



ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
REPORT TO THE 1990 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
October 1989 to October 1990

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POLITICAL REPORT

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Introduction

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT - THE WAY AHEAD

1990 has proved to be a turning point in the history of the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa. Within a period of a little over three months from February to May - Namibia gained its independence under a democratically elected SWAPO government; the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the South African Communist Party and other democratic and anti-apartheid organisations were unbanned; Nelson Mandela was released unconditionally from life imprisonment; and the historic Groote Schuur talks took place between an ANC delegation led by Nelson Mandela and the apartheid regime.

Developments continued to move at such a pace that by early August the ANC and the apartheid regime jointly agreed that "the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement wholeheartedly welcomes the dramatic advances which have been achieved during this period. For the first time the prospect has been opened up of a rapid transformation of South Africa from a racist state into a united, non-racial and democratic society. It is this objective which has been the *raison d'être* of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Everything which has transpired during this period vindicates the policy positions which our Movement has pursued over more than three decades.

The price in terms of human misery and suffering which the people of Southern Africa have had to pay to reach this stage has been immense and which we must never forget. This has been due not just to the policies and practices of the apartheid regime but also to the refusal of the major western powers to adopt meaningful anti-apartheid positions over the past three decades which would have speeded up the entire process of change. Of critical importance was the denial of support to the liberation struggle and opposition to the imposition of sanctions. The rapidity with which these same powers were able to secure the imposition of comprehensive UN sanctions against Iraq revealed the extent of the double-standards and hypocrisy which apply in relation to the Southern Africa situation.

Despite the progress which has been made during 1990 the challenges ahead remain daunting. The "peace process" now underway can be easily aborted. It is not irreversible. However the initiative for change now rests more explicitly than ever before with the ANC and the wider Mass Democratic Movement within South Africa. The Anti-Apartheid Movement thus has the difficult and challenging task of defining and elaborating its role as this process of change seemingly gathers momentum.

Moreover the tasks facing the Movement reach beyond South Africa's borders. Namibia needs solidarity in order to consolidate its independence and in particular to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Walvis Bay. Angola and Mozambique continue to be racked by the brutal wars waged by UNITA and RENAMO, and indeed all the Front Line and SADCC states need on-going solidarity.

Thus at this, the most critical stage in the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has to ensure that it is able to demonstrate its solidarity in the most effective way possible. This then is "The Way Ahead."

Namibia

Namibia became a sovereign independent state and a full member of the international community on 21 March 1990. The symbolic raising of the new flag of Namibia at the independence celebrations in the presence of the UN Secretary-General and world leaders marked the victory of the struggle under the leadership of SWAPO of the people of Namibia against South Africa's illegal occupation of their country. It represented the end of over a century of colonial rule. It also marked the successful completion of the UN Plan, originally adopted by the UN Security Council in 1978, for the Decolonization of Namibia.

Elections under UN supervision and control for a Constituent Assembly to draw up the constitution for an independent Namibia took place in the first week of November 1989. Despite growing fears in the lead up that they would not be "free and fair", there was universal acceptance of their results. These gave SWAPO a convincing majority with 57.3% of the popular vote and 41 of the 72 seats in the Constituent Assembly. SWAPO immediately pursued its policy of national reconciliation with the objective of overcoming the divisions and antagonisms which had characterised South Africa's occupation.

This policy paid dividends. Unanimous agreement was reached on the new Constitution and SWAPO President Sam Nujoma was unanimously elected President-Designate by the Constituent Assembly which was transformed into Namibia's parliament on independence.

The SWAPO-led government which assumed office on independence has had to face many complex problems not least the continuing annexation by South Africa of Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep-sea port. It also inherited crippling external debts of R790m, incurred by the illegal administration, estimated to be equivalent to 27% of Gross Domestic Product - most of which is owed to South African banking and other institutions.

More fundamental structural problems also confront the new government which are a direct consequence of South Africa's occupation of Namibia including widespread social and economic deprivation and unemployment side by side with huge disparities of wealth. These are a product of the deliberate under-development of the country by South Africa and the persistent attempts of its illegal administration to incorporate Namibia as a "de facto" fifth province.

The creation of new Namibian institutions, not least a Defence

and Police force, have been important priorities. In the economic field Namibia has chosen to join the Southern African Customs Union and continues to use the Rand as currency, thus reflecting the reality of Namibia's extensive economic ties with the South African economy.

Namibia has begun its life as an independent state in auspicious circumstances. Despite serious limitations, the UN Plan provided a sound basis for the creation of a united democratic state, and therefore also contributed to an enhancement of the role of the UN in resolving international disputes. The SWAPO government has received universal acclaim for its sound and wise judgement in promoting national reconciliation and now faces the tremendous challenge of "nation-building". The international community, and especially those countries which benefited from the exploitation of Namibia's wealth during South Africa's illegal occupation, now have a responsibility and duty to ensure that the government and people of Namibia have the resources to meet this challenge. Commonwealth countries, in particular Britain, have a special contribution to make in the light of Namibia's decision on independence to join the Commonwealth. Likewise the United Nations - the Permanent Members of the Security Council in particular - must take effective steps to secure the implementation of UN Security Council Res. 432 in order to end South Africa's annexation of Walvis Bay.

Front Line States

The independence of Namibia - often referred to as Africa's last colony - represented a further advance in the long drawn out anti-colonial struggles of the African people to rid their continent of foreign domination. It also meant that another nation forged out of the experience of armed struggle joined the Front Line States grouping. First created in the mid-1970s, following Mozambican and Angolan independence, to provide a framework for co-ordinating regional policy, the Front Line States have played a historical role in support of the process of liberation throughout Southern Africa; a role exemplified by their decision at the initiative of the ANC to draw up the basis for a political settlement in South Africa which was adopted by the OAU as the Harare Declaration.

Their role in support of the freedom struggle made them a target for Pretoria's devastating policy of aggression and destabilisation. And all these states continue to pay a price for the role they have been playing despite the fact that direct South African military intervention of the Front Line States has ostensibly ceased.

Angola and Mozambique have suffered the most. The proxy wars carried out by South Africa's surrogates, UNITA and RENAMO, with incalculable costs in both human and economic terms, have continued unabated. The respite which Angola had anticipated as a result of the withdrawal of South African forces and independence for Namibia failed to materialise. UNITA's logistical rear base was moved from northern Namibia to southern Zaire and US military aid to UNITA involving the CIA was stepped up. The many diplomatic initiatives which Angola has undertaken to try and promote peace, national unity and reconciliation have failed to produce tangible results. In a significant shift in policy, the Angolan government followed up the Gbadolite agreement of 22 June 1989 (reached between the Angolan government and UNITA but subsequently repudiated by the latter) with direct talks with UNITA in Portugal under the Portuguese government's auspices on 24/25 April 1990. This was followed by a declaration in principle by the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers Party that Angola should adopt a multi-party system of government.

The Mozambique government has also actively sought to implement peace initiatives decided upon at the Frelimo Party Congress in August 1989. Through a complex process of mediation involving Mozambican church leaders, the Presidents of Zimbabwe and Kenya, and the Roman Catholic Church, the first direct talks took place on 8-10 July 1990 in Italy between the

Mozambique government and RENAMO. Meanwhile the Mozambique government embarked upon a major re-structuring of the country's political, economic and social system which included the decision announced in August 1990 by the Frelimo Party Political Bureau to move away from a one-party to a multi-party system of government.

The consequences, direct and indirect, of South Africa aggression and destabilisation are by no means limited to Angola and Mozambique. All the states in the region continue to pay a heavy price for their commitment to the on-going liberation struggle.

It is difficult to predict the outcome of the efforts in Angola and Mozambique to establish peace through negotiation. It is not clear what the precise objectives of Pretoria's strategy are in relation to UNITA and RENAMO and to the region as a whole, following the political developments within South Africa itself. There is nevertheless no evidence that Pretoria has abandoned its long-held goal of maintaining political, economic and military superiority in the region.

At one level, Pretoria has sought to distance itself from UNITA and RENAMO, denying any continuing military or logistical support. Through its armaments programme, however, it is investing much-needed foreign exchange in weaponry which will maximise its capability to strike at the Front Line States, eg intermediate ballistic missiles, submarines, attack aircraft, etc.

The advances that have been won in the region by the Front Line States themselves, by the anti-apartheid forces within South Africa, and through international pressure have made it more difficult for the regime to pursue tactics of direct military aggression. There are indications that it is now directing extra resources to economic penetration of the Front Line and SADCC states.

Thus, for the Front Line States, there must exist studied skepticism about Pretoria's talk of "peace" at the present time.

United Opposition to Apartheid

Unity in action has always been a central objective of the South African liberation movement. It remains the key to securing rapidly the complete dismantling of apartheid. In past years the Pretoria regime has had some success in frustrating such unity through its co-option structures, especially the Bantustans.

In the period covered by this report the process of broadening and deepening united opposition to apartheid developed momentum at such a pace that it became a decisive factor in securing the movement towards the abolition of apartheid.

There have been three closely inter-related political processes underway. Firstly there has been the tremendous growth in popular support for and the political authority of the African National Congress, and an almost universal acknowledgement of its leadership role in the liberation movement. This was demonstrated most vividly at the massive rallies addressed by Nelson Mandela following his release on 11th February 1990. A key factor in this process has been the high esteem in which Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders of the ANC are held amongst the great majority of Black South Africans. Of equal significance, however, has been the ability of the ANC to maintain the strategic initiative during fast moving events of early 1990. The ANC National Executive Committee took a series of key decisions to re-structure the ANC within South Africa as a legal organisation, to initiate the return of exiles and to move its headquarters to Johannesburg.

The decision of the ANC NEC at its February meeting, to enter into talks with State President De Klerk to discuss the removal of the obstacles in the way of negotiations, further moved the ANC to centre stage. By then it had become self-evident to all but the most biased of observers that the parties centrally involved in charting the transition to a new South Africa were the ANC and the De Klerk government.

However two other key processes were taking place which further promoted united opposition to apartheid. The most significant were the developments taking place amongst those within the Black community who had previously been prepared to participate in the structures created by the apartheid regime, eg the bantustans, urban councils, police, etc. and who increasingly began to side with the anti-apartheid cause.

This manifested itself most clearly with the almost total collapse of the Bantustan policy. Whilst given added momentum by the rapid pace of political developments in South Africa, this was the direct result of the deep-seated popular hatred of the bantustan policy amongst rural African communities and represented an historic victory for the overall strategy as well as the persistent work of the ANC and UDF. Within the bantustans militant opposition had been increasingly finding organisational forms - allied with the MDM - to express rejection of the system. An important role was also played by the UDF-linked Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) through which rural chiefs were able to express their opposition to the apartheid system and the bantustans in particular. As resistance to the bantustans mounted and as it became apparent that the Pretoria regime could no longer guarantee their future survival, more pragmatic elements within the bantustan structures began to shift their allegiances.

The military regime in the Transkei, under General Holomisa, led the way. It first signalled its refusal to accept the dictate of Pretoria when it permitted the re-burial of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, a traditional leader of the Xhosa people who had fled from the former Matanzima regime to link up with the ANC in exile in Lusaka. The ceremony was transformed into a massive display of solidarity with the ANC. The Transkei military government went further by releasing political prisoners, lifting restrictions on organisations and committing itself to the holding of a referendum on the re-incorporation of the Transkei into South Africa.

The unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990 gave a new impetus to the anti-bantustan forces. Under the influence of developments in neighbouring Transkei, a group of military officers in the Ciskei bantustan staged a coup in March 1990 and installed a four-person military council led by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. It immediately opened up contacts with the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC and declared its support for the re-incorporation of Ciskei into South Africa. In Venda, the following month, President Frank Ravele was ousted by a military coup led by Col. Gabriel Ramushwana. It declared its opposition to Venda's pseudo-independence and made overtures towards the ANC and UDF. These developments were not limited to the so-called "independent" bantustans. In late April the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele was forced to resign and was replaced by a staunch opponent of "independence" Prince James Mahlangu. Meanwhile other leaders of the "self-government" bantustans, most notably Enos Mabuza Chief Minister of KaNgwane, were rejecting basic tenets of the bantustan policy.

With its bantustan policy in ruins Pretoria finally acknowledged in May 1990, that "independence" was no longer an option for the six remaining "self-governing homelands". With the exception of Mangope's Bophuthatswana and the special conditions existing in KwaZulu, the remaining bantustans were perceived to have begun to abandon their role as compliant adjuncts to Pretoria even if they were not fully aligned with the anti-apartheid cause.

Popular opposition to apartheid structures within urban areas generated equally strong pressures against those who had opted to participate within them. Confronted by a new upsurge of community based civic organisations and under the impact of the new political climate, many Black councillors sought alliances with local UDF-initiated structures. This gave further impetus to the process whereby local civic associations have increasingly taken over the "de facto" administration of the townships. This re-alignment was also reflected at a national

level when the main black councillors' structure - the United Municipalities of South Africa - gave its backing to the ANC on the eve of the Pretoria talks on 6th August 1990.

A similar shift of allegiances has also taken place within other apartheid structures. This was most dramatic amongst black police and prison officers, and centred on a South African Police Officer, Lt Gregory Rockman, who spoke out against police repression during the 1989 Defiance Campaign and then went on to establish the Prison Officers and Police Civil Rights Union (POPCRU). By mid-1990 it had gained a membership of over 5,000 across South Africa.

Finally further efforts were made to promote united opposition to apartheid when both the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement sought to find common ground with those adhering to the Black Consciousness and Africanist perspectives of struggle. Within the trade union movement this found tangible expression in the Workers' Summits and the joint campaign waged by COSATU and NACTU against the Labour Relations Act. In the political arena leaders associated with both the MDM and Black Consciousness came together to serve on the Convening Committee for the Conference for a Democratic Future which took place in Johannesburg in December 1989. The most representative gathering since the 1955 Congress of the People, it drew participants from a wide range of organisations many of which would not normally associate with an MDM initiative. Whilst there was a lack of unanimity on some key questions - including negotiations - the event played an important role in stimulating the promotion of unity.

The release of Nelson Mandela gave further stimulus to the promotion of unity in this critical area. As he has repeatedly stressed:

"We are engaged in efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problems facing our country. In this process we seek no advantage for our own organisation, the African National Congress. We do not pursue goals which would result in some emerging as winners and others as losers. We are striving to proceed in a manner and towards a result, which will ensure that all our people, both Black and White, emerge as victors."
(Nelson Mandela: 13.6.1990)

Nelson Mandela's eschewing of any sectarian interests met with a warm response from many critics of the ANC. Meetings of Mandela and others ANC leaders with the AZAPO leadership provided encouraging evidence of the potential of a process of political reconciliation. However many obstacles still exist in the way of securing a firm basis for unity between those associated with the Congress Movement and adherents to Black Consciousness and Africanist perspectives.

By mid-1990 there had been a fundamental shift in the overall balance of forces within South Africa. A broadening coalition of anti-apartheid forces, with the ANC playing the decisive role, had emerged as the most powerful, coherent and representative political force in South Africa. These developments had been reinforced by significant growth in the strength of the main contingents of the mass democratic movement; the trade unions, the youth, the women's movement and the community based civic organisations. Trade union struggles have been particularly critical during this period. Of especial significance was the campaign to compel the regime to abandon the anti-trade union features of the Labour Relations Amendment Act. The unbanning of the ANC provided a new impetus for both the women's movement and the youth with the foundation of the ANC Women's League and the decision to re-establish the ANC's Youth League with the active support of the South African Youth Congress.

But further obstacles to unity remain, of which the most critical is the conflict between Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha and the emerging "coalition" of anti-apartheid forces headed by the ANC. Another significant obstacle is the continuing opposition to the ANC's negotiating strategy from some of those associated with

Black Consciousness and Africanist perspectives of struggle.

The crisis in Natal and the role of Inkatha

The deepening crisis in Natal has served to undermine not only united action against apartheid but also the very prospect of securing a political settlement for South Africa as a whole. Indeed the violence which had transformed parts of Natal into veritable "killing fields" spread rapidly into other areas of South Africa most notably the Transvaal in mid-1990, causing horrendous death and destruction.

The tragedy of the conflict in Natal and the Transvaal illustrates most vividly the inhuman and destructive characteristics of apartheid. The imposition of the bantustan system onto the Zulu-speaking people in Natal, lies at the root of the conflict. It has set Zulu against Zulu, family against family, and precipitated most alarming expressions of Zulu chauvinism and arrogance by elements associated with Inkatha towards other Africans as well as the Indian community.

The KwaZulu bantustan has always had special characteristics which set it apart from the other bantustans of which the most significant has been the role of Inkatha and especially its President and the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gathsa Buthelezi. Skilfully exploiting Zulu military traditions and claiming a mandate from the ANC, Buthelezi was able to use the bantustan structures to create a powerful political/ administrative machine - Inkatha. Although participating in the bantustan structures, neither Buthelezi nor Inkatha were initially perceived as mere mouth-pieces of the white regime. His refusal to contemplate so-called "independence" for KwaZulu brought Buthelezi into conflict with a central tenet of apartheid policy in the 1970s.

Thus during the 1970s Inkatha had considerable allegiance amongst Zulu-speaking people in Natal. However a number of factors challenged Inkatha's apparent hegemony in the 1980s. Community based campaigns focused on schooling, township housing, etc brought students and activists into conflict with Inkatha, which was now controlling the administration of KwaZulu. Likewise the nation-wide boycott of local government structures and the tri-cameral elections in 1984 was in direct conflict with Inkatha's strategy of participating within apartheid institutions. These developments were reinforced with the growth of popular support for the ANC and UDF with clearly formulated anti-bantustan policies. The formation and growth of COSATU from 1985 onwards, and the failure of the Inkatha-inspired rival structure UWUSA to attract significant support amongst African workers in Natal, led Inkatha to attempt to recruit by force. The pattern of occasional violent clashes between Inkatha and its opponents that prevailed in the early 1980s degenerated into wider, more frequent conflict as local leaders in Inkatha used coercion to reassert their control over communities. Thus emerged the "warlords" - some of whom are members of Inkatha's Central Committee.

By the late 1980s Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha "warlords" had become an instrument, wittingly or unwittingly, of Pretoria's offensive against the ANC and the wider democratic movement. And as they felt more and more threatened by the same popular discontent which has now swept other bantustan leaders from power, they sought to cling to power through ever more brutal forms of repression. And as the conflict deepened, increasingly the state aligned itself with Inkatha. This manifested itself in two ways. First there is well documented evidence of South African security forces complicity in Inkatha attacks. Secondly Buthelezi, had the KwaZulu police at his command - he is both Chief Minister and Minister of Police. These police were compelled to join Inkatha and performed a role which had much more the characteristics of a vigilantes force.

Despite repeated efforts especially by the churches, the business community and the powerful trade union federation COSATU to promote peace in Natal, Buthelezi sabotaged all such moves. These were given new momentum with the release of Nelson

Mandela and his historic address to a rally in Durban on 25 February when he called for an end to the conflict in Natal. Whilst acknowledging fundamental differences with Inkatha, Mandela commended Inkatha for positions which it had adopted on political prisoners and bantustan independence, and renewed the "hand of peace" extended to Inkatha by Walter Sisulu the previous December.

However the upsurge of mass popular support for the ANC in Natal following Mandela's release was seen by the Inkatha leadership as a fresh threat and it unleashed a new spiral of violence in March. This in turn forced the ANC and MDM to adopt a new approach to the crisis. Instead of focusing on relations with Inkatha, proposals to solve the situation were increasingly addressed to the Pretoria regime. These were backed up by mass campaigns subsequently waged by the ANC and MDM. The massive support given in Natal and elsewhere to the joint UDF/COSATU nationwide stay-at-home on 2nd July not only showed the extent of the isolation of Inkatha. More importantly, it highlighted the responsibility of the apartheid regime to take effective action to stop the violence. With such pressure mounting on the regime to take effective steps to resolve the conflict, in what appears to be a calculated move by sections of Inkatha and the security forces, the violence spread to the Transvaal, with tragic consequences.

This escalation of violence in particular served Pretoria's objective of weakening the influence and authority of the ANC. Indeed the projection of the conflict internationally as "black on black" violence served to strengthen De Klerk's authority. Moreover despite all the atrocities Buthelezi continued to enjoy international recognition in many western capitals which also served Pretoria's interest in undermining the influence of the ANC. This explains why De Klerk tolerated and then refused to take effective action to stop the violence in Natal and the Transvaal as it escalated during mid-1990 despite the threat it posed to the entire "peace process".

The End of the White Monolith

Apartheid has survived for four decades because of the all powerful monolith of white supremacy and the support which the system has enjoyed from major western countries and business interests. For years the National Party was able to unite most of the disparate sections of the white population behind it because they saw it as the best guarantee of their position of power and privilege. That monolith no longer exists. The September 1989 election demonstrated a continuing decline in the vote of the National Party, and left it with a much reduced majority over the combined seats of the Conservative and Democratic Parties. This assumed a new significance in the context of the failure of the state's repressive machine to contain the mass campaign of defiance. More people took strike action on election day than voted.

Thus by the day of FW de Klerk's inauguration as State President, such were the combined international and internal pressures that he was compelled to permit a mass peaceful protest to Parliament which amounted to a huge display of solidarity with the ANC.

The decision to permit this historic march in Cape Town can now be seen as the first sign of a significant shift in Pretoria's policies. It is now evident that during his period first as leader of the National Party and then as Acting President, prior to assuming the State Presidency itself, De Klerk became critically aware of the fundamental failure of the policies pursued by his predecessor, P.W. Botha. In analysing this crisis in September 1989, the Anti-Apartheid Movement identified its key elements as follows:

- repression, although intensified, was unable to contain the popular resistance of the people;
- the ANC was demonstrating its commanding authority as the

leadership of the national liberation movement; it was increasingly recognised that the ANC was more central than the National Party in determining the future of South Africa;

- the mass movement had not only recovered from the setbacks resulting from the State of Emergency but had emerged more coherent, with greater maturity and with greatly increased unity. Moreover, in launching the Mass Defiance Campaign in August 1989 it was clearly on the offensive;

- the apartheid economy was gripped in an ever deepening economic crisis as a result of the struggles of the people of South Africa, especially the Black working class, and of the impact of sanctions;

- the National Party found itself increasingly in disarray culminating in the reluctant resignation of PW Botha as State President. The underlying problem confronting the National Party was that it had no solution to the South African crisis.

The forces generating this crisis continued to gather momentum. Domestic and international considerations have greatly constrained the regime's capacity to resort to purely repressive measures. The ANC's authority has grown immeasurably since its unbanning and the release of Nelson Mandela. Popular resistance, and especially campaigns in response to local grievances, have spread throughout South Africa, and the non-racial trade union movement has become increasingly successful in its industrial struggles. The economic crisis has shown little sign of abating, whilst the political crisis has become more acute - for the first time stretching into the heart of the security establishment with the exposures of death squads and the activities of the CCB.

The crisis in white political structures was illustrated above all by the growth in what is described as the "ultra-right". Its main political expression the Conservative Party - essentially a breakaway from the National Party subscribing to traditional NP policies - has increased its popular support and came close to defeating the NP at the by-election at Umlazi, Natal on 6th June. More alarming has been the growth of numerous sinister para-military groupings and the widespread arming of white communities. The influence of these "ultra-right" groupings is particularly strong in the South African police. Although still only commanding minority support amongst whites - and clearly not in a position to rule South Africa - these forces could threaten or impede the process underway.

The reality of the situation confronting the Pretoria regime was best expressed by the State President in a South African television interview on 7th April 1990. He explained:

"If our old policy, which was so unpopular in many circles, could work, then we would surely have clung to it. We came to the conclusion that the policy we had planned could simply not work, and that change was absolutely necessary."

The National Party (NP) has therefore embarked on a new strategy, moving beyond its old constituency into that of the Democratic Party and - anticipating the adoption of a new constitution and wider franchise - beyond the limits of the white electorate, to seek support and alliances amongst the Black population. As this process proceeds, it becomes increasingly unlikely that the NP would emerge victorious at a general election under the existing constitution. Thus it must have set its sights on reaching an agreement during the life of the existing racial parliament, ie before September 1994.

The National Party is at the same time seeking to jettison much of the apparatus of apartheid - expensive, discredited and increasingly inoperable - in order to sustain as much as possible of the substance of white privilege and socio-economic power. It has accordingly announced the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act this year and of the Group Areas and Land Acts next year. Tentative moves towards desegregation in education, health

care and other services are under way, and a much-vaunted provision was made in the 1990 budget of R2 billion towards black housing and welfare, to be administered as a separate fund.

However none of the initiatives which the National Party has taken can be interpreted as a commitment on its part to the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It has refused to subscribe to the fundamental principles for a new constitutional order set out in the Harare and UN Declarations. Indeed F.W. de Klerk has repeatedly stated: "We believe that majority rule is not suitable for a country like South Africa."

The strategy of the regime therefore is to try and impose a new constitutional order on the people of South Africa which has the semblance of democracy and yet gives the white minority a veto over the country's future. To impose its plan it must seriously weaken and undermine the position of the ANC and other democratic forces. A crucial element of this strategy is its efforts to promote disunity, strife and conflict amongst the oppressed majority.

The international dimension to the crisis of apartheid

International solidarity has played a critical role in accelerating the crisis of the apartheid system during this period. The 1980s saw a remarkable intensification of international solidarity which was expressed most vividly in the world-wide campaign to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th Birthday in 1988. South Africa's international isolation became particularly acute from 1985-6 onwards effecting nearly all areas of South Africa's external relations. In the cultural, sporting and academic fields the isolation was almost total. In other areas such as emigration and tourism levels dropped dramatically. However it was in four areas where South Africa's isolation had the most significant impact:

- the regime's loss of all-round military superiority as a result of the increasingly effective implementation of the UN mandatory arms embargo;

- the absence of any significant inflows of capital investment together with a general lack of confidence in the economy amongst influential banking and financial circles in the west;

- the loss of key markets for the country's exports and reduction of its capacity to earn foreign exchange. These in turn greatly reduced the regime's capacity to service its massive international debt;

- the effect of embargoes on key strategic imports, especially oil, which caused critical shortages but in particular raised costs and therefore further added to the regime's balance of payments crisis.

These were key factors in compelling South Africa initially to agree to the withdrawal of its military forces from Angola in mid-1988 and then to the implementation of the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia. Pretoria may well have anticipated as a "reward" for the implementation of the UN Plan some relaxation of its international isolation but nothing significant was forthcoming. Indeed, the prospect of Namibia's independence served also to focus international attention on the need to eliminate apartheid. Thus as De Klerk surveyed the world stage as he assumed office as State President he faced a series of daunting problems:

- unprecedented world-wide condemnation of apartheid which had been further intensified by the brutal repression of the Defiance Campaign;

- mounting dissatisfaction amongst western leaders that PW Botha's reform policy had failed to produce any significant results. Under pressure of public opinion, they began to exert quiet influence on Pretoria to release Nelson Mandela into some

process of negotiations;

- new moves in the Commonwealth, the US Congress and the EC to strengthen and tighten sanctions in the face of the brutal repression of the 1989 defiance campaigns;
- specific proposals from the Commonwealth for the UN to tighten the arms embargo and further undermine South Africa's military capacity
- the need to secure an agreement with the international banks for the re-scheduling of South Africa's debt or face the risk of "de facto" bankruptcy.

De Klerk had also to contend with the increasingly effective diplomatic initiatives of the ANC. The ANC had already been instrumental in securing the OAU's adoption of the Harare Declaration in August 1989 which set out the principles for a new united, non-racial and democratic constitutional order for South Africa as well as the steps Pretoria was required to take to create a climate conducive to negotiation. By doing so, it sought to forestall any move by Pretoria to initiate a negotiating process which fell short of a genuine end to apartheid and also to prevent any negotiating process being imposed externally, causing the sort of problems experienced by SWAPO.

With the Harare Declaration endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement, the ANC was in a strong position to secure its international endorsement. Thus when the United Nations General Assembly held its first ever Special Session on South Africa from 12-14 December 1989, it was possible to secure the adoption by consensus of the UN Declaration on South Africa which in all its key elements reflected the positions of the Harare Declaration. Thus for the first time there emerged international agreement on the basis for a political settlement in South Africa.

As will be seen many of the positions adopted by Pretoria over the past twelve months have been heavily influenced by the external factors identified above.

The "peace process"

The past twelve months have seen the most dramatic changes ever to take place in South Africa, starting with the lifting of restrictions on certain mass demonstrations in September 1989. Then on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference in October, De Klerk released Walter Sisulu and other veteran anti-apartheid leaders. The timing of the move was clearly designed to assist those, especially Mrs Thatcher, who wished to block moves by the Commonwealth to toughen up its sanctions programme. It was also a bonus to the international banks which announced during the Kuala Lumpur summit that they had agreed to the re-scheduling of South Africa's debts.

However, the release of Walter Sisulu and others simply fuelled expectations of further developments. As he himself observed in an interview with Anti-Apartheid News :

"As regards Nelson Mandela, he must be released - everything points in that direction, but I can't give a date. The regime has no way of keeping him, they will be obliged to release him sooner or later. Their problem is that they don't want to release him into a vacuum, yet they're not yet ready to move."

In essence the regime could only release Nelson Mandela into some framework of negotiations. However, to do so it was obliged to address the key issues of unbanning the ANC and creating a climate for negotiations as set out in the Harare and UN Declarations. It was this that De Klerk sought to do with his historic 2 February address opening the racist parliament. He lifted the bans on the ANC, PAC, SACP and all other organisations, placed a moratorium on the carrying out of death sentences, modified certain powers under the State of Emergency, announced the release of a very limited category of political prisoners, and finally declared his intention to release Nelson Mandela.

The release of Nelson Mandela on Sunday 11 February was a water-shed in South African history. It was celebrated throughout the length and breadth of South Africa and worldwide. His address to a crowd of tens of thousands from the City Hall in Cape Town within hours of his release was of historic significance as he re-affirmed his loyalty to the African National Congress and its positions on key issues such as the armed struggle, sanctions and its objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Mandela's release and the mass rallies which he addressed within South Africa in the days and weeks following his release transformed the South African situation by confirming without question the centrality of the ANC to any political settlement in South Africa.

However, whilst the moves taken by De Klerk went much further than had been generally anticipated they fell far short of the steps required to create a climate conducive to negotiations. Moreover, whilst announcing his intention to enter into talks about a future dispensation in South Africa, De Klerk made no explicit commitment to a genuine ending of apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Indeed in a subsequent address to Parliament on 17 April 1990, he appeared to rule this out when he stated :

"We believe majority rule is not suitable for a country like South Africa... We are convinced that power-sharing... is the only workable answer."

However, the ANC took the initiative by seeking to compel the regime to take the steps necessary to open the way to negotiations. Nelson Mandela, newly elected as Deputy President of the ANC, led the ANC delegation that met with De Klerk and senior Ministers from 2-4 May at Grooté Schuur, Cape Town. This meeting focussed on the key obstacles in the way of negotiations including the release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the end of political executions, the ending of political trials and the repeal of security legislation. A Working Group was established between the ANC and the regime which reached agreement over the key issues such as political prisoners, cessation of political executions and trials, indemnity from prosecution for exiles and procedures of implementing the agreement.

This progress was achieved against the background of continued repression. Some 265 people were killed and nearly 3,000 injured by police actions against anti-apartheid protests in the eight months from February. By August 1990 2,000 anti-apartheid activists were either on trial or awaiting trial. And the number of those detained without trial increased significantly after February 2nd. These included key ANC leaders such as Mac Maharaj of the ANC National Executive Committee who was detained under the notorious Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Meanwhile the regime only partially lifted the State of Emergency - it was reimposed for the whole of Natal - when it came up for renewal in June and a vicious State of Emergency remains in force in Bophuthatswana.

On 6 August a further meeting took place between the ANC and the regime when significant progress was made. The Report of the Working Group was agreed and published as an annexure to the new agreement - the Pretoria Minute - which set out a timetable for implementation of the report. The regime also undertook to consider immediately the repeal of certain elements of the Internal Security Act. Against this background, and with agreement that it would participate in the monitoring of the police and defence forces, the ANC announced that it was "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect," and explained in an official ANC "Report Back" that this was "conditional on the behaviour of the South African Police and Defence Force".

The Pretoria Minute concluded by stating that both delegations agreed that "the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations" - thus breaking the logjam which could have placed the whole process at risk. As exploratory talks began on the drawing

up of a new democratic constitution it was evident that fundamental issues still remained to be addressed. The two key ones are the nature of any negotiating process and the future constitutional order for South Africa. The ANC and other anti-apartheid forces have made clear their preference for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly modelled on the Namibian experience, to be charged with drawing up a new constitution, but this has been rejected by the regime. Likewise there appears to be a growing consensus that any new constitution should have one chamber elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common non-racial electoral roll. However, the regime envisages a second chamber with veto powers through which "group rights" would be protected.

At stake now, as the way opens to a process of negotiations, is the most fundamental issue of all - how to ensure that this process leads to a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. But it must also be recognised that the entire "peace process" will continue to be at risk until there exists a genuine climate of free political activity. The violence in the Transvaal and Natal and the regime's exploitation of the conflict to impose increasingly draconian measures such as the "unrest areas" or "mini-states of emergency introduced in August 1990 illustrate the fragility of the entire process.

Future perspectives for British and international policy

It is almost universally recognised that external pressure has contributed to the advances which have already been achieved. However, if the momentum for change is to be maintained, then these pressures have to be sustained if not intensified.

The policy which the Anti-Apartheid Movement has advocated for over three decades has been the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa as the most effective form of international action to end apartheid. This continues to be our policy. Indeed the speed and effectiveness with which the Security Council was able to impose such sanctions against Iraq testifies to our view that if the political will had existed on the part of the western permanent members of the Security Council, apartheid could have long ago been destroyed.

In the rapidly changing situation now developing in South Africa, it is important that the policies advocated by our Movement are such that they contribute constructively to this process. The existence of an internationally agreed basis for a political settlement in South Africa - the UN Declaration - provides an important framework upon which we should focus our efforts. Britain can play a crucial role in this process.

British policy has once more been significantly out of step with the rest of the international community during this period. At the Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Summit not only did Britain refuse to go along with the limited measures for strengthening financial sanctions and the arms embargo, but Mrs Thatcher produced her own statement which contradicted key elements of the Commonwealth Statement which she had agreed to. At the UN Special Session in December 1989, Britain found itself in a minority of one and eventually agreed to go along with the consensus whilst making two key reservations on the text. These were in two areas of vital importance: the repeal of the Internal Security Act and the creation of a non-racial electoral roll. However, whilst associating itself with the consensus adoption of the UN Declaration, Britain has singularly failed to act according to that consensus. This was markedly the case over the relaxation of sanctions. The consensus states:

"To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid, until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this declaration."

However, Britain first relaxed its cultural, academic and scientific boycott of South Africa on February 2nd, and then followed this by declaring - the day before Mandela was released - its intention to lift the voluntary bans on new investment and the promotion of tourism.

It is also a source of profound regret that a number of the emerging democracies in eastern Europe (Hungary, Poland and Rumania) have unilaterally established diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa in breach of the agreed international consensus as laid down in the UN Declaration on South Africa, whilst the USSR has received a South African ministerial delegation. A number of OAU states have acted likewise including Malagasy, Cote d'Ivoire and Zaire. South Africa's international isolation has been further eroded by the reception granted to FW de Klerk during his visit to Europe in May 1990.

Disturbing as these developments are, the fact is that the great majority of international pressures remain in force. Moves to lift European Community, Commonwealth and US sanctions where successfully frustrated at the initiative of the ANC. The interventions by Nelson Mandela at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee meeting in Nigeria in May and during his tour of Europe and North America in June and July together with determined campaigning by the international anti-apartheid community prevented any significant erosion of policy.

It was not only in the area of sanctions that Britain distanced itself from the UN consensus. Long before the regime and the ANC reached agreement over the possibility for negotiations, British ministers, in complete breach of the UN Declaration, were in effect calling for negotiations to start. As the Foreign Secretary said in the House of Commons on 2 February: "The importance of what President De Klerk announced is that he has done enough in the minds of most reasonable people to open the way for negotiations."

Mrs Thatcher went even further following her meeting with F.W. de Klerk in May 1990 when she told the House: "President de Klerk has embarked on reforms which are irreversible, which will bring an end to apartheid and which will, through negotiation, bring about a democratic government on a non-racial basis."

Not all developments in British policy were negative. Indeed there is some evidence that there was a small but significant shift in Britain's underlying policy which brought it closer to that advocated by our Movement for over three decades. This arose primarily because of the Government's perceived need for Britain to be in a position to play a central role in any transitional process. Mrs Thatcher had sought to play such a role by casting herself as "peace-maker." But whilst there are indicators that she did use her influence over the release of Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, she subsequently found it increasingly difficult to be centre stage. (Indeed, following De Klerk's visit to London in May 1990, her officials disclosed that she had again put off any intended visit to South Africa at least to 1991).

This was in part a result of the lack of any relationship with the ANC, at a time when the British government was having to acknowledge that the ANC was central to any political settlement. The ANC, reacting angrily to Britain's unilateral relaxation of sanctions, so arranged Nelson Mandela's international itinerary that his meeting with Mrs Thatcher was the last of his European and North American tour. There was even speculation in the South African press that De Klerk believed that his meeting with Mrs Thatcher to be of lesser significance than those with other European leaders.

By the time of the Mandela/Thatcher meeting on 4 July 1990, British policy had apparently shifted. The meeting itself, following the June meeting between Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and the Head of the ANC's International Department, Thabo Mbeki, marked the recognition by Britain of the ANC's centrality to any process of change in South Africa. The British government had already backed off from any further unilateral lifting

of sanctions and had explicitly acknowledged that any new constitutional order had to be based on universal adult suffrage. Mrs Thatcher in a subsequent interview with the Johannesburg Star on 17 July said of her meeting with Mr Mandela: "We are agreed absolutely on the need to end apartheid in all its forms and to achieve a fully democratic constitution." She added that South Africa could only be accepted back fully into the international community once a new democratic constitution was in place and the remaining apartheid legislation removed. By August the Foreign Office was saying that:

"The Government recognise that the ANC is the principal focus for black opinion in South Africa."

The task ahead is to ensure that British and international policy develop in such a manner that maximum pressure is applied on the Pretoria regime so that the process now underway in fact leads to the creation of a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa.

This involves three key areas:

1) every effort needs to be made to stop the violence and repression and create conditions for free political activity. Much progress has been made, but British and international pressure must be sustained in order that the agreements made are implemented; that all the steps identified in the UN Declaration are taken; and that all other obstacles to free political activity are removed;

2) a genuine process of negotiations should be established on the basis of the Harare and UN Declarations. International support should be given to the proposal to establish a democratically elected Constituent Assembly which should have a vital role to play in the emergence of a new constitutional order;

3) any negotiating process must lead to a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The UN Declaration sets out the fundamental principles upon which a new constitutional order should be based. Britain and the international community should make clear that South Africa's re-admission to the international community requires an agreement based on those principles.

The process underway will only be sustained if both internal and external pressures are maintained and sustained. This requires the provision of material and other forms of assistance to the African National Congress and the wider Mass Democratic Movement, especially during this critical period. It also requires the sustaining of international sanctions until there has been "profound and irreversible change".

Amongst the specific measures which should be taken by the international community to sustain such pressures are the following:

(i) The UN Security Council should take action to ensure the strict implementation of the mandatory arms embargo, to close all loopholes and make it fully comprehensive, especially in the light of South Africa's re-armaments programme and the known violations reported to the Security Council 421 Committee.

(ii) All UN member states should maintain their commitment to all existing sanctions and other pressures and ensure their strict enforcement and universal application.

(iii) The UN Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum to South Africa should be fully supported in order to ensure

the tightening of the oil embargo and all UN member states should work to ensure the universal application of the oil embargo.

(iv) All UN member states should ensure that financial sanctions are sustained and that the International Monetary Fund continues not to lend to South Africa until fundamental and irreversible change has been effected. The UN General Assembly should prevail upon other international organisations, banks and financial institutions not to provide any loans, investments or other finance to South Africa.

The tasks of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

The Anti-Apartheid Movement faces the most challenging period in its history. The changes which have taken place over the last twelve months are highly significant. They have come about because of the strength of anti-apartheid forces both within and outside South Africa - and because of the weakness of the apartheid regime and the lessening of support from its traditional allies. It is vital, if we are to see the creation of a new South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter, that this balance of forces shifts even more decisively in favour of the anti-apartheid cause. That this is happening within South Africa is without doubt. However, there exists a real danger that outside South Africa there may be a demobilization of popular anti-apartheid forces, whilst those governments which have been compelled to distance themselves from Pretoria may revert to more traditional relationships in order to assist in a process of "controlled change".

The most important task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement is to ensure that there is no such demobilization of popular anti-apartheid campaigning. This will require imaginative and effective work. Much greater emphasis must be placed on education and information so that there is the widest possible understanding of the developments taking place and the need for on-going solidarity.

The overall framework for the Movement's campaign work in relation to South Africa already exists in the "South Africa: Freedom Now!" campaign. The sub-themes of the campaign encapsulate the main strategic tasks of the Movement namely:

- "Stop Apartheid Repression"
- "Boycott Apartheid - Sanctions Now!"
- "Solidarity with ANC"
- "For a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa".

The challenge facing the Movement is to develop its campaigning work around these four themes in order to secure maximum mobilisation and participation. This challenge will be that much greater precisely because the very content of these campaigns will require constant re-evaluation as the process of change develops momentum.

This campaigning work will need to be reinforced by sustained campaigning in solidarity with Namibia and the Frontline States

Finally the Movement must stress the significance of the developments in Southern Africa for the world-wide struggle against racism. Already the victory of SWAPO's liberation struggle in Namibia represents a significant defeat for the forces of racism and reaction. The destruction of the evil and inhuman system of apartheid will signal an even more profound challenge to racism in all its forms. It must lead to a renewed offensive throughout the world to ensure that the scourge of racism is finally and totally eliminated from all continents.

The Way Ahead

The Anti-Apartheid Movement and its policies have been vindicated by the developments over the period covered by this

report. This has in particular been the case in respect of those policies over which our Movement has been in conflict with the British government and other key British policy makers namely our advocacy of comprehensive sanctions and our support for the national liberation struggle waged by SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa. This is because the consistent aim of the AAM - pursued over three decades - has been to ensure that our efforts correspond to the expressed wishes of those at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid.

However the fact that we have been proved to be correct is no grounds for complacency in respect of the future. Indeed the events now taking place in Southern Africa are such that unless we constantly re-evaluate our strategy and review our role there is a real danger that the Movement may prove to be unable to make the most effective contribution possible during the period ahead - which will surely be the decisive stage of the freedom struggle.

The way ahead for the Anti-Apartheid Movement also means we must promote a wide debate both within our ranks and beyond them, amongst all opponents of apartheid, as to the nature of solidarity both in the period of transition of South Africa from apartheid to a united, non-racial and democratic society and in the development of the post-apartheid society. This will require in-depth consideration as to both the policies and appropriate structures required to build on and sustain the solidarity movement which has been created in Britain over the past three decades. However this debate and discussion must be conducted in such a way as to complement and in no way undermine the fulfillment of the short-term campaigning tasks in relation to developments now taking place.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has therefore to provide during the immediate period ahead leadership which is both consistent and flexible so that we can make the most effective contribution to the freedom struggle. This requires our Movement to ensure that we sustain our campaigns, in particular to secure:

- 1) fundamental change in British policy so that Britain contributes directly to the process of transforming South Africa from an apartheid state to a united, non-racial and democratic society based on the fundamental principles set out in the UN Declaration on South Africa;
- 2) understanding of the process of change now underway in South Africa and the obstacles in the way of a genuine end to apartheid;
- 3) political and material support for the ANC in its efforts to lay the basis for the creation of a new South Africa;
- 4) understanding of and support for the vision of a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa;
- 5) the maintenance, strict enforcement, and universal application of all sanctions and other measures aimed at isolating apartheid South Africa and the intensification of sanctions and boycott campaigns until there is profound and irreversible change leading to a genuine end to apartheid;
- 6) international pressure on the Pretoria regime so that it creates conditions of free political activity within South Africa including all the steps set out in the Harare and UN Declarations on South Africa as well as the comprehensive implementation of all undertakings given by the regime;
- 7) solidarity with the new nation of Namibia and with the Front Line States and members of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The way ahead for the Anti-Apartheid Movement will further require the maximum possible support from the people of Britain for our campaigns and general work. This means that renewed efforts will be necessary to consolidate and strengthen the involvement of all sectors of society within our Movement. In particular the AAM will require the maximum possible human and financial resources to achieve its objectives and will be especially dependent on the generosity of its members, affiliates and other supporters during this critical and decisive period ahead.

SOUTH AFRICA

The campaigning tasks of the Movement, during the period of rapid change outlined in this Report, have been the most challenging in its history. With developments of great significance taking place within South Africa it has been essential to provide the most effective forms of communication and education to the Movement's membership and supporters; to develop understanding as to the real significance of the changes taking place; and to sustain maximum solidarity with the freedom struggle and prevent any relaxation of international pressure.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought to achieve these tasks through working in the closest possible co-operation with the African National Congress. As well as organising its own campaigning activities the AAM played an active role in the work of the Southern Africa Coalition, as well as serving on the secretariats of both the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee and the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee - Britain. Campaigning activities have been organised in such a way as to secure the widest possible popular support as well as directing specific campaigns in such a manner as to have the greatest impact on the British government, the Council of Ministers of the European Community and others seeking to relax international pressure on apartheid South Africa.

During much of this period the Anti-Apartheid Movement has found itself in direct conflict with the British government over its policies towards South Africa. Although the public perception of this conflict has been that it was over sanctions, there have been matters of equal if not greater importance - such as the Government's attitude towards the African National Congress; its view as to what constitutes a climate conducive to negotiations; and its position in relation to the ANC's goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The AAM has campaigned persistently and effectively over this period to secure a fundamental change in British policy. It is encouraging to note that small but not insignificant changes have been secured.

SOUTH AFRICA - FREEDOM NOW !

The framework for the Movement's activities on South Africa during this period has been the South Africa - Freedom Now ! (SAFN) campaign. Drawn up for presentation to the AAM's 1989 AGM where they secured the full endorsement of the ANC and the COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo who was representing the Mass Democratic Movement, the SAFN campaign plans had to be re-evaluated and up-dated as events moved forward. However the basic framework has proved to be correct, since it envisaged a situation in which the AAM needed "to be prepared for further developments, in particular the release of Nelson Mandela - and even a declared willingness by the regime to begin negotiations with the ANC." As was stated : "It is evident that Pretoria has decided to abandon one trench and to retreat to another because in its judgement this provides the best basis of ensuring the survival of 'white domination'."

At a Special National Committee meeting in April 1990 and again at NC meetings in June, July and September 1990 decisions were taken to up-date and further develop the scope of the South Africa - Freedom Now ! campaign. Specific details of the campaign activities are described in the appropriate section of this Report. But the overriding objective of the campaign was and continues to be to secure a fundamental change in British policy in order that Britain plays a positive role in securing the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Kuala Lumpur : Crisis for Mrs Thatcher (Oct.1989)

The Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989 brought into sharp relief the extent to

which British policy had become aligned with the National Party under the new leadership of FW de Klerk. In a move apparently timed to influence the outcome of the meeting, Walter Sisulu and other anti-apartheid leaders were released from prison on the eve of the Commonwealth Summit - Mrs Thatcher having received advanced warning in a telephone conversation with De Klerk during the Conservative Party conference. These releases also facilitated agreement with the international banks on the re-scheduling of South Africa's debts - a decision that was announced publicly during the Commonwealth summit and of which Mrs Thatcher also had prior knowledge.

Claiming the changes which had taken place at that stage were "important and positive" Mrs Thatcher, having proposed the adoption of an agreed Commonwealth position "Southern Africa: The Way Ahead - The Kuala Lumpur Statement", within hours of signing it, reneged on her commitments by issuing her own statement. Entitled "Southern Africa: The Way Ahead: Britain's View", this went back on and contradicted a number of key points contained in the Commonwealth Statement. Commenting on this action, unprecedented at a Commonwealth Summit, Bob Hughes MP on behalf of the AAM stated: "Mrs Thatcher's behaviour over South Africa has become so obsessive and irrational that it is no longer clear what is British policy".

In a further move which angered Commonwealth governments, the then Foreign Secretary John Major refused to meet the ANC delegation in Kuala Lumpur headed by Thabo Mbeki. Justifying its decision when questioned in Parliament by Bob Hughes the government stated that the ANC had to agree to suspend violence before the Foreign Secretary would meet an ANC delegation.

UN Special Session : Britain isolated (Dec.1989)

Two months later, in New York at the 16th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, Britain again found itself isolated when the UN Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa was adopted by consensus on 14 December. The United Kingdom delegation was the only one to seek to qualify its position on the consensus. On two key points - the proposal for a non-racial voters roll and the call for the repeal of the Internal Security Act - Britain effectively entered reservations signalling to Pretoria that these were matters on which Britain saw no need for it to respond positively to the UN position.

The OAU and UN Declarations

Both the OAU Declaration, adopted in Harare in August 1989 and endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement the following month, and the UN Declaration itself represented significant advances in the ANC's diplomatic initiative to secure an internationally agreed basis for a political settlement in South Africa. By setting out the conditions necessary to create a climate for negotiations, proposing guidelines for the process of negotiations, and setting out the fundamental principles for a new constitutional order, they provided a framework for anti-apartheid campaigning which was to prove particularly important during 1990.

NELSON MANDELA INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Against the background of the release of Walter Sisulu and the other Rivonia Trialists and the adoption by consensus of the UN Declaration, by the end of 1989 the pressure on the new De Klerk regime to release Nelson Mandela appeared to be irresistible. At the initiative of the ANC and with the full support of its President Oliver Tambo, the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee (NMIRC) was established with Archbishop Huddleston as its Convenor and with a small London-based

secretariat consisting of representatives of the ANC, IDAF and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The NMIRC established close contact with the National Reception Committee which had been formed within South Africa and formally launched on 8 January with the release of an International Appeal, followed on 9 January by a ceremony in New York addressed by Archbishop Huddleston. The NMIRC appealed "to the international community to ensure that the release of Nelson Mandela is not only made an occasion for great celebration but also becomes an opportunity for us all to rededicate ourselves to the struggle to end apartheid."

With Siphon Pityana serving as Co-ordinator, the NMIRC made the most rapid of progress. Within a month of its launch National Reception Committees had been established in several countries and prominent personalities from across the world had agreed to serve as Patrons. Co-ordinated action took place world-wide on 2 February to coincide with De Klerk's address to the tricameral parliament and again on the day of Nelson Mandela's release - 11 February.

Wembley concert

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee further sought to maintain the momentum of the campaign to free all political prisoners and to intensify the struggle to end apartheid by organising an "International Tribute For A Free South Africa" which took place at Wembley Stadium on Easter Monday, 16 April. The concert, broadcast live on TV by the BBC, enabled Mr Mandela to address and to thank the international community for its efforts to secure his release, and to point the way forward.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement actively supported this initiative and the company which the Movement had established to organise the 1988 Wembley Concert, Freedom Productions, was asked by the NMIRC to serve as the legal entity for the International Tribute. Nelson Mandela's brief visit to London to address this Tribute was an outstanding success. He met with the Convenor of the IRC, Archbishop Huddleston, addressed a meeting of NRCs from across the world, and spoke to an audience of millions of people across the world from the stage at Wembley. The Anti-Apartheid Movement was both honoured and privileged to be associated with this historic event.

NELSON MANDELA RECEPTION COMMITTEE BRITAIN

In response to the International Appeal from the NMIRC, issued on 8 January 1990, the African National Congress in Britain and the Anti-Apartheid Movement undertook the task of forming a British Reception Committee. The first meeting was convened in the House of Commons, London, on 17 January by Mendi Msimang, ANC Chief Representative in Britain, and Robert Hughes MP, Chair of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who became the joint chairs. A small secretariat was established based at Mandela Street including representatives of the ANC and AAM, with the SATIS Co-ordinator Paul Brannen as Co-ordinator.

The aims of the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee - Britain were similar to those of the NMIRC, namely to -

- * intensify the campaign to release Nelson Mandela;
- * prepare to celebrate Nelson Mandela's impending release with activities especially in towns, cities, universities, and other places which have honoured Nelson Mandela;
- * step up the ongoing struggle to secure the release of all South African political prisoners and detainees;
- * intensify the struggle to end apartheid.

From the outset the intention was that the NMIRC-B should be broadly based, and that, being a short-term initiative, it would not supplant existing organisations. In accordance with these decisions, a wide cross-section of national and regional organi-

sations were approached to be sponsoring bodies. Over 40 organisations agreed to become sponsors, including: national affiliates of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, trade unions, aid agencies, religious organisations, black organisations, political parties, and youth organisations.

On 26 January a meeting was held in Glasgow which led to the launch of a National Reception Committee being established in Scotland.

In response to the call from the NMIRC for international action on 2 February, the day of the President de Klerk's opening address to the new session of the racist South African parliament, to demand the release of Nelson Mandela, the release of all South African political prisoners and for an end to apartheid, the NMIRC-B organised a demonstration outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square on 2 February. The demonstration was well attended and received good news coverage. In Glasgow a similar protest was organised outside the South African Consulate. These protests had added significance since the Prime Minister responded to De Klerk's address by unilaterally announcing the lifting of the voluntary ban on cultural, academic and scientific links with South Africa (see below under sanctions for full report).

Visit of Rev Jesse Jackson

The arrival in London of Rev Jesse Jackson, one of the Patrons of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, the day after De Klerk's 2 February speech came at an opportune moment for the work of the NMIRC-B. Hosted in Britain by the Parliamentary Black Caucus (PBC) in association with the AAM, Rev Jesse Jackson was travelling to South Africa via London and Lusaka (for discussions with the ANC leadership), and took advantage of a brief stopover to emphasise in a number of meetings and interviews the need to keep up the pressure on the South African regime. He met with Archbishop Huddleston, convenor of the NMIRC, with the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition, preached at St James's Church Piccadilly and Harlesden Methodist Church, and addressed a packed rally in Hackney. The rally, organised by the PBC with the AAM, was chaired by Bernie Grant MP, who subsequently accompanied Rev. Jackson on his tour of South Africa, which coincided with the release of Nelson Mandela. (For further details of the rally, see below under Black and Ethnic Minorities).

The release of Nelson Mandela

On 10 February, as representatives of the National Reception Committees in a number of countries met in London under the auspices of NMIRC to coordinate plans, President de Klerk announced that Nelson Mandela would be released the following day. There was extensive coverage on British television of the announcement being received by the participants at the meeting and a press conference was held at the end of the meeting which was addressed by Bob Hughes MP on behalf of the NMIRC and the AAM. By this time Mrs Thatcher had already announced her intention to lift both the voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa which she had agreed with her Commonwealth partners in August 1986 and the voluntary ban on new investment which was one of the key elements of the common European Community programme of "restrictive measures" adopted in September 1986 (see further under sanctions below). Britain's action was universally condemned by the participants at the press conference and by the NRCs attending the meeting.

On Sunday 11 February from mid-morning onwards people began to gather outside the South African Embassy in London to celebrate the release. By lunchtime the crowd was several thousand strong, despite rain and sleet. Music and speeches, the popping of champagne corks and general spontaneous celebration were the order of the day as the news came through that Nelson Mandela had indeed walked out of prison after 27 years.

Amongst those who addressed the assembled crowds during the day were Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Convenor of NMIRC and President of the AAM; Robert Hughes MP, Joint Chair of the NMRC-B; Siphon Pityana, Co-ordinator NMIRC; Essop Pahad, ANC; Jerry Dammers, writer of 'Free Nelson Mandela' and a patron of the NMIRC; Sir Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth; Joan Lester MP; Tony Benn MP; Greville Janner MP; and several trade union general secretaries.

Activities to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela occurred across Britain, some planned, others spontaneous, attracting enthusiastic support and sympathetic media coverage. The BBC showed clips of activity in Bristol, Ipswich, York and Manchester on the main news bulletins on the day of the release. Extensive coverage continued for several days following.

Some of the hundreds of activities that occurred across the country were: in Leeds the University Students Union released 270 balloons in the colours of the ANC - ten for every year Mandela spent in jail; at Leeds Town Hall a celebration and civic reception was held; in York the bells of York Minster were rung; in Sheffield a service was held at the cathedral and the bells rung, and there was also a reception and vigil; in Bristol 500 people held a torchlit celebration in the town centre; in Newcastle there was a large celebration rally and party at the Civic Centre; in Manchester a celebration was held at the Town Hall; in Cardiff a choir sang in the city centre and a large social was organised by the Welsh Anti-Apartheid Movement. Celebrations are also known to have occurred in Yeovil, Southend, Barnet, Blackburn, Rossendale, Exeter, Congleton, Rotherham, Greenwich, Aberystwyth, Pontllanfraith, Cambridge, Notting Hill, Bradford, Durham, Oldham and many others. The ANC flag was flown over many town halls, including Southampton, Camden, Haringey, Oxford, Sheffield and Aberdeen.

Many trade union journals gave extensive coverage to the release of Nelson Mandela and associated activities and called on their members to continue to work for the release of all political prisoners and for an end to apartheid.

In parliament on 12 February an Early Day Motion welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela and calling for sanctions not to be lifted, was tabled in the Commons by Robert Hughes MP, joint chair of the NMRC-B; it was signed by 102 MPs.

A service of celebration and rededication was organised by the British Council of Churches, as their contribution to the work of the NMRC-B, at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London. Over 500 people attended the service which had a significant input from the ANC. A large card to Nelson Mandela was signed by all and the service ended with a torchlight procession outside the South African Embassy where the final address was given by Archbishop Huddleston. The BBC filmed the service and a clip appeared on the news.

A celebratory motorcade, organised by the London Committee of the AAM on the Saturday following Mandela's release, visited key sites and streets in London named in honour of Mandela, starting from four points: Brent, Lewisham, Haringey and Newham. Most of the streets named after Mandela were visited and the AAM's campaign bus was utilised. Good radio coverage resulted and several mayors, MEPs and councillors were present.

A freedom party held at the Camden Centre in London on 17 February was attended by over 1000 people. The band line up included Abdul Tee Jay's Rokoto, Julian Bahula and DJ Walla. Speeches were given by Robert Hughes MP, Joint Chair of the NMRC-B and Chair of the AAM, and by Siphon Pityana, Co-ordinator of the NMIRC.

Two sponsored advertisements organised by the NMRC-B were placed in a Sunday newspaper, The Observer, on two consecutive weeks, on 18 and 25 February. Organisations and individuals were asked to sign a declaration which :

- 1) sent greetings to Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his release, and saluted his courage and integrity;
- 2) recognised that his release and other recent developments in South Africa were the result of internal and external pressures, and affirmed that these pressures must be sustained until apartheid has been ended;
- 3) expressed grave concern that despite recent changes, the pillars of apartheid remained intact, and reaffirmed support for the people of South Africa in their struggle to end apartheid and to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa; and
- 4) to help bring about a climate conducive to genuine negotiations aimed at ending apartheid, called upon the South African regime to release all political prisoners, end all forms of apartheid repression, and implement fully the measures called for by the Organisation of African Unity and the UN General Assembly Special Session on Apartheid.

The two advertisements were signed by over 800 organisations and individuals, and many others subsequently indicated their support.

A picket of Downing Street was called by the NMRC-B at lunchtime on 19 February, on the eve of the EC Foreign Ministers meeting in Dublin, to protest at Britain's move to unilaterally lift sanctions. A letter on behalf of all the sponsoring organisations of the NMRC-B was presented to No. 10 Downing Street calling on Britain not to unilaterally lift sanctions against South Africa or to encourage the easing of pressures on the South African government. On the evening of 19th February a Nelson Mandela Freedom Rally was organised by the NMRC-B. Speakers included: Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Convenor of the NMIRC and President of the AAM; Billy Masethla, Deputy Chief Representative ANC in Britain and Ireland; Saki Macazoma from the South African Council of Churches who spoke on behalf of the NMRC (SA); Mildred Neville, Southern Africa Coalition; Mary Benson; and Jerry Dammers. There was a special welcome to Bernie Grant MP who had just returned from South Africa as part of the delegation led by Rev Jesse Jackson and were he had met Nelson Mandela personally. (Bernie Grant was later able to give a fuller briefing to the AAM EC.) The Khotso choir from South Africa performed and the meeting was chaired by Bob Hughes MP. During the meeting a message to the AAM was received from Nelson Mandela and it was read movingly to the meeting by the chair.

To celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela and to further the work of the NMRC-B a range of merchandise was produced. The items all conveyed the message 'Mandela Released! Now Free All South African Political Prisoners. Free South Africa Now!' The items were: a t-shirt, with the additional slogan on the back of 'ANC lives ANC leads' and the ANC logo; a poster; a car sticker and lapel sticker.

The London Committee of the AAM also organised a star-studded cabaret at the Hackney Empire as part of 'Seven nights for Nelson', a series of cultural events taking place in the capital in the week beginning 9 April. Music was the central theme of the week, with jazz, independent pop, house, soul, hip hop, reggae, Latin and African music, as well as theatre, poetry and storytelling. Highlight of the week was a hip hop, reggae and soul all-day 'Mandela Dance' at the Brixton Academy in South London on Sunday 15th. Winnie Mandela and other members of the South African delegation to the International Tribute at Wembley Stadium made a surprise visit on the eve of the Wembley concert, to the delight of the thousands of people who filled the venue. In her first public address in Britain, Winnie Mandela compared Brixton to Soweto and expressed her optimism at the mixture of people in the audience, saying 'I feel liberated already'. Other guests included Adelaide Tambo, Zwelakhe Sisulu, Zeneni Mandela and Rev. Jesse Jackson.

One of the tasks the NMRC-B set itself was the compilation of a comprehensive list of all the honours bestowed on Nelson Mandela in Britain. This was undertaken by consulting existing

records and press cuttings, contacting all local AAM groups and sponsoring organisations of the NMRC-B for relevant information, and by letters in national newspapers appealing for such information. The resulting list of honours, while probably still incomplete, contains over 300 entries. The honours bestowed on Nelson Mandela include: honorary degrees; freedom of the city; artistic tributes; honorary life membership of unions; honorary offices; the naming of streets, offices, rooms, bars, schools, and galleries.

This list was subsequently published in South Africa in the *New Nation* newspaper, in a special edition for the release of Nelson Mandela. When Mr Mandela visited Britain as a guest of the NMIRC to speak at Wembley 'International Tribute For A Free South Africa' the opportunity was taken to present the list of honours to him, along with an album full of newspaper cuttings of reports of activities that had taken place across Britain to celebrate his release from prison.

Following its launch the NMRC-B played a significant role in mobilising people in Britain to renew the call for the release of Nelson Mandela and to ensure that his release was not simply to be celebrated as an achievement of the democratic forces in South Africa and of the international solidarity movement. In fact these celebrations provided a framework to give new momentum to the campaign to free all political prisoners in South Africa and to the struggle to end apartheid. The NMRC-B was thus successful in ensuring that the overall aims of the NMIRC were carried through in Britain.

The level and breadth of response to the call for action put out by the NMRC-B to anti-apartheid groups, trade unions, churches, aid agencies, black organisations, political parties, youth organisations and ordinary individuals was striking. As a result, the release of Mandela was widely seen as an important victory on the road to ending apartheid, and provided new momentum to the struggle to create a united, non-racial and democratic society.

Public opinion backs AAM

The prospect of a visit by the Prime Minister to South Africa came back on to the political agenda again following the release of Nelson Mandela. She had first raised the proposal when visiting Africa in January 1988. However it faced a serious setback in April 1990 when Nelson Mandela, questioned about it during a press conference at the Wembley stadium, objected to such a visit. An opinion poll commissioned by the Anti-Apartheid Movement immediately following the concert found that 52% of those interviewed supported Nelson Mandela's opposition to such a visit. The same survey also found that there had been no reduction in support of sanctions since a similar poll commissioned by the AAM in 1988. Downing Street quietly let it be known that the Prime Minister had dropped the idea of a visit during 1990 following her meeting with F.W. de Klerk at Chequers in May.

De Klerk goes to Chequers

FW de Klerk's visit to Britain in May - as part of a wider European tour - was his second such visit since his election as leader of the National Party, but his first as head of the apartheid state. A protest rally was organised on the eve of the visit at TUC headquarters, addressed by Denis Goldberg for the ANC, Archbishop Huddleston, Lt Rockman and TUC General Secretary Norman Willis. Moderately successful protests were then staged at Chequers on 19 May whilst De Klerk met with Mrs Thatcher and outside a hotel in west London where he gave a press conference before departing. The AAM campaign had none of the popular appeal of the "No to Both!" demonstrations of June 1984, nor the dynamism of the protests against his previous visit. But the fact remained that he was widely ostracised and had much less access to public figures in Britain than in other European countries. However the Movement was subjected to

hostile attacks in the media for opposing the visit, and the Government dismissed the Movement's criticism out of hand.

Nelson Mandela's July visit

Nelson Mandela's visit to London in April was as the guest of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee and no programme was organised for him other than activities linked to the NMIRC. However he returned to Britain in July for meetings with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the CBI. On his first morning in London he had an important meeting with Black activists, and he also addressed the All-Party Parliamentary Committee on Southern Africa. Regrettably he was unable to address a specially convened extended meeting of the AAM National Committee and his speech was read instead by Mrs Mandela. Thabo Mbeki and other members of the ANC NEC were present and answered questions.

The meeting between Mr Mandela and Mrs Thatcher was the first between a British Prime Minister and the ANC since 1919. The Government had already abandoned its policy of refusing to meet with the ANC at ministerial level - in mid-June Douglas Hurd had met Thabo Mbeki whilst he was on a short visit to London. However Mr Mandela's presence in Downing Street reflected a marked shift in Government policy which was confirmed subsequently in Foreign Office statements which acknowledged the ANC as the "principal focus for Black opinion in South Africa". Nelson Mandela acknowledged the significance of this shift of policy in a press conference after the meeting at which he accepted that Mrs Thatcher was an opponent of apartheid.

British government and parliament

Seeking to influence Government policy, an AAM delegation led by Archbishop Huddleston met Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on 7 March 1990 and presented a comprehensive memorandum on British policy. Later the AAM was invited to appear before the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee on 4 July 1990, and took the opportunity to present a detailed critique of British policy.

Extensive correspondence was also conducted with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the Minister of State responsible for Southern Africa, William Waldegrave on a range of different aspects of policy towards South Africa. The AAM was also represented in two delegations from the Southern Africa Coalition which met the Foreign Secretary.

Relations with ANC and MDM

Throughout this period the AAM has sought to maintain the closest possible contacts with the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa. Archbishop Huddleston and Abdul Minty were able to meet with Walter Sisulu and the other Rivonia Trialists when they paid a short visit to Sweden in February to meet the ANC President Oliver Tambo. Following Nelson Mandela's release Bernie Grant MP was able to meet him in South Africa, and Abdul Minty had extensive discussions with him in Lusaka in February. Further contact was established when Archbishop Huddleston, Abdul Minty and Mike Terry were able to meet ANC President Oliver Tambo, Deputy President Nelson Mandela and others in the ANC leadership, in Sweden in March. Namibia's independence celebrations on 21 March provided an opportunity for Bob Hughes to receive a further briefing from Nelson Mandela on developments. Numerous other briefings and discussions have taken place with ANC leaders on a wide range of issues in order to assist the AAM to develop its role as the process of transition gathers momentum within South Africa.

Co-operation and contacts have not been limited to the ANC. During this period the Movement has hosted or helped organise visits by the President of COSATU, the General Secretary and

Publicity Secretary of UDF, a delegation from POPCRU, the President of Contralesa, and a COSATU delegation undertaking a briefing tour on Natal and Inkatha. These and other contacts have enabled the AAM to keep abreast of and analyse the changes taking place.

SANCTIONS

The major focus for the Movement's campaigns has continued to be the campaign for international sanctions and boycotts aimed at isolating and undermining the apartheid system. During the period covered by this report there has been a significant development in international policy in relation to sanctions, namely agreement that there should be no relaxation of international pressure until profound and irreversible changes have occurred. Similar formulations were adopted by the Commonwealth Summit in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989, the European Summit in Strasbourg in December 1989, and by consensus decision of all UN member states with the adoption of the UN Declaration in December 1989. Despite these agreed international positions the United Kingdom has acted unilaterally by lifting various sanctions measures and there has been a wider offensive to relax international pressure.

Particularly significant was the renewed pressure for the intensification of sanctions, following the initial moves by the De Klerk administration in 1989, notably a call by South African church and labour leaders including Archbishop Tutu and Jay Naidoo, coinciding with the Commonwealth Summit, for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, urging that sanctions should be sustained and intensified until the dismantling of apartheid had become irreversible - which would require inter alia "the drawing up and adopting of a new constitution by a properly constituted constituent assembly."

Unilateral moves by Britain

The first indication of Britain's intention to go on the offensive to secure the relaxation of sanctions was in November 1989 when it was widely reported that Mrs Thatcher on a visit to the USA was seeking President Bush's agreement to such a policy. She apparently failed to secure his agreement and similarly failed to convince her European partners when the European Council met in Strasbourg in December 1989. The AAM immediately responded to the press reports at the time of her US visit by seeking an explanation from the Prime Minister. In her reply to Bob Hughes MP of 7 December, Mrs Thatcher claimed that "it would be right to lift some of the measures imposed by the international community" if "South Africa takes the necessary steps to implement the negotiating concept developed by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group." Alarming as this statement was, events were to show that in fact the Government was planning to relax some sanctions measures even before such steps had been taken.

As reported above, the Prime Minister responded to De Klerk's address of 2 February by lifting the voluntary ban on cultural, academic and scientific links with South Africa. The AAM immediately condemned Britain's unilateral action, especially since these were measures imposed as part of Commonwealth and European Community packages and there had been no consultation with appropriate partners. Bob Hughes MP wrote to the Prime Minister on 5 February to protest at the Government's action which breached the undertaking she had given the AAM on 7 December.

Then on 10 February, even before Nelson Mandela had walked out of prison, Mrs Thatcher declared her intention to lift the UK's voluntary bans on the promotion of tourism and on new investment. The latter move unleashed a storm of protest since the ban on new investment was imposed collectively by the Council of Ministers of the European Community. The credibility of the

Government's position was seriously undermined by the statements made by Nelson Mandela on his release from prison and especially his speech on the day of his release. In this he not only declared his support for the ANC and defended the armed struggle but warned that to lift sanctions could abort the entire peace process. Indeed such was the strength of Nelson Mandela's message that Mrs Thatcher cancelled a press call arranged for her outside Downing Street for that evening.

The Movement's campaigning response sought to achieve three immediate objectives. First to ensure continued support from public opinion for the sanctions policy. Second, to exert maximum possible pressure on the Government in Parliament. And third to isolate Britain from other EC member states and indeed other western powers over its moves to relax sanctions. On all three counts considerable success was achieved.

At the level of public opinion a poll carried out by Harris for The Observer of 24 February 1990 showed the extent of Mrs Thatcher's isolation over the lifting of sanctions. The poll indicated that only 13% of the British public believed that sanctions should be lifted immediately. 51% thought that sanctions should not be lifted until the ANC said so or until there was one person one vote. 50% believed that international sanctions had played the biggest role in getting Nelson Mandela released. These figures clearly illustrated that Mrs Thatcher was out of step with the people of Britain and there had been no relaxation of support for sanctions.

At the parliamentary level the Government came under repeated attack, especially during a debate on South Africa held on 14 February. An all-party Early Day Motion signed by prominent Conservative MPs following the EC Council of Ministers meeting on 20 February testified to the lack of solid parliamentary support for the Government even from its own ranks.

Concerted pressures were also exerted at a European level. A common initiative was launched by the Liaison Group of the EC AAM's which delivered letters to their Foreign Secretaries in advance of the 20 February Council of Ministers meeting in Dublin. On the eve of that meeting Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Convener of the NMIRC and President of the AAM, and Mendi Msimang, ANC Chief Representative (UK and Ireland) and Joint Chair of the NMRC-B, met with Charles Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister, to urge that the EC Foreign Ministers should not relax any of the Community's sanctions or other restrictive measures. At the meeting on the 20 February the Irish Presidency successfully resisted British pressures and the Community policy remained in force.

Meanwhile the AAM stepped up its popular mobilisation both in support of the Southern Africa Coalition's Lobby of Parliament on 27 February and the Movement's own "Tell Mrs Thatcher - Stop Supporting Apartheid" campaign linked to the South Africa - Freedom Now! Rally on 25 March in Trafalgar Square (both described below).

European Community sanctions moves

Moves to lift sanctions in February were mainly a British initiative. However in May, coinciding with De Klerk's visit to Europe, a much more concerted effort was made to secure the partial or phased lifting of sanctions. The Dublin Council of Ministers in February had approved a "troika" visit to South Africa (the Presidency and the immediate past and next Presidents) and this took place in April. Nothing in its report indicated that profound or irreversible change had occurred. However the President of the Commission Jacques Delors agreed to receive De Klerk at the Commission's Headquarters in Brussels and in a surprise move the Irish Foreign Minister flew to Brussels to meet De Klerk. The following weekend, 19/20 May, EC Foreign Ministers met in Ireland and Douglas Hurd emerged expressing confidence that the Community's sanctions package would be relaxed at the June European Summit in Dublin.

An extensive campaign was then organised by EC Anti-Apartheid Movements aimed at reversing this trend. This focussed on national governments, national parliaments, the European Parliament and other EC institutions. Of critical importance to its success was the visit to Europe of Nelson Mandela in June including his address to the European Parliament on 13 June. The following day the Parliament voted by 177 to 47 to oppose the partial or phased relaxation of sanctions. The case presented by Nelson Mandela was such that a number of EC governments abandoned their efforts to lift sanctions. But the position eventually adopted at the Dublin Summit on 26 June was sufficiently ambiguous to allow for renewed efforts to weaken sanctions in the near future.

SOUTHERN AFRICA COALITION

The Southern Africa Coalition (SAC), whose formation was reported in the previous Annual Report, played an active and strategically important role in influencing public opinion on the need to sustain international pressure, including sanctions, during this period. Founded on the initiative of the British Council of Churches and Christian Aid, it succeeded in uniting over a hundred organisations around a common programme of anti-apartheid activities targeted on British government policy.

The SAC's National Lobby of Parliament on 27 February came at a particularly critical time. Despite bad weather which prevented many from attending, about 4,000 people participated. Its authority was greatly strengthened by the presence of the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, the President of COSATU, Elijah Barayi, and the General Secretary of the UDF, Popo Molefe. These three leaders took advantage of being together in London to issue a joint statement attacking British government policy and stressing the importance of maintaining sanctions until a democratic constitution had been adopted.

The Lobby was genuinely representative in character, covering 495 out of the 523 English constituencies and a majority of those in Scotland and Wales. Meetings were held throughout the day in Westminster Central Hall; speakers included Neil Kinnock MP, Sir David Steel MP, and Dr David Owen MP. The Khotso Choir from South Africa performed superbly, complementing the powerful speeches. The chair of the Southern Africa Coalition, the Rt Revd Simon Barrington-Ward, Bishop of Coventry, said the day had exceeded his expectations. A series of parallel meetings was also held in the Jubilee Room. On the eve of the Lobby a vigil of prayer for South Africa was held at Westminster Abbey in which the Archbishop of Canterbury participated.

The work of the SAC encompassed much more than the National Lobby. In October 1989 it held a highly successful meeting at Church House which was addressed by Thabo Mbeki of the ANC en route to the Commonwealth Conference. It held two meetings with the Foreign Secretary, in January and June. It had previously presented memoranda to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary setting out the SAC's case for a change in British policy. In addition to the specific sanctions which the SAC sought British government support for, the SAC also worked for a change of British policy towards the ANC and in relation to the Harare and UN Declarations. It had planned an extensive campaign against the re-scheduling of South Africa's debt, but this was still at an early stage when the re-scheduling was announced. It organised an imaginative Southern Africa Week in the run up to the Lobby with particularly successful meetings in Glasgow, Newcastle, Manchester and Liverpool addressed by Rev Frank Chikane.

The SAC was always intended to be a short-term initiative. When it met in April 1990 to review its work, when its initial programme of work had been concluded, it decided not to dissolve itself so that it could stand ready to come together if the situation warranted. At this meeting it also issued a New Call to Action including an appeal for the escalation of the sanctions campaign.

SOUTH AFRICA - FREEDOM NOW ! CAMPAIGN

The South Africa: Freedom Now ! campaign plan was, as reported above, approved at the 1989 AAM AGM, and subsequently developed at several National Committee meetings in response to the evolving situation. The campaign sought to unite all of the major elements of the Movement's work within a common framework providing a coherent set of priorities.

The campaign has four subsidiary themes expressing the main content of the campaign :

- Stop Apartheid Repression
- Boycott Apartheid Sanctions Now
- Solidarity with the ANC
- For a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa

Launch

The SAFN campaign was launched on 16 January 1990 in the House of Commons at a well attended press conference, chaired by AAM EC member and MSF Assistant General Secretary Barbara Switzer. Bishop Huddleston made a campaign appeal and Bob Hughes MP detailed the campaign plans. ANC Chief Representative Mendi Msimang spoke about the formation of the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee (Britain). Display boards and cardboard folders incorporating the SAFN logo were produced for publicity purposes. Fifty press packs were distributed which included the above material together with a statement from the Reception Committee, the publication 'Apartheid's New Face' and the UN Declaration. Radio coverage was gained on LBC, Capital and BBC Radio but the Morning Star was the only daily paper to carry a report, although others were present.

Activities organised under the auspices of the SAC provided the first nationally co-ordinated opportunity for Local AA Groups to promote the aims of the campaign within the broader framework of the programme of the Coalition. During the Southern Africa Week AAM activists sought to win support for AAM policies within sympathetic organisations and from the wider public. AA Groups organised meetings in that period on the SAFN campaign as well as participating in 'Sign-in for Sanctions'. The 'Sign-In' was raised with Local Authorities Against Apartheid and directly with individual authorities. Many AAM members took part in the lobby of parliament (see above).

National Demonstration

The culmination of the first stage of the campaign was the AAM's National Demonstration on 25 March. The special guest speaker was ANC leader Andrew Mlangeni, one of the Rivonia trialists in 1963. Thousands of campaign cards - "Tell Mrs Thatcher Stop Supporting Apartheid - were delivered to 10 Downing Street. Some 25,000 people marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square. A novel feature of the build-up to the event was the widespread distribution of campaign cards as inserts in a range of publications, especially trade union journals (reported further below under Fund-raising).

CALL TO FREEDOM

The proposal to initiate the "Call to Freedom" was agreed at the April Special Meeting of the National Committee as a means of giving concrete expression to the demand for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It was launched by Bishop Huddleston on South Africa Freedom Day, 26 June. At the National Committee meeting on 7 July it was agreed that the "Call to Freedom" should provide a unifying element to the SAFN campaign during the autumn/winter of 1990, and a means of popularising the key demands of the campaign.

The purpose of the "Call to Freedom" was three-fold:

- to promote wider understanding that any genuine end to apartheid must involve the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa*
- to win support for the proposal for an elected Constituent Assembly with the task of adopting a new democratic constitution
- to demonstrate the maximum possible support for the maintenance of international pressure including sanctions until there is "profound and irreversible" change and agreement is reached on a new democratic constitutional order.

A number of versions of the Call to Freedom were produced, and widespread distribution of the "Call to Freedom" began in September, following a successful photo-call at the annual conference of the TUC, which has fully endorsed the "Call". All organisations were encouraged to, in turn, circulate material and/or provide the AAM HQ with contacts/ mailing lists. The aim is to secure endorsements of "Call to Freedom" from national, regional and local organisations, and the public at large, in order to send a clear message to Nelson Mandela and the ANC of support from the people of Britain for their efforts to create a democratic South Africa. At the same time it will serve as a message to Mrs Thatcher of the extent of opposition to any relaxation of pressure on the Pretoria regime.

In order to maximise the impact of the "Call to Freedom," a sponsored advertisement based on it is scheduled to appear at the culmination of the campaign in December, listing national organisations endorsing the Call. Meanwhile, to complement local press work, the 'constituency press' (eg church and TU journals etc) have been furnished with a model article by Bishop Huddleston, plus photograph.

The initial impetus given to the "Call to Freedom" proved difficult to sustain, however, in the face of the wave of killings and repression in August and September that cast a shadow of uncertainty over the prospects for a negotiated settlement and necessitated the launch of the Emergency Campaign.

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM BUS

The Boycott Bandwagon, AAM's specially converted double-decker bus, was re-incarnated in 1990 as the 'South Africa Freedom Bus' designed to supplement and complement Local AA Group activity and promote the South Africa - Freedom Now! campaign.

The bus proved an effective means, satisfying both local and national criteria, of spreading the message of the campaign, generating interest, publicity and press coverage, and building the local and regional base of the AAM.

Given a mechanical overhaul and with its exterior re-designed, the 19-year old bus nevertheless suffered a number of problems, including engine overheating and mechanical breakdowns which cost a few lost days in the period between its launch on 12 June and the completion of its tour at the end of October. It visited over 100 towns and cities and received a large amount of publicity in the local press. The staff on the bus gave talks, showed a variety of films, answered questions on a range of issues about Southern Africa, and sold AAM campaign and information materials and merchandise, as well as merchandise from AA Enterprises and the ANC. Local Groups sought to incorporate the bus into their on-going campaigning work and to use it as a focus for their activities relating to the South Africa - Freedom Now! campaign. Additionally, efforts were made to include the bus in the local and regional social and political calendar.

The bus's tour of Wales - not visited last year by the Boycott Bandwagon - was particularly successful (special materials had been produced for Welsh speakers). Its appearance at the Glas-

tonbury Festival (where interest was high but spending low) was well received. In Gloucester the bus was met by Mayor Tony Potts. In Stroud, leaflets were distributed and videos about South Africa proved popular. It visited the Christian Greenbelt festival at Castle Ashley in Northants. The weekend's theme of dancing on injustice was particularly appropriate - interviews, question and answer sessions and call-ins took place on the radio station operating throughout the event and on 3 local radio stations. This major event was perhaps the most successful and profitable visit for the Freedom Bus attracting a very sympathetic audience who displayed keen interest in the work of the AAM.

Additionally there were processions and carnivals (Cardiff and St Pauls in Bristol); public meetings and outdoor rallies; impromptu and scheduled musical events using the on-board PA (eg choirs, socials, benefit gigs); and side shows on the Edinburgh Festival fringe. The bus was a star attraction at the World Music Day organised by Cheltenham AA, appeared at the Lichfield Rock Festival, and took part in motorcades, fairs, sports and political events including party conferences, numerous pickets and leafletting sessions outside shops and company premises, and at photo-calls and receptions (eg. Congleton).

Ensuring local press coverage was an important task for Local Groups. Many Groups press released the visit using the available black and white photos which resulted in the publication of letters and articles. Local radio was also profitable and was more commonplace in larger towns. A simple letter to the editor following the visit thanking people for their interest was a successful device to capitalise on the interest generated.

The Freedom Bus provided an ideal means of reaching students and young people in schools and students unions. Parked in school or higher and further education premises, its video cinema worked through a rota of screenings for the students. Elsewhere the public address system with 6 channel mixer played tape music to attract public attention.

A2 posters produced for promotional use prior to the Freedom Bus' arrival carried a blank space for local details. A briefing document for hosts of the Bus was also produced together with an on the day sheet to deal with practical and political priorities. Some small or weak Local Groups' inability to cope with the preparatory work caused some problems, but many small Groups treated the visit as the highlight of their campaigning calendar and devoted great effort to ensuring its success - with impressive results.

Thanks are due to those who took advertisements on the bus (AA Enterprises, MSF, NALGO, and TGWU) and sponsored the tour (CPSA, FBU, Glasgow City Council, NAWUST, NUR, SOGAT, UCATT, and USDAW) - without their support, and the hard work of the bus staff, the tour would not have been possible.

STOP APARTHEID REPRESSION

It has long been clear that repression is inherent in the apartheid system - hence its identification as one of the sub-themes of the SAFN campaign. The types of repression deployed by the regime against those who oppose apartheid vary considerably and at different times the focus of this repression may shift. But as long as there is apartheid in South Africa there will be repression.

The Stop Apartheid Repression part of the campaign has sought to expose this on-going repression at a time when events such as the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of organisations and the independence of Namibia were being utilised by the regime and its allies to project a false image of peaceful progress. More importantly, it has sought to intensify pressure on Pretoria to take all the steps needed to create a climate of free political activity conducive to genuine negotiations aimed at ending apartheid.

Much of the work of the AAM in this area has been carried out through the structures of Southern Africa the Imprisoned Society (SATIS), the umbrella body which co-ordinates work on repression by several organisations, including: the International Defence and Aid Fund, the British Defence and Aid Fund and the ANC's Political Prisoners Committee. In supporting SATIS in its campaigns against apartheid repression, the AAM has played a pivotal role. The work of SATIS over the last year is outlined in detail below.

BOYCOTT APARTHEID - SANCTIONS NOW

People's Sanctions campaigns are a key element of the pressures that need to be maintained on the apartheid system to ensure not only that negotiations take place, but also that they result in the creation of a free South Africa and the ending of apartheid. They complement the AAM's campaigning work on governmental sanctions (outlined above) and have a concrete economic and political impact.

Special attention has been given to producing and distributing a range of new popular leaflets on different aspects of the consumer boycott which explain the continuing relevance and new importance of the boycott in the changed situation. Under Economic Collaboration below are reported a number of initiatives taken within the framework of the SAFN campaign on the consumer boycott, tourism, gold, uranium etc.

The consumer boycott of South African fruit and vegetables remains a linchpin of grass-roots orientated activity. As we have seen in the past the boycott campaign is particularly effective amongst local groups and activists in terms of getting the message on to the streets and into the minds of the public.

Independent retailers amount to 30% of all fruit & veg sold in Britain and are therefore an important target. Greater attention needs to be given to the level of South African stock sold by independents especially the degree to which the use of Cape and Outspan promotional material appears to have risen. Additionally independents are believed to be particularly lax in marking the origin of their goods. The AAM briefing on labelling is being updated with recently acquired information as well as including a step by step guide of how and who to complain to if labelling is not being undertaken correctly. Such activity can, of course apply also to multiple retailers.

A Boycott Pack is to be produced containing background information, and educational and publicity materials consisting of some or all of the following: campaign timetable; badge/poster; leaflet; standard complaints letter; broadsheet on policy of stores; update labelling sheet; revision of agricultural info sheet; Q & A sheet on the boycott campaign; and 'Why the boycott is important' sheet.

SOLIDARITY WITH ANC

Developments since the launch of the campaign have underlined the crucial importance of mobilising solidarity with the ANC in Britain and internationally.

The slogan "Solidarity with ANC" in fact encompasses a wide range of different activities, from campaigning to save the life of a combatant of the ANC on Death Row, to raising material aid for the ANC.

Prospects for campaigning work in this area have never been so favorable. Events have demonstrated the immense support that exists for the ANC and its leading role in the national liberation movement. They have also generated unprecedented media coverage and provoked extensive interest in the ANC amongst the public. Our task was and continues to be to translate this interest and sympathy into real solidarity.

However, there are some in the press and media, especially the South African correspondents of most of the British quality media, who find it difficult to disguise their hostility towards the ANC. Also, unrealistic expectations of what the ANC can achieve on the ground in South Africa at certain stages may arise out of failure to understand the real conditions in which the ANC is operating. We therefore cannot take for granted that public perceptions of the ANC will remain sympathetic. We need to sustain and build upon the progress which has been achieved.

ANC Policy - the Freedom Charter

The basic policy document of the ANC is the Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People on South Africa Freedom Day (June 26) in 1955. The AAM has long sought to present the vision of a new South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. The South Africa Freedom Now! campaign provided a renewed opportunity to popularise the Freedom Charter and through so doing win support for the ANC and the concept of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The 35th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter provided a good opportunity for doing this. As a result of the initiative of Local Authorities Against Apartheid a new model declaration was prepared for councils which supports the vision of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa elaborated in the Freedom Charter. These were presented at a ceremony on 26 June to the ANC Chief Representative (see Local Authorities). All participants in the Freedom Run and other Freedom Events over the summer were presented with copies of the Freedom Charter.

With events moving rapidly in South Africa one very specific form of solidarity was ensuring that the ANC's views reached the widest possible audience. The AAM, through AA News, has had a special role to play at a national level. This was complemented at a local level. We need to further improve our communications machinery in order that statements of the ANC leadership reach local AA groups quickly so that activists can be briefed, and groups make informed comment to the media.

Plans for speaking tours by the ANC Chief Representative over the summer could not be implemented. But the return visit of the ANC's Deputy President Nelson Mandela, though very short, raised the profile of the ANC as never before, and allowed for important meetings with representatives of the Black community, the media, business circles and others. A follow-up interview in AA News (Sept) featured the ANC Chief Rep. Mendi Msimang. A successful joint ANC-AAM rally in Westminster Central Hall was addressed by the ANC's Joe Nhlanhla.

The AAM was delighted to welcome Saki Makazoma, the ANC's publicity officer in Johannesburg, as the key speaker at the conference on 20 October "From Apartheid To Democracy - South Africa in Transition."

Undoubtedly the biggest task facing the AAM is how best to translate general solidarity with the ANC into practical support which will enable the ANC to prosecute the struggle. The ANC's financial needs, at this juncture in particular, are immense. It not only has to re-establish its entire organisation within South Africa but it has to arrange for the return of its members in exile. All this will be taking place at a time when it has to undertake campaigns internally and internationally to prevent the apartheid regime from seizing the initiative.

The EC and Officers of the AAM have had lengthy discussions with the ANC on this matter, and are exploring the possibility of establishing a Special Fund for the ANC for which it will necessary to seek to secure financial support from as wide a constituency as possible. Naturally we would look for support for this initiative from the AAM membership, local groups and affiliates. In our discussions with the ANC there has been mutual understanding and agreement that fundraising for the

ANC should not be undertaken in a way which is detrimental to the AAM and its capacity to sustain the political campaigns needed in this critical period.

Changing British policy towards the ANC is also a specific form of solidarity with ANC. The meeting between Nelson Mandela and the Prime Minister was the culmination of a process, to which the AAM has made an important contribution, which signified the gradual adoption of a more positive attitude towards the ANC and a more realistic assessment of the importance of the ANC in shaping South Africa's future.

FOR A UNITED NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

This theme was developed with three key and complementary objectives in view:

a) popularising and winning support for the internationally agreed plan for a political settlement in South Africa that will entail the ending of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The plan is set out in UN Declaration on South Africa of 14 December 1989, and it needs to become the touchstone for developments in South Africa in much the same way as UNSC Res. 435 was the key to Namibia's independence.

b) changing British government policy so that it supports the UN plan in practice and subscribes fully to the fundamental principles set out in it; and

c) popularising the principle of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa i.e. united meaning no Bantustans, Group Areas or other fragmentation; non-racial signifying no entrenched group rights, and a common and equal voters' roll; and democratic meaning no weighted voting systems giving whites a veto, and universal suffrage exercised by secret ballot.

There now exists an international consensus, broadly in line with the ANC's approach as embodied in the Freedom Charter and Constitutional Guidelines, as to what the future of South Africa should be. This consensus is spelt out in the UN Declaration on South Africa. The AAM is currently discussing with the UN Centre Against Apartheid arrangements to reproduce the UN Declaration so that it can be more widely disseminated in Britain.

Since the UN Declaration was adopted, the British government has frequently acted as though it did not exist, as demonstrated by the unilateral moves to relax sanctions after 2 February, and underlined by the Foreign Office's submission to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, which made no reference to it.

Of special importance is the key principle set out in Clause 3(c) of the UN Declaration:

'All (South Africa's) people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voter' roll, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa.'

The British government qualified its support for the consensus around the Declaration, saying that: 'The reference... to a "non-racial voters' roll" should not be interpreted in such a way as to inhibit the people of South Africa themselves - all of them - from deciding upon any electoral process which is acceptable to them.'

In a letter to Archbishop Huddleston of 10 April, the Prime Minister dismissed the issue of a non-racial voters' roll: 'This is not a matter for us: it is for the South Africans themselves, all of them, to determine the future constitution of their country.'

The British government's position on this crucial issue can only encourage De Klerk to dig in and seek to impose on the ANC and other anti-apartheid forces some sort of race federation or cantonal system, based on 'group rights,' and 'power sharing' which will give the white minority a permanent veto power over the country's future.

As noted above, the "Call to Freedom" offers a simple framework for doing the political work necessary to spread the idea of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In mobilising support for this goal, we need to emphasise that it is the objective not only of the ANC and MDM, but also of the international community.

Mandela Message

The Mandela Message was launched at the Special NC meeting held in June. Close to 150,000 messages were distributed and it proved to be an attractive and positive way of promoting the campaign.

ACTIVIST CONFERENCE

A major highlight of the South Africa - Freedom Now! campaign was the conference held in London on 20 October 'From Apartheid to Democracy.' Over 140 participants were fully briefed on the current situation by Saki Macozoma of the ANC and Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission, before breaking into workshops to explore three main themes: the goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa; the path to a united, non-racial democracy; and solidarity during the transition. The concluding session was wound up by a vigorous presentation of the recently launched Emergency Campaign to stop the violence and repression in apartheid South Africa, and the ANC speaker warning that if the people of South Africa and their supporters abroad failed to grasp the current opportunity for a decisive breakthrough, it could postpone freedom by decades.

NAMIBIA / FRONT LINE STATES

Namibia's first genuine elections, held under UN supervision in November 1989, culminated in SWAPO's winning a decisive majority with 57% of the votes and 41 of the 72 seats in the Constituent Assembly. With SWAPO consistently pursuing a policy of national reconciliation, by February agreement had been reached on a constitution, hailed as one of the most democratic ever drawn up for a newly independent country, and Namibia proceeded smoothly to its long-awaited independence on 21 March 1990.

Present at the celebrations in Windhoek amidst a galaxy of heads of state and government and foreign ministers was Nelson Mandela, and prominent figures in the international solidarity movement, including from Britain AAM chair Bob Hughes MP and AAM Hon Sec Abdul Minty. AAM President Archbishop Huddleston was also invited, but being unable to attend, he subsequently visited Namibia in October as guest of President Sam Nujoma, being received at the highest levels as a mark of respect for his personal contribution and the work of the AAM.

The AAM National Committee meeting in January decided that solidarity with independent Namibia should be a main focus of the Movement's work on the Front Line States, and that this should be reflected in the conference on the FLS which the 1989 AGM had called for. The meeting set up a Working Party comprising representatives of the Executive, Regional Committees, AA Enterprises, the Namibia Support Committee (NSC), the Mozambique Angola Committee, and Local Authorities

Against Apartheid, and its meetings were also attended by observers from Oxfam and the information centres relating to Mozambique and Angola.

The Namibia Emergency Campaign, run by the AAM and NSC, wound up a successful year's work with a mobilising conference on 27 January which identified key issues for Namibia's future, including the dangers of destabilisation from ex-Koehoet and other forces, the illegal occupation by South Africa of Walvis Bay, the debt accumulated under Pretoria's rule and inherited by the new government, and the need for generous development aid programmes.

On the eve of the conference the Movement wrote to the Foreign Secretary raising these issues and urging the British government to play a positive role, including in relation to the provision of assistance with military training. The latter became a major aspect of British aid to Namibia (as had been the case a decade earlier with Zimbabwe after independence), and the Secretary of State for Defence visited Windhoek later in the year.

The new Namibian government inherited not only a debt equivalent to 27% of Gross Domestic Product, but also an overblown Civil Service which absorbs over half of Gross National Product, its upper ranks containing a number of recent South African appointees whose tenure is protected by a clause in the constitution.

The government moved quickly to protect the fishing industry, declaring a 200-mile exclusion zone in territorial waters, but as yet lacks the resources to police it effectively. Other key issues facing the country are land (a major conference is planned for early in 1991), the size of the beef export quota to the European Community (unresolved at the time of writing), and the threat to security posed by armed racists and their agents, backed by shadowy forces in South Africa.

Central to Namibia's future, however, is the question of what sort of relationship it will develop with South Africa, which still supplies 90% of Namibia's imports, takes 60% of its exports, and has the capacity either to seriously disrupt or positively assist Namibia's future development.

In this context the implications for Namibia of the dramatic changes that occurred in South Africa early in 1990 have not yet become clear. But they affect the prospects for a negotiated and early resolution of the Walvis Bay and debt issues, both of which require international pressure on Pretoria. Formal negotiations at government level over the future of Walvis Bay have not yet begun, and the AAM needs to maintain close contact with the new Namibian High Commission in order to keep abreast of developments. (Action taken re repression in the Walvis Bay enclave is reported below under SATIS).

'The Front Line States and Apartheid'

This was the title both of a special summer supplement to AA News (reported in more detail under AA News below), and of the AAM's conference on 29 September 1990, planned and organised by the Working Party established in January. Over 120 participants heard keynote speeches from Mr John Malecela, Tanzania's High Commissioner and former Foreign Minister and member of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group; Abdul Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa; Randolph Vigne, chair of the Namibia Support Committee; and Margaret Ling, co-chair of the Mozambique Angola Committee.

Workshops focussing on Namibia since independence, military and political destabilisation of the FLS, and economic destabilisation in Southern Africa, were facilitated by Graham Hopwood of Church Action on Namibia, Paul Fauvet and Abdul Minty, and Joe Hanlon and Colin Stoneman respectively, with report-backs by Rekha Naidu, Victoria Brittain and Dot Keet. A panel session included contributions by Rita Donaghy, past president

of NALGO, Mike Pye, chair of Local Authorities Against Apartheid, and Peter Sinclair, director of the Frontline Festival. Mike Terry presented a Programme of Action, later tabled as one of the documents of the AAM's AGM (BD1).

CAMPAIGNS

ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

Gold

Decisions by South Africa's major trading partners to ban the import of Krugerrand gold coins from the mid-1980s have forced South Africa to sell most of its gold into the jewellery sector. Following the establishment of the World Gold Commission (WGC), on which the Movement is represented, the issue of apartheid gold jewellery has been taken up. For the first time ever, guaranteed apartheid-free jewellery has become available in this country, commissioned by the WGC and marketed by AA Enterprises.

Once it had been proved that it was possible to avoid apartheid gold in jewellery, campaigning started against those who continued to sell jewellery made with South African gold. The first major victory for this campaign took place in 1990.

Ratners, by far Britain's largest jewellery retailer, was targeted by a number of local groups in conjunction with End Loans to South Africa (ELTSAs). With gold planned as a national campaign focus for the Christmas period - when Ratners expect to make 90% of their profits - the impact on Ratners soon brought dividends.

Ratners agreed to remove identifiable South African gold from the jewellery sold in their shops, which includes the H. Samuel, Zales, Watches of Switzerland and Ernest Jones chains as well as those trading under the Ratners name. Discussions are continuing with Ratners to ensure implementation, and pending their outcome the AAM Executive Committee agreed not to encourage picketing of Ratners stores.

Further action is planned on this issue, especially in December, when other jewellery retailers will be targeted. Sources in the jewellery industry suggest that the Ratners decision has already sent shock waves through the trade and that others are likely to follow suit if pressure is maintained for apartheid-free gold jewellery.

Trade

Trade between the UK and South Africa in 1989 stayed at roughly its 1988 level in money terms. UK imports were up slightly, reflecting continuing strong demand in the UK economy, whilst UK exports fell as the South African economy gradually headed towards the recession it is now in. Taking inflation into account, total trade was down by 4%, showing that the mini-boom engendered by the South African authorities in 1988 could not be sustained in the face of sanctions pressures.

In May of this year, alarming reports started circulating that UK-South Africa trade was soaring, interpreted by some as an indication that political change was undermining sanctions and boycott pressures. An announcement by the British Consul-General in Johannesburg, Mr Doble, was the source of these stories. Closer examination of the trade figures, however, revealed the true causes which Mr Doble had claimed he could not explain.

The rise in trade was largely a consequence of increased imports of platinum, of which South Africa is the major producer. If this effect was removed from the figures then the apparent rise in trade disappeared and UK-South Africa trade patterns simply reflect those in the UK economy as a whole. Significantly, if inflation is taken into account, imports of fruit and vegetables have fallen in the first six months of 1990.

Increased imports of platinum are a worrying trend which the Movement has been monitoring over the last few years. The value of platinum imported into this country has steadily risen over the last few years, being the major factor behind increases in UK imports from South Africa. However, this has largely reflected increases in the price of platinum, set in the highly volatile international commodities markets. There is no evidence of significant increases in the volume of platinum imported from South Africa, although the Movement will continue to monitor this carefully.

Investment and Loans

Such unlikely sources as the Financial Times and even the chair of Shell, Sir Peter Holmes, have attested to the impact of financial sanctions on South Africa and their importance in promoting the changes that are beginning to take place. Although the banks agreed in October of last year to reschedule South Africa's foreign debt on highly favourable terms, South Africa has been unable to make any major inroads into its financial isolation.

Despite the rescheduling, South Africa has continued to have to make substantial debt repayments during the year. Whilst the changed political climate has undoubtedly made it easier for South Africa to obtain short-term relief from its debt problems, this falls far short of a solution to its economic malaise. Without large inflows of direct investment or long-term loans, the apartheid economy will remain under pressure.

Banks remain unwilling to commit new funds whilst the internal situation remains unstable and international pressure for sanctions remains. Companies are even less willing to make direct investments in factories and plant. Despite Britain's lifting of the voluntary ban on new investment, companies are clearly waiting before risking their money.

Increasingly both banks and companies are turning towards the ANC when considering their policy towards South Africa. The ANC leadership has enjoyed unparalleled access to business, allowing the message of the continuing need to isolate apartheid to be taken directly to the key investment decision-makers. Whilst in London in July, Nelson Mandela addressed the CBI calling for sanctions to be maintained.

CONSUMER BOYCOTT

Over the past year the consumer boycott campaign remained a high priority for the movement. Local groups have maintained pressure on major retailers, wholesalers and independent grocers.

Gateway launched a promotion of South African fruit, and promptly received numerous letters of complaint from AA activists in response to an item in the Members Newsletter. Bristol AA organised a picket outside one of the Gateway stores as Bristol is where Gateway has its headquarters.

As part of the South Africa Freedom Now campaign, a national day of action took place on 16 June with the theme, "Boycott Apartheid - Sanctions Now!" A new general boycott leaflet was produced to present the arguments for the consumer boycott in the new political context following Mandela's release.

Below are some of the activities which took place at the instigation of local AA groups:-

The campaign against William Low retailers escalated culminating in a boycott day of action in which Tyneside AA, Dundee AA and Edinburgh AA leafleted local stores and collected signatures for a specific petition.

Southampton AA protested outside Bitton Womens Institute to coincide with a speaker from Outspan.

Worthing AA continued the campaign directed at their local health authority to stop stocking South African goods. They also held a sponsored walk in June dressed as various pieces of fruit with the slogan "Cape kills".

Plymouth and South Devon activists successfully targeted Plymouth and South West Co-op to persuade it to re-adopted a policy of not stocking South African goods. Bradford AA also targeted their regional Co-op.

Congleton AA organised a lobby of their Local Authority to stop stocking South African goods.

Sheffield AA influenced 786 shoppers to boycott Tesco's on a day of action and handed in a petition with 2,000 signatures.

Ayr AA prioritised the boycott campaign by picketing a different supermarket and other targets every Saturday and highlighted the need to keep up the pressure.

Nottingham AA targeted the local ASDA store and Lewisham AA collected over 400 signatures on a petition at a local Tesco store.

Throughout the year, the Consumer Boycott Unit played a strategic role in formulating, defining and developing campaign strategies for Local Groups and other AAM constituencies in relation to the consumer boycott campaign. The September issue of AA News kicked off a regular slot detailing seasonal fruit variations, as part of a concerted effort to target Cape, Outspan and other South African brand names.

The movement now needs to begin the debate on the continuing role of the consumer boycott and develop strategies for this decisive stage of the struggle.

TOURISM

The last year has seen campaigning on tourism for the first time take a high priority amongst AAM boycott campaigns, with September 1990 being designated a specific month of action against tourism to South Africa, following the British Government's scrapping of its voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa in February.

The first five months of 1990, compared with the previous year, showed a 10% increase in UK tourists visiting South Africa. The South African "Financial Mail" stated in January that "...tourism could replace gold as South Africa's chief foreign currency earner within 10 years," showing that the expansion of tourism is viewed as critical.

Early in 1990 a leaflet was produced entitled "Apartheid is no holiday. Stop Tourism to South Africa." This has been replaced by an updated tourism leaflet in the South Africa - Freedom Now! boycott series. A briefing paper for local groups on the tourism campaign was produced to help with preparations for the month of action, and also a model letter for local groups to send to travel agents in their locality and model press release. A press pack was also produced, as was an advice note from the Anti-Apartheid Movement on tourism to South Africa which two of the larger operations, Exchange Travel and Co-op Travel, owned by the Co-operative Wholesale Society (C.W.S.) Ltd, agreed to distribute through their branches.

Bob Hughes MP, AAM chair, wrote at the start of the year to the twelve major British travel agents to ascertain their positions with regard to selling holidays to South Africa. Exchange Travel wrote the most satisfactory reply but Co-op Travel and Travelwise (owned by the North-Eastern Co-op), were also supportive. The rest either did not reply or had rather ambivalent positions.

More recently the AAM wrote to the Director General of the Association of British Travel Agents (A.B.T.A.) asking for a meeting to discuss the significant growth in tourism to South Africa.

South African Airways (SAA) have been a target for campaigning throughout the year as the "flagship of apartheid" and being wholly owned by the South African state. The four SAA offices in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow were picketed early in the year in protest at the brutal treatment meted out by South African Transport Services (SATS), of which SAA is a part, to trade unionists from SARWHU. The September campaign was launched with a lively lunchtime picket of the Oxford Circus office on the 1 September. A national day of action against SAA took place on 25 September to target their new service into Manchester Airport and involved protests both at the airport and at the SAA offices in Manchester, London and Birmingham. This campaign has been actively pursued by activists from Greater Manchester since the start of the year when SAA announced the new service.

The South African Tourist Board (SATOUR), which relocated its offices during the year from London W1 to an "advantageous but less costly site" in SW19, and produced "The Natal Experience - the official guide to Natal and Kwazulu," organised three evenings of promotional workshops aimed at the travel trade in September in London, Bristol and Cardiff. Protests took place outside all three, with the Cardiff protest being particularly well-attended by over 70 AA activists.

AA Local groups have been active on the tourism issue targeting travel agents and tour operators, not just during September. St Helens AA have been busy focussing on Shearings, the coach operators based in nearby Wigan, that own National Holidays who have recently started organising tours to South Africa. Burnley and Pendle AA leafleted outside the local Hogg Robinson while Chiswick AA chose Exchange Travel. Oldham AA got considerable local press coverage for a protest outside Thomas Cooks. Other local groups chose small operators who seemed to be specialising in promoting South Africa; Leicester AA protested outside Millington Travel while Notting Hill AA leafleted Skyway World Travel. Bedford AA have been busy targeting Raymond Cook Holidays, a tour operator based in their town specialising in the "Christian traveller" who have recently introduced South Africa into their programme. Leeds AA have done leafletting in the city which has the headquarters of Wallace Arnold who last year started advertising tours to South Africa. Numerous other groups sent the "model letter" to travel agents in their area urging them not to sell holidays to South Africa.

SAA advertisements appear extensively in newspapers, magazines and on television and elsewhere - supporters have been encouraged to complain to the relevant authorities. Campaigns have been initiated in several cities with cricket grounds that have hoardings advertising SAA to get them removed, building on Bristol AA's past success with the Gloucestershire ground. In conjunction with the "Broadcasting and Entertainment Trades Alliance" (BETA) a campaign to "make the airwaves apartheid free" has been launched. Most newspapers do accept advertisements promoting tourism to South Africa. "The Guardian" had some such adverts in September but after letters of complaint from readers replied stating that the paper's policy was "not to promote tourism in South Africa," and that these had "slipped through the screening procedures."

The World Travel Market (W.T.M.) takes place every year as an international exhibition for the travel and tourism trade at Olympia in London. At the November 1989 event, SAA and

SATOUR were there, both with very large stalls, and the Bophuthatswana 'Office of International Affairs,' and many tour operators promoting holidays to the apartheid state were also represented. A protest on the opening day was highly successful with hundreds of leaflets being handed out, coordinated by the London Committee. A sit-down protest also took place inside Olympia next to the S.A.A stall. Robert Hughes MP, chair of the AAM has been in correspondence with Peter Davis, the Chief Executive of Reed International plc, owners Reed Exhibition Companies Ltd the organisers of the W.T.M., urging them not to allow South African participation in the event, but without success. Activists have also written to the organisers. Over 60 local authorities take part in the exhibition and for some this meant that they were ignoring their own anti-apartheid policy of not participating in any event at which South Africa is represented. Since February 1989 when the Local Authorities Against Apartheid Biennial Conference called for a boycott of the W.T.M. a number of local authorities have chosen to withdraw. To date Durham, Manchester, Sheffield, York, Wakefield, Islington, Richmond-upon-Thames, Cleveland, Lincoln, North Tyneside, Chesterfield and Watford have told the AAM that they will be boycotting the W.T.M.

Preparations to protest at the opening day of the 1990 World Travel Market are already well underway.

URANIUM

South Africa remains a major exporter of uranium. Despite Mandela's call to the international community to maintain South Africa's isolation, Britain is undermining that appeal by importing large quantities of South African uranium for processing at a British nuclear plant.

Uranium is shipped into Britain through Southampton docks from Durban on board P&O ships. It then travels by British Rail freight through Winchester, Basingstoke, Reading, Oxford, Birmingham and on to Liverpool or Manchester where it is transferred to lorries. Its initial destination is the Springfields plant near Preston owned by British Nuclear Fuels plc (BNF). Here the 'uranium ore concentrates' are converted into 'uranium hexafluoride' - a process known as 'hexing'. The 'uranium hexafluoride' is then stated to be a British product so that it can be exported abroad to countries which embargo South African uranium.

In a reply to AAM Chair Bob Hughes MP, Mr C Harding (Chair BNF) stated "Where BNF receives ore for processing... the physical source of the uranium is a matter for the customer, and the origin is of no contractual or technical concern to BNF..."

The new campaign against South African uranium arose from informal discussions during the spring, building on the success of the campaign against the import of Namibian uranium during the 1980s. Planning meetings were held after National Committee meetings, and a leaflet about the campaign was produced for the launch of a nationwide campaign.

The first national day of action took place on Saturday 22 July with local groups in Southampton, Basingstoke, Oxford, Birmingham and Manchester taking part, and a second on 22 September.

In Southampton, local AA activists clad in radiation suits with a mock drum of uranium oxide leafleted their local rail station gaining a lot of press coverage. Salisbury AA travelled to Winchester station and leafleted passengers and cars. In Basingstoke petitioners were out at the station and the town centre. In Oxford the local AA group demonstrated with members of CND, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, the Green and Labour Parties, trade unions and the churches. In Birmingham activists leafleted the station and attracted support and interest from the local community. Preston AA were able to leaflet their town centre and in Dover, one of the possible ports for the export of the

processed uranium, AAM members held an information stall and leafletted residents to explain the environmental dangers of uranium travelling through the area.

Further initiatives are planned to highlight this important campaign in 1991.

OIL SANCTIONS

The enforcement of an effective oil embargo against South Africa has continued to be a crucial area of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's campaigning work. This has involved three major areas of work during the period; the promotion of the Shell Boycott campaign in order to compel Shell to withdraw from South Africa; action to promote an effective ban on exports from the UK to South Africa of oil and other petroleum products; and campaigns against British companies (and companies based in territories for which the UK has responsibility such as Hong Kong) which are involved in breaching the oil embargo.

Much of this work has been pursued in co-operation with EMBARGO which brings together a number of organisations to campaign specifically on the oil embargo. Pressure has continued to be mounted against Shell. Following the release of Nelson Mandela, a new leaflet was published by EMBARGO as well as one which formed part of the "South Africa Freedom Now" campaign.

A day of action was organised in advance of the Shell AGM and at the AGM, the Shell Directors agreed for the first time to have a structured debate on the company's policy towards South Africa. This was the first known occasion in which a major British company has allowed a debate at its Annual General Meeting without a resolution having been brought. As a result of this agreement Denis Goldberg was able to address the AGM on behalf of the ANC, together with Mildred Neville of the Southern African Coalition and long-time protesting shareholder Revd. David Haslam.

Questioning of the Shell directors brought an admission that financial sanctions had worked. That one of most anti-sanctions companies in the country should be forced to admit that some sanctions at least have worked shows how far the sanctions campaign has been able to shift the terms of debate: it was simply no longer credible for Shell to claim that sanctions don't work, even though they still refuse to act on the evidence of the effectiveness of sanctions.

A new briefing was prepared by the AAM outlining the case against Shell following the developments announced by De Klerk in February. EMBARGO and the AAM had planned to organise a concerted campaign in late February 1990 to coincide with the Southern Africa Coalition's Week of Action. This campaign would have had as its focus "How Britain's Fuels Apartheid". Because of the developments in early February, this was not pursued.

At the level of Government policy the AAM Chair, Bob Hughes, has again taken up the case of the Italian tanker, 'Alare Terza', which delivered UK North Sea oil to South Africa in 1986. This matter has been taken up persistently since 1988 by the AAM and EMBARGO. The government has again refused to receive a delegation on this and the wider issue of the enforcement of the oil embargo by the British government. Bob Hughes also took up with the Department of Trade the involvement of companies in the Mossel Bay development, especially the Scottish company, Robert Stevenson, a subsidiary of Trafalgar House.

The AAM has continued to co-operate with the Shipping Research Bureau and Mike Terry chaired the press conference on 11th September at which its Report, 'Fuel For Apartheid - Oil Supplies to South Africa', was released.

MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has always recognised the strategic importance of the arms embargo against South Africa and the need to end all forms of military and nuclear collaboration. In 1979, following the imposition of the UN mandatory arms embargo in November 1977, the Anti-Apartheid Movement initiated the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa. Abdul Minty, the AAM Honorary Secretary, is its Director.

The World Campaign, working in co-operation with Anti-Apartheid Movements at a national level, was created to complement and reinforce the work of the UN Security Council's own committee - known as the "421 Committee" - which has the specific objective of monitoring and ensuring the implementation of the UN mandatory arms embargo. In practice the World Campaign has had to divert considerable resources to encourage the 421 Committee to carry out fully its mandate. After many years the 421 Committee published a report covering the period 1980 - 1989 which detailed how it functioned but also showed how its role has been reduced by the deliberate obstruction of Britain and other western members of the Security Council.

On 25 July 1990 Abdul Minty presented evidence on behalf of the World Campaign to the 421 Committee both on a series of violations of the arms embargo as well as on methods by which it could more effectively carry out its mandate. Earlier, at the Commonwealth Summit in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989, a major breakthrough was achieved when Commonwealth governments, with the exception of Britain, backed a series of proposals to strengthen the UN arms embargo. This was due in large part to the work of the World Campaign which had presented a series of well-documented reports to the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa. It had been expected that Canada, in its role as a member of the Security Council, would follow up the Commonwealth decisions with an initiative to strengthen the UN arms embargo. However, no tangible progress has been made so far.

Both the World Campaign and the Anti-Apartheid Movement have sought during this period of change in South Africa to ensure that there is no relaxation in the application of the arms embargo. AA News has therefore published material aimed at illustrating the extent to which the South African regime has continued to strengthen its military capability and its potential military threat to neighbouring African states. South Africa's testing of an IRBM (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile) last year, as exposed in Anti-Apartheid News, was particularly alarming in this regard.

Most of the major cases upon which the World Campaign has acted have been documented in Anti-Apartheid News. These include the provision to South Africa by the Federal Republic of Germany of submarine plans including two confidential NATO construction guidelines; the display of the G5 artillery at the Chile FIDA '90 arms exhibition; the supply of US Cessna aircraft to the South African Air Force (SAAF) and the possible delivery to South Africa via Israel of Sncema Atar aircraft engines for the SAAF.

The major case which the AAM was active over was the involvement of Ferranti in what amounted to one of the biggest sanctions-busting networks, through its connections with the US corporation International Signal and Control. In February 1990 the British TV programme "This Week" revealed the extent of the operation and Ferranti's involvement including the possible importing of missile components from South Africa for re-export. Bob Hughes wrote on behalf of the AAM to the Prime Minister who in her reply, admitted that there was no effective control over such imports into the UK - a major weakness in the British ban on arms imports from South Africa.

As a result of the economic crisis being experienced by the apartheid regime it has been forced to make a number of defence cuts. Whilst the current defence budget has in fact been slightly increased, both the SADF and Armscor have been forced to make further cuts. The regime has launched a major offensive to increase arms exports and enter into joint ventures to transfer South African military technology. It hopes to recover some of its earlier massive military expenditure. This makes it crucial to concentrate on preventing Pretoria from undermining the arms embargo. Particularly disturbing have been recent reports about the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and other Middle Eastern countries purchasing South African weapons and ammunition. As with other cases these have been reported to the 421 Committee by the World Campaign.

SPORTS BOYCOTT

Rapid developments and major victories have characterised the campaign for a sports boycott of South Africa over the past year.

Cricket

The furore surrounding the Gattling tour had only begun to escalate in October 1989 and soon secured national front page and sports page coverage in Britain and world-wide publicity when the team touched down in South Africa.

The rebel English side was refused the use of the British sports centre, the Lillieshall Centre in Shropshire, and ran into problems securing sponsorship - the South African Cricket Union having difficulty not because of financial reasons (as the majority of the sponsor's costs could be reclaimed through tax relief) but because of the overwhelming opposition to the tour in South Africa and internationally.

The departure of the team gave a foretaste of what was to come. Precisely timed interventions by AAM opponents of the tour in the last photo-opportunity and press conference enjoyed massive coverage on TV, radio and press. This capped the end of the national British campaign which had been hugely successful, not in its ultimate aim of stopping the tour leaving Britain, but in turning the tide of public opinion against the rebels. Virtually without exception, and from surprising quarters, private and public comment was hostile to the mercenaries. The AAM's perspective, articulated through the 'Stop the Tour' campaign, was widely and sympathetically reported.

The arrival of the team in South Africa was just the beginning of further humiliation for the participants and indeed a propaganda disaster for Pretoria and its allies. Opposition to the tour surpassed most expectations, showing the mobilising strength of the Mass Democratic Movement, and in particular the growing effectiveness of the National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC) which spearheaded the campaign with anti-tour committees in each town and city visited. In the face of much determination and bravery the rebel tour came to an undignified and premature end.

Undoubtedly a success, above all for those in South Africa, the campaign against the tour nevertheless suffered casualties due to the brutality dispensed by the police. A letter from the United Democratic Front in Bloemfontein thanking everyone in Britain for their support detailed some of the injuries suffered by protesters:

John Segioneco, who was introduced to Mike Gattling on the Springbok Stadium balcony, received about 120 pellet bullet wounds, having been shot by police while going home. Charlotte Legatla was also shot with a pellet gun in the neck - the hospital was unable to operate due to the bullet's proximity to an artery. Twelve year old Yvonne Moeng was shot in her left elbow whilst shopping in the vicinity of the demonstrators. Such incidents, and the TV coverage of police assaults on protesters, came as a timely reminder of the realities of apartheid in

a period when De Klerk was claiming credit for his reforms.

The tour should never have happened. The Prime Minister's refusal to intervene, her silence when the South African police attacked peaceful protestors and her claim that the tour did not violate the Gleneagles Agreement, all served to encourage Gattling and the other players to persist with the doomed tour.

Rugby

The Wales Rugby Union (WRU), in a historic decision on 6 October 1989, voted to sever all its links with the South African Rugby Board (SARB).

Although individual players may still be lured to play in South Africa the decision represented an important change in WRU policy. The vote, which followed the resignation of the WRU secretary, David East, reflected both the divisions within the organisation caused by the World XV tour of South Africa, involving large numbers of Welsh players, and the consistent and increasingly effective campaigning work by Wales AAM.

UN Conference on Apartheid in Sport

The 4th United Nations Conference on Apartheid in Sport met in Stockholm from 4 - 6 September amidst a flurry of media speculation predicting the end of the sports boycott of South Africa.

The 190 participants represented a broad mix of sports organisations (administrators and players), National Olympic Committees, anti-apartheid movements, and governments. The two non-racial South African sporting bodies - the National Olympic and Sports Congress (NOSC) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) - sent delegates as did the ANC and PAC.

The conference discussed the situation in South African sport, the boycott campaign, assistance for the disadvantaged section of South Africa sport, countering apartheid propaganda, and future strategy.

Keynote addresses on these issues were delivered by, among others, the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr Ingvar Carlsson; the President of the UN General Assembly Brig-Gen. Joseph Garba; and the President of the International Olympic Committee Juan Samaranch.

The conference was clear on the importance of maintaining every form of sanction on the regime and "recognised the relevance and importance of the campaign to isolate apartheid sport ... [which] remained as critical as ever as a lever on the supporters of the apartheid regime."

Additional emphasis was placed on the need for concerted international action to support non-racial sports bodies and redress the imbalance of every sort of facility and resource between 'establishment' and non-racial sport. NOSC President Mluleki George and Executive Secretary Mthobi Tyamzashe both focussed on this area. They urged, in particular, the empowerment of the disadvantaged structures in South Africa.

An urgent task internally is the creation of one non-racial, controlling body for each sports code. The NOSC, which first emerged about two years ago, was formally launched in the past year, and has taken centre stage in the developing world of South African sport.

Forging unity in preparation for re-entry to world sport is the cornerstone of the NSC's efforts to promote a strategy which maintains the pressure against pro-apartheid sports bodies and accelerates the demise of apartheid in sport. As reported to the conference, this strategy offers 'the possibility of enhanced communication with the international community and practical assistance for the task of extending non-racial sport Secondly, (it promises) to solidify anti-apartheid resistance in the black

community, and perhaps draw in significant white support. Thirdly and most tantalizingly, international recognition would increase the visibility and respectability of the anti-apartheid movement as a whole."

The procedures and criteria for such developments continue to be discussed and were addressed at a meeting in Harare on 3/4 November 1990 between the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC - co-organisers of the conference), the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) and South African sports organisations.

The meeting agreed to establish an eight-member committee (chaired by Sam Ramsamy from SANROC) to co-ordinate efforts to end apartheid, establish single united bodies for each sports code and create a single national Olympic committee. The new committee is expected to make its first report by March 1991.

There is widespread acceptance of the sports moratorium inside South Africa designed to prevent rebel tours and matches. Typical of the progress being made in unifying sports organisations while maintaining the international sports boycott were the recent parallel decisions (a) of the mainly white Professional Golfers' Association and the non-racial Tournament Players' Association to merge, with the new united body falling under the umbrella of the non-racial NOSC; and (b) of the proprietors of Sun City in Bophuthatswana (long a key venue for undermining the sports boycott) not to stage further international events after this year's Million Dollar Challenge golf tourney - until the sports boycott is lifted.

The question when South Africa will be re-integrated into international sport turns largely on wider political developments in South Africa, and irreversible progress towards the ending of apartheid.

CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC BOYCOTTS

Cultural resistance to apartheid assumed centre stage in Britain during this year.

Zabalaza

A two-week festival of progressive South African art and culture - Zabalaza - opened in June with a South African murals exhibition at the ICA. Ten South African artists chosen by their community and cultural organisations produced five huge murals in just 10 days, ranging from strident scenes of township protest to muted traditional and rural images.

The ten were the first of over 95 South African cultural workers who came to Britain to perform, learn, and exchange ideas and experiences. Zabalaza, which means "to struggle" in Zulu, grew out of two earlier events, 'Culture in Another South Africa' in Amsterdam (1987) and the Culture and Resistance Festival in Gabarone (1982).

Zabalaza was organised by the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture. The importance of the festival was "that for the first time South African cultural workers will not be talked about or talked to. They will be saying themselves what they understand of the world and where they want to fit into it" (Wally Serote, ANC).

The performances of musicians, actors, artists ran parallel with an intensive programme of training workshops, lectures and discussions. Highlights included performances by protest poet Mzwakhe Mbuli, and a joint exhibition by three leading painters, Dumile Feni, Louis Maqhubela, and David Koloane. Performances were given by Sakhile, Jonas Gwangwa, and Shikisha among others. Theatre included 'Top Down', an expose of black

education; 'Endangered Species,' a play set around the lives of two sisters, and 'Jabavu' by Peter Ngwenya's Soweto Youth Theatre.

Over 40 South African films were screened at the ICA and art and photographic exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford, the Wolfson Galleries in Oxford, Fusion Gallery at the Trocadero, the Africa Centre and Portfolio Gallery.

Sechaba Festival

Over 60 South African poets, musicians, actors and dancers brought the anti-apartheid culture of resistance right into the heart of Europe's City of Culture 1990 through their participation in the AAM Scottish Committee's Sechaba Festival.

The Festival, organised in Glasgow from 22 September to 7 October in association with the Scottish Trades Union Congress and the ANC, included a five-day international conference on cultural resistance to apartheid, as well as an ambitious programme of public performances, films, plays, poetry, art and photographic exhibitions.

Sponsored by the Glasgow city and Strathclyde regional councils, it also attracted generous support from Nalگو, the TGWU and many other trade unions. An ANC delegation, led by Govan Mbeki, helped to launch the programme, while from the heart of South Africa, resistance poet Mzwakhe Mbuli appeared again in Britain with his band, the Equals, to perform at Glasgow's City Halls. Singers from the Association of South African Students, the Iqhawe dance group, the Bambu, theater production and South African writers Wally Serote, Mandla Langa, and Zoe Wicomb shared platforms with the best of Scottish artistic talent and - to give the festival a truly Southern African flavour - the Meridian political theatre group from Zimbabwe.

The Grand Gala opening of the Sechaba featured the premiere of an exciting new work by Scottish composer William Sweeney, dedicated to the late South African singer, trade unionist and ANC member James Madhlope Phillips. 'I Will Wait' sets the words of a poem by Wally Serote to music. It was performed at the festival by the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, the Scottish Philharmonic Singers, the Association of South African Students choir, and Scottish jazz saxophonist Tommy Smith.

Themes of struggle and resistance raised by the festival performances were taken further in discussions at the five-day Sechaba Conference, attended by more than 150 delegates from 16 countries. Reasserting the importance of the cultural and other boycotts of apartheid in the critical transition period, the conference also looked in depth at ways and means to support the people's new culture of resistance.

The AAM Scottish Committee plan to publish an anthology of works by some 60 South African and Scottish writers, 'The End of a Regime?', developing the themes of the Sechaba programme.

Visits to South Africa have continued in both academic and cultural arenas, although numbers appear to be dropping.

The AAM continues to provide information to the UN for the Register of Actors, Entertainers and Others who have performed in South Africa. Additionally the AAM HQ responded to numerous requests for detailed information on these boycotts and distributed campaign and information packs.

SOUTHERN AFRICA THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY (SATIS)

On 14 December 1989 the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus a Declaration Against Apartheid. This

Declaration identified five key steps that the apartheid regime had to take in order to create a climate of free political activity conducive to genuine negotiations aimed at ending apartheid in South Africa, namely :

- 1) unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees
- 2) lifting of all bans and restrictions on individuals and organisations
- 3) removal of troops from the townships
- 4) ending of the State of Emergency, and the repeal of all repressive legislation including the Internal Security Act
- 5) cessation of all political trials and political executions.

In essence these were the same demands as outlined in the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration of August 1989. Their original source, however, was the people of South Africa themselves, these minimum demands being the outcome of a process of discussion which the ANC had undertaken with individuals and organisations inside South Africa. Their identification by the people of South Africa and in turn by the international community was to form the basis and touchstone for much of the work of SATIS throughout the year.

At dawn on Sunday 15 October 1989 eight of South Africa's longest serving political prisoners, including six Rivonia trialists, were released. Those freed were Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathadra, Oscar Mpetsha, Wilton Mkwayi, Raymond Mhlabane, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Mokoale, all of the ANC, and Jafa Masemola of the PAC. Their releases were an indication of the growing pressures on the apartheid regime to move towards a political settlement. Two months later, on 15 December 1989, the Appellate Division upheld the appeal of the Delmas Treason trialists, which led to the release of five leading anti-apartheid activists serving sentences on Robben Island, including the United Democratic Front's general secretary, Popo Molefe and its publicity secretary Patrick 'Terror' Lekota. Their release brought to an end one of the longest campaigns run by SATIS. Launched initially as the 'Free the Vaal 22' campaign it had run from 1984 when they were initially detained and throughout their trial from January 1986 to their conviction in Nov. 1988.

De Klerk's speech on 2 February

The concessions announced by De Klerk on 2 February were analysed in a special SATIS briefing titled 'De Klerk vs. the Harare Declaration,' which compared them with the measures called for in the Harare and UN Declarations, as follows :

- 1) Release of political prisoners and detainees : releases promised affected only Mandela and those (estimated to number 76) convicted only of membership, or of promoting the aims, of banned organisations. No release of detainees promised.
- 2) Lifting bans and restrictions on individuals and organisations: all banned organisations were unbanned, but powers to impose such bans and other restrictions remained. Restrictions imposed on ex-detainees were lifted. 175 names on Consolidated List (persons who may not be quoted) removed, leaving 187.
- 3) Removal of troops from townships : nothing said. Size of police force to be increased.
- 4) Ending the State of Emergency : no progress. Slight easing of emergency controls on media.
- 5) Ending of trials : nothing said on this point, and only a few cases relating to membership or promotion of banned organisations were dropped. Seven months later, over 350 political trials were estimated to be still in progress. Cessation of political executions : an indefinite moratorium was placed on all executions, legislation promised to limit the scope of the death penalty, an automatic right of appeal granted to those under sentence of death, and review promised of cases of all those on Death Row.

Robben Island Hunger Strike

On 26 February political prisoners held on Robben Island, the regime's high security prison for political prisoners, began an indefinite hunger strike. All of the 343 political prisoners on the Island participated, though not all were on a full hunger strike. They were demanding their immediate and unconditional release and an end to the State of Emergency. In solidarity the Yengeni trialists, including those on bail, and five prisoners in Pretoria Central Prison also joined the hunger strike.

In response SATIS in conjunction with the AAM launched an international campaign in support of the hunger strikers. The press conference to launch the campaign was attended by Popo Molefe, himself a former Robben Island political prisoner. At the conference the appeal from the political prisoners was made available along with plans for the mobilisation of support for the hunger strikers. Three days after the hunger strike had begun lunchtime vigils commenced outside the South African Embassy. Each day a different constituency group was asked to support the vigil such as trade unionists, lawyers, students, ANC, SATIS etc.

The hunger strike was suspended on 8 March by which time six of the hunger strikers had been hospitalised. The suspension came after assurances were given to the strikers that their demands would be considered at the highest level.

State of Emergency

Under continuing pressure from the international community and from the ANC at the Groote Schuur talks (2-4 May) to lift the State of Emergency (SOE), De Klerk told parliament on 7 June that the State of Emergency would not be renewed in three of the four provinces, but would continue in Natal province (including the KwaZulu bantustan). He said nothing about the SOE in the Bophuthatswana homeland. The ANC attacked the regime for this piece-meal approach to creating a climate for negotiations.

On 12 June, the fourth anniversary of the imposition of the SOE, SATIS organised a well attended protest outside South African Embassy to highlight the fact that the SOE had not been fully lifted, and that apartheid repression was continuing. Representatives of organisations affiliated to the Southern Africa Coalition were also in attendance. Over 25,000 leaflets produced for the event were circulated in the London area informing people on the current level of apartheid repression, and additional quantities were circulated nationally.

In a retrograde step on 24 August the regime declared "unrest areas" in 19 magisterial districts covering 27 townships in the Transvaal. These grant emergency powers at local level, and were strongly condemned by the democratic movement in South Africa. On 18 October 1990 the SOE was finally lifted in Natal, but not in Bophuthatswana.

No Apartheid Executions Campaign

There have been no political executions in South Africa since that of Mangena Jeffrey Boesman on 29 September 1989. In October 1989 SATIS submitted a detailed memorandum to the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth meeting in Malaysia. The memorandum set out South Africa's appalling record on political executions in South Africa and urged the Commonwealth to intervene.

On 7 November the SATIS No Apartheid Executions petition, signed by 33,867 individuals, was presented outside the House of Commons by Geoffrey Bindman, Chair of SATIS, to Ivor Stanbrook MP, chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Southern Africa. Ivor Stanbrook then presented the petition to Parliament on 10 November, an event duly recorded in Hansard. At the same time an Early Day Motion was tabled in the House calling upon HMG to seek an end to all political executions. It

was duly signed by 145 MPs from all parties.

The government's response however gave grounds for concern and indicated a hardening of approach. The British government did intervene in the case of the Sharpeville Six while the legal process was still incomplete but the position outlined by the Foreign Secretary of refusing to intervene until the legal process was complete and then only in exceptional circumstances was unacceptable to SATIS. SATIS therefore approached the Foreign Office twice seeking a meeting to discuss the British government's policy of refusing to intervene in respect to political prisoners on death row. On both occasions Foreign Office minister William Waldegrave refused to meet with SATIS.

SATIS provided briefing material to Yorkshire Television for the First Tuesday Report 'South Africa's Death Factory' screened early in 1990.

With a moratorium on all executions in place following the 2 February speech, the immediate threat of further political executions was lifted, but as de Klerk gave no undertaking to abolish the death penalty in political cases SATIS took the view that the campaign against apartheid executions must continue.

On 6 April, the 11th anniversary of the execution of Solomon Mahlangu of the ANC, a letter signed by 19 SATIS sponsors appeared in The Guardian newspaper. The letter highlighted the fact that although President de Klerk in his 2 February speech had introduced a moratorium on all executions he had shown no intention of abolishing the death penalty and that since then the death penalty had still been imposed by the courts. Political prisoners on Death Row remained under the shadow of the gallows. The letter pointed out that both the Harare and UN Declarations had called for end to political executions.

The writing of letters and sending of cards to political prisoners on death row has continued this year. In addition to those on death row in Pretoria Central Prison other individuals and organisations have been writing to the three political prisoners held in Mafikeng Prison in Bophuthatswana. All those taking part in this campaign have been kept up to date by SATIS with the developments concerning the moratorium on executions and the negotiations over the release of political prisoners. As a result of this campaign political prisoners on Death Row are being written to by several people and /or organisations including local AA groups, demonstrating that the international community is following the case of everyone on death row closely.

Upington 14 Campaign

The moratorium on executions placed the Upington 14, along with others on Death Row in a strange limbo, uncertain of their ultimate fate. In the middle of the year they were dealt a cruel blow when they were informed that their appeal against the death sentence would probably not be heard until early 1991.

As a result of internal and international concern over the deteriorating physical and mental condition of Evelina de Bruin, one of the Upington 14, she was moved in August to Upington Central Prison. Aged 63, a mother of ten and a grandmother, she was the only woman political prisoner on Death Row. Her husband Gideon Madlongolwane remained on Death Row in Pretoria Central Prison.

The AAM President's Appeal in late 1989 was used to highlight the case of the Upington 14 and in particular that of Evelina de Bruin. Part of the appeal was a form on which a seasonal message of support could be sent to one of the Upington 14 or to any other of the prisoners on Death Row.

In April SATIS met in London with the Rev. Aubrey Beukes from Upington to discuss the latest information on the case and on the campaigning work taken to date. The following month SATIS met with Lydia Nompondwana also from the Upington 26 Campaign and treasurer of the community-based campaign.

Contact has also been maintained with the lawyers working on the case. On 26 May 1990 to mark the first anniversary of the sentencing of the 14, the Upington Community held a rally, to which both SATIS and the Anti-Apartheid Movement sent messages and solidarity greetings which were read to the community.

SATIS raised the case of the Upington 14 specifically with the British government calling for its intervention, but once again this was refused while 'legal channels remain open'. This stance undermines the UN Declaration on Apartheid which calls for an end to all apartheid executions.

SATIS produced a detailed briefing pack on the Upington 14 containing profiles of the accused, a chronology of the trial, newspaper cuttings and campaigning material. The pack has been in popular demand since.

Detention without trial

On 25th July, Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and of the SACP's, was detained in Johannesburg under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He had recently returned to South Africa under indemnity from prosecution in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute. His arrest followed that of veteran trade unionist, Billy Nair, a prominent ANC/SACP figure in Natal. These arrests brought to over 100 the number of political detainees being held under Section 29 - this despite almost universal agreement that the ending of detention without trial is a pre-condition for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

Later in August news began to emerge from South Africa that detainees were again being tortured. Reports indicated that Billy Nair and Pravin Gordhan, an ANC member, had been maltreated, and that Mac Maharaj had been hospitalised. Billy Nair then suffered a heart attack and was admitted to intensive care in hospital.

In response to the detention of Mac Maharaj, Billy Nair and other detainees, the AAM called a picket of the South African Embassy on 27 July, and a letter by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston was delivered to the Foreign Secretary calling on the government to urgently intervene. Similar letters were also sent to the Commonwealth Secretary General and the United Nations Secretary General.

By late August the situation remained the same, so on 23 August the ANC called a day of action in South Africa to protest at the continuing detentions and the use of torture. As an act of solidarity with the ANC, SATIS organised a protest outside the South African Embassy on the same day to draw public attention to the current situation. Under the banner "Stop the Torture - Free the Detainees" SATIS sought to send a clear message: all detention without trial and torture must end if there is to be climate of free political activity. To achieve this, all security legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, has to be repealed.

By mid September the situation had deteriorated even further. The detention figure doubled in a two-week period to stand at over 250 as result of the use of the new 'unrest areas' emergency powers. It was now that the news emerged of the hospitalization of Nair and Maharaj. Most of those detained were held under the notorious Section 29 of the ISA which allows a detainee to be held indefinitely in solitary confinement - without access to lawyers, family or friends.

In response SATIS organised a further protest outside SA Embassy calling for the release of all political detainees, and wrote to the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Commonwealth Secretary General and the Italian Foreign Minister in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community. As a result SATIS gained a meeting with the Italian Ambassador in London and in relation to this visit SATIS produced a detailed Memorandum for submission

to the EC Council of Ministers outlining the current levels of apartheid repression showing that the South African regime still had a long way to go to meet the demands laid down by the United Nations and called for a collective EC demarche to secure the release of all those detained under Section 29 of the ISA. This memorandum was then circulated to all European AA groups, urging them to intervene.

A SATIS delegation also met with officials at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to discuss these matters.

As a result of this sustained pressure and additional pressures both internationally and inside South Africa SATIS learnt that both Foreign Office minister Waldegrave and Prime Minister Thatcher raised the issue with the regime and called for the political detainees to be charged or released - the former when he went to South Africa in early October, the latter when she met De Klerk on 14 October.

In relation to detentions concern has also arisen over deaths in detention. On 30 January the first death in detention since 1988 occurred, that of Clayton Sithole. Since then a further four political detainees have died while in police custody, all in suspicious circumstances.

Yengeni trial

Of the 14 original trialists eight have now been acquitted, four granted bail and two, Tony Yengeni and Jennifer Schreiner, remain in custody. The state alleges that Yengeni and Schreiner were responsible for a car bomb that exploded at a defence force block of flats and for limpet mines planted at DF Malan airport.

The state has found difficulty in establishing any kind of case against the accused and it has become increasingly apparent that the prosecution's case is flawed - hence the acquittals on 19 March 1990. Yet as the case has received so much attention both within South Africa and internationally the State appears determined that guilt must be proven and sentences imposed. The death sentence is still possible.

SATIS has continued to work closely with the Yengeni Defendants Support Group UK (YDSC) with a regular flow of information passing between the two bodies. SATIS and AAM speakers have spoken at YDSC meetings. The work of the YDSC and what people can do to support them, as well as trial up-dates, have appeared in AA News. SATIS and the AAM supported 'Inside Inspired' the performing arts umbrella of the YDSC. Following the acquittal of eight trialists SATIS was able to meet with one of them, Chris Giffard in London.

Assassinations and Death Squads

Use of death squads by the regime broke as a story in late 1989 when Butana Almond Nofomela, a former security policeman awaiting execution in Pretoria obtained a last minute stay of execution after confessing he had been a member of the police death squad which had brutally killed Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge and eight other political activists. Nofomela named his former boss as Captain Dirk Coetzee whereupon Coetzee fled to Mauritius and gave his story to the Afrikaans weekly Vrye Weekblad. This led to revelations of the operations of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). De Klerk was forced to appoint a commission of inquiry in the person of Mr Justice Louis Harms to investigate political killings inside South Africa, but the terms of reference of the commission excluded investigation into the operation of death and sabotage squads outside South Africa. SATIS has therefore sought to ensure that supporters of the AAM and the general public are aware that there is informal repression as well as the more obvious formal repression manifest in the form of political trials and prisoners. On the eve of the Pretoria meeting with the ANC in August the regime announced the dissolution of the CCB, but in democratic circles in South Africa suspicion is strong that it, or units of it, continue to function.

Pretoria Minute

On 6 August a delegation of the African National Congress, led by its Deputy President, Nelson Mandela, met the South African authorities formally for the second time to discuss the removal of obstacles to negotiations. The outcome of this meeting was the Pretoria Minute, which marked an important step towards a negotiated settlement but by no means removed the issue of repression from the political agenda.

In a joint statement following the talks the parties outlined the agreements reached covering the removal of obstacles to negotiations. The major gains for the ANC were that from 1 September political prisoners were to be released and that from 1 October certain categories of exiles were to be given indemnity to allow them to return, the process to be completed by the end of 1990. Both the release of prisoners and the indemnification of individual exiles are to be completed by 30 April 1991. In addition the regime undertook to give immediate consideration to the repeal of certain parts of the Internal Security Act. An ANC report back published at the same time indicated that it was expected that within the same period all political trials would cease and all political detainees be released.

In order to break the log-jam in progress towards negotiations, the ANC suspended the armed struggle with immediate effect, and a working party was set up to attend to the practical consequences of this decision. Most political prisoners were initially expected to be released by 31 December, but in the months that followed, only a handful of political prisoners were released. For although the Pretoria Minute recorded agreement on the definition of a 'political offence' this definition had to be applied on a case by case basis to individual prisoners by a panel.

11 October - UN Day of Solidarity

As usual the UN Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners provided SATIS with a focus for work. A new leaflet, 'Pretoria's Broken Promises' set out the regime's failure to live up to the promised release of political prisoners and detainees as agreed in the Pretoria Minute. With only a handful of political prisoners released the ANC began to question the motives of the regime and attack its dual policy - on the one seeking to negotiate a political settlement, yet on the other doing everything possible to weaken the ANC and the wider democratic movement. This theme was taken up by SATIS in the leaflet and in a letter from the SATIS sponsors published in The Times newspaper. A similar model letter to local newspaper editors was put out in the form of a SATIS Action.

A lunch-time vigil was held on 11 October at the Foreign Office and in Whitehall with the names of a cross section of political prisoners, trialists, detainees and people on Death Row being held on display boards. The vigil was attended by Archbishop Huddleston, President of AAM; Zarina Maharaj, wife of Mac Maharaj; Geoffrey Bindman, the Chair of SATIS; Denis Goldberg, Rivonia trialist and former political prisoner; Lord Hatch, SATIS sponsor; and Denys Schriener, relative of Jennifer Schriener the Yengeni trialist.

Visit of Lieutenant Gregory Rockman

SATIS hosted a briefing in May given by Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, founder of the Prison Officers and Police Civil Rights Union (POP CRU), at the TUC's Congress House, which provided an opportunity for detailed discussion on the present situation and developments inside the police force and prison service in South Africa.

SATIS Action

A new initiative which has become increasingly important this year has been SATIS Action. Primarily a vehicle for speedily

disseminating information on repression in South Africa, it has enabled SATIS to keep local anti-apartheid groups, concerned bodies and organisations as well as a large number of individuals up to date. Much of the information used comes direct from the authoritative Human Rights Commission in Johannesburg. It is then written up with campaigning suggestions and dispatched immediately by first class post. To date SATIS Action has addressed several key issues including: De Klerk's 2 February speech, a model letter to the British Government calling for immediate intervention to secure implementation of UN Declaration demands, a model letter to British government on apartheid repression, several briefings on repression, and current detention figures. SATIS hopes that further organisations and individuals will take up the option of being subscribers to SATIS Action.

Namibia

Following the victory of SWAPO in the elections and independence for Namibia on 21 March 1990 all political prisoners held in Namibia were released. In turn SATIS discussed whether it would now be more appropriately named 'South' Africa the Imprisoned Society rather than 'Southern'. When the matter was raised with SWAPO they advised that as long as South Africa's illegal occupation of Walvis Bay continued, no change should occur.

The manner in which South Africa has continued to exert its illegal control has confirmed this decision. Walvis Bay remains subject to police brutality reminiscent of the worst days of South Africa's occupation. The repression indicates that South Africa is prepared for a long occupation of Namibia's only deep water port.

The campaigning work of SATIS has therefore focused on two specific aspects in relation to Walvis Bay. Firstly the continued imprisonment on Death Row in Pretoria of Leonard Sheehama, a Namibian and SWAPO combatant sentenced to death for planting a bomb that exploded at a butcher's shop in Walvis Bay. The South African authorities refused to release him under the amnesty given to other political prisoners in relation to the implementation of the UN Plan. SATIS has raised the matter with the ANC asking them to ensure that in their negotiations over the release of political prisoners the Leonard Sheehama case is included.

SATIS also took up the campaign for five young students known as the NANSO 5. Johanna Kambanda, Erastus Mingeli, Paulus Shimhanda, Rosalia Shipiki, and Diinia Nakwafilla, all members of the Namibian National Students Organisation, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying between one and two years as a result of charges arising out of a schools boycott in June 1988. SATIS urged that letters be sent to Martti Ahtisaari the UN Special Representative in Namibia to gain their release. They were eventually released early in 1990 and representatives of SATIS were able to meet with one of the trialists, Rosalia Shipiki, later when she visited Britain.

JOINT CAMPAIGN AGAINST TRADE UNION REPRESSION

The work of the joint campaign has continued this year organised by the AAM's Trade Union Committee working in conjunction with Southern Africa the Imprisoned Society. The majority of national unions support the campaign against the repression of trade unionists in South Africa and Namibia.

The joint campaign organised a national conference on the theme 'Resistance and Repression: the trade union movement in South Africa'. Sponsored by 31 trade unions, and attended by nearly 250 delegates, the conference was held on February 24 at the University of London Union. Chair of the TUC's Interna-

tional Committee Ron Todd addressed the conference, as did COSATU President Elijah Berayi, visiting Britain for the first time. Other speakers included TUC General Secretary Norman Willis, Ilva Mackay of SACTU, and AAM Executive Committee members Mike Sparham (NUCPS) and Barbara Switzer (MSF).

For the conference a briefing document was produced which set out the current level of repression faced by trade unionists in South Africa, highlighting repressive legislation and the repression of individuals and organisations. It also provided information on trade unionists on death row, in prison and on trial, followed by details of campaigning action that could be taken.

The joint campaign continued to prioritise campaigns to save trade unionists on Death Row. A memorandum on political executions relating to trade unionists in South Africa was submitted to the Prime Minister on 6 November 1989 - the 25th anniversary of the execution of South African trade unionists Vuyisile Mini, Mkaba and Khayinga - urging the British government to review its policy of not intervening in Death Row cases whilst legal processes remain available to the prisoner. SACTU organised a rally in London to mark the occasion.

The campaign scored a major success with the release of trade union veteran Oscar Mpetha along with other leaders in October 1989. In addition the campaign has worked closely and successfully with the following unions:

a) Transport unions ASLEF, NUMAST, NUR, NUS, TGWU and the TSSA on the campaign to save the SARHWU 4 - four members of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union, (Taklani David Mamphanga, Wilson Matshile, George Maungedzo and Patrick Molefe), who were sentenced to hang in March 1989 following the death of four non-strikers during one of the longest and most bitter strikes in South African history. A large number of trade union journals have run major articles on the case.

b) The NUM on the campaign to save miner Lucky Nomnganga, an NUM shaft steward at a Gold Mine who was sentenced to death in the Orange Free State Supreme Court after being convicted of the murder of two mine officials following unrest after dismissals in June 1987. A campaign leaflet was produced with the assistance of the Derbyshire, Lancashire, Leicester, Northumberland, North East and Yorkshire Areas of the National Union of Mineworkers, and widely circulated.

c) TGWU region no.1 over efforts to free South African TGWU shop steward Alfred Ndlovu, imprisoned for five years for alleged ANC activities.

d) The IRSF on a campaign to free the Pietermaritzburg 7 - trade union activists imprisoned with Harry Gwala in 1975 who were amongst the longest serving political prisoners in South Africa.

e) FTAT, NGA and SOGAT over efforts to free former Paper Printing Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPAWU) member Gerald Nyembe.

CHILDREN'S CAMPAIGN

Stage II of the National Information Tour organised by the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust in association with the SATIS Committee on Children took place at the beginning of the year. Once again the aim was to highlight the effects of apartheid on the children of South and Southern Africa.

The tour covered the Midlands, the South West, Wales, and the Wessex Region, and also included a short visit to Ireland. Excluding Ireland, the tour comprised over 60 events/meetings, including four one-day seminars in Exeter, Cardiff, Nottingham and Wolverhampton, and thirteen public meetings. The guest speakers also took part in nine radio interviews and countless

interviews with the press. Unlike the first stage of the tour, the local media were very interested in the tour, due to a combination of factors not least the publicity surrounding De Klerk's 2 February speech and the release of Nelson Mandela. The speakers were also warmly welcomed by Lord Mayors at eight separate civic receptions.

In a four-day trip to Ireland the speakers participated in four public meetings in Cork, Omagh, Dublin and Belfast. They were interviewed by press, radio and TV and attended other meetings and receptions throughout the day.

With the exception of two public meetings, all the events were very well attended, and most local groups affirmed that they were the best attended meetings they had held. The tour also attracted a lot of new people not previously involved in the issues.

The tour coincided with, and helped to promote, mobilisation for the Southern African Coalition's activities in February. It also triggered various new projects, or increased support for existing ones.

The tour was successful in attracting and informing wide audiences, but it was hampered by the fact that no speakers coming directly from Namibia or Mozambique were available. Mozambicans studying in the UK, visitors and experts with specialist knowledge or personal experience of the region stepped into the gaps, but the lack of continuity was a disadvantage. The South African speaker, Ms Smangele Kubheka, came at short notice from the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), and was supported by ANC members for some of the events.

INTERNATIONAL

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has always recognised the importance of work at an international level both in co-ordinating campaigning activities with other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements as well as seeking to influence the development of international policy towards Southern Africa. However work at this level has been of critical importance during this period. The Movement's National Committee at a Special Meeting in April decided that it had to make a major priority of work at the international level especially in relation to the UN, the Commonwealth and the European Community.

The United Nations

The role of the United Nations assumed a further significance with the decision to convene the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. This, the first ever Special Session on South Africa, provided the opportunity for the OAU and the ANC to secure international agreement on the basis for a political settlement in South Africa. Much effort therefore went into its preparations. The AAM was one of a small number of non-governmental organisations and Anti-Apartheid Movements invited to address the Special Session and Bob Hughes MP represented the AAM in New York. The outcome of the Special Session was the adoption of the UN Declaration which although less clearly formulated than the OAU Harare Declaration still represented a significant breakthrough for the ANC in its objective of promoting a political settlement.

As a result of the mandate given to the Secretary General he sent a mission to South Africa which visited the country in June and on the basis of this mission he presented a report to the General Assembly. Although originally due to meet in July, the General Assembly reconvened in September 1990 and on the 17th adopted by consensus resolution 244/44. This resolution was of great significance since it recognised that the regime had to take further steps to create a climate conducive to negotiations and that the changes which had occurred were not "profound and irreversible".

During this period the AAM has continued to work closely with the UN Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid. The newly elected chair of the Special Committee, Professor Ibrahim A Gambari, who succeeded Major-General Garba, has continued in the Committee's traditions of encouraging the closest possible co-operation with Anti-Apartheid Movements. The major event initiated by the Special Committee during this period in which the AAM was involved was a Seminar in Japan for Asian anti-apartheid groups which was addressed by Archbishop Huddleston and Abdul Minty.

Commonwealth

The AAM again lobbied extensively to influence Commonwealth policy towards Southern Africa. A seven page memorandum was prepared for the Kuala Lumpur Summit and Abdul Minty represented the Movement at the meeting where he was able to secure considerable press coverage. He also sought to present the results of the mobilisation undertaken by the Southern Africa Coalition. On his return from Malaysia he was able to brief Neil Kinnock, Sir David Steel, the SAC as well as the AAM EC on the important developments which had taken place.

The Commonwealth Summit agreed that the Commonwealth's Foreign Ministers' Committee on Southern Africa should continue its mandate and its first meeting was in Nigeria from 14-16 May 1990. The AAM was unable to be represented but prepared a detailed memorandum outlining the evidence of the impact of sanctions on South Africa both politically and economically and warning against any premature relaxation of pressure. The meeting assumed a special importance due to the presence of Nelson Mandela. As a result of his intervention it took the unprecedented step of taking immediate action in trying to prevent any relaxation of sanctions by addressing appeals to the European Community and other members of the C7 Group.

Also at the Summit Chief Emeka Anyaoku was elected the new Commonwealth Secretary-General, succeeding Shridath Ramphal who had worked with such dedication and skill to promote the Commonwealth's policies of combatting apartheid. It was most fitting that Sonny Ramphal's last public speaking engagement as Secretary General was to address the South Africa Freedom Day Rally on 26th June. The Movement looks forward to the same close co-operation with Chief Anyaoku that it has enjoyed with Sonny Ramphal.

European Community

The Liaison Group of EC AAMs has been particularly active during this period in seeking to prevent any relaxation of the European Community's sanctions and other restrictive policies against South Africa. As reported above it reacted immediately to the move by the UK to seek the lifting of the investment ban by co-ordinating a common letter which was delivered to all Foreign Ministers on 15 February just prior to the Dublin Council of Ministers. In a statement released following the meeting, the Liaison Group welcomed the decision not to relax sanctions.

The Liaison Group held its six-monthly meeting during the Irish Presidency in Dublin on 10-11 March. Present at the meeting were the ANC Chief Representative for Ireland and the UK, and Siphon Pityana, the Co-ordinator of the NMIRC. The meeting drew up an extensive memorandum which was presented to the President of the Council of Ministers - the Irish Foreign Minister Gerry Collins - at a meeting on 12 March. The meeting also reviewed a number of key issues relating to co-ordinated work at the EC level.

Following the announcement of the visit to Europe of FW de Klerk a meeting of the Liaison Group Secretariat was held in London and attended by Stanley Mabizela, the ANC's Deputy Secretary for International Affairs and Mendi Msimang. Arising from this meeting a number of initiatives were taken including an EC-wide symbolic protest outside the Commission building in Brussels to coincide with De Klerk's meeting with the President of the Commission Jacques Delors. A small delegation from

dent of the Commission Jacques Delors. A small delegation from the Liaison Group also met with a senior advisor to M. Delors.

The Liaison Group took a number of further initiatives following the reports referred to above (see sanctions) that the EC would agree to a phased on partial relaxation of sanctions at the June summit of the Community. A model motion for presentation to the European Parliament's session in June was drawn up and translated into national languages and then used as a basis for lobbying MEPs and political groups. Mike Terry, AAM Executive Secretary, was invited to Brussels to address the members of the British Labour Group when it was agreed to submit the model text. Support was also forthcoming from four other political groupings as a result of lobbying by other AAMs. The result was a comprehensive and constructive resolution was drawn up and presented to the European Parliament at Strasbourg on 14th June and adopted by 177 votes to 47. Most AAMs in the Liaison Group were able to be represented in Strasbourg, the AAM by Richard Caborn and Mike Terry due to an invitation extended by the British Labour Group, and this enabled extensive lobbying to be undertaken. Whilst in Strasbourg a further meeting was held with the President of the Council of Ministers at which a memorandum was presented setting out the case against any relaxation of Community sanctions.

The Liaison Group met again in Rome in September to discuss the future direction of its work in the light of developments over the summer. A memorandum was presented to the Italian Presidency of the Community at the Italian Foreign Ministry on 24 September. During this period important contacts have been developed with many of the political groupings represented in the European Parliament as well as with officials of the Parliament and Commission. In addition links have been strengthened with SANAM and the Standing Committee - the two networks of European NGOs involved with the EC's Special Programme for the Victims of Apartheid.

Other international contacts

The AAM was represented at a number of other important international events during this period. It assisted in the preparations of a special briefing session for European AAMs which was convened by the ANC in London on 14 October 1990 at which the principal speaker was Thabo Mbeki. Abdul Minty represented the AAM at a further consultation for AAMs - a Workshop on Sanctions - which was convened by the Norwegian Council on Southern Africa in Oslo in March 1990. He also attended a World Council of Churches Consultation in Harare, Zimbabwe on 16-17 February called to assess the developments in South Africa. From Harare Abdul Minty was able to visit Lusaka, where he was able to meet with the leadership of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela. Amongst other meetings which the AAM was represented at were the Malibongwe Women's Conference in Amsterdam (see below under Women), and a Conference on Health in Southern Africa held in Maputo, Mozambique in April (by Rachel Jewkes).

The Movement protested at a number of moves to relax sanctions, in particular those by Hungary. A protest demonstration was held outside the Hungarian Embassy. Representations were made to all the Eastern European Embassies over their policies towards Southern Africa. In addition to the contacts outlined above, numerous meetings have taken place with visitors to Mandela Street from anti-apartheid and other movements from across the world.

AREAS OF WORK

TRADE UNIONS

The struggle against apartheid continues to be a major priority for the British trade union movement.

The democratic trade union movement in South Africa has continued to grow in size, maturity and confidence. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is now widely seen as a major actor in the liberation alliance also comprising the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

A measure of this increasing strength was the success of COSATU in working with community based organisations in mobilising some of the biggest political protests seen in South African history. This popular pressure gained key victories for the Mass Democratic Movement prior to the release of Nelson Mandela. COSATU unions were achieving recognition agreements and significant pay increases. The employers federation SACCOLA was forced to agree a joint approach to the government to oppose the Labour Relations Amendment (LRA) Act. The defiance campaign was taken to the work place, particularly in the mines. Trade unions were legalised in Transkei on 26 October 1989.

SACTU PHASES-OUT

The unbanning of the ANC and SACP, and the lifting of restrictions placed on COSATU, created new political space for the democratic trade union movement to operate. As a result the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which had been operating underground in South Africa and through its external missions throughout the world for nearly thirty years, took the historic decision on 19 March 1990 to phase out its structures into COSATU.

Founded in 1955, SACTU was South Africa's first non-racial trade union federation. It made a major contribution to the foundation of COSATU in 1985 and assisted the federation in unifying and consolidating its structures.

SACTU mobilised international support for the democratic trade union movement and prevented some international trade union organisations from ignoring the political demand of South African workers for national liberation. Through its work in this country SACTU created unbreakable bonds between working people and the democratic trade union movement in South Africa. A measure of the affection in which SACTU is held was the massive rallies which took place inside the country to mark the 35th anniversary of SACTU's foundation on the 5 March 1990. A number of British trade unions are assisting SACTU in its phasing-out process by providing training and financial support.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and COSATU continued to mount a campaign against the LRA Act. As a result of pressure from these organisations and the employers federation the Minister of Manpower agreed to introduce new legislation to address the demands made by COSATU and NACTU. However he reneged on this agreement and prompted further action from the unions. New legislation has now been promised in the next session of Parliament. The Fire Brigades Union (FBU) continued to organise protests amongst British trade unions against the LRA.

Despite this unity in action against the LRA Act, the past year has not produced any significant move towards the creation of one trade union federation in South Africa - something which both

federations have identified as being in the interests of the working people of South Africa and the struggle against apartheid.

NACTU has suffered from political divisions, with negative consequences for its influence, and until recently, for its numerical size. In December 1989, Piroshaw Camay the General Secretary of NACTU since its formation, resigned claiming that the federation was not genuinely committed to unity. NACTU has aligned itself with the Pan Africanist Congress and rejected negotiations with the South African government. It opposed a July day of protest called about the violence in Natal which involved over three million people.

Further unity has been developed within the democratic trade union movement with the formation of a public sector alliance to fight privatisation. Over 20 000 South African workers marched on the South African stock exchange in May 1990. On 6 October 1990 the South Africa Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) was formed with over one hundred thousand members. SADTU will affiliate to COSATU bringing the federation's total membership to 1.4 million. In another development COSATU and the SACP met to sign a joint accord.

Also notable was the formation of a trade union for police officers and prison warders. The Prison Officers and Police Civil Rights Union was founded in November 1989 to campaign against racism in the prison and police services. POPCRU's General Secretary Lt. Gregory Rockman and National Executive Committee member Randall Fortuin visited Britain in May and met with the Prison Officer's Association, the Police Federation, the Trades Union Congress and legal and civil rights organisations.

With black workers political expectations rising, the recent period has also seen a marked upturn in industrial action. November 1989 saw another major dispute on the railways where the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU) demanded recognition. The union eventually won the dispute but not before thirty strikers lost their lives. The AAM organised protests outside business interests of the South African Transport Services (SATS) in this country and worked with Rail Against Apartheid in raising financial support for the union. The National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) made a major contribution to the strike fund. The AAM also organised protests when a train-load of strikers was attacked by Inkatha vigilantes resulting in over twenty deaths with the connivance of railway management.

SOLIDARITY WITH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS

The democratic trade union movement has continued to be subject to attack by the apartheid regime and state backed vigilantes. Union officials, including the General Secretary of COSATU and the President and General Secretary of the South African National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), have been subject to arbitrary arrest. Where this has occurred, the AAM has organised protests from our affiliated unions, including a letter which was signed by over twenty trade union leaders to the Foreign Secretary.

The AAM has continued to encourage trade unions in this country to support their sister unions in South Africa and Namibia. A number of unions have developed bilateral relations with COSATU affiliates. This has most effectively been undertaken in co-operation with SACTU. Such links have greatly enhanced the ability of AAM to mobilise solidarity from amongst their members.

The local government union NALGO has agreed to establish two new projects of financial support for the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU). The Society of Telecom Executives (STE) made a major financial contribution to the Post and Tele-communications Workers Association (POTWA). The Union of Communication Workers and the

National Union of Mineworkers organised delegation visits from their sister unions (POTWA and NUM). The shopworkers union USDAW continues to exchange delegations with the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU) and raise financial support from amongst shopworkers. Rail Against Apartheid continues to support SARHWU.

Increasingly unions are prioritising work in this area. Strong trade unions will hasten the demise of the apartheid system. The AAM has encouraged its affiliated unions to develop solidarity links with the relevant sister union in South Africa. The civil service unions CPSA and NUCPS, and printers unions NGA and SOGAT are developing work in this area. Many other unions have developed policy in this area and this needs to be followed up by the AAM. With the return of SACTU cadres to South Africa the AAM will need to give greater priority to co-ordinating this work.

Britain also received a visit from the Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee (UWCC). The delegation toured unemployed advice centres throughout the country and developed links which will aid the UWCC in its campaign at preventing South African employers using unemployed labour to undermine the democratic trade union movement.

Unions are also active in raising material aid and support for the wider liberation struggle. The manufacturing union MSF Womens Committee collected enough money to buy a mini-bus for Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO). Workers at Rolls Royce also raised £2000 for SOMAFCO. Workers at Littlewoods raised money and material aid in response to the ANC's women's appeal. These efforts represent a fraction of the fundraising activity undertaken by trade unions at a local level to assist the struggle against apartheid, which needs to be strengthened as the ANC re-establishes itself inside the country.

The AAM co-operated with the BTR Workers Support Network on the Bhambata's Children tour. This helped highlight the struggle of members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) against British multi-national BTR and raise funds for the co-operative which has been sustaining the community throughout the five-year-long dispute. The AAM also supported protests at the annual general meeting of BTR.

The AAM has also encouraged the development of bilateral relations between British trade unions and affiliates of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW). The AAM Trade Union Committee also supported a tour by two Namibian trade unionists organised by the Namibia Support Committee (NSC). This tour included a trade union day school on solidarity work. However this work needs further developing over the next year. The NUNW made a major contribution to the victory of the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

On individual cases of repression the AAM has co-ordinated its work through the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia, reported elsewhere under SATIS.

COOPERATION WITH THE TUC

The AAM's relations with the Trades Union Congress (TUC) have gone from strength to strength. We have had regular meetings to discuss co-operation on a number of issues. General Secretary Norman Willis and Chair of the TUC International Committee Ron Todd have spoken at numerous AAM conferences, events and campaign launches including the Joint Campaign conference.

The TUC also agreed to relaunch its boycott campaign and supported the AAM's 30th Anniversary appeal. The TUC also endorsed the AAM's Call to Freedom and assisted in producing a special version of the call aimed at trade unionists.

The AAM was once again allocated a stall at the 1990 TUC Congress at which its comprehensive policy on South Africa was re-affirmed. The Congress also called for a major fund-raising campaign to help the ANC re-establish its structures inside the country. The resolution was moved by the UCW and seconded by USDAW.

The TUC is a major supporter of the South African Coalition which is reported elsewhere in the document.

TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

The Trade Union Committee has continued to play a vital role in the promotion of AAM campaigns in the trade union movement. The committee met ten times over the period of this report. In January 1990 Fred Carneson resigned as Chair of the committee after nearly twenty years of service to concentrate on fundraising work for the ANC. During those years Fred made a major contribution to developing support for the AAM amongst British trade unions. He was succeeded by Mike Sparham who is a full-time official with the NUCPS.

The committee has closely followed and responded to developments within the trade union movement and wider liberation struggle in South Africa, and is continuing to develop the relationship between the AAM and COSATU. The committee has also actively participated in AAM's general discussions and activities.

The Trade Union Committee also organised a briefing for local group activists in Manchester on 8 July 1990 on developing our local trade union work.

The Trade Union Committee would like to express its appreciation to NALGO for the use of its headquarters for committee meetings, and to Colin Adkins for his work in servicing the Committee during his period of employment with the AAM.

WORKING WITH THE UNIONS

Again with the stalwart assistance of George Lobo, the AAM had a presence at the following union annual conferences: BETA, COHSE, CPSA, CYWU, FBU, GMB, IPMS, ISTC, MSF, NALGO, NAPO, NGA, NUCPS, NUJ, NUM, NUPE, NUT, SOGAT, STE, TSSA, USDAW. Publicity material was circulated on our behalf at the AEU, ASLEF, BFAWU and NUR conferences.

Representatives of the AAM or the South African liberation movement addressed the following conferences: BETA (Trevor Huddleston), COHSE (George Lobo), CPSA (Richard Caborn MP), IRSF (POTWA), NAPO (ANC), NATFHE (ANC) and NUCPS (ANC). Fringe meetings were organised at the conferences of GMB, IPMS, NALGO, STE and TSSA. Nelson Mandela was awarded honorary membership of the FBU and NATFHE.

The trade union committee was very successful in ensuring that affiliated branches submit model texts to their union annual conferences, ensuring that the struggle against apartheid continued to be a major feature on trade union agendas. There were also significant developments in strengthening anti-apartheid policies of our affiliated unions.

Four more national unions have affiliated to the AAM - details of these and of trade union branch affiliations are given below under Membership. The AAM has also had some success in obtaining support from non-affiliated unions including the CMA, FDA, NUHKW and NUJ, and it is hoped that they will formally affiliate over the next year.

A new recruitment leaflet has been produced and it is hoped that support for the AAM from the ranks of the trade union movement will expand once it is widely circulated. There needs to be a greater effort by local groups to recruit local trade union

branches to national AAM. IRSF reached a new milestone in trade union support for the AAM with over 50% of its branches now in membership. MSF and NALGO have the most branches in membership.

This work is complimented by extensive educational work mainly through providing advice and background papers to union-run educational courses, and speakers for trade union branches.

The AAM has worked closely with unions on the sanctions campaign. A joint TGWU and MSF leaflet was produced in support of the Shell boycott. AAM reps met BIFU and MSF over the campaign against rescheduling South Africa's debt. USDAW re-affirmed its support for the consumer boycott and agreed to defend members victimised for taking action against South African goods. AAM continued to work with the NUM against South African coal imports, and started to work with MSF on the campaign to oppose South African gold imports. NALGO has agreed to produce its own boycott leaflet. The AAM also works closely with unions that have developed structures or committees to implement their anti-apartheid policies.

The AAM's national trade union affiliates also regularly support other AAM initiatives. Some 30-50,000 of our major campaign leaflets are regularly circulated throughout the trade union movement. ACTT, ASLEF, CPSA, EIS, FBV, FTAT, IPMS, IRSF, MSF, NALGO, NAPO, NAS/UWT, NGA, NUCPS, NUM, NUMAST, NUPE, NUT, NUTGW and USDAW all sponsored the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee (Britain). CPSA, FBV, MSF, NALGO, NAS/UWT, NUR, SOGAT, TGWU, UCATT, USDAW all advertised or sponsored the South Africa Freedom Now! campaign bus. CPSA, IRSF, MSF, NUCPS, NUHKW and the TGWU all made major contributions to the AAM's 30th Anniversary Fund.

The trade union committee co-operated in the production and distribution of the September special trade union issue of Anti-Apartheid News. Over 18000 copies of it were circulated around trade union branches. The trade union movement also makes a major financial contribution towards the cost of the paper through solidarity advertising, with CPSA, MSF, NAPO, NAS/UWT, NGA, NUCPS, NUTGW and UCW all taking regular adverts in the paper. GMB has also agreed to do the same. The trade union committee has continued to make full use of AA News to give coverage to trade union issues.

The AAM has increasingly used the trade union press to publicise campaigns. The following journals have been particularly helpful: Red Tape (CPSA), The Record (FTAT and TGWU), The Journal (NUCPS), The Career Teacher (NAS/UWT), The Miner and Yorkshire Miner (NUM), Public Service and NALGO News (NALGO), MSF Journal, Transport Review (NUR), Locomotive (ASLEF), Assessment (IRSF) and Dawn (USDAW). The independent Voice of the Unions is also very supportive.

The work of the Trade Union Committee is greatly enhanced by the role of regional and local trade union committee. In particular the South-West TUC Committee has continued to provide good service to the anti-apartheid cause. The Committee would also wish to pay tribute to the hundreds of trade union branches and individual activists without whom we would have been unable to maintain support in the trade union movement.

LOCAL GROUPS

The number of Local AA Groups remained stable over this period with 184 in England, Scotland and Wales - a list is published regularly in AA News. There are Regional committees which co-ordinate activity and exchange of information on a regional level.

It is not possible to exhaustively portray the depth and range of

all Local Group activity in this section, what follows is a snapshot of their activities and development. Their participation in all aspects of the Movement's work is incalculable - much of it is reported under the relevant campaigning sections - and congratulations are due to the energy and commitment of local activists.

Campaigning

Traditionally described as the 'backbone' of the AAM, Local Group contribution to the campaigning work of the AAM is immense. All of the campaigns detailed in this Report are undertaken by Groups, larger ones cover a greater number and smaller ones tend to focus on major issues and a narrower range.

The peak of activity for many Groups and activists was the release of Nelson Mandela. Groups celebrated in many different ways; what follows is a round up of their activities:

Bath AA Group held a rally of over 300 people in front of Bath Abbey. Oxford and Oldham town halls flew the ANC flag. Norwich AA members and supporters danced in front of TV cameras.

Campaigners in Bradford threw an open-air party in the city centre. Hundreds of overjoyed campaigners crammed into The Tyris. The Bishop of Bradford, the Rt Revd Robert Williamson, sent a personal message of delight on behalf of the diocese to Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Max Madden MP and Sher Azam, President of the Council of Mosques, called for continued pressure until apartheid is ended.

In Congleton, activists took to the streets just hours after the release. Members of Congleton AA met at Group secretary John Coates' house to watch the historic events on television and toast Mandela's freedom. Representatives of the borough and town council also joined the group, who stood triumphantly outside the town hall with their banner to ensure that anyone who didn't know heard the news.

Eight hundred people gathered at Edinburgh's Festival Square to celebrate. The square is the site of Edinburgh District Council's statue, 'Woman and Child', which honours those who have been imprisoned or killed fighting apartheid. It has long been the focus for anti-apartheid vigils. The celebration rally was addressed by ANC representative, Eric Mokgathe, Labour councillor Mark Lazarowitz, Nigel Griffiths MP, and Edinburgh AA's honorary President, the Revd Prof. Duncan Forrester. Entertainment was provided by local and South African singers. Hamish Henderson, the noted folk expert who wrote the first song for Mandela 26 years ago, sang his song for the last time. Edinburgh AA continued the celebrations by holding a balloon release in Prince's St Gardens on 24 February. Some 600 balloons in ANC colours were released to celebrate Mandela's freedom in a fund-raising operation that was handicapped by heavy rain and wind.

Members of Notting Hill AA celebrated by staging a picket outside the South African ambassador's residence in Campden Hill Rd, Kensington. Organisers in Newcastle were pleasantly surprised when more than 500 people packed into the hall at Newcastle Civic Centre to celebrate. A young South African poet took to the stage with some of his verse and hailed Mandela as a 'great father'. ANC spokesperson Shadrack Mkhonto told the cheering crowd, that whilst he hailed F W De Klerk's decision as a bold move, the 'release of our leader is only the beginning of the bitter struggle that still lies ahead'. MP Jim Cousins joined the party organised by Tyneside AA.

Southampton AA Group and the city's Council for Racial Equality staged an event at the civic centre. The ANC flag was flown over the centre. The party gave the group an opportunity to thank all those who had campaigned. The Group was joined by the Khotso trio, the all-women singing group from South Africa.

Cambridge AA and the City Council celebrated in style at Mandela House, where 200 people watched the news as it happened and again at a party later in the Alex Wood Hall and the Man in the Moon.

Cheering, flag-waving crowds chanting 'Viva Nelson Mandela' danced with joy outside York Minster. The Minster's bells pealed and hundreds of people cheered in an emotional celebration. Members of the Group were joined by hundreds of local people to celebrate. Church bells accompanied singing and dancing in Bristol, with hundreds of people on College Green.

Much of the other activity undertaken by Groups has been under the umbrella of the South Africa Freedom Now Campaign and its four sub-themes. Much of this work relates to the 'Boycott Apartheid, Sanctions Now' theme.

Many Groups focussed their efforts on street activities. Members of Worthing AA staged a demonstration outside a Shell garage as part of the national day of action on Shell. They gained good publicity for their picket which was in addition to their regular Saturday action distributing leaflets and soliciting new members. Shell's sponsorship of the London Symphony Orchestra precipitated the protests by Groups in Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Aberdeen and Cardiff. The re-processing of South African uranium at the BNF plant in Springfield was subject to renewed protests - see under Economic Collaboration above. The campaign to boycott South African gold took a substantial step forward with the decision by Katners to phase out the sale of identifiable South African gold. London Local Groups in particular in conjunction with Elasa (End Loans to South Africa) and WGC (World Gold Commission) enjoyed almost immediate success with the carefully targetted picketing activities aimed against the store.

As part of their on-going sanctions work, Wolverhampton AA Group's chair Nick Matthews presented a petition signed by several thousand people to the June session of the European Parliament (a first for an AA activist!). The petition was timed to coincide with Nelson Mandela's visit to Strasbourg.

Groups have always endeavoured to strengthen their base in the community as part of their ongoing work. This has either taken the form of organising large events themselves or participating in those organised by others. In the former category, for example, both Haringey and Bristol have maintained their tradition of ambitious cultural and political events. Cricket, football, dance, music, speakers, stalls, exhibitions, face painting and junk sculptor comprised Haringey AA's Festival Against Apartheid in Tottenham, in South London, this summer.

The Festival was generously sponsored by London's first black radio station, WNK (103.3FM) which broadcast live from the festival throughout the day. Numerous local community, sporting and political organisations supported the Festival. International food was provided by the Zimbabwe Women's Co-op, the Broadwater Farm Youth Association, as well as Iranian and Jamaican community groups.

Special guests included the Sakumoh Dancers and Drummers, Irish World Cup star Chris Houghton, international athletes Donovan Reid and Mike MacFarlane, Pauline Green MEP and representatives from the ANC.

Two cricket teams made up of players from Anti-Apartheid and Community Groups, played for the Haringey AA Cricket Cup which was donated by the Voice newspaper for last year's AA Cricket Carnival and is now to be played for annually.

Teams taking part in the football tournament included the Haringey Irish Centre, WNK, Haringey United Against Apartheid, District Six and a group of local youngsters who called themselves 'Chris Houghton's Cup Heroes.'

Bristol AA's Festival, now an established fixture, took place in October and featured a major exhibition of Zimbabwean sculp-

ture and paintings, modern and classical music, cabaret, a rally, children's events, film and discussion, 'art for AA's sake' sale, and Buskers against Apartheid.

Solidarity action in support of SWAPO and the independence process in Namibia did not falter in the period prior to the UN-supervised elections. A programme of sponsored walks, appeals, collections, meetings, flag days etc was undertaken by innumerable Groups. Waltham Forest AA, for example, presented a night of African music for the SWAPO Election Campaign with Jabula, Jazira Dancers plus Astons disco. The Yorkshire and Humber Regional Committee (and Sheffield AA in particular) deserve mention for surpassing their £3,000 target for the Campaign Appeal.

Wales Anti-Apartheid Movement mounted a very public demonstration of solidarity in solidarity with SWAPO on 28 October. Supporters battled against gale-force winds and driving rain to take part in a 'Wales United Against Apartheid' march. Over 1,500 people heard speeches from Peter Manning from SWAPO, Essop Pahad from the ANC, Archbishop Huddleston and Glenys Kinnoek.

Groups did not ignore the political implications of such fundraising. Richmond AA continued their imaginative and forward thinking programme, especially relating to education, with a discussion on 'Africa's last colony', which they jointly organised with the local branch of the United Nations Association. A large audience heard Guardian journalist Victoria Brittain assess the UN's performance in monitoring the Namibian election and ending intimidation by the South African forces. Afterwards she signed copies of her book on Southern Africa, 'Hidden Lives, Hidden Deaths: South Africa's Crippling of a Continent'.

All Groups, to a greater or lesser extent, strove to widen support by involving other organisations (such as the UNA) in their activities. This was perhaps best exemplified by the mobilisation and promotion of Southern Africa Coalition activities notably the Lobby of Parliament. Additional to the national input provided to the Coalition from the national structures of the AAM, Local Groups promoted the Coalition's policy and capitalised on the opportunity to meet and discuss Southern Africa with a wide range of sympathetic organisations. Feedback from Groups resulting from the establishment of these links was universally positive. The involvement of other constituencies in anti-apartheid work underpinned the rationale of The Call to Freedom which was designed to act as a campaigning tool to deal with the changing political situation.

Newer Groups have been successful in establishing themselves. For example Guildford AA, through vigorous campaigning and the willingness of Group members to engage the public have generated considerable funds, allowing them to maintain a high public profile. Their local day of action for sanctions gained significant publicity, including local press reports and a spot on County Sound Radio. They also obtained 500 signatures on their petition against European Community proposals to lift sanctions which they delivered to their MEP.

Significant dates in the political calendar provide a focus for activity. Many Groups participate in nationally agreed days or months of action and many work more closely with locally defined priorities.

So-called Day provides an opportunity of raising South Africa in the local area. Campaigners in Durham, collected over 400 signatures on 16 June protesting against the removal of sanctions against South Africa. Group members held a two-hour vigil in the Market Place. Durham Street Choir and a South African quintet entertained a large crowd.

Solidarity with the ANC was a key facet of campaigning tasks for Groups. This not only took the form of material aid or fundraising for the ANC but also of political solidarity which was identified as being of critical importance. The London AA

Committee strengthened its strong links with the ANC by assisting the ANC's input in the 1990 Notting Hill Carnival. Thousands of jubilant supporters thronged around the ANC float, cheering and dancing to the music, greeted with cries of 'Amandla' and the clenched fist salute. Black, green and gold flags were waved along the length of the Carnival route. A huge banner was strung across All Saints Rd proclaiming "ANC lives! ANC leads!". On the first day, the float was joined by the children from one of the local schools. Dressed as leopards wearing green sashes emblazoned with the school's name, they won the children's costume competition. On Bank Holiday Monday the ANC float took over 7 hours to complete the three and a half mile carnival circuit as the crowd surged around it.

Campaigning work on repression and in support of SATIS was another key area of activity. SATIS-action - the swift response information and protest mailing - was substantially supported by Local Groups. Many Groups, for example, wrote to the Foreign Secretary concerning the detention without trial of Mac Maharaj, ANC NEC member, and others.

Fundraising and Finance

Raising funds for the Local Group, the AAM HQ, and the liberation movements continued to be a key element in Local Group activity. Whilst in general there is support for the political argument that local structures should help fund the AAM HQ, it is not the subject of universal agreement.

A contentious issue affecting the relationship between the AAM HQ and Local Groups has been the implementation of the Local Group levy system. Failure of communication and presentation have contributed, and the levy has sometimes been perceived as a penalty and an added burden on already financially overstretched Groups. Different views are held regarding the necessity, utility and practicality of the scheme. The 1989 AGM saw some discussion in depth, and the relationship between local and national finances was the subject of a detailed paper and discussed extensively at National Committee meetings through the year.

Particular attention has been given in the past to promoting the 50% schemes - the projects where funds raised are split 50/50 between the Local Group and the AAM HQ. The AAM produces publicity and promotional material centrally and Groups implement the work locally (see Fund-raising, below, for examples). These efforts have continued in an effort to broaden the base of financial support for the Movement. It had been hoped that the 50% schemes would take off in a big way. This has not been the case, but they are a growing and important feature of the Movement's fundraising efforts.

A staple fund-raising favourite remains the benefit concert with Kingston AA, for example, repeating the formula. Glasgow extended the idea by establishing a monthly 'Club Mandela'. The first event attracted nearly 300 people and made a profit of over £300. Following that they held a multi-cultural festival against apartheid, which had as its climax the Club Mandela with disco and live Front Line States band.

Sponsored events - comparatively low risk, low expenditure and high return - were favoured in the summer particularly in the form of Soweto Walks. Over 30 walkers took part in Bradford on 16 June. The event raised over £400. Most of the walkers completed the full 12 miles and two members even managed it three legged. Worthing used their walk as an opportunity to collect signatures calling for the maintenance of sanctions and distributed boycott leaflets - they processed through the city centre, some members wearing costumes of apartheid fruit with messages such as 'Cape Kills' on them. Chiswick AA's sponsored walk around the peace mile in Lampton Park raised around £175 for the Group (their flag day raised £316.21 for the AAM HQ). Camden AA maintained their tradition of immensely successful Soweto walks and sterling fundraising for the AAM HQ. Bristol AA used a T-shirt designed by

the winner of a schools competition on the theme 'No Easy Walk to Freedom' to promote their annual walk, which raised over £5,200.

Original fundraising initiatives were taken by Tyneside and Leeds Women Against Apartheid. Tyneside AA produced an attractive new tape, mixing African and British freedom songs. The quality of it is excellent and the sound has a distinct African flavour. The tape presents an easy way to learn some songs which are often heard at AA events. Leeds pioneered in anti-apartheid circles the 'Skills Auction' whereby people bid for services donated by members and supporters such as typing, cooking, cleaning cars (by the Mayor!) etc. The auction was an immense success and an idea that will hopefully be copied.

Another venture, not for the fainthearted, was the bid to raise money for a health centre in Mozambique by MEP Roger Barton who abseiled down Sheffield Town Hall.

Communication

Despite efforts to streamline and improve communication between AAM HQ and Local Groups, it would be fair to observe that the situation is not satisfactory. Three issues lie at the heart of the matter. Firstly the need to balance the communication of a great deal of information with the need to limit the sheer volume of material distributed, which can over-awe recipients and obscure issues. Secondly the need to clearly identify the political priorities to enable limited resources to be used most effectively. Thirdly to communicate complex and fluid issues clearly.

Proposals are currently being drawn up to re-incarnate the Campaign Bulletin, which was generally very favourably received. Numbered 'Fact Sheets' are to be produced providing information for Local Groups on the procedures, structure and functioning of the AAM. This process has begun with the circulation of a sheet detailing the most effective way of liaising with the AAM HQ. It is envisaged such 'Fact Sheets' would provide a reference file for Local Group secretaries who can in turn pass it onto successors. A two-tier system of Local Group mailings is being considered whereby Groups can choose to opt out of receiving the comprehensive mailings in favour of smaller, targeted mailings. Local Group mailings have recently been reduced so that they are despatched just once per month.

The potential value of Anti-Apartheid News as a means of reporting Local Group news and projecting their activities remains under-used. Its function, perhaps, needs to be more clearly defined so that it is more useful for all Groups. The introduction of a Classified Ads. will hopefully provide a cheap and accessible means of announcing future local events.

The degree of contact between Local Groups and AAM HQ varies dramatically - from zero to almost continuous. The mutual benefits of such contact can be considerable. The Executive Committee gave the matter detailed consideration during the year and instituted a system whereby EC members would take responsibility for liaising with Groups by region. This has a number of obvious advantages, but has yet to become an established part of the relationship between local and national structures.

Meetings of Local Group activists on the day following the meeting of the National Committee aid the process of communication whilst also allowing campaigns to be more fully debated. Those taking part have welcomed them, but attendance is patchy, and discussion would benefit from wider participation.

The AGM and National Committee are the bodies through which Local Groups contribute to the decision making processes of the AAM. The latter, in fact, is heavily weighted in composition in favour of Local Groups and although the agenda is lengthy and formal the importance and value of participation cannot be underestimated. The more Groups are involved in

formulating and agreeing policy and plans the more effective is their implementation across the country. The views and suggestions of activists are crucial.

Media, Information and Education

Local Groups continue to disseminate a wide range of information to their members, supporters and the public. The standard means remain the Local Group newsletter and public meetings - augmented by conferences, dayschools, leafletting sessions, letters in newspapers, leaflets, publicity stunts etc.

Newsletters vary much in their style and content. Meetings remain popular but are viewed with some caution, especially public meetings, unless a 'top-name' speaker can be billed - as Richmond AA have successfully shown, notably on the occasion of a visit by Archbishop Tutu. (For local level press and media work, see below under Information and Research).

Development

Local Groups differ greatly in resources, membership, experience etc. Promotion and organisation of membership remains a task for many Groups and it appears that it has remained static in a political climate which has not always been favorable.

The exchange of experience between Local Groups and the AAM HQ has been much discussed. Two of a planned series of workshops on finance, fundraising, membership and AA News have taken place. The content has been agreed to be positive and very useful however the attendances have limited their effectiveness.

Regional structures also remain stable with no new Regional AA Committees having been formed. A new Southern Africa Resource Centre (following Sheffield's longstanding example) has been established in Bristol which will employ a part-time worker and also provide Bristol AA with office space. The City Council has given the Resource Centre £5,000 to promote links with the port of Beira in Mozambique.

At AAM HQ, Mick Flynn has taken responsibility for more sanctions work, and his responsibilities as Local Groups Organiser passed to Claire McMaster (also responsible for Youth and Student work). She is complemented in this area by Gerard Omasta-Milsom, the Field Officer.

Wales AAM now has a fully functioning office opened by Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock MP in February of this year.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Local Authorities Against Apartheid

Local Authorities Against Apartheid (LAAA) continued to play a crucial role in the co-ordination and development of Local Authority anti-apartheid work.

LAAA was much involved in the activities of the Southern Africa Coalition taking part in the lobby of Parliament, the sponsored national advertisement and a 'Sign-in'/photocall for mayors outside the House of Commons. Additionally LAAA participated in the historic activities of the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee. Local Authorities played a pivotal role in the campaign to free Mandela; some 61 authorities specifically honoured him in some way, and countless more contributed to the campaign in one way or another.

Local Authorities maintained their role reacting to developments in support of sanctions. LAAA initiated letter writing from authorities to the then President of the European Community, Charles Haughey, Taoiseach of Eire, urging him to maintain sanctions at an European Summit meeting in Dublin in June.

The 'Stop the Tour Campaign' was one example of the potency of providing central advice and information for authorities with the result that councils were able to raise the matter vigorously with the County Cricket Clubs who had players intending to travel to South Africa as part of the rebel Gattling tour. Special mention must be made of the efforts of Welsh authorities in this area.

The Scottish Committee for Local Authority Action Against Apartheid (SCLAAAA) met four times during the year. The meetings were hosted by Central Region, East Kilbride, Tayside Region and Aberdeen District Councils. Thirteen District Councils and 3 Regional Councils have attended the meetings, and a wide range of issues been discussed.

LAAA supported an ongoing campaign against the participation of the South Africa Tourism Board (SATOUR), South African Airways (SAA) and Bophuthatswana in the World Travel Market organised by Reed International. Somethirteen authorities declined to be represented at the 1990 fair. Letters were sent to all Local Authorities with anti-apartheid policy drawing their attention to South Africa's participation in the event. Additionally an advice note was produced and distributed providing a briefing on tourism to South Africa.

Education and public information are key facets of local authority work. Formal work in this field has been progressed by LAAA's Education Working Party chaired by Rotherham District Council. The Local Authority Resource Unit (LARUA) services the Working Party. The new Research Officer has started to compile a catalogue of educational resources on Southern Africa. The Working Party has also initiated a national poetry competition on the theme "Apartheid South Africa". It is hoped to launch a book of children's poems on Southern Africa during the 10 Days of Action in June 1991.

Training, skills transfer and practical solidarity featured heavily on the agenda of many authorities particularly in relation to the Front Line States and their newest member, Namibia. Consideration is also being given to the provision of assistance in the coming period and in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The most recent initiative of LAAA was the launch of an 'Emergency Fund for Released Political Prisoners in South Africa'. All Local Authorities that have taken some form of action against apartheid have been contacted and requested to establish a local civic appeal. The funds raised, towards a BDAF programme, are to assist released prisoners who have enormous needs in terms of accommodation, training, medical and psychological help. The appeal was launched nationally at a press reception by the Mayors of Camden, Cllr Nirmal Roy, and Sheffield, Cllr Jim Moore, in London on 1 November 1990.

Local Authority Resource Unit on Apartheid

The Local Authority Resource Unit on Apartheid (LARUA) gathered momentum during the year in question. Marian Hitchen was succeeded as research worker by Diana Mead, after a period in which the post was filled on a temporary basis by Georgina Hirsch.

The Unit, established as a limited company by local authority members, aims to: develop expertise through the pooling of experiences; provide a resource of information on Southern Africa; and produce and circulate information. To this end it has produced briefings on tourism to South Africa, the Call to Freedom, the 10 Days of Local Authority Action, and UK Policy towards Southern Africa; its first newsletter is in production.

The Unit now has 58 members and held its AGM on 17 July. An ANC representative gave subscribers an update on the current situation, and a briefing on the legal issues facing authorities was provided by Sheffield solicitor Jamie Wooley. A written briefing based on this presentation is being prepared.

Ten Days of Action

After extensive discussion a new 'Model Declaration' was drafted for adoption of Local Authorities in order to take into account the changing political situation. To date over 50 authorities have adopted the Declaration as new policy on South and Southern Africa. The declaration was circulated prior to the Ten Days of Local Authority Action against apartheid which took place again this year from 16 - 26 June. Authorities across the country undertook varied activities over the period including meetings, receptions, flying ANC flags, adopting policy, advertising in AA News, concerts, exhibitions, poetry readings etc.

Representatives from Local Authorities were present at a ceremony on 26 June in the House of Commons, to present their Declarations to ANC Chief Representative Mendi Msimang. This ceremony was attended by over 70 people including representatives from High Commissions and heard a message of support from the Secretary General of the Commonwealth. The ceremony was followed by a photo-call, then a small delegation took copies of the declarations to a meeting at the Foreign Office with officials on the South Africa desk.

Fifth Biennial Conference

The fifth biennial conference of LAAA will take place from 28 February - 1 March 1991 in Salford. The conference is to review recent developments in Southern Africa, explore the potential for links with local authorities in Namibia and consider how best to respond to the process of change in South Africa. All authorities in England, Scotland and Wales are invited to attend and it is at this conference that the National Steering Committee of Local Authorities Against Apartheid (LAAA) is elected.

STUDENTS AND YOUTH

Students

Students have continued to play an active role in a wide range of campaigns. In the latter part of 1989, the NUS prioritised the emergency campaign on Namibia and circulated materials for the SWAPO election appeal. Subsequently the NUS hosted a speaking tour by a representative of the Namibian National Students Organisation, Jora Jochem, who also attended meetings of the AAM National Committee and the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee during his stay.

Students kept up the pressure on banks with their campaign against the rescheduling of South Africa's debt, which included a high level meeting with Nat West and a week of action in November.

NUS played a key role in the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee: colleges all over Britain celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela (for details, see under Nelson Mandela Reception Committee).

At the beginning of the 1990 academic year publicity packs were distributed to coincide with Intro Week, which proved a success with many colleges recruiting 200/300 new members. The A.A.I.J speakers service continues to get numerous requests from colleges.

NUS and AAM jointly promoted a national Boycott Day Of Action on 21 October focussing on tourism, Shell, gold and supermarkets to underline the importance of sustaining pressure in the form of the consumer boycott. Colleges also set up Call to Freedom signing stalls on campus to reach thousands of students with this important message.

Also this year, NUS Scotland has prioritised South Africa as one of its major campaigns, and NUS UK has prioritised the issue as part of its joint international campaign. AAM had a stall and a

high profile at the two national NUS conferences during the year which provide an important opportunity to meet activists and promote campaigns.

The University of Kent successfully picketed a local Shell station resulting in its closure, and the Polytechnic of Central London held numerous pickets of South African Airways at Oxford Circus.

Several colleges took advantage of the South Africa - Freedom Now! bus as it toured Britain, including the universities of Southampton, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, Hatfield poly, and Anglia and Exmouth Colleges.

Many colleges continue to support the South African Scholarship Scheme which enables students to study in Britain. Recently Cambridge University launched a similar scheme to directly fund education inside South Africa.

Youth

Important new initiatives were taken to revitalise youth work which were accepted and endorsed at the Spring NC. The Youth Steering Committee was re-formed in the summer consisting of Youth AA groups and nationally affiliated youth organisations and youth sections of Trade Unions.

Liaison continues with national youth organisations including UNA Youth, NOLS, Young SLD, STUC Youth, MSF Youth, Woodcraft Folk, BYC, Youth Clubs UK and others.

Plans are well advanced for three months of action - Youth Against Apartheid - from January to March 1991, which will incorporate a speaking tour with a representative from SAYCO. A new youth and student leaflet was produced, and more publicity and education materials are planned for the New Year geared towards young people, including a pack designed for speaking in schools.

The Movement seeks to provide a range of support for youth and student groups around the country: speakers, material for stalls, advice on campaigns etc. Many local groups are now working at involving more young people in their activities.

WOMEN

The changes in South Africa have opened up space for significant new developments in the organisation of women. Even before the events of February women's organisations were gearing up for the future. A unique meeting of South African women from home and exile took place in Amsterdam in January - the Malibongwe Conference, at which the AAM was represented by Executive Committee member Alison Barrett. A wide range of women's organisations was represented, from a big delegation from small rural groups, COSATU and SAYCO (SA Youth Congress) to the ANC Women's Section. Preparations for the event had been made by workshops in different parts of the country, in conjunction with the ANC Women's secretariat in Lusaka.

After the unbanning of the ANC, preparations started for the re-launch in August of the ANC Women's League, the organisation of women members of the ANC which was originally founded in 1948. In June Ruth Mompoti (a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee - NEC), Gertrude Shope (the head of the ANC's Women's Section), and other leading ANC women in exile returned home to help establish the Women's League, and a major NEC policy statement on women's rights was published, following the holding of an ANC women's workshop on the Constitutional Guidelines, which recommended that discrimination against women be declared unconstitutional. The NEC statement urged women to 'take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa,' and called for a national debate around a Charter of Women's Rights.

The relaunch of the ANC Women's League took place formally in Durban on 12 August, preceded by rallies in several centres. AAM President Archbishop Huddleston sent a message of solidarity, and in London a major rally held by the ANC Women's Section on 9 August (South African Women's Day) was addressed inter alia by AAM Executive Committee representative Mary Stacey.

A Women's Working Party was established at the September 1989 meeting of the National Committee (NC) to consider the organisation, representation and participation of women in the AAM, and various related practical measures. Comprising two representatives each of the Executive Committee, Women's Committee and Local Groups, and one each of the Trade Union and Black & Ethnic Minorities Committees, it met several times and presented its report to the July NC meeting.

The Working Party recommended inter alia the establishment of an AAM Women's Council, to supplant the existing Women's Committee, details of whose proposed composition and functioning are set out in a separate AGM document Rep3. The National Committee approved the report and its recommendations, and at its September meeting approved Constitutional Amendments (and amendments to Standing Orders) to give effect to the proposals, including a procedure which would make possible the holding of elections to the Women's Council at the 1990 AGM, if the AGM endorses the establishment of a Women's Council. These and other Constitutional Amendments are included in the AGM document DX (Motions as composed and with amendments, plus Constitutional Amendments).

BLACK AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

The past year has seen a welcome growth in this aspect of the Movement's work. Nowhere was the release of Nelson Mandela and other achievements of the liberation struggle welcomed more warmly than in the Black community and by ethnic minority groups in Britain. Amongst those taking part in the work of the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee - Britain (reported above) were representatives of the Society of Black Lawyers, Civil Rights (UK), the Africa Centre, the Turkish Education Group and the National Black Caucus. Representatives of the latter organisation later met the POPCRU delegation (reported above under SATIS) when they visited the Mangrove Community Centre as part of an AAM-sponsored visit to London.

In the context of the work of the Mandela Reception Committee, the visit of the founder and president of the National Rainbow Coalition in the US, Rev Jesse Jackson, to London early in 1990 provided an excellent opportunity for mobilisation in the Black community culminating in a highly successful rally in the Hackney Empire Theatre on Sunday 4 February. Speakers included MPs Bernie Grant, Diane Abbott and Keith Vaz, ANC NEC member Dr Francis Meli, Gloria Mills (NUPE), Bishop Wilfrid Wood, and Rekha Naidu representing the AAM's Black and Ethnic Minorities Committee.

A major initiative of the Black and Ethnic Minorities Committee, in the context of the South Africa - Freedom Now! campaign, was the holding of 'Call to action I' - a Black Solidarity seminar in Brixton on 3 March. Black activists involved in anti-apartheid solidarity work, both inside and outside of the AAM, came together to consider the theme 'South Africa: Countdown to Freedom?' The Committee's report on the seminar, together with the campaign perspectives arising from it, are presented separately (see AGM document BD2).

Highlights of the afternoon included a report from Bernie Grant MP on his recent visit to South Africa where he had met Nelson Mandela on the day of his release, and a thought-provoking assessment by Siphiso Pityana, coordinator of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, of the new stage in the liberation struggle. Representatives of SACTU and the ANC Women's Section also spoke.

Amongst the participants were members and representatives of a range of Black organisations, including the West Indian Ex-Servicemen's Association, the Black Unity and Freedom Party, the AAPRP and Afro-Caribbean student societies. Other participants came from Hackney Community Against Apartheid, Walthamstow Youth Club, and the Singapore and Malaysian British Association.

A detailed report on the event was prepared by the Black and Ethnic Minorities Committee and circulated subsequently to participants, and a shorter summary prepared for wider distribution, including to AA Local Groups and interested organisations. A full report was given to the National Committee meeting on 9 June, and Local Groups were encouraged to use the report and invite speakers from the Committee.

Members of the Committee participated in a meeting on 3 July of representatives of the Black community hosted by the ANC on the occasion of the second visit to London of Nelson Mandela. Addressing an enthusiastic gathering of 'activists and leaders (who) ... represent a large and important constituency', the ANC Deputy President urged them play a full part in strengthening the AAM 'at this critical moment in our struggle.'

Following the practice begun last year, the Committee held an open meeting in the lunch-break of the National Committee meeting in London on 28 April. The BEM Committee took a further initiative in raising the profile of 'Black Solidarity' through AA News. Under this heading, the July/August issue featured a page of editorial copy (including a personal account by BEM Committee member Glenroy Watson of his visit to Namibia), and advertising canvassed from black organisations. A subsequent contribution from the Committee focussed on the need to combat racism in the media. The Committee is discussing with the AA News Editorial Board how to ensure that the paper regularly includes material by and for black activists.

HEALTH

Over the last year there have been very significant developments in the health field in South Africa, culminating in May in the announcement that racial segregation in hospitals would end. This was a victory for the Mass Democratic Movement's campaign of defiance of hospital segregation, even though it is evident that whilst apartheid exists, the actual situation in most hospitals will change little.

In April, a conference on Health in South Africa was held in Maputo. For the first time, representatives of many varied health and welfare organisations in South Africa were brought together in an attempt to forge guidelines for a post-apartheid health system. The AAM was represented at the conference by a member of the Health Committee.

The AAM Health Committee has worked hard this year to maintain the boycott in the health field. After pressure from many quarters, the British Medical Association and several other national medical bodies decided against going on a fact finding mission to South Africa. Had this occurred, it could have paved the way for South Africa's re-entry to the World Medical Association. The ANC and the AAM Health Committee were unfortunately unsuccessful in trying to dissuade the Royal College of Psychiatrists from undertaking a similar visit.

The Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa was able to send a consignment of drugs and other medical items for medical kits to the ANC hospital in Tanzania, and in send splints to the emergency medical services working with victims of Inkatha violence in Natal.

MULTI-FAITH COMMITTEE

This year the Anti-Apartheid Movement has begun to build successfully on its improved working relationships with many of the main Christian churches in Britain, the result of working together as members of the Southern Africa Coalition. Similar developments have taken place with many of the leading Christian aid agencies. This relationship at a national level has in many areas of Britain been reproduced at a local level as anti-apartheid groups came together to work with the their local churches and Christian aid agencies in preparing for the Southern Africa Coalition lobby of parliament on 27 February. It is hoped that these working relations can now continue into other shared areas of concern relating to Southern Africa.

The leaflet produced by the Multi-Faith Committee titled 'Apartheid: A Religious Response' has proved tremendously popular and 50,000 have been circulated both nationally and internationally to individuals and organisations of different faiths. A new recruitment leaflet is in preparation.

The Multi-Faith Committee helped in the organisation of a service held at St James Piccadilly February 4 at which the Rev. Jesse Jackson preached.

As part of the work of the Multi-Faith Committee in promoting the Anti-Apartheid Movement amongst Christians the decision was taken to send the Freedom Bus to the Greenbelt Christian Youth Festival at Castle Ashby for the August Bank Holiday weekend. This proved to be a major success with the bus being visited by hundreds of young Christians and high sales of merchandise.

Throughout the year the Multi-Faith Committee has been hampered by the lack of a chairperson and a related loss of identity. Also, some of those previously actively involved in the work of the Committee became heavily involved in the Southern Africa Coalition. Consideration needs to be given as to how the situation can be remedied.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

Anti-Apartheid News, the flagship of the AAM's communications network, has this year been faced with new challenges, because of the speed and complexity of events in Southern Africa.

Throughout the year the paper has sought to cover the key fast-moving developments, and was proud to feature on the front cover of the March issue a picture of the newly released Nelson Mandela and in its April issue pictures of the independence celebrations in Namibia.

AA News was the first paper in Britain to publish the complete text of Nelson Mandela's Cape Town speech (his first on release), and his message from Wembley Stadium to the international community on 16 April.

In a period when De Klerk and his allies have sought to depict apartheid as a thing of the past, the paper has published an educational series on 'The Pillars of Apartheid' which proved popular in schools as well as with members. Aspects covered so far in this series are: Constitutional Racism, Repression & Security, the Francophones, Foreign Trade and Investment, and Education.

The paper has benefited from the presence in Britain of a number of visitors who have provided interviews, including:

- Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of Cosatu
- Elijah Barayi, President of Cosatu
- Popo Molefe, General Secretary of the UDF

- Jora Jochem, from the General Students Council of the Namibian National Students Organisation (Nanso)
- Lt Gregory Rockman, the policeman who founded the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union
- Ben Uulenga, member of Namibia's National Assembly and Gen Sec of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW).

On the recommendation of the Executive Committee the paper also carried an interview with Mendi Msimang, ANC Chief Representative in the UK, as a follow up to Nelson Mandela's second visit in July.

The Editorial Board guides the planning of each issue, and copy is provided by a range of contributors. Staff members and Local Group contacts provide reports on campaigns, whilst features and specialist coverage are sought from experts outside the office.

Sister organisations such as the ANC, Namibia Support Committee, the Mozambique Information office, the Angolan News Agency - Angop, Mozambique Angola Committee and others also contribute with articles and photographs from the region. We were particularly grateful for their support with the special supplement on 'the Front Line States and Apartheid' published with the July/August issue.

This supplement reflected the call from the 1989 AGM for greater priority to be given to the Front Line States. The supplement covered the changes in the region since Namibia's independence and perspectives for the future as events in South Africa unfold. The supplement was widely circulated and well received in many related organisations and representatives.

Among the many guest writers and contributors this year were: Alison Barrett, Mary Benson, John Bowling, Brian Bunting, Gavin Cawthra, Sue Flemming, Graham Hopwood, Bob Hughes MP, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Marga Holness, Chitra Karve, Mandla Langa, Joan Lester MP, Moira Levy, Peter Manning, Abdul Minty, Mzala, Clive Nelson, Prof. Terence Ranger, Anthony Sampson, Peter Sinclair and Matthew Temple.

AAM staff members contributing included Colin Adkins, Sian Bakewell, Paul Brannen, Fay Dellimore, Mick Flynn, Joni McDougall, Claire McMaster, Gerard Omasta-Milson, and James Richardson, together with Mike Terry (Executive Secretary).

Members of the Editorial Board regularly review all aspects of the paper's design, layout, editorial content, advertising and circulation. Feedback and suggestions from readers on any topic are welcomed. With South African exiles returning home, the Board will soon be losing certain members - hopefully we shall also acquire some correspondents in South Africa (where the paper is no longer banned), but more participants able to attend the monthly meetings would be welcome.

Those who have served on the Editorial Board during the year are David Coetzee, Deborah Ewing, Margaret Ling, Jean Middleton, Gerald O'Sullivan, Siphon Pityana, Bernadette Vallely, Jenny Warren and a number of AAM staff.

To consider how the paper can best serve its readers' needs in the new situation, the Editorial Board held a special extended meeting in August to which representatives of AAM sub-committees were invited. A number of proposals were made about the design and lay-out of the paper as well as its contents. The Board is currently considering these proposals and will introduce a number of changes in the New Year. The Board is also exploring with the Black and Ethnic Minorities Committee ways of raising the profile of black solidarity in the fight against apartheid and racism.

Reverting to former practice, the winter double issue will cover Jan/February instead of Dec/January. This new year issue should be easier for local groups to sell and more attractive to advertisers.

Alan Brooks, Deputy Executive Secretary, continued the year as Editor, Karen Livingstone succeeded Elizabeth George as Assistant Editor/Production Manager in December, and Joanna Cain succeeded Vanessa Eyre as Business Manager in July.

Special thanks are due to the writers, photographers and photo-librarians - especially those from the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) - who have assisted the paper, and also to Nancy White for typesetting and lay up of Anti-Apartheid News every month.

Circulation

The circulation of Anti-Apartheid News has reflected both fluctuations in membership and increased demand for special issues. Currently the print run is 23,000, as it was in October 1989. 26,000 copies of the July/August issue and Front Line States Supplement were printed. As in previous years the September trade union issue was widely promoted, and this year 19,000 extra copies were ordered, necessitating a total print run of 42,000. The extra bulk order sales generated an additional income of £1176.

Currently 73 local groups take a regular bulk order, with 83% of those groups taking over 12 copies and thereby benefiting from a 30% discount on sale-or-return terms. Recently local groups have been encouraged to send in names and addresses of retailers who might be interested in selling the paper on similar terms. Current bulk orders break down as follows:

	Number taking an order	Total number of copies
Local Groups	73	1372
Trade Unions	20	409
Individuals/ Retailers	29	666

A further 470 copies of AA News are distributed to overseas members and subscribers which include libraries and academic institutions. Subscription rates have been increased in line with recent increases in membership rates, and subscriptions are being promoted via letters from the President to institutions, libraries and voluntary organisations. Distribution to bookshops is handled by Central Books, who take 500 copies.

Advertising

Income from advertising over the year totalled £14,594, of which £6050 came from the September trade union issue. Further income was raised from paid inserts in three issues of Anti-Apartheid News, totalling £1720. The March issue carried over 4 pages of messages welcoming the release of Mandela and the independence of Namibia, and raised over £2000 in advertising revenue. Trade unions, local authorities, AA Enterprises and IDAF all advertised regularly, and a number of affiliated unions have supported the paper by placing regular advertisements: MSF (10 issues); NASUWT, CPSA and UCW (5 issues), and NUCPS, NAPO, NGA and NUTGW (3 issues).

Plans to introduce a classified ads/notice board section in AA News are well advanced, to enable local groups, affiliated organisations and individual members to place messages in AA News cheaply and easily. In order to ensure increased revenue from advertising, advertising rates are being raised after some time without change, following a successful trial run with higher rates being charged for the September issue because of its wider circulation. The new rates will come into effect in 1991.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

The changes that have occurred over the last year brought with them an unprecedented demand for information. As the efficacy of sanctions has become virtually common cause, requests for information on their impact have increasingly been directed towards the Movement.

A great deal of new information on the impact of sanctions has become available over the last year and the Movement has played a key role in disseminating this information. Claims from the British Consul-General in Johannesburg about increased trade were debunked in a briefing 'Is UK-South Africa Trade really soaring?' whilst a comprehensive examination of Trade and Investment Statistics was produced in September 1990.

The role of sanctions, as well as the importance of other factors in explaining change have been examined in a series of publications needed to keep pace with the rapidly developing situation.

November 1989 saw the release of 'Apartheid's New Face', an examination of De Klerk's first 100 days in office. In February, briefings for the Southern Africa Coalition's Parliamentary Lobby were supplied by the Movement, examining the significance of De Klerk's speech of February 2nd, the release of Mandela and the British government's response. In May the Movement submitted a memorandum to the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, whose meeting in Nigeria stressed the need for sanctions to be maintained.

With the report of the UN Secretary-General on South Africa coming out on July 1st, in June the Movement published 'Six Months of Change' - a review of developments in South Africa in the period January to June 1990. The following month, UK policy was examined in a detailed written submission to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

This range of publications has ensured that an analysis of the changing situation informed by the Movement's experience of campaigning against apartheid has always been available.

To address the need for more basic and up-to-date information on apartheid, the AAM is also producing a series of briefings. Already a general briefing, 'The Apartheid System' and specific briefings on 'The Case for Sanctions' and 'Apartheid Legislation' have been produced. Others in the series will include the Bantustans, the Constitution and Employment under Apartheid.

Specific briefings have also been prepared for the Emergency Campaign to Stop the Violence and Repression. These cover Inkatha (a 7-page presentation of information in question-and-answer form), and the regime's dual strategy.

PRESS AND MEDIA

The past year has seen a growing recognition of the importance of the Movement's work in relation to the media. The 1989 AGM adopted a resolution which laid the basis for this development with the decision to create a new staff post of Press and Media officer, to which Karen Talbot was appointed in April 1990.

The Movement has faced new challenges this year in its media work: at times the media have given a very high priority to events in South Africa, but this virtually stopped once the Gulf crisis started. Seeking to ensure both accurate and informed reporting and also securing a profile for the Movement have often proved difficult aims to realise, especially when the primary media focus has been on events in South Africa itself.

In South Africa itself the media continue to face restrictions and attacks. The partial repeal of the State of Emergency eased only some restrictions, and following the imposition of 'unrest areas'

in the townships at least one cameraman has already been arrested and charged for breaking the new regulations. Earlier in the year two British reporters from 'Today' newspaper and IRN were expelled whilst covering the rebel cricket tour. The alternative press in South Africa has continued to be subject to office bombings, attacks on journalists and restrictions on reporting. The Movement continues to provide press releases and reports of solidarity activity to the South African press.

A high point for the Movement in terms of media exposure was undoubtedly the release of Nelson Mandela. In the context of saturation coverage of his actual release, extensive coverage was secured of the celebratory activities (reported fully above), which featured on network TV news. Considerable coverage was secured for AAM initiatives around the theme 'Apartheid Must Go - Sanctions Must Stay!', including pickets of Downing St and letters to the Prime Minister. The London rally on 19 February to celebrate Mandela's release also generated coverage of the first message from Nelson Mandela to people in Britain - addressed to the AAM itself. But in contrast the limited coverage secured for the AAM's national demonstration on 25 March was disappointing.

In April the AAM's Press and Media Officer worked closely with the International Reception Committee and the PR firm Laister Dickson in relation to media coverage of the Wembley concert and Mr Mandela's visit. In addition, the Movement organised a welcome reception outside Mr Mandela's hotel which was well attended and covered on TV. AAM President Archbishop Huddleston received considerable media exposure during this period, as Convenor of the International Reception Committee.

Since April, the Movement has sought to develop a media strategy pertinent to the challenges ahead in a more consistent and thorough way than was possible previously. Basic organisational tasks have been addressed: (1) the AAM press list has been comprehensively up-dated and extended; (2) AAM research materials and briefings are now promoted to the media, projecting the Movement as the authoritative source for such information; (3) monitoring the press with the help of a cuttings service now enables the Movement to assess its media impact and coverage across the country.

Support for the media work of local anti-apartheid groups has been identified as a priority. All campaign briefings to local groups now include model press releases for local use and guidance on securing media coverage. The Freedom Bus tour briefing included guidelines for securing press coverage and a model release, and the Bus achieved extensive coverage in local press throughout its itinerary. In addition, a general briefing on press work has been circulated to all local AA groups, and support and advice are now available from HQ. Liaison is also developing to ensure back-up for local groups for key issues or events such as the SAA Manchester Airport campaign, and De Klerk's arrival at Southampton docks. It is also planned to hold a practical workshop on media work for local groups in the near future.

A major component of the new Emergency Campaign to stop the Violence and Repression is to be a 'Media Watch' initiative designed to monitor and counter the bias and inaccuracy of reporting of events in South Africa. A detailed briefing is in preparation and a mailing scheme is to be developed to broaden the scope and effectiveness of both monitoring and challenging media reporting.

The Movement has sought media coverage for a range of campaigning initiatives during the year. The South African Freedom Now campaign was launched at a press conference in January and initiatives within the campaign have also been promoted to the media through press packs, model releases etc. For example, the September Month of Action on tourism was launched with a press pack and national newspaper coverage was secured.

In April the Movement commissioned an opinion poll by Gallop which showed support for sanctions holding up and agreement

with Nelson Mandela's view that Mrs Thatcher should not yet go to South Africa. The poll results were released to the press after the April 28 National Committee meeting and coverage secured, linked in with the decisions of the NC to undertake new campaign initiatives.

The Movement is frequently required to coordinate media programmes for visitors from South Africa. In February the AAM hosted a press conference for UDF Gen. Sec. Popo Molefe in relation to the detainees' hunger strike, which was well reported. The POPCRU delegation's visit in May 1990 attracted considerable media interest: a special briefing was held for the black press; and an in-depth interview with Lt. Rockman appeared in The Guardian. The Movement also hosted a press conference for the Congress ANC National Executive Committee member 'Mac' Maharaj, has helped ensure coverage of several such initiatives by both SATIS and the AAM. The Movement in cooperation with SATIS is now disseminating to the press up-to-date factual briefings on detention and repression in South Africa.

The Movement supported the Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid Movements by issuing press releases and statements on its behalf during the year, and participated in the press launch of the Shipping Research Bureau's Annual Report re the oil embargo which received considerable attention. In February the AAM worked with the Southern Africa Coalition in relation to publicity for the Lobby of Parliament; and also organised a press conference following a SAC delegation meeting with the Foreign Secretary.

FINANCE AND FUND-RAISING

FINANCE

1989/90 has been a difficult year financially for the Movement, despite efforts to curb expenditure and implement financial control.

Progress has been made during this year to tackle the fundamental problems relating to the financial position. In particular, effective mechanisms are now in place for financial control and tighter budgeting, thereby improving accountability to the democratic structures of the Movement. Regular detailed monthly accounts are presented to the Finance Committee comparing income/expenditure with budget projections.

Income generation

The audited accounts to 30 June 1990 show income at £776,303, a decrease of £158,857 as compared to 1988/89, whilst expenditure totalled £818,474 for the year. The deficit for the year increased the accumulated deficit carried forward from previous years, and this has been a constant source of cash-flow and related problems.

For the financial year 1990/91 the National Committee has agreed an income budget which shows a total projected income of £841,500. Clear targets have been set for each category of income which will enable us to monitor income generated against budget in order to assess performance.

At AAM HQ, an Income Generation Unit has been established to coordinate and strengthen fund-raising activities and generation of income from membership and other sources, to monitor income generation and improve control of cash flow. A detailed programme for fundraising has been drawn up which includes projects, appeals, direct mail, merchandising, etc. It is pleasing to record that, during the past year, thanks to the effectiveness of appeals and direct mail initiatives, and to the generosity of supporters, the level of income to the Campaign Fund has increased substantially and it is now running at approximately £4,000-4,500 per month.

Budgetting and Accounting

In July 1990 the National Committee was presented with a detailed budget for expenditure in the year 1990/91, which showed projected expenditure of £844,500. The National Committee decided that expenditure in the current financial year should be kept sufficiently low as to generate a surplus of income over expenditure of £50,000, as a first step to reducing the accumulated deficit. This will require reductions in expenditure of at least £88,000. Much work has been put into identifying possible sources of savings, (and at the same time to maximise income), in order to achieve this goal, and these efforts by management and staff will need to be maintained and intensified.

Financial control

A secure financial framework for the AAM has been established during the year with the appointment of a General Manager and a Finance Officer - two key posts which stood vacant for much of 1989. Good progress has been made with the computerisation of our accounts. A new ordering system is now in operation and procedures have been established for the approval of budgets, all of which provide a sound basis for strict financial control and will enable us to respond rapidly to any shortfall in income or unanticipated expenditure.

Cash-flow continues to be very difficult with many demands from creditors. We anticipate that this difficult state of affairs will continue for most of this financial year until we reach a stage of having paid off our backlog of creditors and our controls on expenditure taking effect.

It is appropriate to thank our finance and fund-raising staff (past and present) for all their efforts and hard work during the year.

FUNDRAISING

It is now widely recognised that fundraising is crucial to the continued effectiveness of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's work. There is still much work to be done and the Movement will be looking into new ways to maximise support for fundraising schemes and put fundraising high on every activist's agenda.

Since October 1989 fundraising at the Anti-Apartheid Movement's head office has been concentrated in two main areas: Projects and Appeals, respectively the responsibility of Sian Bakewell who services the Fund-Raising Projects Sub-Committee, and Fay Dellimore, who succeeded Tim Walker in July with responsibility for Appeals.

FUND-RAISING PROJECTS

• 1990 Prize Draw and company sponsorship

The 1990 raffle was launched in April and was drawn on 11 October by Glenda Jackson and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. It raised over £62,000 for an expenditure of approximately £16,000. Members and supporters have once again shown their ability to make the AAM raffle proportionately one of the most successful on the 'market'!

The success of the raffle depends both on the hard work of AAM members and on the support of sponsoring companies which have come to realise that the AAM Grand Draw is a worthwhile project not only in its own right but also because of its value to them in terms of publicity and promotion. Top prizes this year included a Renault 5, donated by Progressive Tours and Renault UK; a trip to the New York Marathon with a free entry and Reebok running kit, paid for by Reebok UK; a cycling holiday for two in France, donated by Susi Madron's Cycling for Softies; a weekend for two in Moscow, donated by the Unity Trust Bank; and two return air tickets to India, donated by the Government of India.

In total we were able to offer 28 prizes, including two prizes of

£500 and £600 worth of hi-fi equipment, weekend breaks and many others. All prizes were donated (with only £1,000 to pay on the car) and we are extremely grateful to our sponsors especially to those sponsors who have continued their support from the 1989 Prize Draw, namely Susi Madron's Cycling for Softies, the Cornflake Shop, Folio 3 Printers, Futon South, The Old Red Lion in Norfolk, Katharine Hamnett Ltd., Bill Lewington Ltd. and AA Enterprises.

Other fundraising projects have also been supported by companies, trade unions and other organisations. Almost £13,000 (with income outstanding) was raised from those listed in the official programme at the Tribute to Mandela concert in April. £5,800 was also raised from advertising on the South Africa Freedom Bus.

• The Freedom Run

On 10 June in Brockwell Park, Brixton, the AAM held its second sponsored Freedom Run. To build on the success of last year's event, the runs were accompanied by children's activities, live bands (including the Kafala Brothers, on tour from Angola), and a range of food, craft and drink stalls to provide a variety of entertainment and at the same time raise the profile of the AAM. Support for the Freedom Run was given by the London Borough of Lambeth which provided the technical production for the music, Time Out magazine which gave £2000 towards the printing cost of the leaflets together with a free insert and advert, and the Co-op which provided refreshments for runners. Income totalled £18,000.

• Freedom Events

Also in the summer local AA groups across the country staged their own sponsored runs, cycle rides and walks. These were publicised nationally with a 'Freedom Events' leaflet distributed to members and affiliated organisations. AAM HQ also provided a bromide for a publicity leaflet which local groups were able to photocopy or print, adding their local details. The total raised so far from Freedom Events is over £8,000 (split locally and nationally with some funds donated to SOMAFCCO). Although money is still coming in we hope that this year's Freedom Events will have set a precedent and that next year more groups will be able to participate either regionally or locally and more funds will be raised.

• Merchandise and card sales

Around the time of the release of Nelson Mandela in February the AAM launched a new range of merchandise with the campaign theme: 'Mandela released: South Africa Freedom Now'. T-shirts were modelled by Judith Jacob from EastEnders and Jazzie B from Soul II Soul. A new T-shirt was also produced with the theme 'Viva Mandela: South Africa Freedom Now' which was sold at the Wembley concert in April and worn by Lenny Henry.

The AAM 1990/91 range of Christmas cards was launched in September, and promoted through affiliated organisations. Trade Unions were again encouraged to use AAM cards to overprint with their own personal message. Several unions have placed orders, including the NUCPS which ordered 3,500.

• Fund-raising locally

Local Group fund-raising has a vitally important role to play both in the funding and promotion of local activities, and in boosting central funds. National fund-raising projects have been planned carefully to enable local groups to benefit and participate wherever possible. The 50% scheme enables local groups to keep half of all funds raised from local sales of the national AAM raffle. The scheme also includes a competition with a prize of a computer and printer for the group which raises the most from the sale of raffle tickets - won this year by Greenwich and Bexley AA.

Regional workshops to share experience and skills in regard to fund-raising have been planned in conjunction with AAM staff. The first took place in York in September, hosted by Yorkshire

and Humberside Regional Committee, the second in Southampton, hosted by Wessex Regional Committee. Others are planned, to provide a forum for activists to exchange ideas and strengthen the Movement's fund-raising capacity in a period when the effects of inflation and recession make fund-raising more difficult than before.

APPEALS / DIRECT MAIL

The President's Appeal, the annual fund-raising appeal which plays an important part in the Movement's income generation, last year had to be delayed slightly until the end of November because of the timing of the SWAPO election appeal. In the circumstances it did well to raise £23,466 in cash donations and around £8000 a year in standing orders.

The 'Tell Mrs Thatcher: Stop supporting Apartheid' operation was an initiative not only to raise money but also to get people to show their opposition to apartheid by sending a message to Mrs Thatcher. Nearly a quarter of a million inserts were sent to readers of Sanity, and members of the Labour Party, Amnesty and the UNA. A roughly similar quantity was distributed through a number of trade union journals. We received around 12,000 messages which were delivered to Downing Street on March 25th as part of the demonstration held on that day. The cash donations sent in for this appeal amounted to £17,792.

The Nelson Mandela Appeal was sent out to some 115,000 potential sympathisers as a follow-up to Nelson Mandela's visit to Britain for the International Tribute Concert in April. The cash donations received from this appeal came to £44,111, which boosted income for May and June quite considerably. The standing order income from this appeal stands at £33,384 a year.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

The Campaign Fund was established several years ago. It is a specific fund of the Movement, in a separate interest earning account, from which money is expended primarily for campaign purposes.

The great majority of donors to the Campaign Fund give through standing order, on a regular monthly basis. There is of course the option to give on whatever basis is most convenient, but regular monthly contributions seems the preferred option for donors and helps to regularise campaign income.

Income to the Campaign Fund has increased quite dramatically since efforts started to promote it through direct mailings. Before the 'Operation Orange' appeal of June 1989 the yearly income stood at around £420 - it now stands at around £54,000. It is hoped by the end of the current financial year to have increased that by another £30,000.

New ways of promoting the Campaign Fund are being explored. Amongst the new initiatives planned is a telephone fund-raising campaign. This is a mode of fund-raising relatively new in Britain which has proved a successful way of generating funds for organisations such as the Labour Party and CND. The AAM has embarked upon a trial operation to assess its potential for the Movement. The response so far has been extremely encouraging; supporters who have been contacted have understood and indeed appreciated the reason for ringing them.

ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP

The AAM's national individual members are a crucial political and organisational resource. The national individual membership of the AAM at the beginning of October 1990 was 13,877 as compared to 14,061 in October 1989. Thus membership has held up reasonably well in an unfavourable political climate, with

some fluctuation on a monthly basis. The total number of new members gained between 1 October 1989 and 1 October 1990 was 4,043 (compared with 4793 in the previous year).

Members continue to be sent three reminders to renew their membership. This is designed to tackle a major problem namely the number of people who join for one year only and do not renew their membership. The average renewal rate between October 1989 and June 1990 was 66%, which was very encouraging and represented an improvement in the average renewal rate compared to last year (61%). Between the months July and September 1990 the average renewal rate fell 46% after two reminders. Experience suggests that even after the third reminder has been sent the renewal rate will not reach that of the first 3/4 of the year under review.

Membership is also a vital financial resource. Since the merging of the two concessionary rates in September 1989, only one increase since September 1985 took place, in July 1987. With effect from that date, £1 was added to each rate in order to enable HQ to recompense Local Groups £1 per national individual member (NIM) for the cost of their servicing - a responsibility which all local groups received as a consequence of the major structural changes made in the AAM's organisation as detailed in the report 'Challenging Apartheid'. This change was not of direct benefit to AAM's central funds.

As a consequence of holding the membership rates constant for 4 1/2 years, the proportionate contribution of membership income to central funds declined. In the mid-80s it represented 20-25% of total income; by mid-1990 it stood at about half that figure.

The National Committee meeting in July therefore decided to increase the basic rate for individual members from £10 to £13.50 and corresponding increases of £13 to £17 for joint membership and £6.50 to £8.50 for unwaged individuals. This increase was in line with the increase in inflation since 1985.

The NC also approved the introduction of a new category for membership 'until apartheid ends', of one payment of £100. Since the introduction of this category it has been encouraging to see that in one month alone 30 people took up this option.

The prevailing practice of sending members ten issues per year of AA News and the Members Newsletter, plus current material such as petitions, as well as appeals, was established over a long period of time. As a result the AAM provides its members with an exceptionally high level of servicing. To minimise the risk of wasting resources and alienating people by sending them more material than they can absorb or wish to receive, a review of membership servicing has been initiated with a view to identifying the most cost-effective means of communicating with our members such that they continue to be: (a) adequately informed about developments in Southern Africa and the AAM's activities; (b) motivated to support campaigning initiatives; (c) prepared to renew their membership; and (d) willing to support the AAM financially.

In this context all membership coupons and renewal forms now have a standard box to allow those who do not wish to receive any mailings, to indicate accordingly and thereby eliminate wastage.

A number of people have already chosen this option. A further measure, planned to take effect in the New Year, is the incorporation of the Members Newsletter into AA News as a distinctive page, seeking to preserve its distinctive features as a more personal, up-to-date, and action-oriented bulletin complementing the news and features in the paper.

The rapid pace of change in the past year has put a premium on information and its effective communication throughout the Movement. In this context, the long-planned membership survey will shortly be conducted on a sample basis, and it is hoped that its findings will enable the Movement to meet its members varied needs in cost-effective ways.

There are approximately 1100 organisations affiliated to the AAM, including 665 trade union branches/regions, 169 CLPs, 76 student unions/student AA groups, 35 trades councils, 7 women's organisations, 13 national organisations other than national trade unions, 8 church groups, 184 recognised Local AA groups, plus a variety of other local organisations.

There are 43 national trade unions affiliated to the AAM. During the year we were pleased to welcome into membership 4 new national trade unions - the Ceramic and Allied Trade Union (CATU), the Association of University Teachers (AUT), The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) and the Electrical and Plumbing Industries Union (EPIU).

Throughout the year there have been 155 new affiliations which were for the most part trade union branches. Although most of our affiliated organisations are trade union branches, there is a very uneven spread with just 2 unions, MSF and NALGO, accounting for one-third of the total number of affiliated branches. It is still the case that most trade unions have only between 1-10 branches affiliated. There are 18 trade unions with 1-10 branches affiliated, 7 with 11-20 branches affiliated, 3 with 21-40 affiliated. CPSA has 53, IRSF 52, and NUCPS 49. MSF and NALGO have 112 and 113 branches affiliated respectively. Affiliation rates were increased in June 1990 after 3 years without change.

Affiliation of organisations to the Movement is to be promoted within the Trade Union movement with the distribution of a new leaflet targeted at trade union branches, and a campaign to encourage Constituency Labour Parties to affiliate has already been launched.

New efforts to recruit individual members include the production of an updated membership brochure. The attractive new membership brochure, produced for the first time last year, summarised the policy, achievements and role of the AAM and outlined details of major campaigns. Sent out in response to enquiries about the AAM and used at public events, it provided a steady source of new members. The new up-to-date brochure includes a space where Local Groups can stamp in their own local rates and details.

Membership is also being promoted in target areas. A new leaflet aimed specifically at students was sent to colleges in time for the beginning of the academic year. A recruiting leaflet aimed at Labour Party members (whose party policy encourages support for the AAM) is currently being produced. Further leaflets to promote membership in other areas such as religious groups are also being prepared.

Another aspect of membership promotion which has been given close consideration in the past year is promotion of local membership. The number of local AA members is still very small, in comparison with national membership. One of the reasons for this is the fact that members of the public are always given the opportunity to join the AAM nationally on material produced by the AAM, but are generally not informed about the cheaper option of joining locally. It has never hitherto been possible to effectively publicise local membership through AAM's materials as there has never been a standard local membership rate - a number of Local Groups do not recruit membership on a local basis, and those that do have very varied rates.

The Executive Committee (EC) therefore proposed to the National Committee (NC) in July that a standard rate for local membership be set, as a first step towards a drive to boost recruitment of Local Individual Members (LIMs). The NC postponed a decision to allow wider discussion of the issue, and further investigation of the practice of Local Groups, and authorised the EC to prepare a report to the 1990 AGM setting out the following two options:

(a) the introduction of a standard rate for LIMs, including concessionary rates; or (b) methods of national promotion of local membership without a standardised rate. These options are set out in AGM document Rep2.

It is hoped that all these initiatives will result in an increase in our membership of individuals and organisations in 1991.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The 1989 AGM was held in London. Some 578 delegates representing 244 organisations registered to attend, of whom 428 delegates representing 204 organisations were recorded as being present, as also were 26 individual members of the National Committee and 30 observers.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee (NC) is composed of individuals elected by the AGM, representatives of local and regional anti-apartheid structures and representatives from amongst the national and regional affiliates of the Movement.

The NC met six times during the period covered by this report, twice outside London - in Sheffield (January) and Manchester (July). Two of the six were Special Meetings. The first meeting took place immediately following the AGM at which the Officers and EC were elected. The first full meeting was in Sheffield in January at which proposals were considered on action required to implement AGM resolutions. There was also extensive discussion of the newly launched Nelson Mandela Reception Committee and the South Africa Freedom Now! campaign.

Following FW de Klerk's 2 February speech and the subsequent release of Nelson Mandela, the EC decided to convene a Special NC meeting with the sole purpose of evaluating the changes which had taken place and to revise the South Africa Freedom Now! campaign plans. The holding of the Wembley concert on 16 April and other factors meant that this meeting could only take place on 28 April, but it was the biggest NC meeting for many years. A personal message addressed to the National Committee from Nelson Mandela was received just prior to the meeting and was the source of great inspiration to all present. Broad agreement was reached on a detailed programme of new initiatives for the AAM to take.

At subsequent NC meetings in June and July there was a further evaluation of the South Africa Freedom Now! campaign and an appropriate revision of campaign plans.

Acting on the mandate of the AGM the NC set up two structures - a Working Party on the Front Line States and a Youth Steering Committee. The NC also received a report from the Women's Working Party at its July meeting at which there was agreement on the need to create a new structure, the Women's Council. Constitutional amendments to put this proposal into effect were agreed at the September NC meeting for presentation to the AGM. The NC also accepted a recommendation from the Executive Committee for a change in the constitutional status of the full-time officers of the Movement and an appropriate amendment to the Constitution was agreed. The NC also reviewed the Standing Orders with the aim of improving the procedures for the AGM.

The second Special National Committee took place on 3 July. It had been organised at the initiative of the ANC to provide an opportunity for Nelson Mandela to address the NC. In addition to members of the NC invitations were extended to a range of organisations closely associated with the AAM including the member organisations of the Southern Africa Coalition, the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee, and Local Authorities Against Apartheid. The meeting was exceptionally well attended however, as reported elsewhere Mr Mandela was unable to be present and his address was read by Mrs Mandela. Mrs Mandela was accompanied by members of the ANC delegation including three members of the National Executive Committee. An opportunity was provided for questions to the ANC which was much appreciated. In addition Aziz Pahad of the ANC NEC

agreed to address the regular NC meeting the following Saturday in Manchester at which there was a further opportunity to discuss and exchange views about developments in South Africa.

The final NC meeting was in September at which the Political Report - which forms the Introduction to this report - was adopted. The meeting also agreed on the framework for a series of campaigning initiatives in response to the violence which had gripped South Africa in August and September.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee (EC) plays a key role in the work of the Movement. Meeting monthly, it sees to the execution of policy and the organisation of campaigns, as well as advising the National Committee on the future direction of the Movement's work. It is also responsible for the employment of the AAM's staff. It is elected by and from the National Committee and includes eight Officers, eight ordinary elected members, as well as ex-officio representatives of WAAM and the Scottish Committee.

During this period the EC has also had a series of ad hoc meetings with the ANC at which it has been briefed on developments in South Africa and views have been exchanged on future development of AAM campaigns. Its work is also facilitated by a series of sub-committees. Some cover different constituencies of support eg the Black and ethnic minorities committee, the women's committee, the trade union committee, the health committee and the multi-faith committee. Others have specific tasks such as the Finance Committee, Fundraising Projects Sub-Committee, the AA News Editorial Board and the Consumer Boycott Unit.

In a new initiative this year individual EC members have taken on the responsibility of co-ordinating with local groups in the different regions and other geographical areas in order to facilitate contact between local aa groups and the AAM leadership.

The EC has also given careful consideration to the best means of promoting equal opportunities policies within the AAM. An employment policy statement has been adopted within the framework of the Movement's negotiating procedure with its recognised union ACTS. It is also concerned to encourage equal opportunities practices at all levels of the Movement's structures and this is currently the subject of a consultation process

OFFICE/STAFF : Nov 89 - Oct 90

Mike Terry (Executive Secretary); Alan Brooks (Deputy Executive Secretary); Lesley Higgins (General Manager).

HQ Staff : Shani Adiseshiah; Colin Adkins (to Sept); Joy Annegarn; Daisy Babijide (from Aug); Sian Bakewell; Paul Brannen; Joanna Cain (from July); Lorraine Carver (to Dec); Lucy Clapp; Fay Dellimore (from July); Ruth Elias (to Sept); Vanessa Eyre (to June); Mick Flynn; Elizabeth George (to Dec); Karen Livingstone (from Dec); Sue Longbottom; Claire McMaster (from Aug); Ruth Marzetti; Yao Minta-Amuah (to May); Gerard Omasta-Milsom; Bindy Paterson; Maggie Prowse (Jan-July); James Richardson; Michael Sharp (to Oct); Mamta Singh; Karen Talbot; Tim Walker (to May).

BART : Joni McDougall; Penny Plowman (from Aug).

Campaign bus : Ed Brake; Mark Eastgate; Greg Haynes; Gillian Peace-Brown.