overall increase in colour usage in the magazine. However, it is clear that the trend over the timespan was to publish advertisements using no colour which may be due to cost-savings.

Image placement



The majority of advertisements/advertorials that were placed in the magazine made use of images, occurring 280 times, while only 91 advertisements/advertorials were made up of just text. Usually the image represents what is being advertised. For instance, in 1970 an advertisement was placed for cigarettes, thus an image of the product was placed as the focal point for the advertisement. Study, training, bursary and job opportunities advertisements/advertorials as well as Christmas messages, do not make use of images, as the text and information being conveyed is of more importance and relevancy than for example a product being sold. Products were also often accompanied by images, while services less so (referring to the difference between traditional advertisements and hybrid advertisements/advertorials).

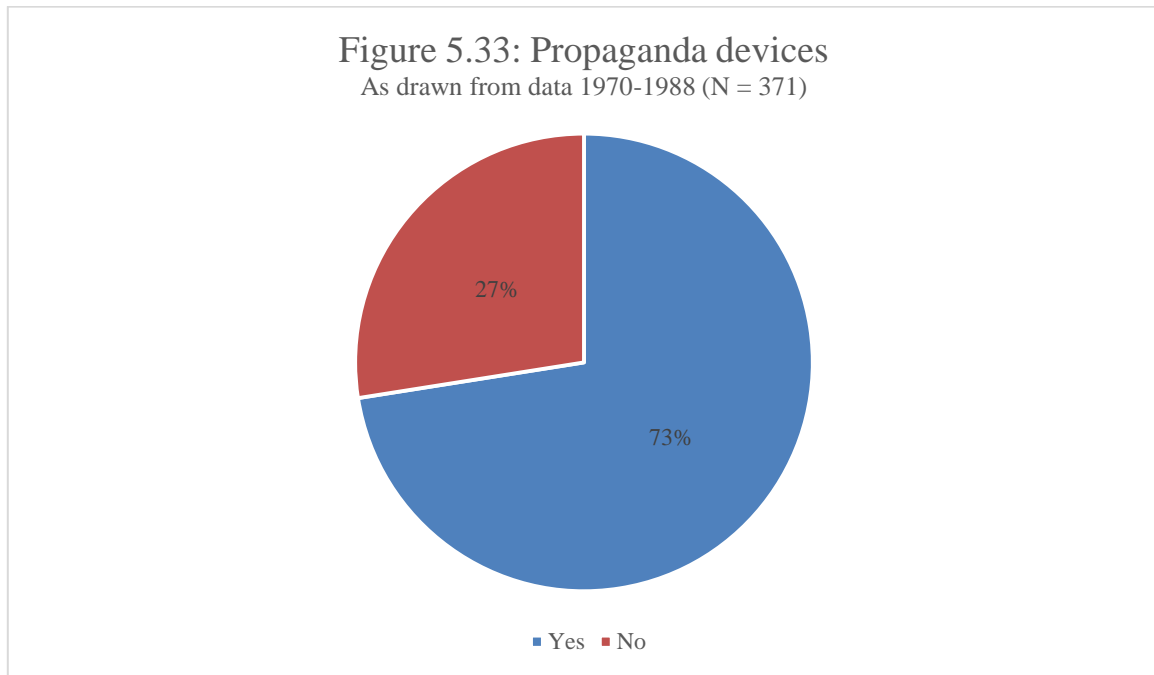


Year	Ratio
1970	2:1
1971	2:1
1972	6:1
1973	0:0
1974	0:1
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	2:1
1978	5:0
1979	6:1
1980	4:1
1981	2:1
1982	2:1
1983	2:1
1984	7:1
1985	14:1
1986	22:0
1987	6:1
1988	2:1

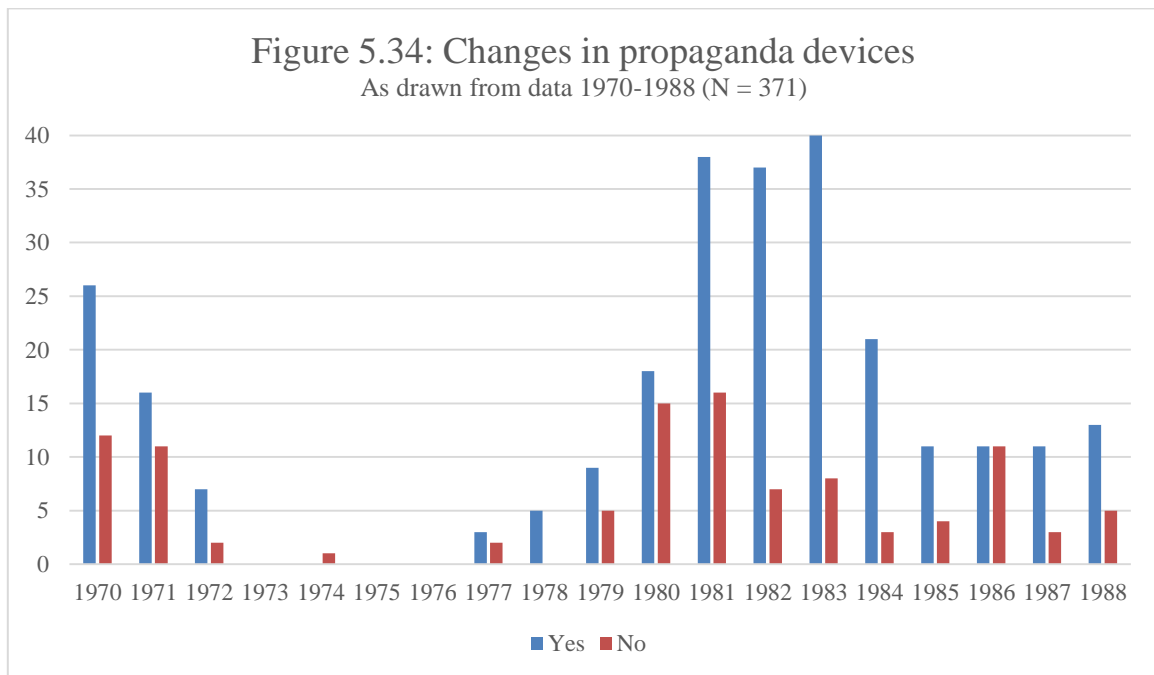
FIGURE 5.32: RATIO OF YES VERSUS NO IMAGE PLACEMENT

An increase in the number of images used per advertisement published in *Paratus* can be seen from 1977-1980, with the numbers fluctuating in the late 1980s. The issue that featured the most images used in advertisements was the 1981 December issue, featuring 38 images. There was only one issue examined of *Paratus* that did not use any images in the advertisements placed, namely the December issue of 1974.

Propaganda devices



It was found that one or more propaganda devices occurred 269 times throughout the timespan of analyses, with 102 instances where no propaganda device could be identified.

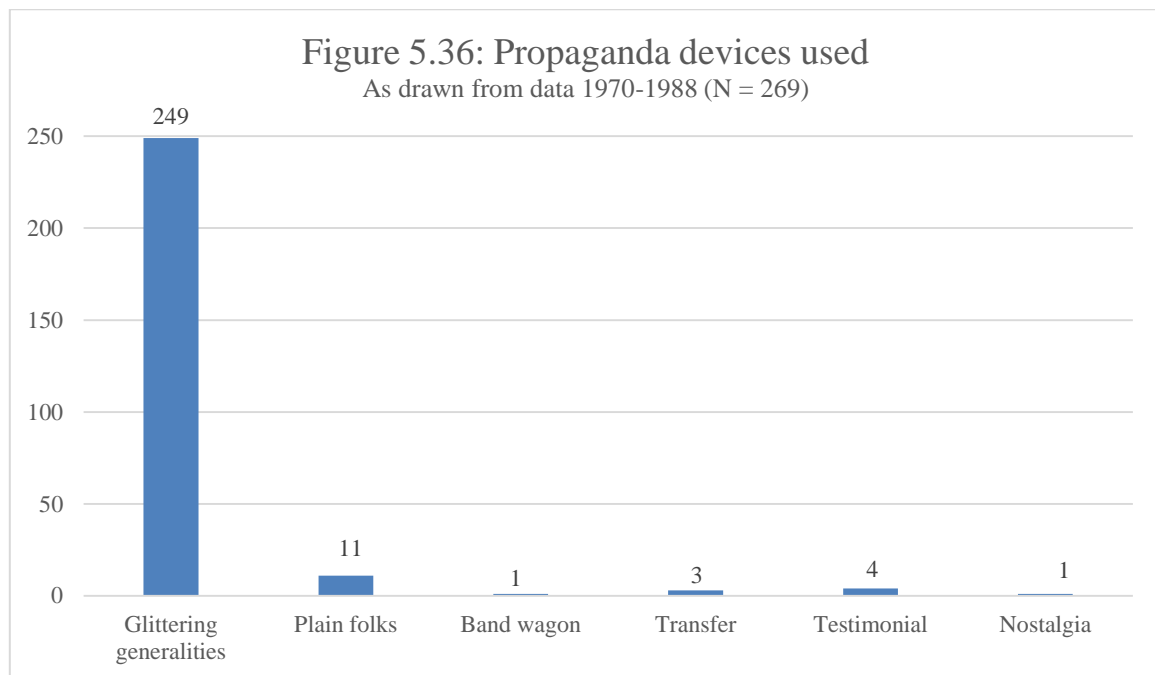


Year	Ratio
1970	2:1
1971	1.4:1
1972	4:1
1973	0:0
1974	0:1
1975	0:0
1976	0:0
1977	2:1
1978	5:0
1979	2:1
1980	1:1
1981	2:1
1982	5:1
1983	5:1
1984	7:1
1985	3:1
1986	1:1
1987	4:1
1988	3:1

FIGURE 5.35: RATIO OF YES VERSUS NO IN PROPAGANDA DEVICES

There appears to be a definite increase in the use of propaganda devices after 1980, with 1983 featuring 40 advertisements that made use of propaganda device(s). 1981 featuring 38 advertisements that made use of propaganda device(s), followed closely by 1982 that featured 37 advertisements made use of propaganda device(s). The ratio figure (figure 5.35) also reveals that the advertisements were prone to reflect propaganda devices, with the highest ratio being 7:1.

Propaganda devices used



It can be seen that the firm favourite propaganda device used in the advertisements/advertorials placed in *Paratus* is the glittering generalities device occurring 249 times, followed by the plain folks device that occurred eleven times. The testimonial and transfer devices occurred four and three times respectively, while the band wagon and nostalgia devices only featured once respectively.

As glittering generalities as a propaganda device is used most frequently there are various examples to choose from. By using the master list of propaganda devices with the appropriate identifiers it can be seen in Christmas message being placed by companies wishing the readers of *Paratus* and loyal customers/members a “prosperous new year”. It can also be found in advertisements regarding vehicles, referring to “power”. It refers to “special” opportunities dedicated to national servicemen (often referring to discounts).

The plain folks device is clear in the advertisement published in 1970 for Volkswagen that reads “[O]ns outjie is opgeroep” ([O]ur guy is called up). Here the company advertised the Volkswagen 1500, commonly known as the Beetle. “Our” refers to inclusion of everyday, while the vehicle was aimed at ordinary/everyday people. The plain folks as propaganda device seeks to draw the attention of the “every day” and “ordinary man”, thereby extending the aim of the propaganda efforts to include all people. The advertisements in *Paratus* pertaining to the plain folks device makes use of informal and colloquial language, such as “[D]ie manne wat hom ken” (“the men that knows him”) for a bulldozer advertisement placed in 1970 by Illings., and again in a Volkswagen advertisement declaring that the new Volkswagen 1500 is “ons outjie” (“our guy”), with a form of inclusion in an advertisement placed in 1971 by Volkskas describing the necessity for insurance for one’s “family”, while an advertisement for Border War memorabilia shields in 1980 were described to be appropriate for “grensmanne” (“bordermen”).

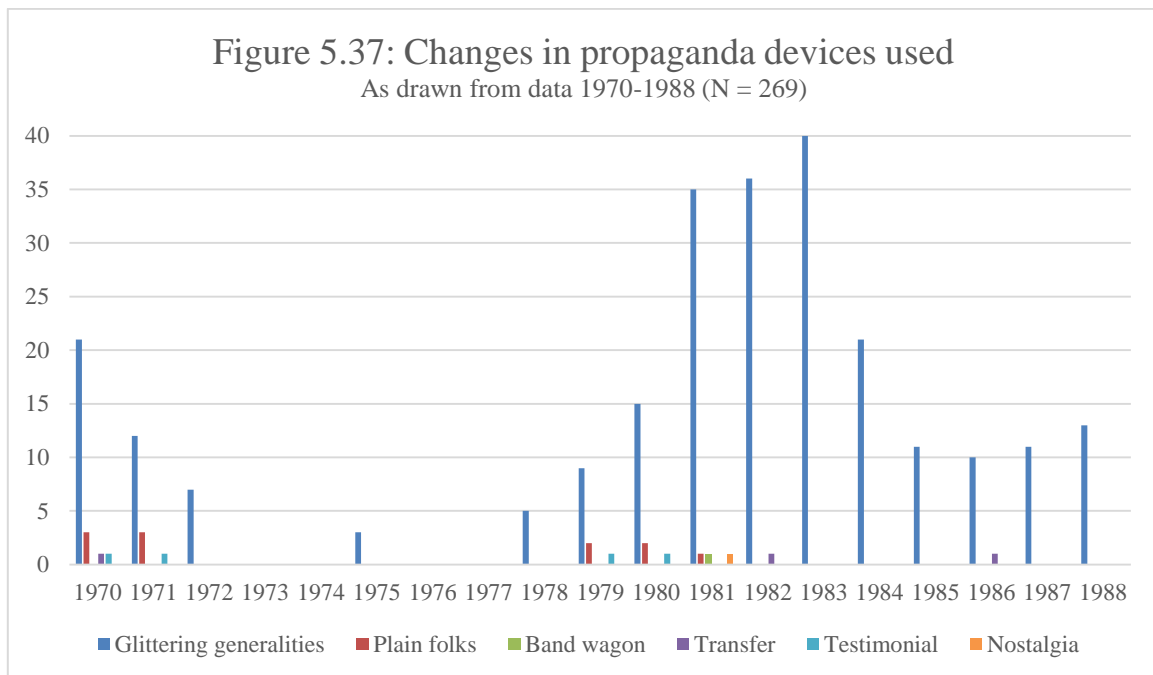
The band wagon device can be seen in a 1981 advertisement by Allied that advertised savings accounts specifically aimed at national servicemen. This can be seen in the choice of words, speaking directly to the reader as “[T]roepie!” (“[S]oldier!”). As (white) male members over the age of eighteen were eligible for conscription the affectionate word “troepie” serves as inclusion.

The transfer device is represented in the 1970 advertisement of a job posting stating that you (the reader) will advance as the future of South Africa advances, suggesting here Nationalism and patriotism as a South African, working towards the future of all South Africans.

The testimonial device makes use of an authority figure to promote something related to the propagandist’s agenda, by providing evidence and usually personal experience as testimony. In 1970 and 1971 an advertisement for fine spinners and weavers are said to be the official spinners and weavers of the SADF. The SADF during the Border War, as well as during the apartheid era with continuous internal struggle in South Africa, was regarded as one of the ultimate authority figures, with only second to the government. Therefore, this testimony garners respect and status for the spinners and weavers. In 1979 and 1980 an advertorial was placed on a savings account for the building society. In this advertorial a client provided a declaration of the reasons why one should make use of the financial services that The Perm provided. Although the client was not an authority figure, the personal experience provided some insight into how the everyday person (which coincidentally also featured as a plain folks

device) perceived the services provided, which in some cases may be just as effective as when an authority figure provides testimony.

Nostalgia as a propaganda device can be seen in the 1981 advertisement placed by Caress, advertising rings for sale dedicated to “her”, referring to a similar notion that Monger (2011) notes that the servicemen dreams of a life beyond war or military life (this is then encapsulated in the woman who the soldier is returning to). The advertisements use rhetoric and imagery to suggest that the national serviceman saved himself for “her” (the female reader) and therefore he qualifies for discount at Caress when buying jewellery.



Year	Ratio
1970	4:1
1971	3:1
1972	7:0
1973	0:0
1974	0:0
1975	3:0
1976	0:0
1977	0:0
1978	5:0
1979	3:1
1980	5:1
1981	12:1
1982	36:1
1983	40:0
1984	21:0
1985	11:0
1986	10:1
1987	11:0
1988	13:0

FIGURE 5.38: RATIO OF GLITTERING GENERALITIES VERSUS THE OTHER PROPAGANDA DEVICES

Glittering generalities as a propaganda device is highly favourable for advertisements as can be seen in the sheer numbers from specifically 1981 (35 uses), 1982 (36 uses) and 1983 (40) uses, as is common for many kinds of advertising and this is not just because of the publication of more advertisements from 1980s onwards. This is reflected in the ratio figure (figure 5.38) with the highest ratio being 40:0. This clearly indicates that glittering generalities as a propaganda device was used regularly and most often. Plain folks as a propaganda device for advertisements was used at the beginning years of the publication, in 1970 and 1971 both years

featured three times, and then featured again from 1979-1981. Testimonial as a propaganda device also only appeared in 1970 and 1971 and then again in 1979 and 1980.

5.2.1.1. Summary for advertisements

It can be concluded from the data presentation of the advertisements as part of the editorial philosophy of the magazine that the target audience for *Paratus* was predominantly male, specifically for the initial years of the publication, with advertisements aimed at females implemented from 1980 (which coincides with the women column that featured from 1981).

More traditional advertisements were published than advertorials, with a growth from 1983 of advertorials. One may suggest that advertorials provide more opportunity for control of the content of what is being advertised, and while it still attempts to advertise or sell a service or product, the advertorial can be altered in such a way that it more closely resembles the editorial philosophy of the magazine. Therefore, more control of the advertised content was deemed important from 1983 onwards in *Paratus*.

The language of the advertisements also reveal that the magazine presented itself to a primarily English market, with 59 per cent of the advertisements published in English. One may suggest that the magazine used English as an international language to appeal to an international market, as well as cater for the rise of black soldiers within the military. However, it is important to note that English is consistently used more in the magazine than Afrikaans or bilingual content and does not coincide with the inclusion of black soldiers per say.

Products were advertised most often within the magazine with 159 occurrences, while services only featured 75 times. Vehicles were the obvious favourite product to be advertised, while electronics, cigarettes and alcohol follow. This suggests that leisure activities were advertised as opposed to essential products. Electronics were advertised steadily from 1980 to 1987 which suggests that better technology became available during this time. Alcohol and cigarettes were consistently advertised throughout the timespan of the study. Services were predominantly financial related, specifically aimed at national servicemen. "Other" identified advertisements were related specifically to job opportunities, study and training opportunities, and study, training and job opportunities, with a total of 114 advertisements published, with a definite increase in these type of advertisements from 1980 onwards.

The companies that were identified that purchased adspace within the magazine was SADFI, a SADF establishment that served as a one-stop shop for members of the SADF, Sandock-

Austral, an armaments company, Allied and United, both companies within the financial sector, and Ford, a vehicle manufacturer, which coincides with the products and services advertised within *Paratus*.

No colour usage made up the majority of the advertisements with 70 per cent. Advertorials often used no colour, while services advertised also featured no colour. One can relate this back to cost, as the economic climate of international boycotts on South Africa, made extras in terms of design aspects unattainable. 75 per cent of advertisements featured images, which forms part of one of the essential criteria of advertisements, specifically when advertising products.

73 per cent of advertisements made use of a propaganda device, with glittering generalities making up 249 out of 269 instances. Glittering generalities and its “virtue” words coincides with persuasive techniques known in advertisements rhetoric, while the companies that advertised clearly were affiliated with the SADF, and the Border War.

5.2.2. Covers

It is important to note for this specific section in terms of the changes in the various elements of the covers, a code of 1 and 0 is used. The number 1 refers to “yes” and the number 0 refers to “no”, as the cover is an individual aspect analysed for each year, as opposed to several advertisements and/or content elements occurring per year and issue analysed.

Name change

There are several indicators that *Paratus* underwent a form of rebranding during the timespan of analysis, with the first most obvious indicator being the name change from *K(C)ommando* to *Paratus* in October 1970 (see figure 6.4.). With the name change came the opportunity to transform the direction of the magazine, meaning that the SADF could be more widely associated with the *Paratus* and therefore claim it to be the official communication medium of the South African military. The name change, therefore, becomes most noticeable on the cover the magazine, as this is the first indication that a change has occurred. With the introduction of a new name for the magazine, other elements followed suit to confirm the remodelling of the magazine and its editorial board that soon became militarised after the initial name change (see figure 6.5.). Elements that stand out can be seen in the representation of the masthead/title, the typography usage of the masthead/title as well as the inclusion of the logo of the SADF and the strategic use of cover lines to promote the actions of the SADF.

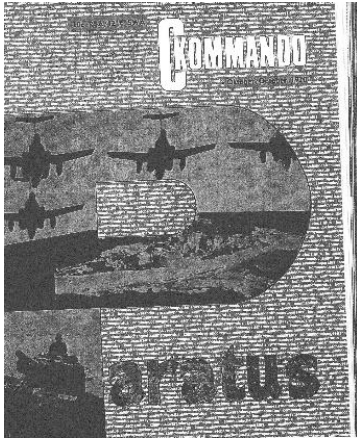


Figure 5.39. October 1970

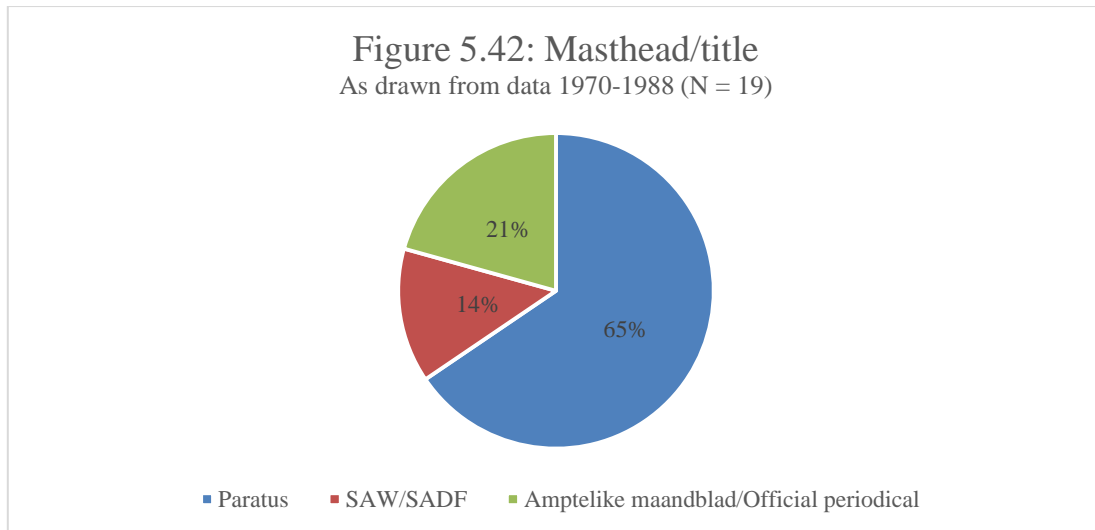


Figure 5.40. December 1970



Figure 5.41. December 1981

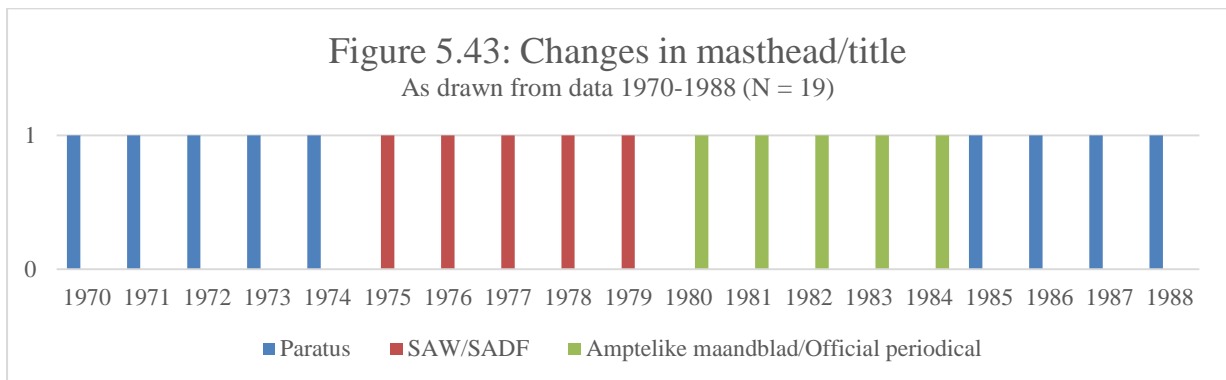
Masthead/title



It is significant to note that in the first few years of *Paratus's* lifespan (1970-1974), the masthead only featured the title of the magazine, namely *Paratus*. The timeframe (December issues from 1970 to 1988) that fits this analysis showcases that the previous title, *K(C)ommando*, no longer features on the cover, and *Paratus* is regarded the sole title.

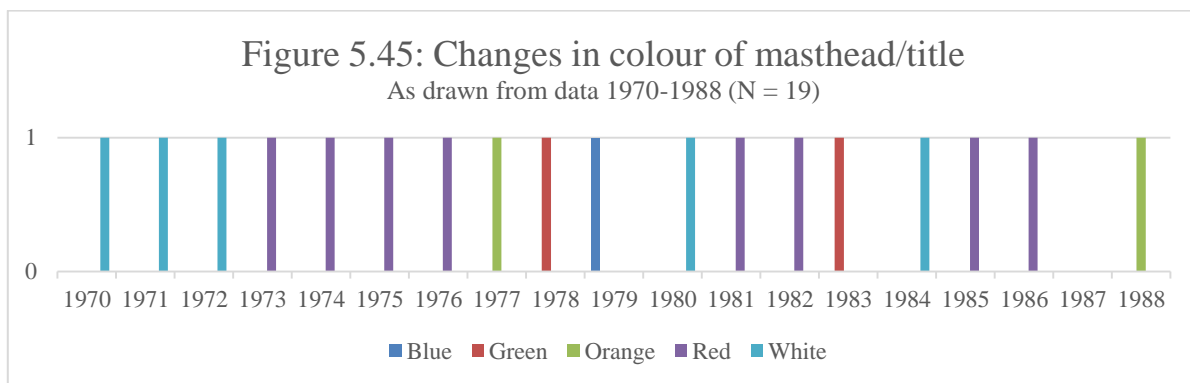
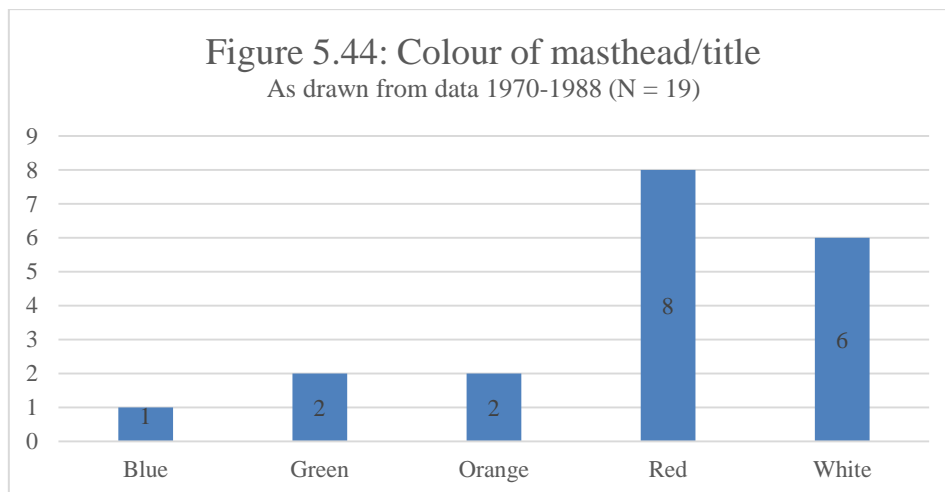
In 1975 an extra element is added to the masthead, namely the slogan “*Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag*” and “South African Defence Force”. This is an important change, as *Paratus*, although already considered to be the official periodical of the SADF, now stated clear affiliations with the SADF. This is further emphasised by the fact that it is presented both in English and Afrikaans, fitting in well with the bilingual status of the magazine. The slogan was once again changed in 1979 to “*Amptelike maandblad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag*” and

“Official periodical of the South African Defence Force” (until 1985) (refer to figure 6.6. and 6.7.). This marks the first time that the magazine clearly and deliberately states that it is the official magazine of the SADF, on the cover specifically. The association is thus made boldly and therefore one can argue that the magazine is specifically from 1975 onwards directly influenced by the SADF. One may argue that because of unrest along South Africa’s borders, specifically as Angola achieved its independence in 1975, the SADF felt that a more direct communication needed to occur to its target market, and one way in which to do this is to ensure that the magazine and the SADF were aligned in its efforts of the Border War. This is further intensified by the fact that *Paratus*’s editorial board/team was militarised with the inception of the new name. This can be seen as a form of rebranding (by changing the title and also the editorial direction of the magazine). From 1986 onwards, the magazine no longer made use of the slogan, but also did not replace it with another, instead relying just on the title.



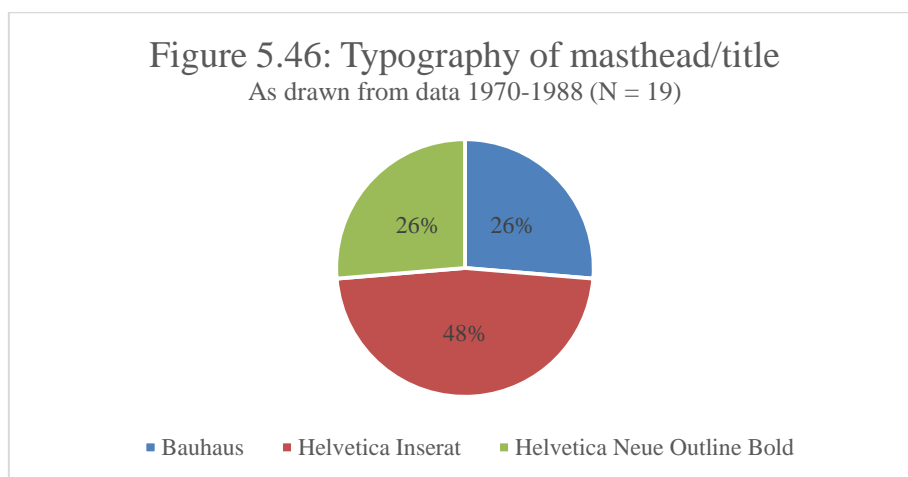
Paratus as title of the magazine is used in every issue but appeared to be the only element of the masthead/title on each cover of the magazine. The masthead/title was enhanced with further information, namely “*Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag*” and “South African Defence Force”, on four covers, (1975-1978), and was then changed to “*Amptelike maandblad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag*” “Official periodical of the South African Defence Force”, on six covers, (1979-1985).

Colour of masthead/title



The masthead/title of *Paratus* used a familiar colour scheme, predominantly using red on eight issue covers, followed closely by white on six issue covers. Orange and green both only featured on two issue covers, while blue is used the most seldom, appearing only once as the colour of choice.

Typography of masthead/title



Font	Year created	Creator	Example of font
Bauhaus	1925	Herbert Bayer, Edward Benguiat and Victor Caruso	ABCDEFGHIJKLMNO PQRSTUVWXYZÀÁÊ
Helvetica Inserat	1964	Max Medinger and Linotype Design Studio	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ
Helvetica Neue Outline Bold	1956-58	Max Medinger and Linotype Staff	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ

FIGURE 5.47: TYPOGRAPHY USED ON COVERS

It appears that the general consensus for the use of typography on the covers of *Paratus* was of a simplistic nature, with the predominant choice being a plain sans serif type. The type used for all of the mastheads/titles is sans serif, with a few featuring a Bauhaus-styled font (see figure 6.7. for the first cover displaying the new masthead and font) – which may be regarded as an unusual choice for a formal and official magazine, which suggests that a suitably formal font should be used specifically for the masthead/title. It is interesting to note that this unusual font featured from 1975 to 1979 – a time that the SADF was criticised for participating in war in Angola without public knowledge of South Africans. One may argue that the change in the font (as well as mentioned above that a slogan appeared part of the masthead during this exact time to establish clear affiliations with the SADF) was used as part of rebranding, attempting to create a new image of not only the magazine but also the SADF. As one can see, this font was short-lived, as it was replaced by the same sans serif font used prior to this change.

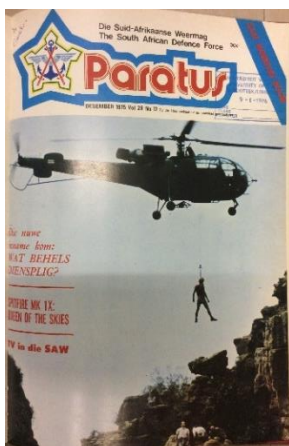


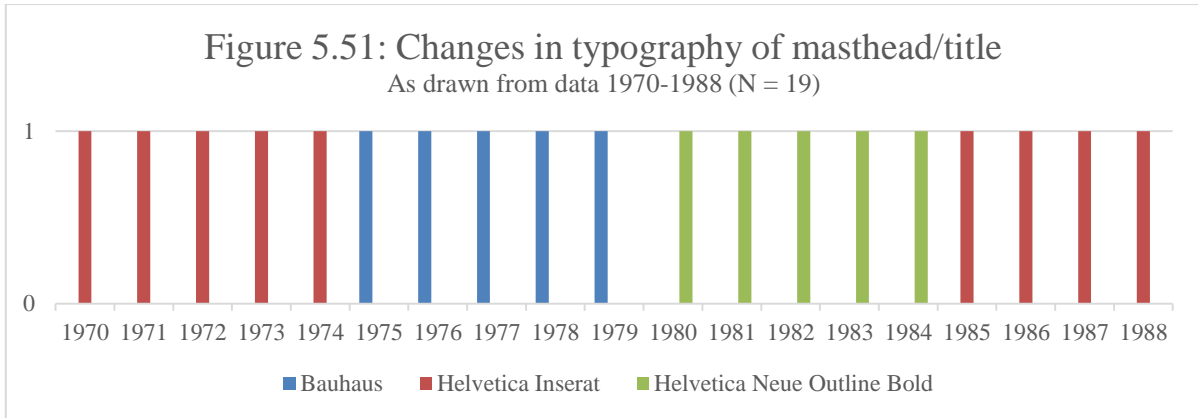
Figure 5.48. December 1975



Figure 5.49. December 1976

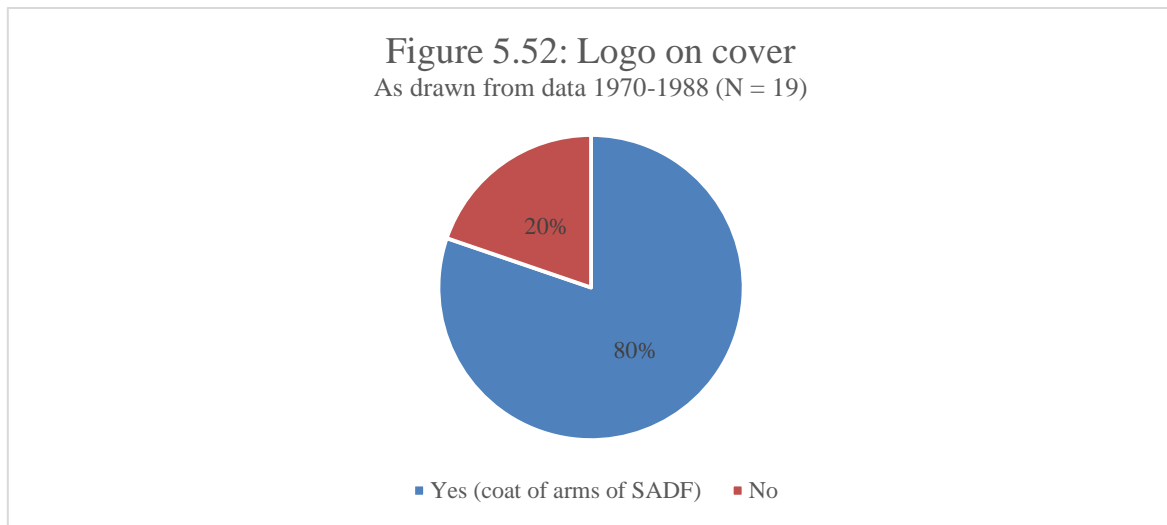


Figure 5.50. December 1977



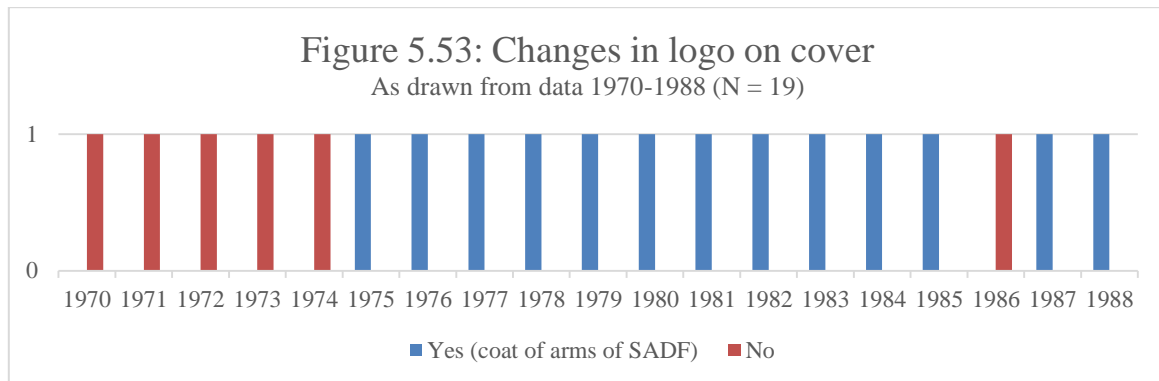
It can be seen that the design decision regarding the typography usage for the masthead/title of *Paratus* was to maintain a clear and simple font, using a plain sans serif type Helvetica Inserat font nine times (1970-1974, and then used again from 1985-1988), while Helvetica Neue Outline Bold was used five times, from 1980-1984. The Bauhaus font was used on five covers, from 1975-1979.

Logo on cover



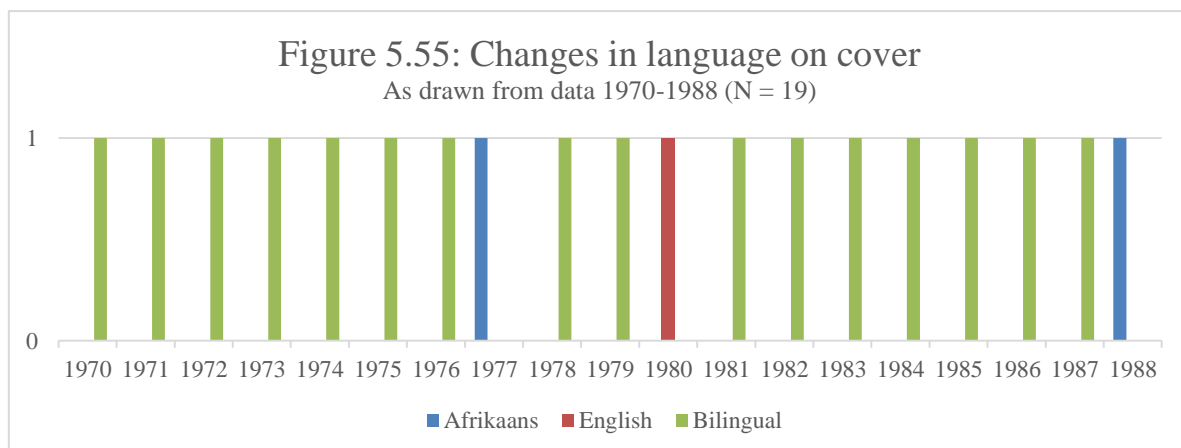
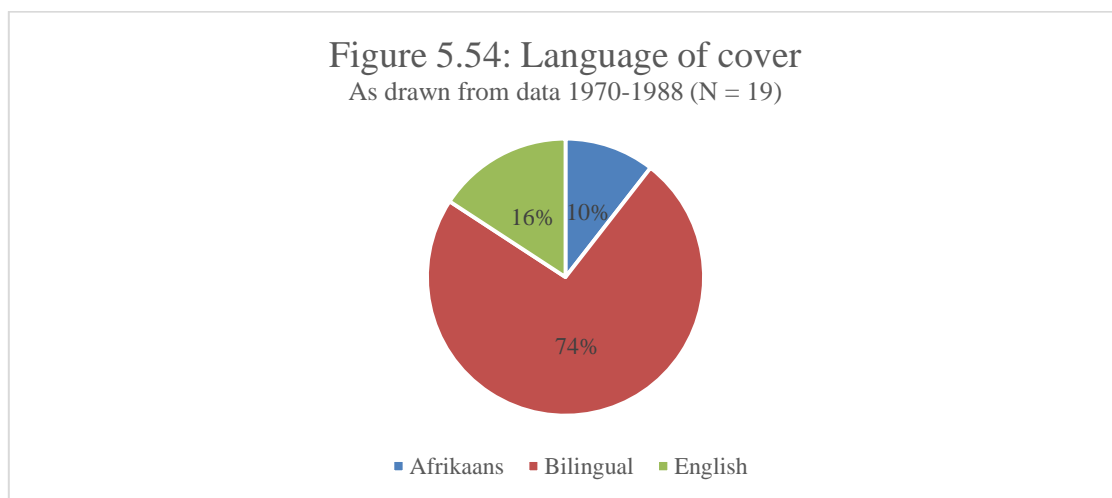
Once again, the idea of rebranding of the magazine comes to the fore with the placement of the coat of arms/official emblem of the SADF on the cover of the magazine from 1975 onwards (with the exception of the 1986 issue). The timing of the emblem is significant as it is parallel to the other changes in terms of masthead/title font (Bauhaus) as well as the inclusion of a slogan. The ensign is a crest that consists of three symbols – symbolising the SADF forces (air force, army and navy). Burgers (2008: 168) notes that the crest is “[O]n a white ground plan of the Castle of Good Hope, a dark blue erect anchor surmounted by a horizontal pair of steel blue

wings and overall, a pair of orange swords in saltire; the whole within a border, the inner half of which is dark green and the outer half gold”.



The use of the coat of arms/ensign of the SADF is featured on 13 cover issues, dating from 1975-1985, with the 1986 issue choosing not to feature it on the cover, but then continuing again from 1987.

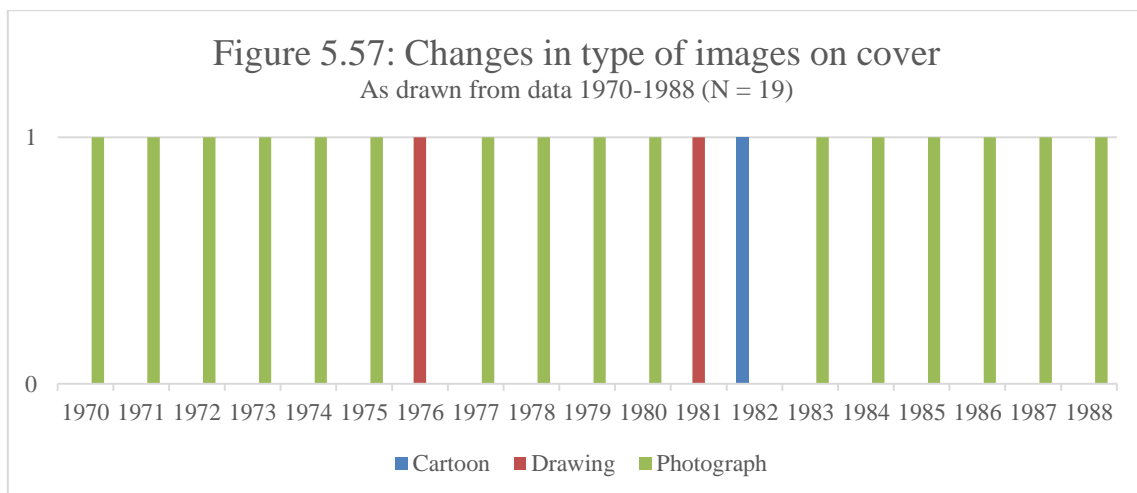
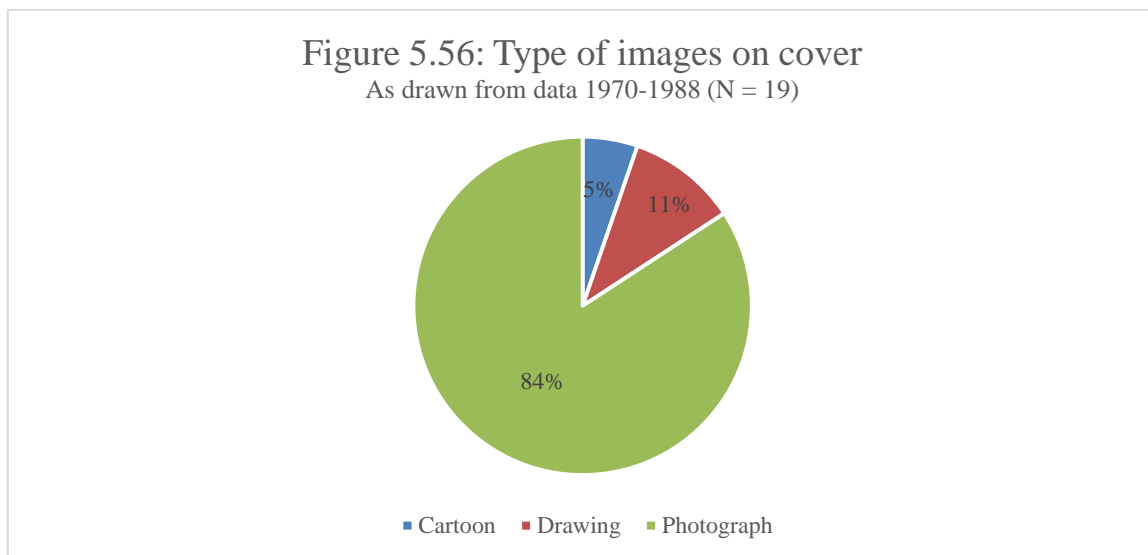
Language of covers



In the case where no cover lines appeared on the cover, the language was selected as being bilingual, as the title does not change whether in English or Afrikaans. The majority (14 issues) presented itself as bilingual, with a mix of English and Afrikaans cover lines. This resulted in two issues being presented as Afrikaans on the cover, while three issues were presented as English on the cover.

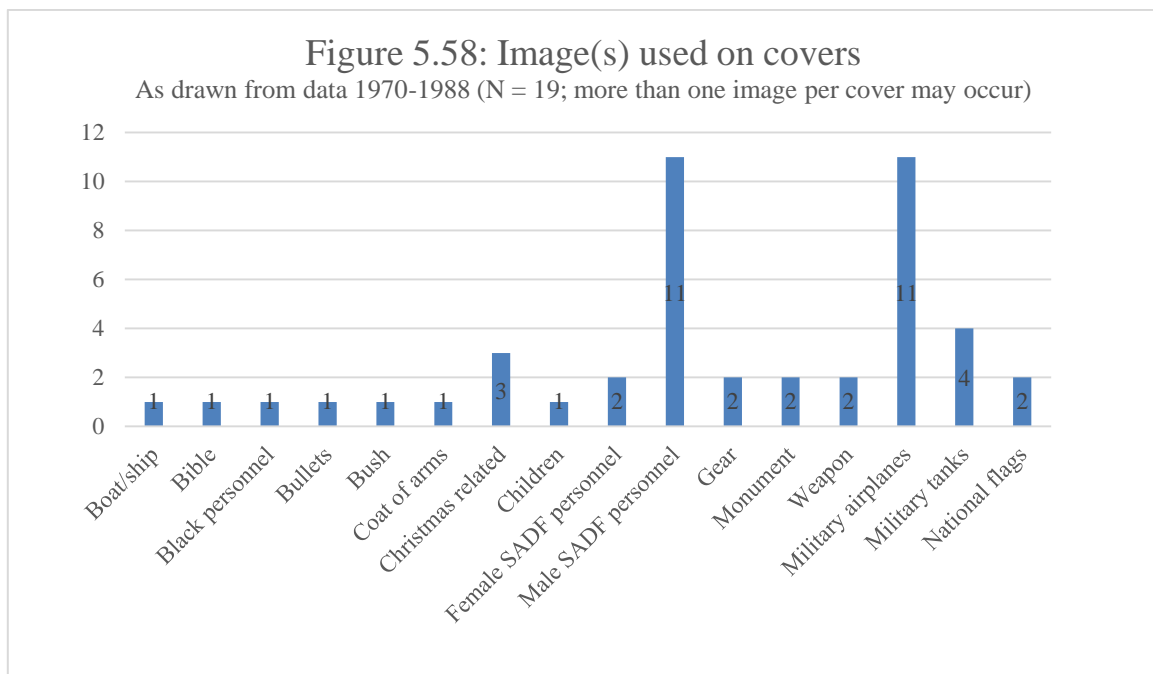
The one Afrikaans cover issue made use of the cover line “[U]niforms vir SAW-vroue”, (“[U]niforms for SADF-women”), while the other read “[D]aar’s ‘n [SADF ensign] in u toekomst”, and “[S]paar en bewaar – binne” (“[T]here’s a [SADF ensign] in your future”) and (“[S]ave and preserve – inside”). The English covers represented the following cover lines: “To: All the peoples of South Africa. From: The SADF. May Peace and Prosperity be with you.”, “Delville Wood revisited” and “Southern Africa Strategic Review”.

Type of images on cover



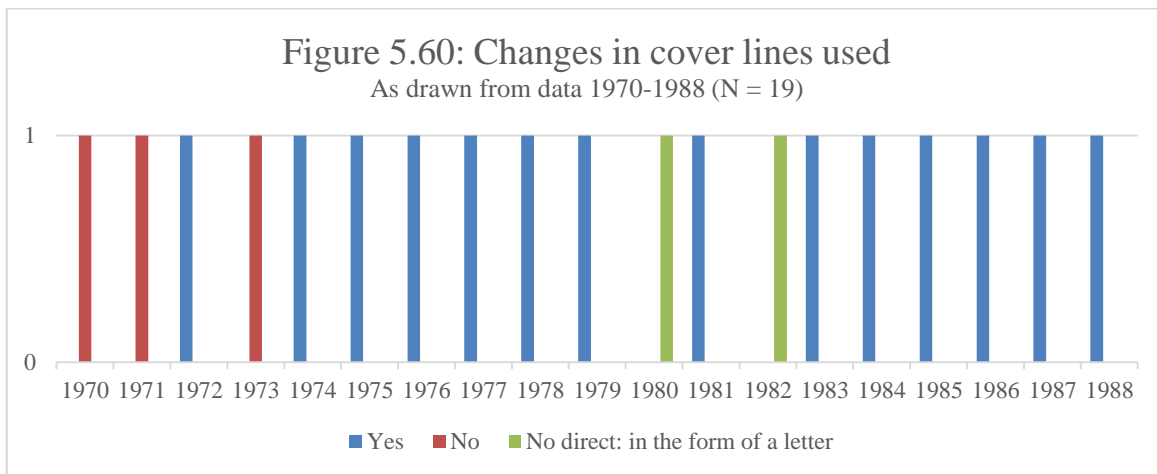
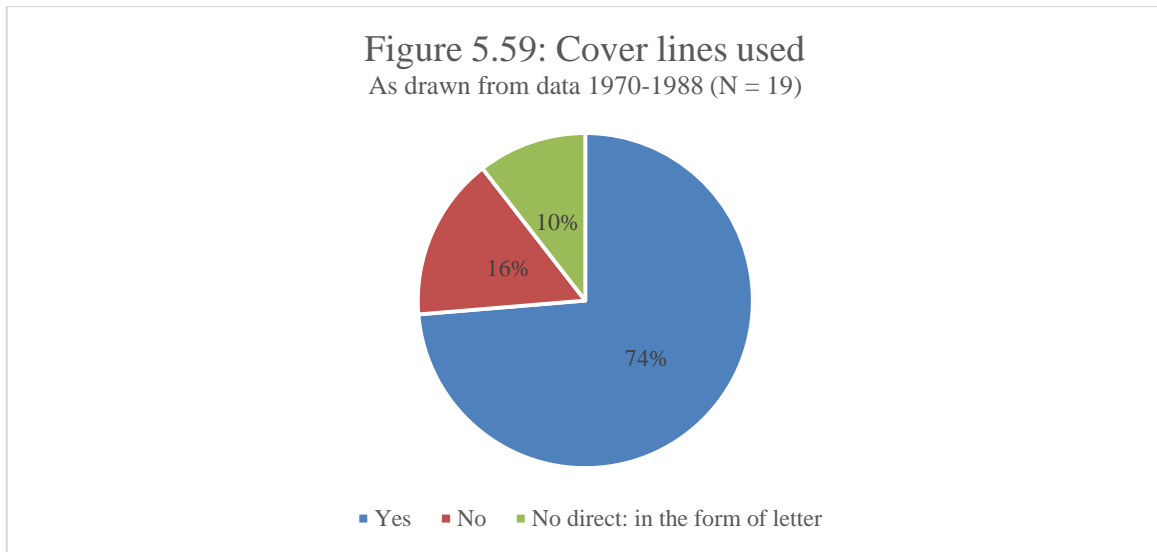
The use of a photograph, or even an inclusion of more than one photograph per cover, can be seen as the most suitable for *Paratus*, as it is used on 16 different covers, while a drawing is used twice, and a cartoon only once. The cartoon (featured on the 1982 cover) showed a white male soldier, clad in a military uniform, sitting in a bush with a water bottle and gun displayed at his feet; presents and letters placed on his side, holding a Christmas letter, with mistletoe. The two covers featuring drawings on them (published in 1976 and 1981) showed a drawing of three white male soldiers during battle, with a military tank and three military airplanes in the background, while the background also displays a faded “1977” being pushed forward by a military plane, and a drawing of two military airplanes flying across the ocean.

Image(s) used on covers



It can be seen that white male SADF personnel is the favourite image used on the cover of *Paratus*, appearing on 11 covers. Military vehicles, such as airplanes and tanks follow with five and four appearances, respectively. Christmas related images only appear on three issues, despite it being the December issues that are subject to analysis. Boats/ships, flags, monuments, weapon, military gear and SADF female personnel all appear twice during the timeframe, while the other items, including bible, black male personnel, bullets and coat of arms only appear once.

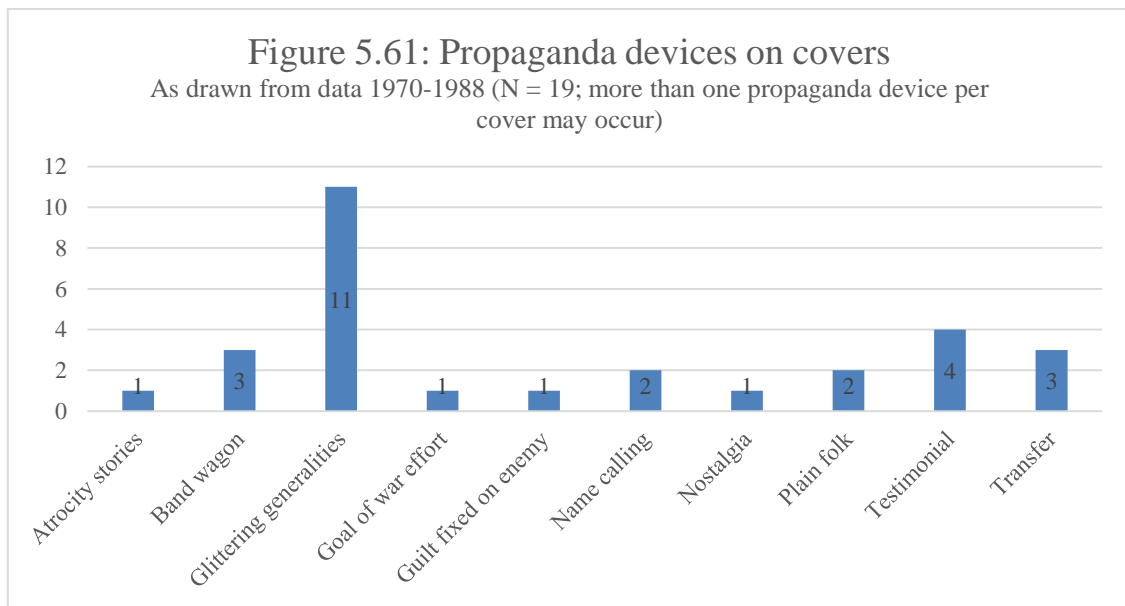
Cover lines used

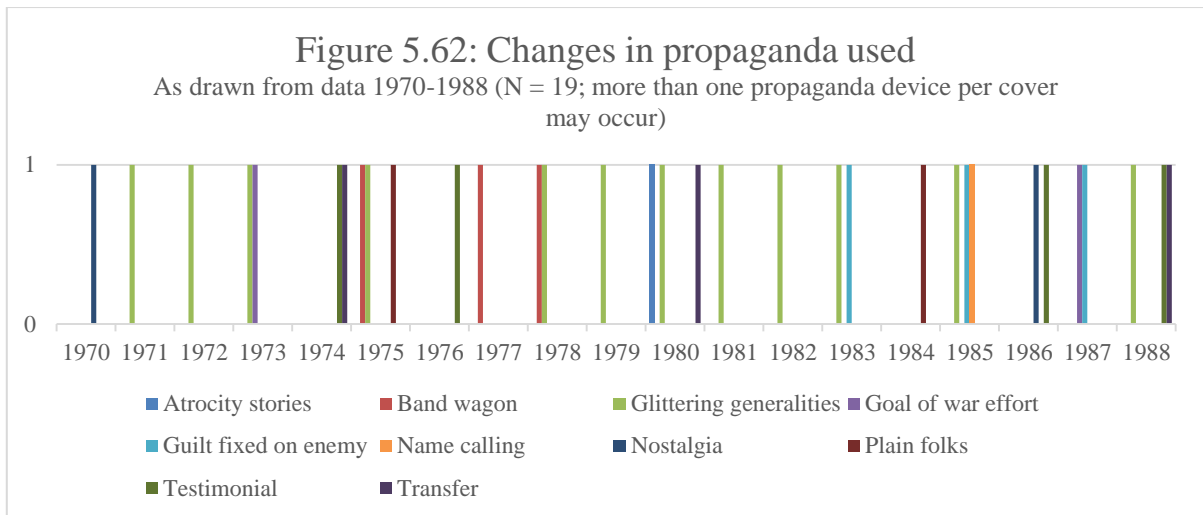


Cover lines were used on the majority of *Paratus* covers, appearing on 14 covers, while only three covers did not have any cover lines presented on them, meaning that these covers are classified as poster covers. On two covers, there was no direct cover line, meaning that the traditional line encapsulating the essence of a feature article did not appear while text on the cover did still have a presence. These indirect cover lines appeared in the form of a letter (in 1980 and 1982, respectively). In 1980 the indirect cover line read: “To: All the peoples of South of Africa. From: the SADF. May Peace and Prosperity be with you.” In 1982 the indirect cover line read: “Dankie Troepie! Thanks Soldier!” It is difficult to spot a clear trend in terms of the cover lines used on the cover of *Paratus*, as the key word analysis of the cover lines could not spot words used more than twice, and in most instances the reason a word was used twice is because it appeared in both Afrikaans and English, suggesting that these specific words such as “Border”, “Commemorative issue”, “CSAP” (minister), “message” and “Thanks soldier”

were important for and relevant to both the English and Afrikaans readers of the magazine. Other words used twice that were not featured both in English and Afrikaans include “Job guide”, “SA Navy” and “SAAF/’wings”, thus emphasis was placed on the covers of the magazine regarding finding employment after conscription duty was completed or for other reasons leaving military life (as discussed in the advertisement section). “SA Navy” and “SAAF/’wings” refers to other sectors of the SADF, other than the traditional South African army, complementing the expansive operations of the SADF. Other key words are related to military life, giving reference to the primary market specifically “Action”, “Diensplig” (conscription), “Leërgevegskool” (combat training school), “Soldate” (soldiers), “Uniforms” and “Young men”, in which the focus is on the white male population that are soon to be conscripted, or already serving within the military as soldiers for the SADF. For a complete list regarding key words used in the cover lines, refer to Appendix H.

Propaganda apparent on covers





Year	Ratio
1970	0:0
1971	1:0
1972	1:0
1973	1:0
1974	0:1
1975	0:0
1976	1:0
1977	1:0
1978	1:0
1979	1:0
1980	1:0
1981	1:0
1982	1:0
1983	1:0
1984	0:0
1985	1:0
1986	0:1
1987	0:0
1988	1:1

FIGURE 5.63: RATIO OF GLITTERING GENERALITIES AND TESTIMONIAL

Year	Ratio
1970	0:0
1971	1:0
1972	1:0
1973	1:0
1974	0:1
1975	1:0
1976	0:0
1977	0:0
1978	1:0
1979	1:0
1980	1:1
1981	1:0
1982	1:0
1983	1:0
1984	0:0
1985	1:0
1986	0:1
1987	0:0
1988	1:1

FIGURE 5.64: RATIO OF GLITTERING GENERALITIES AND TRANSFER

It can be seen that the glittering generalities device is the propaganda device that is most often used on the cover, appearing 11 times on the covers of *Paratus*. Testimonial and transfer devices are also used, featuring four and three times, respectively, on the covers of the magazine. Plain folk and name calling device make up two appearances a piece, while atrocity, goal of war, guilt fixed on enemy and nostalgia only used once on the covers of *Paratus*. It should be noted that although brief examples of the propaganda devices will be mentioned below, the magazines used several propaganda devices per individual cover, and therefore the examples given may appear to overlap.

The glittering generalities device was used most often, and can be seen on the covers of 1971, 1972 and 1988 all for the reason of inclusion, creating a sense of uniformity and brotherhood (and sisterhood). 1971 and 1972 used female members of the SADF on the cover, while 1988 used the photograph of black soldiers marching, again including what was before seen as a minority in the SADF specifically.

Atrocity stories device can be seen (among other propaganda devices) in the 1980 cover where the fate of the soldier is demonstrated among the conglomeration of images such as weaponry and bullets, soldier's helmet, Bible and a Christmas card and present – signifying the horrors of war in terms of what is expected of the soldier, with this being exemplified during Christmas time.

Band wagon device is illustrated in the caption “[D]aar’s ‘n [SADF ensign] in u toekoms” (“[T]here’s a [SADF ensign in your future]”), meaning that all males over the age of 18 are eligible for conscription/national service. Therefore, this cover line becomes inclusive for all eligible males to follow their duty to their country. The band wagon device can also be seen where the SADF’s ensign is used to include young males in the military, for instance in the 1977 and 1978 issues “Daar is ‘n [SADF’s ensign] in u toekoms”, while the use of the word “diensplig” (conscription) in the 1975 issue suggests inclusion, as all white males over the age of 18 were expected, by law, to join the military for a minimum of two years. Here, the band wagon device is used as a means to signify involvement, as opposed to be obligated and lack of adhering to law, punishable by law.

Goal of war effort as a propaganda device can be seen in the 1987 cover, where the total destruction of a military tank is shown, with the simple cover line “Angola”, revealing that this is the ultimate summation of war – to destroy the opposition. Guilt fixed on enemy as a propaganda device is also found in the same cover, with “Angola” being labelled the enemy and therefore condemning their fate of destruction. Name calling device can be found in similar fashion to that of goal of war effort and guilt fixed on enemy, on the 1985 cover in the cover line reading “[N]o terrorist can take them [SARP] for a ride”. Here, the enemy is labelled as “terrorist” and their lot is sealed as was the case in the above-mentioned examples.

Nostalgia can be found in the imagery of 1970 and 1986, with the former showing a sailboat/yacht – a form of leisure and remembrance to a time before war, while the latter shows remembrance to the Delville Wood South African National Memorial Museum, referring back to the First World War.

Plain folks device can be seen on the cover of 1984, with a soldier posing with two children, in front of a Christmas tree, for a photograph, as a means of humanising and bringing the soldier to a more ordinary status as father and family-man. The plain folk device, as set out by the IPA, can be seen in the 1974 issue with the word “diensplig” (conscription); not only was this a case of every white male over the age of 18 was eligible for conscription, but also this meant that

every day white males had a duty to their country, not just a certain category or class of male. Then in the issue of 1984, with the image of the SADF soldier dressed as Father Christmas, suggests, in turn that the members of the SADF were ordinary people, with families and evoking an emotional response due to holiday time.

The testimonial device (often referred to as the authority figure device) comes across on the covers of *Paratus* in second place. The testimonial device is used for instance in the 1976 issue with a message directed to the public and military, coming from the Minister. The selected issue is here of importance, as this issue was a special issue labelled as “Border Special”. This referred to Operation Savannah, which proved to be a turning point in the Border War and is largely considered to be a failure for South Africa (Scholtz 2013: 13). After this defeat, it was deemed necessary to have a senior member of the government to directly address the South African people as a means of reassurance and proved to be of such importance to give mention of this on the cover of the magazine. The testimonial device was used again in the 1986 issue, with the cover giving remembrance to the Delville Wood monument. This specific cover makes use of another device, namely the nostalgia device. Here, military officials who act as the authority figure, gives recognition to the past and pays respect to previous military members of South Africa. The importance of the recognition of the past makes it necessary for an authority figure(s) to be present. Lastly, in the 1988 issue, the use of the South African flag signifies an authority figure: the flag and what it represents needs to be respected and adhered to. While this cover uses a glittering generalities device in order to signify progress or democracy with the use of the image of black military personnel/soldiers, the testimonial device suggests that South Africa still follows the ideal set out by Afrikaner nationalism and neo-Calvinism; the use of the flag as an authority figure is used in 1974 and 1980. Testimonial device is represented in the cover of 1986, where the heroic deeds of the SADF are illustrated, both in photograph chosen and cover lines used such as “[P]laasbeskerming in SWA: ‘n Toring van krag” (“[F]arm protection in South West Africa [SWA]: A tower of strength”), and “[S]ADF to the rescue”. These acts are used as proof of the authority figure (the SADF) power and ability to protect others.

The name calling device, as set out by the IPA, correlates closely to the device known as guilt fixed on an enemy, as described by Lasswell (1927), and was found in the 1983 issue with the use of the cover line “*‘Insypelaars’ in Boesmanland uitgewis*” (‘Insurgents’ in Boesmanland extinguished), while the use of the word “terrorists” in the 1985 clearly adheres to this advice. The word “terrorists” specifically can be found in the rhetoric of the SADF and NP and

therefore signifies a clear enemy. The word “terrorists” can also allude to the use of the fifth filter of the Propaganda Model, suggesting communism, and in turn the aversion of communism, which the NP and the SADF stated as the main motivation for the Border War. Another approach to this device can be found in the issue of 1987, with the single cover line reading “Angola” and the imagery of the photo of a destroyed military vehicle (possibly tank) suggests that the guilt is fixed on an enemy (enemy in this instance is Angola), while certain measures need to be taken in order to safeguard one’s own country, thus an enemy is identified, while the goal of the war effort, another device, as set out by Lasswell (1927), namely destruction of the enemy, is established.

Transfer device can be found in the 1974 commemorative issue, which featured the Voortrekker monument and a flypast that showcased the colours of the national flag, referring to Nationalistic pride and Afrikaner identity.

5.2.2.2. Summary for covers

The masthead of *Paratus* traditionally just used its title, while 21 per cent of covers making use of “Official magazine of the SADF” (1980-1984) and 14 per cent making use of “SADF” (1975-1979) to affiliate it more closely with the SADF as its official communication medium. The masthead made use of bright colours, with red the most favourite, as a means of drawing the viewers attention. The typography of the magazine also changed from a traditional San Serif, Helvetica Inserat, to Bauhaus from 1975-1979 in an effort to rebrand the magazine, only to return to the more traditional type. The logo (emblem of the SADF) also featured as part of the masthead from 1975-1985, and again 1987-1988, which corresponds with other design elements implemented as part of the rebranding of the magazine.

The magazine’s covers appeared to be largely bilingual (74 per cent), although more English covers (16 per cent) were published than Afrikaans covers (10 per cent). This, as was the case with the choice of language for the advertisements, suggest that the magazine kept an international market in mind while preparing the magazine in terms of language.

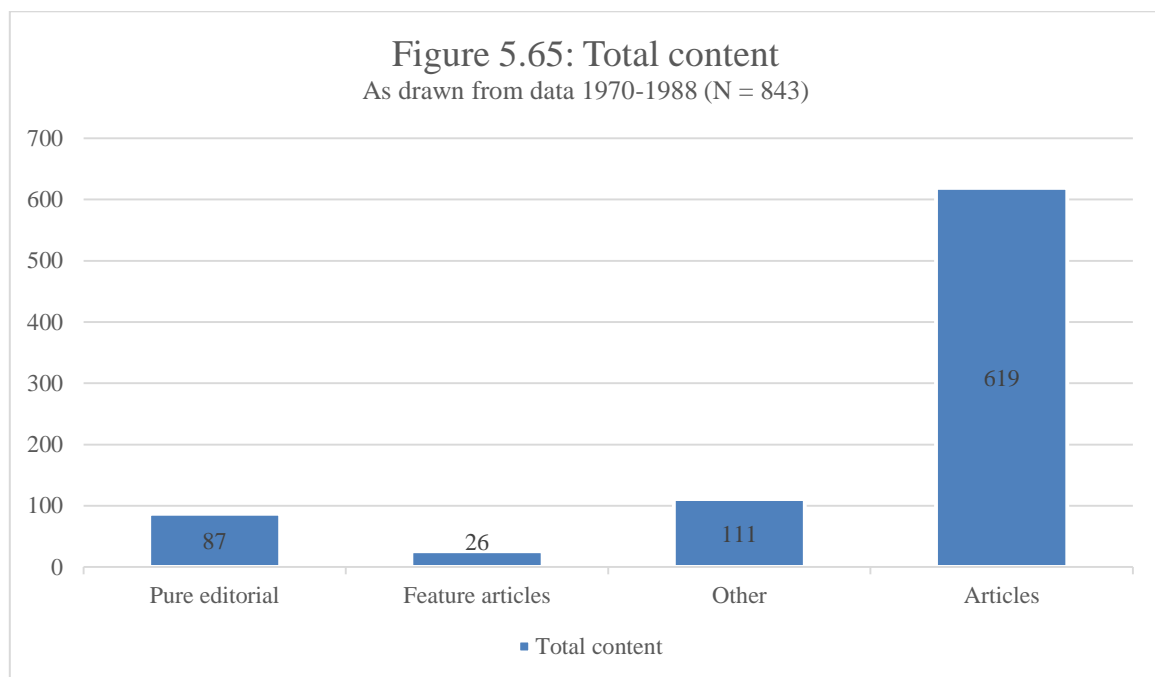
As this section presented covers, it is clear that images formed part of this component of the magazine, with the majority of the covers being photographs. The choice of the images also reveals more information on the target market, such as the majority of the images were of male SADF personnel, while military airplanes was also a favourite referring to the self-claimed technological expertise of the SADF.

Initially the covers were of a poster cover nature, meaning that no cover lines appeared on the front cover of the magazine, until 1974 on which the cover made way for the use of cover lines, which correlates again with other design features in terms of rebranding of the magazine.

The covers of the magazine revealed that propaganda devices were evident, with glittering generalities being the favourite device (as a way of promoting the magazine and its institution, the SADF, to its readership and the public), followed by testimonial and transfer.

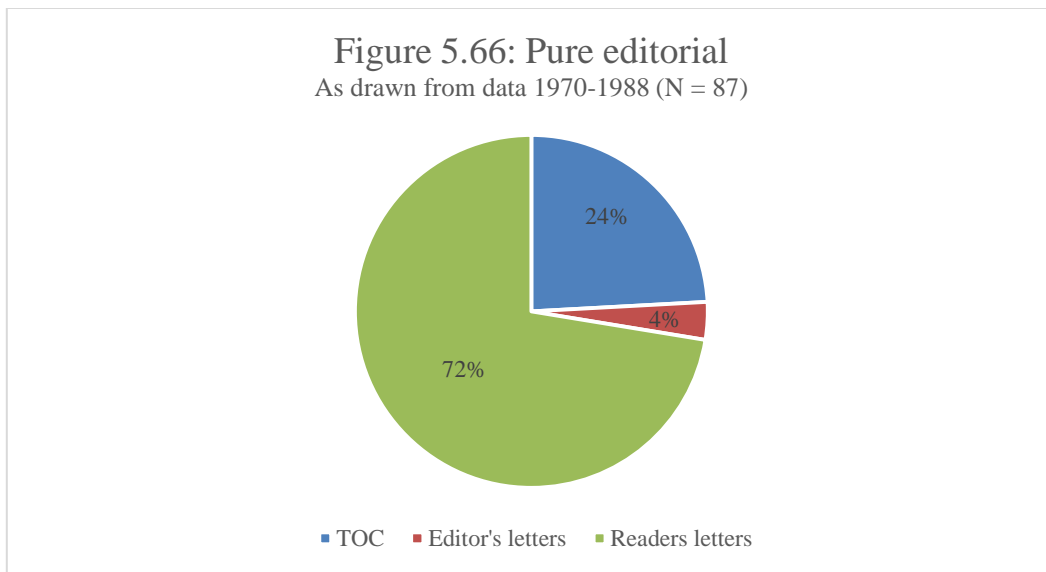
5.2.3. Content

Total content

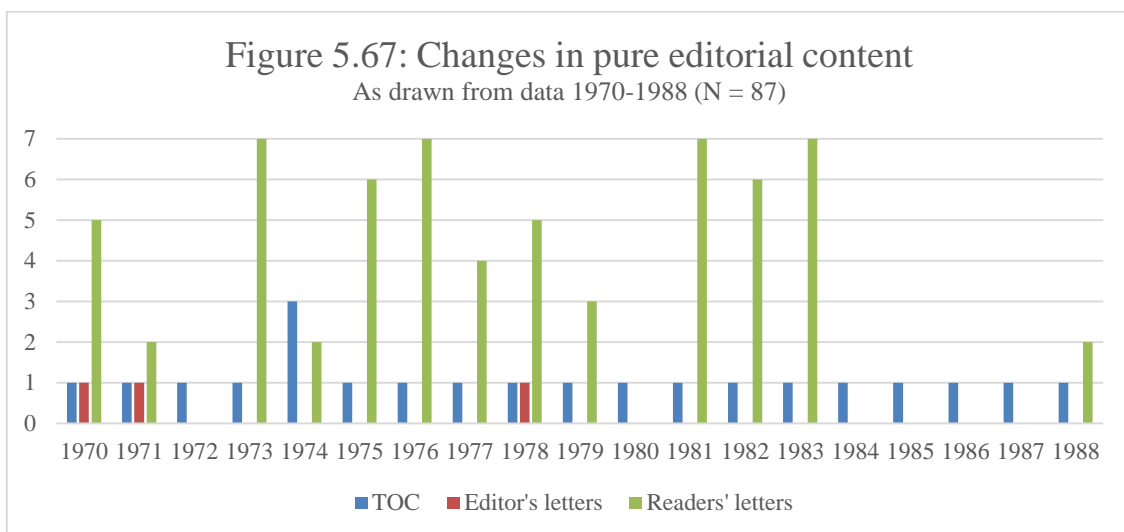


Articles make up the biggest section of the overall content of *Paratus*, occurring a total of 619 times. Other types of content (this will be explored in later graphs) come in second, with a total of 111. Pure editorial (which is made up of table of contents, editor's letters as well as readers' letters) made up 87 instances, while feature articles appeared 26 times. This combined total surmounts to 843 elements of content analysed in *Paratus* from 1970 to 1988.

Pure editorial



In the traditional magazine the pure editorial section is made up of the table of contents, editor’s letters and readers’ letters; the same criteria were used in *Paratus* to identify the pure editorial elements. In the graph above one notice that readers’ letters were most common, featuring a total of 63 times throughout the timespan of the study, with table of contents appearing 21 times. This is because a total of three separate table of contents can be found in 1974, in the commemorative issue of *Paratus*. Editor’s letters only appeared a total of three times from 1970-1988 in a total of 19 issues examined; this is significant as traditionally an editor’s letter accompanies every issue of the magazine.



Year	Ratio
1970	1:5
1971	1:2
1972	0:0
1973	0:7
1974	0:2
1975	0:6
1976	0:7
1977	0:4
1978	1:5
1979	0:3
1980	0:0
1981	0:7
1982	0:6
1983	0:7
1984	0:0
1985	0:0
1986	0:0
1987	0:0
1988	0:2

FIGURE 5.68: RATIO OF EDITOR'S LETTERS AND READERS' LETTERS

Editor's letters provide the editor-in-chief with the opportunity to directly address the readers of the magazine that he or she represents. The editor of a magazine has a significant impact on type of information that is published to its readers, as well as the reputation and the overall attitude and perspective of the magazine. It is significant, then, to note that only three editor's letters were present in the years analysed for the scope of this study. The first of these letters appeared in 1970 with the editor giving thanks to well-wishing letters for the Christmas season directed to the editorial staff at *Paratus*. The editor then goes on to give a Christmas message on behalf of the magazine to its readers, with specific attention given to "each" member of the SADF. The editor gives well-wishes to even the "youngest" soldier, referring to the national servicemen, and goes on to label them as "BBP" ("VIP" – very important person).

In the above bar graph, it is clear that table of contents appeared three times during the year of 1974. The most readers' letters appeared in the years 1973, 1976, 1981 and 1983 with a total of seven letters per years mentioned. No readers' letters were published in the magazine in the years 1972, 1980, 1984-1987. Editor's letters only appeared for the first two years of the publication that form part of this examination, with a sole exception in 1978. The ratio figure (figure 5.62) also reveals that readers' letters were published in greater numbers than editor's letters, with the highest ratio being 0:7. The lack of editor's letters, and specifically readers' letters published in the years 1972, and 1984-1987 may refer to a greater need of space for content (as can be seen in the number of articles published during these years in the coming section).

Readers' letters present readers of a specific magazine with the opportunity to speak to the editorial team (and often, the editor) in a direct manner. Readers' letters can be viewed as a feedback tool – the reader addresses specific problems that he or she experienced while reading or perusing the magazine, where the editorial team then can use the feedback in order to improve future publications. Readers' letters may also be regarded as the readers' reaction to what a specific magazine consists of; this is however a problematic notion, as the editorial team still selectively chooses what letters will be published. This still remains an interesting component of the pure editorial content section, as it reveals what a magazine wants other

readers to read and believe what the community of readers of that specific magazine believes or reacts to the content of the said magazine, creating a “band wagon” effect.

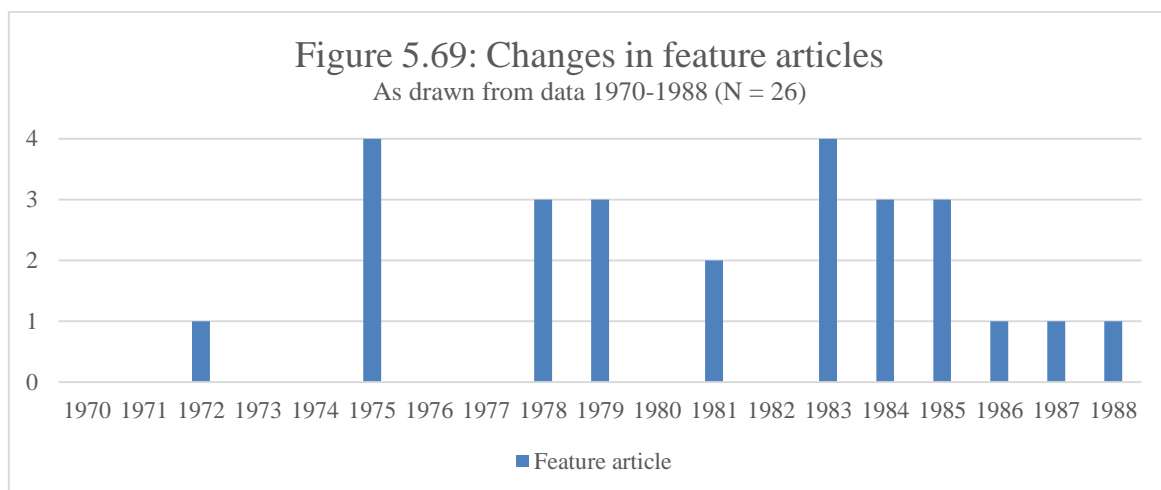
In some of the readers’ letters discussions and repartee were at hand from the readers debating previous articles within the magazine. In 1970 a reader letter reflected on a previously published article, while in 1971 a reader debated the method used for an article on need for national service. In 1973 a reader questioned a previous article on the training of instructors within the SADF, while another letter published in 1973 asked for a correction of an article on crossbows published in a previous article. A reader asked for a quote of his to be corrected from a previously published article (1973). These types of letters were published as way to show that the readers interacted with the magazine and did not just accept the content of the magazine at face value. These letters suggest that the content was read thoroughly and interpretation and analysis to some degree were done by the readers, coinciding with McQuail’s (2011: 57) notion that mass communication is not one directional and has to be interacted with before one can deem the communication as influential or not.

This interaction with a mass communication medium was taken further, with readers’ letters addressed to *Paratus* making suggestions to the editorial team as well as propositions to the SADF. In 1971 a letter from a reader asked the editor of *Paratus* to publish an article on pensions – this was indeed done in the December issue of 1973 in which an amendment to government service law that provided pensions and other financial services were addressed. A reader wrote a letter requesting a photograph of the parents of the cartoonist that published cartoons in *Paratus* on a regular basis in the form of “Doppie”, Len Lindeque, which the editor then compliantly did (1975). A suggestion was made by another reader to include an article on the South African Jewish ex-Service League and their continuous work done in South Africa (1977). Another suggestion was made to publish a *Paratus* special Defence Force Yearbook, annually (1977). These suggestions again illustrate that the readers reacted to the content of the magazine and sought the opportunity to collaborate and improve not only the publication but the SADF as well. One should keep in mind that the primary market of the magazine consisted of the members of the SADF, some still actively involved in the military, while others had retired. A shared interest in military related news led to those who wrote in order to remain involved in the creation of new content. Furthermore, as the editorial team of *Paratus* was militarised from 1974 onwards, the expertise of fellow military members was used to create a quality magazine and communication medium.

Feature articles

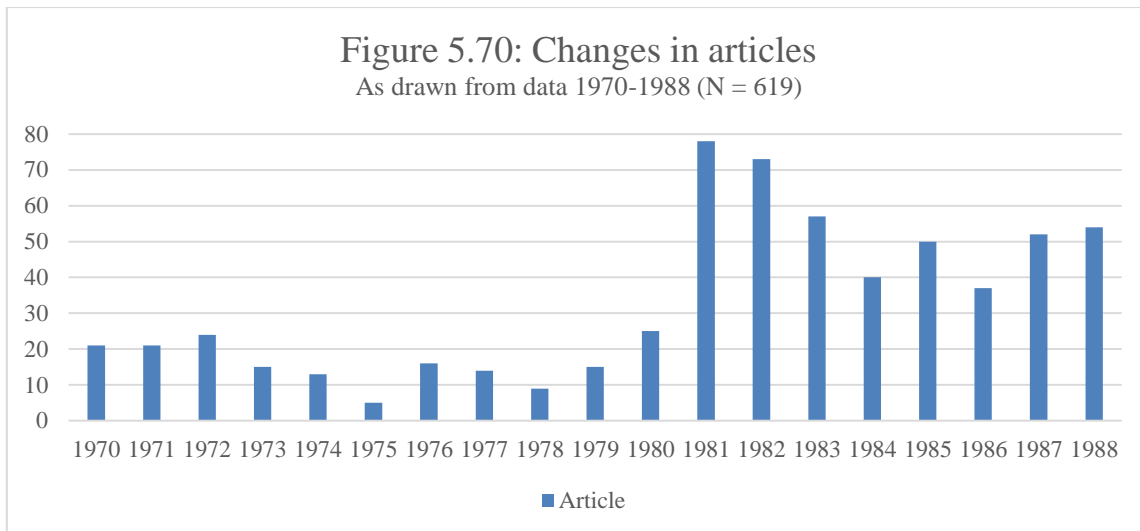
Feature articles refer to the articles published from the cover lines placed on the cover of a magazine. This means that feature articles are elements of content deemed most important by the editorial team for their target market. As have been discussed in the cover section, there are several years where no cover lines were present (meaning that the cover was a poster cover, with the focus on the masthead and the image of that particular cover): this will account for the lack of feature articles in the following graph.

It is important to note, however, that author's names and photographer's names rarely accompanied the content material within *Paratus*. Only in instances such as the editor's letter, Christmas messages from high-ranking officers within the SADF, such as the the Chief of the SADF and the Chaplain-General of the SADF, as well as important members of the NP, such as the Prime Minister's name would accompany a piece that was written by them for the content of the magazine. Other than these scattered occurrences, the name of the author of the content material appeared to be immaterial and of little consequence to the editorial team of the magazine. This suggests that the authors were seen as a collective – representatives of the SADF, where the institution of the SADF as well as the content/news were highlighted, rather than the individuals that wrote the content material.



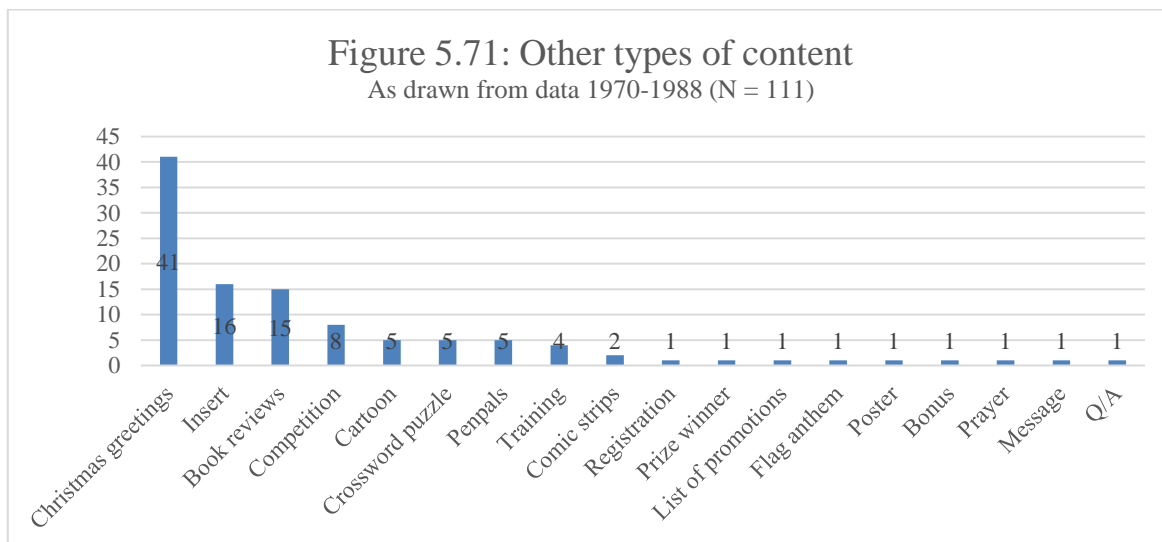
1975 and 1983 represented the most feature articles, with both years featuring a total of four. No feature articles appeared in 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1977, 1980 and 1982. The median is three feature articles, as can be seen in the years 1978, 1979, 1984 and 1985. One feature article per year was found in the years 1972, and 1986-1988.

Articles



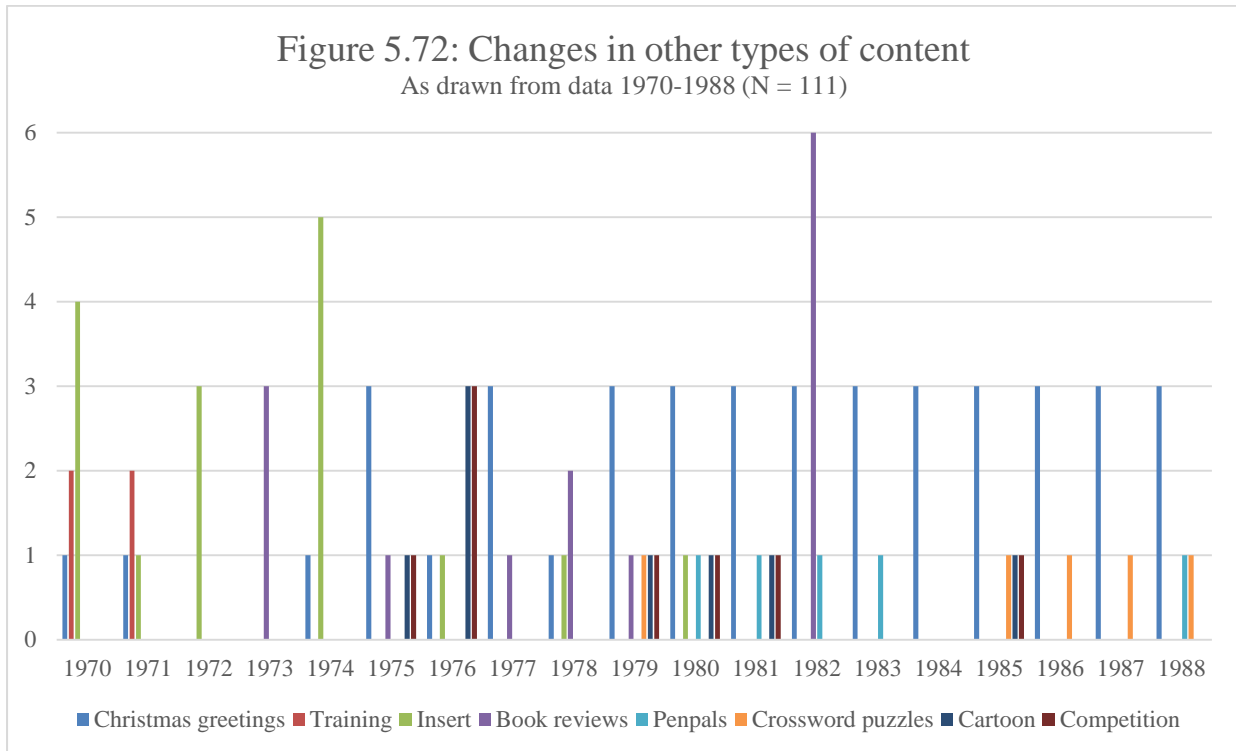
From 1981 onwards there is a significant increase in the number of articles published per issue, with 1981 featuring 78 articles, 1982 featuring 73 and 1983 57 articles. These numbers fluctuate between high 30s and 50s in the remaining years of analysis. 1975 showcases the fewest articles with only five in total for that specific issue. The number of articles is indicative of the size of the magazine – the magazine grew in size to become a bulkier magazine from 1980 onwards. This coincides with the total of advertisements published per year, with a definite increase in the number of advertisements placed from 1980 onwards.

Other types of content



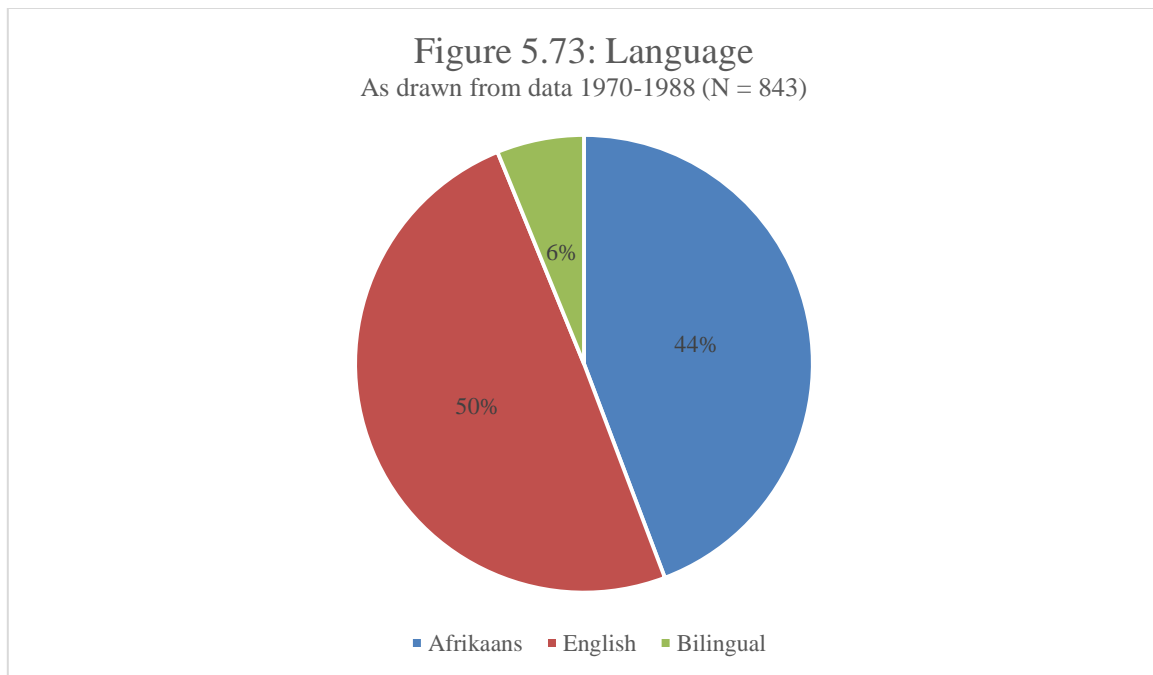
Christmas greetings appeared most often in *Paratus*, being published a total of 41 times. Inserts (categorised as not full articles however small pieces of information) are featured a total of 16 times, followed closely by book reviews that occurred in the magazine a total of 15 times.

Competitions were presented in the magazine eight times in total, while cartoons, crossword puzzles and penpals all featured a total of five times respectively. Competitions, as “other” identified content material refer to external competitions published within the magazine. Registration, prize winner list of promotions, flag anthem, poster, bonus, prayer, message and Q/A all featured once.



Only the types of content with significant publication frequencies were used to create the above bar graph. An obvious trend is that of Christmas greetings, found every year, except for 1972, 1973 and 1976, with three Christmas greetings evident from 1979-1988. Book reviews were found in 1973, 1975, 1977-1979 and finally 1982 with a total of six book reviews in that year’s issue. Crosswords puzzles only became a feature from 1985-1988, with a once-off occurrence in 1979. The same trend is applicable to penpals that also only became a feature during the 1980s, becoming a regular feature from 1980-1983, and then appearing again in 1988. Training only featured a total of four times, occurring at the beginning years of the magazine, 1970 and 1971. Inserts were also only found during the first half of the study period, featuring in 1970-1972, 1974, 1976, 1978 and 1980.

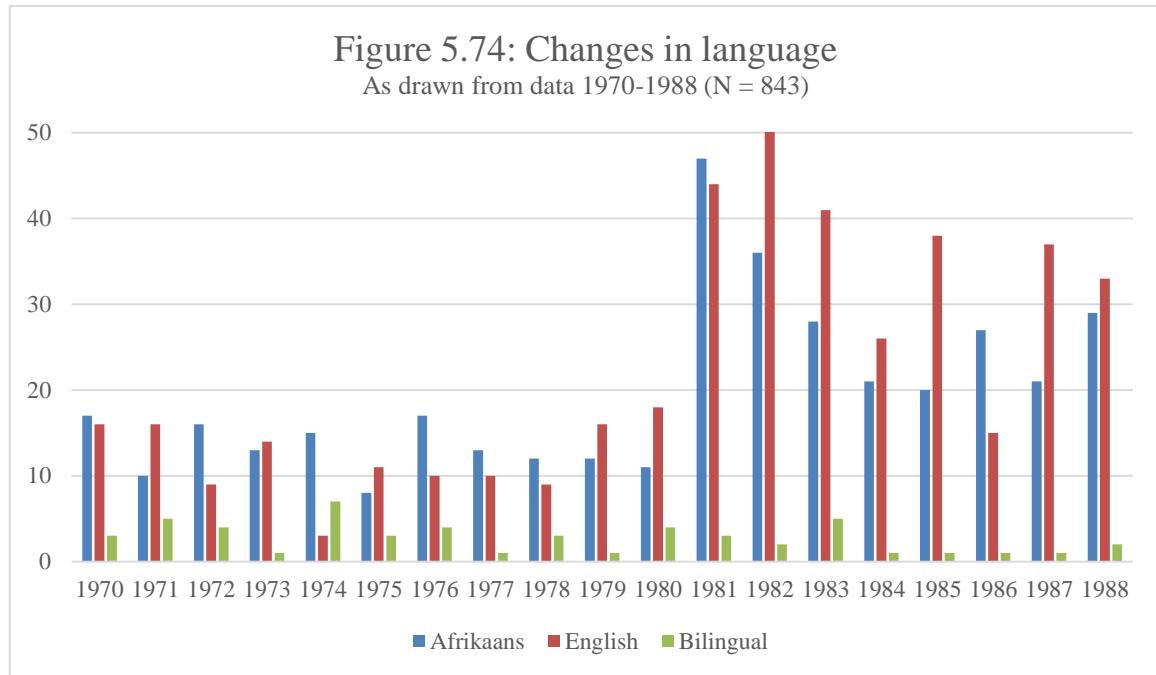
Language



Even though *Paratus* proclaimed itself to be bilingual, 50 per cent of the material (418 elements of content) was published in English, while Afrikaans content appeared 373 times throughout the timespan of the study. Bilingual material, i.e. content written in both English and Afrikaans in a single content element, whether pure editorial, feature articles, articles or other elements of content, only appeared a total of 52 times. This is similar to advertisements with more than half of all advertisements placed in the magazine also published in English (59 per cent). This becomes significant because an assumption is made that a propaganda medium for Afrikaner nationalism would then significantly publish more in Afrikaans in order to substantiate this ideology, however, this does not appear to be the case. Rather, it would seem that the majority of the content published within *Paratus* was aimed at a white English-speaking market, while also attributing to the fact that the target market also included an international audience. This suggests that the content was aimed at a significant proportion of the national servicemen, as well as the South African businessworld that were predominantly English-speaking, and while the content may have been in favour of Afrikaner nationalism agenda, the agenda was then well-masked to present a somewhat more inclusive cause.

Bilingual content mostly refers to the table of contents, and to some degree Christmas messages written by important members of the SADF, predominantly the Minister of Defence, the Chief of the SADF and the Chaplain General of the SADF. In 1981 the role of the Inspector General was published in an article, which was done so bilingually. An article published in 1983

regarding what a new national serviceman might expect from their time as a national serviceman within the SADF, was also published bilingually. Many articles with a religious undertone was written in Afrikaans (1970 – Conscientious objectors, 1971 – Bible giving, 1977 – National serviceman brought to faith), while other types of articles were randomly published in English or Afrikaans.

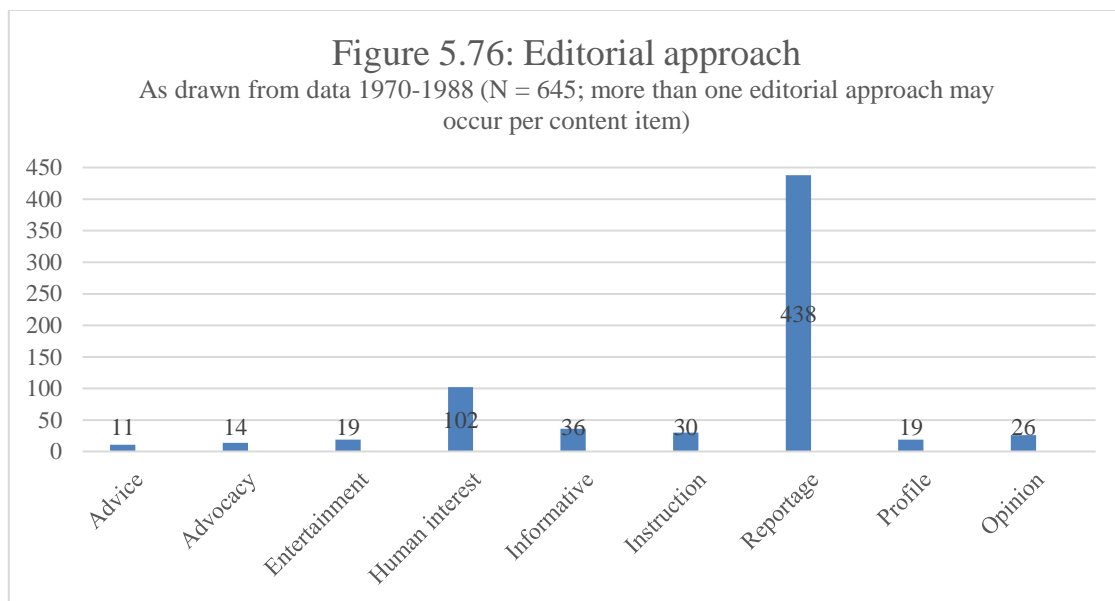


Year	Ratio
1970	1:1
1971	0.6:1
1972	2:1
1973	0.9:1
1974	5:1
1975	0.7:1
1976	2:1
1977	1:1
1978	1:1
1979	0.8:1
1980	0.6:1
1981	1:1
1982	0.7:1
1983	0.7:1
1984	0.8:1
1985	0.5:1
1986	2:1
1987	0.6:1
1988	0.9:1

FIGURE 5.75: RATIO OF AFRIKAANS VERSUS ENGLISH

Bilingual language usage remains constant from 1970 to 1988, with approximately three occurrences per issue. Only 1974 with seven instances, 1976 with four instances, and 1983 with five instances reveal a greater number than three of bilingual language usage. English language usage appears to increase from 1979 onwards with the exception of 1981 and 1986 used as the language of choice for content material. Afrikaans appears to be consistently used and appeared in the region of high 10s per issue. The increase of English and Afrikaans from 1981 onwards also gives credit to the increase of content during the same time. The ratio figure (figure 5.69) discloses that in the cases that Afrikaans was used more than English or bilingual content, Afrikaans was used decidedly more, with the highest ratio being 5:1. English, however, was used consistently more than Afrikaans, as can be seen in the ratio standings.

Editorial approach



The clear favourite editorial approach implemented in *Paratus* is reportage, with a total of 438 occurrences. The human interest approach comes in second with 102 occurrences. Advocacy and advice oriented approaches were least favourable with 14 and 11 uses respectively.

Reportage as an editorial approach is a clear methodological favourite and can be found in a variety of different content available from leisure events taking place within the SADF, including, but not limited to, sports, fundraisers, parades, strategies and campaigns. In an article published in 1970 a report was provided on the evaluation of the (then) current military situation from a South African perspective. In the commemorative issue published in 1974 a visual representation of the first issue of *K(C)ommando* was reported. In 1977 a report was published on the unveiling of the new military hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte. In 1982 an article reporting on the SAAF playing rugby as a leisure activity was published.

Human interest as an editorial approach was found in 1987 an article featured the Chief of the SADF who published a set of short stories, as a means to humanise or make the head of the SADF seem more relatable by showcasing other interests apart from military life. Another report, also published in 1987, gave an overview of a marriage enrichment weekend, specifically dedicated to members of the SADF, again highlighting other facets of the Defence Force, such as family and home life.

Informative and reportage are two similar editorial approaches, while it is here argued that informative refers to providing information or matters that constitute knowledge that can be used or enlighten the receiver. Reportage here refers to giving an account, description or exposition of information. Information is another one of the fundamental objectives of magazines. The informative editorial approach can be seen in the 1971 list of promotions as it provided information regarding promotions that occurred throughout the SADF, with specific attention to ranks in the SAAF. An article published in 1973, an informative piece on the amendment to government service law that provides pensions and other financial benefits for those that were in service of the government, including the South African Police, Capture services and Standing Force were provided to the readers. In 1983 a list of penpals in search of correspondence was given as a means to foster communicative relationships.

The instruction editorial approach did exactly that: it instructed its readers on various different topics. Several key themes can be seen throughout these articles that made use of the instruction approach, such as instruction on physical preparedness (1971, 1974, 1983), instruction on how to enter the SADF's essay competition (1975, 1976, 1981), instruction on language usage for administration purposes in the SADF, while also stressing the importance of accuracy in language usage and mastering both Afrikaans and English in the SADF (1972, 1983 – 2), while also giving instructions on the makeup of being a military journalist (1984), instructions on being a good leader to young soldiers (1980), while instructions on how to behave in the light of authority with accompanying warnings of what will happen if one does not (1980), as well as how a Christian is supposed to behave in regards to authority (1981). In 1978 instructions were given specifically to a female audience, during a preparedness day showing practical demonstrations and lectures on self-defence, while their husbands are away on the front, while an article published in 1988 instructed women, specifically wives of members of the SADF, to support their husbands in their duty, again playing on traditional gender roles during wartime. Instruction was also given on alcohol consumption; in 1982 an article published on alcohol consumption and gambling in South Africa revealed that these were items that South African spent the most money on, and therefore, the SADF encouraged members of the public to donate the money that they would use for alcohol and gambling, to the SADF to enable the institution to buy armaments for the ongoing war effort, while another article published in 1986 also instructed members of the SADF to consume alcohol less, by explaining that there was no need to be drunk to have a good time. These articles on instructions on alcohol usage coincided with

the findings of Robb (2014) that even though the SADF accepted the use of alcohol in the military, it did also attempt to prohibit excessive amounts of consumption.

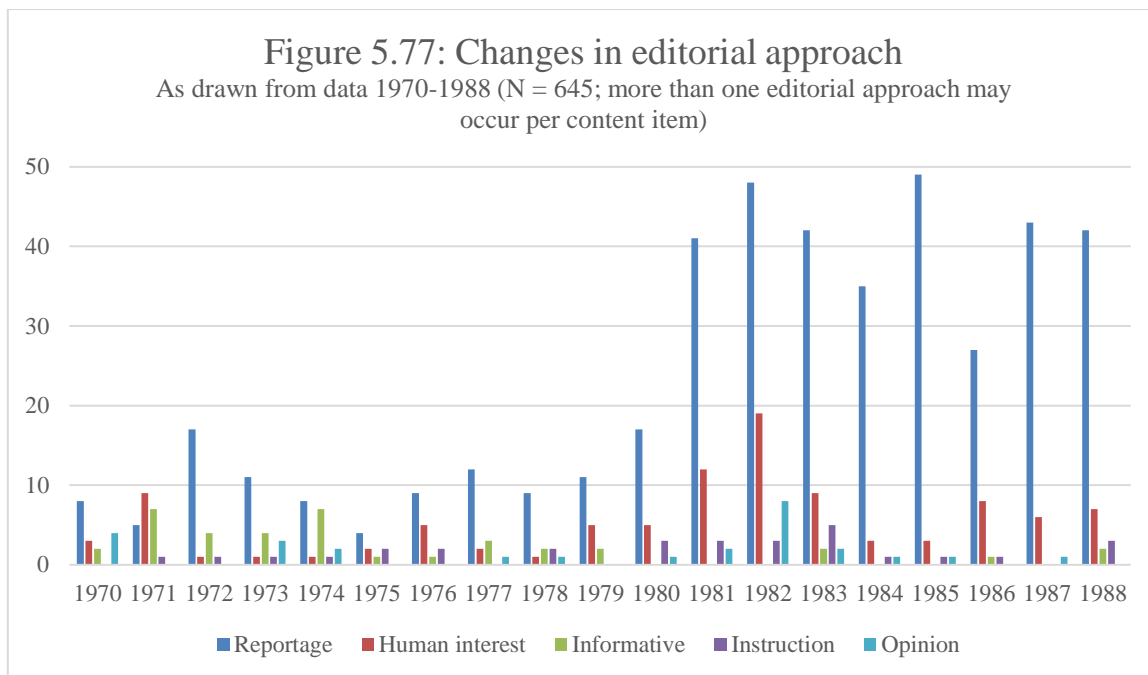
Opinion as an editorial approach is difficult to place, as journalists (in all media) are influenced by some form of bias whether consciously or subconsciously. Therefore opinion-based articles in *Paratus* are largely dedicated to book reviews published within the magazine across the timespan of the study. In the 1974 remembrance issue of *Paratus* a list was compiled regarding the most important articles published throughout the history of the magazine. This is deemed to be an opinion of the author as no method is shown how these articles were chosen, therefore it is the most important articles published in the magazine's history according to the author who is representing the magazine as a whole.

Entertainment as an editorial approach adheres to one of the fundamental functions of a magazine. In 1984 an article regarding a concert hosted for the SADF recalls the “enjoyment” of the audience. Various cartoons also published within the magazine sought to entertain the reader, while making national service (as is the case with the Doppie cartoon) seem fun.

In 1981 an article titled “[T]his Adjutant is a woman!” provided a profile (as an editorial approach) on a member of the SADF. This was regarded an important piece as it referred to representation of women in the SADF. In 1986 an interview was conducted with the (then) newly appointed vice-minister of Defence, with a profile of his accomplishments before the appointment and what he planned on doing in future.

The advocacy editorial approach normally comes from a place of power within *Paratus*, as can be seen in a feature article published in 1988. In a lecture on the contemporary strategic situation in Southern Africa by General Magnus Malan, he clearly advocated the importance of South Africa as a technological power.

Advice as an editorial approach, although not commonly found throughout the magazine, gave guidance to soldiers and family members alike. In 1970 a letter was published providing advice for parents on how to approach their sons returning from national service. In another article published in 1981, a national serviceman provided advice for future national servicemen on what to expect.

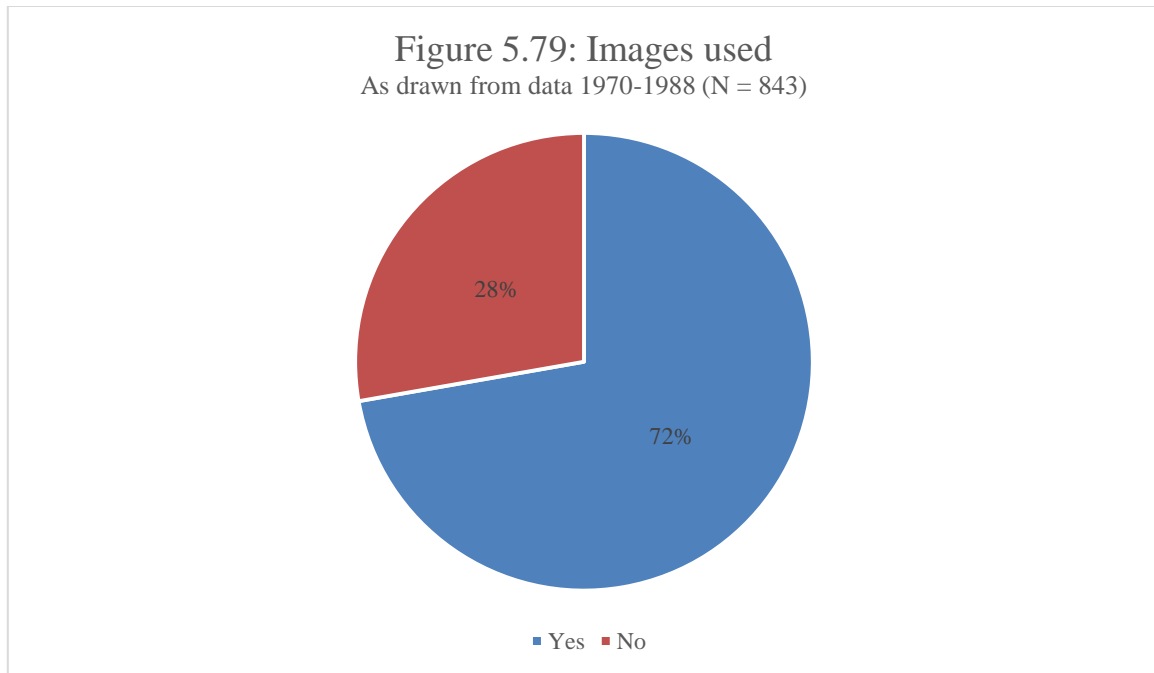


Year	Ratio
1970	3:1
1971	0.5:1
1972	17:1
1973	11:1
1974	8:1
1975	2:1
1976	2:1
1977	6:1
1978	9:1
1979	2:1
1980	3:1
1981	3:1
1982	3:1
1983	5:1
1984	12:1
1985	16:1
1986	3:1
1987	7:1
1988	6:1

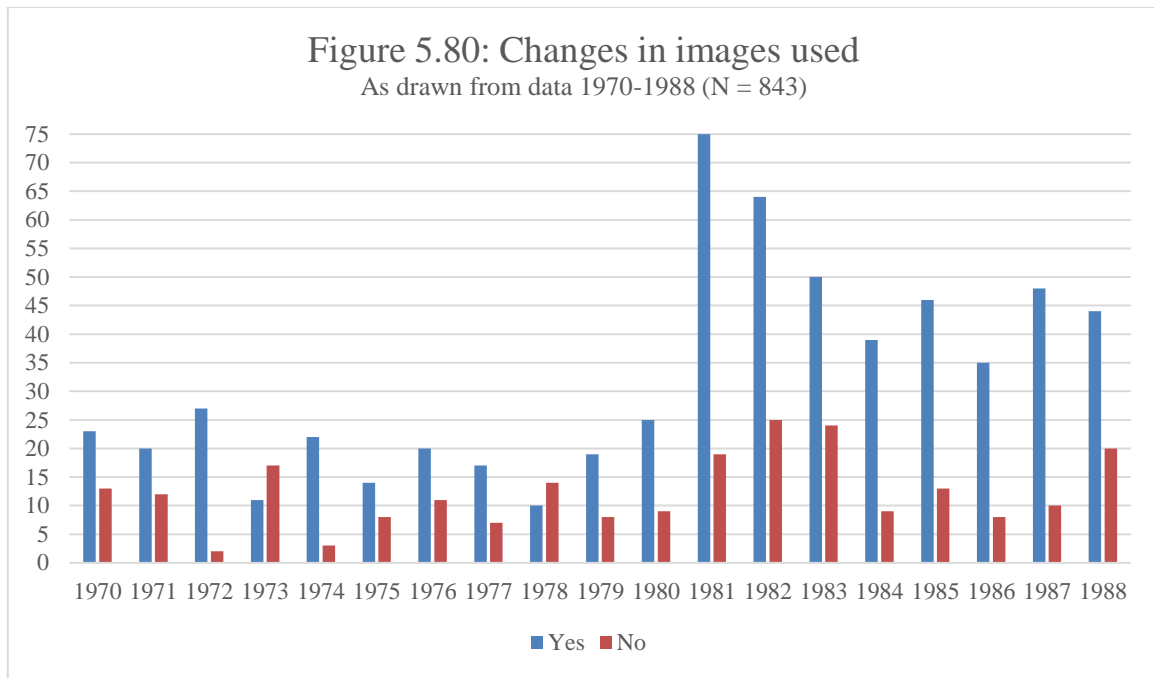
FIGURE 5.78: RATIO OF REPORTAGE AND HUMAN INTEREST

A significant increase in the reportage editorial approach can be found from 1981, which coincides with the increase of content of the same date. However, the ratio between approaches notably changes with only human interest also following suit, albeit in a lesser frequency. This usage of reportage as a main editorial approach adheres to *Paratus*'s aim to "mirror events and developments in and around" the SADF (Moll 1981: 20), as this approach allows content to be reported as it happens to the primary target market.

Images used



The pie graph above illustrates that a total of 609 images were used in *Paratus*, with only 234 instances (all elements of content) where no images were present. These images are found across all the elements of content, including pure editorial, feature articles, articles and other identified content. For more formal types of documents, such as legal articles (1970), list of promotions (1971), flag anthem (1973), readers' letters (throughout the timespan of the magazine), historical overviews of specific operations (1980), women and national service-related articles (1981), the complaint's office (1982) and religious pieces (1983) no images were used. This is very significant as the Defence Act No 44 of 1957 concerned itself with the improper disclosure of information. As mentioned previously, it prohibited anyone from disclosing information regarding the military unless it has been authorised by the Minister or those under his authority. This included the taking of photographs or creating sketches of a military nature. This means that the images published in *Paratus* were some of the only images available to the public and therefore an invaluable resource to get visual aids to the military and the Border War.

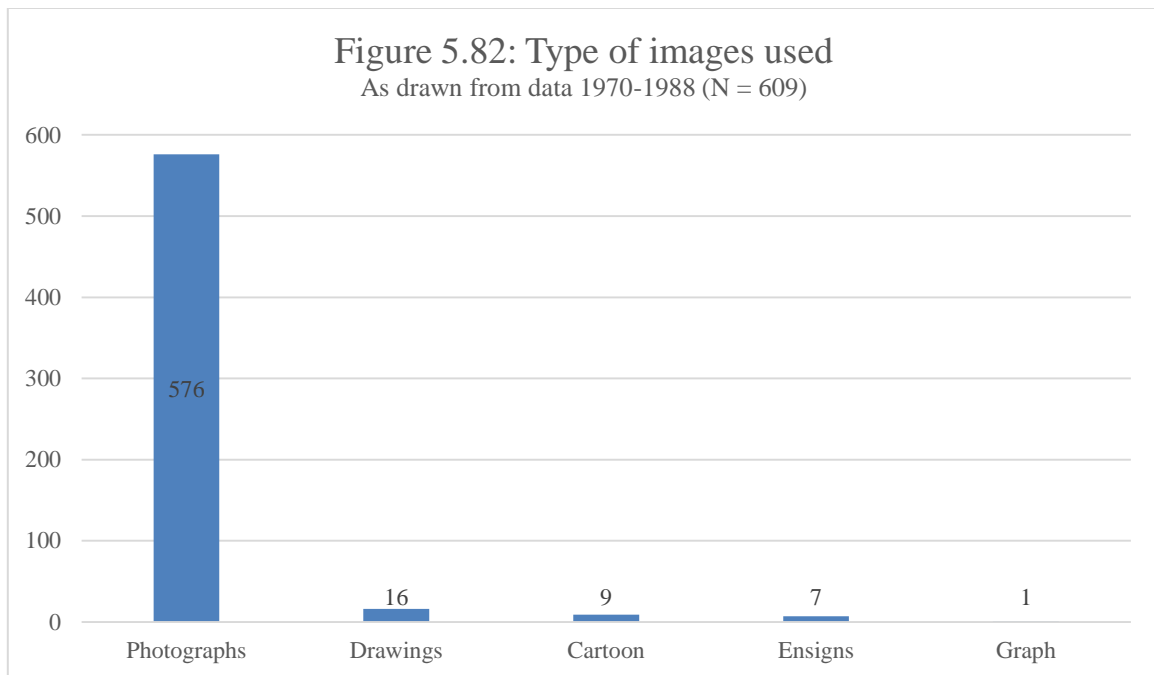


Year	Ratio
1970	2:1
1971	2:1
1972	14:1
1973	0.6:1
1974	7:1
1975	2:1
1976	2:1
1977	2:1
1978	0.7:1
1979	2:1
1980	3:1
1981	4:1
1982	3:1
1983	2:1
1984	2:1
1985	4:1
1986	4:1
1987	5:1
1988	2:1

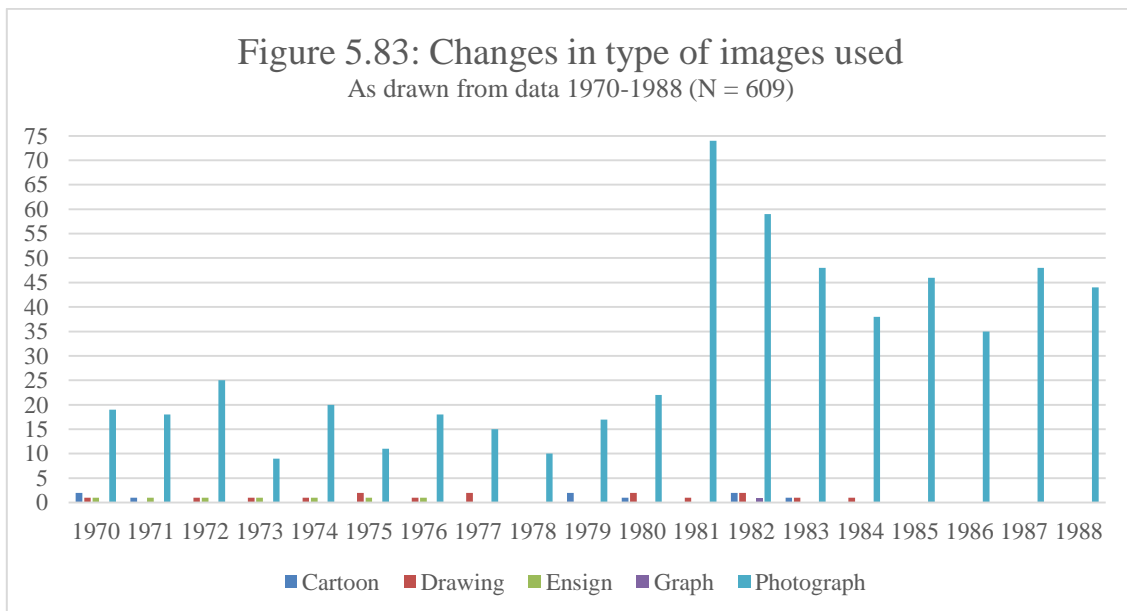
FIGURE 5.81: RATIO OF IMAGES USED, YES AND NO

Every issue per year analysed reveal that images were used more than not, except for 1973 where 17 instances were found with no images, and only 11 instances used images. Not only were images used consistently more regularly than no imagery, from 1981 onwards images were significantly used more in frequency as opposed to no images. The content within *Paratus* used images most regularly, as the ratio figure (figure 5.75) indicates with the highest ratio being 14:1, and the average ratio being 3:1. The images used always contributed to the editorial approach of the content, for instance in a reportage approach the accompanying image(s) reflected the happenings of the report. In human interest approaches, a photograph of the person of interest supplements the article.

Types of images used



It can be seen that photographs were the firm favourite type of image to be used in the magazine, with 576 occurrences. The remaining types include drawings, cartoon, ensigns (logo of a particular military nature) and graphs, with all appearing fewer than 20 times throughout the entire timespan in all content elements, with the graph only appearing once (in 1982).



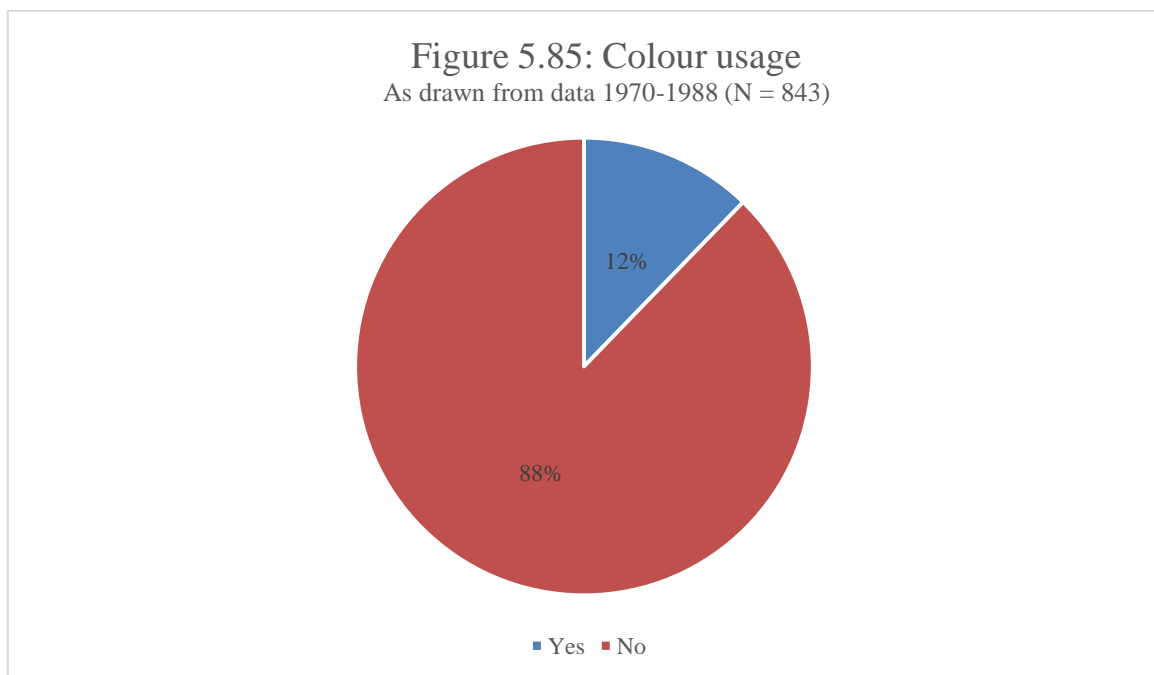
As photographs were used most often, the other type of images identified including cartoon, drawing, ensign and graph, were used a maximum total of two times. More often than not, a type will only be used a single time in a year. No other type of images was used from 1985

onwards, with only photographs present in this category. The usage of a graph only appeared once, in 1982. The use of ensigns was limited to the beginning years of the magazine from 1970 to 1976. The use of a cartoon appeared in the early years of the magazine, 1970-1971, and then again late 1970s until early 1980s, 1979-1980 and then again 1982-1983. Drawings appeared more regularly, with occurrences in the 1970s and early 1980s, 1970, 1972-1977, and then again in 1980-1984. Photographs mainly consisted of the events taking place within the SADF: this included photographs of soldiers in action in the bush, border or in training camps, fundraisers, conferences, parades, medals handover and military officials specifically the Chief of the SADF, Minister of Defence and the Chaplain General of the SADF. Cartoon drawings usually accompanied a satirised concept, and often represented as caricatures, for instance in 1971 a cartoon drawing of a soldier or official in military wear with a bigger than normal head appeared, alongside an article regarding transport for members of the military, with specific reference to the use of bicycles.

Year	Ratio
1970	19:1
1971	18:0
1972	25:1
1973	9:1
1974	20:1
1975	6:1
1976	18:1
1977	8:1
1978	10:0
1979	17:0
1980	11:1
1981	74:1
1982	30:1
1983	48:1
1984	38:1
1985	46:0
1986	35:0
1987	48:0
1988	44:0

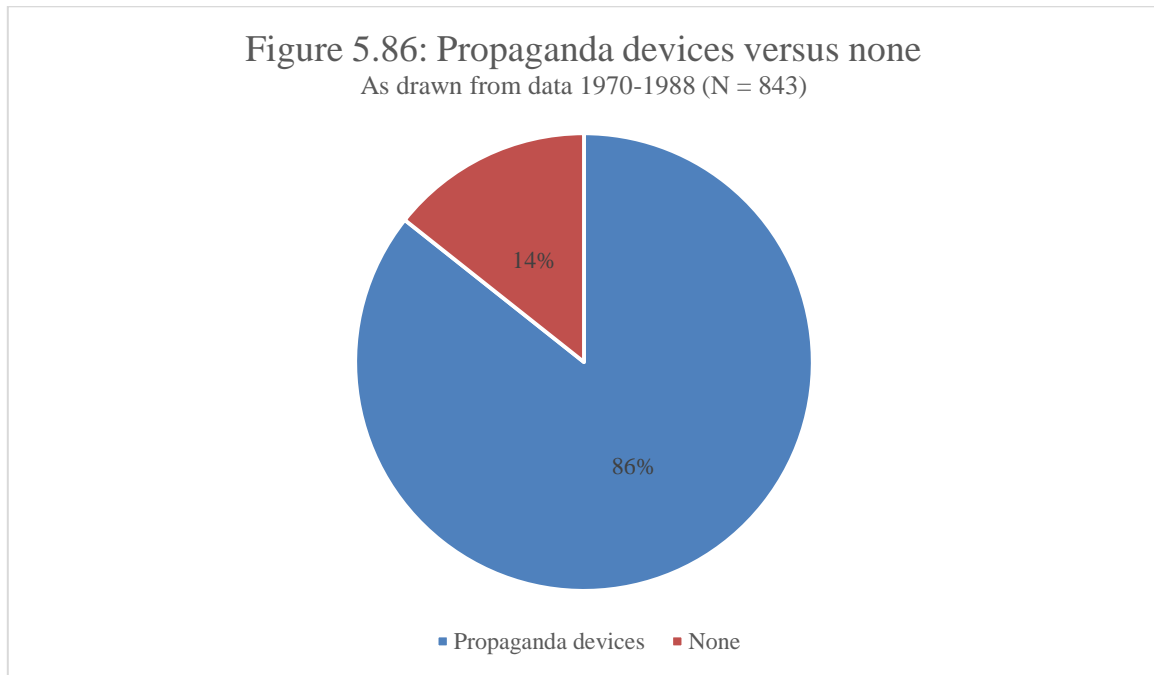
FIGURE 5.84: RATIO OF TYPE OF IMAGE, PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS

Colour usage

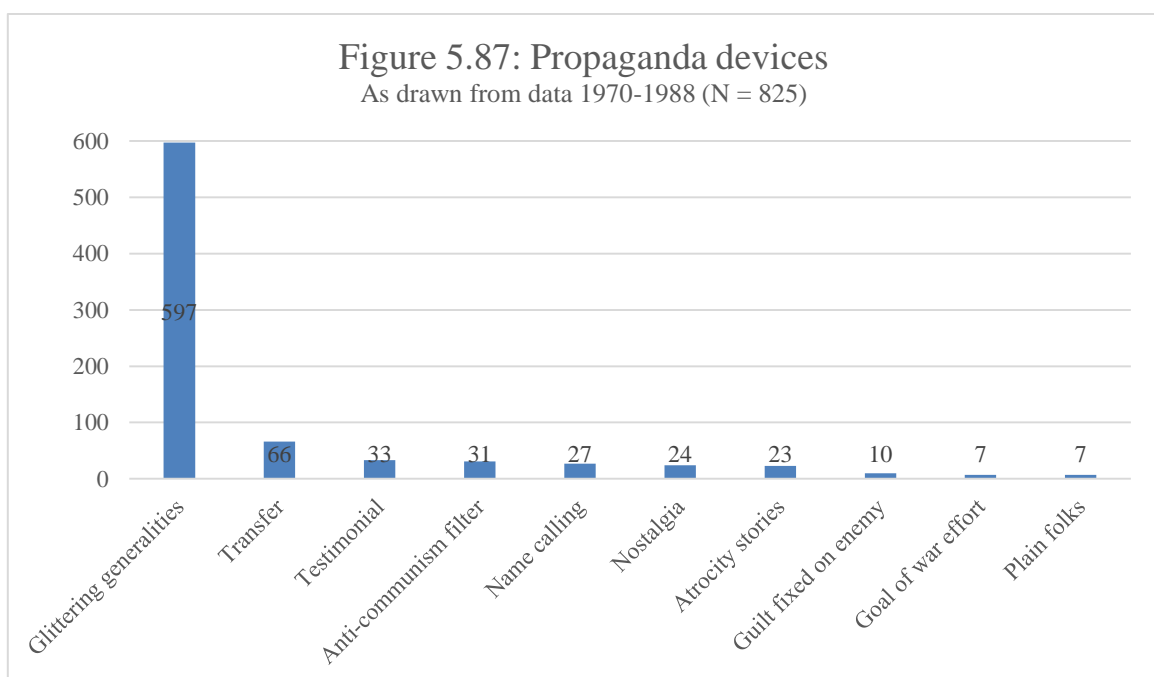


Most of the content of *Paratus* consisted of no colour usage, surmounting to 738 content elements not made up of colour. The remaining 103 content elements made use of colour from 1970-1988. The cost of colour printing was the main reason for this design element.

Propaganda devices



It can be seen in the pie graph above that 825 propaganda devices were used in all sets of content, while only 138 instances were documented with no propaganda devices evident. This results in a clear identification of propaganda usage within the content of the magazine.



The graph above illustrates the frequency of usage of various propaganda devices within the content of *Paratus* from 1970 to 1988. In this graph it is evident that glittering generalities as a propaganda device was used most often, occurring a total of 597 times. The transfer device was used 66 times, while the testimonial device and anti-communism filter device were used 33 and 31 times respectively. These devices are closely followed by the name calling device, nostalgia device and atrocity stories that were used 27, 24 and 23 times respectively within the content of the magazine. Guilt fixed on enemy device was used 10 times in total, while the goal of war effort device and plain folks device were used seven times each.

Glittering generalities as a propaganda device is obviously the favourite device used and appears in various different context as well as content elements. In a 1970 article asking the question whether it is worth it to implement a national servicemen system, “enthusiasm” for duty and “changing of attitudes” were deemed important. On a lighter note an article published in 1971 provided an overview of the Drakensberg Boy Choir performing at the borders and this performance was described as being a “success” and “entertaining”. In an article published in 1978 titled “[V]roue leer hul man staan” translated to “[W]omen learn to stand their man” reflects on women being shown practical demonstrations and lectures regarding the Front and home defence, all the while being described as “outstanding” “modern women”.

Transfer device was used regularly within *Paratus*'s content as can be seen in an article published in 1973 regarding the necessary attributes of leaders given at the Women's Monument in Bloemfontein, where a necessary “belief in the Supreme” – faith in Christianity – was regarded as a required characteristic. In a Christmas message by the Chief of the SADF published in 1978, he describes the SADF as “a defence force for our people” and exhorts the readers to “pray” for the safekeeping of the “beautiful land of ours”.

Testimonial device was found frequently, such as in the table of contents where the magazine clearly associated itself with an authority figure namely the SADF, by stating that it was the “[O]fficial magazine” or “[O]fficial periodical”, other instances include letters from parents that thanks the SADF for the manner in which they treat their sons who are completing their national service. Another example of the testimonial device is an article where a well-known member of the public, namely Gary Player, advocates national service (1980). The testimonial device came across the most frequently in the table of contents of each issue of the magazine that formed part of the analysis. This is because the table of contents featured the masthead/title of the magazine, while directly stating that the magazine was the official periodical of the

SADF. This served as a testament of the affiliation between the magazine and the institution. Although there were many references, even within the magazine itself that dubbed the relationship between *Paratus* and the SADF as formal, none other can be regarded as clear as the mention in the table of contents of each issue. This also affirmed the magazine's status in terms of the content that it published – as it published information, news and content to the reader in an official capacity, making the magazine more authoritative.

The anti-communism filter propaganda device (derived from the Propaganda Model – PM), appears similar to the name calling device (see paragraph below), and it was used several times throughout the magazine, with examples including articles on weaponry of a “communist-inspired” nature (1970), while another article published in 1972 described the ideological strategy surrounding the Atlantic Ocean for Cold War against Russia and used the term “Kremlinology” to identify the mentioned communist strategy. A feature article published in 1987 titled “Why South Africa is fighting in Angola” provided motivation for the SADF's involvement in Angola by using the anti-communism filter mentioning that Angola made use of military vehicles of Russian origin (inherently making it communist) and stated that if not stopped the Angolans will influence the ANC, increasing the growing internal struggle in South Africa.

Name calling device can be seen in the 1979 feature article titled “A hard, close look at our neighbour” that gave an overview of the loss of minority rule in Zimbabwe and how this may impact South Africa in terms of its internal struggle; in this article mention was made of “terrorist”. This is not the first time that it was used in magazine and was also the identifier of the name calling device used most often to identify any who opposed the South African government or SADF, usually referring to the ANC and SWAPO.

Nostalgia as a propaganda device was most obviously used in the 1986 feature article in remembrance to the Delville Wood battle by inaugurating a commemorative museum. As a famous battle during the First World War, nostalgia was evoked in this feature article as the article celebrated the efforts of previous members in military, alluding to the belief that those who were currently (serving duty in the Border War) at war, would also be remembered and celebrated.

Atrocity stories as a propaganda device was explored in the 1983 article on the infamous Pretoria bombing that injured and killed several civilians by freedom fighters. The article makes use of several identifiers to illustrate the happenings. These include “wounded”,

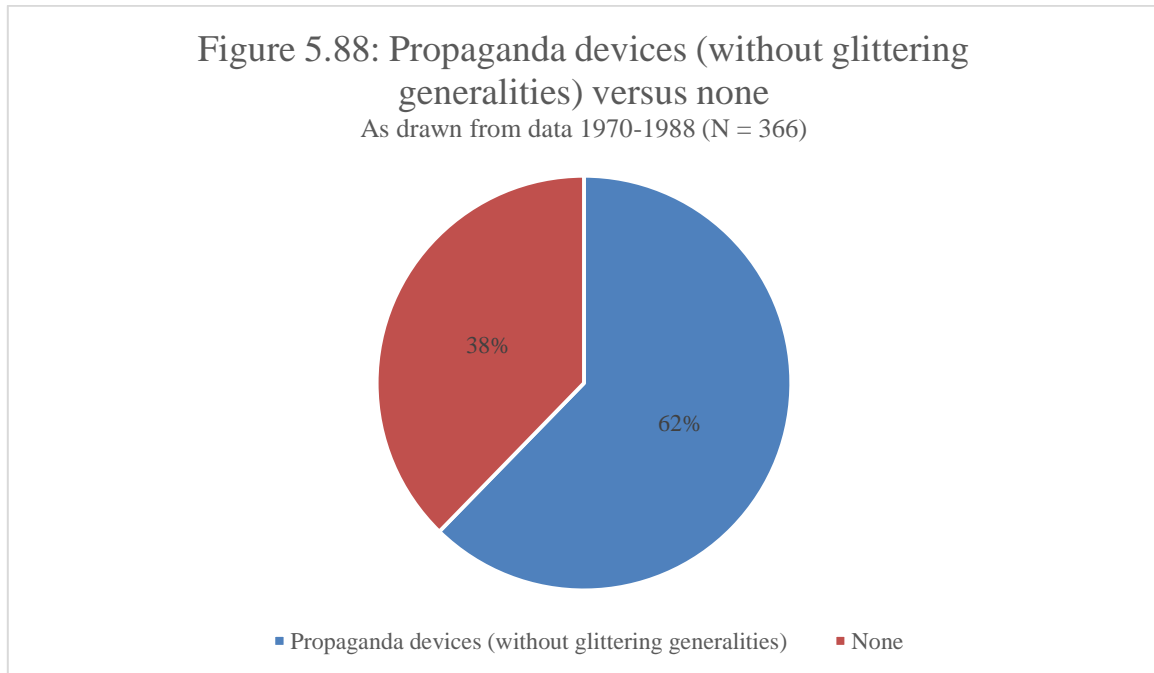
“mangled mess”, “cowardly attack”, “abominable deed of violence” and “barbaric deed”. This same topic was explored several times within the same issue and also refers to another article that person that witnessed the attack described as “... the ugliest thing I have seen in my life”.

Guilt fixed on enemy as propaganda device can be seen in the article titled “[D]ie veiligheid van ons land hang van JOU af” (“[T]he safety of our country depends on YOU”), with the key theme of knowing who the enemy is, meaning that a clear enemy has already been identified and that members of the public should be able to distinguish its/their characteristics. In an article in 1974 on the continuous threat of the South African borders by communists, the word “enemy” is once again used in order to illustrate the continuous identified threat and enemy.

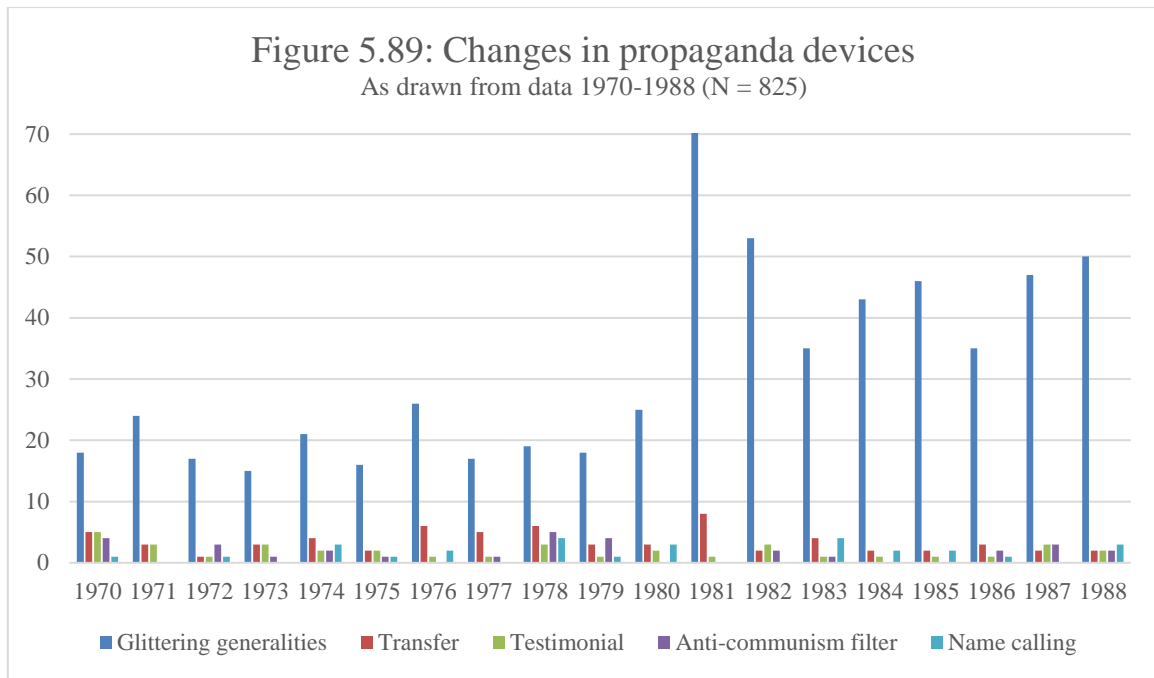
The goal of the war effort as a propaganda device used specific words in order to convey its message, such as “hate campaign” (1974) conducted by the enemy as a means of resisting the SADF, “deadly co-protector of our waters” (1976) used in an article regarding the SA Navy and their duty to protect the South African coastline, and “domination” (1978) used in a book review when describing the communist onslaught.

The plain folk device used in *Paratus* illustrated the need for ordinary and every day members of the public in order to safeguard the country against an ever-growing threat. In a poem written by a national serviceman (1970), he illustrates the need for all facets of the SADF in order to make a difference, as he himself was a dishwasher but could find purpose in his position. In a letter from a reader (1979) the need for young servicemen is iterated and the letter makes use of an inclusive “son” to illustrate the duty of all South African white males by evoking images of family. In the editor’s letter published in 1971 mentioned above, the parents presented their thanks to the SADF and gave their approval to the Minister of Defence as well as the national service system, by making it clear that the system was deemed imperative, and by making use of everyday people (plain folks propaganda device), it attempted to persuade other parents to understand the necessity of the national service system. In 1973, a letter written by a national serviceman explained his own personal experience serving his duty to his country and provided a description on why he personally believed it was required. Again, dual propaganda usage can be identified (a national serviceman is considered a plain folks device, while his reasoning is considered to be testimony making it a testimonial device). His testimony needed to be trusted as he underwent the same experiences as that of future national servicemen. In another example, a well-known sportsman advocated national service, while his own son was busy completing his national service. In this article published in 1980, specific mention was made

of the accommodation that the SADF made for national servicemen who were actively competing in sport, which was made clear in the testimony of a pro-athlete. The testimonial device was effective in showcasing formality and as a result trust in the propagandist's objective, which was most apparent in the official publication of the SADF, which resulted in more authority and status for the magazine.

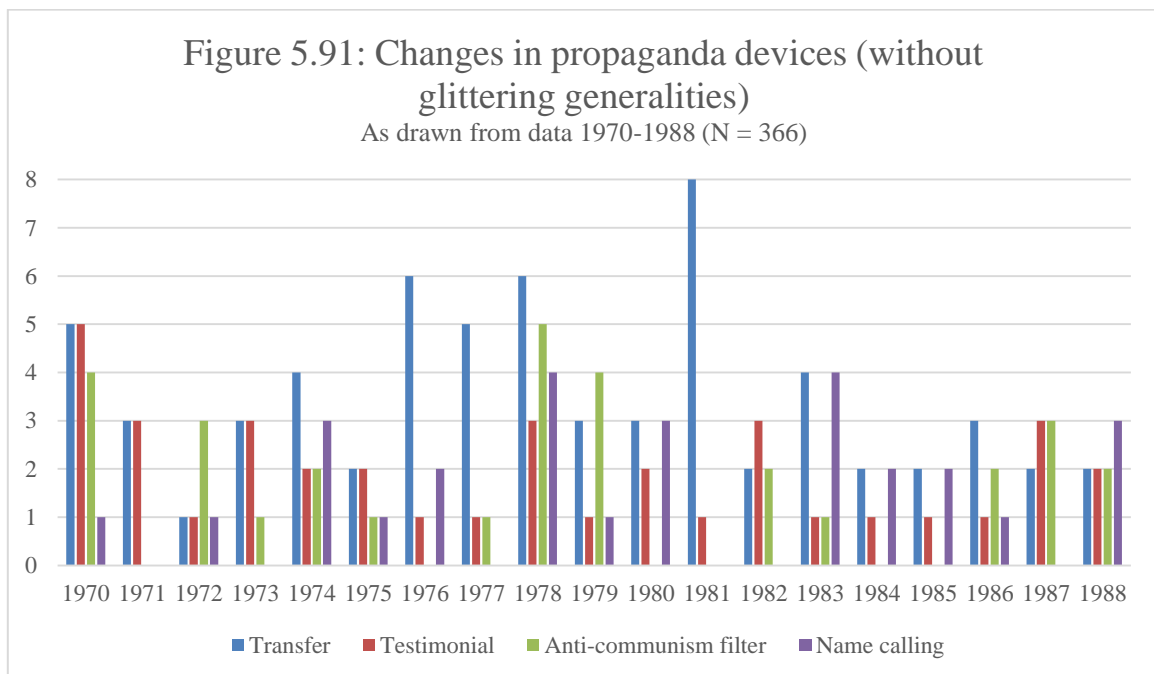


Since the glittering generalities device was used so often, making up the majority of the propaganda devices used, it is useful to see whether propaganda devices were still evident in *Paratus* if one does not consider glittering generalities. In the pie graph above, one notices that propaganda devices (without glittering generalities) still features in the majority of the content, featuring a total of 228 times, while no propaganda devices remain at 138 occurrences, revealing that propaganda devices were clearly evident in the content of *Paratus* even if one does not account for the glittering generalities device.



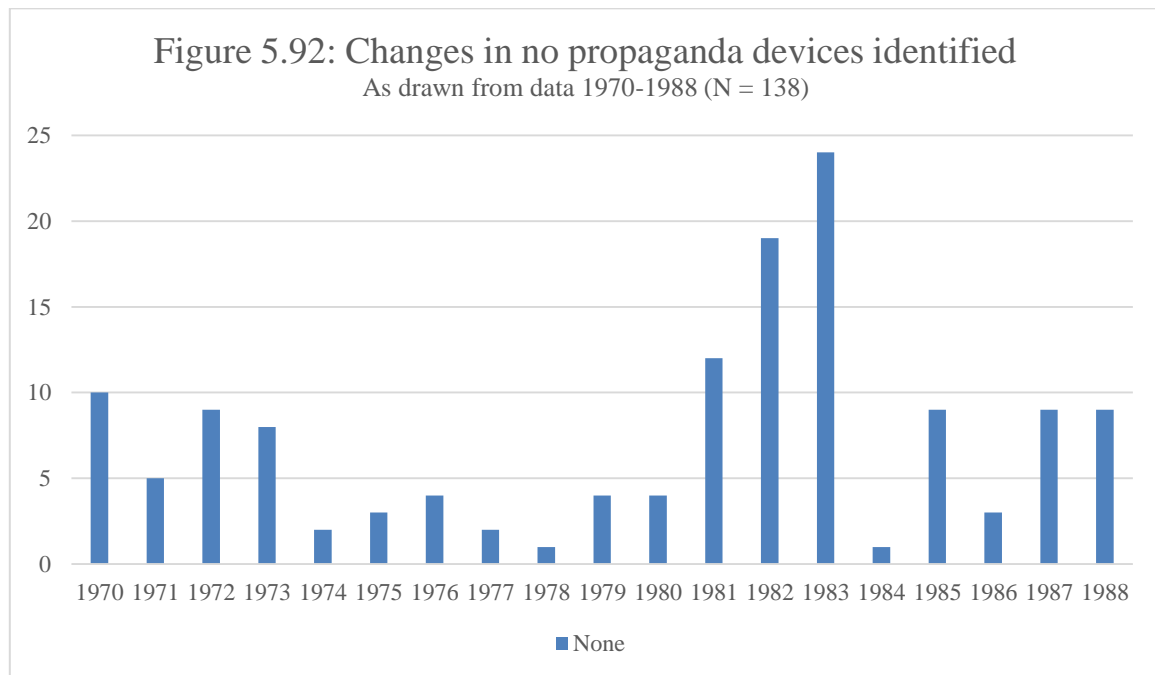
Year	Ratio
1970	1:1
1971	4:1
1972	3:1
1973	2:1
1974	2:1
1975	3:1
1976	3:1
1977	2:1
1978	1:1
1979	2:1
1980	3:1
1981	8:1
1982	8:1
1983	4:1
1984	9:1
1985	9:1
1986	5:1
1987	6:1
1988	6:1

FIGURE 5.90: RATIO OF GLITTERING GENERALITIES AND OTHER PROPAGANDA DEVICES



Only the five most frequently recurring propaganda devices used are represented in the bar graph above. As mentioned, the glittering generalities device was used most regularly, therefore one can see that it is consistently used more than the other identified propaganda

devices. 1981 and onwards show a greater use of the device, although one should consider that there was an increase in the extent of content that coincides with these dates. 1981 specifically showcases a total of 72 times that the glittering generalities device was used. The device's usage over the study timespan suggest an average of 33 instances per issue that the device was used. As the ratio figure (figure 5.84) indicates glittering generalities as a propaganda device was used consistently more than any of the other propaganda devices combined, with the highest ratio being 9:1 and the lowest ratio 1:1. All the other propaganda devices used were used in a lesser manner, with the transfer device showcasing a total of eight instances of usage in 1981, which is considered to be the most in the devices represented. No identifiable trend can be seen, as the other propaganda devices were used consistently, averaging between lower than 10 appearances per issue. The anti-communism filter device was not used in 1971, 1976, 1980, 1981, 1984 and 1985.



It can be seen that the number of instances where no propaganda device could be identified increase in concordance with the total number of propaganda devices used, from 1981-1983. 1978 and 1984 were the years that represented the least occurrences of no propaganda devices used, with only one such instance during both years respectively. No identifiable propaganda devices averaged approximately eight instances per issue as represented in the bar graph above.

5.2.3.1. Summary for content

It can be seen through the data presentation that the readers' letters made up the biggest component of the pure editorial of the magazine in terms of content, as several readers' letters are published per issue, as opposed to the table of contents and editor's letters that usually only appears once per issue.

The feature articles conform the covers in terms of cover lines, as feature articles are articles that made an appearance in the form of a cover line on the cover of a specific issue. The number of articles grew from 1981 onwards as the magazine grew in size; this corresponds with the number of advertisements published within the magazine during the same timeframe because of the bulkier magazine.

A variety of content was published within the magazine apart from the traditional feature articles and articles, with prominent features such as Christmas messages, book reviews, external competitions, cartoons, crossword puzzles and penpals. Penpals specifically was introduced from 1980, as a reaction to the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and to boost the morale of the national servicemen, while cartoons and crosswords form part of traditional magazines in order to perform the function of entertainment to the reader.

The language of choice for the content is English at 50 per cent, followed by Afrikaans at 44 per cent and bilingual content published only 6 per cent of the time. This fits with the language of choice for both the advertisements and covers, which again alludes to the idea that the magazine was keeping a predominantly English market in mind in the creation of the content of the magazine, and suggests an attempt to appear more inclusive

Reportage was the editorial approach of choice, appearing 438 times, followed by human interest at 102 times. This is again significant in terms of the Defence Act No 44 of 1957 which states that no one is allowed to disseminate information pertaining to the military unless given permission by an authority figure within the SADF or the government. This means that the news (reports) that were published in *Paratus* were considered to be one of a kind as it was one of few outlets that were allowed to report on the goings-on in the SADF.

The use of images, predominantly consisting of photographs, also refers to the Defence Act No 44 of 1957, in which the photographs published within *Paratus* are one of the few publications given the authority to do so, meaning that if members of the public wished to see visual

presentation of the SADF, the Border War and/or military life, *Paratus* was a reliable source to view these photographs.

No colour was used for 88 per cent of the content published in *Paratus*, which correlates with the lack of colour in the advertisements placed in the magazine as well. Cost again may impact this, as well as the editorial board which consisted of members of the military as opposed to people trained in publishing, design and aesthetics, where no colour usage did not impact the content of the magazine.

Propaganda was evident in the content of the magazine, with glittering generalities making up the majority of the propaganda devices with 597 instances being used, followed by transfer and testimonial, which is parallel to the propaganda devices used on the cover of the magazine. The use of glittering generalities as the main propaganda device reveals that the magazine attempted to sell the best parts of the SADF to the readership, while the transfer device reveals the importance of religious and patriotic beliefs within the military, and the testimonial device reveals that the ultimate authority figure is the SADF itself, in conjunction with the NP.

5.3. Conclusion

The various components of the magazine have now been divided up and represented several categories. As has been found, specifically with the content section of the data, several sub-categories have arisen. Ultimately, the data presentation revealed that propaganda was indeed present in the various components of the magazine, including the advertisements, covers and content of *Paratus*. All of these categories presented provide the researcher with ample opportunity for analysis and discussion, which will form the basis of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6: Analysis and discussion

6.1. Introduction

After having gathered and presented the data from the archival material of *Paratus* magazine, in terms of the magazine's editorial philosophy, it now becomes necessary to discuss the various elements in detail in order to gain better understanding of the makeup of *Paratus*. By conducting a critical discussion of the various components, recurring trends and themes can be gathered in order to assist in the findings of the research study, as set out in Chapter 1, as well as in the introduction section of Chapter 4. This chapter will set out to discuss certain elements that make up the editorial philosophy that have not been discussed up to this point, such as the target market, the overall voice of the magazine, while the type of content (which is made up of the advertisements, covers, and content) will form the greatest part of the discussion. As the editorial philosophy is also made up of the title and purpose of the magazine, refer back to Chapter 1 (points 1.2.1.1. and 1.2.1.2.) for a discussion on these aspects. It is important to note that the points that will be discussed here have been found in the source material, *Paratus*, and have not been found in the literature review.

6.2. Target market

In the commemorative issue of *Paratus* published in 1974 the following details regarding the target market are listed: every Permanent Force member, dignitaries, one out of every 20 national servicemen, schools, libraries and other institutions were given free publications of *Paratus*, making up a circulation of approximately 24 000. The author (Major Dirk Müller) also mentions, vaguely, that hundreds of issues are also sent monthly to an international readership base as well as international military attachés as a means to further the image and reputation of the SADF. The countries that received *Paratus* included the U.S.A., France, Great Britain, Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, Canada, Argentina, Australia, Israel and New Zealand; Africa is also mentioned; however, no countries are identified here.

During the content analysis it became apparent that the clear primary market of *Paratus* consisted of males, as 89 per cent of the total advertisements (these include traditional advertisements and hybrid advertisements) were aimed primarily at males. In the remaining 11 per cent of total advertisements that were aimed at females, males were to some extent also included. Therefore, the magazine catered for a predominantly male market. Furthermore, as only one advertisement directly mentioned that a job opportunity was also available for

coloured and black males to apply in 1982, and in 1984 “all racial groups” were at liberty to apply for another job position, one comes to the conclusion that the remaining 369 total advertisements were primarily aimed at a white market, as the use of words “coloured” and/or “black” appeared to be an anomaly and only applicable to these races other than white when explicitly raised to the reader’s attention. Other than race and gender as identifiable characteristics of the target market, level of education and military service also proved to be a factor. Level of education was of specific importance represented in job advertisements, which usually required at least matriculated candidates, while specific employment opportunities asked for higher education graduates. Training and study opportunities were made available to white males that had matriculated and were either busy with national service or had already completed it.

Although *Paratus* describes itself as a bilingual magazine, the language policy is not represented within the advertisements, covers and content of the magazine. The magazine published most of its subject matter in English, as can be seen in the percentages of advertisements (59 per cent), covers (16 per cent; covers were the only feature of the magazine that adhered to its language policy most closely with 74 per cent of the covers published bilingually), and content (50 per cent). This appears to coincide with the notion that the magazine also targeted an international readership, therefore, English as the common international language, was used more often. With more inclusion of black soldiers within the military, English also seems to be more appropriate than Afrikaans.

It has also been found that although the magazine catered for all members of the SADF, the majority of the advertisements placed in *Paratus* were aimed at national servicemen. The advertisements provided several options for national servicemen for when they had finished with their two-year conscription, while also providing advertisements on items that the national servicemen can buy while still performing their two year mandatory conscription, for instance the SADF outlets advertisements.

While a women’s column/page was introduced in 1981, the advertisements placed rarely reflected the supplementary market, with a few advertisements regarding jewellery, life insurance aimed at the family and family-oriented products sold at SADF, such as furniture and kitchenware, the majority of the advertisements ignored this secondary market and left the editorial content to cater to this market.

It has also been seen in terms of the readers' letters received, as well as the content that is published on retirees of the SADF that the magazine had an influential readership, with former members of the SADF still actively involved in the content creation as well as the responses, reactions and suggestions being published regularly within the magazine. This means that the readership also consisted of people with vast experience and knowledge in terms of military and their contribution was deemed important enough to be published in the magazine, while specific content was also published for the retired members of the SADF.

Although it has been established through the data that the primary target market for *Paratus* was national servicemen, it has to be considered that the advertisements placed by Sandock-Austral Beperk/Limited (as members of the armaments industry) specifically indicates that the national servicemen were not the only market that made up the magazine. The magazine also targeted permanent members of the SADF and influential former members of the SADF, and this may be seen as the reason why military vehicles and weaponry were advertised in the magazine. The advertisements placed by Gencor and Armscor were more closely related to the primary target market in terms of advertisements of employment opportunities, and therefore the companies that advertised also reflected the target market of the magazine.

The majority of these divisions were focused on a white market, which is not a surprise as the military, and especially the national servicemen consisted out of white males, initially. However, in 1984 an article was published providing an overview of the 21 Battalion – the first black unit to be established within the SADF since its inception back in 1974, and in 1985 another article was published on the 101 Battalion, which consisted of black officers, but was under white control. Another article was published on the 21 Battalion in 1986 in which the battalion was given the Freedom of the City of Johannesburg, while a similar article was published in 1988 again on the 101 Battalion. Out of the 40 articles published on the subdivisions of the SADF, only four presented the inclusion of black units in the SADF, making up only 10 per cent in the selected sample.

6.3. Voice

As mentioned in the content section, above, the editorial approach has an important role in the voice of a magazine. As the majority of the magazine consisted of a reportage approach, one can conclude that the magazine had an overall formal tone or voice applied to the style in which the magazine presented itself. This fits the objective and purpose of the magazine: to represent the SADF in an official capacity, therefore, making the magazine seen as an official

communication medium. As it is official, some sort assertion of authority needs to be apparent, and one way in which the magazine approached this is by providing an underlying formal and proper language usage and style within its contents. As the magazine's clear primary market was that of national servicemen of the SADF, this may seem in a bit of contrast, where a more solemn voice would apply to more high-ranking officials within the SADF. However, this does not mean that *Paratus* did not cater for their primary market, where the content reflected the market most clearly, such as sport and entertainment reporting, the magazine made use of a more informal approach, using human interest, information and entertainment methods to capture the attention of its national servicemen readers. By doing so, the magazine becomes a useful companion: reflecting on news of both formal and informal nature and providing practical advice to help the everyday national servicemen in their duty to their country. Therefore, it can be concluded that the voice of the magazine changed in order to represent the content and thus it maintained a level of superiority on its average reader, while it simultaneously offered solidarity and rapport with the wider SADF community.

6.4. Themes

The following section will discuss the data by categorizing the analysis into key themes that have been identified. Each of these themes will be discussed by using examples from the source material, i.e. *Paratus*. The themes will be discussed according to the order of importance and most usual occurrences within the editorial philosophy of the magazine. Therefore, these themes have been compiled from the data of the covers, content and advertisements that make up *Paratus*.

6.4.1. Nationalism and neo-Calvinism

The nationalism theme is linked with the overarching research problem at hand, referring to the extent the magazine promoted the Afrikaner nationalism ideology. In this theme, one can conclude that nationalism did indeed form part of every aspect of the editorial philosophy of the magazine.

6.4.1.1. Nationalistic symbols used on covers

Symbols are important and are often laden with emotional charge and functions as a direct link between the SADF and *Paratus*. As Charles Sanders Peirce (1939-1901) suggests a symbolic sign is either a word or image that represents a broader frame of ideas and/or beliefs (Reyburn 2013: 64). In this case the emblem represents the SADF and the NP, which suggests that the

values of the apartheid regime were encapsulated within these formal symbols for unification. Because of this formal symbol and the institutions that it represented, one may argue that the symbol of the SADF's emblem, advocated the Afrikaner nationalistic and neo-Calvinism ideologies' values of the NP.

A photograph of the Voortrekker monument on the cover of the December issue of 1974, can be seen as a deliberate decision to place symbolism as a focal point of the magazine (see figure 6.1.). The Voortrekker monument is regarded as an Afrikaner icon, since its inauguration by DF Malan in 1949. The underlying visual rhetoric of the choice of this particular cover cannot be disputed: the monument is portrayed as a symbol of tradition and godlike sanctity, referring to the notion of neo-Calvinism of the Afrikaner people as the chosen people by God; it is considered to be an authorial symbol (Reyburn 2013: 86-87). However, this is not the only symbol in this commemorative issue of *Paratus*. One can also see the colours of the South African flag that was an important symbol for the apartheid regime, presented in the sky with the flight pass above the monument. The flag comprised of smaller versions of the Union Jack, the flag of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic flag, centred in the middle of orange, white and blue horizontal lines (the flag was juxtaposely both known affectionately and infamously as “*oranje, blanje, blou*”). These are significant images and symbols that share the same goal: to invoke history (nostalgia) and promote the Afrikaner nationalism ideology – a design decision made by the editorial board/team of *Paratus*.

The symbol of the South African flag appears several times on various covers of *Paratus*, as can be seen in the December issues of 1980 and 1988 (see figures 6.2. and 6.3. respectively). The December issue of 1980 (figure 6.2.) is particularly filled with visual rhetoric as well as propaganda devices. The combination of the South African flag with a bible as well as military gear and weaponry signifies that the Border War and military life of South Africans were rooted in religious beliefs (neo-Calvinism) while simultaneously alluding to the idea of duty and protector, with the letter wishing “peace and prosperity”.



Figure 6.1. December 1974



Figure 6.2. December 1980



Figure 6.3. December 1988

An additional strategy implemented by the editorial team of *Paratus* was to communicate to the reader through the means of a letter. This can be seen in the 1980 issue that is filled with symbolism and semiotic signs, where the cover line is addressed as a letter to the South African people, from the SADF, and reads “May Peace and Prosperity be with you”. As have already been mentioned, the idea of duty and patriotic values come to mind with this cover line in the form of a letter, addressing the public directly and alluding to the idea that the SADF is protecting these values of “peace” and “prosperity”. This method of presenting a cover line as a letter is used again in the 1982 issue on the cartoon drawing of a soldier with a letter that reads “Dankie troepie! Thanks soldier!”. It appears that this cover not only show gratitude to the soldiers that read the magazine, but also remind the readers of soldier families and other secondary market readers of the sacrifices that South Africa’s youth makes for the sake of South Africa’s fight in the Border War, and consequently the future of the country itself.

6.4.1.2. National servicemen and advertisements

The advertisements’ main purpose placed in the magazine is to provide information about the target audience; it is through the advertisements that it became apparent that the main target market for *Paratus* was national servicemen. Through the advertisements placed aimed at national servicemen, the idea of Afrikaner nationalism came across, since the sense of duty of defending South Africa was emphasised.

Savings related services make up the largest component of the advertisements related to financial services. The majority of services are aimed at a primarily male market, with specific interest to national servicemen. Allied provided advertisements aimed at the built environment sector in the form of the building society. Saving as a theme became more prominent from the

late 1970s onwards. One can argue that the reason why so many financial related services were placed within the magazine was to appeal to specifically national servicemen to prepare for a life after their time in the military. There are several reasons for this, including to ready the national servicemen when entering civilian life, in an economic context, as well as to help further the economic growth of the country as a whole by securing relationships with people that have served in the military with the potential that they would invest back into the SADF. The argument for economic growth can be substantiated by the broader economic context within South Africa, with continuous ongoing boycotts jeopardising the economic welfare of South African people, the need for internal growth became all the more important and necessary. There may also have been the hope that if national servicemen started planning for a future while they were still in the military, they would be more motivated, as a means of fighting for something personal. This method has been seen before in previous war inflicted times, as was found by Monger (2011), where ties between civilian life and soldiers needed to be made to motivate the soldier personally and motivate the war effort.

A trend towards advertising more opportunities related to study, training and employment can be seen from the late 1970s onwards; one must take into account that more advertisements took place from 1980s onwards, however, there is a definite rise in advertisements pertaining to study, training and employment opportunities that were not made available in the chosen sample of *Paratus* pre-1980s. One may attribute this to can be seen in the change in the political situation not only in South Africa, but in the surrounding borders as well. With backlash occurring after Operation Savannah in 1975-1976 in which the SADF denied operating deep within Angola, at a time when Angola was in a middle of a civil war, the SADF's reputation was tarnished. Scholtz (1998: 246) summarises this as: “[T]his was a scandalous breach of contract between the government and the voters who had entrusted it with power, and between the military and the people whom they were supposed to protect”. As a means to mend the broken trust between the SADF and the people of South Africa various approaches can be seen represented in *Paratus*, for instance by encouraging advertisers (with many of these advertisers having close affiliations with the SADF) to create more opportunities for national servicemen post service completed. This in turn aimed to provide concrete motivation, other than being required by law, to serve one's country in the capacity of a national serviceman. Economic difficulties within South Africa, after the introduction of boycotts also played its part in the increase of study, skills training and employment opportunities. The armaments boycott required the SADF to proceed into the development of its own armaments. With this new

development in place, Armscor specifically needed to rely on South African skills to introduce armaments that were up to standard to those of enemy weaponry (specifically Russian and Cuban weaponry that were used in Angola and South West Africa), and even better these weapons.

Thus, the need for specialists' skills in armaments development was born. Several of the employment opportunities were either directly or indirectly related to the SADF, especially from the middle 1980s onwards. Simpson (1989) writes that “[T]he development of a local armaments manufacturing capability depended on the acquisition of skills and technical know-how, as well as on the creation of the necessary industrial infrastructure.” Opportunities in the mining industry were ample, with 16 advertisements placed within the magazine, with the first advertisement being placed in 1981 as a study/training/employment opportunity, aimed at a male market. Specific focus was placed on the mining of gold and uranium, with five advertisements placed by Gencor (four advertisements placed in 1984, and one advertisement placed in 1987). The advertisements placed by Gencor were aimed at a male market, as it made specific reference to opportunities for national servicemen, therefore actively excluding women. An advertisement placed in 1982 related to a study, training and employment opportunity available in the nuclear industry by Nuclear Development Corporation can be found. Engineering positions were also found within *Paratus*, representing metallurgic (1983, 1984 – two advertisements), civil (1983), and chemical (1986, 1987 – in this advertisement a position for chemical process controllers were specifically advertised). Even more explicit mention regarding armaments development can be found in an advertisement placed in 1985, announcing a position in research and production of ammunition by Naschem (a member of Krygkor), in search of a male applicant and a graduate with a relevant degree, and another advertisement placed in 1987 introducing a study, training and employment opportunity in militaristic explosives industry by Somchem (also a member of Krygkor).

It can be concluded that the editorial team of *Paratus*, alongside its advertisers, deemed it necessary to showcase clear opportunities to further education and/or enhance skills that can be obtained through training, with the eventual outcome of employment opportunities to national servicemen. This may be seen as a means of thanking national servicemen for their contribution to the SADF, and specifically for their two-year sacrifice to ensure the safety of their country. This may also be seen as a means to introduce national servicemen back into society and civilization, after the isolation of training and/or active service on and surrounding the borders of South Africa. As most national servicemen reported for duty at the age of 18,

they had not undergone any further education or training to make them work-ready. The SADF may have made use of this opportunity to enhance its reputation by providing tangible opportunities to its former national servicemen, as a means to help the national servicemen to reconnect to their lives prior national service and build a better future.

As may have been the case or even hope with the advertisements placed regarding financial services, the editorial team may have used the motivation of building a future through education, training and promise of employment opportunities after military service to inspire national servicemen that were still serving in the military towards a future, connecting themselves to a life outside of duty, while simultaneously enforcing the importance of the said duty in order to build a future in South Africa.

6.4.1.3. National service in articles

National service was deemed an important topic of discussion throughout the Border War, as can be seen with the many advertisements aimed at the conscripts, as well as the various articles discussing the importance of the national service system, the importance of duty and the importance of the individual national serviceman. In 1975 (page 4) a feature article was published, titled “Why National Service?” (The article was published bilingually, making the importance of this article stand out even more, as it has been found that the magazine published more in English than Afrikaans, and very rarely published true bilingual content). The article argues the following regarding the role of duty and national servicemen:

“[D]it is die onbetwisbare voorreg en plig van elke burger om in tyd van nood beskikbaar en in staat te wees om sy land te verdedig. In ons tyd van mannekragtekorte sou dit ondenkbaar, en vir die land ‘n finansieël-ondraaglike las, wees om ‘n beroepsweermag van voldoende sterkte op die been te hou”, (“[I]t is the indisputable privilege and duty of every civilian to be available and able to defend his country in time of emergency. In our time of manpower shortage, it would be unthinkable as well as be a financial unbearable burden for the country, to maintain a professional military of sufficient substance”).

It is with this motivation that national service was considered an irreplaceable system and required the support from the nation. In 1979 a report on the requirements of the soldiers in terms of responsibility towards the SADF and South Africa was published and lists leadership through participation and example as key responsibilities of those in a position of power within the SADF. In 1983 an article was published on the importance for the national servicemen to be informed and to use surveillance techniques on the enemy as an important method in current and modern warfare. In 1983 a report was published (also bilingually) on what a new national

serviceman can expect when he is called up for duty; it was divided into different sections: what to expect when you arrive, what to expect in your first few days, what to take along with you, how to help yourself. This article served as a preparation tool for new national servicemen in a time where conscription became all the more unpopular and the Border War's end was not yet in sight. It was therefore deemed necessary to include an encompassing guide for new conscripts in order to lay the foundations and calm both the national servicemen as well as their families to the run-up of their call-up. Reports on the SADF's (and consequently the national servicemen) involvement in Angola were published in 1987 and 1988 respectively, with South Africa's interests labelled as the key motivator in the interference of the conflict.

In an article published in 1983 advice was given to those who have conscientious objections, and why those members of the public should not be worried. The article (1970: 33) quoted a verse out of the Bible (Romans 13:4):

“[F]or he is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain. For he is the servant of God, an avenger who carries out God's wrath on the wrongdoer”.

In providing the verse from the Bible, the act of warfare is condoned, in the belief (on which the apartheid policy was built) as the Afrikaner people are God's chosen people and the Afrikaner people's enemies were ungodly and the enemy of God, as well. It can be seen that national service was an important topic of discussion, as the national service system was deemed necessary for the plight of the ongoing Border War and the fight against Communism.

6.4.1.4. Editor's letters

In 1971 the editor starts of his letter with a question: “What are the views of South African parents on National Service for their sons?” The editor then goes on to answer this question by quoting a letter written to the then Minister of Defence (PW Botha), in which parents wrote to the minister giving thanks for sympathy shown and the funeral arrangements made for the death of their son, a national serviceman. The parents stressed their pride in their son's role in defending his country, and stresses the necessity of national military service, as well as the benefits that the youth gains from their national service experience. The editor then ends his letter with the following quote: “Let us give thought to a letter like this before we also adopt a selfish and negative point of view vociferously propagated by a minority” (1971: 6). It is clear with this final quote that it was of particular importance to reinforce the need for national service and by publishing a personal letter from parents who had lost their son due to duty

(which refers to the testimonial propaganda device as set out by the IPA), but still provide the system with their enduring support, fellow readers are encouraged to do the same (which in turn refers to the band wagon propaganda device as set out by the IPA). The editor chose to end the letter by condemning those who chose to be “selfish” and “negative” (1971: 6), rather than doing their duty for their country, through the means of support for national service.

In 1978 the editor provides a brief overview of the happenings within the year and highlights key changes such as the appointment of PW Botha as the Prime Minister, while several SWAPO bases were eliminated, the Southern Cross Fund celebrated its 10-year anniversary and Operation Drive Safe was implemented. These victories are mentioned in the face of the ongoing Marxists insurgency and the uncertainty that South Africa experienced in terms of the nation’s defence. The editor implores readers of *Paratus* and fellow South Africans “... *moet ons geduring paraat en in staat wees om ons Westerse waardes en demokratiese regering teen alle moontlike aanslae te verdedig*” (“... we must be prepared and able to protect our Western values and democratic government against all possible onslaughts”). The editor praises those who were actively serving duty on the borders during the festive time and reminds the readers of the sacrifices that national servicemen perform, for the good and future of all of South Africa. The language used by the editor, such as “*paraat*” (“prepared”), also alludes to the name change of the magazine, reinforcing the new identity of the magazine and the identity of being prepared to protect the Christian values that the SADF embodied.

Although the editor’s letters only appeared three times, it is clear from these examples that the editor-in-chief followed suit in the overall NP policy and the SADF’s attitude towards the Border War and placed emphasis on the value of national servicemen. The editor made use of personal examples to showcase support for the war effort, and also provided examples of positive things that happened in the SADF and in the country overall. The editor also implored readers to be “*paraat*” (prepared) for any attack on the values as set out by the apartheid policy and used the total strategy and total onslaught narrative to justify the ongoing Border War and the demand for patriotic service to the country. As the editor of *Paratus* remained constant during the sample selected, one may come to the conclusion that the editor steered and maintained the direction of the editorial philosophy of the magazine, in line with the agenda of the greater SADF institution. It can also be concluded that because there is a lack of editor’s letters, the editor was not deemed more important than other members of the editorial team, while the editor’s letters also made way for Christmas messages that included mention of issues pertaining to the SADF at large, from high-ranking officials within the SADF and the NP, to

reinforce the importance of the authority figure (referring to the testimonial propaganda device as set out by the IPA).

6.4.1.5. Christmas messages

Christmas messages that appeared in *Paratus* featured in every December issue, except 1972, 1973 and 1974. As the December issues were analysed for this study, one must take into account that these messages only occurred in December because it was deemed appropriate for the season. On a side note, it is important to remember since the December issue for 1973 was not available for data gathering, the November issue was analysed, and therefore a Christmas message would not form part of that particular issue. Therefore, Christmas messages only became a recurring feature from 1975 onwards. In 1970 and 1971 the magazine also only featured a message from the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the SADF and from 1975 an additional message from the Chaplain General was included. From this, one can conclude that the most high-ranking members of the military and those in charge of the defence of South Africa were used to address the readers of *Paratus* and by extension members of the country in a personal manner during the festive season.

A Chaplain General is the chief chaplain in secular organisations such as the military, traditionally representing Christianity in that institution as well as being responsible for other chaplains in the establishment and providing churchly care and support for the members within the organisation. A military institution is normally seen as a secular organisation, however, in the SADF, religion with focus on Christianity played an important role in the operations, while simultaneously functioning as one of the key motivators for the continuous conflict related to the Border War. Therefore, the Chaplain General's Christmas messages were rooted from a Christian perspective, and regularly referred to the traditional Christmas message and also made mention of virtuous ideals. One such Christmas message can be quoted (1975: 3) as following:

“Ons Weermag het hierdie Kersfees nodig nouer as ooit, want dit is ons enigste hoop vir voortbestaan. As 'n mens se lewe nie aan God verbind is nie, is sy lewe sinneloos. As 'n mens nie werk asof hy vir die Here werk nie, is sy werk betekenisloos. As ons Weermag nie godsdienstig weerbaar is nie, is alle wapens waardeloos.” (“Our Defence Force needs this Christmas more than ever, because it is our only hope for survival. If one's life is not committed to God, then one's life is pointless. If one does not work as if one is working for God, then his work is meaningless. If our Defence Force is not religiously defensible, then all weapons are worthless.”)

This clearly encapsulates the rhetoric of Christianity as a means to protect and defend, and refers to the manner in which religion, specifically Christianity, was deeply ingrained in the military and its operations.

Messages from the Minister of Defence (this varied over the years, with the beginning years of the issues analysed for this study featuring PW Botha, until 1978 when PW Botha became the Prime Minister of the NP), and the Chief of the SADF (this also varied, with General RC Hiemstra acting as CSADF from 1970-1971, General HH Biermann in 1975, General Magnus Malan from 1976, and General CI Viljoen from 1981) tended to mention Christianity and the traditional values of Christmas in their messages, while also discussing certain highlights in the year, while ultimately urging readers and members of the public to respect and cherish Christian values and to be prepared for the ongoing total onslaught and total strategy, again alluding to the name change of the magazine, and consequently the change in editorial direction of the magazine.

In a message from the Minister of Defence, PW Botha, he is quoted (1975: 2) stating the following:

“The SADF is the final human instrument by which our country’s honour, peace and prosperity can be measured... I am reminded at this time of those members who have had to pay the supreme sacrifice, and would once again convey my sincere condolences to their bereaved. To those who still serve with dedication, my deepest appreciation for their services... The SADF’s key role in the defence of South Africa is reflected with effect in its official publication, PARATUS. In this way the SADF’s contribution to peace and prosperity for all does not pass unnoticed in the Republic of South Africa, as well as abroad... Happy Christmas and a peaceful New Year to every member of the SADF and the Armaments organisations.”

From this message, one can gather several themes, such as the promotion of the SADF as being the last relying source of defence for South Africa during troubled times; the giving of thanks to the members of the SADF – those still alive as well as those who died in defence of their country; “peace”, “honour” and “prosperity” were admired ideals within the SADF and needed in order to be successful (implying that the glittering generalities propaganda device also played its part in the description of the SADF and the hopes that the institution had for its members); *Paratus* symbolised and encapsulated the beliefs of the SADF; the armaments industry was very important for the NP and SADF and therefore included in a Christmas message aimed at members of the SADF, by a high-ranking official within the government.

6.4.1.6. Flag anthem

In the December issue of 1973 the music and lyrics of the flag anthem of the SADF was published. An additional traditional article also formed part of the same issue, in which a report on the intellectual property of the flag anthem, written by CJ Langenhoven in 1927, was handed over to the SADF. The Minister of Defence said the following of the handover (1973: 22):

“[D]it is vir die Weermag as bewaker van die nasie se eer, onafhanklikheid en veiligheid ‘n groot eer om die Vlaglied in ontvangs te neem. Ons sal dit in veiligheid bewaar saam met die ander simbole van ons nasieskap”, (“[I]t is an honour for the Defence Force as custodian of the nation’s honour, independence and safety, to receive the Flag Anthem. We will safeguard the anthem along with other symbols of our nationhood”).

Therefore, it is significant that the anthem was published in *Paratus*, as it should be seen in the greater context of nationalistic symbols of South Africa. It was deemed necessary by the SADF that all members of the public know the words to the anthem, by publishing it in a medium available to members of the SADF, as well as being distributed amongst public institutions, such as schools. The words are of significance, as the words described the principles and moral standings deemed of ultimate substance and urgency. Reference is made in the anthem’s lyrics to the Afrikaner as the chosen people by God (“[U]itgegee op gesag van die Hoogste se hand”), stating that the land – South Africa – was given to the Afrikaner and therefore freedom for Afrikaners against any enemy, as well as any who would oppose the Afrikaner, would oppose the favour of God. The patriotic rhetoric encapsulated the fundamental basics of the apartheid policy and therefore, the anthem, which was sung in ceremonial and formal settings, as well as places of education such as schools, became a symbol for Afrikaner identity and therefore this anthem is grounded in propaganda devices.

The publication of the flag anthem in 1973 was embedded in the transfer device. Not only did the lyrics of the anthem portray the apartheid policy’s believes in terms of the Afrikaner as the chosen “volk” (people) by God, alluding to the propaganda of ideals of Nazi Germany during World War Two in which Germany also was referred to as the “fatherland” and being chosen as a superior race (McCran 2009), it also functioned as a Nationalist symbol of the apartheid government, which both contributes to the makeup of the transfer device.

6.4.1.7. Transfer propaganda device

The transfer propaganda device is usually encapsulated by religious and national symbols, with these symbols often evoking some form of emotional response. In 1970 an employment

opportunity was advertised by the National Party, as assistant air-traffic leader, with the caption reading that the successful applicant will go “*vooruit saam Suid-Afrika*” (“forward with South Africa”). This suggests a future and progress (which is considered to be a glittering generalities propaganda device), but by implication it suggests that South Africa as a nation has a promising future and is continuously growing. In 1982 an advertorial on financial services explains that national service is as important as creating a savings account. In 1986 an advertisement for personal weapons stated in its caption that the product was “*eg Suid-Afrikaans*”, (“pure South African”), celebrating South Africa’s armaments industry that prospered in the face of adversity.

The transfer device is used to root the Border War, and in turn the apartheid government, in religion. In the 1974 issue, with the use of the Voortrekker monument on the cover (see figure 6.1.), one may argue that the monument represents the Afrikaner as the chosen people by God, and therefore is regarded as a religious symbol. The issue that most clearly signifies the religious theme of the transfer device can be seen in the issue of 1980: the use of the images of the Bible and a Bible study booklet, while the flag functions as a nationalistic symbol. The flag as a nationalistic symbol can also be seen in the 1988 issue. Therefore, religion and the ideal of the Afrikaner nationalism and neo-Calvinism ideology is clearly established on the covers of *Paratus*, and one finds that the transfer device is often linked to the glittering generalities device in terms of duty and values that form part of the apartheid movement.

Some of the most key editorial content that featured the transfer propaganda device will be listed here. An article published in 1970 concerning conscientious objections and why one should be not worried made use of quotes from the Bible as a means to appease those with objections to war for religious reasons. The article clearly makes the assertion that religious objections should not be used as a motivator to not serve one’s duty to one’s country, by providing affirmation from the Bible that one should oppose those that oppose “the will of God”. A similar article was published in 1981, in a religious rubric, providing an overview why killing in war cannot be considered wrong. It was stated that after giving indications from the Bible that if one does not defend one’s country in a war situation one will not be obeying a commandment from God. In 1973 a prayer was published written by a national serviceman; it was written in a form of a poem, with a verse read as follows: “[P]lease keep our ammo coming. Help us ring out freedom’s bell. But above all Heavenly Father, see we do our duty well.” A prayer in itself is a religious symbol and therefore, since it was published within an official communication medium, it can be considered to be a propaganda device. Here, duty and

religion, specifically Christian values, are amalgamated to represent the same thing: to be a Christian is to do one's duty for one's country. The same notion can be seen again in an article published in 1981 (page 33) titled "[T]he Christian as a citizen", in which instructions (as an editorial approach) are given on how to behave and support one's country as a Christian; key characteristics were mentioned such as respect the rule (as he is elected by God), obey the laws of the land, pray for those in authority and defend one's country against invasion. In 1981 another article was published on religion being used as motivation to contribute as a national serviceman as it stated that:

"[S]oldaatwees beteken nie die verlies van Christenskap nie, maar is op sy manier die bewys van Christenskap", ("[T]o be a soldier does not mean the loss of Christianity but rather in its own way proof of Christianity").

In opposition to these above-mentioned articles an article was published in 1985 on the religious worry during warfare, which opposed all violence, and stated that politics and religion had in some cases become synonymous and therefore argued that some used religion as an excuse to continue with incessant violence and war, which is a small but significant piece published within the magazine that was involved with both Church and State.

6.4.2. Total onslaught

6.4.2.1. International support

It is clear throughout the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* that the magazine sought international support for the Border War and by extension, the apartheid policy implemented by the NP. Various features in the magazine point toward the support for the total onslaught narrative, from an international audience, with the first of these features being the language policy of the magazine, which is clearly illustrated in the advertisements placed in *Paratus*.

Paratus identified itself as a bilingual publication since its inception as *K(C)ommando*, however, it is important to note that out of 371 advertisements analysed only 17 advertisements were bilingual in nature. This means that only 5 per cent of advertisements were deemed appropriate for both an Afrikaans and English readership base. As has been mentioned in Chapter 5, bilingual advertisements were mostly used for study/bursary opportunities, military tanks, bus services, vehicles, Christmas greetings, jewellery and Christmas presents.

It can be concluded that the editorial team of *Paratus* as well as the companies, institutions or individuals that purchased the adspace to advertise their services, products or other identified options, deemed these elements as applicable to both the Afrikaans and English market. No

specific trend can be seen here in how the decision regarding the language usage within the advertisements, as the target market appears to be consistent with that of the rest of the magazine's advertisements, while the adspace also differs depending on what was advertised. As was the case with Elwierda and Sandock-Austral, the companies placed the same advertisements in different years, with all of them featured bilingually. The majority of the advertisements were published in English which may suggest that an international audience was kept in mind in this deliberate decision, one may also suggest that with the inclusion of more black soldiers the move towards more English advertisements was an obvious choice of inclusion. The same is also true for the content of the magazine, with 50 per cent of the content being published in English, while only a small minority of 6 per cent were published as bilingual, which again suggests that the main language of publication was in fact English and not as per the language policy of the magazine as bilingual.

On the note of advertisements, the adspace bought by international brands for cigarettes can also be identified as international brands such as Winston, John Rolfe and Texan. One of the companies that advertised the most within the magazine, Sandock-Austral, was also an international brand, while the several vehicle-based advertisements, such as Ford, Volkswagen, Mazda, Toyota and BMW, found within *Paratus* are also international brands, again referring to the idea of fostering goodwill between South Africa and companies from other countries, in an official capacity.

It is known that *Paratus* had an international audience to some degree as it distributed to several countries in Europe, Australasia and Africa, apart from South Africa and South West Africa. The international readers were deemed important to the magazine as well as to the SADF, as the readers presented the magazine with the opportunity to convey "their side of the story", as opposed to what international media reported on the goings-on in Southern Africa. In 1978 a member of the US Marine Corps wrote a letter asking for contributions to his paper on Soviet support and terrorism in Sub-Equatorial Africa, while an officer in the Belgian Air Force requested badges of the SADF for their international collection (1978). A reader received a copy of *Paratus* in the USA and wrote to the magazine wishing to subscribe (1981). It was necessary for the SADF to gain support from an international market and one way of doing so was to have as many international readers subscribe to its official magazine in order to consume the content that was in line with what the SADF wanted to be published as well as how it was to be presented. By publishing these few letters from an international audience, the magazine

and by extension the SADF itself, appeared to have gained support from a global perspective, even though the sample of published letters is not indicative of the wider public opinion.

Paratus attempted to show international support for the SADF by publishing articles on the SADF's visit to international military forces and of international forces visiting South Africa in an official capacity. With the situation of South Africa's apartheid policy becoming ever-more notorious, the NP and SADF needed to implement a strategy that would provide an indication that South Africa had not completely fallen out of favour from the international markets; as the majority of these articles only started from the 1980s onwards it is apparent that these articles intended to gain support at a time when support for the NP administration was dire. An article published in 1979 reported on a visit with homeland ministers to the operational areas in South West Africa, and in which the 21 Battalion (a black battalion) was also visited. In another article published in 1980 compassion was entrusted to South Africa from US military veterans. In 1985, the Chilean Minister of National Defence, as well as delegations of top Chilean military officials visited South Africa's operational areas as well as Armscor to view the armaments and weaponry section of the SADF. The Chief of the SAAF visited the USA in 1986 and received gestures of goodwill by friends of South Africa. Several articles on international visits were published in 1987, with the first documenting a visit to Paraguay, another reporting on Chinese visit to South Africa. In two separate articles, both published in 1987, a celebration of the military of Venda's fifth birthday was reported, while a profile of Venda soldiers was completed. Although Venda is not international of sorts, it was a homeland under South Africa's apartheid rule. In 1988 a report on South Africa and Mozambique in joint security commission discussion was done, while a report on the visit to Beira also formed part of the same issue, while members of the SADF visited Chili in an official capacity (1988).

The image of the Delville Wood monument used on the 1986 cover of the magazine, refers to the Battle of Delville Wood in 1916 during the First World War when South Africa was still a British colony. As South Africa broke most all ties with Britain after South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1960 and became a republic in 1961, this image may seem unusual, however, as the political situation became more dire, one may argue that this image was used as a reminder of old alliances, in order to gain support back from international powerhouses that were boycotting South Africa's apartheid regime.

6.4.2.2. Book reviews

A book review is an example of literary criticism, in which a book is examined based on the content, approach and quality. A total of 15 book reviews were found in *Paratus* in 1973, 1975, 1977-1979, with the final book review published in 1982. All of the books that were reviewed related to military or war in some form or another. Several books were related to history of warfare in a South African context, such as an overview of General Louis Botha, a Boer war hero during the Second World War, a report on the Jameson Raid, and an investigation of a French colonel who fought for South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War. This then shifted to book reviews related to the Communist challenge in Africa at large, as well as its impact on South Africa from 1978 onwards, for example an analysis of a book exploring the threat of Soviet's to the West's lifeline in Africa, by providing insight into guerrilla warfare and the global strategy of the Soviets, another book reviewed the Communist challenge to Africa, as well as looking at Soviet, Chinese and Cuban policies in relation to Africa and "world domination". Another book explored the USA's attitude towards South Africa regarding the absence of public or congressional support for policy of overt interference, specifically mentioning the case of South Africa's involvement in South West Africa, while a different book analysed the new South Africa. It is interesting to note that all the books that formed part of the book reviews were pro-apartheid South Africa, meaning that the history of South Africa was celebrated, and the policies put in place in apartheid South Africa were defended. This suggests that there was obvious selection at work in the process of choosing books to form part of the book reviews within *Paratus*. Ultimately, this means that books that opposed any of these policies or views were not included in the magazine, thus the books chosen for review were done so intentionally and done in support of the overall editorial philosophy. Furthermore, it should also be noted that only one of these books received a bad review – a book related to Rommel's war in Africa, while all the others were celebrated and encouraged to be read. Therefore, the self-censorship implemented by the editorial team of *Paratus* reflected the overall stance of the SADF and the NP, by celebrating a pro-war stance specifically in relation to South Africa's fight against Communism.

6.4.2.3. Advocacy editorial approach

Key themes emerged in the usage of the advocate editorial approach, namely the war in Angola was justified, the link between the SADF and the armaments industry further established, and the importance of the Border War reiterated. The war in Angola was deeply controversial as

“... the SADF... were lying through their teeth to the South African public by denying any South African involvement in the Angolan conflict” (Scholtz 1998: 246). Therefore, it was necessary for *Paratus* as the official communication medium of the SADF to justify and rationalise its involvement in the conflict, even years after the initial outcry against the misinformation back in 1975-1976, as a series of articles were published in 1987 in which the ongoing conflict was explored (and advocated). One article explored what was at stake in Angola for South Africa, with the conclusion that South Africa had significant political, economic and security interests in Angola and therefore they had the responsibility to protect the integrity of Southern Africa against foreign intervention (such as Cuba and Russia). In a feature article also published in 1987 it was stated that elements of the SADF and South West Africa territory forces were compelled to take limited action against proxy forces, meaning Cuban and Russian interference, which intervened in the battle between Unita and Angolan forces in the South East Angola. In a lecture by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, published in 1988 a strategic review of the Southern Africa situation was given, with a focus on the importance of South Africa as a technological power. The motivation for the involvement in the conflict in Angola was that it was an African matter and therefore South Africa had the responsibility to help resolve the issue, while simultaneously protecting the South African interests. Additionally, the need for national service was reiterated and advocated in 1982 with the ongoing conflict seemingly at this stage not close to be resolved, while another article published on the importance of serving one’s country through national service was published in 1987, by advocating the end-result: freedom for those who get left behind.

The link between the SADF and the armaments industry was established yet again, as three separate articles were published with the use of the advocate approach. In 1979 (page 7) an article was published with the title “Forging the links between SADF and Armscor” and states that “... the compiling of an industrial organization and the military to form a defence family, probably unequalled anywhere” ensured that the armaments industry were closely connected to the SADF. The extent of the armaments industry’s involvement in the SADF was explored in the advertisements section, and these articles once again reiterate that not only did the industry buy adspace from the official magazine of the SADF, reports and articles were published in the magazine as well in order to affirm the importance of maintaining this relationship. In 1981 an overview of the armaments boycott against South Africa was given, and the initiatives by Krygkor supported to create new vehicles for the SADF. In a feature

article in 1981 a report on the new developments in terms of armaments and minerals at Krygkor was completed, again providing support for the armaments industry.

6.4.2.4. Anti-communism filter and name-calling propaganda devices

The anti-communism filter as a propaganda device was amassed from the Propaganda Model (PM), as the fifth filter. It also closely follows that of the name-calling device as set out by the IPA, which were both common in the content of *Paratus*. Since Communism and the total onslaught and strategy against the Communist ideology were seen as one of the key rationales for the Border War, it is quite predictable that the rhetoric of Communism would be used in an official capacity. Several instances within *Paratus* made use of words such as “Communist”, “Marxist” and “Russia” (as Russia along with Cuba were seen as the two forces that represented Communism the most expressively with their interferences in Africa, specifically Angola) in order to evoke a response of fear and hatred of all things associated with Communism. In 1970 an article was published on a review of Russian armaments, while comparing it to USA alternatives as a means to showcase the Russian counterpart as inferior. In an article published in 1972 the ideological strategy surrounding the Atlantic Ocean for Cold War against Russia was debated. The article stated that Russia’s world politics were aimed at controlling the energy sources of the world; this would mean that if Southern Africa was under the influence of the Soviet Union the Russians would half control over the world’s monetary systems of which gold still was considered the fundamental source of income, and stated that “*Kremlinologie*”, (“Kremlinology”) would mean the end of a free and capitalistic situation in Southern Africa (1972: 4-5). Similar articles were published in 1973 and 1983, respectively, in which an overview was given on the European situation regarding the Cold War against Russia; these articles attempted to link the Cold War with the Border War seeking to use the motivation of the protection of Southern Africa’s (as opposed to just South Africa) interest to uphold the continuous war effort. This continuous Communist threat was exploited again and again (1974, 1977, 1987) in which the narrative did not change and the rationale for continued war in Southern Africa on the borders of South Africa remained against Communism.

The name-calling propaganda device also made use of a similar narrative and rhetoric as that of the anti-communism filter, with the most noticeable identifier being the word “terrorist”. The word “terrorist” was used as a means of identifying the enemy and declaring all actions done by the enemy as terrorist activities (as opposed to liberal or struggle activities – especially concerning the internal conflicts within South Africa). The internal conflicts within South

Africa are important to note, in order to establish that the Border War did not happen in isolation, but rather formed part of the larger apartheid policy, with the apartheid policy using propaganda to label anyone that opposes the authority of the NP as so-called “terrorists”. The term “terrorist” was rarely used for international Communist parties such as the Russians or Cubans (here, the rhetoric of “Communsim” was rather used), but rather reserved for African adversaries, such as the members of SWAPO (South West Africa), the MPLA (Angola) and political activists and members of the black community in South Africa itself (such as members of the ANC). In 1975 an article was published reporting on the situation in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, and how this may impact South Africa’s own involvement in the conflict. The article described the conflict as a “terrorist war”, radicalising the conflict. A similar article was published in 1979, reporting on the loss of minority rule in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia and the impact this may have on the South African situation with its own internal struggles for minority rule. In 1982 an article was published on how one learns to identify a terrorist and how to act when one has identified the person(s). This was an exercise implemented in the Aliwal North Commando, and the purpose of the exercise was “... to prove to the Commando members as well as the local population, both Black and White, that only through everyone’s complete involvement in and awareness of the threat, could insurgents be timeously identified and apprehended” (1982: 33). In another article published in 1982 titled “*SWAPO: Vryheidsvegters of terroriste?*” (“SWAPO: Freedom fighters or terrorists?”), provided the following answer to the question:

“DIT is duidelik dat SWAPO nie belang stel in die vryheid van die mense van SWA/Namibië nie, maar in die skepping van ‘n Swaporegering wat Kommunisties geïnspireerd sal wees en onder die regstreekste invloed van Moskou sal val” (“IT is clear that SWAPO is not interested in freedom for the people of SWA/Namibia, but rather in the establishment of a Swapo-government that is Communist-inspired and will fall under the control of Moscow”.)

In this article, the opinion of the author suggested the overall rhetoric of terrorism aimed at anyone that did not agree with the policies put in place by the NP, with reference to terrorists while making South Africa appear to be the defenders of democracy. In 1983 a terrorist attack was done in the heart of Pretoria, resulting in several articles being published in *Paratus* of the attack. Here, the real dangers of terrorism and an unresolved internal conflict were explored, with a specific article titled “[B]lack victims denounce ANC ‘tsotsis’” (1983: v). This was done as a means to reflect the condemnation of violence by all the peoples of South Africa, although not enough representation of the black population was done in order to defiantly state that all

black people believed that those using violence were essentially doing terrorist attacks. Again, the total onslaught narrative was used in order to not only justify the Border War, but military action within the confines of South Africa itself as well, as well as on South African people of colour.

This rhetoric found in *Paratus* also falls in line with Jamie Miller's (2018: 18) study on white nationalism and anti-Communism, in which he writes,

As discourses of overt racial domination became passé, anticommunism offered an ideological anchor for a regime in trouble, providing a language and a common paradigm through which the presentation of apartheid could be attached to wider global causes and external discourses.

This suggests that *Paratus* made use of the rhetoric of anti-Communism as was popular during the Cold War era, in order to associate the war effort not only from an African perspective, but ground it further in an international fight against Communism. This was done in order to resonate with the ongoing Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and in doing so justify the Border War as an extension of this international war on Communist ideologies (as suggested in the aforementioned "*Kremlinologie*"). Kendrick (2018: 368) goes on to say that this rhetoric also enforced the "growing influence of ideas of 'total onslaught'" within the SADF itself, therefore substantiating the motivation of the SADF's insistence for the need of "total onslaught" and continuous warfare. Miller (2018: 326) furthermore writes, "[B]ecause the viability of the apartheid vision at home was intimately linked to its acceptance abroad", the need for a local narrative and rhetoric opposing Communism became all the more important.

6.4.3. Glittering generalities as a key propaganda device

The glittering generalities device was used in the advertisements to promote the product, service, the product and service in some cases, or "other" identified elements, that predominantly featured employment opportunities, that were being sold. The researcher noted that the keywords used in the advertisements were identifiers of the glittering generalities propaganda device, however, it should not necessarily be regarded as propaganda, but rather as persuasive writing, which is a common feature in advertising. Tom and Eves (1999) explain that the purpose of advertisements is to inform, but also persuade and therefore rhetorical devices may coincide with the identifiers of the glittering generalities device. It is therefore argued by the researcher that persuasive writing and propaganda share similarities, although it should be noted that there is indeed a difference between the two types of communication.

Persuasion is seen as being interactive and aims to satisfy the requirements of both the persuader and the persuadee, as is the case in advertising. Propaganda on the other hand, as described in Chapter 2, aims to attain a reaction that furthers the desired agenda of the propagandist, meaning that the focus is rather placed on the propagandist and its agenda than on the needs of the audience.

Since the glittering generalities device consists of virtue words, one notices that the language of persuasion shares these virtue descriptions and is found within the magazine's advertisements. The language of the glittering generalities propaganda device usually evokes some emotional response, which is key in advertising, in order to make the advertisement more memorable and more likely to be responded to or reacted on. It is also argued that emotion is another key component of effective propaganda. Miller *et al* (1937: 212-213) explains that the glittering generalities device can also be regarded as emotional propaganda, where the propagandist uses emotions and unifying language in order to appeal to the propagandees. Brown (1969: 12, 27) believes that the substitution of names can be used to evoke an emotional connotation and can be applied in a "favourable" manner and writes that in war propaganda the propagandist is fundamentally concerned with the emotional pressure of the propaganda being created. This is often labelled non-rational propaganda (Botha 2000, Brown 1969, Doob 1948). Brennan (2017: 40) also writes on the notion of "supporting propaganda" which implements emotional manipulation in support of what the propagandist attempts to achieve. Superlative language is also regularly found in advertisements as a means to indicate that a subject or object denotes an extreme or unsurpassed level or extent, meaning that the element being advertised cannot be surpassed by anything else. This is quite evident in the language used in the advertisements found in *Paratus*, with the virtue words often also appearing in its superlative.

By stating that the glittering generalities device had a different purpose in the advertisements, by serving as a promotional and persuasive tool, one comes to the conclusion that the advertisements placed in *Paratus* were not used to disseminate a propaganda agenda (based on the advertisements' use of propaganda devices). Only a total of 20 propaganda devices other than the glittering generalities device were identified out of 371 advertisements making up a 0.05 per cent of the total advertisements, which clearly illustrates that advertisements cannot be seen as propaganda dissemination tools (as per propaganda devices). One reason that contributed to this is the fact that advertisements are not created inhouse, meaning that the editorial team of *Paratus* did not have a creative input into the setting up of the advertisements.

The editorial team, alongside marketers within *Paratus* made decisions on where the advertisements would be placed within the magazine, paying attention to the editorial formula; the same team would also select and approach potential advertisers that form part of the overall editorial philosophy of the magazine. Therefore, a trend in what was advertised in *Paratus* can be identified, since the target market is the pull-factor in what is advertised.

Although not enough propaganda devices were found in the advertisements to conclude that the advertisements were used as propaganda, certain ideals and beliefs did come across with what was advertised and who placed these advertisements, revealing a propaganda agenda, which in turn indicates that propaganda was used in the advertisements, albeit in a less directed approach than traditional propaganda devices. For instance, the need for skilled workers in engineering, mining and the armaments industry led to the advertisement specifically aimed at white, male, national servicemen, of several study, training and employment opportunities related to these fields. The Propaganda Model's (PM) second filter mentions that advertising is the primary source of income for mass media (in this case magazines). Therefore, a reciprocal relationship is born in which the media (*Paratus*) represent the support of the advertisers and the subsequent markets. The PM goes on to state that the political-economic environment plays an important role in the shaping of news discourses. This means that the companies that advertised within *Paratus* had an economic agenda and used the Border War and the companies' affiliations with the SADF to their advantage, coinciding with Simpson's (1989) findings on how the armaments industry used the narrative and rhetoric of total onslaught to maintain support for the continuous production, promotion and eventual selling of arms. This said, the majority of the companies that advertised in *Paratus*, such as SADFI, Sandock-Austral and Gencor, had a direct link to the SADF. The linkage between the magazine and the companies therefore share more on the overall ideological agenda than propaganda devices could. SADFI was supported by the SADF, since it was a SADF owned company that provided products and services to members of the SADF. Sandock-Austral formed part of the armaments industry which had a clear interest in the continuing of war, as this meant more spending on armaments by the NP and SADF, therefore the company supported the Border War for its own purposes.

The covers of *Paratus* overwhelmingly revealed that the glittering generalities device as set out by the IPA was the propaganda device of choice. This device is not solely used for words, but also images and what this may represent. For instance, the constant use of uniforms and soldiers on the covers suggests unity and brotherhood (and in the case of female soldiers,

“sisterhood”), which are both key words related to the glittering generalities device, as per the propaganda devices master list (see figure 4.2. and Appendix A). The glittering generalities device can also be seen in some of the cover lines, as already discussed above, for instance the use of words such as “rescue” (1975, 1985), “our young men” (1978), “super” (1979), “peace and prosperity” (1980), “*tegnologiese revolusie*” (“technological revolution”) (1981), and “*beskerming*” (“protection”) (1985). All of these words/cover lines relate to the idea of togetherness and set out to appeal to emotions. This technique, as explained by the IPA, is used to enhance acceptance of what the propagandist advocates and in this context, one may argue that the propagandist (the SADF) aimed to create a consensus for the war, while simultaneously highlighting the various positive services of the military. One is led to the conclusion that the glittering generalities device uses similar methods as strategic communication, by highlighting positives and in turn gaining support for the war effort.

As the glittering generalities propaganda device was overwhelmingly the device of choice, it is important to discuss its function. It has been revealed in previous discussion in the content section that *Paratus* put effort into the overall reputation of both the magazine and the institution that it represented. Therefore, it is no surprise that the glittering generalities device was used so regularly, as the main purpose of the glittering generalities device is to highlight favourable virtues and principles associated with that of the propagandist (who in this case is the SADF). For instance, this device was apparent in articles related to sport where words such as “win”, “winner”, “action”, “benefits”, “best”, “champion(s)”, “dignified”, “excellent”, “gold”, “outstanding”, “shine”, “proud”, “success”, “thrills” are used constantly to describe the achievements accomplished by members of the SADF. Another focus of the SADF was on the establishment of new elements within the SADF which also made use of the glittering generalities device. This can be seen in the various reports published on new headquarters created for commandos, battalions, squadrons etc., while upgrading of military bases and military hospitals also made use of similar rhetoric. The sub-divisions of the SADF itself also garnered the glittering generalities device. By underscoring the importance of solidarity, friendship and essentially brotherhood, the reports on the different components that make up the SADF nurtured these values, while creating healthy competition. Articles on technology advances also made use of the glittering generalities device, as it captured the idea of progress, while furthering the inherent pride that the SADF had for technological success in the face of boycotts and embargoes. Reports on national service also used glittering generalities to stress the virtues of warfare such as duty, loyalty, respect and commitment to the cause at hand, which

the SADF labelled as Communism (which forms part of the fifth filter of the PM, namely anti-Communism filter). Finally, Christmas greetings and messages also made use of this device, in wishing a “happy” and “prosperous” festive season and New Year. Therefore, it can be concluded that the glittering generalities device was used in *Paratus* in order to convey the best of the SADF, as well as the best of what the SADF had to offer. It was used as a means to strategically promote the SADF and those who were affiliated with the institution, whether it meant to support and endorse the SADF in sport, weaponry and technology, unity in various sub-divisions, Christmas messages, national service or new establishments within the SADF. It furthered the reputation of the SADF as one of the best defence forces in the world, despite the difficulties it had to endure, both in a South African and international context.

6.4.4. Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM)

The winning hearts and minds (WHAM) strategy originated in South West Africa in order to acquire and maintain relationships between the SADF and the inhabitants of South West Africa while the Border War played out (de Visser 2011). This strategy was later then implemented in other aspects of communication, not just aimed at the people of South West Africa, but also an international audience as well as the internal audience of South African people. This strategy is closely associated with public relations and strategic communication in order to place the SADF in the most positive light and highlight the good that the SADF was doing as part of its duty to protect South Africa. This strategy can be seen on various features within the magazine, with the most obvious of the implementation of the strategy being on the cover of the magazine.

6.4.4.1. Changing minds through covers

A point to note regarding cover lines is that the cover lines are often used as strategic communication, in the sense that it is used as public relations, as certain cover lines do not necessarily give information regarding news, but rather functions as publicity on what the SADF is doing right. This can for instance be seen in the 1975 issue, with the cover line reading “SAAF MOUNTAIN RESCUE” – the cover image also provides a photograph of the rescue mission. In the 1985 issue, another rescue mission reads as one of the cover lines, plainly stating “SADF TO THE RESCUE”, again clearly indicating a positive action that the SADF undertook. On the same issue’s cover, another cover line that alludes to the good-doings of the SADF is present; it reads “*Plaasbeskerming in SWA: ‘n Toring van krag*” (“Farm protection in SWA: a tower of power”). This is particularly notable, as this fit in with the propaganda effort of the SADF aimed at the South West African’s population. As part of the South African

counterinsurgency operations, the South African government as well as the SADF recognised the significance of fixing the loyalty and synergy of the population; this would become known as winning the hearts and minds (WHAM) of the South West African people (Baines 2004: 13, de Visser 2011: 85, Robb 2014: 20). The main aim of the SADF endeavours to acquire the cooperation of the inhabitants of South West Africa was to focus on socio-economic aid, as well as administering respectful viewpoints towards the population and to create propaganda campaigns that attempted to persuade the inhabitants of the SADF's goodwill, while in turn weakening the support for SWAPO. The idea of protecting can also be seen on this issue, with a cover line that reads "SARP SPECIAL TASK FORCE: No terrorist can take them for a ride". The concept of "terrorist" is used often in the rhetoric of the NP, as well as the SADF and is used here to indicate that the SADF's abilities could overthrow any threat (as discussed in the theme of total onslaught).

6.4.4.2. Heroics of the SADF

Heroics of the SADF and its subdivisions were celebrated as public relations opportunities in order to enhance and better the perception of the SADF in the eyes of the public. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to make these heroic actions by the SADF as clear as possible for the potential reader, hence the decision to make it a feature article. In 1975 a mountain rescue mission conducted by the SAAF was reported, with several accompanying photographs in order to capture the act. In the article, a call on the reader and members of the public is made to donate, as these types of services completed by the Transvaal Mountain Rescue Service were done free of charge, in order to maintain and expand these services. In a feature article published in 1985 the SADF came to the rescue at Baragwanath Hospital, near Soweto, after a mass strike of approximately 1800 workers, consisting of student nurses, kitchen staff, and domestic and cleaning personnel. The magazine does not give a precise reason for the strike calling it "reasons are believed to have been grievances concerning a number of issues" (1985: 16). The SADF was then asked to assist while the issue was resolved, and the personnel performed the duties left open by those involved in the strike. The SADF members that assisted in the kitchens were represented by both black and white SADF members, while it was remarked by one of the superintendent staff at Baragwanath that the work administered by the SADF was remarkable and "that the cooperation between soldiers and the remaining Black staff had been "excellent"". This article was framed in such a way as to present the SADF members as saviours to the black people in need, without mentioning any of the continuous struggles and violence between the SADF and opposing black members of South Africa.

Therefore, the framing of the article is successful in representing only one side of the conversation, by ignoring any part of the black members in this specific situation. In this article, the SADF's deeds are lauded as "nothing ever ran this well before" as a means to undermine the work done by the permanent staff of the hospital, while praising and commending the work of the SADF. Furthermore, this article also showed another side of the SADF other than defending the country during wartime against threats, in order to showcase the ability and willingness of the SADF to contribute in an uplifting and personal manner to the health of black people. This article was most likely aimed at an international market in order to oppose alternative publications' reports on the relationship between the military and all members of the South African public. Another feature article published in 1985 gave a report on the SA Railways Police Special Task Force's ability and training to deal with terrorist threats in an ever surge of "urban terrorism" (1985: 12).

As part of the WHAM propaganda campaign, specifically aimed at the people of South West Africa, and in turn, most likely an international market as a means to garner support, an article was published in 1979 giving a report on the vacation camps dedicated to children that can participate in culture activities. The article mentions:

"[S]oos op vele ander terreine in Suidwes reik die SA Weermag ook hier 'n hand van vriendskap en hulp aan die inwoners van die land. Die Departement van Onderwys van Kavango gebruik Weermagpersoneel om met die opvoedingstaak te help", ("[A]s is the case on several other terrains in South West, the SADF also extends a hand of friendship and help to the inhabitants of the land. The Department of Education of Kavango make use of SADF personnel to assist with the educational task").

The personnel taught the children more about the animals in their surroundings in order to perceive the animals as a source for food, but also to conserve the animals. A nursery also formed part of the camp where the children could learn about the planting of vegetables and flowers. These activities were done in order to foster better relationships with the locals and as mentioned in the quote above, the activities attempted to portray the SADF in a positive manner to an international audience, in return gain their support for the South African involvement in the conflict in South West Africa.

6.4.4.3. Recognition and remembrance by the SADF

Closely related to the heroics of the SADF was the recognition and remembrance of Permanent Force (PF) members of the SADF that retired. In 1972 a comprehensive list of all the members

of the SADF that retired that specific year was published within that issue, while in an article published in 1975 a report was done on what it meant to be placed on reserve, which was specifically applicable to people that retired at the age of 65 or medically unfit members. From 1976 a “where are they now” section was introduced in *Paratus* that interviewed already retired members of the SADF, where due recognition and appreciation, while simultaneously reporting on what the member was doing after retirement, were given to what these retired members contributed to while in active serve of the Defence Force. These human interest-based articles also featured an accompanying photograph of the retired member, normally accompanied by his wife.

Other than remembrance of the retired members of the SADF, the SADF also celebrated those that were still serving within the military. Promotions were mentioned on a regular basis with senior promotions published in an article in 1971, while in the same issue a comprehensive list of promotions was published as well. In 1977 three separate articles were published on three Permanent Force (PF) members of the SADF’s retirement, while another article was published on the promotion of a member of the SADF in 1986. Furthermore, recognition for members of the SADF was also done in the form of medals and parades to celebrate the pageantry of the SADF.

Military parades were done as a means to showcase “pomp and circumstance” and military capability and competence, while making a statement of awareness to the public. Reports on parades were published in 1971, 1974, 1979, 1981, and 1984-1988, showcasing a recurring interest in military parades by members of the SADF as well as other members of the public. All these forms of recognition and remembrance were done with a specific strategy in mind: to pay due respect to members of the SADF that served their country, as well as gain a reputation of attentiveness and awareness for its own members, therefore fostering a better relationship, as well as a reciprocal relationship, in which the SADF tended to the needs to its members, while in turn expecting dutiful devotion to the SADF’s cause. Military parades can also be closely linked to the theme on militarisation and military capability (point 6.6.6.).

6.4.4.4. Letters of thanks from readers

Several thank you letters were written to *Paratus* either to thank the magazine or the institution that it represented, which indicates several personal testimonials occurring within the readers’ letters. Letters of thanks were written regarding a good experience with medical services (1970, 1976, and 1983). Several thank you letters were directed to the SADF regarding the SADF’s

accommodation and sympathy when a loved one passed away (1975, 1979 and 1981). “Thank you” letters were also sent to *Paratus* showing appreciation for sending back issues when requested by the reader (1978, 1983), while congratulations were given to *Paratus* on the new cover of the magazine in 1975. A reader expressed his happiness on a preview of an article on their unit that will appear in a few months’ time (1978), while another reader labels the magazine as educational (1978). All of these letters placed the SADF and *Paratus* in a good light, elevating their position and the work that they do. The SADF was humanised by the several accounts of sympathy it shown in times of tragedy, while *Paratus* were consistently congratulated on the quality of information and news that it provided to its readers and the understanding and help that the magazine provided to its readers. This strengthened the public image of the SADF and its official magazine. This, again, showcased that *Paratus*, and by extension the SADF, played more than a defensive role in Southern Africa, but also provided support to the SADF members during times of bereavement, as well as fostering happiness in the readers of the magazine and the members of the SADF.

6.4.4.5. Introduction of minorities in articles

The inclusion of previously marginalised groups of the South African public was another theme that came to the fore, albeit in a skewed and lesser manner. These two marginalised groups can be divided into two groups: women (women will be discussed under another theme concerning gender roles) and black people.

The December issue of 1988 attempts to showcase racial change in the ever-volatile situation in internal South Africa on the cover of the magazine. As *Paratus* was available internationally as well, this effort was done intentionally to represent a change in the direction of democracy (see the theme on total onslaught and international support). However, as the Border War had not even ended at this stage (and would only happen the following year), true change in terms of policy within South Africa did not happen for at least two more years after the publishing of this particular December issue. In this image, the black soldiers signify social change, while the South African flag that is placed in the centre still holds on to more traditional values that the apartheid government advocated. One may argue that the appearance of black soldiers (as can be seen in figure 6.3.) on the cover of the magazine also occurred due to the rise of black soldiers included within the SADF.

In an article published in 1978, as an overview and open letter, provided a profile on a domestic worker of a SADF-family, named Esther. The article inadvertently has a racist undertone and

defied the reason for the publication of such an article, by congratulating her work as a domestic worker, because she could not continue her studies as she is one of 10 children. The article was intended to present inclusion, but ultimately furthered racist stereotypes. The importance of military training for black people was iterated in 1979, while in the same year an article providing a report on race relations in South Africa was published. After a particular attack on civilians in Pretoria in 1983, several articles were published on the black people that were affected by this attack. One such article read that race groups united in the condemnation of the Pretoria attack, while another article reported that black victims were shocked by the “senseless nature” of the attack. This particular article is pure propaganda as well as framing of the news, in order to present a specific view of the events, rather than to depict the event from both sides of the story, so to speak. Therefore, one can conclude that this particular article is biased in its agenda. Finally, one article attempted to show the unity between black and white, reporting on how a white woman sat with a bleeding black man, holding his hand, waiting for an ambulance to assist the wounded. This article was intended to evoke emotion from the reader and to unify the peoples of South Africa against the internal fear of Communism. In 1984 a quote from the *Daily Mail* stated that black people were against any disruptions caused by local Communists. In another article published in 1984, an overview of the first black officers in the SADF was done. In 1986 an article reported on the first coloured woman allowed in the SADF. These articles attempted to include a marginalised part of the South African society by providing some insight into the lives of people of colour, in a highly stylised manner as these groups are not fully represented (a very small and selected sample was chosen that supported the ideological position of the SADF and the NP, therefore adhering to the ideological agenda of the apartheid policy). These articles were successful in furthering Afrikaner nationalism as they only repeated stereotypical notions, without giving these groups real voices and opportunities to provide actual insight into their experiences within and of the SADF.

In an attempt to include the previously excluded, the magazine published a (very short) article in 1979 advocating the importance of military training of black people in South Africa, with a black journalist interviewing the Chief Minister of the Ndebele “homeland”. When asked whether the minister would encourage Ndebele youth to join the army, the response was “[Y]es, by all means. Joining the Army is to their own benefit... Communism is spreading all over the country. We must stop this by any means at our disposal.” This article attempted to stress the importance of military training for all people, while simultaneously using one man’s

opinion (therefore an unjustifiable sample of the population) of the state of South Africa as a means to represent the majority black people's opinion of Communism, again playing into the total onslaught narrative of the fight against Communism, as an overall threat to the South African's way of life.

6.4.5. Militarisation and military capability

One of the key drivers of this theme is the implementation of boycotts on South Africa since the 1960s, and these boycotts or sanctions became all the more prominent during the 1980s as the concerns of the apartheid policy grew on an international scale. As the number of boycotts grew, the need for South Africa to create many of their own products and resources, increased accordingly, across various industries. Within the confines of the SADF, military capability became a great concern, in order to have the upper hand in the ongoing Border War in Southern Africa.

6.4.5.1. Technology and weapon prowess

The use of numeral placements of military vehicles including tanks and airplanes on the covers of *Paratus* suggest that the SADF found pride in their technological advances terms of vehicles and weaponry dedicated to war and the SADF wanted to showcase this in an official capacity; Scholtz (2013: 7-8) makes mention of this that during the initial years of low-insurgency warfare of the Border War, South Africa had poor weaponry, while the arms boycott that plagued South Africa since the early 1960s became problematic as the Border War ensued, and forced the SADF to venture into the creation of its own armaments, with the construction of the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armcor) (Dorning 1987: 21, Seegers 1987: 144). Armcor developed sophisticated weaponry "which was equal of, and in many instances superior to, the best weaponry available anywhere in the world" (Dorning 1987: 21). Since the SADF was responsible for their own weaponry it contributes to the fact that they would showcase their self-sufficiency as well as their technological advances on their official communication medium.

Technology can be seen as a point of pride within the SADF, as can be seen by the number of times that technology-based topic made it as a feature article within the magazine, meaning that technology was something that *Paratus* wanted its readers to know about instantly when seeing the magazine for the first time, while also celebrating with the industries that made the technological advances possible. In 1975 a feature article was published on the new Spitfire

MK 9 range – a one of a kind aircraft used by the SAAF, now produced locally, while media training as a form of technology was implemented by the SADF in order to better the relationship between the media and the Defence Force. In 1981 a feature article explored exciting new developments in the armaments and mining industry, looking specifically at Krygkor, who was closely affiliated with the SADF, as can be seen in numerous advertisements placed by SADFI explaining that only members of the SADF, Krygkor and subsidiaries were allowed to purchase at the official store of the SADF. The armaments industry also had a personal relationship with the SADF as can be seen in the inclusion of the armaments industry in the Defence Advisory Council established in 1972 by the Minister of Defence as a means to discuss broader defence issues. In 1984 a feature article was published on a new strike craft for the SA Navy. The SADF, along with the armaments industry were proud to be able to develop technologies and weaponry needed by the military for the Border War, by developing these items in South Africa and in some cases surpassing even international technologies in terms of warfare.

6.4.5.2. Armaments industry

The armaments industry was well-represented in *Paratus* with the companies that bought adspace, being associated with the armaments industry as well as resources industry directly related to military capability and prowess.

The armaments industry in South Africa during the apartheid era was one of the fundamental coalitions between the security institutions and the business community and consisted of various companies that were represented in *Paratus* through advertisements, such as Sandock-Austral Beperk/Limited, Gencor, Barlow, Anglo American Corporation, Rand Mines and AE&CI Limited. Sandock-Austral Beperk/Limited placed eight advertisements in *Paratus* and was a defence contractor to the SADF. It was established through a 1971 merger of the Austral armaments company and Sandock Limited dockyards. Sandock-Austral was one of Gencor's subsidiary companies (Gencor is a mining corporation purchased by Federale Mynbou Beperk, making it the first Afrikaner owned mining corporation) – a manufacturer of French-licensed armoured cars (Simpson 1989). Gencor itself placed five advertisements in *Paratus* (1984 – four separate advertisements, and 1987). Gencor formed part of the Defence Advisory Council established in 1972 by PW Botha, the then Minister of Defence, in order to discuss broad policy issues; Gencor joined the Chief of the SADF, the chairman of Armscor, and Barrlow. The link between the armaments industry and government, as well as the SADF was clearly forged with

the appointment of the Defence Advisory Council. Sandock-Austral developed several military products that were used during the Border War, specifically the Ratel infantry fighting vehicle. Sandock-Austral formed part of the armaments industries of South Africa.

The armaments industry of South Africa was very much ideologically driven. Simpson (1989) states that the arms-producing sector used the total onslaught and total strategy narrative to their advantage, which in turn coincides with the first theme discussed in this chapter, point 6.6.). By supporting the apartheid policy, the continuous so-called need for defence of South African borders and against internal struggles meant that a continuous need for armaments were required, which the South African armaments industry dutifully provided. This, in essence, developed a militarisation of the South African economy. Sandock-Austral may have bought more adspace in *Paratus* than some of the other armaments and mining related industries, however, it indicates that there was indeed a presence of the private sector working closely with the SADF and the NP. The new Armaments Development and Production Act, No. 57 of 1968 also indicated the need for promotion of its industry's products as set out in the objects and tasks of Armscor specifically, but the armaments industry as a whole, were as follows (emphasis placed by the researcher):

“... promote and coordinate the development, manufacture, standardisation, maintenance, acquisition, or supply of armaments by collaborating with, or assisting or rendering services to, or utilising the services of, any person, body, or institution or any department of state... To develop, manufacture, service, repair and maintain, on its own account or as the representative of any other person to by, sell, import or export and through **advertising or otherwise to promote** the sale of, armaments, including armaments required for export or firearms, ammunition or pyrotechnical products required for supply to members of the public.”

It must therefore be pointed out that Sandock Austral, Gencor and Armscor did not advertise within *Paratus* in the hope that the magazine would serve as a product promoter, but rather these companies supported the military project at large. As the armaments industry made their profits by selling to the SADF, sponsoring the magazine was meant as a token of support.

6.4.5.3. Overviews and representation of various sub-divisions of the SADF

An overview and representation of various sub-divisions of the SADF can also be found throughout both the feature articles and articles analysed for this study. In 1978 a report on a new army battle school that was officially opened by the Prime Minister, PW Botha, in Maremane, Lothathlha and Matakeng, in the Northern Cape, was published. In the same year an overview of what the new army battle school at Maremane 1 provided to those that attended

the school was explored. Again, in 1978, a report on the Central Flying School, Dunnotar, was published, as well as its role in the development of young pilots and members of the SAAF. In 1979, an overview of the modern military base, namely 8 SA Infantry Battalion, established in Upington was explored. In 1983 an overview of the SA Navy's capabilities was done in order to investigate its capabilities to cope well under pressure, while also in 1983 an article published on military activity at "Boesmanland" in Northwest Cape was done to examine their ability to keep intruders at bay. In 1984, a report on the Stellenbosch university's military unit was done and found them one of the youngest San Civilian units in the world. Another article published in 1984 was done on the 27 Squadron and their duties. In other reports the articles varied from opening of new headquarters, giving historical background on different units within the SADF, providing a review of staff in terms of its efficiency, components and abilities, while celebrating what each unit brought to the fore.

All of these various reports were done as a means to give recognition to the various subdivisions that consisted within the SADF, by providing them with print-space and a cover line to tell their story; this enabled them to use their voice, rather than to be seen as just another national serviceman. The recognition served as motivation and morale booster for national servicemen, with the off-chance that if they perform well in their school, battalion or squadron, they too could be featured in *Paratus*, with their duties celebrated in a public and personal manner. The articles also provided an overview of what each of these divisions did, and in doing so, friendly competition between the divisions was borne, for instance in 1981 the best organised and proudest unit in South Africa was named and the article provided insight to this unit. These reports also contributed to the overall military capability of the SADF, as it provided an exhaustive overview of the SADF and the various units and divisions that formed part of the military institution, therefore stating that SADF was a large institution provided coverage of the expansiveness of the SADF, and a formidable opponent to those who wish to oppose it.

6.4.5.4. SADF promoting SADFI

The company that placed the most advertisements that formed part of the scope of this study could be identified as SADFI (South African Defence Force Institute), with a total of 17 advertisement placed. The SADFI has a long history in conjunction with the Defence Force, for instance it was initially known as the South African Garrison Institute (SAGI) during the Anglo-Boer War for British Imperial troops that aimed to provide the troops with canteen

facilities, as well as products and services at affordable prices. The Institute aimed to run a civilian shopping establishment inside the SADF for the members of the SADF (van der Waag 1991: 27-31).

It can be seen that the primary target market for SADF was the national servicemen, although it official catered for all members of the SADF; only from 1989 onwards a greater focus on permanent force members of the SADF could be seen. One of the main reasons for this was that most of the SADF outlets were close by officers' clubs and NCO's training camps, therefore the SADF outlets were more easily accessible for national servicemen than other members of the SADF. The reach became more apparent, specifically in South West Africa during the Border War, since a great number of SADF members were located on the border; it was reported that eight SADF shops had to be closed in 1990 in South West Africa as the Border War had come to an end (van der Waag 1991).

SADF undertook a considerable marketing and advertising campaign in order to gain a greater market and to become more profitable. One way in which the SADF approached this was by providing cash discounts for national servicemen and other members of the SADF; this later changed to an overall 10 per cent lower pricing on all goods than similar products in the retail market, which was SADF main competitor. There was also an increase in the number of outlets available, with 31 outlets established between 1976 and 1989 (as discussed above), SADF also rebranded the exterior and interior of their outlets in order to appear new and more modern. SADF was also aware of their public image and therefore converted credit to provide facilities for the military communities, such as kindergarten for members of the SADF's families. The focus of SADF initially was based on retail trade, however after 1976 (specifically Operation Savannah) the institution's approach changed in order to include beneficial support services to members of the SADF. As part of the advertising campaign after 1976 SADF, working alongside Armscor, implemented mobile canteens in operational areas, such as Angola and served as a morale booster for South African combat forces (van der Waag 1991: 37). All of these rebranding and advertising techniques suggests that their primary market was national servicemen, with their families as a secondary market.

SADF was placed under direct military management, with this decision proving to be a successful one, as SADF consequently was deemed more authoritative and had a growth in status. Van der Waag (1991: 35) notes "[F]or the first time, the soldier felt that the soldier was controlling SADF to the benefit of the soldier". Therefore, it can be seen that a clear affiliation

between the SADF and SADF I was established from the late 1960s onwards, with the SADF I militarised. Therefore, the official communication medium for the SADF, namely *Paratus*, was deemed appropriate to become an advertising medium for SADF I as well. One must also consider that SADF I possibly received free advertising as well, as it was an institution of the SADF. SADF I only started advertising in the magazine, as per sample, from 1981 onwards. The primary focus of SADF I was to first change the perception of the SADF of its own institution before it could become profitable through the means of selling its products. There was a definite increase in the number of advertisements placed by SADF I from 1984, which coincides with the repercussions of the “worst recession” felt during the mid-1980s, meaning that more products had to be sold in order for SADF I to continue to operate (van der Waag 1991: 39). One can also argue that SADF promoted itself through its other institutions such as SADF I, promoting militarisation of all different segments of military life.

6.4.6. Gender norms and masculinity

6.4.6.1. Advertisements of products

One can gather from analysis that the majority of the products advertised in *Paratus* were of a leisure nature, including 50 appearances of vehicles, 19 appearances of cigarettes and electronics respectively, and 15 appearances of alcohol. Although *Paratus* represented the SADF in an official capacity, very few military related products were advertised, with a total of eight advertisements placed regarding military vehicles (including strike craft and tanks), and only two advertisements placed regarding weapons. These numbers suggest that the target market regarding products placed, were male soldiers (with a more specific focus on national servicemen than permanent force, however the permanent force was included in these advertisements placed) and not the SADF institution itself.



Figure 6.4.: Lexington 1970



Figure 6.5.: Texan 1981



Figure 6.6.: Revere 1981



Figure 6.7.: John Rolfe 1985

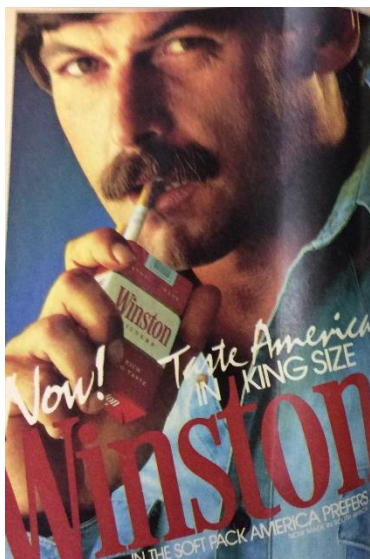


Figure 6.8.: Winston 1986

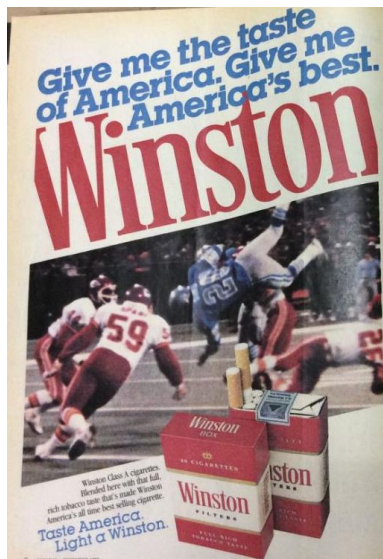


Figure 6.9.: Winston 1988

Once again, an advertisement was placed in 1970 and 1971 respectively with the focus on alcohol, specifically Carling Black Label. After a hiatus of alcohol-related advertisements, a sole advertisement was then placed in 1977 (note, only a total of five advertisement was placed during this year), also of Carling Black Label. From then on onwards alcohol related products were advertised regularly, from 1977-1982, with none relating to alcohol published in 1983 and 1985, and then consistently again. The brand(s) most often advertised in *Paratus* was that of Carling Black Label (1970, 1971, 1977) and Klipdrift (1978, 1981, 1982), both being South African brands. Colour was used in all of the advertisements, except 1970 and 1971 (both were of Carling Black Label) and 1984 (Olmecca Tequila). All of the alcohol related advertisements represented some form of visual representation, either in the form of a drawing or photograph.



Figure 6.10.: Black Label 1970



Figure 6.11.: Black Label 1971

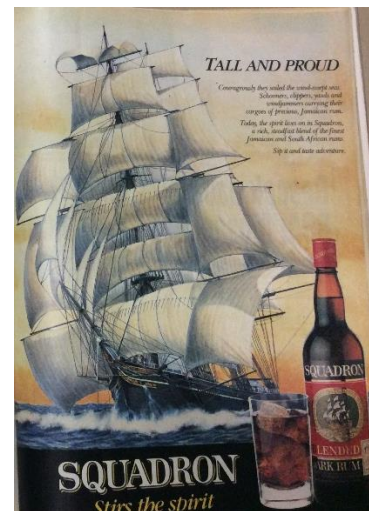


Figure 6.12.: Squadron 1988

These findings are in line with a previous study on alcohol and cigarettes represented as leisure activities of Border Troops in *Paratus* by Gina Robb (2014). In her thesis she explained that leisure activities consisted as part of national servicemen's lives on the border, just as much as it did in civilian life, and found that drinking and smoking were regularly done in units or platoons. Robb (2014: 55) specifically mentions that drinking and smoking were accepted by the SADF as leisure activities as per the sheer number of advertisements placed in *Paratus* regarding these two activities. The advertisements that were placed regarding alcohol and cigarettes portrayed a sense of masculinity that is deemed important in military life and specifically in the Border War. This is evident in the advertisements analysed in this study as well, as women were portrayed as subordinate as in the Lexington advertisement of 1970, with the woman drawn gazing admiringly and lovingly at a man (figure 6.4.), and in the Winston advertisements of 1986-1988, where a photograph of a man with the focus on the reader, lights a cigarette – the man embodies the look of the Western Cowboy – the epitome of masculinity (figure 6.8.), while the Revere advertisement showcases the same appeal of the American Western stature (figure 6.6.). The John Rolfe advertisement of 1985 specifically states that the cigarettes are made for a man's pocket (figure 6.7.), thereby excluding women specifically in the advertisement. Although cigarettes were generally aimed at both a male and female market during the 1970s and 1980s, the advertisements chosen to be placed in *Paratus* regarding the subject matter, represented a masculine image, and the instances where women were included in the images and phrases chosen for the advertisements, the women were presented in such a way as of a lesser status. The alcohol related advertisements usually only portrayed the product that is beer, whisky, wine, rum or tequila, with a description that embodies that would then

appeal to a male counterpart. This is clear in the advertisement of Squadron (1988) that promises “adventure” to all who tastes the alcohol – an idea regularly perpetuated in soldier-culture (figure 6.12.). Another form of masculinity was represented in the 1970 and 1971 advertisements of Carling Black Label that featured the caption “[G]o for the man’s brand!” (figure 6.10.) as well as “America’s lusty, lively beer” (figure 6.11.) that explicitly stated that the alcohol was suitable for men and would in turn reinforce masculinity with all of its pleasures while also revealing an aspirational agenda.

Vehicles, as an additional leisure product, was also identified in the advertisements placed within *Paratus*. Vehicles made up the largest component of products advertised and ranged from cars, helicopters and motorcycles. More advertisements of vehicles were placed with no colour, with only 18 advertisements featuring colour. All but one advertisement showed either a drawing or photograph of the vehicle, with the only advertisement not having a visual representation published in 1983 as an advertorial for Mercedes Benz. The primary market for these vehicles can be identified as white and in most cases national servicemen – this can be deduced since the advertisements often stated that a specific discount will be given either to those who have already completed their national service or who are currently busy with their mandatory national service years (because of this, this suggests that vehicles were primarily aimed at a male market, as national service was only available to a male market). This special discount also reinforced a specific language used to reinforce masculinity by referencing duty, for instance in the 1982 advertisement by Mazda that reads the caption “[Y]ou’ve done your bit for us... Now we’ll do our bit for you.” A similar message can be found in an advertorial published in 1980 that reads as following: “In the nature of your work, you are providing an essential service to South Africa. Yet all too often your contribution is an under-appreciated and undervalued one.” This message is then followed by the promise of saving R825 on a new Mazda as a means of thanking the national servicemen for the duty to their country.

Cigarettes, alcohol and vehicles are considered to be the main leisure and luxury products advertised in *Paratus* as these items made up the majority of products advertised. The advertisements served a very specific market namely, white, male and national servicemen. The advertisements reveal that masculinity as a theme comes across most often, which is a similar finding to a previous study related to cigarettes and alcohol representation in *Paratus* (Robb 2014). This study extends this notion to vehicles as well, with a sense of adventure and what it means to be a man a recurring motif in the advertisements placed in *Paratus* specifically

related to products. The interests of the target market also become more apparent, with drinking and smoking as well as motorsport the frontrunners represented in advertisements.

6.4.6.2. Introduction of women's column

With the inception of the South African Army Women's College (SAAWC) in 1971 based in George, *Paratus* was sure to publish an article recording this momentous occasion, reporting the first introduction of 128 women that now attended the SAAWC. This was a sole incident, as the next article related to the inclusion of one of the marginalised groups of South Africa was only published in 1978, in which the article asserts that the SADF cares for everyone and provides all people of South Africa an opportunity of defending themselves. In 1980 an article was published on the way soldiers' wives of the SADF live in the operational areas and suggests that close relationships and camaraderie were formed in these forced conditions. In 1981 a women's page/column/section was introduced that featured articles aimed specifically at women as it addressed women directly and by extension excluded men; this does not mean that men may not read the content in these columns/pages, however, the primary market for this specific section was women.

In one of the first articles published in this new page/column/section the role of women and national service was discussed, and although it was mentioned several times that this role had received more attention in parliament, in terms of being a source of manpower that has not been used to its full potential, no tangible action was made to include women in this system. The same issue then went on to publish an article on women in the Canadian military and how these women were becoming increasingly more involved in all facets of the Canadian Forces activities, and thus, the vagueness of the previous discussion of national service and women of South Africa can be seen as unnecessary and needless. The women's section was filled with articles on companionship among SADF women and profiles of high-ranking members of the SADF's wives. In 1982 an article was published on the female members of the SADF and their quality of remaining feminine despite their military training, making femininity the greatest of all qualities for females in the Defence Force. One argument against the use of women in national service was provided in an article published in 1982 was that although women formed an integral part of the military, women were seen as being more conscientious, therefore difficult decisions that arise in wartime such as killing in the face of duty becomes problematic for women. The role of women as an anchor and form of support for the male counterpart was stressed (1982, 1988), while women were also warned against the dangers of total onslaught

(1988). In other articles published for women, fashion, cooking, interviews with female actresses, flower arrangements (1984) and the community of women were topics of discussion (1982). Stereotypical gender norms, specifically that of wartime roles, were furthered in the sections, while no real mention of the efforts of the women that formed part of the SAAWC was made in the entirety of the Border War.

6.4.6.3. Sport

Sport as a recurring theme for gender roles formation is quite apparent throughout the magazine. Sport can be seen as the final leisure activity represented in the magazine, apart from drinking and smoking as leisure activities while vehicles were seen as luxury interests, as identified in the advertisements section. Robb (2014) stated that sport was important for the SADF and encouraged its members to participate in sports as often as possible, by making various opportunities available to its members, specifically during the Border War. The use of sport within a military context however is not a new one, as Chetty (2005) found that sport and the active participation in sport were important activities even during the Second World War for South African troops, while Conradie (2015) found that symbols that represent sport such as the springbok was already established during the First World War in a South African context. Chetty (2005) also found that sport represented masculinity within a militaristic context, which appears to be true within *Paratus*. A variety of different sport opportunities existed for the national servicemen to join, such as rugby, cricket, soccer, tennis, squash, table tennis, cross country, athletics, marathons, boxing, and wrestling, water sports such as canoeing, surfing, and yachting, less conventional sports such as karate, judo, pistol shot, chess, pool, and skydiving. The great variety of sporting options that existed within the SADF enabled physical preparedness (along with formal training within base camps and battle schools) which was deemed an important objective by the SADF (along with spiritual preparedness).

Other than improving and maintaining physical abilities, the sport opportunities also aided in the building of camaraderie (which will be further explored in the following theme, point 6.7.) among the troops, as well as served as a relaxation and entertainment outlet. The various articles on sport can be regarded as entertaining in nature and sought to present a different side to the taxing life of a national servicemen. The value of sport and fitness was explored in a research-based article published in 1973, where the health implications were mentioned if one does not exercise such as an increase in heart attacks and early deaths opposed to those who have a more active lifestyle. It also stated that sport is a unique way to exercise as it is seen as

pleasant, challenging and competitive (1973: 41) – things that the SADF wanted to include in the experience of the national servicemen of the SADF.

6.4.7. Community

6.4.7.1. Readers' letters

The readers' letters provided the readers of the magazine a platform to establish a community, in a more social context. In 1973 a national serviceman explained his own personal experience and discussed the benefits of national service. In 1981 a reader wrote that the SADF Umdloti vacation resort was a wonderful experience and recommended it to fellow SADF members. In another letter written in 1981 a member of the SADF explains that a permanent force (PF) member of the SADF will be retiring soon and that the house that he occupied with his families will become available; the reader encourages other members of the SADF that would like to retire in Stellenbosch to contact him. Readers of *Paratus* also made use of the platform to get in touch with former members of the SADF after their services have been completed (1982, 1983 and 1988). The letters section provided the readers not only the opportunity to communicate with the magazine and the SADF, but also to communicate with fellow readers and members that served with them during national service. In this way, shared experiences and relationship could be maintained, while a support network was established for the men that served their country.

6.4.7.2. Auxiliary forces

Auxiliary forces formed another sub-theme established within the articles of *Paratus*. Specific attention was given to the Southern Cross Fund as the main organisation that provided supplemental aide to the SADF and its members (with articles published on its origins and purpose (1972), 10 year anniversary celebrations (1978), celebrations of the work that it conducted (1981), and *Paratus* that donated funds to the organisation (1982); the SADF Brandwag Fund was another organisation that aided the SADF. The main purpose of these organisations were the raise funds to organise events or special donations to the members of the SADF, specifically those that served on the border. As the issues that were analysed were December issues, the majority of the donations were presented as Christmas care packages and parcels sent out to national servicemen on the border during Christmas. Among these parcels and packages, the members of the Southern Cross Fund (which consisted of female members of the public), made dried fruit bars (1981, 1987), ice cream cones (1982) and 292 cakes (1987). These auxiliary forces also provided the "Ride Safe Scheme" (1980), an initiative to assist

national servicemen to spend their off-duty time in a safe manner, as hitch-hiking was a growing concern for the SADF (articles published on hitch-hiking in 1970, 1980, 1985, as well as several advertisements that provided bus-opportunities for national servicemen). The auxiliary forces also arranged a charity conference on the economic preparedness of members of the SADF (1978), organised a special day for the elderly (1984), as well as held fashion shows to raise funds for women organisations which main aim was to fight Communism (1986). The auxiliary forces were celebrated by *Paratus* in order to create awareness of the continuous need for funds within the SADF, while simultaneously showing the care that was given to members of the SADF, specifically the national servicemen.

The auxiliary forces also form an extension of women's role, specifically during wartime, by reinforcing the women's role as supplementary rather than essential.

6.4.7.3. Penpals

An initiative was established by the editorial team in 1980 by publishing a "Penpals" column within the magazine. It ran for three more consecutive years until 1983, with a final appearance in 1988. *Paratus* provided members of the public an opportunity to communicate with members specifically located on the borders of South Africa, through the means of letters. The magazine provided instructions on how one can go about this (1988: 49): "[H]ere's what to do: write your name, address and particulars of your hobbies and interests on a postcard and send it to PARATUS... We will then publish it free of charge so that the troops can read it and write to you." And this is exactly what happened; the members of the public that wrote to *Paratus* included, on average, more than the required personal information, including: name and surname, age, address, description of outer appearance, hobbies, and even went so far as to give criteria as to who they would like to correspond with, such as age group and first-language speaker. Others also stated that correspondents were welcome to send photographs along with their letters.

This penpals system can be regarded as a strategic communication approach, in correlation with the public relations department as a reaction against the defiance of national service. Baines (2004: 1) explains that the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was established in early 1980 in order to aid the men who opposed the conscription system and was regarded as the main oppositional cause active, even though it never became a mass movement, during the 1980s. Bulmer (2014: 383) notes that it placed emphasis on the notion that the SADF and the NP created in their discourse and rhetoric that conscription was not a necessary rite of passage

to manhood, while Conway (2012: 119) argues that the ECC asserted that conscription constrained males rather than emancipated them. It was this sort of communication that led the NP to ban the ECC in 1988. The criticism towards national service and conscription influenced the decision to create a communication platform with national servicemen and members of the public, as a means to boost morale for the members of the SADF, while serving active duty. This system also played on traditional gender roles during wartime, with the male (national servicemen) away on duty for his country, corresponding with a female who serves as a representation of the South African public, who in turns becomes an embodiment for what the soldier is fighting for, and also have the opportunity to return to. This system attempted to humanise conscription by having the national servicemen communicate with the “innocents” during wartime.

6.4.7.4. Advice provided to national servicemen

Advice was centred on national servicemen, which in turns reiterates that the primary market of *Paratus* was that of the national servicemen. Some of the advice given was on the precautions that national servicemen must take when they were allowed a pass weekend or leave from duties, as *Paratus* encouraged national servicemen not to hitch-hike, but rather make use of weekend buses (1970: 49). National servicemen were also reminded that if they did not adhere to specific criteria when hitch-hiking, such as “thumb” lifts or stand within a distance of four feet of the edge of a tarred road wherever this is possible”, disciplinary action would be taken against them. Another warning piece of advice can be seen in 1983 in which national servicemen were cautioned on the negligent loss of their kit and mentioned that it was considered to be a serious offense and is guilty of Section 24(1)(a) of the Military Discipline Code and may be sentenced to prison for a period not exceeding one year. In 1981 two separate articles were published aimed at national servicemen by making use of the advice approach, both centred on career advice, with the latter featuring specific focus on job interview tips. These articles also follow suit with the magazines aim to introduce national servicemen back into society and economic life once their duties were completed. Not only did the magazine proactively advertise positions made available to national servicemen, but also provided adequate advice and help for those who now have already applied for a specific position in order to secure the job position.

Advice was also given in 1981 by a former national serviceman in an article aimed to give an overview of what future national servicemen can expect from duty, and some practical advice

on what to bring with once you are conscripted. The author (1981: 26) wrote that items needed during basic training periods included toiletries, undergarments, track suit, extra t-shirts, while advising new conscripts not to take expensive radio or musical equipment, electric iron, shoe brush, tin of polish, padlocks, coat-hangers, writing pad, envelopes, pen, postage stamps and address book, and cash. Finally, new conscripts were advised to take personal document such as “[B]ook of Life, marriage certificate if married, your call-up instructions and completed personnel form (pay form), plus certificate of your highest educational qualification”. Advice for national servicemen were also given to expose them to the benefits of conscriptions and how they can personally benefit from their duty. National servicemen are advised to “...have the will to win because without it no battle has ever been won” (1983: 12) and that the attitude of the national servicemen will determine to what degree they will enjoy their service to their country. Some advice was also directed to members of the public, such as advice on how to treat national servicemen who are back from duty (1970), to know who the enemy is (1970), and leadership skills and how one can influence the morale of those that work for you (1971).

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter attempted to discuss the main and most recurring themes that came across in the various elements that make up the editorial philosophy of the magazine. The origination of the magazine’s title was explored, while the purpose of the magazine was identified to be true regarding previous studies, as well as an identified target market and the voice of the magazine was established. The various components of the actual magazine were also discussed in terms of the advertisements, covers and editorial content, both in terms of content and design elements, in relation to the identified themes throughout *Paratus*. After having discussed these various constituents, it is necessary to reflect on the examination and to discuss the results in terms of the research questions that the study is built on, first mentioned in Chapter 1 and then again in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 7: Findings and conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The various components that make up the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* have now been discussed in Chapter 6. In order to establish what the editorial philosophy and its elements voice about the magazine and its position as a potential propaganda dissemination tool, it becomes necessary to reflect on the research questions laid out in Chapter 1 and again in Chapter 4. These questions framed the current research in a propaganda framework and provided the researcher with the necessary structure to assess the data and the resulting findings. The composition of the research study considered these research questions consistently in order to establish the usage of propaganda in an official capacity during wartime in a South African context. The study aimed to establish:

To what extent was *Paratus* used as a propaganda medium for the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, in terms of its editorial philosophy, during the Border War?

The study attempted to answer this overarching research question with the following sub-research questions:

1. What are the main propaganda devices used in magazines for ideological purposes?
2. What propaganda devices are evident specifically in *Paratus*?
3. How did the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* change during the Border War?
4. Did the changes in the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* influence the propaganda devices used?

In order to answer these questions, each question will be individually assessed by reflecting on the data analysis and discussion already completed in previous chapters in this thesis, beginning with the sub-research questions and finally appraising the overarching research focus of the study. This chapter will also investigate further studies that have been borne out of the current studies, as well as alternative perspectives that have been identified that have the potential to contribute to overall study on *Paratus*, communication in an official institution, as well as wartime communication in a South African context.

7.2. Sub-research question 1: What are the main propaganda devices used in magazines for ideological purposes?

Throughout the literature reviewed for this study, the main contributors to the study of propaganda have been identified as Lasswell's six significant factors in successful war propaganda, the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) and the Propaganda Model (PM) as set out by Herman and Chomsky. From these contributors a repeated list of propaganda devices in different forms of media have been distinguished (note, only the most frequently recurring devices are listed here as per literature review). These propaganda devices that have been identified also formed the criteria for the propaganda analysis of this study:

- Anti-communism filter (fifth filter of PM)
- Atrocity stories (IPA)
- Band wagon (IPA)
- Glittering generalities (IPA)
- Goal of war effort (Lasswell)
- Guilt fixed on enemy (Lasswell)
- Name calling (IPA)
- Nostalgia (this particular device was set out by Monger (2011) in his studies on First World War propaganda)
- Plain folk (IPA)
- Testimonial (IPA)
- Transfer (IPA)

The magazine as a mass communication medium has been debated as a suitable propaganda dissemination instrument. Although the magazine shares similar traits with newspapers (which is historically considered to be one of the best dissemination instruments of propaganda), such as their regular publication, being available in the public sphere, as well as reasonable freedom in terms of editorial philosophy, the magazine is known for self-censorship as a means to create thematic and topical editorial content (McQuail 2011: 28, 31-32). Other than this, mass communication is also targeted at a large-scale, heterogeneous and anonymous market. This means that as the communication is inclusive and directed at a comprehensive audience, the communicator does not have the opportunity to interact with the receivers as individuals or on a "face-to-face basis". Ultimately, this alludes to the idea that the communication is one-directional, and no personal relationship can be built with the audience. This notion however becomes problematic with a magazine, which fundamentally relies on feedback (therefore, interaction) from its readers (most often represented in the form of readers' letters) in order to

better the product and to better the relationship between the audience and the communicator (i.e. the magazine). Although several magazines are regarded as general interest magazines, meaning that the audience is wide-spread and considered to be to some extent “heterogeneous”, magazines with a specific editorial philosophy and editorial agenda are thematic in nature, causing the magazine to be aimed at a more specific and homogenous market.

With this in mind, the debate of the magazine as a suitable (and effective) propaganda dissemination instrument becomes more supportive of its lack of suitability and eventual effectiveness. One of the main reasons can be seen as the target audience to whom the propaganda is directed at. *Paratus*, as the magazine examined in this study, revealed that it primarily targeted a very specific audience, namely white, male, relatively young with an estimated age of between 18 and 25, predominantly national servicemen, and members of the SADF, with some focus on retirees and families of members of the SADF. In merely the target market alone one comes under the impression that it would be difficult for the magazine to penetrate a new market to disseminate a propaganda agenda. Not only was the target market of a particular nature, but the distribution also only catered to a select few. Although the magazine was distributed to schools as well as to family members of those in the SADF, and to some extent, an international readership, the readership fundamentally consisted of those who already formed part of a propaganda objective. This means that the target market (the members of the SADF), already furthered the ideology of the Border War and the apartheid policy by promoting the Border War for nearly three decades. However, the researcher argues that even though a medium may not reach a new target market at which to aim its propaganda agenda, it does not mean that the medium cannot be regarded as a propaganda dissemination tool – in order to establish this, one must first analyse the content by making use of propaganda tools and measurements (such as the devices listed above). Furthermore, it is important to note that one can only truly be influenced by propaganda when the person shares some form of fundamental beliefs or values with that of the propagandist, meaning that the propagandist can only further a specific agenda to someone who already garners some support for the effort. It is argued that *Paratus* aimed to reinforce and maintain the beliefs of the apartheid policy, and not change people’s beliefs and views.

Magazines can also be examined from the perspective of mass communication theoretical approaches, such as strategic communication (as a sub-category of mass communication), framing and agenda-setting theories. These approaches adhere to some extent to the qualities of propaganda devices, for instance, strategic communication essentially refers to “persuasive

brand communication” (Schultz and Schultz 1998) as a means to influence the “brand” (the organisation) or policy of an institution to a particular target audience. Strategic communication relates to public relations and reputation of an organisation, and inherently seeks to present an organisation in the best possible light. This category of mass communication is closely related to the glittering generalities device, which is used as a tool to enhance and highlight the best aspects and/or values of an organisation, more precisely, the propagandist. Glittering generalities as a propaganda device is also seen to be similar to persuasive approaches, which is found in advertisements (and since advertisement placement is one of the main methods to make a profit within a magazine, this device becomes significant). Agenda-setting theory also relates to the media being persuasive, as a mass communication medium has the ability to establish focus and importance on that which the medium would like the receiver or consumer to focus and find importance on (Shaw 1979: 96); this relates to repetition (which is a key feature of propaganda, even if it is not a set propaganda device). Agenda-setting theory suggests that if the media place importance on a particular subject, the consumers of the media will be more prone to place the same importance on that particular subject. In order to relate this back to propaganda devices, one may apply this to any of the identified devices, for instance, the name-calling device: the more a medium applies the name calling device to a specific subject, such as the word “terrorist”, the more disposed the consumer will be to believe the nature of the subject to be that of a “terrorist”.

Framing, as another mass communication approach, refers to the contextualisation and representation of certain happenings, in order to provide consumers the opportunity to absorb and comprehend said happenings (Tuchman 1978: 192), with certain factors that have the potential to influence the way in which an editorial team frame a specific subject. The most profound factors include social conventions and values, as well as ideological and political predispositions (these features are closely related to the Propaganda Model (PM) in terms of the fifth anti-communism filter) of the editorial board and team. The researcher argues here that even though a magazine might be an unsatisfactory propaganda medium in terms of its target market and reachability as claimed by McQuail (2011), it still has the opportunity and effective ability to frame content in such a way as to follow its own editorial philosophy, as well as the ideological and political policies of the institution that it represents, as proved by the content and photographs placed in *Paratus*, as *Paratus* was one of the few media outlets allowed to publish information/news and photographs of the SADF and military life, as set out by the Defence Act No 44 of 1957, prohibiting anyone or any institution to publish content

related to the SADF without the permission by the Minister or those under his authority. This means that the information and photographs published within *Paratus* were one of a kind, making it that more valuable to those who wished to know more about the SADF, while also framing the content in a biased manner, as no additional information or sources were made available during this time that were not in line with that of the content material of *Paratus*.

Therefore, it can be said that magazines do have the abilities and necessary qualities to make it an effective propaganda dissemination tool, even if it does not rely purely on propaganda devices, but also makes use of mass communication approaches and sub-categories to further a specific agenda of the magazine itself, as well as the institution that it reflects.

7.3. Sub-research question 2: What propaganda devices are evident specifically in *Paratus*?

The list of propaganda devices set out above was used to complete the analysis for propaganda for this study. All of these devices were used at one point or another throughout the timespan of the study, 1970-1988, with some more apparent than others. The glittering generalities device was used most often in all the various facets of *Paratus*, including advertisements, covers and editorial content. As discussed in the previous sub-research question, at point 7.2. the glittering generalities device is comparable to persuasion, which is one of the key approaches of advertisements. Therefore, the advertisements placed within the magazine sought to represent and promote the very best of the product, service, or in some cases both a product and service. As noted in the data analysis and discussion sections of this dissertation, other elements of advertisements were also identified, such as study, training and employment opportunities. It has already been argued by the researcher that the advertisements as a component of the editorial philosophy of the magazine did not attempt to convey a propaganda message, but rather to endorse that what was being advertised. Even though the majority of the advertisements placed did not make use of propaganda devices, it is argued that the companies that bought the adspace are telling of the economic and political situation of South Africa in the context of the Border War. The second filter of the PM notes that the selling of adspace is one of the most important sources of income for mass media and as a result the media discourses are more likely to reflect the interests of the advertisers and their markets. This comes across clearly in the advertisements placed in *Paratus*, with institutional interests deemed the most importance, as SADF placed the most advertisements within the magazine over the timespan of the study, while armaments industry related companies were prominent

in the buying of adspace. The link between the armaments industry and the SADF (and the NP) was made clear in the number of advertisements placed, the employment opportunities made available and articles published on the profiles of the armaments industry, with notable interest in Armscor.

The glittering generalities device was also apparent in the content as well as the covers of the magazine. The device sought to highlight the best of the SADF from a variety of angles, including sport (as a leisure activity, while simultaneously promoting physical wellness and superiority), technology (in terms of a wide range of armaments made by the South African armaments industry – a particular point of pride for the SADF), new establishments within the SADF (such as new headquarters and new military hospitals), as well as the good deeds of the SADF (apart from protecting the country from a militaristic perspective, the SADF attempted to assist the country in times of crises, such as mountain rescues done by the SAAF, helping out at a hospital when the workers were on strike, and WHAM projects conducted in South West Africa in attempt to gain the support of the local people). All of these various approaches suggest that the magazine made use of strategic communication as a means to highlight the positives of the SADF and in turn gain support of the public as well as the members of the SADF, specifically to create consensus for the war effort, as well as national service, which were both very important strategies implemented within *Paratus*.

Other than the glittering generalities device, another significant approach used was the transfer propaganda device, and this was particularly notable in the editorial content of *Paratus*. The device refers to both religious and national symbols, with both occurring within the magazine. The transfer device was used as religious motivation for both the Border War and national service, as well as fostering patriotism in readers as well as members of the public in terms of duty towards one's country. It is interesting to note here that patriotism did not automatically mean that Afrikaner nationalism was implied; rather patriotism appeared to come across as more inclusive, rather than just aiming the Afrikaans white community of South Africa. However, the patriotism was still aimed at a country encased in apartheid policy, however the use of patriotism rather than nationalism appears to be a deliberate attempt to appear less radicalised. Several articles related to conscientious objection were published throughout the magazine, normally with an authority figure such as the Chaplain General of SADF putting the minds at ease of the objectors by stating that it is the Christian duty to aid one's country in times of conflict, while Christian values in a paternalistic and patriarchal society such as respect for the authority figure, abiding the law of the land, and women supporting their husbands in

their duty, were stressed throughout the magazine. Explicit national symbols were also published, and encapsulated in one article on the flag anthem, as well as the publishing of the music and lyrics of the anthem. The transfer device was also apparent on the covers of the magazine, by making use of symbols once again. These symbols included the Voortrekker monument, the Bible, the Delville Wood Museum, and the national flag of NP, all of which shed light on the importance of historical signs and representations, while pressing the need for Christianity and patriotism in a wartime setting.

The testimonial device was also used often within *Paratus*. The testimonial device also often refer to an authority figure and there it is important to note that the masthead/title of the magazine itself was used as a testimonial device This is because the magazine associated itself in an official capacity with the SADF by noting that it is the “official periodical of the SADF” – this was mentioned either on the cover of the magazine or in the table of contents, or both, and even taken further by making mention of it in editor’s letters, Christmas messages from higher-upper ranking members of the SADF or in articles published in the magazine. As the magazine’s editorial team was also militarised from 1970 onwards, with the inception of the name change of the magazine, one can also argue that this militarisation also furthered the testimonial device, by explicitly affirming that the SADF and *Paratus* were associated with one another in a formal manner. The authority figure was also presented in some of the articles that were addressed to the readers by the Minister of Defence, Chief of the SADF and even the Prime Minister in extraordinary cases, such as the commemorative issue of *Paratus* in 1974. The testimonial device affirmed the authoritative status of *Paratus* itself.

Several of the propaganda devices found in the magazine can be regarded as similar to one another; this included the anti-communism filter, as set out by the PM, name calling device, atrocity stories and guilt fixed on enemy, as these devices all linked to one theme: Communism. Communism was regarded as a big motivator for the continuation of the Border War. As the Border War was often argued to be part of the larger Cold War ensuing Europe and USA, the use of the rhetoric of “Communism” was well known during the 1960s to 1980s in all spheres of life. One of the approaches used to motivate the continuous Border War was to place the focus on the Southern African situation in the greater Cold War setting, where Communist countries, most notably Russia and Cuba, were interfering in specifically Angola. South Africa self-proclaimed it as the technological and power authority of Southern Africa and therefore deemed it as its responsibility to get and remain involved in conflicts surrounding the South African border. All of the above-mentioned propaganda devices (name calling, atrocity stories,

guilt fixed on enemy and anti-communism filter) all contributed to the condemnation of Communism, while the rhetoric of Communism was used to describe any threat of the South African, Christian way of life. The term “terrorist” (as a name calling device) was used for both the internal and external conflict that the SADF and NP faced, and attempted to denounce any act, which was often called the anti-apartheid struggle, as anarchistic and therefore one would face an appropriate punishment. The band wagon device was used relatively often on the covers of the magazine as a means to include, especially through the symbol that was the national servicemen, while this was often combined with the plain folks device to describe the national serviceman as “every day” and “ordinary”, but still needed in order to protect one’s country. These last two propaganda devices were not often used in the magazine, and one can argue that this is because there was a need to motivate national service and rather than to make the act seem less than it was, or to describe it as “ordinary”, tangible benefits set out by authority figures and religious motivators were used instead to encourage the members of the public.

The second filter of the PM also proved to be valuable in the analysis of *Paratus*, specifically related to advertisements. The companies that have been identified from the advertisements could be seen to have some influence on the SADF, such as SADFI (the SADF’s own institute), and companies from the armaments industry, such as Sandock-Austral, Gencor and Armscor. This proposes that the PM still adds value, in conjunction with other more traditional propaganda devices, to the analysis of propaganda despite its criticisms.

7.4. Sub-research question 3: How did the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* change during the Border War?

The editorial philosophy of any magazine attempts to capture the purpose of that magazine’s existence. It has been established in Chapter 6 that the primary focus of *Paratus* was to be a worthy representative of the SADF, by keeping readers up to date on issues pertaining to the Defence Force, while ultimately striving to build and maintain brotherhood and camaraderie and simultaneously champion cooperation and better the reputation of the SADF. This philosophy was already explicitly stated in 1974 and reinforced again by Moll (1980). It sought to mirror the events of the SADF, while focusing on news, leisure, companionship and authority. The overarching editorial philosophy, in terms of mirroring the events of the SADF, did not change during the timespan of the study, however the SADF did appear to alter some of its ideological stance as proven in some elements of the editorial philosophy that did change during the timespan, as the magazine was put under pressure due to the political, economic and

social context of apartheid South Africa. Some of the most noticeable changes will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

Only a handful (three) editor's letters were published in the entirety of the timespan analysed, with all of these letters appearing at the beginning years of the analysis. This was replaced by more directed letters conveying a Christmas message by high-ranking members of the SADF, such as the Minister of Defence, Chief of the SADF and the Chaplain General of the SADF. Apart from the editor's letters the readers' letters also proved to change through the years. It has been discussed that the readers' letters provided the readers to debate and discuss previous articles published in the magazine in order to better the articles or correct mistakes that have been made. This suggest an active involvement and interaction with the content published in the magazine, rather than just passively accepting the content as the truth. However, this only proved to be true for the early years within the magazine, specifically 1970, 1971 and 1973. This made way for letters of thanks directed at the SADF and *Paratus* itself, letters to form communities (for example reunions and vacation homes for members of the SADF), and interestingly an international readership base with specific dates of 1978 and 1981 (dates that coincide with the recession felt very heavily in the South African economy, suggesting that support from an international market was needed more than ever). In relation to interaction from readers of the magazine, a complaint section was established in 1983 providing readers and members of the SADF to list their complaints, while the complaints were given attention to, with a reply published in the magazine along with the complaint. This was done in order to address any issues that could cause demotivation in the national servicemen, while simultaneously bettering the reputation of the SADF.

In terms of covers, a stark contrast can be seen in the first cover analysed in 1970 that featured an almost luxurious ship, while the last cover analysed in 1988 featured black soldiers marching, with the national flag placed front and centre. This suggest that a clear ideological shift has been made (with inclusion and nationalist pride being two key areas that needed to be represented in the magazine). The magazine stated that from the March 1973 issue no more advertisements were going to be placed in *Paratus* as it took up too much editorial space, this decision was short lived as advertisements were once again a feature from 1977, growing steadily with an all time high in 1981. More advertisements were needed due to a lack of funds not only available to the magazine, but the SADF and the country at large. It is also significant that from 1978 onwards the magazine also started to include previously marginalised members of society, with a focus on inclusion of black people and women (with a dedicated women's

page/column/section established in 1981). These articles were stereotypical in nature and not encompassing enough, meaning that these marginalised groups remained underrepresented. Women's roles were often described to be auxiliary even though the SAAWC was established in 1971 already, with typical roles included making packages for men on borders, flower arrangements, interviews with wives of members of the SADF, self-defence for women, and supporting one's husband in his line of duty. Black people's representation normally came in the view of battalions with the 121 Battalion a notable feature, as well as the 101 Battalion. Other than this, after a bomb attack in Pretoria the attack was used to rally people, black and white, condemning terrorism and those who put innocent people's lives in danger – this again however was only a small sample of the black population therefore a fair representation and perspective was never published in the magazine.

A clear point of importance for the editorial philosophy can be seen in the advocating of the morale and motivation for national servicemen (which is a key focus throughout the magazine). This can be seen in the various study, training and employment opportunities made available to national servicemen specifically, with the advertisements usually explicitly stating that national service will play a factor either in your suitability for the work opportunity or the salary indication. This was done to reward the national servicemen for their active duty of two years for the SADF and their country, as well as making the men ready to play their part in society and specifically in the economic environment of South Africa. As several of these employment opportunities resided in the armaments industry, one once again sees the affiliation between the armaments industry and the SADF, as well as the continuous need to train and employ people with the necessary skills to work in the industry, as a result of the boycotts and armaments embargoes against South Africa. Several discounts were also made available to national servicemen in various outlets, notably by SADFI, the official outlet store dedicated to the SADF, which was only available to members of the SADF as well as Krygkor, Armscor and their respective subsidiaries. Support was given to national servicemen through the various auxiliary forces, led by women organisation, in which Christmas packages were delivered to the men on the border, as well as "Ride Safe" schemas were created to assist national servicemen to arrive safely at their destination. Leisure activities were made available to the national servicemen; this was apparent in the advertisements as well as the editorial content. Advertisements of alcohol and cigarettes suggested that the members of the SADF and particularly the national servicemen made use of these substances in leisure activities (although the SADF discouraged expenditure on these products in editorial content). Another key

advertisement genre established was that of vehicles, again reinforcing stereotypical norms of masculinity, while catering to a more luxurious as well as leisure activities for the national servicemen. Sport made up the final leisure activity that was published in *Paratus* and this subsection of the magazine was found regularly within the magazine. Importance was placed on physical wellness by encouraging members of the SADF as well as national servicemen to take part in the various sport activities made available to them. This reinforced masculine prowess, while also encouraging friendly competition between the members as well as build camaraderie and team spirit within the SADF. The motivation and morale of the national servicemen were deemed so important, another initiative was established in 1981 with the introduction of a Penpals section, in which members of the public could send *Paratus* their personal information, such as name, address and hobbies, which would then be published within the magazine so that national servicemen on the border could then write to these members of public. This was implemented to assist national servicemen to maintain relationships within society, as well as reinforce wartime gender roles, as the people that submitted their information for correspondence were exclusively female, therefore the wartime ideals of “something to fight for” and “something to return home to” were promoted. The editorial philosophy placed more emphasis on motivating and maintaining morale of the national servicemen from the late 1970s onwards, as End Conscription Campaigns (ECC) gained momentum and support.

7.5. Sub-research question 4: Did the changes in the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* influence the propaganda devices used?

Since a magazine consists of several components, this particular question becomes easier to answer when the components are discussed individually.

A form of rebranding can be seen on the covers of *Paratus* from 1975 with a new font chosen for the masthead/title, as well as the more exuberant use of colour both in the masthead as well in the images chosen for the cover. It has already been discussed that 1975 and 1976 proved important years within the SADF and the way in which the SADF approached its public relations specifically with that of the media and the people of South Africa, therefore it can be argued that the changes in the imagery (such as an image of a ship in the first cover in 1970 and then an image of black soldiers with the national flag of the apartheid government in 1988), colour usage (more muted and neutral colours used in the beginnings years, with this changing due to technology and purposeful decision-making and fonts for the masthead/title may have been a deliberate act to attempt to change the perception of *Paratus* and in turn change the

perception of the SADF itself. Therefore, the propaganda devices used on the covers reflected the rebranding as well as brand management as seen in glittering generalities. While the covers were seen more neutral at the beginning years, the transfer device became more apparent especially from the 1980s onwards.

In terms of advertisements, certain trends were found, such as savings in terms of financial related services were published more frequently from 1977 to 1988, while vehicles were published from 1979-1983, SADF featured more advertisements between 1979-1986, while Sandock-Austral published sporadically from 1979-1987, and study, training and employment opportunities were advertised from 1981-1988. As the majority of propaganda devices were glittering generalities, one cannot really indicate any significant trend in terms of changes in propaganda devices.

Very few notable trends were realised in the editorial content of the magazine, with the majority of the content already described in the editorial philosophy and purpose of the magazine, with regular reports on the happenings within the SADF the most prominent feature. Therefore, it is difficult to pinpoint specific changes in propaganda devices used. As the ideological stance (the fight against Communism and efforts to protect Southern African interests, highly motivated by the apartheid policy and religious beliefs) of the Border War did not alter in a mentionable manner, the editorial content followed a similar suit and pattern throughout the course of the Border War. The transfer device increased in 1981, but this was mainly due to the increase of content from that specific issue, which led to an increase in more propaganda devices. The anti-Communism filter increased in usage in the years 1978, 1979, 1982 and 1987, one can relate this to dire economic situation in South Africa specifically in the late 1970s due to various sanctions; blame was shifted towards Communism and therefore renewed efforts were needed to combat the opposing ideology, while the ECC started in the 1980s, national service was once again reiterated of vital importance specifically against Communism (as well as the internal struggles that the country faced). By the late 1980s the Border War was at breaking point, and still no clear victor could be established, therefore, renewed efforts were need to motivate the final years of the Border War and thus the narrative of Communism, total onslaught and total strategy was used, in concordance with the same challenges faced in the Cold War.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the propaganda devices used were not influenced by the changes in the editorial philosophy, as the editorial philosophy remained, for the most part,

unchanged, and where changes were implemented, such as the inclusion of marginalised groups, the glittering generalities device was used as a strategic communication approach in order to better the reputation of the SADF in the light of an international readership (as could be seen in the language usage that moved towards a more English-based magazine from 1981 onwards). Strategic communication, agenda-setting and framing were used throughout the magazine and could be seen in the changes of the editorial philosophy, while the predetermined propaganda devices were less likely to change.

7.6. Main research question: To what extent was *Paratus* used as a propaganda medium for the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, in terms of its editorial philosophy, during the Border War?

Throughout the analysis from a propaganda perspective, one can determine that propaganda definitely did form part of the editorial philosophy, specifically in the content and on the covers of *Paratus*. Propaganda devices did not feature significantly in the advertisements, although the advertisements still revealed the importance of certain companies associated with the magazine and as an extension, the SADF itself, most notable SADF and companies of the armaments industry, such as Sandock-Austral, Gencor and Armscor, which alluded to the second filter of the PM. This suggests that the PM still has merits in the study of propaganda, despite criticisms for promoting a conspiratorial view of media (Rai 1995: 42) and that the PM is not as comprehensive as would be preferable and does not decipher or take account of everything, in every context (Klaehn 2009: 52-53). By implementing a comprehensive view of propaganda devices, while acknowledging the value of the PM, the researcher is able to find a more representative analysis and ultimate findings of propaganda used in the magazine.

It can be seen that mass communication approaches share similar qualities and characteristics with that of the definition of propaganda and with propaganda devices, for example strategic communication and the glittering generalities device, which was the propaganda device used most regularly, but also notably in almost all editorial content and covers (249 advertisements used glittering generalities out of a total of 371 advertisements placed in the magazine; 11 covers used glittering generalities out of a total of 19 covers; 597 editorial content elements used glittering generalities out of a total of 843 editorial content elements). This proves to be significant as the importance of brand management of not only *Paratus*, but the SADF itself as well, proved one of the main strategies implemented within the magazine. As the SADF was in direct affiliation with the NP, one notices that the same ideology of Afrikaner nationalism

as represented in the apartheid policy was promoted (white people of the country as the superior race, and superpower of Southern Africa, while the Afrikaner people were the chosen “volk” (people) by God), therefore, any promotion of the SADF itself as an institution, simultaneously promoted the apartheid government and policy.

In terms of other propaganda devices used, it has been established that even in the instances that glittering generalities as a propaganda device was not accounted for, more propaganda devices were used as opposed to the cases with no propaganda usage, specifically in the covers and editorial content of the magazine. This, again, supports the notion that propaganda did indeed form part of the editorial philosophy of the magazine.

Since Afrikaner nationalism can be argued to be in conjunction with Afrikaner Calvinism (meaning that both share similar qualities and reinforce one another), the researcher is once again inclined to state that *Paratus* furthered the Afrikaner nationalism ideology, as can be seen in the numerous instances of the use of the transfer propaganda device. The transfer device encapsulated Afrikaner symbolism, while supporting and furthering Afrikaner Calvinism in the form of Christianity. Afrikaner Calvinism was used as religious motivation for the Border War, as Christian values and way of life were allegedly being put under threat by Communism (in the greater context), while political unrest within South Africa contributed to this growing threat, as well as motivation for the ongoing Border War that stretched a generation. Afrikaner Calvinism was used as religious rationale for national service and the need for the support and contribution of the public to national servicemen, using nationalistic and jingoistic rhetoric to instil a sense of duty to one’s country in the face of a threat. Afrikaner Calvinism was used again as religious justification for unquestioning loyalty and respect for authority, encapsulated in the form of the NP and SADF, while suitable Christian consequences were awaiting those who did not adhere to these institutions of power (government and military), for example prison sentences if one did not contribute to national service, loss of military kit, and publications of an authorised content related to the SADF.

In order to reinforce the total strategy and total onslaught narrative of the SADF and NP, several other propaganda devices were used, often used simultaneously; these devices included: name calling device, guilt fixed on enemy, anti-Communism filter and atrocity stories. These devices were used to justify the Border War by identifying the enemy and condemning their actions and describing these actions as terrorism and anarchistic; the devices also aided in the rationalisation of the SADF’s own acts in defence of South Africa and the Southern African

interests. Furthermore, these narratives also bought into the international anti-Communism ideologies that formed a corner stone of the Cold War that happened simultaneously with the Border War. This provided another justification for the ongoing Border War, as the fight against Communism internationally was at the time also still be fought. This means that although elements of the Afrikaner nationalism and Calvinism ideologues were present in *Paratus*, much of the rhetoric used suggest that alternative ideologies were also a present feature in the editorial philosophy of the magazine. This may have been a means by which Afrikaner nationalist propagandists masked their ideology in order to keep white South Africans committed to their cause. The propaganda used in *Paratus* had to be more extensive than a narrow Afrikaner nationalism in order to reach other members of the white South African population, namely the English-speaking communities, as well as interested international parties.

In terms of advocating, the magazine sought to maintain support for national service, the Border War and build the reputation of the SADF particularly of an international audience, but also of the South African public. This was done through propaganda devices and more traditional mass communication approaches, with specific attention given to strategic communication, found in the various elements that make up the editorial philosophy of *Paratus*. The magazine essentially became a mouthpiece for the SADF. Although the magazine revealed that it implemented systematic and deliberate decisions in terms of its content in order to promote the Border War and national service, while supporting the Afrikaner nationalist and Calvinistic ideologies, various editorial content elements did not intend to promote any of these facets, but fundamentally sought to promote and endorse the SADF itself: to provide it with recognition of authority, technological prowess, camaraderie and friendly competition within the Defence Force itself in order to build and maintain relationships. By preserving these facets, the status of the SADF would strengthen, and as a result, as an authority figure (by making use of the testimonial propaganda device), could enforce better support for national service in the continuing Border War. The magazine proved to be authoritative in style, but simultaneously served as a mentor and guide to the members of the SADF, specifically the national servicemen, by acting as a companion. The very best of the SADF was highlighted and published frequently, with intermittent reminders of the Border War, the total onslaught, Communism, internal struggles and the need, as Christians, for national service. It can therefore be concluded that the magazine was used as a propaganda medium to support and further the Afrikaner ideology to a large extent, while also providing the readers (which consisted mainly of the members of

the SADF) with a companion and source of friendly information and tidbits on the SADF and those that made up the SADF, resulting in it being a news dissemination medium, that included regular topics induced in propaganda.

7.7. Limitations of study

Limitations in terms of the research methodology has been discussed in Chapter 4. These limitations proved to restrict the potential of the findings of the study. The lack of multiple case studies causes the study of *Paratus* to act in isolation and results have to function on its own with no possibility of comparing different findings from other cases. However, the results of this study can be compared to other similar studies in future. Instead the literature review was used to ground the findings with that of similar studies. Due to the lack of cases that are similar both in medium (military magazine) and timespan (the Border War spans over two decades, with 19 years investigated for the sake of this case study; very few wars span such a great number of years), it is difficult to find a suitable cases or even multiple cases that *Paratus* can be compared to. This means that the researcher becomes inclined to suggest that this is how military magazines behave as a propaganda medium, which results in an over-generalisation. It is therefore necessary to be clear that this is a unique case and that the results may not necessarily translate to future related studies on wartime communication in an official magazine.

Furthermore, the study does not feature any interviews with members of the editorial board of *Paratus*. Again, this means that the study is at risk of being biased, however this decision was made in order to place the focus on the content itself, and what pure content (including advertisements and covers) revealed about the editorial philosophy – which can be more telling than what people envisioned a magazine to be.

Finally, *Paratus* did not function as the sole method of communication for the SADF, but rather was one medium in a larger functioning strategic communication machine. This study did not investigate alternative communication methods that the SADF used, and therefore one is not able to compare the findings of *Paratus* with the communication strategies of the SADF as a whole. However, this proves to be an opportunity for a suggested future related study (refer to point 7.9.).

7.8. Value of study

The primary original contribution of this study is its examination of an official Defence Force publication during wartime, from the viewpoint of pro-war communication. The research added to and built upon the existing scholarship related to Border War studies, with a specific focus on communication by the SADF during a period of war. The magazine proved to be an invaluable source of information on the SADF and its operations, because of the censorship placed on the publication of information of the military not authorised by the SADF or NP, and therefore, the findings of this study can be applied to other historical studies related to the SADF during the Border War.

Furthermore, the study also enhances propaganda studies in an international context, as the results of the case of *Paratus* revealed that propaganda devices, specifically that of the IPA and Lasswell's original propaganda studies, as well as the PM are suitable and effective approaches to analyse military magazines as a genre. By having examined *Paratus* it is also argued that a magazine can be a successful medium for propaganda dissemination if the main purpose is to maintain support of the propagandist's ideological stance. The traditional propaganda devices prove to stand the test of time and are appropriate for various different settings (since these approaches were created for a United States audience and perspective).

7.9. Suggested future related studies

Paratus can be seen as a cornucopia of information, and therefore it is understandable that the magazine is frequently used as a source in Border War related studies. Various topics became apparent in the examination and duration of the study, and therefore several related studies have been identified in relation to *Paratus* and communication done by the SADF. Some of these topics include:

- Topical research done on the representation of black people (including the military context) in *Paratus*. A similar study has already been completed by Moll (1981), however he only examined a few articles published on the 121 Battalion (a black battalion). It would be interesting to note how black people were represented as a sole focus of a study, therefore gaining a fairer representation that has been completed in this current study.
- Visual and content analysis on the penpals section identified from 1981, in order to establish whether the letters were effective in their attempt to boost morale of members of the SADF on the borders, to identify what topics of discussion were prevalent, and whether the correspondence and relationships were maintained after the war.

- Reception study on readers' letters as a means to survey the overall interaction of readers with the magazine and how the magazine maintained relationships with a close-knitted community.
- Reception of the magazine in South West Africa, whether it was indeed read there even though it was distributed to the country, and to establish if it influenced the readers' perception of the SADF and its efforts to gain support for the South West African people.
- A comparison study between *K(C)ommando* and *Paratus*. This particular study can have different approaches such as to identify whether the magazine promoted the Defence Force in similar fashion during previous wars as in the Border War, and to investigate whether the two magazines shared a similar editorial philosophy, specifically the issues before the name change ensued.
- Complete overview of the various advertisements and editorial content regarding training, study and employment opportunities made available to national servicemen, in order to establish whether the companies did indeed go through with the opportunities provided, and how these opportunities impacted the companies and economic situation of South Africa.
- An investigation into the magazine after the end of the Border War. As the end of the Border War also signified the approaching end of the apartheid policy, the editorial philosophy would be prone to change.
- An investigation into the international readership base: to see how the magazine was distributed, marketed, consumed and perceived.
- Complete overview of religious content and how it was embedded in the SADF specifically.
- Investigation into the various efforts of the auxiliary forces and the representation within *Paratus*.
- Complete overview of the various sub-components of the SADF in terms of battalions, infantries, squadrons and units in order to establish to what extent and why it was important to represent all of these components and what it can reveal about the SADF.
- Comparative study between *Paratus* and other publications on cold war propaganda of the period, specifically from an international perspective and comparison.
- Comparative study between *Paratus* and anti-apartheid propaganda material, for example *Inkululeko Freedom* and/or *Searchlight*.

In terms of a larger study related to communication in an official capacity done by the SADF, it becomes necessary to examine the strategic communication efforts implemented by the SADF in all the communications made available to members of the SADF and to the public in order to compare the findings with that of the official magazine and to understand the greater context of communication within an official institution. Such a study would then have to investigate the Director Public Relations, Senior Staff Officer Magazines, SSO Communication Services as well as communicative officers of the South African Navy, South

African Airforce and the South African Army, in order to establish the overall policies and approaches to communication in a militaristic setting, during a war-inflicted context.

7.10. Conclusion

This study was borne out of the lack of communication research related to the Border War, as well as the larger scope of official communication done in a war setting in international scholarship. Propaganda is often associated with wartime communication due to the deliberate and systematic nature of the communication that is either for the war effort or against the ensuing war. Apartheid South Africa face many challenges, both internally and on its borders, and as the Border War continued, pro-war fervour made way for doubt and scepticism in the South African public. This was especially instigated by the lack of communication and honesty of the South African involvement in Angola in 1975/1976 that caused mistrust among South Africans, therefore it proved true that pro-state and pro-war communication was necessary as a means to suppress and contain objectors of the continuous warfare, and in turn promote the militaristic values encapsulated by the apartheid Nationalistic rhetoric.

It has been established that *Paratus* proved to be an insightful and necessary archive to Border War related studies, as well as the topic at hand, namely propaganda. Therefore, the study contributed to existing scholarship related to Border War studies, as well as propaganda studies in an international context. As *Paratus* is the official magazine of the SADF, one gathers that the content disseminated in it comes from a credible and official source, the SADF itself. The description by Moll (1981: 20) of the magazine proved to be true, as the magazine did indeed “mirror events and developments” of the SADF. Moll (1981: 20) stated that *Paratus* was the most notable “organ for dissemination of military propaganda”, therefore, it becomes an important case to investigate in order to gain a better understanding of the SADF’s stance on the creation of propaganda and to act as a political mouthpiece for both the SADF and NP. It has been found that propaganda did make up part of the magazine, attempting to promote and support national service in the light of the ongoing Border War, by also continuously reinforcing the need for the war effort against Communism and the South African way of life, and also referring to the Southern African interests that were South Africa’s responsibility as being the economic and technological power of Southern Africa. The propaganda was highly motivated by the Afrikaner national and Calvinism ideologies and was reflected in the content and covers of the magazine, by making use of national symbols such as the Voortrekker monument and the national flag, as well as religious motivators such as God’s chosen people

and the need to protect Christian values in the face of terrorism and anarchism. Therefore, this suggests that the overall ideology of the magazine's mother institution (whether it be the SADF and/or NP) became apparent in the magazine's editorial philosophy, specifically captured in its editorial content.

However, the magazine also proved to reflect mass communication methods, specifically agenda-setting theory, framing and strategic communication approaches (strategic communication approaches is also reflected in the glittering generalities propaganda device) in order to promote and support the SADF as an institution. As encapsulated in the purpose of the magazine, the magazine set out to reflect the SADF, providing prevalent information to the readers related to the Defence Force, and fundamentally establishing and maintaining relationships within the SADF, while also bolstering the reputation of the SADF. The majority of the magazine consisted of the aim to improve the reputation and perception of the SADF, as could be identified in the numerous publications on the heroic acts of the SADF, the help that the SADF provided in South West Africa, the various technological advances of the SADF and its affiliations such as the armaments industry, new establishments within the SADF such as of new headquarters and military hospitals, advocating sport as leisure and camaraderie activities, as well as reinforcing physical prowess and capability, and readers' letters giving thanks to *Paratus* and the SADF. Even a limited representation of previously marginalised groups suggested inclusiveness and an openness to change within the SADF.

It can therefore be concluded that the majority of the makeup of the editorial philosophy of *Paratus* made use of the glittering generalities device in conjunction with strategic communication approaches, in order to promote the SADF and its functions within society. It furthered the apartheid policy, by advocating the Border War and the need for national service, through the means of the transfer device which made use of nationalistic and Calvinistic symbols and content. Finally, the magazine cannot be solely considered to be a propaganda medium, it can also be regarded as a companion and guide, with interesting pieces of information pertaining to the SADF, and specifically the members that formed the institution.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Master list for propaganda devices

MASTER LIST FOR PROPAGANDA DEVICES	
Device	Identifier/Criteria
Anti-communism filter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anarchy - ANC - Communist - Communist ideology - Communist-inspired - Dangerous - Kremlinology - Marxist - Marxist Imperialism - Marxist-intruder - Pro-Marxist - Psychological warfare - References to ideology, specifically against communism - Russia - Russian and Chinese communism in Africa - Russian Imperialism - Socialism - Soviet global strategy - Soviet Union power growth - Soviet Union projected Marxism as an ideology of hope - Soviet-inspired disruption - Soviets - Soviets attempt a war that is waged with propaganda - Terrorist - Total Russian onslaught
Atrocity stories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abominable deed of violence - Arson - Barbaric deed - Brutally murdered - Car bomb attack - Chaos - Cowardly attack - Despair - Disruption - Emaciated - Extinction of mankind - Fatalism - Fear - Frightened - Haggard - Indoctrination - Killed in action - Mangled mess - Nuclear holocaust - Onslaught - Riots - Sabotage - Smiling while his men kill - Terror - The act of terror was inexcusable - Total onslaught - Tragic - Trauma - Ugliest thing I have ever seen in my life - Unrest - Unthinkable - Violence - Wounded

Band wagon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Everybody’s doing it” - Conscription (diensplig) - Soldier (Troepie)
Card stacking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Censorship - Distortion - Lies - Untruths (negative things mentioned)
Glittering generalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abilities - Academic qualifications - Action - Active - Admire - Advantage - Aids - Alive - Anchor - Angel - Appreciation - Assured - Attractive - Beautiful - Benefit(s) - Best - Better relationships - Big - Big chance - Big plans - Biggest - Boldly - Boss horse - Breath taking - Bright - Brilliant - Bring relief - Brotherhood - Build - Building - Calibre - Camaraderie - Captain - Care - Changing of attitudes - Cheerful - Closest - Comfort - Competent - Comprehensive - Compulsive reading - Consolation - Constitution-defender - Cool - Cooperation - Coped extremely well under pressure - Courage - Cultured - Dedicated - Dedication - Deep insight - Defending - Delicious - Democracy - Democratic - Determination - Development

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discipline - Double savings - Dream - Duty - Duty before self - Dynamic - Earn - Easier - Economical - Educational - Effective - Efficiency - Efficient - Elegant - Emigration slowed down - Energetic - Enjoy - Enjoyment - Enlightened - Enriching - Ensure - Entertain - Enthusiasm - Envable record - Everything - Excellent career - Excellent cooperation - Excellent relationships with locals - Exceptional - Exciting - Exclusive - Expertly - Experts - Family - Family atmosphere - Fantastic - Fascinating - Fast - Fastest - Favourite - Feast - Feels at home - Feminine - Fine - Finest - First - Fitness - Forerunners - Free - Free world - Freedom - Fun - Future - Generosity - Giant - Goal-perfect action - Gold - Good - Good fortune - Good health - Good judgement - Good service - Goodwill - Gorgeously
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Great - Great care - Great distinction - Greatest - Grow - Growing - Growth - Guarantee - Guardian - Handsome - Happy - Hard as granite - Hard work - Healthy - Heart - Help - Heritage - Heroes - High standard - Highest - Highlights - Highly impressed - Home defence - Honour - Hope - Hospitality - Household name - Humanitarian work - Ideal - Idyllic - Illustrious - Immense style - Important - Impressive - Improve - Improving - Increase effectiveness - Incredible - Informative - Ingenuity - Insurance policy - Integral - Interesting - Job guide - Joyous - King - Know - Knowledgeable (ingeligte) - Latest - Leader - Leadership - Leading - Liberty - Like Father like daughter - Limited - Live - Live and fight another day - Lively - Love - Loving care - Loyalty - Lucky - Lucrative - Machine
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Made-man - Magnificent - Major role - Man of the year - Massive - Master - Masterpiece - Member - Men made of iron - Mettle - Mighty - Modern - Modern woman - Modernisation - Moral strength - Morale - More job opportunities for non-whites in Airforce - More power - Most comprehensive - Most important - Most reliable - Neat - New - New heights - No-hassle - Oasis of life – protected by the SADF - One of a kind - Opportunities - Our - Our guy - Our proud military history - Our young men - Outstanding - Outstanding pilot - Outstanding qualities - Pageant - Parade - Paradise - Peace - Perfect - Perfection - Pivotal role - Pleasant - Pleasure - Positive - Power - Powerful - Praise - Praiseworthy - Prepared - Preparedness - Pretty - Pride - Prince - Privilege - Professional - Profitable - Progress (or the idea of progress) - Promotion - Prosperity - Prosperous - Protection - Proud - Public service
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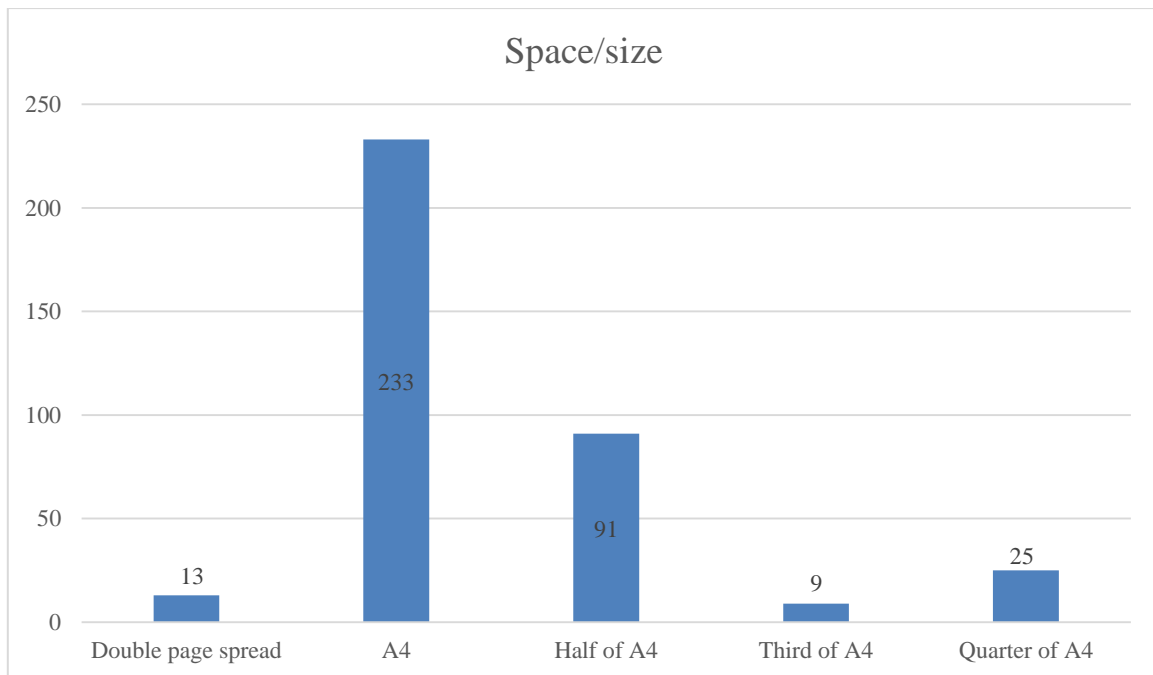
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Pure- Quality- Queen- Rare- Ready- Recommended- Refreshing- Relaxed atmosphere- Reliability- Rescue- Respect- Respected- Responsibility- Revolution- Rewarding- Right- Right to work- Roar- SAAF was his life- Sacrifice- Safeguard- Safely- Safer- Satisfied- Save- Save resourcefully- Second to no other- Secure- Security of everyone- Serve- Serving- Shall overcome our problems- Sheer ingenuity- Shine- Significantly- Simple- Skilled- Smile- Social- Social justice- Sought after- Special- Specialised course- Specialist- Spiritual preparedness- Stalwarts- Stamina- Strength- Success- Successful- Super- Sweetest- Talent- Tall- Teamwork- Technological revolution- Thankful- Thanks soldier!- The American way- Thorough knowledge- Thrill- Through thick and thin- To the top- Togetherness
--	--

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tomorrow - Top - Top management - Top men - Tops - Traditional - Tranquillity - Treated as diplomatic guests - Tremendous - Trust - Trusted - Truth - Ultimate - Unique - University - Up to expectations - Useful - Valuable - Victorious - Vigilant - Virtue words - Vital role - Volunteers - Watchful - Way of life - Well-equipped - Well-known - Western values - White hot - Will to live - Willingness - Winner(s) - Winning side - World - Worldwide - Worthy - Young - Young man - ZR blooms once more as a tourist haven
Goal of war effort	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deadly co-protector of our waters - Destruction - Destruction of enemy - Domination - Extinguished - Hate campaign - Spiritual attack - Wiped out
Guilt fixed on enemy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Angola - Enemy - Enemy wiped out - Know your enemy - SWAPO
Name calling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insurgents (<i>insypelaars</i>) - Militant black nationalists - SWAPO-terrorists - Terrorism - Terrorist organisations - Terrorists - Terrorist-war - Threat
Nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boerekrygers - Cadets in Anglo-Boer War - Commerative museum - Did not die

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First editor - He saved his Caress just for you - Heroic deeds of the past - Historical moment - Historical work - History - Home-made - Memories - References to battles of Second World War - Remembered - Remembering - Reminiscences - Spirit and tradition of the Zulus' military history (Shaka) - There is nothing like a letter from home - Voortrekker women - Wartimes-history - WWII
Plain folk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All work together - Border-men (grensmanne) - Conscription (diensplig) - Dish washer - Every national serviceman - Family - Go for the man's brand - National service - Ordinary - Our - Our guy - Son - The men that knows him - The reason I - There is a [SADF ensign] in your future (<i>daar is 'n [SADF ensign] in u toekoms</i>) - We all know
Testimonial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Approval of Minister of Defence - Authority - Authority figure (e.g. government) - Call for support adhered to by North-Transvaal Cooperation - CSADF's message to the SADF (Boodskap van die Minister) - Expert in his field - Figure/member of SADF - Gary Player is very positive regarding the compulsory NS system in our country - It was worthwhile to me - Official magazine - Parent' thanks to SADF - The reason I - US Chief of Staff during WWII
Transfer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A defence force for our people - A sense of duty to one's country - All the peoples of South Africa - Almighty - Almost a member of the SADF family - Amen - Beautiful land of ours - Belief in the Supreme - Bible - Bible study booklet - Christ - Christian in uniform - Christian struggle - Christmas message - Christ-message - Contribute to the continued safety of South Africa - Creator - Dear Lord

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Divine - Faith - Fatherland - Fight for Christianity in this country - Forgiveness - Forward with South Africa (nationalism/patriotism) - God's happy message - God's richest blessing - Grace - Greater rapport between Government and Defence Force - Heaven - Heavenly Father - His country - History will be written from own shores - Honour of God - Honour to Christ - Jesus - Jesus Christ sacrificed himself for his people - Know your God - Lord's work must be done - Morale of our soldiers of paramount concern - My country - My National Servicemen associated with our Armed Forces - National service - National service is proof of Christianity - Necessity of national service - Our country (Patriotic) - Our waters - Patriotic front - Prayer - Pure South African - Quote from Bible (Bible verses) - Religious prisoner of war - Religious rubric - Religious undertone - Religious/national symbols - Sacrifice for our borders - SADF cares for everyone - SADF uniform - Scripture - Serve our country - South Africa - Spirit of patriotism - Unwavering trust in God - Will fight for his country - Word of God - Worship service - Your country needs you
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Appendix B: Space/size of advertisements/advertorials



The advertisement-space of choice can be seen as a standard A4, with 233 advertisements/advertorials using a full page; this is followed by 91 occurrences of half of an A4 page. A quarter of an A4 page was utilised 25 times, while a double page spread (two A4 pages next to each other) appeared 13 times throughout the timespan of the magazine that is being analysed. A third of an A4 page was utilised nine times.

A third of A4 page was used to advertise a Christmas greeting, storage (four times), job posts (twice), trade in for second-hand cars, and call for action (change personal information if subscribed to *Paratus*). A double page spread was used to advertise engineering related products and services, jewellery specifically rings, electronic products, vehicles (both traditional and motorcycles, this occurred six times), lamps, health and fitness services and services that provide savings accounts. Quarter of A4 page was used to advertise either a combination or singular advertisement for study, training, job opportunities (12 times), alcohol, vehicle, agents and stockists for trucks and buses (four times), surveillance (twice), motoring parts (twice), anti-theft system, and an announcement for a competition winner.

Appendix C: Complete list of companies identified within the advertisements

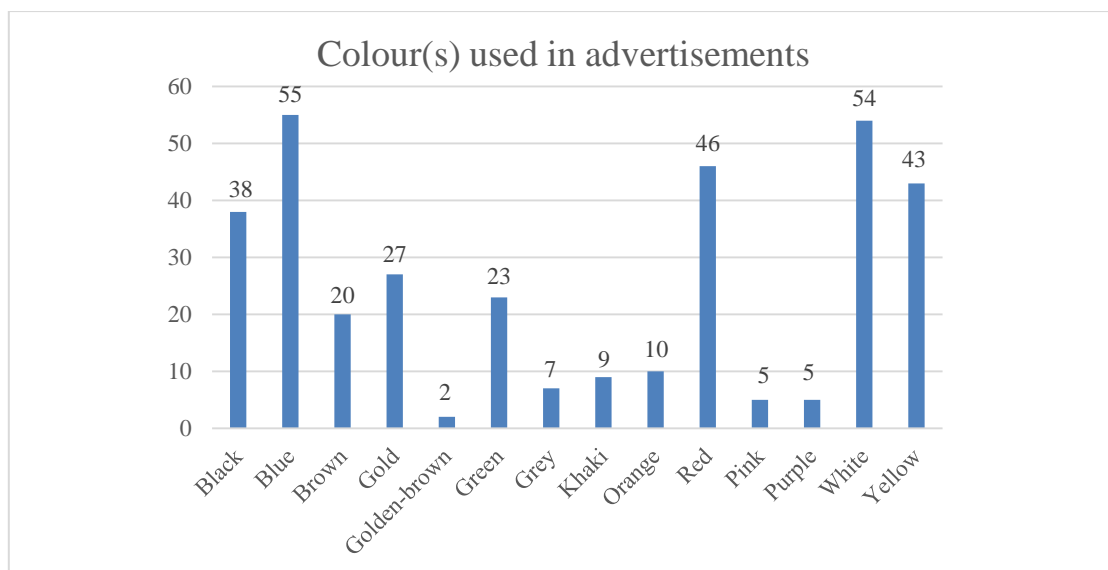
Company	Frequency
SADFI	17
Sandock-Austral Beperk/Limited	8
Ford	8
Allied	7
United	7
Unidentified	6
Volkskas	6
Gencor	5
Volkswagen	5
Barlow's Tractor Co.	4
Elwierda	4
John Rolfe	4
Mazda	4
Murray & Roberts Engineering, Roads and Earthworks (Pty) Limited	4
Old Mutual	4
Saambou-Nasionale Bouvereniging	4
Texan	4
Toyota	4
Anglo American Corporation	3
Basil Read (Pty) Limited	3
BMW	3
De Jongh's Engineering & Motor Co. (Pty.) Ltd.	3
Elliott	3
Galion	3
Gillette	3
Klipdrift	3
Nedbank	3
OFEMA	3
Opel	3
Rand Mines (Mining & Services) Limited	3
Rediffusion	3
Revere	3
Sanlam	3
Winston	3
AE&CI (African Explosives and Chemical Industries Limited)	2
Bell's	2
Carling	2
Consolidated Fine Spinners and Weavers Limited	2
Director of general personnel of Military Academy Saldanha	2
Education & Training Board	2
Feltex	2
Field Aviation South Africa (PTY) Limited.	2
FINAID (EDMS) BPK.	2
Genrec	2
Grünberger	2
Interstate Bus Lines (Edms) Bpk.	2
Kamer van Mynwese	2
Kawasaki	2
Lion Lager	2
Mercedes-Benz	2
Mini Maxi Removals	2
NCR	2
Peugeot	2
Philips Service (Pty) Ltd.	2
Ritmeester Senior	2
SABC/SAUK	2
SASOL	2
Super V Visco-static 20w-50 by BP	2
Telly Sound (Pty.) Ltd.	2
Town Council of Johannesburg	2
Van Zyl & Pritchard (Pty) Limited	2
Aberdare Aycliffe	1
African Products (Pty) Limited	1
Airconcor (Pty) Ltd.	1
Airjack	1
Alex, Aikes & Carter	1
Alus AF	1
AMCOAL	1

American Express Travel Service	1
Association of Pulp, Paper and Board Manufacturers	1
Atlas Vliegtuigkorporasie van Suid-Afrika (EDMS) Bpk.	1
Autocare	1
Autodek	1
AVBOB	1
Bancura	1
Bankorp Groep	1
Bankovs	1
Beacon	1
Bergrivier Textiles Paarl	1
BIFSA	1
Boart Drilling (International Limited)	1
Boland Bank	1
Border Shields	1
Bosch Automotive	1
BP	1
Brooke Marine Ltd (in working association with Dorman Long (Africa) Ltd.	1
Caltex	1
Canon	1
Canon	1
Capital College/Kollege	1
Capital Motors Pretoria	1
Captain Morgan	1
Carborundum-Universal (CUSA)	1
Caress	1
Castle	1
Cerebos Food Corporation Ltd.	1
Chevrolet	1
Churchill Personnel	1
Citylab – professional photolab	1
Clarbex (Pty) Ltd.	1
Clark Little Atlas Mast System by Dowson & Dobson Ltd.	1
Clicks	1
CM	1
Corobrik	1
D. Clark (Pty.) Ltd.	1
Daihatsu	1
Datsun	1
David Brink-centre	1
DEFY	1
Don Carlos Hotel & Health Spa	1
Dorbyl Limited	1
Drury Wickman Limited	1
Dufour	1
East Rand Proprietary Mines, Ltd.	1
Everite (Firbre-cement)	1
Evinrude Outboard Motors by Autolec Ltd.	1
EVKOM	1
Exclusive Gold Manufacturers (Edms) Bpk.	1
FedMech	1
Foto Cats	1
Fraser & Chalmers Equipment	1
General Mining	1
Germiston Motor Groep	1
Government (NP)	1
Grindrod King Travel (Pty.)Ltd.	1
Grosvenor Industrial Engines Ltd.	1
Gundle Plastics	1
H.J. Henocksberg (Pty.) Ltd.	1
Haak & Hewgill	1
Hawker Siddeley	1
Henry Mail Order (Pty) Ltd.	1
Honda	1
Illings	1
Infoplan	1
J.I. Case SA(Pty) Limited	1
John Player Special (JPS)	1
Johnnies Group of Mines	1
Jokari (SA) Pty. Ltd.	1
JW du Plessis & Sons Pty. Ltd.	1

Kentucky Fried Chicken	1
Kernkor	1
Kingsley & Marais	1
Kiwi Polish	1
Konica	1
Kwik-Lock	1
Leland Mini	1
Lenning Holdings Limited	1
Lexington	1
Leykor/Land Rover	1
Liberty	1
Marconi South Africa Ltd.	1
Mariner Outboards; Wilbur Ellis Co.	1
Meumann Heyneke	1
Milbo Housing Association	1
Mondi	1
Monumentpark Motors	1
Moto Guzzi	1
Naschem (member of Krygkor)	1
National	1
Ned-equity	1
Nissan	1
Nuclear Development Corporation	1
Olmeca Tequila	1
P.J. Malherbe & Kie.	1
Paramount Arms	1
Paratus	1
Pioneer	1
Pourolis	1
Premier Investment	1
Pretoriase Kollege vir Gevorderde Tegniese Onderwys	1
RACAL Storno Radiotelephones	1
Radian	1
Radiokom Correspondence College, by RCA Institutes Inc.	1
Rank Xerox	1
Rembrandt van Rijn Filter de Luxe	1
Remex	1
Renault	1
Reunert & Lenz, Limited	1
Reutech	1
Rich Industries	1
Rolls Royce Diesels by Grosvenor Industrial Engines Ltd.	1
S.A. Oil Mills (Pty) Ltd.	1
SADF	1
Santam Bank	1
SAPREF (Shell and BP South African Petroleum Refineries (Pty) Ltd)	1
Scaw Metals Limited	1
Sentraboer	1
SIGMA Motor Corporation	1
Somchem (member of Krygkor)	1
Sorbothane	1
Southfork Jeans	1
Spencer Steward & Co.	1
SPH Construction	1
Springbok Radio	1
Squadron	1
Standard Bank	1
Stannic (Standard Credit Corporation Limited)	1
Sterling	1
Sundown Sunscreen	1
Sussman Goddard	1
Suzuki	1
Telefunken	1
The Cementation Company (Africa) Limited	1
The Rapid Results College	1
The South African Institute of Chartered Accountants	1
The University of Cape Town	1
Theron van der Poel	1
Toga Linings EDMS. BPK.	1
Transvaler-Boekhandel	1
Unicorn Lines (Pty) Ltd.	1

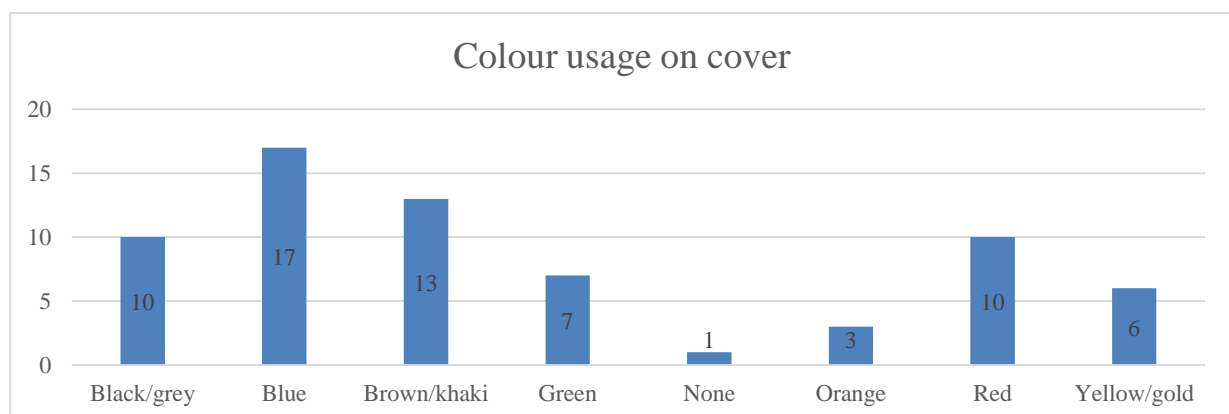
Vitafresh	1
Watermeyer Legge Piesold & Uhlmann (WLP)	1
Wes Bank	1
Wholesale (Pty.) Ltd.	1
Wiehan Meyernel	1
Wild Falcon	1
Wilson	1
Woolworths	1
Yamaha	1
Yskor	1

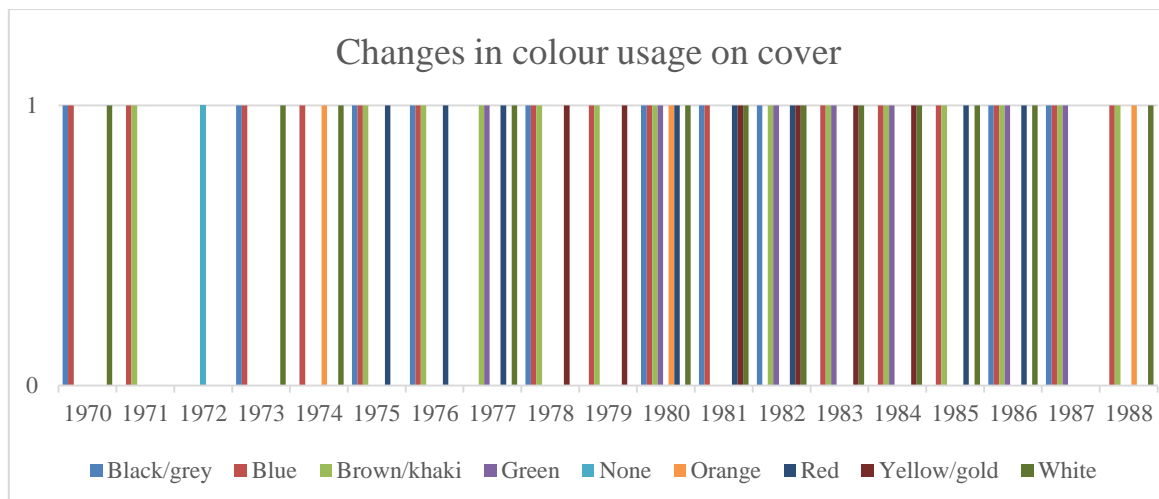
Appendix D: Colour(s) used



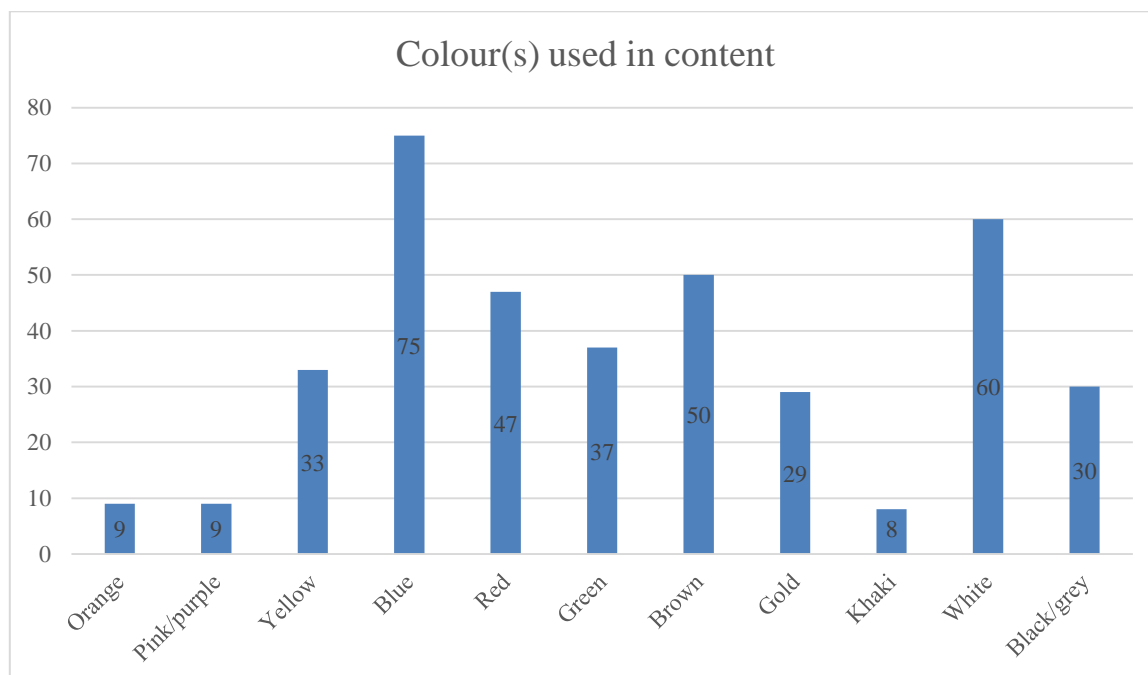
It can be seen that blue was the colour used most regularly, appearing 55 times in the 109 advertisements/advertorials that made use of colour. This is followed closely by white that appeared 54 times, while red and yellow were used 46 and 43 times respectively. Black, gold, green and brown were used 38, 27, 23, and 20 times respectively. The other colour spectrums used include orange, khaki, grey, purple, pink and golden-brown that appeared throughout the magazine less than 10 times each.

In the early years of the publication few colours were used (apart from not using a lot of colour in advertisements), with yellow predominantly used from 1970-1972. Blue only became a firm favourite after 1978 and appeared regularly during the years 1981-1986. The colours that appeared the most in a single issue can be seen in 1982 and 1983, which featured white and red, respectively, appearing 10 times each.

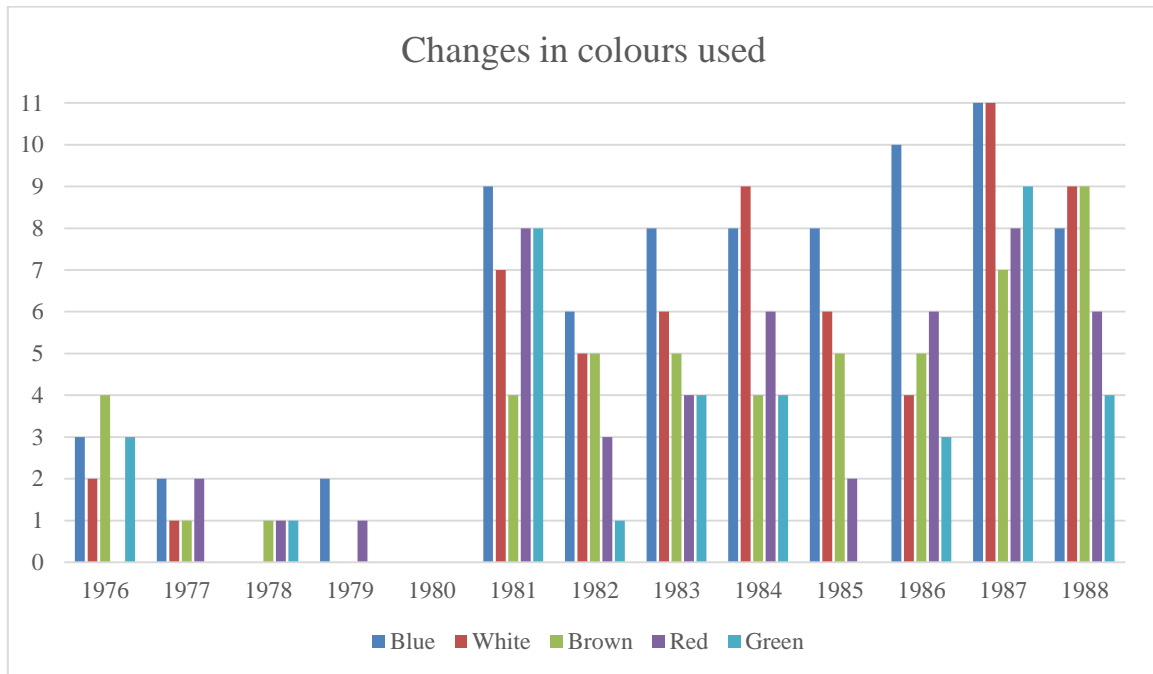




The use of colour on the covers of *Paratus* reflects military life meaning the colours of military uniform (brown/khaki), the bush (green), the outdoors (blue sky), with blue (used 17 times), brown/khaki (13 times) and white (12 times) being the front runners. It should be noted that the December issue of 1971 appeared to have no colour (black and white), however, this may not be a design decision by the editorial team of *Paratus* but rather just the archive available for the analysis. Warm colours such as red and gold are also often found on the cover, however, this may be because of the issues being December issues, and therefore resonating a Christmas appeal. It should also be noted that red is often used for cover lines, and when a background is chosen for cover lines or even the masthead, it varies between yellow and white.



In the bar graph above one notice that blue and white were the two colours that were used most often, with a combined total of 135. These two colours are closely followed by brown (50) and red (47). Khaki (eight), orange, and pink/purple (nine times respectively) were used the least frequently.

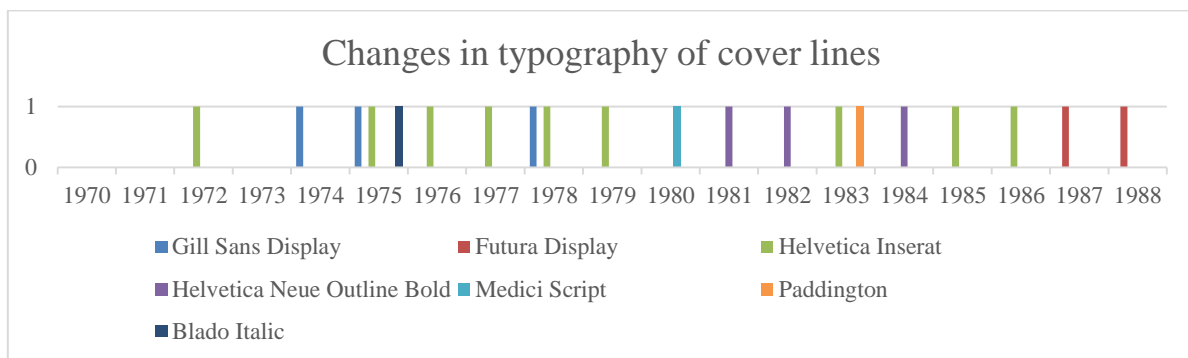
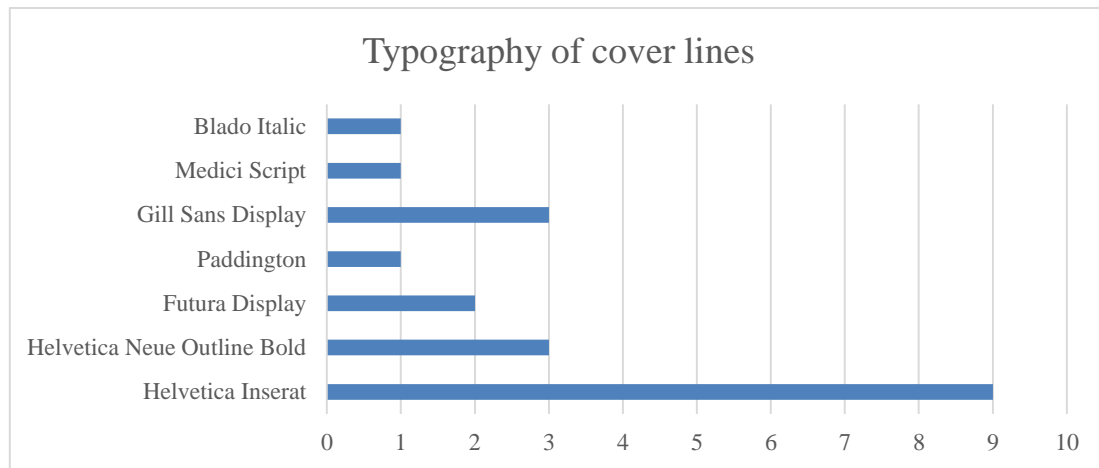


For this bar graph, only the top five represented colours were used to illustrate the change in colours used in *Paratus* from 1970 to 1988. None of these five colours were used from 1970-1975 (during this time only pink/purple was used twice in the year 1974). The colours blue and white were used most often, with most accounted frequency in 1987, both appearing 11 times. The year 1979 only featured blue and red (from the selected colours), with two and one appearance respectively. As colour was not often used it is important to note the significance of when it was implemented. The colours were used in an almost stereotypical manner, for instance the use of pink in the 1974 was used for text pertaining to women in military, while red was often used to illustrate danger or attract attention, for instance in 1983 in the table of contents the masthead was placed on a red background. Brown and khaki colours were often found throughout the magazine as it usually accompanied photographs of members of the SADF, usually in action. These colours allude to the colour of their military uniform and therefore the constant use of these colours coincide with the photographs often placed within the magazine. Yellow was often used as a background colour especially from 1980s onwards – this was done in order to attract more attention to the specific articles that the colour accompanied, for example an article regarding a conference that dealt with terrorism, unrest and violence, while

in 1988 an article regarding the Venda Defence Force (a time that needed more appreciation for other African countries as to appeal to an international conscious) also made use of a lighter version of the yellow background.

Appendix E: Typography

Various different uses of typography are featured on the cover of *Paratus*, both in masthead/title and cover lines. The following fonts (or a type similar to these fonts) have been identified on the covers of the magazine, in both the masthead/title and cover line elements:



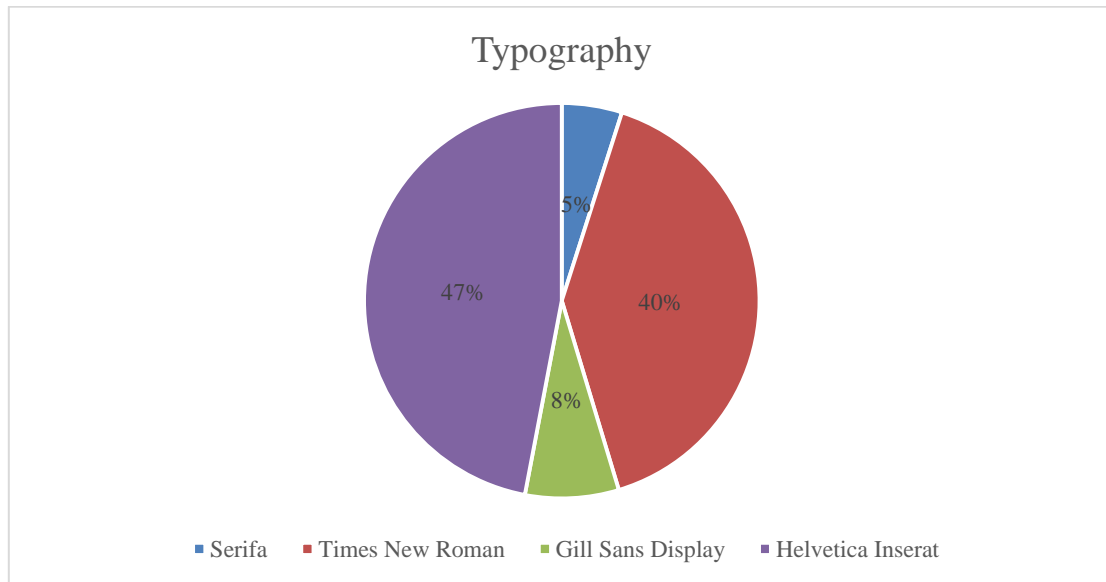
It can be seen that Helvetica Inserat was the most popular for cover lines as it appeared a total of nine times throughout the timespan of the study. Gill Sans Display and Helvetica Neue Outline Bold were both used three times as the preferred font for cover lines. Helvetica Inserat and Helvetica Neue Outline Bold are also featured in the masthead/title and therefore it is used again as cover lines to create uniformity. Futura Display was used in the final two years of the publication that was studied – as there was only one cover line for each of these years, this was also the only font present. Blado Italic, Medici Script and Paddington were all used only once, in 1975, 1980 and 1983 respectively.

Several different uses of typography can be found in the entirety of *Paratus*. The following fonts have been identified throughout the magazine:

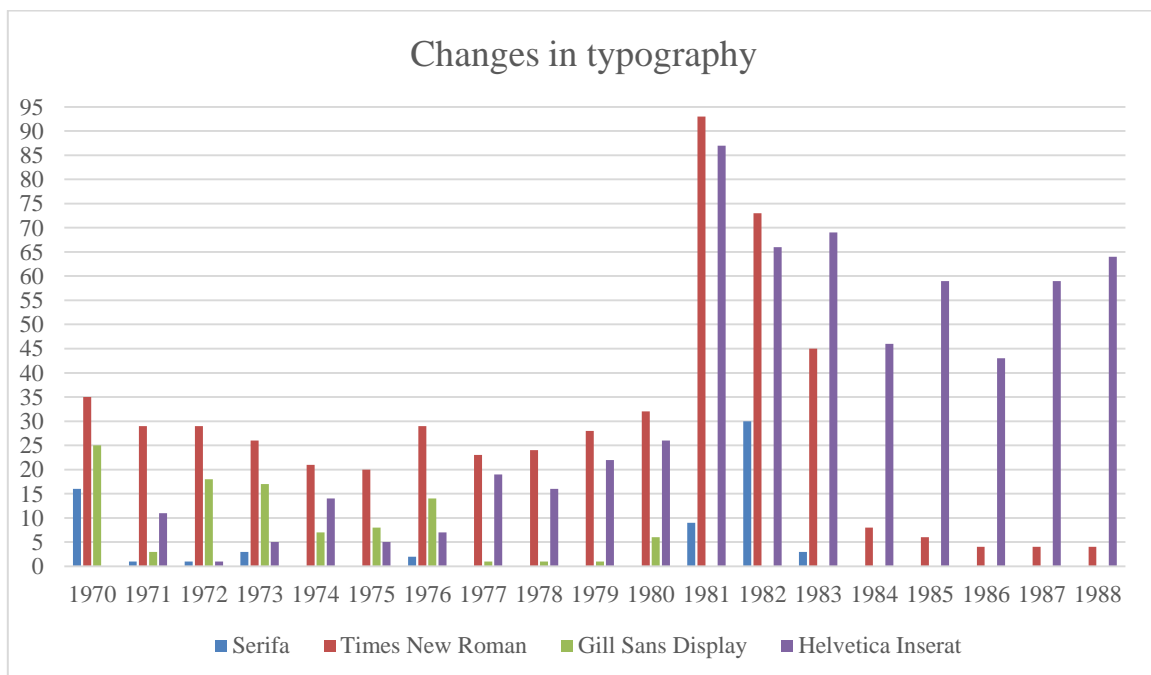
Font	Year created	Creator	Example of font	Years of occurrences

AG Book Rounded	1980	Gunter Gerhard Lange	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÅ	1981
Bauhaus	1925	Herbert Bayer, Edward Benguiat and Victor Caruso	ABCDEFGHIJKLMNO PQRSTUVWXYZÀÁÉ	1975, 1976, 1977, 1971, 1979
Blippo	1969	Joe Taylor and Robert Trogman	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÅ	1981, 1982 (2), 1983 (2)
Broadway	1925	Morris Fuller Benton	ABCDEFGHIJKLM NOPQRSTUVWXYZ	1974 (5), 1975 (4), 1976 (4)
Caxton	1981	Leslie Usherwood	ABCDEFGHIJKLMNC PQRSTUVWXYZÅ	1982
Excelsior	1931	Chauncey H. Griffith	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1971
Falstaff	1931	Monotype Staff	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÅ	1971 (2), 1972
Futura Display	1932	Paul Renner	ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOP QRSTUVWXYZÀÁÉÏ	1988 (55)
Gill Sans Display	1931	Eric Gill	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1970-1980 (101)
Handwritten	Unknown	Len Lindeque		1975, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980
Helvetica Inserat	1964	Max Medinger and Linotype Design Studio	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÅ	1971-1988 (620)
Helvetica Neue Bold Outline	1956-58	Max Miedinger and Linotype Staff	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1971, 1980
ITC Barcelona	1981	Edward Benguiat	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1981
Playbill	1938	Robert Harling	ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS	1980, 1984
Serifa	1967	Adrian Frutiger	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1970-1973, 1976, 1981-1983 (65)
Simoncini Garamond	1958-61	Francesco Simoncini and W. Bilz	ABCDEFGHIJKLM NOPQRSTUVWXYZ	1970
Sinkwitz Gotisch	1942	Paul Sinkwitz and Ingo Preuss	ZABCDEFGHIJKLM NOPQRSTUVWXYZ	1970, 1971 (2), 1975
Times New Roman	1932	Stanley Morison and Victor Lardent	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1970-1988 (533)
Welcome	1900	Dan X. Solo	ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZÀ	1971, 1972 (3), 1973, 1974

In this list one should note that “handwritten” is not a specific font, but rather the writing of cartoon artist Len Lindeque – he used his own handwriting for the text that accompanied his cartoons that he created for *Paratus*.



In the pie graph only the four most frequently used fonts were analysed. One sees that Helvetica Inserat was the font used most often with a total of 620 times, this is closely followed by the classic Times New Roman that appeared a total of 533 times. Gill Sans Display occurred 101 times, while Serifa appeared 65 times.



In the above bar graph, only the four most frequently used fonts were used for analysis, namely Serifa, Times New Roman, Gill Sans Display and Helvetica Inserat. Variations of the fonts have not been analysed, such as italics, bold and condensed and so forth, meaning that only the main type was mentioned. In this graph it is clear that the beginning years of the magazine showcased more serif based fonts, with a combined total of 51 serif fonts (Serifa and Times New Roman) used in 1970, as opposed to 25 sans serif (Gill Sans Display). This trend goes on until 1983 when a shift comes apparent towards sans serif type (69 instances reported of Helvetica Inserat), as opposed to the combined total of 48 serif type (Serifa and Times New Roman). The font Gill Sans Display was no longer in use from 1981 onwards, with a definite increase in Helvetica Inserat as the new favourite sans serif type with a total of 87 occurrences for that year. A similar trend in the use of Serifa as a serif type can be seen, as it also was no longer in use from 1984 onwards. In most cases it was found that sans serif and serif types were used in combination, where one would function as the heading of the content while the other formed the text; sans serif, meaning Times New Roman and Serifa specifically, were most often used as content text, while the sans serif types, such as Gill Sans Display and Helvetica Inserat and many of the other mentioned in the table were used for headings and/or pull-quotes. This also shifted in concordance with the rise in sans serif type used: as the use of sans serif type increased from 1983 onwards the use of sans serif type for content was found regularly, while serif type was used for headings and/or pull-quotes.

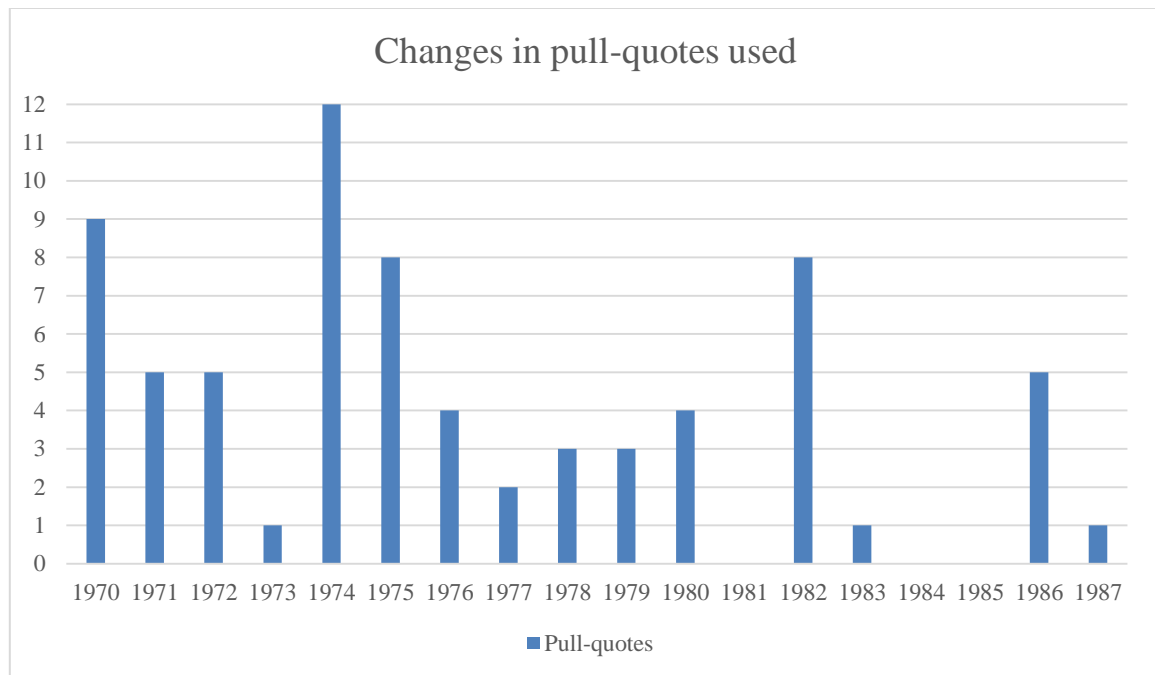
Appendix F: Key words used in cover lines

It should be noted for this specific presentation that in the instance that the cover line appeared both in Afrikaans and English, the English key word was listed as featuring twice, as this can be seen as important enough by the editorial team to list twice on an individual cover, albeit in different languages. In this analysis no clear trend can be found, however, the majority of the key words are military related.

KEY WORDS USED IN COVER LINES	
KEY WORD	FREQUENCY
27 Squadron	1
Action	1
Angola	1
Boesmanland (Bushman land)	1
Border	2
Commemorative issue	2
CSAP	2
Delville Wood	1
Diensplig (National Service)	1
Ingeligte soldaat (Informed soldier)	1
“Insypelaars” (Insurgents)	1
Job guide	2
Krygkor	1
Leërevegskool (Army battle school)	1
Matieland	1
MAZDA	1
Message	2
Motorbylae (Vehicle appendix)	1
Peace and prosperity	1
Peoples of SA	1
Plaasbeskerming in SWA (Farm protection in SWA)	1
Rescue	1
SA Navy	2
SAAF/”wings”	2
SAI	1
SARP Special task force	1
SAW-vroue (SADF women)	1
Soldate (Soldiers)	1
Spaar en bewaar (Save and protect)	1
Spitfire MK 1X	1
Strategic review	1
Thanks soldier	2
Toekoms (Future)	1
TV	1
Uitgewis (Extinguished)	1
Uniforms	1
Walhalla (Valhalla)	1

Watchdogs	1
Young men	1
Zimbabwe/Rhodesia	1

Appendix G: Pull-quotes



A low total of 72 pull-quotes were found in articles and/or feature articles. With a combined total of 645 articles and feature articles the ratio is 0.1:1., which reveals an uncharacteristically low number of pull-quotes for a magazine. The bar graph above reveals that no pull-quotes for articles and/or feature articles were used in 1981 and 1984-1985. The most pull-quotes for an issue can be seen 1974, with a total of 12 pull-quotes. The function of a byline is to highlight a key word or phrase that encapsulates the content of the article, and in *Paratus* this is no different, for example in an article in 1970 a Bible scripture, namely Romans 13:4, was placed as a byline. It reads: “Want die Owerheid is ‘n dienaar van God, jou ten goede. Maar as jy kwaad doen, vrees dan; want hy draw die swaard nie verniet nie, want hy is ‘n dienaar van God, ‘n wreker, om die een wat kwaad doen te straf”, translated to: [For he is God’s servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain. For he is the servant of God, an avenger who carries out God’s wrath on the wrongdoer]. This was for an article based on religious objections to war and conscription, where a byline captured the religious need for action in wartime. In 1975 a byline was used for dramatic effect; it reads: “Suddenly, out of the mist the spinning rotors of a SAAF helicopter”. This byline accompanies a feature article that examines the heroics of the SAAF in a mountain rescue. For an emotional pull from the readers’ side the byline or pull quote that reads “[T]his is how we live there in the bush”, which provides insight in the lonely existence of the soldier on the border.