



# ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

## Annual Report on Activities and Developments



October 1973 ~ September 1974

15p



# the Anti-Apartheid Movement

89 Charlotte Street London W1P 2DQ Tel 580 5311

Annual Report  
October 1973 - September 1974

Hon President	The Rt Revd Ambrose Reeves
Vice Presidents	Jack Jones MBE The Rt Revd Trevor Huddleston CR Joan Lester MP The Rt Hon Jeremy Thorpe MP
Sponsors	Lord Brockway Lord Collison Basil Davidson Thomas Hodgkin The Rt Hon Reg Prentice MP David Steel MP Angus Wilson
Chairman	John Ennals
Vice Chairman	Mike Terry
Hon Treasurer	A.P. O'Dowd
Hon Secretary	Abdul S. Minty
Staff	Sheila Allen (Clerical Secretary) Ethel de Keyser (Executive Secretary) Jenifer McClelland (Field Officer) Betty Northedge (Membership Secretary) Rod Pritchard (Projects Officer) Nancy White (Assistant Secretary)
Editor, Anti-Apartheid News	Christabel Gurney

# Contents

<b>FOREWORD</b>	4
<b>GENERAL INTRODUCTION</b>	5
South Africa: The Gendarme of White Supremacy	
Zimbabwe: The Tightening Siege	
Namibia	
South Africa: The Resistance Grows	
Western Allies of Apartheid	
Britain's Role	6
Future Perspectives	
<b>CAMPAIGNS</b>	7
<b>No Collaboration</b>	
Investment	
British Military Collaboration	8
White Migration	
Trade	9
Sharpeville Commemoration	
Southern Africa Freedom Convention	
Sports Boycott	10
Cultural Boycott	11
Architects Against Apartheid	12
Apartheid and Medicine	
Southern Africa-The Imprisoned Society	13
Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola	14
Zimbabwe/Rhodesia	
Namibia	15
Labour Movement Conference	
<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	16
United Nations	
World Council of Churches	
General	
<b>ORGANISATION</b>	17
National & Executive Committees	
AAM Office	
Local Activity	
Anti-Apartheid News	18
Political Parties	
Parliament	19
Trade Union Movement	
Students	20
Schools Kit	21
Publicity & Information	
Finance	
Fund-Raising	22
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	
<b>OBITUARIES</b>	

## FOREWORD

When the last Annual Report was written it seemed as if the long drawn-out struggle in Southern Africa might well continue in much the same way at least into the foreseeable future. However, the recent political changes in Portugal and the subsequent changes in the Portuguese colonies in Africa have created a situation which even a few months ago would have been dismissed as unbelievable. This has been almost entirely due to the overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal and the heroic resistance of the freedom fighters to the repressive regimes in the Portuguese colonies. We rejoice that Guinea-Bissau has gained its independence and that the ten years struggle by FRELIMO in Mozambique gives high hopes for the complete liberation of that territory and the freedom of its people.

But in celebrating these famous victories we must never overlook the fact that the key to the Southern African situation, namely South Africa, is today even more powerful than it has ever been. We know that Vorster's men will not stop at anything in order to prevent any inroads on the economic and political power of the white minority there either from outside or within the Republic. For this reason, our Movement must be even more vigilant than in the past. In every branch, as well as nationally, everything in our power must be done to educate people on the viciousness of apartheid and to alert them to the many dangers that are inherent in this new situation. It is also as important that in every constituency AA members watch the conduct of their Members of Parliament, as well as other leaders in church and state, bringing pressure on them to see that their deeds match their words.

By now most of our members will know that we are soon losing the services of Ethel de Keyser as our Secretary. It is no exaggeration to say that for more than nine years Ethel has lived for our Movement. Certainly all that she has achieved would have been impossible without the untiring support of the many members of our staff, and the cooperation of the members of the Executive and National Committees, as well as the practical aid that many members of the Movement have given, and still give, in so many ways.

But the recognition of all this in no way diminishes the fact that for almost a decade Ethel has occupied a unique position in the life of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. All that we can do is to thank her for all that she has done, and for what she has been, and to wish her well in all the days that are to come.

We are fortunate that Basil Manning is coming to replace Ethel. As a South African he is already aware of the growing need for the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. We are confident that his varied experience during the six years that he has been in the United Kingdom will enable him to enrich the life of our Movement in many ways. Changes of this kind are never easy to make but I am sure that staff and members will give to Basil the same loyal support that they have given to Ethel.

The year that has ended has been a momentous one in so many ways. The days that lie ahead will bring their own problems. The Movement will need the practical help of all its members and many sympathisers. Not least, the present serious and uncertain national economic situation may well make it even more difficult for us to finance our work. For this reason we need from our subscribers the same generosity in the coming year that they have shown in the past. In addition, one of our major tasks must be to secure help from whatever new sources of income are possible. Given this support, in money and in time and effort, we can be confident that the work to which we are committed will be brought to fulfilment.

† Ambrose Reeves  
Hon President

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This year, 1974, marks the completion of a decade and a half of sustained political activity and campaigning by the AAM in Britain in support of the cause of national liberation and freedom in Southern Africa.

The Movement warmly greets the full independence and recognition of the State of Guinea-Bissau, welcomes the imminent prospect of independence for the Cape Verde Islands, and congratulates the new government of Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO. The final liberation of Mozambique which is promised next June is certain to alter the balance of forces in favour of the African peoples throughout Southern Africa and bring forward the liberation of the subcontinent.

This year, therefore, could well become the turning point in the long and difficult struggles of the African people to overthrow colonialism and white racist rule. For the freedom fighters of the liberation movements and for all the peoples of Southern Africa this must be a moment of great promise and exhilaration. The Anti-Apartheid Movement rejoices at this historic turn of events, and looks forward with growing confidence to the total liberation of Southern Africa.

The collapse of Portuguese fascism was largely the product of the African liberation struggle, and the resulting pressures from the Portuguese people for the ending of the wars. It has served to expose the fundamental weaknesses of the structures of white power and colonialism. There can now be no doubt that the white racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa are confronted by the gravest crisis yet in their history. Their Unholy Alliance is in disarray; they now rule under siege conditions and struggle to hold their privileges by expanding their armed forces and committing the major Western countries to the defence of their regimes. Vorster and Smith betray mounting fear and tension.

The white regimes of Southern Africa must now reconcile themselves to the emergence of free and independent African states along their border or attempt to subvert them.

## South Africa: The Gendarme of White Supremacy

The policies of the South African regime are a response to pressures generated by the forces of liberation both inside Southern Africa and abroad. There has been an intensification of the machinery of suppression, increased military expenditure, and a search for new allies outside the African continent. South Africa's involvement in Southern Africa is all-pervasive. The Smith regime survives only as a result of South African

support - economic, political and military.

South Africa has been a major source of capital investments in Portuguese-held Mozambique and Angola; the protection of these investment interests could provide a pretext for South African military and economic intervention especially in the new situation arising out of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. South Africa's recent policies also indicate that as the pressures for liberation grow in Southern Africa, the South African regime may be expected to adopt increasingly aggressive postures and policies. This was hinted at by Vorster in a recent statement, in which he said that unless Mozambique accepted South Africa's terms for inter-state relations, then 'we shall...defend ourselves with all the consequences this will entail for Africa'. These terms embrace the acceptance of South Africa's overriding interests in Southern Africa's stability, ie the maintenance of the economic status quo and the ending of all support for the liberation movements. Vorster warns Mozambique that it must appreciate the 'economic facts' and constitute a government in such a way as to accept South Africa's hegemony. Otherwise South Africa will defend itself 'with its full striking power'.

The commitment of the South African regime to the perpetuation of white supremacy, in the context of Portugal's decolonisation policies, is further revealed by the latest budget appropriations for defence expenditures. These expenditures will now rise by 55%, and include a 100% increase in spending for the expansion of South Africa's naval forces. The militarisation of the economy and country, embracing a vastly expanded naval and air force, the expansion of the already significant armaments industry, and the extension of the period for compulsory military service by the white population reflect the new crisis of white power. In recent months special measures have been taken to resolve the problems of manpower shortage for the armed forces by creating special Indian, Coloured and African military units.

## Zimbabwe: The Tightening Siege

The Smith regime has had to contend with a growing armed liberation struggle within Rhodesia. Its response has been to increase the period of military service, to create special *strategic battalions* to which the African people are being forced to move, and to obtain more armed units from South Africa. This has not improved the situation for the minority white regime. Sanctions are becoming tighter and Salisbury now faces the possibility of Portugal applying UN economic sanctions. The attempts at a settlement have failed and the

African people are reflecting a new mood of confidence due to the advance of the liberation struggle and the dramatic changes in neighbouring Mozambique. The Smith regime is now in severe crisis and this may result in yet another attempt to reach a settlement with Britain. In the coming year the developing situation in Rhodesia will be of major importance to the region as a whole.

Rhodesia remains a British responsibility and the only viable policy is to support the freedom struggle and reject any settlement which does not involve the liberation movements.

## Namibia

In Namibia the Bantustan policy has been a complete failure. The authorities have resorted to large-scale intimidation by means of arrests, detentions, torture and public floggings to suppress the spirit of resistance amongst the Namibian people. In December, the United Nations decided to end contacts with South Africa, which were being conducted by the Secretary-General. Sean McBride was subsequently appointed as the new Commissioner for Namibia.

Political trials and detentions of SWAPO leaders continue but have failed to overcome the determination of the Namibian people to free themselves from South African occupation.

## South Africa: The Resistance Grows

Resistance within South Africa has continued to grow and to express itself in new militant forms. The major strikes this year, following on the strikes of 1973, reflect the unity and strength of the African workers. In an effort to undermine this growing resistance, the South African regime has also attempted, by various manoeuvres, to split the Black alliance of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples.

Bantustans remain the central show-piece of apartheid and their Chiefs are deliberately being used not only to attract overseas investment capital to South Africa but also to encourage Africans to help defend the regime - for this purpose Bantustan Chiefs have been taken to visit counter-insurgency training camps.

Within the Coloured community, opposition to apartheid has led to the official Coloured Representative Council being prematurely prorogued. Certain sectors of the white community, such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), have also been selected as targets for special attack by the regime.

## Western Allies of Apartheid

Last year's Annual Report referred to the developing crisis for the white power system in Southern Africa, and to the new problems faced by the major Western powers following on the success of the African liberation struggles. Now, with the military coup in Portugal, it is not only South Africa but also its allies that face a serious crisis. The AAM has always warned that as the conflict in Southern Africa sharpens, Western countries will increasingly be drawn into more open support for the Pretoria regime in consequence of their economic and strategic interests in Southern Africa.

This growing alliance with the West gives the Vorster regime the confidence and support it needs to persist with the policy of apartheid, to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, to sabotage deliberately UN sanctions against Rhodesia, and provide the Smith regime with direct armed support. Britain, France and the United States are also placing a new importance on South Africa's defence role in the context of overall Western security, and NATO has been forced to admit that contingency plans for operations around Southern Africa have been prepared. A West German company, STEAG, is involved in helping to build a uranium enrichment plant in South Africa, and France has agreed to supply the Republic with nuclear reactors.

These growing military links are inevitably involved with the rapid integration of the Western world's economy with that of the apartheid system, thus moving the Western world closer to the position where any threat to the apartheid system will be seen as a threat to itself - this is precisely the position desired by South Africa. The decision taken by the Arab States last year to impose an oil boycott on South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal marked a welcome shift in policy, although the international oil companies have been trying to minimise its effects. South Africa has, however, been active in securing new allies - of special significance are its growing links with Iran and a number of South American states.

## Britain's Role

Explicit commitments by the Labour

Party to adhere closely to UN policy on Southern Africa, and the return of a Labour Government to office in March, raised hopes in respect of Britain's future role. The new government announced that policy on Southern Africa was undergoing a major 'review'. Initially the delivery of one Westland helicopter was stopped and the Lions rugby tour condemned, but in matters of trade, investment and defence, policy remained unchanged. The massive British naval exercise with the South African fleet during August served to indicate the deep level of British involvement on the side of the apartheid system, although it was in direct violation of declared Labour Party policy. To date, the 'review' has not been published. The extent of British economic and military links has increased, and the Labour Government's performance since March does not provide grounds for optimism.

In this context the decision of the TUC to send a mission to South Africa, despite the protests of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), was retrograde to the cause of isolating the apartheid regime. The mission's report in large measure contradicts established TUC policy on disengagement from South Africa, particularly on the all-important issue of the withdrawal of British investment. It also diverges from the resolution adopted by the ILO Workers' Section Conference Against Apartheid held in Geneva in June 1973. The mission's report signified a retreat from TUC Congress policies on South Africa and may hinder the trade union movement from effectively mobilising opposition to apartheid by British workers.

In particular the Movement is alarmed at the proposal that the TUC should sponsor an international fund which will seek to organise African workers independently of SACTU and existing trade union organisations inside the country. British trade unionists should reject this policy as inimical to the principles of international trade unionism, viz. that union leadership shall be answerable to their own membership.

The AAM opposed the visit and drew attention to the dangers inherent in the report. We welcome the growing awareness among British trade unionists of the

importance of campaigning for the implementation of TUC Congress resolutions against apartheid. The need for constant pressure and action to disengage Britain from South Africa has perhaps never been as great as it is today.

## Future Perspectives

South Africa's growing military power and aggressive posture towards neighbouring African territories is known. Its response to the momentum towards freedom and independence in Southern Africa has been to threaten armed intervention.

In welcoming the new policies of Portugal it has to be noted that the process of independence for Mozambique is by no means complete. Forces opposed to African liberation are bound to make themselves felt more directly in the future and the Movement's role and responsibilities in the coming year will be even more vital than in the past.

Britain's central supporting role for the white power system in Southern Africa constitutes a grave threat to the peace and security of the world: by continuing to provide economic, political and military support to the apartheid system it makes the Pretoria regime more confident in its expansionist and aggressive role. British policy should be geared to disengagement from South Africa, to help bring about majority rule in Rhodesia, and to end South Africa's illegal occupation in Namibia. This policy can only be effectively implemented by supporting the African liberation movements and acting in solidarity with their struggle - it is the AAM's responsibility to continue to work along these lines as it has done for the past 15 years.

The situation in Angola is doubly complicated. The vast natural wealth of the country makes it a prize that business interests in Portugal and other countries will not lightly abandon, while divisions among the liberation movements provide an excuse to delay the decolonisation process. President Spínola, while taking personal charge of the negotiations, has made no attempt to talk to the liberation movements, who have rejected the only plan so far put forward by Lisbon.

# No Collaboration

Aware of support derived by the white minority regimes in Southern Africa from international links and especially the economic support given by governments, banks and companies, the AAM launched a national campaign to end collaboration, embracing particularly the areas of investment, trade and white migration.

## Investment

The Movement has continued to provide material explaining the role of foreign investment in the apartheid economy and to assist activities by producing documentation giving the background to the questions raised. These are frequently associated with 'let's work to raise wages' as opposed to calling for a ban on all further investment and for ultimate withdrawal. There is no evidence to support the thesis that those companies which invest in apartheid attempt to reform the system from within. Such minor wage increases as have been given to black workers, mostly consumed by rising inflation, do not affect the fundamental structure of exploitation which deny the African people political and economic power. In many cases the growth of industrial action by the African workers themselves - in defiance of the apartheid laws which deny them freedom to strike - has forced companies to raise wages. The call for investment in the Bantustans has been another attempt by the South African regime to undermine the international campaign against apartheid.

The Movement has continued to take initiatives with councils, universities, trade unions and other organisations to withdraw their investment in firms with South African subsidiaries. Background information is supplied and assistance given to individuals working on this issue in these fields. Examples of the action that has been taken are that Norwich City Corporation withdrew its investment in Consolidated Goldfields towards the end of last year, and Lambeth Borough Council decided to sell its Superannuation Fund holdings in companies involved in South Africa. Hammersmith Borough Council sold the bulk of its RTZ shares in April, keeping only a nominal holding in order to gain representation at shareholders meetings. Also Hertfordshire County Council decided to sell all its shares in companies registered in South Africa and not to acquire any new investment in such companies. An application for exemption from the ruling that local authorities must do business with the lowest tender was made to the Home Office by Redditch District Council in order to avoid using Barclays Bank.

Students at Durham, University College London, Oxford, Leeds, Bath, Cambridge, York and Royal Holloway College are among those who have been particularly active in the campaign. York University authorities recommended that their Council sell shares in companies with 'substantial' investment in South Africa.

In January the Council of Senate of Cambridge University referred the matter of disinvestment to the 'Committee on Student Matters' which has not as yet reached a decision. In May, Churchill College Cambridge decided to sell its shares in companies involved in Southern Africa.

The Junior Common Room of Christ Church College Oxford asked the college to withdraw its account from Barclays Bank and to publish a list of the college's investment in firms with large South African interests; it has also instructed that its own account be withdrawn from Barclays and that no South African produce be sold in the college shop or butchery.

University College London has demanded that the college sell all shares in companies which refuse to give assurances that they do not supply arms to the South African Defence Force and that they will make no further investment in South Africa. UCL has produced a pamphlet on the companies concerned and has been asked by the Provost to prepare a list of questions to be asked at the AGMs of these companies.

Bath University has begun a disinvestment campaign and a resolution has been passed asking the university authorities not to sign a contract with Barclays Bank. The Barclays campus branch has also been picketed.

The Royal Holloway College Student Union is another that has agreed to withdraw its account from Barclays Bank; the Leeds University Barclays branch was picketed in October and a disinvestment campaign conducted.

The NUS/AAM student network have made extensive plans for the stepping up of this campaign in the coming year (see *Student Activity*).

Anti-Apartheid Committees in West London, Sheffield and Aberdeen, among others, have been working on this issue, and their activities are more fully reported in the section covering *Local Activity*.

The Movement has also taken part in the End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA) campaign. This has concentrated on the Midland Bank, which is part of a consortium which has extended massive loans to South Africa. Demonstrations have been held in London and these have been combined with the nationwide infiltration into Midland branches of false Giro credit forms with the words 'Deposit on Apartheid'.

New and updated background papers are available on Barclays, GEC, ICI, ICL, Rothmans and GKN; the list of British companies with subsidiaries and/or associates in South Africa has also been updated, and details of companies involved in Namibia and Rhodesia are available.

Anti-Apartheid supporters together with other groups have attended the annual general meetings in London of Lonrho, Barclays Bank, RTZ, Charter Consolidated and GEC. The questions and discussion

on Southern Africa have in most cases been covered by the press but such attendance has hitherto produced few concrete results. It has been useful in that it has served to publicise the issues and to embarrass the companies.

Following the World Council of Churches' decision to withdraw its investment from all firms with South African subsidiaries, the issue has continued to engage the attention of the churches in Britain. While concentrating largely on the improvement of wages and working conditions, their efforts in this and other areas have contributed to a heightened awareness of the Southern African situation. The debate continues. More recently the WCC took a decision to withdraw its funds from certain banks which continue to grant loans to the South African Government.

In March the recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Wages and Conditions of South African workers employed by British companies were announced at a press conference. In its statement on the Report the Movement pointed out that '...The Code of Practice proposed falls short of requiring companies to adopt non-racial employment practices and in any case is not binding on British firms. The emphasis on the Poverty Datum Line and the Minimum Effective Level as valid standards reveals the failure of the Committee to give serious consideration to the major responsibility of British firms as direct beneficiaries of the apartheid system. The Report also fails to recognise the direct political role of British firms with investments in South Africa which act as lobbyists on behalf of the apartheid system...'

Approaches on this issue to the government and to MPs have been sustained and with the advent of a Labour Government in March the Movement has pressed for the implementation of Conference resolutions which are specific on the issue of a ban on all further investment in South Africa. While recognising the difficulties of a minority government and the pressing nature of domestic issues, the Movement questions whether the political will exists to implement Labour's disengagement programme. There are, however, many MPs whose position on this issue remains unequivocal and these pressures need to be maintained at a high level.

The growing momentum of the anti-apartheid campaign has provoked intensified advertising of a pro-apartheid nature throughout Britain, in the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and in most European countries. It has emanated from three main sources - the South African Information Offices, the Trust Bank of Africa and the Club of Ten. This massive effort is clearly part of an overall strategy to neutralise the force of the campaign.

## British Military Collaboration

The arms embargo against South Africa has been largely, though not completely, upheld by the Labour Government.

Spare and know-how have got through and though, in consequence of parliamentary pressure, the last Westland helicopter was not delivered - seven had been ordered by South Africa at the time of the Conservative government - massive joint naval exercises have taken place.

On 24 August the *Guardian* reported that six British warships and three fleet auxiliary ships were on their way to Simonstown and Cape Town to undertake a week-long exercise with the South African Navy. The Movement immediately made efforts to alert as many Members of Parliament as could be contacted in this holiday period, wrote letters to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Defence and the Foreign Secretary pointing out that this military collaboration was 'at variance both with policy defined in the Labour Party Programme for 1973 and with resolutions passed at Conference'. A statement on the action taken was given to the *Observer* declaring that supporters of the Labour Party will be 'outraged' at this evidence of military collaboration with the racist and fascist regime which is 'ultimately self-defeating and a betrayal of the aspirations of the majority of people in Southern Africa that will not easily be forgotten'.

A leaflet giving the background was printed and circulated to AAM members and others urging action on the issue, and contact was made with a number of CLPs who lodged their protest at Transport House.

The leaflet was also circulated at the TUC in Brighton and a telegram sent to General Secretary Len Murray and to Jack Jones, General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union and Chairman of the TUC International Committee, urging 'strong condemnation' of these joint exercises. A letter in similar vein addressed to the *Times*, signed by the General Secretaries of nine trade unions, was circulated and appeared on 6 September.

These naval exercises involve the use of South African weapons-training facilities and provide the South Africans with the experience they need to improve their performance as well as confirming Britain's strategic support for South Africa.

The replies to the Movement's letters have stated: '...The latest visits do not represent a change of policy and any further visits will be looked at on their merits...Our future Defence needs in the area are being examined at the moment in the context of the wide-ranging Defence Review announced on 21 March...'

Whatever the government in power, opposition to the sale of arms and the re-sale of British-made weapons, as in the case of Jordan, to South Africa, to all military collaboration, and to the sale of South African arms abroad is central to the work of the Movement. The South

African military machine continues to grow in strength. It is a threat to the freedom struggle of the majority of people in Southern Africa to whose cause the Movement is committed, and to the independence of neighbouring African States.

## White Migration

The 1973 figures for UK emigration to Rhodesia and South Africa are 700 and 13,200 respectively. Though these indicate a slight drop on earlier years, there is a rising trend in the 1974 figures in respect of South Africa, some of which may be accounted for by the exodus of whites from Rhodesia and latterly from Mozambique. The influx of white immigrants from Britain - strictly vetted by the South African Immigration Department to ensure that they are white - represents largely skilled workers, managerial and professional people who will inevitably contribute their skills and know-how to strengthening the apartheid economy and thus to the maintenance of the apartheid system; and to depriving the black majority of the possibility of improved job opportunities.

Emigrants to South Africa may then move on and add to the white population of Namibia and Rhodesia, though the figures for this are difficult to obtain.

The major recruiting agencies for migrants are the South African Immigration Offices, of which there are seven in Britain (in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Sheffield and Newcastle), companies and organisations such as the 1820 Settlers Association and the Springbok Association. In addition, newspaper advertising is widely used, more so in a particular area where large-scale redundancies are known to be taking place. Glossy brochures and leaflets are freely given out, presenting the situation in South Africa as being entirely stable and where the 'elusive pot of gold' (*Sun*, 19.9.73) can be found.

Opposition to this outflow of support for apartheid is widespread. International bodies such as the United Nations, World Council of Churches, International Labour Organisation have called for an end to emigration to South Africa, and in Britain the Trades Union Congress, British Council of Churches, National Union of Students and others have taken a similar stand.

The campaign to discourage emigration has taken a number of forms - members of the Movement continue to attend meetings of the Springbok Association, which encourages visits to South Africa, raising questions when this is possible, distributing leaflets, and in some cases ensuring that permission to use the hotel or hall booked for the meeting is withdrawn. A leaflet putting the facts of the situation in Southern Africa to potential emigrants has been widely used and pickets at South African immigration offices have been organised - one instance of this took place in March when the Glasgow AA Committee organised a demonstration at these offices to coincide

with the No Collaboration activity on the Sharpeville anniversary.

A series of actions have been suggested to a number of trade unions for the implementation of the TUC resolution to discourage emigration to South Africa. These have included the production of leaflets by the individual unions, articles in their journals and branch meetings on this issue.

The Movement is constantly alert to any infringement of this resolution, and when the March issue of the AUEW (Foundry Section) journal *Foundry Worker* carried a full-page advertisement for foundry foremen to work in South Africa, this was taken up with the union. It was pointed out that it has been TUC policy since 1969 to oppose emigration to South Africa. The union's reply stated that it provides 'a service for members who want to emigrate to any part of the world, and this includes South Africa. We also provide them with a letter of introduction to the South African Union.' The matter was taken up again in August. Bill Simpson, General Secretary, wrote: 'I can advise you that it is the opinion of my National Council that we should not accept any further advertisements from South Africa', and later in the month he confirmed 'that no further advertisements will be inserted in our Journal in respect of employment in South Africa.' The service to members wishing to emigrate to South Africa and the letter of introduction to the South African Union are being pursued.

In the United States campaigns on this issue by the American Committee on Africa and other anti-apartheid groups have resulted in the New York City Human Rights Commission ordering the *New York Times* to stop publishing advertisements for jobs in South Africa. They alleged that the advertisements violated fair advertising laws which forbid discrimination on grounds of race in employment advertisements 'because as a matter of law there exists in South Africa a systematic discrimination in employment based on race, colour and national origin'.

Since June 1968 advertisements for migrants and jobs in Rhodesia have been illegal. Two advertisements clearly intended to encourage emigration to Rhodesia appeared in the *Spectator* and *Economist* towards the end of last year. The Movement immediately drew this to the attention of the Director of Public Prosecutions, sent copies to the Commonwealth Secretariat and the United Nations, and alerted MPs to raise the matter in the Commons. A legal opinion was prepared by Tony Gifford and this too was forwarded to the DPP. The Editors of both journals were finally brought to Court and found guilty. These advertisements were seen by the Movement as part of the drive for white immigrants announced by

Smith as the Settler '74 campaign. To date this has had little success.

Plans for concerted action on this issue have been made. These involve new approaches to the national press and to specialist journals. The British Medical Journal, for instance, no longer advertises jobs in South Africa and this ban needs to be extended to other specialist bodies, particularly the architectural and building press. Since all jobs advertised in South Africa and Namibia are for whites-only, the Movement is pressing for an amendment to the Race Relations Act to ensure that these ads, which discriminate on grounds of colour, are forbidden under the Act, as are jobs in Britain which so discriminate. Recently the Foreign Office have granted licences to a number of journals to advertise jobs in Rhodesia in the fields of health and education. These ads contravene the UN Sanctions Order and, though the FO has been pressed on this, relaxation of the Sanctions Order was agreed under the Conservative Government and action needs to be taken at this level.

Together with trade unions, churches and other sympathetic organisations (including the BCC), intensified action against emigration to Southern Africa is planned for the coming year.

## Trade

As part of the No Collaboration campaign, the Movement initiated a new campaign for the boycott of South African goods - particularly Cape Fruit and Outspan Oranges - which gives people a chance to refuse to support apartheid by personal and collective activity. Sympathetic organisations and individuals were contacted and several planning meetings held. On 5 February a meeting of youth organisations - with representatives from the AUEW Youth Dept, British Youth Council, Overseas Students Coordinating Committee, United Nations Youth & Student Association, Third World First, British Council of Churches Youth Dept, Communist Party, and others - was held and resulted in a commitment to active support. Their members were sent information about the campaign and a number of demonstrations against shops selling South African products were organised. The campaign was discussed within the NUS/AAM activist student network and several colleges and universities undertook to campaign against South African products being served or sold at the university or college.

This was followed by a national planning meeting on 16 February, at which a useful discussion took place on the ways in which local anti-apartheid groups could participate. Following this meeting the World Development Movement undertook to send information material to their constituent groups and this resulted in at least nine WDM groups taking an active

part in this campaign. Support was also promised by trade unions, church groups, the United Nations Association and the British Peace Committee.

With this body of support active against the sale of South African products, the final planning meeting was held on 5 March and the weekend of 23/24 March, marking the 14th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, was decided on for a major public thrust in the campaign. A considerable amount of work had been done on a national level prior to this date. Major importers and distributors of South African produce in this country had been written to and a copy of this letter was reprinted in *Outspan News*. This journal is received by fruit farmers in South Africa, a number of whom have written protesting at the campaign. Background papers, briefing notes and publicity material (leaflets, stickers, pledges to boycott South African produce, and latterly, printed T-shirts 'Boycott Outspan Oranges') were made available. And articles on the campaign appeared in a number of newspapers and journals.

### Sharpeville Commemoration

On 23 March, the first Saturday of major activity, chosen to mark the 14th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, groups all over the country were on the streets, picketing shops, leafleting, collecting pledges, holding public meetings. In some areas street theatre and motorcades were organised. Activity was well sustained for three months. Oxford AA Group, for instance, set up an ad hoc committee and launched an intensive six weeks of activity. A briefing party was held, attended by over 100 people; this was followed by a press conference chaired by the Lord Mayor of Oxford, and a public meeting. Shops were picketed each week and a photographic exhibition was mounted and displayed in libraries and schools. Every opportunity was taken to publicise the campaign - including the town festival where the group had a stall distributing information on the campaign, organised street theatre, and displayed enlarged portraits of Vorster, Smith and Caetano as targets for rotten fruit throwing. Barnet and Haringey AA Groups held a conference of local organisations and started the campaign in their areas with a motorcade, picketing and leafleting. Barnet have repeated the motorcade and have arranged demonstrations at regular intervals throughout the campaign. Haringey AA Group, formed partly as a result of the campaign, as was the South London Group, have undertaken similar activity. The West London AA Group held monthly pickets of local supermarkets from October to July, with an extra picket on 23 March to coincide with the national activity. (See also *Local Activity*.)

The consumer boycott was the main

focus for these activities and the material produced by the Movement was widely used. This first stage of the campaign culminated in the Freedom Convention in 30 June, which brought together the broad range of the Movement's campaign on Southern Africa. It provided an opportunity for an exhibition illustrating the campaign and further distribution of information and publicity material.

Other aspects of this campaign involved approaches to the Israeli Embassy when the Movement learnt that the promotion of oranges from South Africa and Israel, which are sold at different times of the year, was to be undertaken jointly. The response from the Embassy was highly unsatisfactory and this matter is being pursued.

Included among the Councils which have taken action on the issue of trade with South Africa in the past year are Lambeth Borough and Aberdeen - both are now to boycott goods produced in South Africa.

At government level and with Labour in power the Movement pressed for action towards its 'disengagement' pledge. A series of articles in *Tribune* exposed the fact that far from moving in the direction of disengagement the Labour Government planned to subsidise sixteen trade missions to South Africa, the largest number to any country, and to assist with subsidies firms exhibiting at four trade fairs in Johannesburg. Articles also appeared in *Labour Weekly* and other journals. This rejection of Labour Party policy was taken up with the Minister of Trade, with other Cabinet Ministers and with the Prime Minister. The correspondence that has ensued puts a great deal of weight on the forthcoming Review of policy on Southern Africa. Following on these revelations, which also appeared in *Anti-Apartheid News*, Luton Trades Council, for one, lodged a protest and the Movement learnt recently that the subsidy for the Luton trade mission has been withdrawn and the trip cancelled.

An important part of AAM work under this heading has been done within the Co-operative Movement. During the past year resolutions have been proposed at Members Meetings for the boycott of South African goods, lobbying work has been done among members and shop managers, and pickets and leaflet distributions have taken place outside Co-op shops.

In October a conference, 'South Africa and Us', attended by a hundred people, was held jointly by the Northwest Co-operative Society, the Manchester & Salford Trades Council, and the Manchester Anti-Apartheid Group. Speakers included Dick Seabrook, former President of USDAW, and a useful discussion took place on the extension of the No Collaboration campaign.

In April the LCS Political Committee passed a resolution committing its

members to a campaign to 'create a climate of opinion in this country against the import and sale of South African goods'. Following this a meeting took place on 18 April between the AAM and the LCS Political Committee at which further cooperation on the campaign in practical terms was discussed and initiatives will be taken in the rest of the country in the coming months.

A paper, *The Co-op abhors apartheid but...*, has been produced by the Movement and will be of use particularly to local committees. The LCS Education Committee is planning a seminar on Southern Africa in the near future.

### Southern Africa Freedom Convention 30 June 1974

The Convention was held to mark South Africa Freedom Day - 26 June - which is also the day on which the Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded 15 years ago. It was also a culminating point for the first stage in the No Collaboration campaign and the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa. In fact, plans formulated also embraced the broad spectrum of AAM campaigns, the work of local groups and related organisations.

Advance publicity was obtained in a number of newspapers and journals, including the *Guardian* and *Time Out*; leaflets and posters were produced and distributed by the Movement and other organisations.

The Convention, held in the open air at Camden Lock, started at 11 am when stalls were set up with publicity and information material, picture and poster exhibitions, and individuals manning these able to deal in an expert fashion with the stall subject. The subjects were: Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa, and the liberation struggle in these territories; campaigns covered the Trade Unions and South Africa, Investment, Southern Africa The Imprisoned Society, the Professions in South Africa, the Sports Boycott, and Medical Aid. There was also a stall on the history of the AAM, a stall displaying African art, the work of Local Committees, and a fund-raising stall. The venue and the display attracted a great deal of interest and brought in many people hitherto uninvolved in these issues. Taped speeches by Amílcar Cabral and Chief Luthuli were played, and live music was provided by an African group. While the stalls were functioning, films were shown in a hall at the Lock, including *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, *South Africa Loves Jesus*, *A Luta Continua*, and a film strip on Namibia.

In the afternoon Bishop Reeves chaired a public meeting at the Lock, where speakers included Ray Buckton, General Secretary of ASLEF, Jo Richardson MP, M. Piliiso (ANC), Abdul Minty, and Ambassador Ogbu, Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, who had flown over specially to take part. Noreen Hosey, sister of Sean Hosey who is a political prisoner in South Africa, presented him with the signed petitions calling on the UN to press for the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

At the conclusion of the meeting, activity on the stalls was resumed. The participating organisations included the International Defence & Aid Fund, Committee for Freedom in Mozambique Angola & Guiné, United Nations Association, UN Youth & Student Association, and this new method of presenting the Southern African situation and the nature and extent of British responsibility in the area was considered a useful exercise in gaining new supporters for the Southern African struggle.

Following on the day's events, a fund-raising evening was held at Dingwall's - also situated on the Lock (see *Finance & Fund-Raising*).

## Sports Boycott

The major focus of our effort has been the campaign to stop the Lions tour of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. In the Annual Report for 1972/3 information was given about the establishment of the Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART) Committee, which included the South African Non-Racial Open Committee, the AAM, NUS, and the Irish AAM as the active working membership, plus the Student Christian Movement, Young Liberals, Labour Party Young Socialists and the Young Communists as sponsors, which was launched with a press conference in August 1973. The committee was aware that the difficulties associated with working to dissuade the team from going to Southern Africa, as opposed to preventing one from coming to Britain, necessitated a different campaigning approach. It was agreed that the campaign plan would include direct and written approaches to the Four Home Unions Tour Committee, similar approaches to likely members of the team, pressure on Parliament and on the Government to take action, as well as alerting trade unions, political parties and organisations in the UK, and AA movements abroad who are active on this issue, such as in New Zealand and Australia. Approaches would also be made to the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, to the United Nations and to the Organisation of African Unity.

A list of prospective members of the team from England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland was produced, giving addresses, plus a list of the season's principal rugby fixtures, and these sent out to local AA groups and others in the different regions keen to participate in the campaign, together with a printed leaflet for distribution. It was suggested that the groups approach the captains of the different teams playing in their area, arrange leaflet distributions and pickets outside the matches, and write to all the players listed urging them not to go and to dissuade others from going. It was also suggested that local rugby clubs be approached and resolutions proposed urging the cancellation of the tour.

Mr Agar, Secretary of the Rugby Home Unions, refused to meet representatives of the Committee despite repeated requests. The SART launching press conference had been well covered in the national press and coverage continued to be generally good. Organisations and trade unions passed resolutions condemning the tour and a letter sent by 22 Welsh Members of Parliament to the Four Home Unions Committee asking that the tour be cancelled was widely reported.

At the end of the year a placard demonstration was organised at the England vs Australia match which took place at Twickenham. Letters were delivered to the two team captains and leaflets distributed. Protests against the tour were sent by the AA Movements in Australia and New Zealand, and with the tour scheduled to start in May the campaign momentum escalated in the New Year. In Ireland the AAM had obtained a large and representative list of signatories - including Government ministers - to a declaration calling on the 'Irish Rugby Football Union to withdraw from the tour, and on all Irish rugby players to make manifest their rejection of apartheid in sport by opposing the tour'. In Britain two letters were circulated for signature, one addressed to individual players, the other to the Four Home Unions Tour Committee. These were signed by well known sportsmen, leading trade unionists, Members of Parliament, artists, academics and churchmen, and announced at a successful press conference at the House of Commons on 6 March taken by Peter Hain and Abdul Minty and chaired by Ron Taylor, Chairman of SART. Editorials appeared in a number of national newspapers, including the *Mirror*, *Sunday Times*, *Sun*, *Morning Star* and *Guardian*, stating that 'bridge-building' was 'fruitless' and that 'in sport, cause and effect, right and wrong, are now pretty clear'. On 13 March, a public meeting was held with John Taylor, the Welsh and British Lions international, as the main speaker, and on

16 March a further demonstration was held at Twickenham at the England vs Wales match.

The special circumstances involved in the team's playing in Namibia and Rhodesia, the former occupied by South Africa in defiance of UN resolutions and the Opinion of the International Court, and the latter ruled by an illegal regime, were constantly brought to the public's attention. Cables drawing the tour to their attention and urging public condemnation were sent to the UN Security Council Sanctions Committee, to the UN Council for Namibia, and to the OAU. The UN Committee on Apartheid had called for the cancellation of the tour early in the campaign.

One aspect of the South Africans' counter-campaign was the presence in Britain of a South African black journalist, Leslie Sehume, who was widely used in debates on television and radio opposing the SART campaign, until press reports in South Africa quoting black community leaders condemned his statements and declared him unrepresentative.

The British Government called on the Four Home Unions Tour Committee to reconsider its plans, and on 29 April the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa issued a statement affirming its opposition to such sporting exchanges, resolving to request its member countries 'to suspend sporting relations between Great Britain and Africa' if the tour was not cancelled. Despite the discussions with the Government and the worldwide protests, the tour went ahead, without seven star players who had declared themselves unavailable before the team selection was announced.

During the team's stay in South Africa, the British Government instructed the Embassy to hold no official receptions for the team. But the Government's opposition to the tour was neutralised when Denis Howell, Minister for Sport, attended the reception given for the Lions at London Airport on their return to this country (the reception was also attended by Edward Heath). SART had demonstrated at the Lions' hotel prior to their departure for Southern Africa, and was there to 'greet' them on their return.

In South Africa, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the South African Rugby Union and the South African Sports Council had opposed the tour and at least one demonstration against the Lions is known to have taken place. The SART committee has decided not to disband but, with the name changed to read Stop All Racist Tours, will come together as and when needed.

Dr Piet Koornhof, South Africa's Minister of Sport, described the tour as a moral victory for South Africa, thus confirming the arguments that had been put forward against the tour.

Action was taken on several other teams from Southern Africa which toured this country, notably the Natal University Rugby Club and the Johannesburg Wanderers cricket team. In the former case, out of six matches two were cancelled and two disrupted as the result of anti-apartheid protests. The tour of Cambridge University Rugby Club to Rhodesia was made unofficial after pressure from the university authorities following student protest.

The campaign to prevent South Africa's and Rhodesia's participation in the International Womens Hockey Federation tournament to be held in Edinburgh in the summer of 1975 has achieved its objective. The Edinburgh Corporation threatened not to allow the use of their Sports Centre for the event if these countries participated, and issued a directive to the Scottish Sports Council asking them to withhold financial support. On 15 September it was announced that South Africa and Rhodesia would not take part.

Supportive action was also taken in relation to campaigns abroad against collaboration with racist sport. One such instance was the letters written to the Canadian Gymnasts Federation and the Canadian Government in support of the campaign against a Canadian sports tour of South Africa. South Africa was recently expelled from the Federation of International Gymnasts (FIG). This followed Bulgaria's refusal to issue visas to the all-white Springbok team chosen to take part in the 1974 World Championships. Some members of FIG attempted to move the championships to Munich but this was defeated by member countries opposed to apartheid sport. The Japanese AAM has been particularly active on the sports issue, among others, and in June the Japanese Government announced that it would not allow South Africans to enter the country to take part in sporting events, cultural or educational activities.

South Africa's exclusion from most major international sports and Rhodesia's exclusion from many has clearly not prevented all sports exchanges. Committees in New Zealand, Australia, Ireland and Britain continue to act forcefully on this issue but it is vital that the issue of sports exchanges is not dealt with in isolation. It needs to be linked to the campaigns against collaboration with apartheid and racism in other fields.

## Cultural Boycott

The cultural boycott continues to be the subject of debate among playwrights, film-makers and musicians. Much of the debate is undoubtedly genuine but there are powerful elements allied to the apartheid-inspired

campaign to undermine the stand taken by many playwrights, film-makers and musicians against the institutionalised racism practised in Southern Africa.

The cultural boycott is a valuable part of the wider struggle for the achievement of a non-racial society in Southern Africa. It has illumined the evil of segregation and the incompatibility of apartheid practices with the purposes of art. With television starting in South Africa in January 1976, the boycott assumes an even wider significance.

Particular tribute must be paid to the Musicians Union and the Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians (ACTT) for their sustained and unswerving opposition to collaboration with these racist practices. More recently - in August this year, - Equity, the Actors' Union, passed a resolution placing a ban on any television programme featuring its members being sold to South Africa. The ban will operate retrospectively. With this decision Equity joins the ACTT and the International Federation of Audio Visual Workers in refusing any cooperation with South African television. Though a number of British television technicians have taken jobs in South African television, the *Johannesburg Star* (26.5.73) reported that the overall recruiting campaign in Britain 'was unsuccessful owing to the opposition of the UK union ACTT, which announced that any technician taking a job in South Africa would lose his union card'. The South Africans have since embarked on extensive recruiting drives but this decision stands. The constant effort and vigilance of the Musicians Union, which has since the fifties refused to allow its members to perform in South Africa while apartheid prevails, has been and continues to be a most significant contribution to the overall struggle.

In November the cultural boycott was again publicly debated when a number of film-makers, notably Michael Klinger, decided to film in South Africa. In consequence of the ACTT decision some of the proposed films were not in fact made but Klinger went ahead with the film *Gold*, backed largely by South African money. The union adhered to its policy of not allowing members to work in South Africa and the boycott became a fiercely disputed issue among the ACTT membership. This resulted in two resolutions to the Annual Conference, one for the maintenance of the boycott, the other for its abandonment.

On 10 February Ronald Harwood, a South African-born playwright and novelist, wrote a long article in the *Sunday Times* arguing for increased cultural links as a 'method of undermining apartheid' (our quotes). An article putting the opposing view, suggested by the Movement, unfortunately did not appear. With the cultural boycott again under attack, the Movement prepared background information on the situation in South Africa and circulated it among playwrights and film-makers, and held meetings with them to ensure that the

arguments for and against could be thoroughly aired. Edward Bond agreed to write a letter to the *Times* which was circulated by the Movement and which appeared in the paper in March. Signatories included Robert Bolt, David Mercer, John Osborne, John Arden, Margaretta D'Arcy, Jim Allen, Henry Livings, John McGrath, Kenneth Tynan, Bernice Rubens, John Morgan and Edward Bond. The Movement's request to hold a literature stall at the ACTT Conference on 6 April was granted, and special documentation was produced and handed out to each member attending the Conference. The resolution calling on '...members of the ACTT to stand firmly by and defend its policies...' in regard to South Africa was passed with 111 for, 79 against.

In July a *Fact Sheet on South African Television* was produced and subsequently given to members of Equity and ACTT. The document also appeared as an article in *AA News*.

'Discrimination on grounds of colour is written into South African law and any performance given, any film made and any work done in that country is governed by these laws' - Bond's letter. For these reasons and the fact that the boycott has been called for by the African people, a call endorsed by the UN and other international bodies, the boycott needs not only to be maintained but to be extended. The debate continues and the Movement needs to be alert and vigilant.

## Architects Against Apartheid

In the latter half of the year covered by this Report, it has been difficult for the architects committee to meet, but the work has continued and a meeting is planned to work out the campaign emphasis in the coming year.

In October and November discussion meetings were held at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the Architectural Association (AA) at which the situation in South Africa, with particular reference to the position of the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA) and the absence of opportunity for the black people of South Africa to study architecture or town planning under the apartheid system were thoroughly discussed. At the AA meeting a resolution was passed and subsequently forwarded to the Presidents of the RIBA and Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) with a letter signed by the President of the AA. The text of the resolution, proposed by Cedric Price, read: 'That retaining links between professionals in UK and SA masks our opposition to apartheid. And that for this reason this meeting demands that the RIBA and the RTPI sever all institutional links and special relationships with professions in South Africa.' The report on the meeting in the *Architects Journal*

(22.11.73) concluded: '...with such a cool straightforward motion, seconded by Peter Ahrends and Sir Hugh Casson in the chair, no one - on RIBA/RTPI Council or elsewhere - should be allowed lightly to dismiss this considered conclusion...'

Following the earlier rejection by the RIBA Council of the resolution to sever links with the ISAA, it had been agreed to set up a group 'to consider what can be done constructively in conjunction with the Institute of South African Architects to promote architectural education and practice in South Africa, for all, without discrimination'. The proposals from this group were that the ISAA set up a fund to support needy students of all races during their university career; that the RIBA raise a fund to found pre-university scholarships in 'Bantu schools'; and that the two institutes, together with the Commonwealth Association of Architects, 'arrange regular teacher and student exchanges between South Africa and the Commonwealth'.

These proposals, which had been ecstatically welcomed by the ISAA, were raised at the RIBA Council meeting in February. The anti-apartheid position was fought for at this meeting and Kate Mackintosh's motion questioning the appropriateness of retaining links with the ISAA had strong speakers declaring that these links should be severed. An amendment to the motion, calling on the president and others concerned to cause an investigation into RIBA relations with overseas bodies to be undertaken as a matter of real urgency, was finally taken as a separate motion and passed, and the Mackintosh motion was defeated by 21 to 19, with a number of abstentions. Though the resolution was defeated, these figures indicate a considerable advance in the intervening months and that a number of Council members have changed their position. Nine schools of architecture sent telegrams to the RIBA President calling for the breaking of links and the issue engages growing attention both in the architectural press and among architects themselves.

In the debate a Council member was reported to have said: 'Building bridges strengthens apartheid, burning them weakens it.' This position, borne out as it is by the political facts, is now gaining more adherents in the profession and also gaining support for the overall struggle.

A number of initiatives have been taken against collaboration with apartheid in this field. Following representations made by the AAM to the Indian High Commission in April, the Indian Government stopped a visit to South Africa by a group of architects, engineers and builders who had planned to attend the third national building research congress, organised by the South African National Building Research Institute, which took place in May.

## Apartheid and Medicine

Following the report given last year on work done in this field, a member of the medical group went to Munich in October for the World Medical Association meeting. The South African Medical Association (SAMA) membership of the WMA became an issue which was debated. This resulted in a resolution stating that 'the World Medical Association *vehemently condemns* colour, race, political and religious discrimination of any form in the training of medical practitioners and in the practice of medicine and in the provision of health services...' and that the issue would be investigated. While this resolution was less specific than the situation demands, it was considered a useful starting point.

The annual meeting of the WMA took place in Sweden in September and the issue was discussed and subsequently referred to the Ethical Committee for consideration. The SAMA had prepared a written report and will certainly make every effort to avoid their possible expulsion from the WMA.

An interesting response to the campaign occurred at the SAMA meeting in South Africa where anxiety was expressed at the possible success of the campaign for their isolation. A decision was taken to refuse all advertisements in the SA Medical Journal which had racially discriminatory wage scales. Prior to this decision a conference of medical students held in Johannesburg attacked the Medical Journal and the speaker, referring to the advertisements carried, said: 'Where else in the world do you find an official journal of a medical association accepting advertisements from provincial and Government sources offering salaries for Africans, Coloureds and Asians, and Whites with the salary scales rising as the skin gets lighter?' (*Guardian*, 16.5.74). The attack on the SAMA at the WMA meeting was widely reported in the South African press and in a number of British journals.

The nature and degree of discrimination in education, in the training of doctors, in their salary scales, and in the availability of health care for Blacks and Whites in South Africa has been written up in a number of medical journals, including *Medical World* and *World Medicine*. And taking initiatives to spread this information is an important part of the AAM's work. Close contact is being maintained on this issue with many groups abroad, particularly in Ghana and Nigeria.

Initiatives are also being taken to stop medical journals in Britain from accepting advertisements for jobs in South Africa. The *British Medical Journal* has announced that it will no longer do so and approaches are being made to other specialist journals in this field.

# Southern Africa-The Imprisoned Society

Action on behalf of political prisoners and detainees in Southern Africa has hitherto been taken at the time of their arrest, trial and detention. Since the 'law' in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia allows for indefinite detention in solitary confinement without access to family, lawyers or friends, there are doubtless many who have endured and many who continue to endure these conditions and the torture and interrogation with which they are accompanied, and who have in effect simply 'disappeared'.

Benjamin Ramotse was such a case. Detained in June 1968, he was charged in August 1970, having spent 26 months in solitary confinement under the most brutal conditions and without anyone knowing of his detention. He is now serving a 15 year sentence on Robben Island.

For those who are serving their sentences - and many, such as Nelson Mandela, have now been in prison for more than ten years - there has been little sustained campaigning. It was to fulfil this need that Southern Africa-The Imprisoned Society - campaign to release all political prisoners - was launched with a one-day Conference on 8 December. The campaign is also a response to the call by the United Nations Committee on Apartheid and to the resolution adopted by the ILO Workers Section International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid held in Geneva in June 1973.

Representatives from the AUEW(TASS) Kitson Committee, the International Defence & Aid Fund, the National Union of Students and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are included on the SATIS Committee. The Conference itself, widely sponsored by Members of Parliament, trade union leaders, academics, artists and churchmen, was on this occasion focused particularly on the situation of political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. Anti-Apartheid and other committees abroad had been written to in advance and unified action on 8-10 December was called for. The response was positive and AA Committees in a number of countries, notably in Ghana, Germany, New Zealand and Australia, took up the campaign. Speakers at the Conference in London were the Rt Revd Trevor Huddleston, Ruth First, Albert Dloomo, John Gaetsewe, Frank Judd MP and John Ennals. The Conference documentation provided valuable background information, and the speakers - a number of whom spoke most movingly of their own experience - helped to create a climate for the ongoing work. Also, many useful suggestions for action emerged from the group discussions held during the Conference. At a report-back meeting on 8 February, Baruch Hirson who had, only a few months earlier, been released after serving a nine year sentence for his opposition to apartheid, spoke of the conditions under which he had had to serve his sentence, on the urgent need for

the campaign and on the undoubted effect such campaigns have on the South African authorities.

Following this meeting the SATIS Committee undertook to intensify its educational work, to produce a range of publicity material, to launch a public petition around which a number of actions could be organised, and to plan two major public events to heighten awareness on this issue. Biographies of a number of political prisoners and detainees were prepared (these include Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Herman Toivo ja Toivo among some 20 others, and they are continually being added to) and circulated to groups and organisations planning to 'adopt' prisoners. In addition, a list of political prisoners giving their occupations where known was researched, to facilitate 'adoption' by related groups in Britain.

An instance of this special involvement has been the work done among National Union of Teachers branches on behalf of S.R. Maharaj, who was himself a teacher and who is now serving a 12 year sentence on Robben Island. Teachers and members of NUT branches throughout the country have been circulating and signing a petition calling for his release which has now been forwarded to the South African Government.

Background details on particular trials, dating from the early sixties, were also made available and the research on these and other briefing documents was done largely by the IDAF. The Movement, as the organising base of the campaign, produced a leaflet, sticker and poster for distribution and the petition which read: 'I demand the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and call on the UN to exert every pressure on the South African Government to this end.' The AUEW(TASS), the NUS and the other organisations in SATIS distributed the petitions in Britain and abroad. Two 24-hour vigils were held on the steps of St Martins in the fields in London, on 11/12 April and on 31 May/1 June. Signatures to the petition were collected on both occasions, and posters were displayed and ten thousand leaflets distributed. The earlier demonstration coincided with a fast and vigil held within South Africa calling for the release of political prisoners in the country, and the later one with the campaign on this issue launched by the National Union of South African Students.

A special effort was made to expand the campaign within the churches and a letter, together with copies of the petition, was sent to all Rural Deans in the UK and to Bishops calling for a day of special prayer on 30 June. Follow-up action is now being pursued with those who responded to this letter.

The petitions, with more than 30,000 signatures, were presented to Ambassador Ogbu, Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, at the Freedom Convention held in London in 30 June (see *No Collaboration*). SATIS organised a stall at the Convention illustrating the situation of

political prisoners and detainees in Southern Africa which provoked a great interest among the committed and brought in many people as yet uninvolved.

The Birmingham and Mid-Sussex Committees have been conducting campaigns on behalf of political prisoners in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Special material has been produced and concrete help provided to prisoners, to detainees and to their families. The work that has been done and is being done has assisted in publicising the appalling conditions which these men and women are enduring.

Early in the year a representative from the Friends of Namibia Committee in London joined the Committee and was responsible for a comprehensive document on the situation of political prisoners and detainees in Namibia. During this year South Africa has intensified its reign of terror in Namibia. A large number of SWAPO officials have been detained and some have been charged. David Meroro, SWAPO National Chairman, was brought to trial in Windhoek on 3 September on charges of being in possession of banned literature. He had previously been held in detention for five months, interrogated and tortured.

Immediately following the coup in Portugal, the detainees at Gonakudzwingwa camp, which is situated close to the Rhodesia/Mozambique border, were moved from the camp to the various other prisons and camps in the country. The number of detainees increases daily, and the brutal conditions of their treatment and the treatment of those imprisoned was recently publicised by the churches in Rhodesia.

In South Africa the apartheid regime continues to detain, to ban, and to attempt to intimidate its opponents. African strikers have been arrested, more members of the South African Students Organisation, the Black Peoples Convention and the National Union of South African Students have been banned, and the banning order on Robert Sobukwe, leader of the banned Pan African Congress, has been renewed for another five years.

The Movement again prepared a list of the names and addresses of wives and families of political prisoners, of detainees, and of the banned in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. As in past years, this effort is immensely productive in developing relationships and generating support for the individual families.

Future plans include an eleven day Walk to be undertaken by ex-political prisoners from Southern Africa, which will start immediately after the AAM Annual General Meeting on 27 October. Public meetings will be organised at each overnight stop where different ex-political prisoners will speak and where suggestions for an intensified local community involvement in this campaign will be put forward. The sustained work on this issue within the trade

union movement, political parties, among students, churchmen, organisations and individuals needs to be brought to a new high level in the coming year.

#### Abraham Tiro and John Dube

The murder of two black leaders in

February this year was a tragic loss to the liberation struggle in South Africa. Both Abraham Tiro and John Dube were murdered by parcel bombs. The former was in Botswana at the time, and the latter in Zambia. Abraham Tiro, SASO Executive member, gave inspiring leadership to his fellow students in their opposition to the apartheid system. John Dube had

contributed a long and dedicated service in the anti-apartheid cause and was the representative in Zambia of the African National Congress of South Africa. The Movement issued press statements condemning these brutal acts and paying tribute to the courage of both men and to their sustained struggle against racism and exploitation.

## Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola

Much of the Movement's work listed under the specific territory headings is done within our campaigns on Southern Africa as a whole.

The changes that have taken place in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola as a result of the successes of the armed liberation struggle have gained a dramatic momentum since the Portuguese coup in April.

The State of Guinea-Bissau, declared independent by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde (PAIGC) in September 1973 has now been recognised by Portugal and the international community and Guinea-Bissau admitted as a member of the United Nations. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) is in the majority in the transitional government of Mozambique, which is to become fully independent in June 1975. In Angola, the situation is complicated and at this time the direction is uncertain.

The struggle continues and support for the liberation movements in all these

territories is urgently needed, both in mobilising the international community against the dangers of neo-colonialist intervention and in gaining economic support to assist them in the achievement of total liberation.

Since the establishment of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique Angola & Guiné (CFMAG) in 1968, the Movement's work on these areas has been done in cooperation with the Committee. The Movement has assisted in publicising Guiné Angola Mozambique Medical Action (GAMMA) through *AA News* and other material sent out from the office and at public meetings. In October/November, Mingas Saydi from the MPLA in Angola toured Britain - AA Committees were active in the organisation of meetings. The meeting in London, to mark MPLA Day, which took place on 4 February, was jointly organised by the CFMAG and the AAM..

Repeated representations were made to the British Government to fulfil its pre-election pledges and to recognise the independent Statehood of Guinea-Bissau.

Though this has now been done it followed regrettably only after formal recognition by Portugal.

In April Dr Boal from the PAIGC came to Britain and again the Movement and local AA groups cooperated in the arrangements for his programme.

A march and demonstration was held on 16 June - the day which marked the anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance - affirming support for the liberation movements. Mariano Matsinha of FRELIMO, the main speaker, stressed the need for 'unity and vigilance' on the part of the movements in solidarity with the people in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

The then FRELIMO representative in Tanzania, Joaquim Chissano, who is now Prime Minister of Mozambique, was one of the speakers at the AAM meeting at last year's Labour Party Conference, and at the meeting organised at the 1974 Liberal Assembly the changing situation in Portugal and Southern Africa was the central focus of discussion.

## Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

The growing strength of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe has led to the intensified oppression of the black majority by the white settler community. Thousands of Africans have been forcibly moved from their homes to 'protected villages' surrounded by security forces and under guard; forced labour has been introduced for Africans; crops and cattle have been destroyed and widespread brutality freely exercised by the Rhodesian army against the African people; and in the past year at least 22 liberation fighters have been hanged by the illegal regime.

The Movement has been active in protest against these murders. The matter has repeatedly been brought to the attention of the government, urging immediate action to stop these executions and pointing out that those involved 'are committing murder and should be told that they will be prosecuted for these crimes'. The Movement has further urged that the men now under sentence of death be publicly reprieved. Though assurances have been given that 'the Government...is greatly concerned about this matter', the reprieve has not yet been granted and is under consideration at this

time. The issue has been raised in Parliament and efforts have been made to ensure a wider press coverage. Recent press reports have been straight news items and there is a dangerous apathy about the situation of these men, who are British subjects and for whom responsibility rests with HMG.

The Dutch AAM's exposure of sanctions-busting in their Zephyr Report has now been added to by a further report on two big tobacco firms involved in a massive sanctions-busting exercise - these are Rothmans and A.L. van Beek. The Movement has circulated both documents, which are thoroughly researched and which have made a major contribution to tightening of sanctions against Rhodesia.

Advertisements for emigrants were taken up by the Movement and this is reported in greater detail under *White Migration*. In the United States long-shoremen in Baltimore stopped the unloading of Rhodesian cargo. This action followed a resolution endorsing the boycott of all Rhodesian goods shipped into US east coast and Gulf

ports passed by the International Long-shoremen's Association. Evidence of sanctions-busting has also been reported in the *Sunday Times* (11.4.74) and a number of countries such as Japan have been under attack for their infringement of the UN Sanctions Order.

Difficulties encountered by members of the Zimbabwe liberation movement in obtaining passports and in entering Britain were taken up by the Movement towards the end of last year. Representations were made to the government and to a number of Members of Parliament who themselves persisted in their efforts to ensure the free entry into this country of Zimbabwe liberation movement representatives. In recent months this objective appears to have been achieved and their entry and exit accomplished without the earlier problems.

Frequent visits have been paid to the AAM offices by leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movements passing through London, and efforts are being made to expand our work on Zimbabwe - which is likely to be a key area of conflict in the coming months.

# Namibia

In early November press reports stated that more than 100 people in Namibia, in the area of Ovamboland, had been publicly flogged. Their 'crimes' had included reference to South West Africa as Namibia and speaking out against the South African appointed Commissioner General for the territory. The AAM circulated a letter to MPs for signature addressed to the Prime Minister and urging the government to protest in the strongest terms to the South African government. The letter was signed by 32 MPs and subsequently released to the press. In his reply, the Prime Minister stated that protests had been made. These floggings have since been publicised in the national press and further protests have been lodged.

Background documentation on the situation in Namibia was produced by the Movement and widely circulated, particularly within the AAM/NUS student network. Posters and other material prepared by the SWAPO London office have also been used and the Movement is constantly alert to the need to publicise the Namibian situation and the SWAPO liberation struggle both in the national press and by means of publicity material.

AAM and other shareholders again attended the RTZ annual general meeting in May and questioned the directors on their involvement in Namibia. At one point the chairman commented that RTZ in Namibia was acting under a 'responsible government' - an astonishing statement and one certainly not held by the people of Namibia who are so determinedly struggling for their freedom from this 'responsible government'.

The issue of investment in Namibia has on a number of occasions been raised with the government, with particular reference to the UKAEA contract with RTZ which is mining Uranium at Rossing in Namibia. Pressures have also been exerted urging the government immediately to announce their acceptance of the Opinion of the International Court of Justice, given in 1971, ruling that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal and calling for its immediate withdrawal. It may be considered that some small move in this direction is indicated in that the Labour Manifesto published for the October 1974 election includes the sentence: 'The Labour Government will seek to end the unlawful South African occupation of Namibia.'

Two meetings have taken place with Sean McBride, the UN Commissioner for

Namibia, and discussions held on developments in AAM's work on Namibia and how closer cooperation may be achieved.

The Movement has also worked as a member of the Namibia Action Campaign which was launched in February. Sponsored by the United Nations Youth & Student Association, Third World First, Friends of Namibia, Liberation and the AAM, its objectives are 'to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, to support SWAPO, and to end British investment in Namibia and South Africa'. A memorandum setting out these aims and calling on the government to accept the International Court of Justice ruling on Namibia was sent to Joan Lestor MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, in June. A well-attended conference for activists was held in Oxford in April. Badges, posters, leaflets, stickers and background papers have been produced, and a 'Namibia File' information pack has been prepared.

These reports, necessarily brief, cannot convey all the work done on these territories. Further information is given in the *CAMPAIGNS* and other sections of this Report, together with details of work on South Africa. Campaigns are initiated on all these territories among the different public sectors, and this is particularly the case regarding work done within the labour movement.

## Labour Movement Conference

The Southern African struggle and the British Labour Movement.

This Conference, projected in last year's Report, took place in Transport House on 29 June - preceding the Freedom Convention held on 30 June. Its value in generating support for and interest in the Southern African struggle was found as much in the preparatory work as in the Conference itself, and the follow-up work is if anything even more crucial.

Officially sponsored by the Labour and Co-operative Parties, the Conference was organised by the AAM and was open to delegates from the constituents of these parties, from trade unions and trades councils, and to representatives from all the Southern African liberation movements. Speakers and chairmen included Ray Buckton, General Secretary of ASLEF, John Forrester, Deputy General Secretary of AUEW(TASS), Ian Mikardo MP, Joan

Lestor MP, Professor John Rex, Ruth First, Jo Richardson MP, John Ennals and Abdul Minty. The morning session covered the political economy of Southern Africa and the history of the black working class; the crisis for white power; the involvement with the West and the liberation struggle; and the final speaker in this session - Joan Lestor MP - dealt with Labour's policy. The five group discussions in the afternoon were on Namibia, Zimbabwe, Portugal and Mozambique, Angola & Guinea-Bissau, and two on South Africa - one dealing with the domestic situation with the emphasis on labour, the other with the international situation and British links. This was followed by reports on the groups, a full conference discussion, and the last speaker, Abdul Minty, put forward a comprehensive list of policy positions on Southern Africa and called for their implementation by the government.

Four papers were prepared plus one-page fact sheets on each territory, and these have also been extensively distributed since the Conference.

Mailings were sent by the Labour Party, the Co-operative Party and the London Co-operative Society Political Committee to all their constituents. Advance information appeared in articles in *Labour Weekly* and other journals, and *Labour Weekly* did an extensive report following the Conference. The Movement also mailed all Constituency Labour Parties and trades councils, and a brief report on decisions taken at the Conference has since been sent to delegates who attended and who numbered 200 from all parts of the UK. Two resolutions were passed unanimously urging the government to stand by the Labour Party's policy of economic disengagement from Southern Africa and a message from the Conference - conveyed by Ian Mikardo to the meeting of the Socialist International held at Chequers during that weekend - called particularly for the immediate recognition of the independent statehood of Guinea-Bissau.

The Conference confirmed the growing base of support within the Labour Movement for the AAM's policies on Southern Africa. Delegates revealed a knowledgeable interest and the discussion was particularly lively.

The Movement plans to hold similar conferences at a regional level in the coming year.

## United Nations

During the year, the AAM has maintained close contact with the United Nations, with which it enjoys Consultative Status. It has been in frequent contact with the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ogbu of Nigeria; with the Committee on Decolonisation and its Chairman, Ambassador Salim of Tanzania; and with the Council for Namibia and the newly-appointed Commissioner for Namibia, Sean McBride. The AAM Chairman, John Ennals, also gave evidence to a sub-committee of the Human Rights Commission which held hearings in London in July.

On 20 May the Special Committee on Apartheid began a visit to Europe, starting with a special session in Dublin. The AAM Hon Secretary, Abdul Minty, was invited to represent the Movement and presented a special paper on *South Africa: Aspects of Foreign Investment and Finance* prepared by Vella Pillay. The visit took place on the day marking the tenth anniversary of the Irish AAM and a public meeting was organised to mark this day. Speakers included Ambassador Ogbu, Ambassador Jackson, President of the Council for Namibia, Kader Asmal and Father Austin O'Flannery, officials of the Irish AAM, and Abdul Minty. The Special Committee then went on to Rome, Berlin and Geneva. In Geneva a number of AA Groups from the continent took part in the session.

On 4 June Ambassador Ogbu visited London and met with the Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office. The AAM arranged a meeting for him at the Royal Commonwealth Society, inviting organisations and individuals active on Southern African issues. Earlier, on 30 May, a similar invited meeting had been organised for Ambassador Salim, Chairman of the UN Decolonisation Committee, during his brief visit to London.

As a consultative non-governmental organisation (NGO), the AAM was invited to take part in plans for a Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations on Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa. John Ennals represented the Movement in the preparatory committee and the AAM was entrusted with the preparation of the work of the Political Commission. Papers were prepared on South Africa by Tony O'Dowd, on Namibia by Roger Murray, on Rhodesia by Mike Terry, on the Portuguese colonies by CFMAG, and on non-governmental action against apartheid by Abdul Minty.

The Conference took place in the Palais des Nations in Geneva from 2-5 September and the Movement was represented by John Ennals, who chaired the Political Commission, and by Abdul Minty, who took an active part in the debates. The resolutions approved by the Conference, which was attended by 250 delegates from some

150 organisations, were consistent with the Oslo Programme and with AAM policy, and the Conference provided an opportunity for an informal meeting between the AAMs of Belgium, France, Netherlands, Switzerland, West Germany and the United Kingdom.

## World Council of Churches

The World Council of Churches (WCC) Unit on Justice and Service held a consultation on white migration to Southern Africa in Geneva on 17 & 18 December. Abdul Minty was invited to give the opening address describing the pattern of white migration and its political role in the context of white domination. About 15 people participated in the consultation and concluded that 'the pattern of white migration is clearly linked with the flow of overseas investments and any campaign must form an integral part of the broader campaign against foreign investment in Southern Africa and in the context of providing support for the liberation movements in their struggle to establish human rights and freedom'.

Among the recommendations was a proposal that the WCC should explore with the ILO the possibility of drafting a special International Convention Against Migration of White Labour to South Africa. It also urged churches to increase their cooperation with action groups and other bodies committed to the policy of ending white migration to Southern Africa. The consultation agreed that special attention needed to be drawn to the substantial support derived by the racist and colonialist regimes from the increase of international tourism to Southern Africa.

At the end of April, Abdul Minty attended a consultation called by the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) to discuss its future work. Various recommendations were made and it was agreed that the World Council of Churches PCR programme should continue. This was subsequently endorsed at the Central Committee meeting in August.

## General

### Moscow Peace Congress

The Movement was invited to attend a Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow in October. Many of the items on the agenda were outside the AAM's terms of reference but it was agreed that the Movement would participate in the work of the Commission on National Liberation, in which the liberation movements of Southern Africa took a leading part. Marcelino dos Santos of FRELIMO chaired the work of the Commission, assisted by the AAM delegate, John Ennals, as Vice-Chairman. Useful recommendations emerged from the Commission and these were endorsed by the 4,000 delegates present at the Congress.

Mike Terry, AAM Vice-Chairman, represented the Movement at a meeting called by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation in Baghdad in March to prepare plans for an international conference on Zimbabwe due to take place in Mogadishu in November.

During January and February Abdul Minty visited Tanzania and Zambia and had an opportunity to discuss Southern African questions with government officials and representatives of the liberation movements. He also spent a few days in Kenya and met government officials and Canon Burgess Carr, Secretary General of the All African Council of Churches. Contact was also established with the Kenya Council of Churches, which has set up a special programme on Southern Africa.

In mid-March, the Hon Secretary had occasion to visit Australia and New Zealand, and this provided an opportunity to meet with groups in Australia working on Southern Africa as well as with the New Zealand AAM. On the way back brief stops in Malaysia, India and Sri Lanka enabled him to have talks with government officials and representatives of various organisations on issues relating to Southern Africa.

### 1974 Easter Conference

Delegates of 40 organisations from 20 countries, including representatives from the AAM, met in Oxford in April to plan future strategy for solidarity work. The Conference, organised by the CFMAG, was also attended by representatives of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, and methods of raising the level of international support for the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau were fully discussed.

During the first week of July, Ethel de Keyser and Abdul Minty visited Dar es Salaam at the invitation of the Tanzanian Government to represent the AAM at the 20th Anniversary celebrations of the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU). Polly Gaster and Basil Davidson of the CFMAG were the other representatives from Britain. Anti-Apartheid and anti-colonial movements from various parts of the world were invited and this provided an opportunity to make contact with other solidarity movements. Whilst in Tanzania the AAM officials held meetings with representatives of liberation movements.

Cooperation has been maintained and/or developed during the year with voluntary bodies opposed to apartheid working in New Zealand, Netherlands, France, Belgium, Ireland, Canada, Switzerland, West Germany, Poland and the USSR.

# ORGANISATION

## National & Executive Committees

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and comprises 30 individual members elected at the Annual General Meeting, the President, Vice-Presidents and Sponsors, up to 20 organisations with full voting rights, an unlimited number of observer organisations, representatives of the Southern African liberation movements (also with observer status), local anti-apartheid committees, and ten individual coopted members. The Committee meets four times a year and discusses the campaigning work and policy of the Movement, following on the recommendations made and resolutions passed at the Annual General Meeting.

The issues most thoroughly debated in the last session were the Report of the TUC visit to South Africa and ways in which what was unanimously seen as a retrograde step on the part of the TUC could be combated; the situation in Zimbabwe, and in particular the executions by the illegal regime of captured freedom fighters - the Committee cabled the Foreign Secretary, calling on him to take action to stop these hangings (see *Zimbabwe/Rhodesia*); and latterly the situation in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau following on the coup in Portugal and how this affected the Movement's work. At the June meeting Basil Davidson gave an assessment of recent developments in Portugal and Africa in which he called for strong support for the position taken by the national liberation movements and for maximum pressure on the British Government to recognise Guinea-Bissau - an action to which they were committed by the Labour Party's programme for 1973. The Cultural Boycott was also fully discussed by the Committee in view of the many attempts being made to erode it; the importance of the advent of television in South Africa was recognised and Brian Bunting was requested to prepare a document on the implications of this for use particularly by the trade unions in the media.

The Executive Committee, which is elected from the 30 individual members of the National Committee, comprises the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer and Executive Secretary, plus 8 individual members; and up to 6 individuals may be coopted. It meets monthly, although extra meetings are often held in response to particular developments and pressures. The Executive carries on the work of the Movement and is responsible for the implementation of the policies laid down by the National Committee.

Thus the role of the Annual General Meeting in determining policy and deciding on the composition of the National Committee and, through it, the Executive Committee, is crucial to the ongoing work of the Movement. It is therefore important that members and

affiliated organisations not only submit resolutions but also attend the AGM to ensure their full participation in the work of the Movement.

## AAM Office

The office staff have carried a particularly heavy burden of work over the past year and this has been in part due to the number of changes that have occurred. Christabel Gurney, Editor of *Anti-Apartheid News*, who was also a staff member until November, had for domestic reasons to leave the office, and we are fortunate in that she remains editor of the newspaper. Her post has been filled by Jen McClelland, who in the past ten months has taken on a number of areas of work and is now known to local groups, students and much of the Movement's membership. Vanessa Lindsay, the former membership secretary, had also to leave for domestic reasons and Betty Northedge, who had been a regular volunteer worker in the office for many years, has taken her place. As has been reported in the section on Trade Unions, Roger Trask left to take up a post at the National Union of Students after nearly four years as a staff member, and was replaced by Rod Pritchard. Nancy White, Sheila Allen and Ethel de Keyser have maintained the continuity of work over the past year.

The work of the other committees of the Movement is dealt with elsewhere in this Report under the various campaigns and organisational work. Special mention must be made of the many volunteers who come regularly into the office and without whose help much of the correspondence would remain unanswered, our reference files of newspaper cuttings would not exist, and members would not receive their monthly mailings of *Anti-Apartheid News* and newsletters. Their contribution is vital to the ongoing work of the Movement.

## Local Activity

The extensive programmes of work undertaken during the year by local Anti-Apartheid groups cannot be comprehensively covered in this section, and a separate more detailed report is available. Activity this year has been consolidated, and real progress has been made. Ten new groups have been established - in Dundee, East London, Gwent, Haringey, Harlow, Middleton, Portslade, Rhyl, South London, Slough - and a number are in the process of formation.

Group activities range from on-the-streets activity involving all sections of the local community, to letter-writing campaigns, public meetings and conferences. Campaigns have been undertaken on every aspect of solidarity work in relation to Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and

South Africa. The No Collaboration campaign has been a major focus of activity, as has the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

Birmingham AA group has this year expanded on its already high level of activity. Examples are the public meeting on Portuguese rule in Mozambique, which was held in October and addressed by Father Adrian Hastings. Delegations from the group have been to see Lady Tweedsmuir and then Joan Lestor at the Foreign Office to raise the situation of Zimbabwean political prisoners and urge the withdrawal of the 1971 settlement proposals. The delegations also stressed the need for talks to be held with ZANU and ZAPU. Two conferences have been held on the situation of political prisoners in Zimbabwe and the group is assisting in the establishment of a temporary home in Birmingham for the children of Zimbabwean detainees. They have also been active on the No Collaboration campaign, holding leafletting sessions in the centre of Birmingham, and have sent speakers to a number of meetings and conferences.

The Haringey group started with a series of activities, including regular street bookstalls, arranging for speakers at meetings in the area, making contact with candidates in local elections, establishing links with other groups in the area, and circulating a regular newsletter to their over 150 members. A public meeting in September attracted over 120 people, and £130 has been raised at a social evening and a jumble sale.

Haringey, South London and East London joined Barnet and West London, both of which have continued a high level of activity, at two ad hoc meetings of the London groups - the first to discuss the No Collaboration campaign, and the second to work out plans for coordinated activity. All London groups participated actively in the No Collaboration campaign, with regular leafletting, pickets of shops and other activities.

Surrey AAM has maintained its range of campaigning work and scored a notable success when, following on their representations to the Race Relations Board, the South African Tourist Corporation were forced to withdraw from their brochure the racially-discriminatory visa regulations. The brochure - *The South African Travel Companion* - is distributed by travel agents throughout the country.

In Wales, the new groups in Gwent (succeeding the Monmouthshire group which was amalgamated with the Cardiff area group) and Rhyl joined Swansea and Cardiff, and these have remained very active. Swansea has worked closely with the university (particularly on the sports boycott) and has specialised on Rhodesia. Cardiff was also active on the sports boycott, picketing the international rugby

matches in protest at the Lions tour, and collecting signatures of local dignitaries for a statement against the tour which was then printed and distributed as a leaflet. A major conference of local trade union officials and members of the Labour Party was held in June, with over 120 participants. Questions on their views of the situation in Southern Africa were put to election candidates and, in conjunction with the university group, work is now starting on research into the South African goods imported through Cardiff docks.

Active groups in Scotland exist in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and a new group is being set up in Dundee. In Edinburgh prospective members of the Lions team were contacted and all 70 rugby clubs in the Edinburgh district circulated with letters of opposition to the tour. The campaign to prevent teams from South Africa and Rhodesia participating in the 1975 International Womens Hockey Federation tournament has been a major success. The group has also been

working to persuade local councils to boycott South African and Namibian products at institutions under their control.

Mid-Sussex, in addition to working on the No Collaboration campaign, and collecting pledges and signatures for the petition on political prisoners, has also done extensive work on political prisoners in Rhodesia. £40 was donated by them towards the air fare to this country for an ex-political prisoner from Rhodesia who plans to train as a nurse. Books and clothes have been sent to Gwelo and Gonakudzinwa, and £65 was raised for legal and medical aid for another political prisoner following a letter about him from the group which was published in the *New Statesman*. Over 250 Christmas cards were sent to political prisoners in Southern Africa, and contacts are being maintained. Through donations, fund-raising events and literature stalls, the group has also been able to donate £50 to the AAM.

In addition to the groups mentioned here, particularly active groups include the Coventry Defence Committee, Leicester Inter-Racial Solidarity Campaign, Manchester, Mid-Herts, Oxford (see *No Collaboration*), Southampton, Sheffield, Southend and Teesside. Local AA groups work closely with trade union branches, trades councils, political parties, anti-racist groups, church, youth and university groups, and in this way extend the work on Southern Africa into every community sector.

## Anti-Apartheid News

*Anti-Apartheid News* is the Movement's main means of communication with its members and a vital part of its campaigning work. Over the past year

the paper has campaigned for the implementation of Labour Party policy on ending British links with the white minority regimes, against the visit by a delegation from the TUC General Council to South Africa and against the British Lions tour of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia.

It also reported fully on the many activities undertaken by AAM local groups and other organisations as part of the Movement's No Collaboration campaign. It continued to put the case for the withdrawal of British investment from Southern Africa and attacked the recommendations of the House of Commons Trade and Industry Sub-Committee's enquiry into British firms' operations there.

Contributors who argued in favour of the Southern African boycott included playwright Edward Bond, Labour MP Neil Kinnock, former Liberal MP Graham Tope, and the Revd Paul Oestreicher.

Features on South Africa included exposés on farm labour, the press, television, and health care. The paper carried a full report of the SATIS Conference held in December and the subsequent campaign. In a special series of profiles of political prisoners it carried short biographies of Herman Toivo ja Toivo, Walter Sisulu, Denis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Willie Musarurwa, Eddie Daniels, Govan Mbeki and Elias Motsoaledi.

Its reporting of the steps towards independence taken by Portugal's African colonies included a special eyewitness report and exclusive pictures from independent Guinea-Bissau by Basil Davidson.

On Namibia it covered the growing resistance to South African rule and increasing repression, including extensive extracts from affidavits describing the floggings of SWAPO supporters in northern Namibia and an account by SWAPO Youth League leader Thomas Komati of his detention under the Terrorism Act.

It campaigned against the hangings of freedom fighters in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and carried exposés of atrocities committed by Rhodesian troops. It also called for the tightening up of sanctions and featured the work done by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement in uncovering the ways the Smith regime continues to sell its goods overseas.

The paper also reported on the harassment of black people in Britain and on the workings of the 1971 Immigration Act.

Circulation remained steady at between 7,000 and 8,000 a month.

## Political Parties

The Movement has twice this year circulated all Constituency Labour Parties, once in May with the information and background to the Labour Movement Conference - *The Southern African Struggle and the British Labour Movement*, and on the second occasion, in June, with background on the political changes in Portugal and the likely effect in Africa. This latter mailing also

included suggested points for resolutions on Southern Africa to be submitted to the Labour Party Conference. A resolution on Southern Africa, which has several useful amendments, has been tabled, but in view of the forthcoming election it is unlikely that a week-long conference will be held and therefore doubtful that the resolution will be discussed.

A crowded meeting was held at last year's conference (October 1973), at which speakers included Joaquim Chissano (FRELIMO), John Gaetsewe (SACTU), Peter Katjavivi (SWAPO) and Joan Lester MP. The chairman was Ian Mikardo MP. A comprehensive resolution on Southern Africa was passed unanimously by Conference and contacts with delegates from the constituencies and trade unions were expanded.

Despite the pressing nature of domestic issues, Labour Parties have shown a greater interest in Southern Africa, and have been more actively involved in campaigns in the past year. Their numbers are as yet comparatively small but increasing (some 80 Labour Parties are members of the Movement), and a number of these include individuals who are taking a specialist interest in Southern African issues. This was in evidence at the Labour Movement Conference, where delegates from a large number of Constituency Labour Parties were present. Labour Parties are also active at a local level, together with AA groups, and their participation is vital to the growth of the Movement's work in support of the Southern African struggle. It is at this level that the Movement's work needs to be extended.

Frequent representations have been made to Transport House on different issues, including a protest recently on the joint exercises undertaken by the British and South African navies, and contact has been maintained with the International Committee of the Labour Party and its Chairman. As a result of the Labour Party's sponsorship of the conference held on 29 June, a close working relationship developed with the International Committee throughout the preparations for the conference, and this has been maintained.

Meetings are regularly held at the Liberal Assembly, and the Liberal Party called upon to participate in the Movement's campaigns. At this year's Assembly, a resolution was passed unanimously saluting the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and congratulating its people on the successful conclusion of their struggle for freedom from Portuguese oppression. It also called attention to the urgent need for economic and technical aid. Close contact is maintained with the Young Liberals and many of them, both as groups and individuals, have been active in demonstrations, particularly on the sports boycott.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League have supported the Movement's work in a number of ways - information has been sent out to members about AAM activities, they have been called upon to participate in demonstrations, and the AAM's activities have been regularly and extensively publicised in the *Morning Star*.

At last year's Conservative Party Conference - through Pressure for Economic and Social Toryism (PEST), which is a member of the AAM National Committee - *Anti-Apartheid News* and other Movement material was displayed and sold at a bookstall.

## Parliament

In January, during the run-up to the election, the Movement circulated AAM members with a suggested list of questions on Southern African issues to be raised with their candidates. Again in September, the Movement has prepared a further list of questions for candidates for the October election. These have been distributed largely through AA groups who have been requested to ensure their wider distribution at a local level.

With the return of a Labour Government, the Movement prepared a detailed memorandum drawing the attention of the government to 'those aspects of the Southern African question which immediately call for new policy initiatives'. This was submitted to the Foreign Secretary on 15 March.

Also in March, some 40 Members of Parliament from all political parties were sent a letter setting out priorities for action on Southern Africa. Among these were: the imposition of a total arms embargo against South Africa and an end to all forms of military collaboration; a freeze on the flow of new capital investment; the withdrawal of the Home/Smith settlement proposals; an end to South Africa's military intervention in Zimbabwe; free entry into Britain for members of the Zimbabwe freedom movements; immediate action to stop the execution of opponents of the Smith regime; British government acceptance of the 1971 Opinion of the International Court of Justice ruling that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal; an end to all future capital investment in Namibia; support for the independence of the Portuguese African colonies and recognition of the independent statehood of Guinea-Bissau.

News of the number of subsidised trade missions which were planning to go to South Africa during the year, and the loans extended to the South African government, prompted a series of protests to Peter Shore, Secretary of State for Trade. Questions on this issue were suggested to MPs and the issue publicised. A number of Ministers and Cabinet members were

also written to on this matter, including a letter from Bishop Reeves to the Prime Minister. A meeting took place with Joan Lestor, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, in July.

The delegation from the Movement expressed dissatisfaction with government policy on Southern Africa and pointed out that it was at variance with policy as defined in Labour's Programme; that while the promised Review on Southern Africa had not as yet been issued, links with the minority racist regimes were being consolidated in a number of areas, notably in the area of economic collaboration.

This was followed by a series of approaches to Cabinet members, to the National Executive and to the International Committee of the Labour Party, calling on the Labour Government to stand by its policy as defined in Labour's Programme, in Conference resolutions and in its Election Manifesto issued in February. Similar action was taken in protest at the joint naval exercises undertaken in August by the British and South African navies (see *Military Collaboration*), and all AAM members were urged to protest to their MPs and to the relevant Ministers.

The response to many of these approaches has been that the Review of policy on Southern Africa is taking place and the issues raised by the Movement will be dealt with in the Review.

Members of Parliament were approached to sponsor the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa (SATIS), and these have continued to support and to contribute to this campaign. MPs were also particularly active in the work done to stop the Lions tour of Southern Africa. Individual and collective protests were sent to the Four Home Unions Tours Committee and representations made to the Foreign Office.

Intensified action in relation to Parliament is needed in the coming months. Members of Parliament are supplied with information, briefings and suggested points for questions, and this service will need to be extended to meet the demands of the developing situation in Southern Africa.

## Trade Union Movement

During the year the debate on Southern Africa within the trade unions has centred on the TUC Report *Trade Unionism in South Africa*. Following the visit to South Africa by a delegation from the TUC, a draft report on the visit was circulated to unions in December. This was endorsed by the TUC General Council, who decided that it should be widely circulated in printed form, and the pamphlet *Trade Unionism in South Africa* was produced in March.

Fairly extensive sections of the 40-page report deal with the oppressive and discriminatory nature of the migratory

labour system, the pass laws and industrial legislation, and the delegation were clearly representing the views of the British labour movement when they said in their press statement at the end of their visit: '...and apartheid offends against the dignity of men and its continuation cannot be justified'. However, the report makes no mention of SACTU, the only non-racial confederation of trade unions, nor of the past efforts and achievements of the African workers, devoting only one page to unregistered (ie African) trade unions. This will be seen as divisive in the context of the struggle of the African workers for trade union and political rights - a struggle in which SACTU has played and continues to play a leading part.

Of the four proposals presented at the end of the report, three are detrimental to the policy of disengagement from apartheid South Africa.

### The Delegation's Four Proposals

The proposal to end emigration to South Africa is welcomed by the Movement, but clearly a major effort by the TUC and its affiliated unions is required to put this proposal into effect. The remaining three proposals appear to accept the oppressive apartheid system, for if implemented these inevitably mean working within the system. The proposal which seeks to assist the growth of African trade unions implies that the African people have no experience of trade union organisation - a cursory examination of South African trade union history gives ample evidence to the contrary. Another proposal seeks to qualify the TUC position on opposition to British investment, making the proviso that it should not be opposed if British companies operating in South Africa encourage African trade unions.

### Special Half-day TUC Conference

On 2 May the TUC held a special conference for Presidents and General Secretaries of affiliated unions to discuss *Trade Unionism in South Africa*. The Movement issued an 11-page *Comments on the Report of the 1973 TUC Delegation to South Africa* in time for this conference, and it was circulated to all national unions, several unions taking it in bulk. At the conference a number of union delegations, notably ASTMS, the Amalgamated Union of Textile Workers, ACTT and AUEW(TASS), voiced strong criticism of the TUC report and its proposals. Despite this, the 1974 TUC General Council report states that: 'The General Council took the view that the conference had understood and appreciated the practical approach proposed in the report, and its implications'.

### 1974 Trades Union Congress, Brighton

During the debate on the section of the General Council Report dealing with South Africa, the only two delegates called to the rostrum, one from NALGO and one from AUEW(TASS), strongly criticised the approach of the TUC delegation and the proposals made in its

report. It is hoped that the newly-elected General Council will take note of this criticism. A public meeting was organised by the AAM during Congress, at which the speakers were Roger Lyons (ASTMS), John Gaetsewe (SACTU) and John Sprack (AAM), and the meeting was chaired by Bob Wright (AUEW Engineering). A letter and petition were circulated protesting at the joint exercises between the British and South African navies, and the letter later appeared in the *Times* signed by nine general secretaries.

#### Meeting with Jack Jones

On 22 July a Movement delegation met Jack Jones to raise, in particular, the issue of emigration to South Africa, support for the ILO Conference resolution, recognition for the State of Guinea-Bissau, and T&GWU support for the work of the Movement. Meetings have also been held at regular intervals with the General Secretaries of a number of unions, with shop stewards and other trade unionists. These have been concerned primarily with the implications of the TUC delegation's report and how the Movement's work may be assisted.

During the year the first printing of the pamphlet *Apartheid and the British Worker* was sold out and a second and updated edition prepared and published.

With the affiliation of another four trades councils, including the London Federation of Trades Councils, the total affiliated to the Movement now number 36. Another two union divisions and three union branches have also affiliated during this year, and ASLEF have contributed to this growth by placing several advertisements in *Tribune* urging readers to join the Movement.

This activity takes place against the ever-increasing crisis situation in Southern Africa. The wave of strikes by African workers has continued. Frantic attempts by the South African government and employers to syphon off this militancy into works and liaison committees has failed to have any significant effect and some employers, such as Smith and Nephew in Natal, have been forced to concede negotiating rights to African unions despite government opposition. But in all essentials the situation of African workers remains unchanged.

In Britain a number of unions have taken important decisions on Southern Africa at their annual conferences. NALGO passed a resolution calling for 'a practical expression of support for SACTU' from the union and the TUC. ASTMS passed a resolution condemning the TUC report and calling on the union to support SACTU. At the NUT conference the delegates referred back the section of the Executive Committee's report that dealt with the union's investment policy; thus the union is still committed to selling its investments in companies with South African subsi-

diaries. At the ACTT conference a motion to break the cultural boycott was defeated (see *Cultural Boycott*). And in his presidential address to the annual conference of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, Les Thomas called for the extension of race relations legislation to ban advertisements for jobs in South Africa. Also, the SLADE&PW Executive issued a strong statement criticising the TUC report's proposals for 'watering down' TUC policy on the withdrawal of British investment and urged a TUC-sponsored campaign against emigration, finally calling on the TUC to consult with SACTU concerning any monies that are sent to South Africa to assist trade union growth.

#### Trade Union Committee

The Trade Union Committee has continued to be the generating force for AAM work in this field. The departure of Roger Trask, secretary of the Committee and a staff member who did valuable work, was keenly felt. His advice and assistance continue to be at the disposal of the Committee and of his successor, Rod Pritchard, an active trade unionist who joined the Movement from Ruskin College. Close and consistent cooperation is maintained with the SACTU representative in Britain - John Gaetsewe - who is also a member of the Committee, and this has made a major contribution to the Movement's work.

#### Work in the Regions

In addition to the Cardiff conference for trade unionists and members of the Labour Party (see *Local Activity*), Manchester, Oxford and Haringey AA committees have worked closely with the local trades councils generally and on particular events. The Movement has regularly sent speakers to trade union branch meetings and to trades councils, and initiatives are being taken to increase their number. At present work is proceeding for the organisation of a conference for trade unionists which is to take place on 18 January in Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry.

## Students

A strong base for work amongst students has been established over the past two years through the AAM/NUS network of student activists. In conjunction with the National Union of Students and the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné, this network is being continually updated and is central to much of the campaigning work done in universities and colleges.

An annual conference of network members and regular meetings in London have become established procedure, and this has resulted in more coordinated and more effective campaigns, both at local and national level.

At the second summer conference of the NUS/AAM network, held at Aston University in July 1973, it was decided to concentrate campaigns on disinvestment, material aid to the liberation movements, and the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

Details of the many universities and colleges which ran disinvestment campaigns during the year are given in the *No Collaboration* report, but mention must be made here of University College London, Manchester and Durham, which were particularly active.

The NUS is represented on the SATIS Committee and actively participates in its work at a national level. Useful contributions were made at the conference on political prisoners on 8 December and plans are being made for political prisoners in Southern Africa to be granted honorary positions at some universities. A well-attended student picket of South Africa House was held on 1 February, calling for the release of Nelson Mandela (Honorary Vice President of NUS) and of all political prisoners in Southern Africa. Nelson Mandela has also been 'adopted' by several local unions - he is Vice-President of the Bangor Union, and Bristol and Salford have named rooms in the Union after him - and he is the focus of activity on the issue of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

The murder, by means of a parcel bomb, of Abraham Tiro, Permanent Organiser of the black South African Students Organisation (SASO) while he was in Botswana, shocked people throughout the country. His death is a tragic loss to the South African liberation struggle. A leaflet on him and his work was produced by the AAM/NUS and widely distributed. Student unions passed resolutions of protest and sent telegrams of condolence to SASO and letters of protest to the South African ambassador.

The boycott of Barclays Bank, of South African produce and of sports exchanges with racially selected teams have been central activities. The Barclays boycott is particularly strong in universities and colleges. A position is steadily being achieved where there will be no ads for Barclays in student magazines, no stalls at the Freshers' Week bazaars, and no branches on the campuses. A leaflet or article on the boycott is being sent to new students and activity on this campaign is concentrated in the first month of the academic year. Students are then opening bank accounts for the first time, and respond enthusiastically to the campaign.

Pressure for the boycott of produce has been instituted quietly with the refinery authorities, and many colleges do not now stock South African goods.

In South Wales students, together with local activists, worked to disrupt the matches of the all-white Natal University rugby team, which toured Britain in December. The Cardiff match was officially cancelled, students

invaded the pitch at Aberystwyth, and the match planned at Neath had to be moved several times.

The Cambridge Action for Southern Africa group worked hard during the year to prevent the Cambridge University Rugby Club from proceeding with the projected tour of Rhodesia. For some weeks the student and local press were filled with news of the campaign. MPs and academics protested against the tour and wrote letters of support for the campaign. Messages and resolutions of support also came from many student unions and from the NUS Conference held in Liverpool in April. A successful public meeting was organised and the meeting of the university Council of Senate was picketed and leafleted. The Council decided that they did not wish the University's name to be associated with the tour, and though the tour did in fact take place, it did so without university backing and was unofficial - the team was no longer from the Cambridge University Rugby Club.

Students have also been active on Namibia, following the tour last year by Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO representative in the UK. He has addressed a further series of meetings at Bangor, Swansea and Bristol in the past year. Representatives in Britain of other Southern African liberation movements have also undertaken meetings at a number of colleges and universities.

Bangor AA group were among the student groups who raised funds for the Southern African liberation movements. A Southern Africa Solidarity Week was held in November - trade union branches and local schools were contacted, a newsletter distributed, two exhibitions mounted, and £92 raised for GAMMA (Guiné Angola Mozambique Medical Action). Swansea students raised £140 for ZANU and ZAPU, and the money raised by Cambridge students was given to the NUS Liberation Fund for distribution.

The National Union of Students has gained increased international acknowledgement for its work on Southern Africa. Evidence was presented by them to the Special Committee on Apartheid at the hearings in Dublin in May, and they were also invited to and participated in the NGO Conference on Apartheid and Colonialism in Geneva in September 1974.

About 70 delegates attended the third network conference held in July at Keele University, many of them new to work on Southern Africa. Representatives from ANC (South Africa), SWAPO and ZAPU were present, and speakers included David Davis, Ruth First, Barry Munslow and John Sprack. Because many of those present were new to the Movement, discussion concentrated on organisational questions and the problems associated with getting activity started in unions. A range of documentation material was produced

for the Conference which will also be used in the ongoing student work. Campaign priorities were discussed, and for the coming year work will concentrate on two major campaigns - disinvestment and material aid and support for the liberation movements. Once again the Barclays boycott campaign will be a major activity at the beginning of term. A meeting of the network was held in September, attended by over 50 activists, at which plans for the campaigns were made more specific.

The AAM was present at both major NUS Conferences - at Margate in November and Liverpool in April - and many useful contacts were established. Much of the AAM student work is in building a base from which the groups can organise campaigning activity - sending speakers and literature to colleges, advising on films and posters, providing factual information and research facilities (particularly important in the disinvestment campaigns) and providing contacts to local activists.

## Schools Kit

The AAM work on the education kit, in conjunction with UNESCO, has now been completed and publication is expected shortly. A steady stream of enquiries about the kit and orders for it have continued to come to the AAM Offices.

## Publicity & Information

The major means through which the Movement has worked to publicise issues relating to Southern Africa and the AAM campaigns are *Anti-Apartheid News*, the publication of leaflets, stickers, posters and background information sheets, a close liaison with individuals in the press, television and radio, plus the regular speakers service provided by the Movement.

The number of meetings to which the Movement has been requested to send speakers shows an increase on last year and have averaged three to four per week. Half the number of requests have come from universities, colleges and schools, a quarter from political parties, and the remaining quarter divided between trade union branches, trades councils and Anti-Apartheid groups. A number of local groups also provide a speakers service for their immediate area, and therefore the number of meetings addressed on Southern African issues is much larger than those reported here. These meetings provide an opportunity to enrol new members and to sell *AA News*, to distribute Movement material and in some cases to establish new AA groups.

A large number of background information papers were produced, in some cases for specific events such as the Labour Movement Conference, the conference on political prisoners - South

Africa-The Imprisoned Society - and the recent NGO Conference in Geneva (see *International*), and these have continued to be distributed following the event. Among other documentation now available are papers on the role of television in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and the updated material relating to investment in Southern Africa, including a paper dealing with the arguments against such investment. In addition, a series of documents have been prepared for the NUS/AAM network, for the political prisoners campaign, and the No Collaboration campaign, together with leaflets, stickers and posters, and material for AAM work amongst trade unionists and in the labour movement generally.

The AAM connection with individual reporters in the media is continually extended. It provides an opportunity to raise particular developments in Southern Africa which may subsequently be written up, and also establishes the Movement as a source of information and for suggestions on the people to be consulted or interviewed on specific issues. Extensive coverage has been given to Southern African issues - particularly the coup in Portugal and the subsequent developments in Africa - by most newspapers, television and radio programmes. The *Guardian*, *Tribune*, *Morning Star*, and to a lesser extent the *Times* and *Daily Mirror*, have been particularly prominent in doing so.

The AAM offices also stock a large amount of material on Southern Africa produced by the UN Unit on Apartheid, the International Defence & Aid Fund, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guine, the Africa Bureau, and others - and these are widely distributed both in the UK and abroad.

## Finance

For the second year in succession the revenue and expenditure account to be laid before the Annual General Meeting will disclose a deficit. Although the Movement's income has increased, the increase has not been sufficient to meet the constant rise in prices. The largest price rise affecting the Movement at present is in printing costs. The production of *Anti-Apartheid News* is now running at over £1,000 a year above the level of a year ago. Members will be asked at the General Meeting to express their views about a possible increase in the selling price of *AA News*. That alone will not solve the problem, however, and members will need to face the fact that if the Movement is to continue the present scale of work, there will need to be an increase both in direct contributions and in fund-raising efforts. It would be particularly helpful if any member able to devote some time to fund-raising on a regular basis would contact the office.

## Fund Raising

Over the past year, and following the 1973 AGM, where an extensive programme of work was planned, a number of fund-raising initiatives were taken. These included an appeal letter sent to all members by Bishop Reeves in November, which was followed in the New Year by a special letter signed by Bishop Reeves and Sylvester Stein and sent to a particular range of contacts known to the latter. This method of raising funds is being pursued in specialist fields. A further appeal from the AAM Treasurer was included in a newsletter, and the response to all three assisted in substantially boosting the Movement's income.

Two fund-raising functions were organised, both held at Dingwalls on Camden Lock, where the Movement was most generously given the use of the Dance Hall and the services of the people who work there. George Melly, John Chilton's Feetwarmers, Georgie Fame and Georgia Brown provided the entertainment on the evening of 24 February, which was a most successful occasion, and Annie Ross and Mike Westbrook's Solid Gold Cadillac entertained at the second event which took place on 30 June, after the Freedom Convention. On both evenings the contribution of the performers plus the donations made to cover the costs incurred, notably by the Musicians Union to the

24 February event, enabled the Movement to raise £1,400.

A successful application was made to the Joseph Rowntree Social Services Trust, and the generous response of the Trustees has assisted in meeting the costs of the No Collaboration campaign and the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

The Movement was also fortunate in being given a further grant by the World Council of Churches.

Approaches continue to be made to individuals who are able to contribute substantially, but the major part of the Movement's income derives from organisations and individual members and supporters who are participating actively in the campaigning work.

## CONCLUSION

In concluding this Report, it must be stated that while it covers the major campaigning work of the Movement, it does not report on all the work that has been done. This embraces day-to-day requests for information and briefings, some work that has been done in relation to the academic boycott, initiatives that are regularly taken in response to

news of collaboration with the racist minority regimes in Southern Africa - an example is the demonstration organised outside the Jordanian Embassy in protest at the sale of arms to apartheid South Africa.

The Movement will need to intensify its efforts in the coming year in response

to the developing situation in Southern Africa. It welcomes the growth of groups in other countries. Many have been working for some time, but over the past year new groups have been formed, particularly in Europe. Solidarity work in support of the Southern African liberation struggle is thereby strengthened.

## Obituaries

Robert Resha and Mick Harmel

The death of Robert Resha, African National Congress leader and dedicated fighter in the struggle for liberation, is sadly recorded by the Movement. Elected President of the ANC Youth League in 1953, he adopted a Programme of Action calling for an end to cooperation with government institutions, and a policy of boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience. In 1955, he was elected to Congress national executive. He was one of the accused in the Treason Trial, which lasted from 1956 to 1960 and, following on the acquittal of all the accused, in 1961 he was sent out of the country to represent the ANC abroad. Robert Resha worked closely with the Movement, frequently addressing major public rallies. He was an accomplished orator and gifted organiser, and his

death in exile is a tragic reminder of the toll exacted by the apartheid system.

Mick Harmel died in Prague on 18 June this year, after living in exile in England since the early sixties. He was a leading member of the South African Communist Party and Editor of *The African Communist* since its launching in 1959. A brilliant academic, writer and journalist, he was committed to a free South Africa, rid of exploitation and apartheid. He assisted the Movement by responding to requests to speak at meetings throughout the country, and with his profound knowledge of the South African situation.

Both these men will be sorely missed.

**JOIN THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT**  
**89 Charlotte Street London W1P 2DQ. Tel 01-580 5311**

*Receive*

**ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS**  
**Information Bulletins**  
**Special AAM Reports**

*Annual Membership subscriptions*

Pensioners		<b>50p</b>
Students/Apprentices		<b>£1.00</b>
Other individuals		<b>£2.00</b>
Local organisations		<b>£2.00</b>
National organisations	from	<b>£5.00</b>
University student unions		<b>£20.00</b>

*Overseas rates*

Europe and surface mail	<b>£2.00</b>
Airmail	<b>£5.00</b>

---

I/We\* wish to join the AAM and subscribe to ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS and enclose £.....†

Name .....

Organisation (if applicable) .....

Address .....

Term address (if applicable) .....

† *It would be a great help to us if you could use the Banker's Order below.*

---

The Manager

..... Bank

Address .....

On ..... next, and on each subsequent month/quarter/year\* please pay to the account of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (No 0143688), Lloyds Bank, 88 Tottenham Court Road, London W1:

Subscription £..... Donation £..... Total £.....

Date ..... Signature .....

Address .....

\* *Delete as necessary.*

