

grassroots

THE PAPER ABOUT YOU

Vol. 6

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December 1985

**CHRISTMAS
FREE!
EDITION**

New worker-giant challenges the government

Scrap pass laws - or else!

"The government must scrap influx control and pass laws - or else we'll burn the passes of the black man"

This was one of the statements made at the launching of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in Durban this month. Representing over half a million, COSATU is the biggest union federation in South Africa's History.

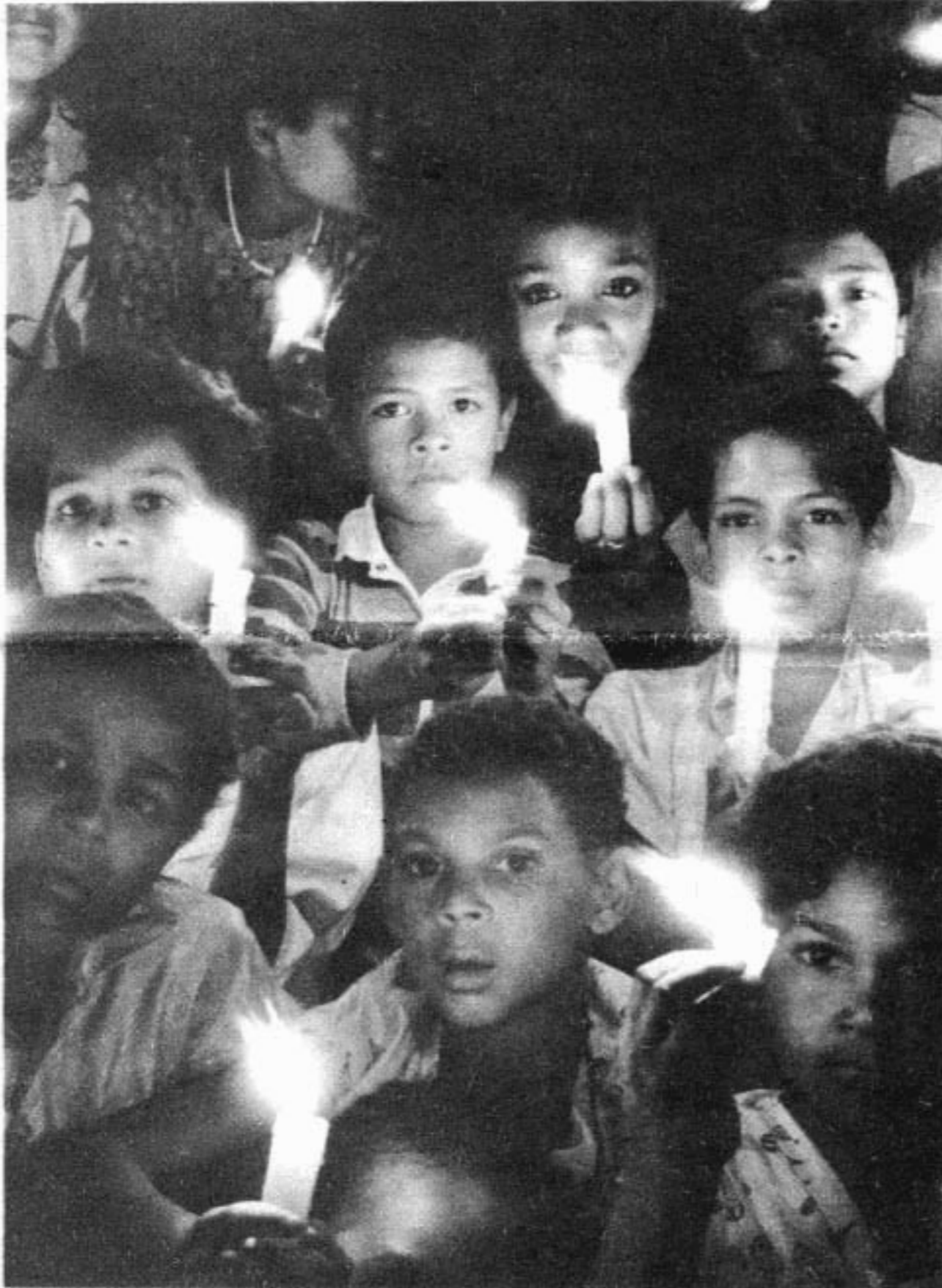
Addressing an excited crowd of 15 000, the newly elected COSATU president, Mr Elijah Barayi attacked the government and called for the release of Nelson Mandela. He said that COSATU gave its full support to the call for economic disinvestment.

Opening the congress on Friday night, Cyril Ramaphosa (general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers) called on workers to remember that the struggle in the factories was part of a bigger political struggle. He also called for an end to unemployment and poverty, and for a redistribution of wealth.

Many of the members of the new executive have been involved in political organisations. The general secretary, Jay Naidoo is a UDF sympathiser, his assistant Sydney Mafumadi is a UDF official, and Mr. Barayi was involved in the ANC before it was banned in 1960.

Also on the executive are vice-presidents Chris Dlamini (ex-president of FOSATU) and Mr Malhulu Leowaba.

The new federation was widely greeted as a significant achievement for the workers' struggle. Messages of support were received from trade unions all over the world, and from the UDF which called it "another great step in the heroic struggle of the workers".



Candle Light Vigils have become a new form of protest action in many areas on Wednesday evenings. The UDF has called for vigils in all areas every Wednesday until Christmas Day.

A CHRISTMAS TO REMEMBER

THE United Democratic Front and other organisations have called for a Christmas of concern.

"This year, our minds will not be on parties and festivities. This year rather, we will think of those who have sacrificed for us. We will think of those whose loved ones have been killed in the struggle; of those in detentions; of the many who have sacrificed their exams; and of the future for which we are all fighting," the UDF said in a statement.

Most churches and Muslim lead-

ers have supported this call.

Churches will have special services, light candles and toll their bells.

People are asked not to waste and to spend wisely this Christmas.

The candlelight vigils, which started in Athlone and spread throughout the Western Cape, will continue until Christmas, each week with a different theme.

The themes are:

- Unemployment and hardship (December 4). People are asked to think about the hardship and hung-

er faced by the workers who have built the land. They must also think of the new union federation which gives workers hope for the future.

- Children under apartheid (December 11). This vigil is dedicated to the children who grow up under the shadows of the Casspirs. People will think about the children who have been shot and detained; and those who are starving and dying of hunger.

- Families under apartheid (December 18). This week will be dedicated to families who have

been separated by migrant labour laws and the group areas act. Those in prison who cannot be with their families will also be remembered.

- The future is ours (December 25). On Christmas Day, people will think of those who have sacrificed for a better future for all South Africans. People will think of the future they want of struggles still to be fought and renew their determination to be free.

The UDF has called on everyone to observe the Christmas of Concern with dignity and united action.

Hands off the People's Paper

This is the final edition of Grassroots for this year.

Like the two previous special editions, this one is free of charge. (Grassroots normally sells at twenty cents a copy.)

Police repression forces us to give Grassroots away for nothing in spite of our severe financial difficulties. (Our offices were recently destroyed and lots of damage caused. Valuable equipment was destroyed when Corporation Chambers, the building housing our offices, was burnt down)

Recently, we have seen an intensification of the repression. Hundreds of people have been detained under the state of emergency for even the mildest protest against apartheid.

People have been detained for having pamphlets or stickers, for doing things which any normal person would do when confronted with injustice.

Because of the powers granted to the police, they can detain anyone without having to give any reasons. We fear that innocent, caring, freedom-loving people may be detained for selling Grassroots. (A policeman, soldier or railways policeman may just decide that selling Grassroots constitutes an offence which could bring about the overthrow of the government or endanger public safety.

Help us keep alive

We have decided to bring out Grassroots in spite of the state of emergency because we feel we owe it to our readers and the people who have supported us over the past five years.

If the past five years have been hectic, the past few months have been turbulent and traumatic.

- * Our offices have been destroyed
- * Editions of Grassroots continue to be banned
- * Most Grassroots staff members have been detained or harassed by the police

Our organiser, Saleem Badat, is still in detention. He was detained on Friday 25 October and is being held under the emergency regulations. A few weeks earlier, he had spent more than 40 days under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

But Grassroots has continued to exist in spite of the repression. We have committed ourselves to serving our people.

If there are readers who want to assist Grassroots in any way, write to P.O. Box 1161, Cape Town.

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Atlantis - 'How can we go on?'

How much longer can Atlantis survive? Many people are asking this question as the hardship and suffering of the almost 80 000 residents becomes worse by the day. As Xmas draws nearer, 2 000 families face eviction, more than half the workers are without work and residents owe up to R3 000 in rental arrears. The council has also threatened to reduce water supply to 650 households to a trickle. The chairperson of

the Atlantis Residents Association (ARA), Mr. Noel Williams, recently said that Atlantis should be declared a disaster area. The ARA claims that more than 9 000 households had received eviction notices in the last six months. Members of ARA, the Atlantis Youth Congress, The Atlantis Advice Office and Atlantis Womens Organisation believe the call for a Xmas of concern would receive strong support in the area. "When 2 000 families face

eviction, what is there to celebrate. When so many are jobless, what is there to celebrate", said a member of ARA. But residents are not taking their problems lying down.

As soon as a family is evicted, other residents and youth carry their furniture back into their homes.

Through their organisations, people have stood by each other in every way possible.

Townships to boycott rents until demands are met

No to Rents!

RESIDENTS of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga have decided not to pay rent until certain demands are met.

- The demands include:
- The state of emergency must be lifted;
 - Detainees must be released;
 - The police and army must leave the townships;
 - Conditions in the areas must be improved;

Kwintlanganiso eyibizwe yi Parents Action Committee abahlali, babanezundululo abazithethayo ngenjongo yokuxhasa abafundi kwizikhalazo zabo kuRhulumentu ABAHLALI baphekemiso ukuba iRente ingahlawulwa de izikholazo zobafundi zife zekiswe. Nombutho woma khosikazi i UWO yabanenthonganiso apho abahlali baphinda babanezo ziphakamiso zokuba kunga Rentwa. Intlanganiso yoyijonge ne nenkqubo yamajoni la asezikholazo. Ngoko ke zombini ezintlanganiso zabanesindululo e Sithi: "iRente ayihlawulwa" amajoni aphume aphele Imfuno zabafundi zifizekiswa.

- Electricity must be reduced from R36 a year to R20;
- Everyone should have a right to buy houses under the 99-year lease scheme.
- Conditions at schools must be improved;
- School fees must be

Children experience a moment of happiness - although their parents are in jail: Friends and family of detainees held a party to brighten the lives of detainees kids in Athlone last month. More than a hundred children were there to share the fun.



Six Month Deadline to meet demands PE BOYCOTT SUSPENDED

MORE than 50 000 people streamed into the Dan Qeque stadium in Port Elizabeth on December 1 for the first open-air political rally in years. The army and police kept a low profile during the four-hour long rally organised by PE's Consumer Boycott Action Committee.

In the jam-packed stadium, thousands among the singing and chanting crowd wore bright-yellow UDF T-shirts and khaki outfits with black berets. The people decided to suspend the four-and-a-

half month old consumer boycott of white-owned businesses.

But they warned that a national consumer boycott would be called in April if the Government fails to dismantle apartheid.

Commonwealth leaders have warned the Government that they would apply sanctions against South Africa if Apartheid was not dismantled by April.

Mkhuseli Jack, spokesperson for the Consumer Boycott Action Committee, who was recently released from detention,

spoke of the victories the community had achieved.

The police and army had withdrawn from PE's townships, 17 community leaders were released and permission was given for the open-air rally.

Mr. Jack said that many who had lost their jobs because of the state of emergency would be re-employed.

Several department stores had offered township pensioners the same discounts offered to elderly whites.

The change in attitude of the big bosses comes as no surprise.

The Consumer Boycott

has crippled most of the white-owned businesses.

More than 30 shops are reported to have closed down and many more white-owned shops face bankruptcy.

The people of the Eastern Cape know what power they have in their hands. They are determined to use this power to force the Government to listen to the people's long-term demands.

These include the total dismantling of Apartheid, the unbanning of Cosas and the ANC, the return of all exiles and the release of Nelson Mandela.



Thousands march under the banner of the UDF at the funeral of a victim of police action in Guguletu.

THE action of the police and army in Wynberg has deeply angered the people of the area.

The whipping and sjambokking of children, the arrests and detentions of many residents, the searches and ransacking of many homes have caused much bitterness.

But emotions ran high on Thursday November 28 when policemen entered the Park Road Mosque with their boots on.

The incident has been strongly condemned and criticised by most of Wynberg's people - both Muslim and Christian.

Outrage as police raid Wynberg Mosque with their boots on

We are Disgusted!

Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council, warned that the police action would have serious consequences.

The raid took place after a successful candlelight vigil organised by the Wynberg branch of the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), a UDF affiliate, together with

individuals from religious and other organisations.

During the vigil, parents, students and youths marched along Park and Ottery Roads, carrying candles.

The police and soldiers moved in to break up the march.

The Wynberg branch of Cayco said: "A most

peaceful form protest was stopped by heavily-armed policemen and soldiers.

"We can see the government shows no interest in peaceful solutions. Violence is one of their basic beliefs.

"We are disgusted by the police invasion of the mosque and the homes of people in the area," they said.

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3 000 Arrested in U.S.A. protest against S.A.

ABOUT 3 000 people have already been arrested in front of the South African Embassy in Washington for protesting against apartheid in South Africa.

Those arrested in the past year since the protest started on a daily basis, include Stevie Wonder, Harry Belafonte, Rev Jesse Jackson and Judy Collins.

The Mandela mystery

TWO weeks ago, a cat and mouse game was played by the powers over the rumoured release of Nelson Mandela.

But, was the imminent release of Mr. Mandela really a rumour or not?

If, by piecing together all the speculation and the mysterious comings and goings of certain individuals close to Mr. Mandela, it is clear that the authorities did make an offer to the jailed, popular leader.

It was widely reported that a deal was placed before Mr. Mandela that he would be released if he were prepared to either fly out to Lusaka and live a life of exile or that he be "freed" to Transkei.

The fact that he has been transferred from hospital back to a continued life behind bars, means that he is truly the leader of the people. A leader who has shown that he will not betray his people by accepting any deal that will take him away from the people.

On Thursday, 21 November, speculation about the imminent release of Mr. Mandela reached fever pitch, not only in South Africa, but mainly overseas.

Dozens of media people from all over camped outside the Volkshospitaal, where Mr. Mandela was recuperating after the removal of his prostate gland. They all wanted to make sure that they would be first in-line to capture the first photograph and first words of Mr. Mandela after 23 years.

Speculation was heightened when it was announced that an urgent application was sought for Mr. Mandela's legal advisors to consult with him.

The following morning, the two legal advisors, Mr. Ismail Ayob and Mr. George Bizos, along with Mr. Mandela's wife Winnie and daughter Zinzi arrived at the hospital. Mrs. Mandela spent about 15 minutes

with her husband, then emerged from the hospital smiling and looking unusually radiant.

The legal advisors stayed with Mr. Mandela for about 3 hours and emerged from the meeting tight-lipped about what was discussed. They said they could not comment due to them being restricted by the Prisons Act.

They did say, however, that Mr. Mandela was in high spirits and was deeply moved by the concern that was being expressed over him.

The following morning Mr. Mandela was spirited back to Pollsmoor Prison, in the very early hours back behind iron bars.

However, the speculation over Mr. Mandela's release did not die down. Many overseas newspapers and commentators pointed out that serious negotiation was still in the offing and that it was highly likely that Mr. Mandela will be released within a few months.



MRS WINNIE MANDELA with her two daughters, Zinzi (left) and Zenani (right) after a visit to Mr Nelson Mandela.

'One country one federation'

A worker giant was born in Durban this weekend with the launching of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Representing 37 unions and over 500 000 workers, COSATU is one of the biggest union federations in the history of South Africa.

A leading union in the new federation is the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) with over 180 000 members. NUM has been at the forefront of worker struggles in the last few months.

Talks for the federation began in Cape Town in 1981. Since then, there have been long negotiations, with some problems. Some of these were whether unions should be registered, and whether unions should be industry based (one union per industry) rather than general (one union organising in different industries).

In May 1985, most of these issues were resolved. It was agreed that the federation would be based on five working principles: non-racialism; worker control of structures; general unions would become industry based unions, or merge with existing industry based unions; national co-operation; and representation on the basis of the number of paid up members.

However, two union federations (the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) could not agree on the issue of non-racialism - They believe that the leadership of the unions should only be black.

Because of this, they

have withdrawn from the federation.

The lengthy negotiations have however given the unions a chance to sort out some of their differences, and have laid a basis for a solid unity in COSATU. This will greatly strengthen the workers' struggle against oppression and exploitation.

The federation comes after a long and bitter struggle for the recognition of Black trade unions, and the rights of black workers. Fifteen years ago, black workers had almost no organisations to fight their grievances.

Since the Durban strikes in 1973, workers have slowly been learning the power of united and organised action. It has not been an easy battle - union leaders and workers have been detained and imprisoned, striking workers have lost their jobs - some have even been killed.

Recently, there have been other problems, such as the recession and rapidly growing unemployment rate. This has meant many unions losing their members, and has made workers more fearful of losing their jobs.

But despite these, the independent union movement has won many significant victories. In 1979, the government was forced to call a commission of enquiry. This led to the recognition of black trade unions for the first time in South Africa.

Through strikes and other industrial action, the unions have also won many demands for wage increases and better working conditions.

HUGE SUPPORT FOR STUDENT DEMANDS

BOYCOTTING students have received wide support for their demand that the 1985 final exams be postponed to March next year.

And, the students have warned, if the government and the education authorities do not give in to their demands, the boycott may continue and intensify when schools officially re-open in January for the 1986 school year.

Hospital workers back

BARAGWANATH hospital workers and student nurses won a major victory when they were reinstated on Nov 26. The 800 hospital workers and 900 student nurses were fired after going on strike on Nov 13.

The dispute started when the hospital workers decided to strike in demand for higher pay. The average wage for the workers is R150 per month - their last wage increase was in 1981. Many of them have been working for 10 to 18 years - but they are still classified as temporary employees.

The hospital authorities refused to listen to the workers demands, and called in the police - who baton charged the workers and arrested over 700. These were later charged with attending an illegal gathering.

At the same time, the student nurses had presented their demands to the matron. These included: that the residence gates be kept open later than 8.00 p.m.; better food; and an end to the vic-

timisation and unfair dismissals. The nurses refused to do the work of the striking hospital workers, but did not refuse to attend to patients.

When the matron refused to hear their demands, the nurses went on a march, which was broken up by hospital security guards. Several nurses were injured.

The nurses and hospital workers were dismissed on Nov 18. While they were off work, the hospital was thrown into chaos, and the SADF took over some of their duties.

Later the authorities were forced to back down and reinstate the workers on Nov 26.

The response of the hospital authorities has caused a lot of anger inside and outside South Africa. In the words of one of the workers, "It is scandalous that we should be treated like this after so many years of loyalty and sacrifice. We were not fighting, but the authorities called in the army, guns and all."

"All we are asking for was a living wage, not money that would turn us into overnight tycoons!"

Plain student.

"Some children did write, but that was not because they wanted to, but because of pressure from their parents or because they were forced to write by the policemen and soldiers on the schoolgrounds.

"In fact, the withdrawal of the police and army is one of our main demands. We want the troops to leave our schools and our townships. Our other demands include

the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the release of all detainees, the lifting of the state of emergency and the right to have democratic SRC's at our schools."

"But it appears as if the government is not prepared to meet our demands. If they remain intransigent, there will be more trouble at schools next year," the student said.

The students have also expressed support for those teachers who face suspension or dismissal because they refuse to administer the "farcical" final exams.

A fund has been started to assist those teachers who have had their November and December salaries withdrawn by the Department of Education and Culture.

The 2 000-strong Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU) has

asked all its members to contribute R50 a month towards this fund.

Wectu has also decided that its members should not administer the exams and that the union would go to court to challenge the actions of the education authorities.

Wectu wants the suspended teachers to be re-instated and the exams declared null and void.

Some teachers have been told that their services would no longer be needed at school next year. One teacher said he had not been given a reason, but believed it to be because of his support for the students.

It is believed that similar action has been taken against teachers at Crestway, Cathkin, Harold Cressy and a number of other schools.

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When your house is a prison

The government finds new ways of banning us

TREVOR MANUEL, the UDF's Western Cape secretary, has been banned for five years, until 1990.

He may not speak at meetings, or even attend meetings. He may not be quoted in the newspapers or any publication. He cannot leave the Cape Town magisterial district. And he cannot leave his house at night, over weekends or on public holidays.

In short, Mr Manuel, a respected community leader and outspoken fighter against apartheid, has been silenced and house-arrested by the government.

His only "visit" is that he spoke out against apartheid and injustice and that he tried to convince people that if everyone stood together and fought against apartheid, it was possible to turn South Africa into a country where the people govern, where there are houses, security and comfort, where the wealth is shared and where all discriminatory laws are done away with.

The government did not like Mr Manuel's message of hope. So they silenced him.

Mr Manuel's history of writing his people is impressive. He used to be the secretary of the Kensington/Factoria Ratepayers and Tenants Association. Later he became general secretary of the Cape Area Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) and was in the forefront of the fight against high rents and bad housing maintenance.

In 1962, when the UDF was formed, he was unanimously elected as its secretary. He also became a member of the UDF's national executive committee.

In 1984, when many of the UDF leaders were in detention, he went up to Johannesburg to run the UDF's head office for a few months.

For many months this year, Mr Manuel and other UDF leaders were on the run from police.

He was detained on October 22 at the UDF's Cape Town office and held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He received his banning order on the first day of his detention. He was only released a few weeks later.

Lately, the government has not used banning orders to silence their critics. Opponents of the government have been detained, accused of treason, and, in some cases, crippled with criminal charges.

In the last few months, however, the government has used what some observers call a banning order in camouflage.

When Dr Allan Boesak was released from detention, he was served with bail conditions which read like a banning order.

Dr Saloojee was treated in the psychiatric ward of a Johannesburg hospital for the last month of his detention.

His restriction order is effective while the state of emergency lasts. In terms of the order he may not leave the Johannesburg magisterial district, take part in any educational institution, attend any meetings or prepare anything for publication.

Other Johannesburg detainees have also been served with similar restriction orders.

"HOW can we celebrate this Christmas when so many young children have been killed or injured, when so many people have been detained for no reason whatsoever? No, this Christmas will not be joyous. It will be one filled with sadness and concern."

These words, spoken by a mother who lost her son during police action, sum up the feelings of thousands of people in the Western Cape.

This Christmas, the candlelight vigils will continue. Mothers, fathers and children will stand with candles outside their houses.

They will think of those who lost their loved ones in the past few months, those who may be scarred for life after being beaten by policemen.

They will think of those in detention at Victor Verster and Pollsmoor Prisons who have gone on hungerstrike to protest against their detention.

They will think of Oscar Mphahlele, 76, who is serving a 10-year prison sentence.

And as everyone holds their candles, they will also think of freedom.

Light a candle for us



Children shot by police in Athlone.



Family of incest victim Mbuyisile Mize (16) weep at his graveside.

This Christmas, we remember the children brutally killed by police bullets. We remember those in detention, and those locked up in prison for life. We remember those who are hungry and without hope. We remember the mothers who have raised their fists in anger and pain. And we look forward to a new life, a new freedom which we know we will win someday.

Things will never be the same . . .

In thousands of homes this Christmas, there will be loved ones missing.

In many cases, those loved ones may be in detention.

In at least 700 homes, those loved ones will not be at the Christmas dinner because they have become victims of the army and police action in townships throughout the country.

Some of those killed were a few months old, others barely teenagers. Some had not even begun to understand the meaning of the word apartheid.

For the families of these victims, Christmas, and in fact, their lives will never be the same again.

Like the family of a two-month-old baby at Guguletu who died allegedly because of a tragic fall.

Like the family of 12-year-old Sean Magonat, of Athlone, who was killed by police in Athlone, when police fired into a crowd from in-between crates on the back of a rammed truck.

Like the family of 16-year-old Elton Thompson of Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, who went to visit a friend and four days later his body was discovered at a mortuary. Police had denied any knowledge of his whereabouts.

Like the young wife and baby of 20-year-old Magonat, his Christmas, who was shot dead on his way home from a rugby club meeting.

Like the families of hundreds more who became unwilling victims of the police and army.

"This Christmas we will not be able to celebrate. There will be an empty space at the table to remind us of one loved one who was killed. What happened to us could have happened to anyone. Our lives will never ever be the same again, not after the tragedy that befell our family," said a woman from Mitchells Plain whose son was killed. She asked us not to use her name.

Mama Zihlangu fights on

MAMA Zihlangu is over 70 years old. She has been in detention for 6 weeks. She may spend Christmas in jail - far from her family and friends.

Mama Zihlangu is the chairperson of the United Women's Organisation. She has been fighting in the struggle for over thirty years.

This is not the first time of emergency she has suffered. On April 1962, she was at home with her children. Suddenly they were army and police all over the township, and helicopters circling overhead. The 1960 State of Emergency had been declared.

She was taken with her children and thousands of other detainees to a hall in Nyanga. The detainees sat with their heads covered, and were not allowed to see him.

When she came out of jail, she learnt that her husband had also been detained. For months she went from police station to police station, searching for him. At last she managed to see him, briefly. He told her that he had been tortured, and made to drink "rice water" which gave him scars on his mouth.

A few months later she learnt by chance that he was in hospital. He died in 1965. The police told her it was cancer - but she believes he was poisoned.

Hardship and suffering is nothing new to Mama Zihlangu. Even now, she cannot enjoy her old age in peace. But her courage, and certainty that one day South Africa will be free, has given her the strength to carry on fighting. We salute her for her bravery and determination!

'Botha's Army took my Mummy Away'

Two year old Ruth Simons has felt the effects of detention twice in less than two months.

Her father, Willie Simons, was detained for more than a month under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. About three weeks after his release, her mother, Venetia, was detained under the emergency regulations.

Willie Simons, chairperson of the Rocklands Ratepayers Association, was detained with many other leaders a few days before the Mandela march.

Venetia Simons, the UDF's Mitchell's Plain secretary, was detained under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act on Friday October 25, the day before the state of emergency was extended to Cape Town. She was held at Pollsmoor Prison.

Ruth is too small to understand why her daddy, and now her mummy, have been detained. All she knows is that "Botha's army took my mummy away".

Ruth is one of hundreds of children who may have to spend Christmas without their parents because of detention.

Leah, Yvonne and Fidel, the three young children of Johnny and Sheila Reed, share her plight.

Sheila Reed was detained on October 25, while police have gone on an all-out search for Johnny.

Leah Reed, 12, the eldest of the three children, "celebrates" her birthday on Friday December 29 - without her mummy or daddy.

This is not the first time that Leah had to spend her birthday without her parents. When she turned one year old, her father was in detention. That was in 1973, the first of many periods in detention for Johnny Reed, the first Griquatown organizer.

Another child whose parents have both been taken away by police, is 12 year old Le-Anne Robinson.

Her mother, Thelma (secretary of the Mitchell's Plain Co-ordinating Committee) and her father, Maxine, were detained on Monday October 29. Both are being held under the emergency regulations - Maxine at Victor Verster in Pretoria and Thelma at Pollsmoor.

Shelley Lombard is twelve years old and he misses "Mummy coming home with my daddy in the evenings".

Colleen Lombard, an organizer for the Clothing Workers Union, was detained at her home at 4, Shun on Tuesday October 29.

Asked if he knew why his mother was detained, Shelley said: "they want an address from her, and if she doesn't know, then why do they keep her?"

"Why do they keep her longer when her husband gets out?", he asked.

Faustin Omar, 12, was really woken up when she heard security policemen shooting at her father to hurry up.

The policeman had come to detain her father, Advocate A M "Dada" Omar, at 4am on Friday October 25. He had been released three weeks earlier from one month's detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Faustin said: "I was shocked when I saw them coming to detain my father again, I could not sleep".

"I miss him a lot. He used to take me to school and I used to go to work with him on Saturdays".

We asked her if she thought his detention was fair.

"It's not fair that they detained any of the people. They did nothing wrong," Faustin said.

Faustin saw her father for the first time at Victor Verster Prison more than three weeks after he had been detained.

"He looked very tired and thin", she said.

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When your house is a prison

The government finds new ways of banning us

TREVOR MANUEL, the UDF's Western Cape secretary, has been banned for five years, until 1990.

He may not speak at meetings, or even attend meetings. He may not be quoted in the newspapers or any publication. He cannot leave the Cape Town magisterial district. And he cannot leave his house at night, over weekends or on public holidays.

In short, Mr Manuel, a respected community leader and outspoken fighter against apartheid, has been silenced and house-arrested by the government.

His only "visit" is that he spoke out against apartheid and injustice and that he tried to convince people that if everyone stood together and fought against apartheid, it was possible to turn South Africa into a country where the people govern, where there are houses, security and comfort, where the wealth is shared and where all discriminatory laws are done away with.

The government did not like Mr Manuel's message of hope. So they silenced him.

Mr Manuel's history of writing his people is impressive. He used to be the secretary of the Kensington/Factoria Ratepayers and Tenants Association. Later he became general secretary of the Cape Area Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) and was in the forefront of the fight against high rents and bad housing maintenance.

In 1962, when the UDF was formed, he was unanimously elected as its secretary. He also became a member of the UDF's national executive committee.

In 1984, when many of the UDF leaders were in detention, he went up to Johannesburg to run the UDF's head office for a few months.

For many months this year, Mr Manuel and other UDF leaders were on the run from police.

He was detained on October 22 at the UDF's Cape Town office and held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He received his banning order on the first day of his detention. He was only released a few weeks later.

Lately, the government has not used banning orders to silence their critics. Opponents of the government have been detained, accused of treason, and, in some cases, crippled with criminal charges.

In the last few months, however, the government has used what some observers call a banning order in camouflage.

When Dr Allan Boesak was released from detention, he was served with bail conditions which read like a banning order.

Dr Saloojee was treated in the psychiatric ward of a Johannesburg hospital for the last month of his detention.

His restriction order is effective while the state of emergency lasts. In terms of the order he may not leave the Johannesburg magisterial district, take part in any educational institution, attend any meetings or prepare anything for publication.

Other Johannesburg detainees have also been served with similar restriction orders.

"HOW can we celebrate this Christmas when so many young children have been killed or injured, when so many people have been detained for no reason whatsoever? No, this Christmas will not be joyous. It will be one filled with sadness and concern."

These words, spoken by a mother who lost her son during police action, sum up the feelings of thousands of people in the Western Cape.

This Christmas, the candlelight vigils will continue. Mothers, fathers and children will stand with candles outside their houses.

They will think of those who lost their loved ones in the past few months, those who may be scarred for life after being beaten by policemen.

They will think of those in detention at Victor Verster and Pollsmoor Prisons who have gone on hungerstrike to protest against their detention.

They will think of Oscar Mphahlele, 76, who is serving a 10-year prison sentence.

And as everyone holds their candles, they will also think of freedom.

Light a candle for us . . .



Children shot by police in Athlone.



Family of infant victim Mbuyisele Mize (16) weep at his graveside.

This Christmas, we remember the children brutally killed by police bullets. We remember those in detention, and those locked up in prison for life. We remember those who are hungry and without hope. We remember the mothers who have raised their fists in anger and pain. And we look forward to a new life, a new freedom which we know we will win someday.

Things will never be the same . . .

In thousands of homes this Christmas, there will be loved ones missing.

In many cases, those loved ones may be in detention.

In at least 700 homes, those loved ones will not be at the Christmas dinner because they have become victims of the army and police action in townships throughout the country.

Some of those killed were a few months old, others barely teenagers. Some had not even begun to understand the meaning of the word apartheid.

For the families of these victims, Christmas, and in fact, their lives will never be the same again.

Like the family of a two-month-old baby at Guguletu who died allegedly because of a tragic fall.

Like the family of 12-year-old Sean Magonat, of Athlone, who was killed by police in Athlone, when police fired into a crowd from in-between crates on the back of a rammed truck.

Like the family of 16-year-old Elton Thompson of Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, who went to visit a friend and four days later his body was discovered at a mortuary. Police had denied any knowledge of his whereabouts.

Like the young wife and baby of 20-year-old Magonat, he Elzhen, of Lantana, who was shot dead on his way home from a rugby club meeting.

Like the families of hundreds more who became unwilling victims of the police and army.

"This Christmas we will not be able to celebrate. There will be an empty space at the table to remind us of one loved one who was killed. What happened to us could have happened to anyone. Our lives will never ever be the same again, not after the tragedy that befell our family," said a woman from Mitchell's Plain whose son was killed. She asked us not to use her name.

Mama Zihlangu fights on

MAMA Zihlangu is over 70 years old. She has been in detention for 6 weeks. She may spend Christmas in jail - far from her family and friends.

Mama Zihlangu is the chairperson of the United Women's Organisation. She has been fighting in the struggle for over thirty years.

This is not the first time of emergency she has suffered. On April 1962, she was at home with her children. Suddenly they were army and police all over the township, and helicopters circling overhead. The 1960 State of Emergency had been declared.

She was taken with her children and thousands of other detainees to a hall in Nyanga. The detainees sat with their heads covered, and were not allowed to see him.

When she came out of jail, she learnt that her husband had also been detained. For months she went from police station to police station, searching for him. At last she managed to see him, briefly. He told her that he had been tortured, and made to drink "rice water" which gave him scars on his mouth.

A few months later she learnt by chance that he was in hospital. He died in 1965. The police told her it was cancer - but she believes he was poisoned.

Hardship and suffering is nothing new to Mama Zihlangu. Even now, she cannot enjoy her old age in peace. But her courage, and certainty that one day South Africa will be free, has given her the strength to carry on fighting. We salute her for her bravery and determination!

'Botha's Army took my Mummy Away'

Two year old Ruth Simons has felt the effects of detention twice in less than two months.

Her father, Willie Simons, was detained for more than a month under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. About three weeks after his release, her mother, Venetia, was detained under the emergency regulations.

Willie Simons, chairperson of the Rocklands Ratepayers Association, was detained with many other leaders a few days before the Mandela march.

Venetia Simons, the UDF's Mitchell's Plain secretary, was detained under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act on Friday October 25, the day before the state of emergency was extended to Cape Town. She was held at Pollsmoor Prison.

Ruth is too small to understand why her daddy, and now her mummy, have been detained. All she knows is that "Botha's army took my mummy away".

Ruth is one of hundreds of children who may have to spend Christmas without their parents because of detention.

Leah, Yvonne and Fidel, the three young children of Johnny and Sheila Reed, share her plight.

Sheila Reed was detained on October 25, while police have gone on an all-out search for Johnny.

Leah Reed, 12, the eldest of the three children, "celebrates" her birthday on Friday December 29 - without her mummy or daddy.

This is not the first time that Leah has had to spend her birthday without her parents. When she turned one year old, her father was in detention. That was in 1973, the first of many periods in detention for Johnny Reed, the first Griquatown organizer.

Another child whose parents have both been taken away by police, is 12 year old Le-Anne Robinson.

Her mother, Thelma (secretary of the Mitchell's Plain Co-ordinating Committee) and her father, Maxine, were detained on Monday October 29. Both are being held under the emergency regulations - Maxine at Victor Verster in Pretoria and Thelma at Pollsmoor.

Shelley Lombard is twelve years old and he misses "Mummy coming home with my daddy in the evenings".

Colleen Lombard, an organizer for the Clothing Workers Union, was detained at her home at 4, Shun on Tuesday October 29.

Asked if he knew why his mother was detained, Shelley said: "they want an address from her, and if she doesn't know, then why do they keep her?"

"Why do they keep her longer when her husband gets out?", he asked.

Faustin Omar, 12, was really woken up when she heard security policemen shooting at her father to hurry up.

The policeman had come to detain her father, Advocate A M "Dada" Omar, at 4am on Friday October 25. He had been released three weeks earlier from one month's detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Faustin said: "I was shocked when I saw them coming to detain my father again, I could not sleep".

"I miss him a lot. He used to take me to school and I used to go to work with him on Saturdays".

We asked her if she thought his detention was fair.

"It's not fair that they detained any of the people. They did nothing wrong," Faustin said.

Faustin saw her father for the first time at Victor Verster Prison more than three weeks after he had been detained.

"He looked very tired and thin", she said.

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KASSELSVLEI ROAD, BELLVILLE SOUTH

Letters

Release Rev. Chris Nissen!

Dear GRASSROOTS I would like to tell your readers about the Rev. Chris Nissen. He was born in Cape Town 27 years ago. But he was always around the country because of his duty to the church. God nominated him. He is fighting against

injustice, inequality and exploitation as well. In 1982 he was sent to Venda. But he did not stay there long because the government gave him 24 hours to leave. After that he travelled around the country helping the poor and preaching the good

news. In 1983 he came to Graaf Reinet. He has been detained and tortured several times by the police. He was a close friend of Matthew Goniwe and Fort Calata. He is highly respected by the community of Graaf Reinet. The security police always threaten to kill him. They dislike him because of his involvement in the struggle

Chris Nissen does what God and the people expect him to do. He has been held under the State of Emergency for three months with his wife and friend. The security police don't see our Reverend as a minister and a person. They say he is a "terrorist". So we in Graaf Reinet demand the release of Rev Chris Nissen, Rev. Fred Huffie and the others. And we demand the lifting of the state of emergency. We say to those in power God will punish them for what they are doing to our people.

From a worried comrade in Graaf Reinet.

"Ons moet saamstaan!" - Aberdeen

Liewer GRASSROOTS Ek wil net graag 'n beroep doen op die gemeenskap van Aberdeen. Hier is geen same werking, broederskap of eenheid in hierdie dorp nie. Die mens is nog kleur bewus, status bewus.

Ons almal word tog onderdruk ons almal voel die pyn. Waarom kan ons almal dan nou nie saamstaan en veg vir onse regte

nie? Hier is baie probleme in hierdie dorp dat niemand dit kan bekostig om rond te stoer nie.

Hippos en caspys ry onnodig rond in Aberdeen se strate want hier is tog niks wat hier gebeur nie. Die gemeenskap sit plat en doen geen beroep dat die soldate uit die buurte moet bly nie.

Hier is geen werk vir swart mense nie. Die

huise is 'n baie swak toestand. Die meeste mense woon in sinkhuise wat hulle met hulle eie plate gebou het, maar dan word daar steeds rent betaal van R10,00. Munisipaliteit sluit die mense uit hulle huise uit en sit ander mense in.

Hier is geen ligte nie. Jy kan saans skaars jou hand sien so donker is die plek. Van sale gepraat, hier is

glad nie so iets vir die jeug nie, nie eens 'n kerkzaal nie.

Dan wil ek graag 'n beroep doen en die ouers van Aberdeen vra om te luister na hul kinders. Dis nie kinders se stryd nie maar die mense se stryd. Ek wil net vir hulle sê stand up and fight for your rights! Long live Aberdeen Youth Congress!

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I Salute You, Comrade!

Dec. 16 is Hero's Day — The day we remember those who have died in the struggle for freedom. This poem is dedicated to all those who have sacrificed for our struggle.

Let me raise my right hand
As a sign of honour and respect.
Let me Salute you for your participation in Alluta.

A white man cam, dispession and slavery came to being
Man became a serpent slipping secretly away into the underworld of exile
Paying heed to the weary dispondent voice, the voice of Mandela, Our black, Saviour.
Singing the last song of togetherness:
Unzima lo Mthwalo
Ufuna Amadoda
Unzima lo Mthwalo
Ufuna sihlanguane

Let me Salute you, Comrade
As you kept on fighting day and night
Come rain or wind
Christmas and new year experiencing year without season.

In exile, you appear to the world as a motherless creature that has never felt the warmth of parental love, a deserted child.
But freedom haunted you, like death lurking innocent people,
I salute You, Comrade.

In front of me I see a despondent Mother with an overcast face
tears trikle down like rain's drops that water the barren soll,
Crying for her long lost Son.

Let me Salute You Comrade for the endurance of agony and anguish
You've sustained.
As the unjust Walls Yawn at you.
Your eyes caress the night forever,
Your lips kissed the dawn
As death smiled amicably at you dying for My Freedom.

Now it is my turn to seek the freedom, As you did for me
Perhaps In their remorse, My Comrade, we will have Sympathy for them.
I Salute You.

by PHILIP MAZOBIANE SEATE

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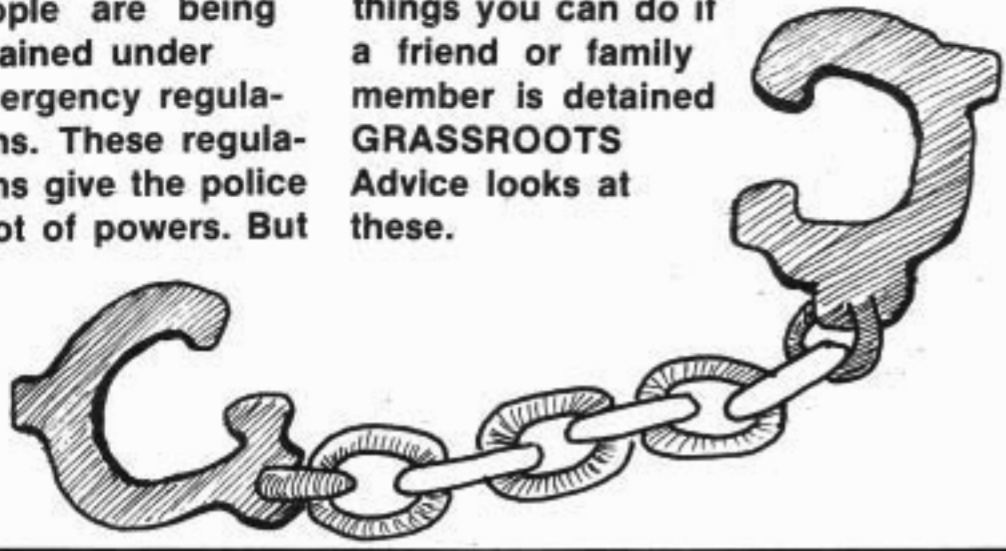


ADVICE

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

Many hundreds of people are being detained under Emergency regulations. These regulations give the police a lot of powers. But

there are some things you can do if a friend or family member is detained. GRASSROOTS Advice looks at these.



- 1. LAWYER:** Either get a Lawyer or if you don't know one, phone the Relief Office (Church House, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town: Tel.: 24-3782) who will find one for you.
- 2. WHICH PRISON?** The Lawyer must contact the Divisional Commissioner of Police in Cape Town to ask whether the person has been detained under the emergency, and where the person is being held. The

Lawyer must make sure that the person was detained under the Emergency Regulations. He will then tell you which prison or police station the person is in.

- 3. FOOD, MONEY AND CLOTHING:** You can take the following to the prison station for the detainee:

1. R20,00 once a week, so that he/she can buy cigarettes, food and toiletries from the prison shop.
2. A Bible.
3. School or University books.
4. Other books or magazines.

5. Two sets of clean clothes. Warm and comfortable clothes are important, e.g. Jersey, track-suit, socks, tacksies.
4. **VISITS:** Some police stations have a form that you can fill in to get a visit. If there is no form at the prison where your friend or family-member is, you can ask for a visit. Ask your Lawyer to find out what days and times you can visit.

5. **MINISTER:** Speak to your Priest or Minister and ask him to apply for a visit to see your friend or family-member in prison.
6. **DOCTOR:** If you know that the detainee has a health problem or takes tablets e.g. hay fever, asthma, diabetes or if he/she wears contact lenses or glasses, tell your Lawyer and ask him to contact the prison doctor.

7. **FOURTEEN DAYS:** Usually, a person who has been detained under the emergency is kept in prison for fourteen days. If your friend or family-member is not released after fourteen days, ask your Lawyer to find out how much longer he/she will be detained.

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- 1. IGOWETHA** Funa igqwetha, ukuba alikho olaziyo fonela e-Relief Office (Church House, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, ifoni: 243782 okanye 231253) kulspho ukufunelwa khona igqwetha.

- 2. EYIPHI INTOLONGO?** Igqwetha kufuneka liqhakamshelane nomkomishinara wesithili samapolisa e-Kapa, oqonde ukuba lomntu ubanjwe phantsi kwemeko yonxunguphalo nokuba uvalwe kwiyiphi na itolongo. Igqwetha ke ngoku liyakubanako ukukuxelela ukuba ukweyiphi itolongo okanye isikhululo samapolisa.

- 3. UKUTYA, IMALI NEMPAHLA** Nazi izinto ekufuneka uzise etolongweni okanye esikhululweni samapolisa kumbanjwa:

1. R20,00 ngeveki akwazi ukuzithengela icuba, ukutya nezinto zokuhlamba evenkileni yasetolongweni.
2. I-Bhayibhile

3. Incwadi zesikolo nezase-Dyunivesiti nokuba zeziphi incwadi okanye i-magazini

4. Impahla yokutshintsha, iphinda-iphindwe kabini, impahla ezishushu ezingabamiyo: i-jersey, track suit, iikawusi neteki.

4. **UKUHAMBELA (VISIT)** Kwezinye izikhululo zamapolisa kufuneka wenze isicelo sokuhambela umbanjwa ukuba abanayoifomi (form) yesicelo, cela igqwetha lakho ukuba likubhalele ileta kumkomishinara wesithili wamapolisa. Cela igqwetha elo ukuba likubuzele imini namaxesha okuhambela.

5. **U-MFUNDISI** Cela ukuba umfundisi wakwalizwi we-Cawa yakho acele ukuhambela isihlobo okanye isizalwane sakho entolongweni.

6. **U-GOIRA** Ukuba umbanjwa (detainee) unesigulo akhathazwa siso, umz. hay fever, asthma isifo seswekile okanye ukukhathazwa ngamehlo, xelela igqwetha ukuba licele ugqira wesithili (district surgeon) amjenge.

7. **INTSUKU EZI-14** Kuye kuthi xa umntu ebanjwe phantsi kwemeko yonxunguphalo agcinwe entolongweni intsuku ezi-14. Ukuba isihlobo okanye isizalwane siye sahlala ngaphezu koku, cela igqwetha ukuba libuze ukuba sizakuhlala ixesha elingakanani eluvalweni.

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EMERGENCY DIARY

The extension of the state of emergency to eight magisterial districts in the Western Cape has not stopped the protests against apartheid and injustice.

The schools and exam boycott continues. Renewed calls have been made to intensify the consumer boycott. The police and army continue to patrol schools and townships. The number of people who have become victims of police action is rising.

Hundreds of people in the Western Cape, along with thousands in the rest of the country have been detained under the emergency regulations. Some people were released within fourteen days, but many more have already spent more than a month in detention.

Grassroots presents a diary of some of the things which have happened in the first month of the state of emergency in the Western Cape.

FRIDAY OCTOBER 25: Police swoop on anti-apartheid activists, detaining at least 60 people (including community leaders, priests, teachers and students) under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

Journalists barred from unrest areas

SATURDAY OCTOBER 26: The government declares a state of emergency in eight magisterial districts, which cover the whole Western Cape and part of the Boland. More than 40 000 people attend the funeral of six unrest victims in Gugulethu. A United Democratic Front meeting scheduled for the Kismet is banned at the last minute.

SUNDAY OCTOBER 27: The government bans all meetings of about 100 anti-apartheid organisations. The police issue new rules forbidding anyone from carrying petrol in cans. Fifty-three Mitchell's Plain principals come out strongly against detentions. Pupils representing about 80 schools decide not to write exams.

MONDAY OCTOBER 28: 17 University of Cape Town students are arrested for protesting against the state of emergency. Police beat up high school pupils in Ceres. More people are detained under the emergency regulations.

WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 29: Police detain 56 people under the emergency regulations. The government bans a meeting called by the Health Care Trust to protest against the death of Transkei health worker, Batwanda Nondo. Troops and police surround the scheduled venue and turn people away. Some matriculants write at the Goodwood showgrounds and at the Wingfield Military Base. About 108 pupils and five teachers are arrested at the Fairmount highschool in Grassy Park.

THURSDAY OCTOBER 30: The Minister of Police, Louis le Grang announces that anyone detained under emergency regulations can be held for more than fourteen days, until the end of the state of emergency, without any notice.

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2 and 3: The government clamps down on reporting on the unrest. Journalists, except those with special permission from the police, are banned from all unrest areas. Throughout the world, the government is condemned. Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has an operation in Cape Town. Unrest in Cape Town continues in Mitchell's Plain, Elsies River and Kraaifontein.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 4: Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, wins his court appeal against strict bail conditions. The government immediately overrules the court and withdraws his passport.

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 5: Some high school pupils and college students write exams under heavy police and army guard. At some schools, disruption squads are set up to ensure that exams do not take place.

Sixteen UCT students appear in court after a few days in detention for protesting against the state of emergency.

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 6: Police and soldiers block off several streets in Wynberg for the appearance in court of Dr Allan Boesak and 17 others. The Cape Malay Board announces that they cancelled their annual festival because of the deaths and injuries to some of their members during the unrest. A group of priests announce that they are determined to meet with the ANC. The unrest death toll rises to 69. A soldier is shot dead near Mitchell's Plain and police shoot two men near Gugulethu. Hewat Training College suspends its exams. Detainees at Victor Vester Prison refuse to eat lunch as a protest against their detention.

Teachers suspended, salaries withdrawn

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 7: Police detain all 510 pupils at the Zeekoevlei Senior Secondary School in Lotus River. Reporyers at the Argus picket outside their building in protest against the government's restrictions on the media.

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 8: Some schools call off exams. Police ban a meeting planned to protest against the state of emergency. An academic conference at UCT is also banned, as well as a meeting in Atlantis. Seven local and foreign journalists and a PFP MPC are stopped by police in Mannaenburg and warned to stay out of "affected areas". Security police question Tony Heard, the editor of the Cape Times, about a full page interview with Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, in his Monday November 4 edition. Police use teargas at Belhar Senior Secondary School No. 1, while exams at many other schools are disrupted. Grassy Park's management committee resolves to stop negotiating with the authorities in protest against police brutality.

Grassroots looks at Cape Town's first month under the state of emergency

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY NOVEMBER 9 and 10: A train coach and ticket office at Mbekweni Station are petrol-bombed. The Atlantis Resident's Association fails to get permission for a meeting to discuss the problems of the people in Atlantis. 77 lawyers speak out against the state of emergency and unjust laws.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 11: Three Cape Town academics meet with President PW Botha in an attempt to resolve the education crisis. They leave the meeting disappointed. Soldiers move into most schools and pupils are forced to write exams at gunpoint. Petrol goes up. In the rural areas it now costs more than one rand a litre. The house of Western Cape Civic Association vice-chairperson, Mr Alfred Stuurman, is set alight; and a car belonging to PFP MPC Di Bishop is set alight and severely damaged.

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 12: 49 Western Cape detainees are released, but more people are detained. Dr Rashid (R.A.M.) Saloojee, Transvaal Vice-President of the UDF, is released from detention with tough restrictions on him while the state of emergency lasts. Police patrol exams at Crystal Senior Secondary in Hanover Park and Belhar's two high schools. Pupils in Mitchell's Plain tear up their question papers to protest against the presence of police and army on the schoolgrounds.

Funeral in Crossroads for Mr Monwabisi Gqoboka, 20, of Old Crossroads, who was shot dead by police in Lansdowne Road on October 23. Ex-detainees, relatives of detainees and others start a solidarity fast in support of hunger-striking detainees in Pollsmoor Prison and awaiting trial prisoners at Oudtshoorn. The Divisional Council agrees to meet the Atlantis Residents Association to discuss the area's problems.

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 13: Athlone residents hold their second candlelight vigil in protest against the state of emergency and in sympathy with those in detention and those who have lost loved ones during the unrest. Churches toll their bells in support. About 40 workers at Puma Textiles and Pastel Clothing start a "liquid" fast in solidarity with detainees on hunger strike at Pollsmoor. Police decide not to give the names of freed detainees. More than 1 000 Atlantis residents attend a mass meeting in the area and threaten to "take action" if the Divisional Council refuse to stop evictions and restore the full water supply to 238 households in the area. Hundreds of workers go on strike at Baragwanath Hospital, Johannesburg.

Many held for 14 days others detained longer

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 14: Police arrest a hunger striker at the Methodist Church in Buitenkant street. They confiscate a position, posters and a fasting roster. UDF-aligned organisations agree to speak at a rally organised by the PFP because all other meetings were banned. Four teachers and 44 pupils are arrested at Kasselvlei Senior Secondary in Bellville. At Bellville South, more pupils are arrested after exam papers are torn up.

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 15: UDF secretary, Trevor Manuel, still in detention under Section 29, is banned from meetings until 1990. Police and soldiers continue patrolling schools in Belhar, Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park, Mitchell's Plain and elsewhere. Dr Allan Boesak goes to the Supreme Court to get back his passport. At least three of the women on hunger-strike at Pollsmoor are hospitalised.

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16 and 17: Five high school principals announce that they will defy the education authorities and postpone their internal exams. Three people are hurt in separate incidents of grenade attacks in Bellville South, Gugulethu and Manenberg. Troops take over the Baragwanath hospital as 1 800 workers are fired for striking. Organisations in Cape Town and Johannesburg call for the exams to be postponed to March next year. A number of clerics and theologians join the sympathy fast at the Methodist Church in Buitenkant Street. 400 Mitchell's Plain teachers condemn the exams as "farical and educationally unsound".

MONDAY NOVEMBER 19: Police arrest five pupils at Bonteheuwel for "faking" their exams. Police raid the SRC offices at UWC, breaking down the door and removing many files. Busfares go up. The offices of the Electrical and Allied Workers Union is burgled.

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 19: Police restrict annual meeting of the Civil Rights league. Hand grenade thrown at a city bank. The department of Education and Culture warns principals that they cannot postpone their exams, even if it will be in the interests of pupils, teachers and parents. The sympathy fast continues. The entire 54 staff members at Alexander Sinton High decide to defy the education authorities and postpone their exams. Police ban a meeting of the Mowbray Inter Race Group.

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 20: The offices of the Muslim Assembly is fire-bombed. Cars are set alight in Bonteheuwel and Schotse Kloof. 29 people are reported detained. A supreme Court interdict restrains the police from assaulting June Esau, an organiser for the Clothing Workers Union. Rumours start that the government will free Nelson Mandela. Groenveel teachers are ordered by police to go on with exams even though the department had agreed to cancel the exams after some people were detained when police raided the school. Candlelight vigils are held again in Athlone and other areas. Police are shot at in Athlone where a bank was destroyed.

Students say No to exams

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 21: Teachers at Cathkin refuse to administer "farical" exams. Police guard as 30 pupils write. At least 13 people are shot dead by police in Mamelodi township in Johannesburg, when police opened fire on a crowd of more than 50 000 people marching to protest against the army in the townships, the state of emergency and the banning of weekend funerals. Eleven unions come out in support of boycotting pupils' demands. The education authorities withhold the salaries of 43 teachers at Alexander Sinton who refused to administer exams.

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 22: Nelson Mandela meets his lawyers in hospital to discuss rumours that he was due to be released.

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY NOVEMBER 23 and 24: A suspected police informer's house in Mbekweni is burnt down. Nelson Mandela is taken back to Pollsmoor Prison after spending some time in hospital. Alexander Sinton High pupils come out in support of suspended teachers. Police confirm the detention of two children, aged 11 and 13.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 25: Eighteen people who went to a funeral in Gugulethu in defiance of the police, have charges against them dropped. People who were arrested on the day of the Mandela March, also have their charges dropped. Students and teachers come out strongly against the "farical exams" and restate their demands for the state of emergency to be lifted and the exams to be postponed.

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 26: Hundreds of policemen and soldiers surround Gugulethu, search houses, stop cars and arrest a few people for "criminal" cases. It is the biggest military operation seen in Cape Town in months.