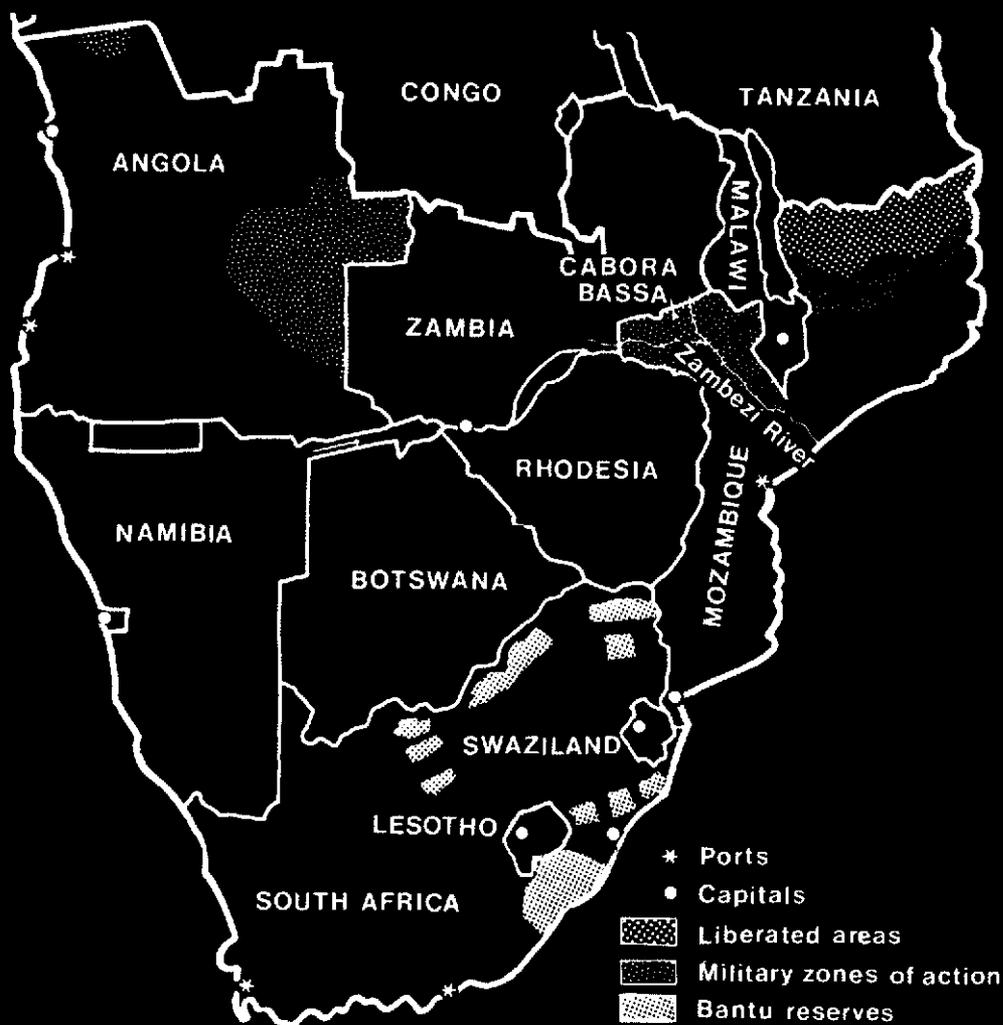


NEWS

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**FREE
SOUTHERN
AFRICA**



**NUS
AAM**

**FREE
SOUTHERN
AFRICA**

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ACTION SOUTHERN AFRICA

This Booklet is a booklet for activists; for those who want to do something about Southern Africa – and about stopping Britain's support for the racist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa.

It contains basic information on each of the Southern African states, details of British collaboration with the Southern African régimes and suggestions for action opposing this collaboration. It has been produced within the context of an increasingly co-ordinated campaign to mobilise students at local and national level.

Introduction

This booklet has been prepared by the National Union of Students (NUS) in conjunction with the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. In April 1970 NUS Conference adopted a comprehensive policy of opposition to apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa, and of support for the liberation movements working and fighting for the freedom of the peoples of those countries. This policy also calls for students to work for the reduction, and severance of all British links with the Southern African régimes – military, economic, sporting, cultural: whatever they might be. It urges co-operation by students with groups with the same objectives, notably the AAM.

Consequently, NUS, whose own resources for such a task are limited, has been working together with AAM to evolve a strategy for action on Southern Africa which will maximise the potential of both organisations to bring the issue of Southern Africa to the forefront of public attention and keep it there.

By "Southern Africa" we mean the Republic of South Africa; South West Africa – which has been colonized and annexed by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations and which we shall refer to in conformity with the UN as Namibia; Rhodesia, a country hi-jacked by an illegal regime of white supremacists, which we shall refer to under its rightful name – Zimbabwe; and three territories in Africa under Portuguese domination, the misleadingly styled "Overseas Provinces" of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné.

Plan of Campaign

The Southern Africa Campaign is envisaged as an on-going activity, as a major feature of student life. Because the wealth and power of those we oppose is massive and their military strength enormous, the liberation struggle will be a long and arduous one, and similarly there will be no end to British involvement overnight. The combined resources of South Africa House and its agencies, British big business and numerous Conservative MPs, taken in conjunction with the prominence 'official' South African and Portuguese news receives, illustrates the immensity of our task. Only by seeking and promoting continual student activity on a national scale directed against all facets of Southern African oppression can we begin to counter the racist propaganda machine.

It is beyond the scope of the resources of NUS and AAM to direct and organise centrally the necessary scale of college and university activity. Even if such a centrally-directed campaign were possible, it would be – to our minds – the wrong approach.

What we envisage is a network of activists spread throughout the country who will be working with student groups and student unions in their areas promoting activities geared to the situation in those areas. We hope that all information on student activities on Southern Africa will be sent to NUS, where all such reports will be collated, circulated to the national and student press and made available to groups in other parts of the country.

Both NUS and AAM will be ready to discuss suggested local activities with the people on the spot, and to provide speakers, information or any other advice.

Thus we look for a basic level of constant activity going on across the country – meetings, teach-ins, film shows, fundraising activities etc. Later in the booklet we have included a list of suggested forms of activity which is certainly not exhaustive; additional ideas would be welcome.

We also envisage that on occasions it will be possible to call for nationally co-ordinated action. For instance in the event of a sell-out with the Smith regime in Zimbabwe, we would call for a nation-wide day of concerted action in opposition to such a betrayal.

Thus organisation is the key. Groups prepared to work for the cause of Southern African liberation need to be organised within the framework of the students' union in as many colleges and universities as possible. If these groups work with the Southern Africa Campaign to link students in the national network, to feed back information and receive ideas and support from NUS and AAM; if a strong structure of this nature can be built – geared to local initiatives and local action – but capable at critical moments of nationally co-ordinated action; THEN the Southern Africa Campaign will be a real and concrete contribution to those struggling for freedom in Southern Africa.

The success of this campaign, of course, depend on YOU.

SOUTHERN AFRICA – A BRIEF RUNDOWN ON THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED

South Africa

Area: 472,359 square miles.

Short History:

From the sixteenth century and before the Cape Province was inhabited by African herders and huntsmen. The Dutch or Boers began settling in 1652. In 1795 the British arrived and began settling permanently from 1820. There were bloody conflicts between the settlers and the indigenous people as the white settlers annexed more and more land; these continued until the end of the nineteenth century. In 1836, partially as a consequence of the abolition of slavery by the British Parliament in 1834, the Boers began their Great Trek northwards. At this time the Boers were mainly farmers with the British dominating commercial life. The economic life of the country was given its basic impetus by the discovery, in 1868, of diamonds at Kimberley and of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1884.

Tension between the Boer and British communities led to the war in 1898; a war won by the British in 1901. The Act of Union in 1910 laid the ground for the continuance of white control of the country, entirely ignoring the claims, actual or potential, of the non-white population.

In 1912 the African National Congress (ANC) was formed to work and campaign for African rights. But, in 1913, the Native Lands Act was passed to consolidate white possession of all land outside areas defined as African reserves (The reserves constituted approx 13% of total area). Under the Act Africans could no longer buy land in white areas and Africans living as share-croppers or tenants in white areas were subject to mass eviction. Boer, now called 'Afrikaner' opinion remained hostile to British commercial and political domination: the first world war caused divided loyalties between the communities, and the Afrikaners pleaded at the post war peace talks for the re-establishment of their own national republics.

In the depression years, following the post-war boom an alliance was formed between the conservative farmers' Nationalist Party (predominately Afrikaner) and the SA Labour Party which was fighting to keep skilled jobs reserved for the whites. In the 1929 election the Labour Party lost most of its support as it moved to a socialist platform and the Nationalist won the election on a 'black peril' platform. In 1933 the United Party was born on a fusion of the Nationalist and South Africa Parties. Shortly afterwards Africans lost the right to register as voters in Cape Province – an "entrenched clause" under the Act of Union.

In July 1934 a group of extremists from the old Nationalist Party formed the "purified" Nationalist Party under Danial Malan. It reflected and encouraged intense Afrikaner nationalism: Malan was a member of the Broderbond, a secret society formed in 1918 to fight for the Afrikaner language and culture and for political power for "true Afrikaners". In the emotive tensions of the anniversary of the Great Trek, and to some extent influenced by the success of the Nazi Party in Germany, the "Ossewa Brandwag" was formed in 1938 to preserve the spirit of the Great Trek and win political power for Afrikaners. The current Prime Minister Vorster, belonged to this group which had clear Nazi sympathies during the Second World War, and was interned in 1942 for his pro Nazi activities.

Apartheid is a mixture of economic self interest, Calvinist (Dutch Reformed Church) theology, paternalism and theories of racial superiority. The Nationalist Party won the 1948 election on a specific Apartheid programme and has reinforced its position at subsequent elections. Following its resignation from the Commonwealth a Republic was proclaimed in 1961. Supporters of apartheid either view it as an easy way of maintaining white supremacy – baaskap – or else claim that each ethnic group in the Republic should be territorially separated in different "independent" homelands to meet the best interests of all groups. Only 13% of the total land area has been set aside for African homelands, these are largely infertile areas unable to produce even enough food for their present inhabitants and the mineral deposits that do exist are not utilised. The homelands are and will continue to be, under the apartheid system, reserves of labour for use when and where required in the white areas.

The United Party's policy is one of "white rule with justice" and differs with the Nationalists only in terms opposing some forms of 'petty apartheid' and in developing a more flexible labour policy. This last point is seen as a threat by many white workers, particularly in the

miners, to their protected positions under the job reservation laws.

An ever increasing variety of legislative and administrative measures aimed at eliminating opposition to apartheid have been developed by the South African Government

For example:-

The Suppression of Communism Act defines communist as anything the Minister deems to be communist. It can therefore be used to silence any opponents of the regime.

The Unlawful Organisations Act (1960) enabled the Government to ban the ANC and the Pan African Congress which broke away from the ANC in 1958.

The Prohibition of Political Interference Act (1968) bars those of one race from joining the political parties of another race. This has forced the Progressive Party – the only critics of apartheid represented in Parliament (one seat) to go all white and caused the Liberals, who would not adopt segregation, to disband.

The Terrorism Act authorises detention without trial for consecutive 180 day periods without limit. The authorities do not have to announce arrests. People can, and have, just “disappeared”.

Apartheid is the *raison d’être* of the notorious Immorality Act, which can lead to the imposition of a seven year jail sentence for having sexual intercourse with someone of a different race.

Legislation to control the lives of Africans, Indians and Coloureds is extensive. Pass Laws require every African to produce on demand – instantly – a pass permitting them to be in a white area. Freedom of movement is very restricted and passes are required to move from one district to another. Black trade unions are harassed and rendered powerless; striking is a serious criminal offence.

The migratory labour system means that many Africans are working hundreds of miles away from their families, whom they see perhaps once a year. The townships and mining compounds have a disproportionately high number of young males and the reserves a correspondingly high number of children, wives and old people.

The following statistics can only begin to show the plight of the non-white population in South Africa.

Some statistics:

Population (millions)	1960	1970	Per cent.	
African	10.9	14.9	70%	
White	3.1	3.8	18%	(1)
Coloured	1.5	2.0	9%	
Asian	0.5	0.6	3%	
Total	16.0	21.3		

Average annual wages:

	1957	1967	
White	£1022	£1666	
African	£ 182	£ 308	(2)
Difference	£ 840	£1358	

Mining – wages:	1911	1966	1970	
White	£388	£1875	£2212	
African	£ 33	£ 105	£126	(3)
Ratio	11.7:1	17.6:1	19.9:1	

Education	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Africans	
Per capita expenditure 1968-69:	£133.22		£41.01	£8.44	(3)
Enrolment in Universities and tribal colleges, 1970:	73,204	1,833	3,472	4,578	(3)
Health	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Africans	
Life expectancy (males, years):	68.2	51.95	58.63	*	(4)
Infant mortality (per 1000 births) Port Elizabeth, 1967:	13.7	105.9	29.5	269.2	
Medical doctors graduating in South Africa, 1969-70:	364	12	36	8	(3)

* These statistics are not maintained for Africans: estimated to be between 40-45 years.

Prisoners: There is no figure available of those held under the Terrorism Act etc. under house arrest, banished or held under the 90 or 180 day laws.

Pass Laws: In 1968-69 there were 632,077 arrests for "pass law" offences: a daily average of 1732. (3)

Executions: 84 people were hanged during 1968-69 – an average of one hanging every four days. (3)

Sources: (1) 1970 census.

(2) Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg 21st July 1968.

(3) South African Institute of Race Relations: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1970.

(4) U.N. Unit on Apartheid February, 1971.

(All money figures converted from Rand to sterling at rate obtaining on 1-8-70).

Resistance and armed struggle

Significant dates and events:

April 1952: Joint ANC and South African Indian Congress campaign against racially discriminatory and unjust laws: 8000 imprisoned; severe penalties.

1955: **Freedom Charter**, drawn up by the ANC, South African Indian Congress Coloured Peoples Political Organisation and the Congress of Democrats, in Kliptown, near Johannesburg. Basic principles laid down for a non-racial, democratic state. (These 4 organisations, together with the South African Congress of Trade Unions – SACTU – are known jointly as the Congress Alliance).

December 1956: 151 members of the Congress Alliance arrested and charged with planning the violent overthrow of the state. This "Treason Trial" ended only in 1961, with acquittals for the accused.

1957: Boycott of municipal buses on the Rand against price increases. This mass action by African miners was successful.

1960: Cato Manor, Durban – violent riots killing 9 police.

- 1960: Popular rebellion in East Pondoland, this led to a state of emergency and military counter-measures, and was eventually put down after the area had been sealed off and armoured vehicles and troops used.
- March 21st 1960: Sharpeville massacre – an anti-Pass campaign meeting was fired on by police: 69 unarmed Africans were shot dead. Government reaction was to ban both the ANC and PAC and imprison the PAC leader Sobukwe.
- 1961-62: Formation of secret organisations “Umkhonto we Sizwe” and “Poqo”, following the banning of African political organisations. African leaders went underground.
- 1963: Trial of Nelson Mandela, one of the foremost African leaders, at Rivonia, with other leaders.
- 1967: Formation of a military alliance between ANC and ZAPU in Zimbabwe. ANC-ZAPU begin armed struggle.

Since 1961, the South African liberation movements have recognised the futility of opposing South Africa’s fascist police-state with non-violent tactics; they have therefore adopted a policy of armed struggle involving training in guerrilla warfare outside South Africa and internal acts of subversion.

NAMIBIA (South West Africa)

Area: 317,827 square miles.

Short History:

Namibia was colonized by Imperial Germany in 1884, and subjected to a war of conquest from 1904 to 1907 in which about 65,000 died – members of the indigenous Herero tribe. The colony was conquered by South Africa in the First World War and subsequently, in 1920 when the League of Nations was founded, became a “mandated territory.” The Union of South Africa was appointed mandatory power under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, and allowed to administer the territory as an integral part of the Union subject to safeguards for the indigenous population. These safeguards involved such obligations as promoting the moral well being and social progress of the territory’s inhabitants, and to make annual reports on the administration to the League. In fact South Africa extended the old German system of land reservation and segregation. In 1933 South Africa asked the League to allow the territory to be incorporated in the Union, but the Mandate Commission, critical on many issues, did not agree.

The League of Nations was superceded after the Second World War by the United Nations, and the mandate system, by the trusteeship system. South Africa refused to acknowledge that the League mandate on Namibia had been transferred to the UN. The International Court of Justice at the Hague did not give a ruling on this issue, during a proceeding before the court (1960-66) which was complicated by the issue of the right of the complaining states: Ethiopia and Liberia, to raise the question of the introduction of apartheid into Namibia.

The UN General Assembly, however, resolved that the mandate should be taken from South Africa, and established an eleven nation Council for Namibia to arrange the transfer of the administration of Namibia to the UN (1966). In 1968 the territory was re-named 'Namibia' by the General Assembly. Under the UN constitution, though, only the Security Council can take action to further UN resolutions, and as proposals for decisive action over Namibia have not been supported in the Security Council by the major powers, the Council on Namibia has been blocked by South Africa from achieving its purpose.

By the end of 1969 Namibia had, by a series of South African legislative Acts been incorporated into the Republic, under the same system of government, taxation, etc. The South West African Legislative Assembly (all white) now has minor powers only, relating to white education, highway construction and the like.

On 21 June 1971 the International Court of Justice ruled, by 13 votes to 2 (the negative votes from the British and French Judges) that Namibia should be handed over to the UN. The South African Prime Minister immediately repudiated the Court's findings in a nation-wide broadcast, and the Republic may now be said to be in illegal possession of Namibia.

Population

	1960	1966	Average wages, 1962 mining sector
White	73,500	96,000	Non-Whites: Rand 203pa (£118)
African	428,600	485,000	Whites: Rand 2452pa (£1,430)
Coloured	24,000	29,100	Number of Africans living at Subsistence Level
Total	526,100	610,100	Estimate: 350,000

Economy

Foreign capital is very important to Namibian development: however capital outflows are very high as well, and it is estimated that almost $\frac{1}{3}$ of Gross Domestic Product accrued to foreign interests in 1961-62.

In the light of the International Court's ruling on Namibia, and the UN resolution, it is of concern that the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation is to mine Uranium in Namibia for sale to the UK Atomic Energy Authority (the go-ahead was announced at RTZ Annual General Meeting, May, 1971).

Resistance and Armed Struggle.

After the Second World War two African movements came into being – the South West African Peoples Organisation, and the South West African National Union (SWAPO and SWANU). Between 1946 and 1966 both entrusted their case for the redress of their grievances about the exploitation and subjection of their peoples to the UN. In 1966 SWAPO announced the initiation of a phase of armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia. Military action and guerrilla activity continue despite the hostile nature of the terrain and the heavy concentration of S. A. Army and Air Force units.

ZIMBABWE (Rhodesia)

Area: 150,300 square miles.

Short History

The colony of Southern Rhodesia was originally delineated by the British South Africa Company (founded by Cecil Rhodes) which occupied Mashonaland in 1890 and conquered Matabeleland in 1893. The BSAC had to suppress a substantial revolt mounted by the Shona and Ndebele (Matabele) in 1896-97: neither this nor the raid by the BSAC Administrator—Jameson—on the Transvaal earlier, persuaded the British Government to assume direct control of the territory of Southern Rhodesia which remained under the administration of the BSAC as set out in its Royal Charter of 1889.

A legislative Council was, however, formed on which the white colonizers were strongly represented. In 1907 they got a majority on the Council and when the BSAC Charter was renewed in 1914, their right to succeed to the Company's powers was acknowledged.

In the 1922 Referendum (the franchise was virtually restricted to whites), preceding the end of BSAC rule, the majority voted not to join the Union of South Africa but to become a largely self-governing colony.

Under the constitution of 1 October 1923 Britain kept certain rights of veto over constitutional questions— notably the somewhat theoretical right of Africans to the vote— but in fact Britain did very little to halt the segregation on white supremacist lines of society in the inter-war period.

The Legislative Council formalized the inequality of the races in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which divided the country very unequally. The 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act protected the jobs of the white skilled workers.

The Native Urban Area Accomodation and Registration Act strengthened the pass system, in 1947, for Africans wishing to visit or work in an urban area.

Thus the main lines for a system of racialist minority rule were drawn firmly by the time of Federation with Nyasaland (now Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) which began on 1 October 1953. The arguments for federation were economic ones, and considerable economic benefits accrued to Southern Rhodesia.

But, as a result of sustained resistance by the Africans, Britain conceded constitutions to Nyasaland (1961) and Northern Rhodesia (1962). African governments then assumed power in those two states. On 31 December, 1963, both seceded to become the modern states of Malawi and Zambia.

In 1958 the ruling United Federal Party removed Garfield Todd (the last white Prime Minister to enjoy any African confidence) and replaced him with Edgar Whitehead, who (in common with his party) reacted badly to the breakup of the Federation.

A new constitution was presented for approval to Rhodesia by the British Government in 1961. It was approved by the European referendum, while in their own referendum the Africans overwhelmingly rejected it. Its 65-seat legislature was to be voted for by separate electoral rolls. Qualifications for the A roll (50 seats) included property

and educational standards that effectively confined Africans to the B roll (15 seats). Nearly all of Britain's powers under the 1923 Constitution were transferred to a Constitutional Council designed to prevent further discriminatory legislation, but the Council had no retroactive powers. The Constitution was also firmly rejected by the National Democratic Party, which later became Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). In the face of majority rejection Prime Minister Whitehead accepted the new constitution, and attempted to win African support with promises to end Land Apportionment, and to forbid racial discrimination.

In the 1962 election he consequently had alienated much white support and was succeeded by the Rhodesia Front (RF). The RF was originally led by Winston Field and aimed at retaining Land Apportionment, resisting integration, and seeking independence from the vestigial ties with Britain. In April 1964 Field was replaced by Ian Smith, who swept the RF to victory in the election of May 1965 winning all the 50 "white" seats. In 1964-65 the RF Government had tightened control of the media, and introduced a range of legislation for curbing opposition, especially from the Africans. The mandatory death penalty was introduced for a range of offences, and the right to detain, or restrict to a given area, for up to five years, acquired. The Constitutional Council was pushed aside.

On November 11, 1965, Smith announced the Illegal Declaration of Independence and the British passed the Southern Rhodesia Act declaring the territory to be under the jurisdiction of the Parliament and Government of the UK. A further Act declares that any constitution adopted by Rhodesia is null and void. This situation has been the basis upon which no country has formally recognized Rhodesia as a sovereign state. South Africa and Portugal (through Mozambique) have consistently acted to support the Rhodesian economy in the face of a UN boycott on trade. They have also lent military assistance in the face of guerrilla activity.

The British have adopted six principles as the basis for any settlement with the rebel regime, these are: -

- (i) Unimpeded progress to majority rule, as enshrined in the 1961 Constitution;
- (ii) Guarantees against retroactive amendment of the Constitution;
- (iii) Immediate improvement in the political status of Africans;
- (iv) Progress to end racial discrimination;
- (v) Britain's Government would have to be satisfied that any basis for a settlement was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole;
- (vi) It would be necessary to ensure that regardless of race there was no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority.

This last principle was added by the Labour Government, and is now the policy of both parties.

Meanwhile, Rhodesia voted for a new Republican Constitution which was enacted on 2 March 1970. This constitution excludes majority rule, and separates the franchise on a specifically racial basis, increasing the importance of tribal chiefs, whose role is seen to be compliant with, and complementary to the aims of the RF.

As a further indicator of the racialist orientation of the RF the Land Tenure Act of 1969 replaces the Apportionment Act with the following basic effects:

Apportionment Act	(millions of acres)	Land Tenure Act
35.6	European Area	44.6
40.1	Tribal Trust Land	} together 44.6
4.3	Native Purchase Area	

Recent history is thus a history of determined white efforts, supported by the economic and political efforts of South Africa and Portugal, to ensure the permanent subjugation of the African majority by the settlers.

Statistics.

Population	Europeans	Africans	Other	Total
1970 estimate	239,000	5,050,000	25,000	5,310,000

Average Annual Wage:	December 1960		December 1969	
£ Sterling.	Africans	Europeans	Africans	Europeans
	94	1,134	144	1,485

(Source: Rhodesia: Digest of Statistics June 1970.)

Education

	Africans	Europeans
Per Capital expenditure on education 1969	£10.10p	£101.50p

Resistance and Armed Struggle

African opposition to the situation has, of course, manifested itself for many years. In 1934 the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC) was formed – this was not particularly effective as a pressure group, however. Following the Second World War there was industrialisation. Urbanisation led to greater political awareness and organisation among Africans.

There was an African strike on the railways in 1945, and a general strike in 1948. In 1958, following the replacement of Todd by Whitehead, a general state of emergency was proclaimed and in 1959 the SRANC was banned, to be replaced by the National Democratic Party, itself banned in 1961. The year before the sweeping Law and Order Maintenance Act had been introduced, as well as the Emergency Powers Act. The NDP was succeeded in September 1962 by the Zimbabwe Africans People's Union which was immediately banned as well. In the difficult and dangerous period when they faced intensive pressure from the oppressive white authorities, armed with the draconian powers of the Law and Order legislation, the ZAPU organisation, led by Joshua Nkomo – who had been General Secretary of the African Railway Workers' Union, came under immense strain, and a breakaway group was formed under the leadership of the Rev. N. Sithole, called the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). The Zimbabwe Africans have since 1967, been in armed conflict with the Smith regime, no other course of action being open to them. Nkomo remains in restriction, in a remote area, following his detention in 1964. (ZAPU and the ANC of South Africa formed a military alliance in 1967). The

future of the resistance to the illegal regime in Salisbury, for the Africans is rooted in military and guerrilla activity, combined with work to deepen the political consciousness of the African people.

International Sanctions

The UN resolution of 1968 mandating all members to impose total sanctions on trade with Rhodesia has led to an estimated 27% fall in total trade. It is probable that the real standard of living of white Rhodesians has not fallen and may have risen since 1965 by up to 5%. Estimates of the economic situation for the African population are difficult to make due to lack of published statistics, but it is possible to say that the African population have been more severely hit than the white population and a reflection of this is the rising level of unemployment among Africans.

The partial nature of the implementation of sanctions have permitted the Smith regime to pass on the effects to Africans, whereas total sanctions would rapidly effect the white community.

Sanctions have been very largely undermined in their possible effect by the refusal of South Africa and Portugal to enforce them. In addition Western companies have not hesitated to utilise loopholes in the sanctions orders to deal with the Smith régime.

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES.

History:

Portugal claims a 500-year "civilising" presence in Africa, but her effective colonisation only began at the end of the 19th century. The 1884 Congress of Berlin recognised her "right of occupation" over the areas drawn in on the map as Angola, Mozambique and Guiné as well as the Cape Verde Islands off the Guinean coast, and Sao Tome and Principe in the South Atlantic. Sporadic African uprisings continued until the early 1920s, but were crushed by the superior firepower and organisation of the Portuguese.

In 1926 Dr. Salazar came to power in Portugal and established a fascist regime which has proved the most durable in Europe. This "estado novo" (new state) brought with it a new colonial ideology which, in spite of minor changes in legislation and word formulation, remains essentially unchanged to the present day. For example, the terminology of "civilised" and "non-civilised" which was used to classify the African population changed to "assimilated" and "non-assimilated"; it was then officially abolished but the differentiation remains in the types of identity card carried and the type of local administration, justice and education to which the African is subjected.

The theory of "assimilation" forms the basis of colonial ideology, and the fact that around 1% of the Africans in the three colonies have been "assimilated" is used to contrast Portuguese colonialism with the rule of apartheid. In practice, 99% of the population of the colonies are subject to the type of legislation, restriction of movement, lack of access to education and wage differentials that are present in South Africa. According to UNESCO statistics Guiné holds the world record for illiteracy with a rate of 99.7%. Portugal's gains from her colonial possessions are derived from classic forms of exploitation: first of the people, through a flourishing slave trade; then from the agricultural

exploitation of raw materials such as Mozambican cotton or Angolan coffee; most recently through the extraction of oil and minerals and the selling off of concession rights to international companies. Profits from these activities accrue directly to Portugal, helping to balance the current vast military expenditure.

BASIC STATISTICS

Angola

Area:	485,000 sq. miles
Population:	5,300,000
White population:	350,000
Number of assimilados:	30,000 (before 1961)

Guiné

Area:	15,400 sq. miles
Population:	800,000
White population:	3,000
Assimilados:	1,478

Mozambique

Area:	297,731 sq. miles
Population:	7,500,000
White population:	200,000
Assimilados:	4,555

Resistance and armed struggle.

In 1951, to evade criticism at the United Nations, the Portuguese colonies were overnight legislated into "Overseas Provinces" of metropolitan Portugal. This definition meant that there was no possibility of independence for Angola, Guiné and Mozambique by constitutional means – they became an integral part of the unitary state of Portugal!

African attempts to organise into nationalist movements were firmly repressed – strikers and non-violent demonstrations were shot down and their leaders jailed or deported to one of the prison islands. After these setbacks the organisation went underground and preparation for armed struggle began.

In 1961 the first shots were fired in Angola, followed in 1963 in Guiné and 1964 in Mozambique. Now, 10 years later, the Portuguese have around 180,000 men – military, police and secret police – stationed in Africa. Over half the Portuguese national revenue is spent annually on "defence and security" and conscription in Portugal is for up to 4 years, renewable.

Liberation.

In all 3 territories the liberation movements have succeeded in freeing large areas of countryside from Portuguese control. In Guiné the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guiné and the Cape Verdes) administers about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the country, and is strong enough to mount attacks on the capital city of Bissau. In Mozambique, FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) controls the northern one-fifth of the country from Cape Delgado to Niassa and in 1968 was able to hold its Second Congress in Niassa. In the same year a new front was opened in Tete province – site of the Cobora Bassa dam. In the vast and sparsely populated country of Angola, the MPLA (People's Movement

for the Liberation of Angola) is pushing the struggle forward over more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the territory, and the Portuguese have been forced to resort to Vietnam-style chemical weapons and defoliants.

In the liberated areas the movements are laying the basis for the future independence with extensive programmes of social and economic reconstruction. Under local administration schools and health centres have been established and agricultural co-operatives formed. Politically, the objective is total and genuine independence to be achieved by the efforts and participation of all sectors of the people.

SOUTHERN AFRICA CAMPAIGN

Organisation

This section of the booklet deals with action – translating thoughts and ideals into concrete results. In essence this means organisation and hard work.

Suggestions on organisation are put forward to assist those who have not undertaken such activities before and to provide the 'experienced campaigners' with additional ideas. The following is meant as a broad outline and not as a rigid programme of action, you should adapt or revise it to fit your situation and to include your own ideas.

1. It is vital that your organisational base is as strong as possible. If you have firm support in the college you can consider setting up a separate grouping, such as a college branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement or operating as a sub-committee of your NUS Committee; alternatively if you are starting from a weaker position you could have a representative on the NUS Committee or link up with groups such as Soc.Soc. or UNSA. None of these courses of action are mutually exclusive, the more links you have the more people you will be able to mobilise. (Where we refer to colleges below, we also intend to cover universities).

Whatever type of group you choose it is important that it is capable of maintaining activities throughout the year whilst being able to respond quickly and effectively to new developments. There are dangers of becoming bureaucratic and out of touch with the student body and these must be guarded against. There will be a student contact in your area from whom you can ask advice on this and the following points.

2. However, small your initial organisation is, it is important that you get some activity arranged for Fresher Weeks. Activities such as a Boycott Barclays campaign, Fresher stalls, and meetings with visiting speakers, are both politically important and also enable you to involve more people in organising your future activities.

3. Although South Africa has featured extensively in the British press in the last few years there is still a very great need for an educational programme on Southern Africa to help students to fully understand the situation in South Africa and know what they can do in this country to stop British collaboration. A programme of meetings, film shows and selling AA News will maintain awareness of the situation in Southern Africa and are an essential basis for more selective campaigns. A debate on Southern Africa could be arranged with your debating society and the union urged to affiliate to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

4. Most universities and colleges have a link with the minority regimes in Southern Africa. Some links that did exist have been broken – the most notable example being the action of Edinburgh students last January, who forced their university court to liquidate the half million pounds worth of shares that they had invested directly in South African mining corporations (see following section on Economic Links). Campaigns within the college are advisable in the initial stages, in that they can be organised with limited resources, to achieve very firm advances. Campaigns on the following could be considered: - investments held by the college in firms with South African subsidiaries, does the college operate joint scholarship schemes with South African universities, does the college bank with Barclays, are directors of racist firms on your college governing bodies, does the union or the college have sporting links with the racist régimes, are South African goods sold in your refectory? Additionally firms with South African interests may well visit the college in the second term recruiting students, and you may also have speakers at college who are defending the régimes in Southern Africa.

5. Co-operation with other colleges in your area will strengthen your own work, initiate activity in colleges where there is none and enable you to work together on particular projects. It is envisaged in the contact system that there will be discussions between different colleges and the contact student, on local action and on organisation for national campaigns.

6. Links with local organisations, such as political parties, trade unions and trade councils, the churches, anti-apartheid groups, UNA, etc., facilitate the extension of your activities to a much broader audience. Outside contacts can lend valuable support to your own campaigns and you can make sure that these organisations take their own action on Southern Africa. On this scale activities can include action against firms in your area who have South African interests, opposing the visits of SA trade delegations, sports teams, etc.

7. Those who have South African interests, like college authorities, will not readily admit to having them and will even less readily dispose of them. Therefore, the possibility of confrontation situations arising is very real and this must be taken fully into account when planning your campaigns. We are hoping to produce case studies of action that has taken place which we hope will be of value to you in your campaigns.

8. NUS and AAM are pleased to provide more detailed information on the above points. A list of services and source materials appears at the back of this booklet.

9. Please keep us informed of your activities and let us know what support you need so that we can get co-ordinated press coverage on actions and an exchange of ideas on tactics and progress between different groups.

10. The following sections deal with specific campaigns and have been included because these issues are of particular importance at this time.

CABORA BASSA

NUS at its April 1970 Conference resolved to support the Dam-

busters Mobilising Committee in its campaign against the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Mozambique.

Cabora Bassa is part of white Southern Africa's defence strategy. It is planned to provide a physical barrier to the southwards advance of the liberation movements, to speed the resettlement of the local African population into 'protected villages' and to encourage large scale white immigration into the area. On the international level, involvement in building the dam and the new investment possibilities it will give to the surrounding area will draw in foreign investors who will then have a valuable stake in the maintenance of colonial rule. Economically, politically and militarily the 'Unholy Alliance' is being brought yet closer by the project: South Africa will buy the bulk of the power and already has troops stationed near the dam site in Mozambique; Rhodesian sanctions are being broken on a large scale and it is estimated that Rhodesian business will gain £125,000,000 from supply and transport contracts in the next five years. In April 1971, 3 Rhodesian soldiers were killed in action in Mozambique.

FREMILO has stated its total opposition to the Cabora Bassa project and is already engaged in sabotage and ambushes in the area of the dam site. Internationally, public opinion has already forced Swedish and American companies to withdraw from participating in the construction and the Italian Government withdrew its export guarantee from the Italian company involved.

The ZAMCO Consortium now comprises South African, West German and French companies. Many other firms have sub-contract work for the Consortium. In Britain such sub-contracting has taken place largely through the South African subsidiaries of the firms, another pointer to the extent and depth of UK involvement in Southern Africa as a whole.

Barclays Bank, United Transport and ICI all admit involvement, and South Africa press reports state that GKN are involved although they have denied this. It is almost certain that other companies are involved as well.

All these companies are fully involved in the whole of Southern Africa including Rhodesia. (Barclays recently announced that they had decided to put their non-white workers on the same rate of pay as whites. This affects less than 300 workers all on low grades, does not affect their promotion prospects which are almost nil, does not alter the fact that their banks are all segregated and most important of all does not change the fact that Barclays are involved in Southern Africa on a massive scale in support of the white minority regimes. In short this latest step is a gimmick to dilute opposition to Barclays' real involvement in Southern Africa).

ACTION

Student recruitment to Barclays dropped from 46% of new student accounts in October 1969 to 33% in 1970. This success must be maintained and improved, and has been encouraged by NUS and AAM.

Last year several hundred actions took place against Barclays particularly during Fresher Weeks. This year in Fresher Weeks we need a Boycott Barclays campaign in every college with pickets, poster parades, leafleting - whatever sort of action fits your situation.

If there is a Barclays on your campus try to get it removed. Ensure no union publication carries Barclays advertisements. If Barclays recruit at your college make sure you protest.

Single shares for ICI, Barclays, United Transport and GKN can be obtained from the Dambusters Committee. This entitles you to attend the AGM's of these firms to make a vigorous protest.

Details of local offices of these firms are obtainable from Dambusters, as are lists of directors.

A pamphlet on Cabora Bassa will be available in October and Facts Sheets on the firms involved can also be obtained, all from Dambusters.

NO SELL-OUT TO THE SMITH REGIME

The Government's attempts to reach a settlement with the Smith regime which have been going on during the summer are likely to reach a head before the renewal of sanctions order becomes due in the House of Commons in November, 1971.

The Government is likely to make substantial concessions to Smith on its present policy of the 'Six Principles' which in itself is totally unsatisfactory and would mean minority rule for the foreseeable future. It is possible that the Government will not reach a settlement but in these circumstances it seems highly probable that the sanctions order will not be renewed. Such a decision would in all but name mean the same for the Smith régime as a settlement, taking the economic pressure off the régime to further strengthen white rule.

Particular attention therefore should be paid to developments on this issue as it is not only likely to be the most important development facing us but also crucial to the fight against the minority régimes throughout Southern Africa.

Action that should be taken will include a steady build up of activity on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in preparation for massive local and national campaigns at the crucial time.

Make sure that your union takes a decision to oppose any sell-out and is committed to an all-out campaign, raise the matter with town organisations, get your local MP to clarify his position, organise a meeting on Zimbabwe, take preparatory steps to organise local demonstrations. Massive opposition to the Government's policy on this issue will be needed.

ARMS AND MILITARY AGREEMENTS

South Africa has very strong aspirations to be included in a Western defence alliance. In conjunction with Portugal, who is a member of NATO, an attempt is being made to join with South American states such as Argentina and Brazil on one side and with Australia on the other to form a military grouping. Such a grouping would then approach Western nations for their participation in this alliance or alternatively for the alliance to be given status within NATO. The objective is to persuade the West that South Africa is their representative in the "fight against communism" in Africa and to commit the West to military support for South Africa.

The decision by the present Conservative Government to resume the sale of arms to South Africa should be seen in this context. Although the decision announced in the House of Commons in February only

involves seven Westland Wasp helicopters the Government have refused to give an undertaking that there will be no further sales. The arguments on the differences between external arms should be seen as the transparent facade they are; helicopters for instance are used on the most lethal anti-terrorist training exercises. Frigates, another item on South Africa's "shopping list", have also been used in such exercises.

The sale of arms, increased co-operation with South African Atomic Energy Authority, and ever increasing economic links are moving Britain closer and closer to a military agreement with South Africa.

It is therefore vital that this issue is fully discussed as widely as possible and that you are fully prepared to mount a massive campaign if further arms sales are announced. In addition if any workers refuse to work on the production of arms for South Africa they should be given the maximum amount of financial support.

We can advise students in areas, where there are arms firms likely to be involved in future sales, of actions that can be taken at the present time.

BRITISH ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT

Britain has over £1,600 million invested in South Africa, accounting for approximately 60% of South Africa's foreign investment. Although this percentage is lower than it was ten years ago, the rate of increase of British investment in that ten years had doubled from £20 million a year to over £40 million.

Well over 70 of Britain's 100 largest companies have subsidiaries in South Africa and Britain is increasingly using her South African base for the economic penetration of the rest of Southern Africa.

To highlight the nature and extent of British economic involvement in Southern Africa a campaign is being run against five particular companies who are all heavily involved in Southern Africa. The companies are: - Barclays, equal largest bank in South Africa and involved in Cabora Bassa; ICI, have an equal largest holding in African Explosives and Chemicals Industry who are the largest company in their field, are involved in Cabora Bassa and the South African armaments industry; United Transport, who operate throughout Southern Africa including Rhodesia and South African subsidiaries are heavily involved in the engineering industry, and have two plants in Rhodesia and have recently announced a new subsidiary in Mozambique; Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) who have a large holding in the giant Palabora copper mine in the Transvaal and is now to mine uranium on a large scale at Rossing in Namibia (S.W. Africa) in contravention of UN and World Court decisions.

Activity should not be limited to these companies, but they could be the target for particular campaigns. Fact sheets on the companies and details of British firms involved in Southern Africa available from AAM or NUS.

Companies operating in South Africa have to abide by the apartheid laws, whether they like it or not. This means job reservation, discriminatory wage levels, separate facilities etc. Many of the companies who are expanding in South Africa are laying off workers in this country.

ACTION

The policy of NUS and AAM is to work for the breaking off of all

economic links with South Africa, thereby ending the massive financial support British investment is giving to the apartheid system. It is not an easy task but we would recommend the following actions.

1. Check to see if your union has money invested in firms with South African subsidiaries and make sure that any such investments are immediately withdrawn.

2. Find out if your college authorities have any such investments and organise a campaign to get them withdrawn. (see section on Organisations).

3. Ensure that the union does not accept advertising from such firms in its publications. (This is not easy because of the massive involvement of British firms in South Africa so you should consider taking particular companies, such as those listed above, as a starting point).

4. Firms are often represented through directors on University Courts, Boards of Governors etc, check to see if you have firms with South African interests represented on such bodies in your college and work for their removal.

5. When firms with South African interests come to your college, make sure you show your opposition to their activities and persuade students to boycott the interviews.

FUNDRAISING

Funds are desperately needed by the liberation movements, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and for scholarship schemes in this country.

The liberation movements need money not just for arms. There is a desperate need for medicines, clothing, hospital equipment, school books and material and transport for their programmes in the liberated areas. NUS have asked the liberation movements for details of their needs and this information is available to you so that you can earmark whom you send your money to. Addresses of the liberation movements are included in this booklet.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is concerned with stopping British collaboration with the minority regimes in Southern Africa, including the sale of arms, economic investment, no sell-out on Rhodesia etc. For 12 years it has led the struggle in Britain against apartheid with considerable success. It has recently expanded its activities in the trade unions and schools, and this combined with rising prices have placed the Movement in a serious financial position. The Movement has given consistent support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa and currently distributes material to over fifty nations.

Several colleges run scholarship schemes in Britain for refugees from Southern Africa and you should contact NUS for advice if you have such a scheme in mind.

Fundraising Activities

These can be run for any of the above needs or the proceeds divided on a percentage basis.

Activities you could consider include:- running dances and discotheques or asking the union to donate the profits of a union dance, running socials, taking collections at meetings and film shows, affiliating the union to Anti-Apartheid etc.

If you set up an Anti-Apartheid Society you should make sure that it is affiliated to the Union so that you can obtain finance for your own activities.

POLAROID

Opposition to economic involvement in Southern Africa has been expressed in many other countries apart from Britain. A notable example of this is within the Polaroid corporation in the USA.

Polaroid film is responsible for a substantial proportion of the photographs for the passes that every non-white in South Africa is required to carry at all times. Polaroid also supplies South African industry, and armed forces with ID systems.

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement in the USA opposed all Polaroid involvement in South Africa and demanded a total withdrawal. Polaroid's response was to send a fact finding mission to South Africa which recommended improved wages for black workers and money for African education. No attempt was made to withdraw from South Africa and Polaroid's involvement continues.

Polaroid have offices in Britain and are trying to extend the use of the instant ID system here. Already this has been sold to among others, the University of Aston and attempts are being made to sell the system to other student unions.

The nature of Polaroid's involvement in Southern Africa is one of the most blatant examples of collaboration with the Vorster Government. The pass laws are a fundamental part of the implementation of Apartheid and everything possible must be done to back up the lead taken by the workers in the USA. Two of the leaders of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement have been sacked because of the stand they have taken.

Sussex University SU have written to Polaroid telling them they will have nothing to do with them and similar actions should be taken in all other colleges.

NUS POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The NUS policy statement on Southern Africa is very long and complicated – it can be obtained from NUS (International Dept.) – so a summary of the essential points only is given below:

NUS opposes apartheid and racialism, and Portuguese colonial rule. NUS supports all movements working for the termination of oppression in Southern Africa, and in particular pledges support to a range of Liberation Movements, such as PAIGC (Guiné) and ANC.

NUS calls for a total boycott of Southern African goods; for the ending of all sporting, cultural, and economic links between Britain and South Africa.

NUS co-operates with Anti-Apartheid, and the Dambusters Mobilizing Committee.

As a concomitant of policy, NUS works in the international student movement to gain support for its attitudes on Southern Africa, and to give support to like-minded NUSes abroad – eg that of Australia (the AUS) in its opposition to a Springbok tour of Australia.

THIS IS THE FIRST REAL ATTEMPT TO GET CO-ORDINATED ACTION AMONG STUDENTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

EACH MONTH A NEWSLETTER WILL BE SENT OUT REPORTING ON WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE, CONTAINING IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS: WE NEED YOUR NEWS AND VIEWS TO MAKE THIS WORK.

WE ARE ESTABLISHING A NATIONWIDE NETWORK OF CONTACTS TO HELP GET THIS VENTURE FIRMLY BASED: TO MAKE THE SOUTHERN AFRICA CAMPAIGN A PERMANENT, FLEXIBLE, DYNAMIC, AND EXCITING CAMPAIGN TO BE INVOLVED IN.

IF YOU ARE WILLING TO DEVOTE MOST OF YOUR NON-ACADEMIC TIME TO THIS VENTURE - AND IT'S NO PART-TIME COMMITMENT - THEN WE WILL BE PLEASED TO HAVE YOU IN OUR NATIONAL NETWORK. CONTACT: International Department, NUS, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

SERVICES

Speakers

Speakers on all aspects of Southern Africa for meetings, debates, teach-ins, rallies etc. No fees required but travelling expenses must be met. Requests to the Projects Officer, Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1 (01-580 5311).

Speakers on "Portuguese" Africa from the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, 531 Caledonian Road, London N7 (01-607 2170)

Speakers on Cabora Bassa from Dambusters, c/o 89 Charlotte Street, London W1 (01-580 5311)

NUS will also provide speakers to explain policy, give advice on student action etc. Contact, International Dept., 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 (01-387 1277)

Literature

Anti-Apartheid News, price 5p. Monthly newspaper of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Covers developments in Southern Africa, in depth features, and details of campaigns against British involvement in Southern Africa. Reduction for bulk orders.

Guerrilheiro: Bi-monthly bulletin of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. (Annual subscription 40p).

Basic information Service: The International Defence and Aid Fund provides an information services manual consisting of a binder and regular loose leaf sheets which provide a continuing picture of economic, social and political trends in Southern Africa. Suitable for college and union libraries.

Lists of publications, posters, badges, stickers available from AAM; publications list from Defence and Aid; and publication list and posters from the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné.

Literature also available from: Africa Bureau, UN Information Centre and the liberation movements.

FILMS (available direct from distributors as indicated)

- LET MY PEOPLE GO:** 23 minute prize-winning documentary by AAM Film Committee: 16 mm/35mm £2.25 daily.
- AFRICAN CONFLICT:** 40 minute, old CBS documentary with interview with Strijdom & Verwoerd. £2.75 daily
- A WORLD OF STRANGERS:** 92 minute feature film based on Nadine Gordimer's novel. £8.25 daily
- END OF DIALOGUE:** 45 minute colour film showing the day to day face of apartheid from the point of view of the victims – the South African blacks. 16mm
- BEHIND THE LINES:** Film made by British team in the liberated areas of Mozambique.
- Available from: Contemporary Films 55 Greek Street London W1
01-734 4901
- VUKANI AWAKE:** 15 minute documentary showing what apartheid means to the majority of South Africans. 16mm £1.00
- WHO BELIEVES IT:** 17 minute film presenting the case against apartheid and, in particular, arms sales to South Africa. Filmed during AAM rally in Trafalgar Square 25 October 1970.

Available from:
Concord Film Council, Nacton, Ipswich, Suffolk IP10 OJZ
Ipswich 76012

- THE DUMPING GROUNDS:** "World in Action" film shot in the 'homelands' in South Africa, late 1970.
- VINCEREMOS:** 20 minute documentary by Yugoslav unit in the liberated areas of northern Mozambique. 16mm/35mm. £2.50
- A GROUP OF TERRORISTS ATTACKED:** "World in Action" film shot in the liberated areas of Guiné.
- ANGOLA:** Film strip with captions (to be shown on a still projector). Free.

Available from: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné. 531 Caledonian Road London N7
01-607 2170

FILMS (*continued*)

WITNESSES: New colour documentary film on South Africa. £4.00
Available from: Knight Film Distribution, 4 South Mansions, Gondar Gardens, London NW6
01-437 0761

USEFUL ADDRESSES

- African National Congress, 49 Rathbone Street, London W1
(01-580 5303)
- Africa Bureau, 48 Grafton Way, London W1 (01-387 3182/3)
- Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1
(01-580 5311)
- Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, 531 Caledonian Road, London N7 (01-607 2170)
- Dambusters Committee, c/o 89 Charlotte Street, London W1
(01-580 5311)
- International Defence and Aid, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1
(01-606 6123)
- Pan African Congress, 22A Hillview Gardens, London NW4
(01-203 4811)
- National Union of Students, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1
(01-387 1277)
- Student Christian Movement, Annandale, North End Road, London NW11 (01-455 2311)
- South West African Peoples Organisation, 10 Dryden Chambers, Oxford Street, London W1 (01-437 3063)
- United Nations Association, 93 Albert Embankment, London SE1
(01-735 0181)
- Unity Movement of South Africa, 1 Caterham Road, Lewisham, London SE13 (01-852 0875)
- Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, 283 Grays Inn Road, London WC1
(01-485 0286)
- Zimbabwe African National Union, Sydney Grove, London NW4
(01-202 7868)

SUGGESTIONS

QUERIES

REQUESTS

CONTACT

**NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
OF THE UNIVERSITIES AND
COLLEGES OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM (NUS)
INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT
3 ENDSLEIGH STREET LONDON
WC1H ODU Telephone 01-387 1277**

**ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
89 CHARLOTTE STREET
LONDON W1P 2DQ
Telephone 01-580 5311**

