



the Anti-Apartheid Movement

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October, 1964

SPONSORS

Mumphrey Berkeley, MP
Jeremy Thorpe, MP

ANNUAL REPORT

Our most notable long-term success in the past year is the new seriousness with which the use of economic sanctions against South Africa is now regarded. Previously, while the consumer boycott was a way of expressing individual moral disgust with apartheid, economic sanctions had been regarded as something which, although highly desirable as a non-violent means of ending apartheid, would not in fact prove practicable because of their effects on the economies of South Africa's main trading partners.

The other great success has been the work done by the AAM in this country and internationally by the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners in campaigning for the release of South African detainees, in making known the conditions under which detainees and prisoners are held, and in arousing public opinion so that death sentences were not passed on the accused in the Rivonia trial.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

The International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, held in London in April 1964, was attended by representatives of over 40 nations, including governmental delegations from thirty countries. This Conference had before it papers, all prepared by experts, on the implications of sanctions on the economies of South Africa, of the Protectorates, of the U.K. and the U.S.A., and on Oil Sanctions, and on the legal and strategic implications. With this evidence before it, after two days of discussion the Conference established the necessity, the legality and the practicability of internationally organised sanctions against South Africa, whose racial policies were seen to have become a direct threat to peace and security in Africa and the world.

The Conference papers were considered by the Expert Committee set up by the United Nations' Security Council, and were circulated as a U.N. document by the Special Committee on Apartheid. Very many requests were received after the Conference for extra copies of the papers from governmental and international bodies. All the Conference papers, together with its findings and recommendations have now been published as a Penguin Special book.

The Conference was sponsored by the AAM, and convened by Mr. Ronald Segal, who was, together with a Steering Committee, responsible for all the arrangements for the Conference. Our thanks are due to Mr. Segal and all the Committee members for carrying out the great amount of work this conference involved.

AAM'S PUBLIC MEETING ON SANCTIONS

This meeting, held at the end of the Sanctions Conference, was chaired by Mr. David Ennals and had some of the chief delegates to the Conference as its speakers: Mongi Slim, Tunisia's Foreign Minister, Diallo Telli, Guinea Ambassador to the UN, Co Cruise O'Brien, Mr. KK Shah, leader of the Indian delegation, Mr. George Houser of the American Committee on Africa, and Professor Lubinov, of the Moscow Academy of Science. Mr. Diallo Telli, who is chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, made mention in his speech of AAM "which is in fact one of the most active and effective factors in the general international struggle against the dangerous and criminal racial policy" of the S. African Govt. He also said "...it is clear that the AAM has a decisive role to play in the search for a peaceful means to bring the South African Govt. to renounce its racial policy. ... "Operating throughout the UK, this Movement is able, more than any other similar organisation, directly to reach the individuals, private and public organisations, the business men and the responsible Government officials who, directly or indirectly, knowingly or not, are in fact those who are giving the S. African Government the most substantial encouragement". (Mr. Telli's speech is available as an Information Sheet.

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

World public opinion over the Rivonia trial forced Britain and the USA to vote in favour of a Security Council resolution on June 18, 1964, which among other things set up an Expert Committee of representatives of each permanent member of the Security Council, to undertake a technical and practical study and report to the Security Council as to the feasibility, effectiveness and implications of measures which could as appropriate, be taken by the Security Council under the UN Charter. This Committee is to make its report to the UN not later than the end of February 1965.

Internationally, the Organisation of African Unity, under the leadership of Mr. Diallo Telli, who is now its Secretary-General, has passed a resolution calling on all African States to sever economic ties with S. Africa, and to forbid port and airfield facilities to S. Africa-bound shipping and aircraft. The Conference of Non-Aligned States in Cairo has recently passed a similar resolution.

T.U.C. RESOLUTION

The 1964 TUC unanimously passed a resolution calling on the British Govt. to implement a diplomatic, economic and arms boycott of S. Africa, in accordance with the decisions of the UN General Assembly. This resolution also called on the General Council of the TUC to ensure that an international boycott is carried out by organised workers until the S. African Govt. concedes the principle of free speech and a franchise which allows all men and women to vote freely for their chosen representatives to Parliament, and allows the African workers to organise trade unions and negotiate wage agreements and conditions.

One of our primary tasks during the coming year must be to ensure that this resolution is not lost sight of; in this we will need the assistance of all our trade union members.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

A pre-election questionnaire was circulated to all Conservative, Labour, Liberal and Communist candidates, three posters were printed for use at this time. A number of candidates acknowledged the questionnaire and gave their support for AAM without answering the individual questions. The main questions were on support for the U.N. policy on collective sanctions, on the arms embargo and on support for the campaign to release all S.African political prisoners. The majority of the Labour and Liberal candidates who replied answered affirmatively.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

With the election of a Labour Government it will not be long before a complete embargo on arms supplies to South Africa becomes a reality. Mr. Harold Wilson, speaking at an AAM 'No Arms for South Africa' rally in Trafalgar Square in March 1963 condemned this trade as long as apartheid exists in South Africa, and stressed that this was Labour Party policy, and would be when they were called upon to form the Government of this country.

We welcome the appointment of Sir Hugh Foot as Minister of State and Permanent U.N. Representative, and believe this appointment indicates the new Government's intention to play a much fuller part in the formulation of U.N. policy. We call on the new Government to give its support to the practical implementation of the U.N. General Assembly's resolution (1761 (XVII)) passed in November, 1962, which asked Member States to take a number of steps to bring about the abandonment of apartheid, and requested the Security Council to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure S.Africa's compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, and, if necessary, to consider action under article 6 of the U.N. Charter.

There are three main doubts which are frequently raised on the issue of sanctions - a) their effectiveness, b) the ill-effect they may have on the non-white populations in S.Africa and the Protectorates, and c) the dislocation and loss of trade and unemployment that will be caused in Britain and elsewhere. These points are dealt with in the leaflet "What Sort of Hypocrites Are We?", in detail in the Penguin Special "Sanctions against South Africa", and also in AAM's own pamphlet "The Collaborators". The task of AAM is to campaign for the early ending of apartheid and oppression in S.Africa, convincing the people of Britain that the application of economic sanctions through the United Nations is the most effective means of achieving this end.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

ANTI-APARTHEID MONTH in November 1963 opened with a "March against Apartheid" from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, led by Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., our Hon. President, and over 100 other well-known personalities. On its way into Trafalgar Square the march passed the front of the S.African Embassy and

laid a wreath in the shape of Africa against the main gates of the Embassy. The meeting which followed was chaired by Mrs. Castle, and included among its speakers Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, Woodrow Wyatt, Rev. Nicholas Stacey, Vanessa Redgrave, and Robert Resha of the ANC.

During this month a large number of meetings were held all over the country, mainly in the Universities, and the Edinburgh branch of the Scottish AAM was formed at this time. These meetings were addressed by refugees who had recently arrived - Arthur Goldreich, Harold Wolpe, Joe Slovo, etc. Much local interest and publicity was aroused in this campaign and many student anti-racist societies were formed in Universities about this time.

TORTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Early in January 1964 plans were made for another big event to present in a dramatic form the horrors of life under the Verwoerd regime. This presentation in the Central Hall on February 28, was compered by Jeremy Thorpe, M.P. Among those taking part were Robert Lang, Andrew Paulds, Nadia Cattouse, Annie Ross, Edric Connor, and Bishop Ambrose Reeves. The Univ. of London's Society against Racial Discrimination organised a torchlight march from Malet Street to the Central Hall in support of the meeting.

THE RIVONIA CAMPAIGN

AAM worked throughout the spring and summer of 1964 to ensure that the trial of Nelson Mandela and his 8 colleagues received the widest possible publicity. Vigils were held, a lobby of Parliament was arranged, and **when the judgement** was known thousands of people all over the country turned out to protest. Fifty MPs, led by Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, M.P., marched from the House to the S.A. Embassy to present a petition containing one hundred MP's signatures, and large numbers of people kept vigil on the pavement opposite the Embassy for three days.

A Trafalgar Square rally was organised, at short notice, for Sunday, June 14, which was preceded by a large march from Hyde Park. Speakers at the Rally included Bertrand Russell, the Bishop of Woolwich, Mr. F. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., M.P., Ruth First, Angus Wilson and Andrew Paulds. Some of the relatives of the Rivonia trialists now in this country took part in the Vigils and in the March. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, M.P., chaired the meeting.

WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF S.AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

The WCRSAPP was formed under the sponsorship of AAM in November 1963 to organise support for the implementation of the U.N. resolution calling for the abandonment of political trials and the release of political prisoners in S. Africa. This resolution was passed by the U.N. General Assembly by a vote of 106 to 1 (S.Africa) with no abstentions, and only 4 countries absent from the division.

The Campaign Committee consists of representatives from the Conservative Party (Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, M.P.), the Labour Party (Mr. Dick Taverne, M.P.) and the Liberal Party (Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P.) It also has representatives from Christian Action, Africa Bureau, Movement for Colonial Freedom, the U.N.A., the AAM, the S.A. Indian Congress and the African National Congress, as well as

two S.African refugees. Amnesty International sends an observer to the meetings. The Pan-Africanist Congress and the S.West African National Union have also been invited to attend meetings.

The World Campaign set out to achieve support for a Declaration setting out the aims of the Campaign, and over 160 prominent personalities from all over the world signed these Declarations. A world-wide Petition demanding the release of all S.African Political Prisoners also achieved individual signatures totalling 194,387. Some Petition forms are still arriving at our office, although the bulk of them were presented to the United Nations in June by Dr. Joost de Blank, now a Canon at Westminster. The organisations giving support to the Petition represented individuals numbering some 259 million.

The main effort of the World Campaign revolved around the Rivonia trial, and we think we can with justification claim that the world-wide support for the men on trial contributed to the fact that they were not given the death sentence.

The next step in World Campaign's work has been to campaign for saving the lives of V. Mini, Z. Mkaba, W. Khayingo and Washington Bongco. The appeal of the first three against the death sentences passed on last March has been dismissed, although Washington Bongco's appeal is still to be heard. International protest has been achieved on these death sentences, although not yet on the same scale as in the Rivonia campaign.

Five copies of the Broadsheet 'World Campaign' have been issued and various propaganda sheets providing material for the information of the world press and international organisations.

The World Campaign now hopes to achieve some sort of international activity on the question of the torture and treatment of political prisoners and detainees, and a start has already been made in this connection.

UNITED NATIONS

Several memoranda have been submitted to the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid by the AAM and by the World Campaign. Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., presented a Memorandum outlining AAM's policy in regard to apartheid to the Special Committee in April 1964 (Information Sheet No. xiii).

A memorandum on the role of foreign investment in South Africa in undermining international action against apartheid was submitted to the U.N. Special Committee in April 1964, prepared by Rosalynde Ainslie and Dorothy Robinson. This memorandum contained a list of the 300-odd British firms with associates or subsidiaries in South Africa, and of the 40 or so Members of Parliament with business connections with firms with interests in South Africa.

These memoranda have been issued as a United Nations document.

Recently a new memorandum on banning orders, house arrest and banishment has been submitted to the United Nations.

COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

At the time of this Conference, held in London from July 8 to 14, a Memorandum calling for a Commonwealth Policy on Apartheid was handed in to the Prime Minister at Marlborough House by our President and Chairman. This policy included the release of all S.African political prisoners, a total embargo on the supply of arms to that country and support for collective economic sanctions through the U.N. Copies of this Memorandum were sent to all Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and interviews were arranged with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Mr. Albert Margai of Sierra Leone.

A Vigil to mark the opening session of the Conference took place, despite heavy rain, and among those taking part were the Mayors of Stepney, Poplar and Bethnal Green and Hackney, Sylvia Syms, Andrew Faulds, trade unionists and many South Africans.

CONSUMER BOYCOTT

The number of local Councils boycotting S.African goods now stands at 18. They are - Great Yarmouth, Harlow, Liverpool, Romford, Lewisham, West Ham, Hackney, Erith, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, South Shields, Stockton upon Tees, Kingston-upon-Hull, Gloucester, and (in 1964) Rochdale, Aberdeen, Eastleigh, Cardiff and Merthyr. Aberdeen's decision received most publicity in the national press, due to severe criticism from the local press, the Chamber of Commerce and the S.Africa Foundation.

The Boycott List continues to be in steady demand, and a new Boycott poster has been prepared.

Co-operative Societies

LCS passed a resolution in November, 1963 which called on the Management Committee to rapidly extend measures already agreed to limit sales of S.African goods. The RACS rejected a similar resolution a few months ago. Brighton Co-op is to have a motion on its next agenda calling for the immediate cessation of all S.African purchases.

TRADE UNIONS

Information on all our campaigns has been sent to the general secretaries of all trade unions affiliated to the TUC, and many of them, or other t.u. officials have taken part in our Vigils, Meetings and demonstrations, sent protests to the S.African Embassy, and published articles in their journals. 25 trade union bodies (national and branches) are now organisation members of AAM.

The case of the three S.African trade unionists sentenced to death was raised at the TUC meeting this year, and also at the AAM meeting for TUC delegates held at the Imperial Hotel, Blackpool. Mr. Frank Cousins (TGWU) and Mr. Bill Lindley (Watermens' Union) spoke at the TUC strongly in favour of the resolution passed there (see p.2.). Among trade unionists who took part recently in a Vigil for clemency for Mini, Khayingo and Mkaba were the Hon. Anthony Asquith (ACTT), Mr. Lindley of the Watermens' Union, Mr. S.J. Hayward of the Agricultural Workers and Mr. Bridges of the A.E.U.

PUBLICATIONS

Anti-Apartheid News, published in March 1964 in a print of 20,000 was well received. It took three months for the first issue to sell out, in London where our biggest sales could have been expected sales were slower because of poor distribution arrangements.

The Collaborators, published March 1964, received good publicity and is selling steadily. First print of 2,000 sold out and another 3,000 have been re-printed.

A number of posters and leaflets have been issued throughout the year, in connection with the various campaigns. Current new leaflets being Who Cares?, What Sort of Hypocrites Are We?, and a new general leaflet about AAM and its aims. A new poster and four new leaflets are in preparation for the November 1964 campaign (see p.10.)

CULTURAL BOYCOTT

A new ally in the cultural boycott during the year was American film star Marlon Brando. He took part in a Vigil outside S.African Embassy for the release of S.A. political prisoners, and in London launched a scheme to persuade actors, producers, directors and script-writers to write a clause into all future contracts forbidding the screening of their films before segregated audiences.

The Beatles have also announced they are against apartheid, and refused to play in segregated halls in the Southern States of America. They are recently reported to be willing to give a special performance in aid of anti-apartheid and it is our hope that this materialises.

The Rolling Stones were due to visit S.Africa but after approaches by the Musicians Union reminding them of its policy not to perform in S.Africa or Southern Rhodesia while apartheid exists. their agent told the Union that negotiations had been broken off.

Overseas, the Irish AAM announced a declaration signed by 28 Irish playwrights that they will not permit their works to be performed before segregated audiences in South Africa.

SPORT

In October last year the IOC decided to exclude S.African from the Tokyo Games unless she repudiated apartheid in sport. The S.African Olympic Committee refused to do so, and was therefore suspended from the IOC although many efforts were made by S.Africa to participate in the Tokyo Games. Furthermore at the Tokyo Games where FIFA (the International Football Federation) had its meeting it decided by 48 votes to 15 that the South Africans should be suspended. This is another victory stemming from the Olympic decision and we expect international pressures to mount against S.African racist organisations.

Cardiff and Glasgow City Councils refused to entertain bowls teams on their visits to their towns, and Cardiff Anti-Apartheid Committee picketed the bowls team. ULUSARD picketed the team outside their London hotel.

MEMBERSHIP

In the year September 30th, 1963 to October 1st, 1964, 1201 members were enrolled in AAM - 641 students and 560 individual members. For the preceding year the total was 1135, of which 488 were students and 647 individual members.

Allowing for non-renewing of subscriptions, the current total membership is 1880, of which 915 are students, and 965 individual members.

Organisation membership was introduced in October 1963, and 207 national and local organisations have joined AAM, of which over half are Labour Parties or Young Socialist branches. No consistent recruiting policy for organisation members has been carried out during the year, and this figure does not in any way come near the possible potential.

The rate of enrolment of members has not increased very much, in fact fewer non-student members were enrolled during the past year, but it is encouraging to note that the proportion of active membership has risen. This is revealed in the increase of organised groups. Nearly half the demonstrations throughout the country on the Rivonia week-end were organised by local anti-apartheid committees, by members getting together informally or by their approaching other local organisations to take action.

Anti-Apartheid Committees have increased during the year from about 6 to some 20. A further 4 are currently in process of formation. In addition to these 9 Committees have been formed or planned during the past year, but their presentation position is unknown. One Committee has collapsed. In Scotland, the formation of the Scottish AAM has led to the setting up of Committees in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and one is planned for Aberdeen. Most of the Committees are in large towns, but a number cover a locality, such as N. Staffs, and two are in London.

These Committees have shown their worth in anti-apartheid work, not only in directly supporting and extending centrally-organised campaigns into their localities - such as Rivonia, but also in getting local councils to boycott (Eastleigh and Cardiff) and in organising protests on the visits of S.African businessmen, bowlers, etc. to their areas.

Student Societies have risen from 4 to 22. Most of these are Societies against Racial Discrimination but most of their activity is on anti-apartheid work. Where there is no Society in a University, anti-apartheid campaigns are taken up by other societies - Labour, S.C.M., or have plans to form anti-apartheid societies. A number of student societies carry out activities in the town, where there is no anti-apartheid committee.

Especially encouraging has been our breakthrough into training colleges. While only one has an established anti-apartheid society, a number have informal but active groups of members. The vast majority of TTC and CATS however are still not touched by AAM.

Recently the Student Co-ordinating Committee for Racial Equality (SCORE) has been formed, which aims to spread activity against racialism into all Universities. We co-operate with this body, as well as with other national bodies such as NALSO, I.U.J.F. and the S.C.M. The N.U.S. has co-operated with AAM on several campaigns.

FINANCE

The Movement has been without a Treasurer for a considerable part of the past year. The management of the finances was entrusted to the Vice-Chairman under the direction of the Executive.

The great increase in the work and scope of the Movement in 1964 is fully reflected in the statement of revenue and expenditure. There was an almost two-fold increase in the Movement's general expenditure between the years 1963 and 1964. Of the total expenditure of just over £8,000 since October 1963, about half went towards meeting the growing administrative costs of the movement - salaries, rent, postage, etc. The balance of the expenditure reflects the costs of propaganda and publicity, and of campaigns conducted.

In line with the general increase in overall activity, the Movement's income rose sharply. In the 1964 financial year total receipts from all sources reached over £9,500 - this represents an almost two-fold rise on 1963. The greater proportion - about half to two-thirds of this income - came from donations, collections at meetings and special fund-raising activities. The balance represented income from the sale of literature and membership subscriptions.

Despite the successes of the Movement in raising funds over the past year, the considerable growth in expenditure reduced the overall surplus from £516 in the year 1963, to £329 in 1964. These surpluses are accounted for after taking into account the debts of the Movement, which at the end of September 1964 amounted to £1,061.

The Executive Committee is naturally concerned that the Movement's finances in the coming year should be improved and strengthened all round.

The policy that has been pursued and which has been called for by the worsening situation in South Africa continues to give rise to wide-ranging activities and commitments by the Movement, all of which add immeasurably to the financial burden that must be carried. This can only be satisfactorily achieved if the Movement possesses a hardworking and driving Treasurer who will try to see in every campaign and activity the possibility of raising funds, and to organise the Movement's Finance Committee and the entire membership to assist and materially contribute towards meeting this burden.

SPEAKERS

Demands for speakers have more than doubled during the year under review. AAM has a large panel of South African speakers, who give their services without charge, the organisation requesting the speaker being responsible for meeting any travelling expenses.

Some 120 different meetings have been addressed by AAM speakers - the breakdown of organisations being : UNA branches 14; Anti-Apartheid Committees 14; Schools Societies 12; Labour Parties & Young Soc. 25; Universities and Technical Colleges 16; Trade Union 6; Young Liberals 5; and miscellaneous organisations 28.

NOVEMBER CAMPAIGN

Plans have been going ahead for a campaign in November 1964 on political prisoners in South Africa, to focus attention on the physical torture and ill-treatment, and its effects on the prisoners, their wives and families. Four political prisoners have now committed suicide while in Police hands. Special leaflets and a new poster are being prepared, Vigils have been arranged for each Saturday in November, and the campaign will be launched with a poster parade on Saturday, October 31st, around Trafalgar Square, from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. A Central Hall meeting is also being arranged for Monday, November 30th, at 7 p.m. Details of speakers will be made known later on in November. It is hoped in this campaign to involve church and womens' organisations to a large extent, and also that trade unionists and students and academics will be among other groups in this country playing an active part in the campaign.

INTERNATIONAL

The past year saw the formation of a very active Anti-Apartheid Movement in Eire, with an impressive list of sponsors. Dublin has been the centre of a great deal of activity on the Petition for the release of S.African political prisoners, many distinguished names signing it, and with 67 signatures from members of the Dial and Seanad Bireann. The Irish AAM issues its own Newsletter to its members, and recently held a press conference announcing the names of 28 Irish playwrights who refused performances where racial segregation was practised.

The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Committee has been running a boycott campaign, concentrating on oranges, and the first Council in Sweden to boycott S.African goods was the result of activity by Swedish anti-apartheid committees. In Norway some 400 students staged a 'sit down' on the tennis courts in Oslo in protest at the S.African lawn tennis players, and the match was abandoned and took place at a secret venue. In France also a demonstration was held against the S.African players, two people being arrested. The French AA Committee issue their own newsletter, and have articles printed in the serious monthlies. Australia has seen a growth of activity on apartheid. Many signatures were collected on the Petition, and student bodies are active there. The Canadian Anti-Apartheid Committee is becoming a broader mass organisation, with many more community ties. Their president has been interviewed on TV and radio, and their first major public meeting is being held in October 1964. There are also anti-apartheid committees in India and Nigeria.

AAM has sent speakers to many of these countries - Eire, France, Holland and Scandinavia - to speak at meetings to help launch campaigns.

AAM ORGANISATION

Now that we have moved into larger offices more space is available to accommodate voluntary helpers, whom we rely on to such a large extent for our work. The present employed staff is three persons in the AAM office, while the World Campaign has one person.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee has met three times during the past year. Chaired by our active President, Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., it has a number of Members of Parliament on it, two of whom are also sponsors of AAM - Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, M.P. and Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P. The National Committee is composed of a number of representatives of organisations, such as the Africa Bureau, Christian Action, Movement for Colonial Freedom, Society of Friends, Women's Co-operative Guild, United Nations' Student Association, World University Service, some of the trade unions, etc. and a number of individuals chosen for the work they are doing in AAM.

The National Committee elects an Executive Committee of 11 members, which meets monthly or more frequently as necessary, to carry on the work. There are five officers of the Movement - Chairman : Mr. T. Kellock, Vice-Chairman : Mr. V. Pillay, Hon. Secretary : Mr. S. Abdul, and Admin. Secretary : Miss D. Robinson. The position of Hon. Treasurer is vacant.

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