

*Grassroots expresses our deepest sympathy with the family of Reverend H. Marawu of Langa who died in Hospital earlier this month. We have lost a great fighter in the struggle for liberation.*



Govan Mbeki addressed a news conference in Johannesburg soon after his release. Next to him are Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela whose husbands remain in prison.

HERO'S WELCOME FOR ANC LEADER

# MBEKI

# RETURNS

GOVAN Mbeki has returned. He has returned to take his place alongside all our people struggling for freedom and democracy in the land of our birth.

His release has brought great joy and hope to our people. News of his arrival brought the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton where he now lives to a standstill. More than a thousand people met him at Jan Smuts Airport when he went to Johannesburg.

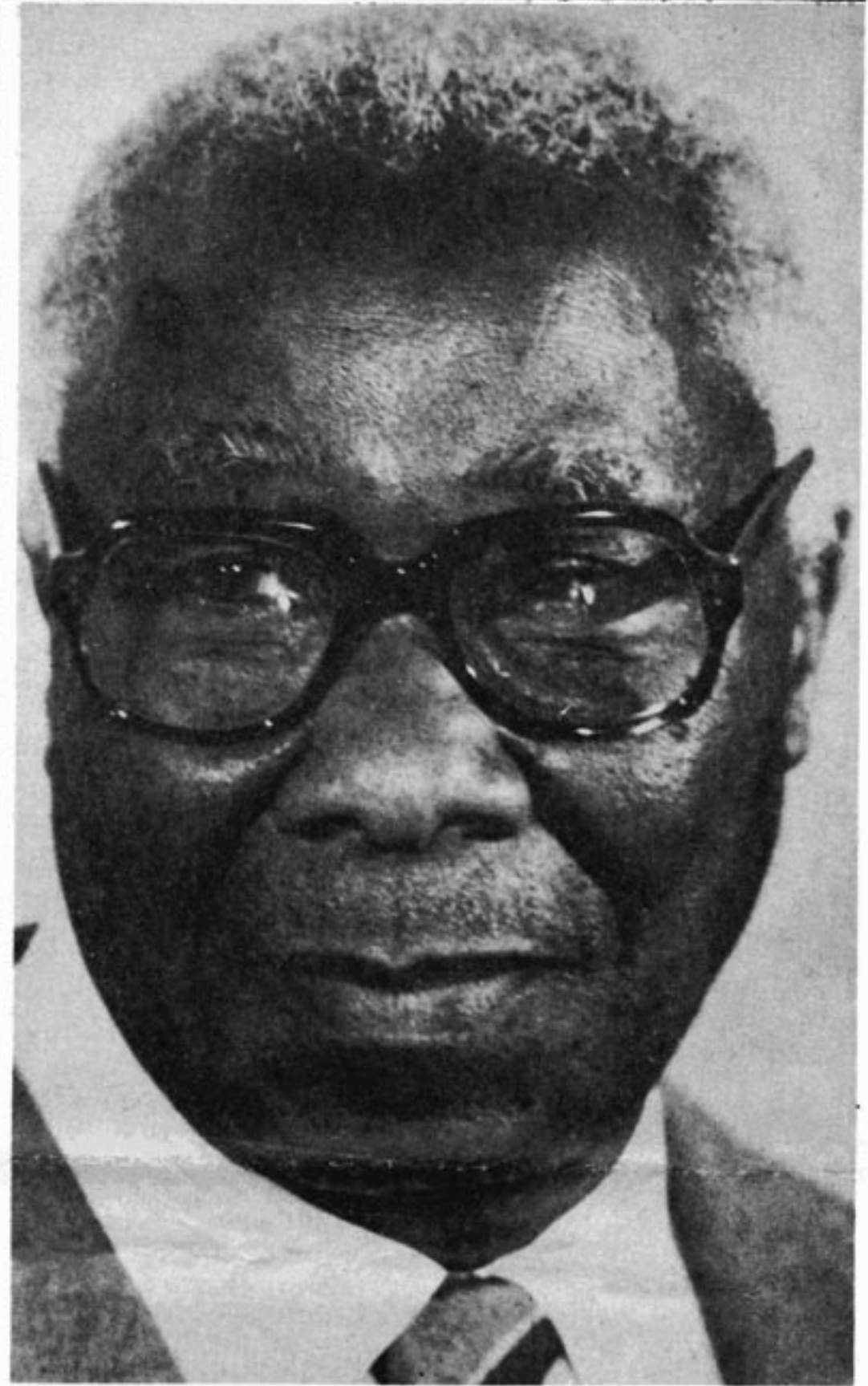
The 77-year-old ANC leader spent 23 years on Robben Island. He was jailed for life together with Mandela, Sisulu and others in 1964.

He refused to buy his freedom by accepting Botha's offers. When asked to renounce violence, he refused, saying that Botha and his Government must stop using violence - the violence of apartheid.

Mbeki has made great sacrifices. He says he remains as committed as ever to the programme of the ANC. He believes he has a role to play in the establishment of a South Africa free of racism, exploitation and oppression.



Mbeki is surrounded by well-wishers in Port Elizabeth



Mbeki . . . still committed to the freedom struggle.

## . . . And now Cape Town awaits his arrival

LOCAL organisations are making efforts to get ANC leader Govan Mbeki to address a mass rally in Cape Town.

A committee consisting of various organisations has already been set up to prepare for his visit to Cape Town.

The committee consists of organisations like the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Cape Youth Congress, the United Womens Congress and several other groups.

According to sources, the 77-year-old Mbeki is eager to visit Cape Town. It is believed that he will be in Cape Town the first weekend of December.

Excitement is building up in most parts of Cape Town as local organisations, area committees and support groups begin preparing for his arrival.

Already thousands of pamphlets, posters and stickers have been distributed throughout the city and even in the rural areas.

Grassroots spoke to residents of

Cape Town townships about the release of Mbeki who had spent 23 years in prison. A woman from KTC squatter camp who did not want to be named said that it was the struggle of the people that released Mbeki "The Government did not release him on humanitarian grounds", she said.

She called for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

A resident of New Crossroads said Mbeki has been imprisoned for his belief in freedom for all people.





The campaign to unlock the jails of apartheid gained momentum when close to 1 000 people attended a meeting held at the Hanover Park Civic earlier this month. Here a Cayco member brings forward a key for detained Cayco president Mzonke Jacobs.

THE eyes of the entire world has recently been focussed on the children of our country who become helpless victims of the brutal apartheid system.

But not much has been said or written about these hundreds of pensioners who the government regard as a threat to state security.

One of the most shocking cases is that of Mr Tatius Sondlo of Queens-town who died at his home last month - only eleven weeks after he was released from emergency detention. Mr Sondlo, former President of the Saru affiliated Frontier Rugby Union was released in June this year after spending 363 days in prison.

When the national state of emergency was declared in June last year hundreds of people from the Karoo town of Graaf-Reinett were detained. Among them two respected senior citizens - Oom Booie Nompondo, an active member of the Presbyteria Church and Mr Gilbert Hermans, 79, both spent almost three months in George Prison.

Three weeks ago Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu, affectionately known as Mama Zihlangu, was detained at

# VICTIMS OF APARTHEID

D F Malan Airport. The 67-year-old President of the Western Cape Region of the Federation of South African Women (Fed-saw) is a diabetic, blind in the one eye and partially sighted in the other.

Oscar Mpetha, 78, is one of the country's oldest political prisoners. His one leg was amputated two years ago and he spends most of his time in the prison hospital. Mpetha, former president

of the United Democratic Front, is serving a five-year sentence for terrorism.

UDF leaders Zoli Malindi, 67, and Christmas Tinto, 62, have seen the inside of prison cells on several occasions. Both were detained in January this year. Mr Malindi suffers from sugar diabetes. In the last two years especially, they have either been in detention or on the run.

On the 17th June last year, police arrived at the home of Mr Ben Mesia and detained him, his wife and entire family of 13. The 89-year-old Oom Ben who suffers from arthritis, had to get daily medical treatment during his six weeks in detention.

There are hundreds of others in various parts of the country who have gone through similar experiences.

# Many women still in detention

IN prison cells all over the country, there are thousands of South Africans, young and old, who are held for their active commitment to the destruction of apartheid and the building of a new South Africa. Many of these prisoners are women. Some are Emergency detainees, others are section 29 detainees. Some are awaiting trial, others are serving sentences. One woman sits on death row.

Who are these women? The state has done all it can to keep us from knowing of their existence, to name them, to call for their release. Women especially become the invisible prisoners. We must never allow the state to conceal them.

In the Western Cape there are a number of women being held under Section 29: Yasmina Pandey, Soraya Abbass, Colleen Lombard, Lumka Nyamza, Patricia Smit and Jenny Schreiner. The whole of South Africa came to hear about Jenny in particular. We were to here that she was involved in the bombings in Cape Town. She was put on trial by the TV and the commercial media and found guilty. The universal right of any human being to be innocent until proven guilty does not belong to her. It does not belong to any person held

under Section 29. It is the most harsh and vicious form of detention. Since their detention, none of these women have had any contact with the outside world. None of the Section 29 detainees are presently being allowed food and clothing.

Many women are being held under the State of Emergency. Mama Zihlangu, 67, veteran woman activist was detained at DF Malan airport in October. She is diabetic, blind in one eye and partially sighted in the other. She is also the president of the Western Cape region of FEDSAW (Federation of South African Women) that was launched in August this year. Emergency detainee Nomandia Mfeketo was held in Pollsmoor for nine months and was only released when her son was killed in a car accident.

As the DPSC has said "we are now seeing a new category of political prisoners, who have been imprisoned without ever having been charged, namely the longterm emergency detainees. Soon the majority of political prisoners, will have been imprisoned by edict, rather than sentenced by a court. Large numbers of emergency detainees have become long-term political prisoners, effectively

sentenced to an indefinite term of imprisonment."

There are however a number of women serving long-term sentences for their political beliefs.

- Marion Sparg, serving 20 years
- Thandi Modise, serving 8 years
- Barbara Hogan, serving 10 years
- Helene Passtoors, serving 10 years
- Jansie Lourens, serving 4 years
- Trish Hanekom, serving 7 years

Other women have been convicted of public violence and given harsh sentences. Pumla Fante from Ashton was sentenced to 15 years last year. Her husband was also imprisoned her children are now without parents to care for them. Melia Pere and Nongcolololo also from Ashton, were given 8 and 7 years. Several young women students from areas like Bonteheuwel and Wynberg either face or are serving severe sentences.

One young woman serves the severest sentence of all: Theresa Ramashamola was given the death sentence along with her fellow trialists. She was convicted on the basis of one witness for her alleged involvement in the murder of a Vaal community councillor.

## Important decisions at Sarhwu Congress

"ALL Railway workers join SARHWU now!" The slogan was adopted at the first congress of South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU), Western Cape Region on the 17/18 October 1987.

There were 70 delegates representing 2000 workers Grassroots spoke to one of SARHWU's officials who said, "The congress was very important as it broke the colour bar among the workers.

The workers discussed their problems in the private transport industry. There was a strong spirit of unity at the congress."

Among the resolutions taken was to build non-racialism within the union and challenge the migrant labour system. The workers resolved to demand that hostels be built for them near their work places where they can stay with their families.

The congress also resolved to scrap the medical

scheme of SATS of which R 1,50 was being deducted each week. They noted that since their families stay very far from them, they are not covered by the scheme. The workers complain about the bad treatment which they get from the doctor, claiming also that the doctor is not doing anything to improve the health of the worker. SARHWU will embark on a campaign to scrap the R 1,50 deduction.

Since the Railway workers are among the most underpaid workers they will campaign for the recognition of their union (SARHWU) and take up the living wage campaign. They are demanding a minimum of R600,00 a month.

More than 1000 workers resigned from Blatu and the coloured staff Association. SARHWU will advance their campaigns by forcing the management to register the

workers in their departments.

Meanwhile SARHWU will consult National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) to do research on this issue. It will be taken to the National Congress of SARHWU which will take place soon.

SARHWU will register their union as a tactic to win support among the workers who fear to join the union. This position

will be taken to the National Congress.

The Congress resolved to form one transport union under the banner of COSATU, uniting the unions organising in the transport sector. The Congress was informed that SARHWU had received queries from white workers who want to join the union. They called upon the State SATS to discuss with the workers' representatives the needs of the workers.

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Grassroots November 1987

# Massive anti-apartheid march in Britain

## 75,000 CALL FOR SANCTIONS

Between 50 000 and 75 000 people joined in an anti-apartheid march last month. A Grassroots reporter was there and describes the experience.

IT was a beautiful day, following weeks of rain. As we got ready to go, we thought how different it was from home. Normally preparations for a demonstration include thick clothes for the sjamboks, a handkerchief for teargas, phone numbers for lawyers and basic supplies in the event of arrest. On the day of the march we wore thick clothes but only as a defence against the weather.

When we arrived it seemed more like a carnival than a demonstration. People turned out with their dogs, babies and picnic baskets. A few police stood around looking bored.

We felt both joy and sadness - excited that so many people had come to show their support for a struggle so far away, but said it was so far away - not only in distance, but also socially, culturally and politically. Imagine a march without the *toi toi*, without fists, freedom songs and slogans. A small group of us sang songs in Xhosa, prompting a woman in front of us to turn around and ask if we were singing in French.

But we found it very inspiring. As we walked, we could see the march reflected in the plate glass windows of the shops, and it was an impressive sight with beautifully painted and embroidered banners, thousands of

placards declaring solidarity with the ANC and calling for "Sanctions now", and thousands of people - from elderly ladies in tweeds to purple-haired punks.

The meeting at the end of the march had an impressive line-up of speakers, including representatives of the Labour Party, Liberal Party, Anti Apartheid Movement, National Union of Students, and the Trade Union Council. And, of course, Sam Nujom of Swapo and Johnson Makathini, ANC executive member.

Many speakers commented on the shame Maggie Thatcher had brought to the British nation by her performance at the commonwealth conference. Simon Hughes questioned the British system which allows Thatcher to remain in power when the majority of our people support sanctions and the majority support the ANC.

The Zimbabwe conference on Children obviously had a profound effect as several speakers referred to the atrocities they had heard about at the conference. Joan Lester (Labour Party) said that the "blood of those children is on the hands of Maggie Thatcher". Glenis Kinnock said: "These children oppose one of the most powerful armies of the world with sticks and stones. How dare Mrs Thatcher say they

don't know about suffering? They are living their lives in terror, they should have the right to grow up in peace."

Sam Nujoma spoke about the destruction of Southern Africa by the apartheid government. "The international community has a moral and political responsibility to shorten the struggle of Namibia and South Africa, and to reduce the enormity of destruction which the struggle will entail. In this context we salute the peace-loving people of Britain who continue to support the people of Southern Africa

Transport and General Workers Unions Ron Todd called for workers to investigate implementing their own sanctions. The ANC's Johnson Makathini supported this and said this could be done through organising housewives, workers and students to impose their own sanctions".

Makathini pointed out that many countries had used violence, including Britain itself. "It is as legitimate to take up arms in South Africa after 50 years of non-violence as it was in the fight against nazi Germany."

The rally ended with the powerful African sounds of the "Bhundu Boys", a kwela rhythm blaring incongruously across Hyde Park in the midst of the utterly English sunset . . .



Part of the crowd at the massive anti-apartheid march in Britain last month.

## Parents to oppose closure of Rosmead

IN a bid to prevent the eventual closure of the Rosmead Primary School, parents have appealed to the community to enrol as many children as possible for next year.

The parents have been involved in a battle with the Department of Education and Culture which gave notice in September of the "phasing out" of Rosmead Primary School.

After tremendous pressure from the parents and the handing in of a petition to the Department officials last month, the DEC made an about turn and informed the principal of the school, Mr G.G. Walters, that Sub A's can be accepted for 1988.

However, events in the last month have resulted in parents fearing once again for the future of the school.

A member of the Parents Ad Hoc Committee, which was elected at a well attended parents meeting last month, said he had word that the Department wanted to introduce combined classes for next year, if enough pupils did not enrol.

He said he feared that this was an attempt by the

Department to discourage parents from sending their children to the school.

In this way it could be used as planned - to house the Sallie Davis Training Centre for Pre-Primary Education, presently in Crawford.

Mr Harvey Hendricks, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee said "We are waiting for people to enrol, but we have no way of checking whether this is in fact happening."

Parents said that they would fight any manouevres by the Department tooth and nail as they were dead against the closure of the school.

It appears that if the Department goes ahead with its plans, it is going to sit with another major battle on its hands.

There has been a steady decline in attendance at the school over the last 15 years - since people were removed from the area in terms of the Group Areas Act.

At one point there were 600 pupils at the school but today this has dwindled to 284.

## ONE VILLAGE, ONE YOUTH CONGRESS

THE South African Youth Congress was making progress in its efforts to build links between itself and numerous religious groupings throughout the country.

According to Joe Nkuna, Sayco's religious convenor on the national executive, representatives of the 700 000-strong youth organisation had met with regional council Churches, the Call of Islam, Young Christian Students and the Catholic Students Association.

He said that Sayco's relationship with religious grouping had been discussed in Sayco's structures following an application for affiliation by YCS and CASA.

He said that while SAYCO was not opposed to affiliation, Sayco would urge the members of church organisations to become active members of local SAYCO structures.

"Our priority is to unite all youth," Nkuna told Grassroots in a recent interview. We would prefer it if youth do not come in as Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican or Muslim youth".

He said it would serve the interests of uniting all our youth if these groups participated as full members of Cayco and that a national sub-committee on religion be established within Sayco. Here different religious groupings

could participate within the structures of SAYCO.

"We have to work on the basis of "ONE VILLAGE, ONE YOUTH CONGRESS", Nkuna pointed out. The religious groupings and Sayco have agreed that our common goal is liberation. The priority of all is to liberate their people.

Nkuna said that since 1985, there had been much higher level of participation in the struggle by religious groupings than was previously the case.

He said that this could be built on but also pointed out that the state of emergency had had a definite effect on many ministers who were now afraid to speak out.

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## grassroots comment

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No more can there be any doubt of the despoiled weaknesses of the powers that be.

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Let us state it loudly and clearly: the release of Comrade Govan Mbeki was brought about through the unending struggle of the democratic forces inside and outside the country.

Through relentless pressure of our people, through our sacrifices, has forced Botha's Government to release the 77-year-old comrade who had spent 23 years of his life imprisoned on Robben Island.

Comrade Mbeki's release also means that for the first time since it was banned in 1960, the African National Congress now has a public voice in South Africa. Govan Mbeki cannot be quoted in the press, but he can be heard at mass meetings and other gatherings.

At his first press conference Mbeki told the nation and the entire world that he fully supports the entire programme of the ANC, including the armed struggle. He clearly indicated that he had in no way been prepared to buy his release through giving any undertakings to his jailers.

We salute Comrade Mbeki. He is a true leader of our people. His unwavering commitment to our people's cause — and his firm belief in the victory of that cause serves as an inspiration to all of us.

### LOGRA ADVICE OFFICE STAFF VACANCY: Organiser

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A driver's licence would be to the worker's advantage.

Applicants must apply in writing to: Logra Advice Office, P.O. Box 12, Lohu River 7945.

Closing date for applications: 11 December 1987

## WHAT WE HEAR ON TV



- The Minister of Law and Order today said in a speech at Germiston that radicals were trying to make the country ungovernable and were responsible for the violence in the townships.
- British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher launched a scathing attack against African leaders over the sanctions issue. Mrs Thatcher said that sanction would hurt blacks most the people it was intended to help.
- The Leader of the Labour Party the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said his party is committed to the destruction of apartheid and said they would continue to push for reforms.
- Cricket fans will be treated to a feast this summer when Kin Hughes' rebel cricketers play a series of eight matches on South African soil.

## The message gets across in many different ways

GOVERNMENT Propaganda works in many ways. For years the Government has worked on a system of divide and rule. It knows that it will be strong when the people are divided. Mass media therefore encourages divisions...divisions between men and women, Muslims and Christians, between youth and older people, between employed and unemployed and many many more.

Two terrorists were today shot dead in Bontebouw. The police found in their possession a number of weapons of Russian origin.

We often hear this on TV. Imagine if they said: 'Police today, driving British manufactured Land Rovers, opened fire on demonstrators with American manufactured shotguns, killing twelve people.'

We can see that they are trying to convince people that they are under attack from a foreign country. They don't want people to recognise the ANC as South Africans struggling for a better future.

Government propaganda is aimed at stopping people from uniting. It tries to show people that their problems are their own and no one else shares it. People are made to believe that they are unemployed, or hungry or unable to pay the rent because of weaknesses in themselves. They are made to feel stupid and worthless and that they have not worked hard

MOST of us have already heard the word propaganda. What exactly does it mean, what is it used for and how it is applied in South Africa?

Propaganda is essentially any form of media that comes out which tries to make people think in a certain way and to act in a certain way. The South African Government uses propaganda extensively. From early in the morning when we switch on Good Morning South Africa we are bombarded with stories of how good the South African system is, what wonderful changes the Government is bringing about and what bad things organisations like the ANC, UDF and COSATU do.

SABC TV has been severely criticised for its one-sided presentation of news. Some groups even threatened to take SABC to court for constantly putting across National Party views. But the propaganda continues without an end. Not only on Television it

confronts us at every turn. In the country's townships, South African Defence Force troops are doing everything from giving township children sweets to building sportsfields to sponsoring on the walls.

All this is part of the Government's efforts to win over the hearts and minds of the people. The Government, like other unpopular Governments in other parts of the world, realises that it cannot rule by force alone. The battle to win the hearts and minds of the people is therefore an important one for them.

They have to get their ideas across at all costs. They have to get people to support the system, to believe in it. They know that violence alone will not work. General Magnus Malan once said that the war in this country was only 20 percent military and 80 percent political.

With this in mind it has greatly intensified its propaganda efforts in recent years. It is setting up committees of government-supporting structures throughout the country. The joint management centres, as these committees are called are usually headed by representatives from the SADF. We could say that we are living more and more under military rule. Every JMC has a propaganda committee. They put out pamphlets denigrating community organisations. In areas like Oudtshoorn and Alexandria, they even put out their own community newsletters.

Many people laugh at the propaganda. Others become angry and simply switch off their TV's at news time. But there are others still, who at times believe the convincing propaganda that comes from the Government media.

On these pages we look at how and why the government uses media, what are its effects and some responses from people.

## WHAT WE SHOULD HEAR ON TV



- The apartheid system was responsible for the worst violence imaginable, Dr Allan Boesak said today. It had forcibly removed people from their homes, separated families and forces people to work for slave wages.
- It was strange how white people and the West were suddenly so concerned about the suffering of Blacks, Bishop Desmond Tutu said today. Millions are already unemployed and work for as little as R40 a week.
- The Leader of the Labour Party, The Reverend Allan Hendrickse who earns more than R70 000 a year and received no mandate to enter parliament, said his party would continue to push for reform.
- Millions of rands of taxpayers money will be used to bring a team of money-hungry rebel cricketers to South African this summer.

# WINNING THE HEARTS AND MINDS

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TELL THE PEARE COMMISSION "YES" WE AFRICANS ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS

SAY "YES" FOR AFRICAN PROGRESS

This leaflet was distributed to Black in the old Rhodesia by the Ministry of Information. We have seen many similar pamphlets in our townships in recent years.

### What's propaganda?

We often hear people speaking about propaganda as lies, but it is not so simple. Propaganda tries to make people think and act in a certain way. Government propaganda tries to get people to accept the system as it is - racialist oppression, sexism and capitalism exploitation. Propaganda from the people however, has a very different message. It aims to get people to support and join the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa where men and women are equals and where there is no exploitation.

Our propaganda and their propaganda is definitely not the same. The system in the country only benefits a minority, so in order to get people to accept it those in power have to distort and lie about the situation.

On the other hand those organisations fighting for a better South Africa for all have to expose the truth about the injustices of the system. So there are different forms of propaganda. Some rely on lies and distortions. Other propaganda is based on the truth.

## DETAINEEES ANGERED AT PRISON PROGRAMME

WHILE the conference about children in detention was taking place in Harare, the South African public was bombarded with Government propaganda on television.

We were shown how detainees were playing soccer at one of the country's prisons.

Later viewers were shown the inside of "five-star" prisons. The cells looked beautiful, were very clean and were well-furnished. There was a solid bed with snow white sheets and cushions as well as washbasins in the cell.

The detainees could play soccer watch TV and videos and had regular access to books. Former detainees spoken to were shocked at the programme and could



Government-supporting graffiti has become a common sight in parts of Cape Town

not believe what they had seen. The Southern Cape Newsletter based in Oudtshoorn, Saarstroom, interviewed ex-detainees who reacted angrily to the programme.

A Oudtshoorn youth, Neville Pudi who was held for many months under emergency regulations, said: "It is unbelievable how Government officials release information about prison conditions without many of them ever having been in the cells set aside for black people. For two weeks I was held in a police cell where each meal was coffee and a piece of dry bread."

Moses Dikgacwi, who spent a year in George Prison under the emergency, said: "It is the white prisoners who enjoy such privileges... Where did they get the information that we slept on a bed with sheets and cushions?"

Why did they not show the two thin mats on which you have to sleep, as well as the dirty blankets they give you. Usually you only get three blankets, no matter how cold it is."

Another person who did not want to be named, commented: "Why did SATV show us empty cells? Why did they not show the public how up to 40 people have to live together in one cell? To most of the detainees, the programme was a clear case of Government propaganda. It came at a time when there was massive pressure on the Government to release all detainees and political prisoners."



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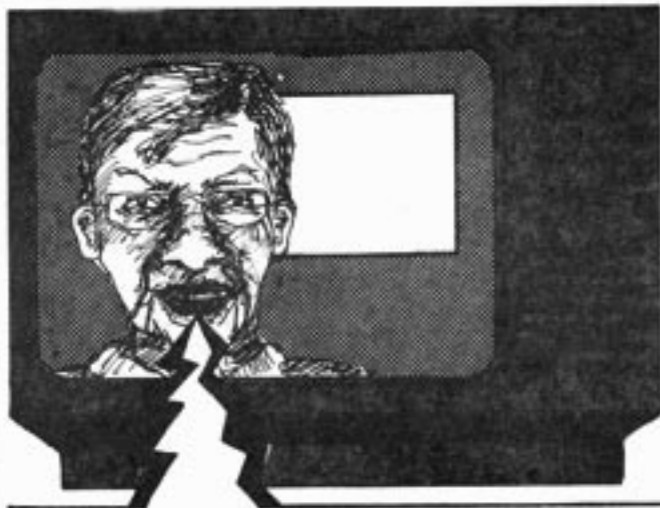
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- The Minister of Law and Order today said in a speech at Germiston that radicals were trying to make the country ungovernable and were responsible for the violence in the townships.
- British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher launched a scathing attack against African leaders over the sanctions issue. Mrs Thatcher said that sanction would hurt blacks most the people it was intended to help.
- The Leader of the Labour Party the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said his party is committed to the destruction of apartheid and said they would continue to push for reforms.
- Cricket fans will be treated to a feast this summer when Kin Hughes' rebel cricketers play a series of eight matches on South African soil.

## The message gets across in many different ways

GOVERNMENT Propaganda works in many ways. For years the Government has worked on a system of divide and rule. It knows that it will be strong when the people are divided. Mass media therefore encourages divisions...divisions between men and women, Muslims and Christians, between youth and older people, between employed and unemployed and many many more.

"Two terrorists were today shot dead in Bontebouw. The police found in their possession a number of weapons of Russian origin."

We often hear this on TV. Imagine if they said: "Police today, driving British manufactured Land Rovers, opened fire

on demonstrators with American manufactured shotguns, killing twelve people.

We can see that they are trying to convince people that they are under attack from a foreign country. They don't want people to recognise the ANC as South Africans struggling for a better future.

Government propaganda is aimed at stopping people from uniting. It tries to show people that their problems are their own and no one else shares it. People are made to believe that they are unemployed, or hungry or unable to pay the rent because of weaknesses in themselves. They are made to feel stupid and worthless and that they have not worked hard

enough.

Another form of system propaganda is to present some methods of the people as bad for themselves. An example of this is sanctions.

They are forever saying how bad sanctions are for black people and how they are going to suffer. We wonder why they are suddenly worried about us now, when our people have never really mattered to them.

The news media ignore the fact that most unemployment in South Africa is caused by the fact that the bosses are not investing their profits in job creation—instead they are buying shares and even investing overseas.

MOST of us have already heard the word propaganda. What exactly does it mean, what is it used for and how is it applied in South Africa?

Propaganda is essentially any form of media that comes out which tries to make people think in a certain way and to act in a certain way. The South African Government uses propaganda extensively. From early in the morning when we switch on Good Morning South Africa we are bombarded with stories of how good the South African system is, what wonderful changes the Government is bringing about and what bad things organisations like the ANC, UDF and COSATU do.

SABC TV has been severely criticised for its one-sided presentation of news. Some groups even threatened to take SABC to court for constantly putting across National Party views.

But the propaganda continues without an end. Not only on Television it

confronts us at every turn. In the country's townships, South African Defence Force troops are doing everything from giving township children sweets to building sportsfields to sponsoring on the walls.

All this is part of the Government's efforts to win over the hearts and minds of the people. The Government, like other unpopular Governments in other parts of the world, realises that it cannot rule by force alone. The battle to win the hearts and minds of the people is therefore an important one for them.

They have to get their ideas across at all costs. They have to get people to support the system, to believe in it. They know that violence alone will not work. General Magnus Malan once said that the war in this country was only 20 percent military and 80 percent political.

With this in mind it has greatly in-

tenified its propaganda efforts in recent years. It is setting up committees of government-supporting structures throughout the country. The joint management centres, as these committees are called, are usually headed by representatives from the SADF. We could say that we are living more and more under military rule. Every JMC has a propaganda committee. They put out pamphlets denigrating community organisations. In areas like Oudtshoorn and Alexandria, they even put out their own community newsletters.

Many people laugh at the propaganda. Others become angry and simply switch off their TV's at news time. But there are others still, who at times believe the convincing propaganda that comes from the Government media.

On these pages we look at how and why the government uses media, what are its effects and some responses from people.

# WINNING THE HEARTS AND MINDS

### An important part of Government strategy

Please hand this to your African employee



British and Rhodesian Government Acceptance Proposals

SAY "YES" FOR AFRICAN PROGRESS

"YES" FOR MORE JOBS FOR AFRICANS

"YES" FOR MORE SCHOOLS

"YES" FOR MORE AFRICAN HOUSING

"YES" FOR BETTER MEDICAL FACILITIES

"YES" MEANS DEVELOPMENT IN THE TRIBAL TRUST AND AFRICAN PURCHASE LANDS

"YES" MEANS AFRICAN POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT

TELL THE PEARE COMMISSION "YES" WE AFRICANS ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS

SAY "YES" FOR AFRICAN PROGRESS

This leaflet was distributed to Black in the old Rhodesia by the Ministry of Information. We have seen many similar pamphlets in our townships in recent years.

## What's propaganda?

WE often hear people speaking about propaganda as lies, but it is not so simple. Propaganda tries to make people think and act in a certain way. Government propaganda tries to get people to accept the system as it is - racialist oppression, sexism and capitalism exploitation. Propaganda from the people however, has a very different message. It aims to get people to support and join the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa where men and women are equals and where there is no exploitation.

Our propaganda and their propaganda is definitely not the same. The system in the country only benefits a minority, so in order to get people to accept it those in power have to distort and lie about the situation.

On the other hand those organisations fighting for a better South Africa for all have to expose the truth about the injustices of the system. So there are different forms of propaganda. Some rely on lies and distortions. Other propaganda is based on the truth.

## DETAINEEES ANGERED AT PRISON PROGRAMME

WHILE the conference about children in detention was taking place in Harare, the South African public was bombarded with Government propaganda on television.

We were shown how detainees were playing soccer at one of the country's prisons.

Later viewers were shown the inside of "five-star" prisons. The cells looked beautiful, were very clean and were well-furnished. There was a solid bed with snow white sheets and cushions as well as washbasins in the cell.

The detainees could play soccer watch TV and videos and had regular access to books. Former detainees spoken to were shocked at the programme and could

## WHAT WE SHOULD HEAR ON TV



- The apartheid system was responsible for the worst violence imaginable, Dr Allan Boesak said today. It had forcibly removed people from their homes, separated families and forces people to work for slave wages.
- It was strange how white people and the West were suddenly so concerned about the suffering of Blacks, Bishop Desmond Tutu said today. Millions are already unemployed and work for as little as R40 a week.
- The Leader of the Labour Party, The Reverend Allan Hendrickse who earns more than R70 000 a year and received no mandate to enter parliament, said his party would continue to push for reform.
- Millions of rands of taxpayers money will be used to bring a team of money-hungry rebel cricketers to South Africa this summer.



Government-supporting graffiti has become a common sight in parts of Cape Town

not believe what they had seen. The Southern Cape Newsletter based in Oudtshoorn, Saarstroom, interviewed ex-detainees who reacted angrily to the programme.

A Oudtshoorn youth, Neville Pudi who was held for many months under emergency regulations, said: "It is unbelievable how Government officials release information about prison conditions without many of them ever having been in the cells set aside for black people. For two weeks I was held in a police cell where each meal was coffee and a piece of dry bread."

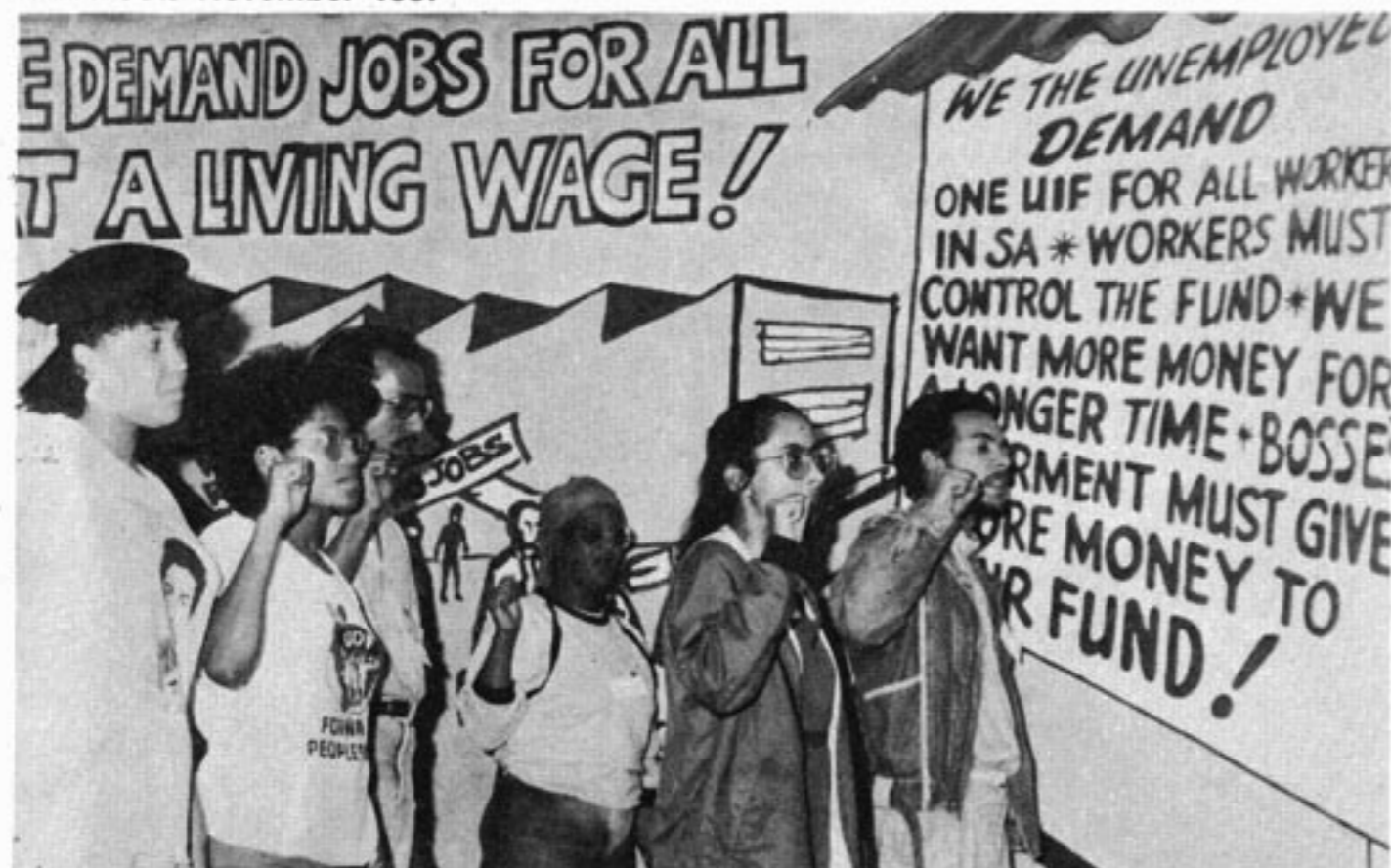
Moses Dikgacwi, who spent a year in George Prison under the emergency, said: "It is the white prisoners who enjoy such privileges... Where did they get the

information that we slept on a bed with sheets and cushions?"

Why did they not show the two thin mats on which you have to sleep, as well as the dirty blankets they give you. Usually you only get three blankets, no matter how cold it is."

Another person who did not want to be named, commented: "Why did SATV show us empty cells? Why did they not show the public how up to 40 people have to live together in one cell? To most of the detainees, the programme was a clear case of Government propaganda. It came at a time when there was massive pressure on the Government to release all detainees and political prisoners."





Participants sing the national anthem Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika at the end of the AGM of the Advice Office Forum

## Advice Office forum holds AGM

THE Advice Office Forum held its 3rd AGM on the weekend of 31 October 1987 with approximately 50 delegates present. They represented 14 advice offices from areas throughout the Cape Flats as well as Atlantis and Saldanha.

Joseph Thee, vice-chairperson of COSATU Western Cape region gave the opening address

on the first night of the AGM.

The secretary of the Advice Office Forum, Connie September, explained the need and role of advice offices: "In a country where our people have no rights and have no say in the making of laws, our people endure endless problems."

"The role of the advice office is to assist with HP, UIF, rents and electricity problems. But advice

offices should also work closely with community organisations to campaign against these issues." This is already happening as was heard from many area reports. Many victories were won through joint action from advice offices and community organisations.

The AGM resolved: to work closer with COSATU and affiliated trade unions; to inform communities of RSC's and JMC's and all reactionary forces; to liaise with other advice centres towards building a national structure; and together with CAYCO, to take up campaigns around detentions, arrests and other issues affecting communities.

Other resolutions were on building Advice offices in rural areas and to continue debates and discussions with other organisations.



SADF tents, instead of houses, have gone up in Crossroads.

## RESIDENTS REJECT COUNCIL ELECTIONS

WHILE thousands of people live in shacks and tents the Town Committees are busy preparing for their puppet elections in Guguletu, Nyanga, Langa and other areas.

Some people have been on the waiting list for more than five years. Pensioners, widowers, and young people resorted to squatting because of the shortage of houses.

Grassroots spoke to the residents about the elections which will be held in March next year.

One Guguletu resident said, "I do not accept the

town Committees let alone the elections that will be held in hidden places by the people whom we did not elect. As residents they did nothing for us.

One pensioner also from Guguletu said "When we forward our complaints to the Town Committees they don't give us answers. They only make promises. For instance we told them that pensioners must get their pension allowance every month like the so-called "coloureds" and whites.

The houses are in a very bad condition but we pay rent every month. The toilets and bathrooms are outside and this means that you cannot go to the toilet at night. The last thing they did was to sell the houses without consulting us. It means the tenant of the house will not even know that his house has been sold to somebody else.

One resident who identified herself as Mrs Cynthia Ntshona said, "I am a resident in Guguletu. We heard that there is a mayor. We don't know

him. We do not even know where he was elected.

Now we hear that there is going to be an election. God knows who must we vote for. One thing I want to say, "The government must not force the town Committees on us. We do not want them". One youth said, "I am appealing to the Western Cape people not to vote for the puppets. They are here to promote apartheid. For instance they just raise rent without consulting people. We want people to discuss their problems"

# Mbeki's release A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE PEOPLE

*THE release of Govan Mbeki has filled the hearts of millions of South Africans with joy. Many see it as a step towards ultimate victory. It is the struggle of our people that has secured his release. Grassroots looks at why he was released and what possible future moves can be expected.*

THE release of Govan Mbeki is a victory for the struggling people of South Africa. For years we have struggled for the release of all of our leaders. The names of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and all the Rivonia trialists have been on the lips of thousands of South Africans. And all over the world, streets and buildings are named after these Rivonia comrades to remind people of our struggle here in South Africa.

In 1985, Botha showed that he felt the pressure of the demands for the release of our leaders. He said he would release our leaders if they would "renounce violence". Mandela replied for all political prisoners when he rejected Botha's offer. He said that it was the regime that should renounce violence, and that he and his comrades would not turn their backs on the ANC. The Rivonia prisoners, said Mandela, were answerable to the people, not to Botha.

In the mass struggles of 1985 and 1986, the regime was shaken. Mandela and the ANC became central issues in the South African crisis. The entire international community, as well as important Botha allies like big businesses, began to echo the call to release the Rivonia comrades and unban the ANC. Even 'homeland' leaders like Buthelezi insisted on the release of Mandela before they would consider working in Botha's new National Council.

The people had made Mandela and his comrades such a key factor that the Botha regime could no longer pretend that they were not an issue.

Desperate to regain the political initiative, the regime changed the laws so that they could release political prisoners on 'humanitarian' grounds. They could then release the Rivonia comrades without being seen to back down politically. They even threw in the release of a couple of AWB terrorists to try and calm down the anger of right-wing whites.

They hope that they can release some of the Rivonia prisoners - maybe even Mandela - with the minimum political disruption. The State of Emergency is designed to stop us giving these leaders the welcome they deserve. The regime hopes that releasing a few prisoners will win them more support from overseas governments and from elements in the community (like Buthelezi) who they want to pull in to their schemes.

Mbeki's release is a test-case. If there are no major upheavals, they will release others. Possibly even Mandela. What they are trying to say to us is "keep calm and we'll release these prisoners".

This new strategy shows that the regime is weak. Not only has it failed through 23 years of imprisonment to make South Africa and the world forget Mandela - now they are forced to release him before they can get their own plans going.

Govan Mbeki has struck a further blow. He made it clear when he came out that he is still a member of the ANC and of the South African Communist Party, and that he has not changed his position. This gives the liberation movement a loud public voice right inside South Africa.

While Mbeki has been released, and more may follow, we must not back down on our demands. All our leaders in prison and detention must be released. And we demand the right to hear them - Mbeki may still not be quoted because he is 'listed'. We demand that the ANC and all other organisations be unbanned. And we demand that the People Shall Govern, as the Freedom Charter demands. There must be growing pressures on the regime to meet these demands - they cannot be allowed to sit back after releasing a few prisoners.

Govan Mbeki has come out into a changed world. But the most important difference is that victory for the people is now in sight, even for the ailing eyes of the ageing comrade.

## 'I saw my husband for 10 minutes each week!

FOR more than 16 months Mrs Nontsikelelo Qumbela had contact with her husband once a week, usually only for ten minutes.

During this period 57-year old Mr Qumbela had to live the life of a fugitive as he tried to avoid detention by the security police.

News of his detention last month therefore shocked his wife and family. "My husband was hiding for well over a year, she told Grassroots recently.

"I was shocked when I heard that my husband

was detained. He was in hiding for more than year now.

Com Q, as he is affectionately known, is an executive member of the UDF, Western Cape Region.

Mrs Qumbela said, "My husband left home before 12 of June last year. Since then I only saw him for about ten minutes once a week."

Asked if she has any source of income she said, "I am unemployed. Non of my children work. I don't know how will I manage to pay rent, electricity and

my phone bill".

Mr Qumbela has eight children ranging from two to 27 years. He suffers from diabetes and has problems with his legs. He has been receiving treatment from Groote Schuur Hospital.

Mrs Qumbela said her husband was detained on the 26th of October and kept in Kuilsriver Police station. He is now at Pollsmoor Prison. "Com Q" is the breadwinner in the house. He was working on a full-time basis for the UDF at the time of his arrest.



# ANC man released after 9 years on Robben Island

"PRISONERS on Robben Island survive not on the prison food, but on morale. And we draw morale from the support of people outside who help our families and send us news of events in the struggle".

These are the words of Lumko Mathews Huna. He was released on 14 October this year after spending 9 years and 9 months on Robben Island. He was detained in July 1978 and charged with recruiting members for

the African National Congress.

Lumko was given permission to marry his wife Emily during his trial and so was allowed visits from her and their three sons once a month while he was in prison.

Between visits he would spend time like the other comrades, reading the newspapers and trying to find out as much as possible about what was going on outside the gaol. All the newspapers that get sent to the island are

censored and although some of the prisoners subscribe to newspapers like Grassroots, they are often intercepted by the prison authorities and never reach the prisoners.

Despite this censorship Lumko told Grassroots that, "the main topic of conversation among prisoners is the struggle. Every little bit of information is eagerly analysed and discussed in terms of how it fits into the struggle more generally."

Lumko was not kept in

the same section as Nelson Mandela and in fact only met him twice. Even so he speaks of Mandela with respect and one can sense that Mandelas' presence is strongly felt by all the prisoners even if this is only indirectly.

Since his release Lumko says that he has seen many encouraging developments in the struggle in Cape Town. Most especially he says, "there are much broader sex sections of the people involved, including parents and workers. In 1978 it

was only really the youth who were active. Now there are so many organisations for people to join, and they provide a place for people to contribute to the struggle.

We asked Lumko if he would join an organisation now that he has been released. "Well, I'm still getting to know what is happening so its a bit early," he said. "But what I can say is that I knew I would not find radical changes in S.A. and what is sure is that one cannot leave the Struggle".



Lumko Mathews Huna

## YOUTH ORGANISE IN WHITE AREAS

OCTOBER 1987 saw the birth of two new youth organisations, the Gardens Youth Congress and the Mowbray Youth Congress.

Activists from both these organisations have identified their major political task amongst white youth as being that of winning support for the democratic movement. This includes winning support for the vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter, as well as popularising the organisations and leaders of the democratic movement.

They feel that they should draw in youth who want to participate actively in the struggle and develop their commitment to the struggle and the principle of working class leadership.

After consulting with CAYCO, it was decided to launch the two organisations aim to become branches of CAYCO. They feel that being under the discipline of a mass-based organisation is essential to building non-racialism in practice.

During the next few months they will be working closely with CAYCO, while CAYCO evaluates their requests for affiliation. Both are affiliated to the

UDF area committees in their areas.

Both Gardens and the Mowbray Youth Congress are committed to working as community-based organisations and aim to reach and involve as broad a range of youth in their areas as possible. They plan to implement CAYCO's programme of action in their areas.

During the next few months the two organisations will be running campaigns to popularise themselves in their areas. Planned activities include public meetings and educational forums, concerts, distribution of pamphlets, fun runs and social evenings.

At the same time they will be running internal education and training programmes for their members. Issues which will be taken up in these campaigns include unbanning the ANC, release of political prisoners and detainees, the Save the Patriots campaign the Freedom Charter, conscription, the Living Wage campaign and the education crisis.

The Mowbray Youth Congress will be officially launched at a concert in St. Michaels Church, Observatory, on 13 November, while the first public event of the Gardens Youth Congress will be a public meeting in Gardens on 26 November.



Professor Jakes Gerwel (right) followed by Dr Allan Boesak lead academics in a march at the University of the Western Cape as part of the national day of action to protest against the De Klerk Bills

## De Klerk Bills widely rejected

GOVERNMENT measures to control Universities has met with such a massive rejection, that it would be very difficult to impose.

In terms of the new measures, universities are required to report on any major University Administrations.

Failure to do so could result in the universities state subsidies being withdrawn, forcing them to close.

But the measures have

been met with anger and condemnation and thousands showed their rejection when a national day of action was held at the end of October.

Students, staff and workers united in their thousands and held marches and mass meetings at campuses throughout the country.

There were even protests at Afrikaans universities. 200 Nusas members at Stellenbosch University joined in the pro-

test and a Unisa lecturer was deported after she threw tomatoes at P W Botha.

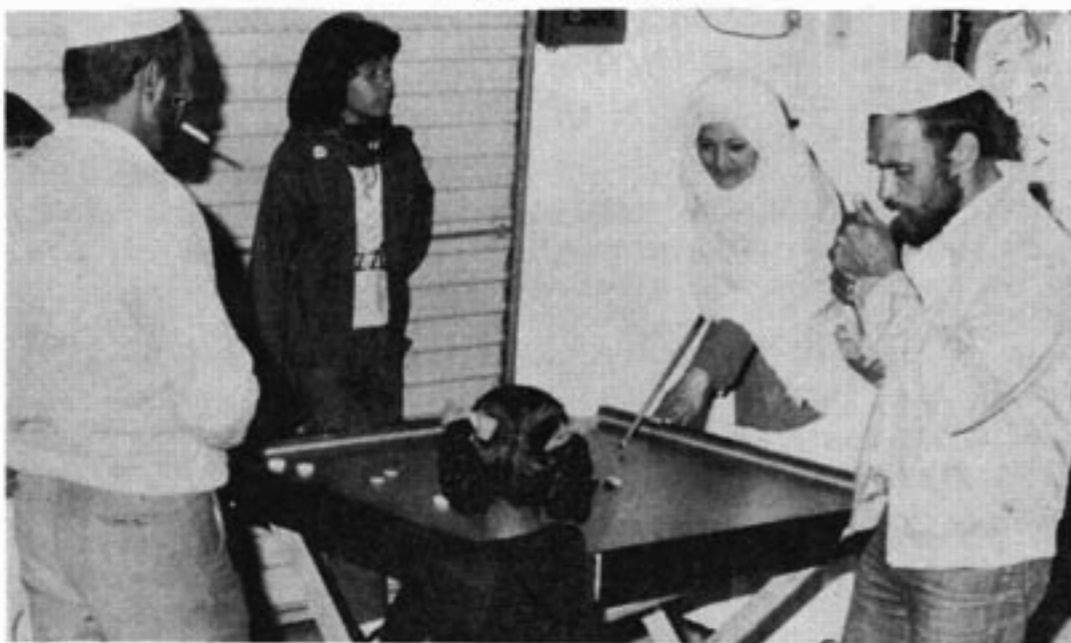
Besides the massive response from the Universities, community organisations and church groups have also strongly criticised the new measures.

The Western Province Council of Churches said "the De Klerk attack on academic freedom is another attempt to resist the war against apartheid.

"WPCC strongly condemns such an infringement on University autonomy".

UCT's Student Representative Council made a call on University administrators "to refuse to implement the De Klerk conditions".

The SRC said that it believed the De Klerk conditions to be an attempt to prevent anti-apartheid activity on campuses.



## Goolhurst residents organise

A group of residents from Goolhurst, which is a complex in Grassy Park

recently organised a games evening to raise funds for a vegetable co-operative which they are running.

Close to 150 Residents and their children attended. They are all members of the Goolhurst Helpmekaar Group which is part of the Lotus River and Grassy Park Residents Association (Logra).

## LOGRA MASS MEETING

THE newly-installed Regional Services Councils (RSC's) will be discussed at a mass meeting to be held at the Grassy Park Civic Centre next week.

The meeting is organised by the Lotus River and Grassy Park Residents Association (Logra) and will take place on Monday 23 November at 7.30 pm.

The meeting will focus on how the RSC's will affect rates and rents and other matters affecting the community.

**Grassy Park Civic Centre**  
**Monday 23 November 7.30 pm.**

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# grassroots SPORT

## SACB: 1977-1987 'BORN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM'

THE South African Cricket Board was formed ten years ago after officials who broke away from the South African Cricket Union (SACU) met in a shed at Tills Crescent as they laid down the principles of the new organisation.

At a summit meeting in Kimberley, in October 1977, five groups got together and the South African Cricket Board (SACB) was formed. During the WP/Natal game at the Till Crescent, the new non-racial national body was formed, and the principle of non-racialism was adopted.

Hassen Howa, then a young administrator, led the breakaway from SACU. In 1972, the International Cricket Conference (ICC), suspended South Africa until "multi-racial cricket was achieved."

In 1976 Varachia, the president of SACBOC for three years, took his Union over to join the white body, implementing the Government "normal sport" policy. All SACBOC units joined SACA to form SACU.

The Western Province Cricket Board was to follow suit on the 1st of October 1976. The majority of its members protested against playing normal sport

and requested Howa to fight this decision. The Western Province Cricket Board was now on its own playing non-racial cricket.

Today the SACB boasts affiliates from all parts of South Africa. The old adage that the SACB consists only of "Indian" and "coloured" cricket has long been discredited. Mackerdhuji, the president of the South African Cricket Board said that "SACB was born in the fight against racism."

Mr Mackerdhuji also said that the SACB is recognised internationally and the organisation's future has never looked bleak. "My best memories of ten years of the SACB include the comradeship, commitment and dedication of our people in overcoming the indignities thrust upon us. Those who were there from the beginning can understand and appreciate this all the more".

The present SAB executive members are: Krish Mackerdhuji (President) Raymond Uren (Vice President), Reggie Feldman (General Secretary), Yusuf Lorgat (MNR Secretary), Barney Leenderz Treasurer, Ronnie Pillay (Record Clerk) and Mkhusele Jobodwana (Exec member).



The South African Cricket Board has grown rapidly during the ten years of its existence. From humble beginnings it now has affiliates in every part of the country. Locally non-racial cricket has developed at a fast pace. Above: Stalwart, Saait Magiet shows his skills in a recent match.

## Conference calls for increased isolation of South Africa

"SOUTH African is uniquely evil in that it entrenches racism, it erects an economy built on racial exploitation, and it perpetuates the greatest denial of human rights of our time." This is one of the conclusions of the DECLARATION OF HARARE AGAINST APARTHEID SPORT.

The "DECLARATION" was adopted at the end of the three day International Conference Against Apartheid Sport (ICAAC) held in Harare, Zimbabwe earlier this month. The conference

was organised jointly by the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa. The Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa, the Union of African Sports Confederation and the South African non-racial Olympic Committees.

It was organised in co-operation with the ministry of youth, Sport and Culture of the Government of Zimbabwe, and received support from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.

The Conference which

was opened by the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Mugabe focussed attention on Apartheid Propoganda and South African attempts to re-enter International sport.

Comrade Mugabe highlighted the use of the passports of convenience by former Rhodesian citizens now resident in South Africa and assured the conference that steps are being taken by the relevant Zimbabwean Government Departments to have these passports withdrawn.

The conference was concerned at South African attempts to undermine and destabilise International Sports Federations with sophisticated propoganda campaigns and huge financial inducements to gullible money hungry sportsmen and teams with assistance of big multi-national companies.

Participants stressed the importance of the International Community to go over to "action" in its attempt to intensify the isolation of apartheid sport as part of the campaign to destroy the apartheid system as a whole.

Conference accepted the proposal of Chief Abraham Ordia of Nigeria to set up an International Information Bureau under the leadership of SANROC to counteract propoganda and disinformation coming from South Africa.

Anti-Apartheid organisations are to be given due recognition and contacts are to be maintained at Inter-national level.

Significantly the conference declared: "We the participants at the International Conference Against Sport recognise that Apartheid as a system defies any meaningful reform, apartheid must be destroyed root and branch. We recognise too, that there can be no normal sport in an apartheid society, one in which the distribution of resources is grossly distorted on the grounds of race and where children and youth are effectively denied equality of facilities and equality of opportunity".

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