

Anti-Apartheid Movement



Annual Report

**of activities and
developments**

1986/87

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
Annual Report
October 1986 – September 1987

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FOREWORD

I am writing this foreword on the very day I leave for a major international conference on repression in apartheid South Africa, with particular reference to the detention and imprisonment of children. Everything indicates that this will be a fully representative international conference and it is a joy to realise that it will be held under the auspices of the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust. In this way it will certainly be a reminder of the outstanding witness of one of our former presidents, Bishop Ambrose Reeves. It was he more than anyone else who, by his courageous intervention, drew the attention of the world to the Sharpeville massacre. He paid for this with years of exile, but continued most vigorously the campaign against apartheid and its evil consequences. His widow, Margaret, died earlier this year and I had the privilege of being with her shortly before she died. We owe a great debt to them both.

No doubt reports of the conference will have appeared before you read this, but I have every hope it may be successful in again mobilising world opinion on the basic issue which is a moral issue, namely that apartheid, being evil in itself, is irreformable; abolition, total and complete, is the only course.

Certainly, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has never wavered in its commitment to this end. It is sometimes deeply frustrating, after so many years of solidarity with the struggle inside South Africa and Namibia, to find it necessary to repeat such an obvious truism. Nevertheless, the most powerful vested interests in the western democracies constantly return to the theme that 'nothing must be done to hinder the progress of reform'.

This is, of course, the easiest way to relieve governments of any obligation to act. Since last year and the report of the Eminent Persons Group mission to Africa, the British government has continued to refuse to recognise what the report so positively demanded on behalf of the rest of the Commonwealth. In this way, although limited sanctions of one kind or another have been and are being imposed, mandatory sanctions, which would have a really effective impact, have been blocked. This ill serves the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and also those of the front line states in their constantly dangerous situation from South African aggression.

In spite of all this, the Movement has had a triumphantly successful year in many directions. The symbol of our success was the final withdrawal of Barclays Bank from South Africa and our renewed and continuing campaign to mobilise world opinion against the activities of other multinational concerns, particularly Shell.

One of the most encouraging signs of involvement in the Movement has been the vastly increased support at every level of the trade union movement. This has been given even greater significance by the magnificent fight of the National Union of Mineworkers inside South Africa in its three-week strike. This has shown that in the struggle within South Africa the most powerful force of all is certainly going to be the effective trade union movement. It has already thrown up a remarkable leader in Cyril Ramaphosa, and a remarkable centre in COSATU.

There is much else that I could mention, but I want above all else to appeal to our membership to unite behind our campaign for even greater local and regional effort. We are a solidarity movement and we need, therefore, to alert ordinary folk across the length and breadth of the country to their responsibility for helping in the struggle to end apartheid.

We know now that governments do, in fact, take notice of popular opinion. We have shown over and over again by our rallies, by our media coverage and by the sheer moral weight of our arguments that public opinion can have a massive impact. We must not slacken in our efforts at any level, and above all we must be united in our planning and in all our actions in this crucial year.

+ Trevor Huddleston CR.

† Trevor Huddleston CR
President

September 1987

INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the political report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting of 12 September 1987.

This decade has seen a further dramatic intensification of the people's struggle for freedom and independence in Namibia and South Africa. However, having truly seized the strategic initiative from the apartheid regime, the peoples of Namibia and South Africa have now had to face the most draconian onslaught ever against their liberation struggle since the epoch of the colonial conquest of the region.

Today the situation is characterised by an intensification and consolidation of the liberation struggle as the oppressed people seek both new forms of organisation and new methods of struggle in response to the systematic repression of the apartheid regime. In both Namibia and South Africa this has been marked in particular by a decisive growth in the militancy and organisational strength of black workers.

In the wider region, South Africa has continued, unabated, its war of aggression and destabilisation against the front line states, with particularly devastating consequences for the people of Mozambique and Angola. However, there is more and more evidence that these policies will not be able to achieve their objective of reasserting South Africa's strategic domination of the region. Indeed, in Angola in particular, the balance of military power is shifting significantly against South Africa.

All these developments continue to fuel the crisis in western policy towards the region, as South Africa's traditional allies seek to regain the initiative with the objective of controlling change in the region in order to protect their perceived economic and strategic interests. For the international solidarity movement, this now poses the challenge of building up a new momentum in the campaign to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and in support of the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, and the peoples and governments of the front line states.

South Africa

In South Africa itself, the processes which are shifting the balance away from the increasingly isolated regime and in favour of the liberation forces headed by the ANC have continued to manifest themselves during the year under review. This was shown by the way in which, in the May 1987 whites-only election, the ruling National Party made total opposition to the ANC the central plank of its electoral platform. It was also revealed by the meeting in Dakar in July between 59 Afrikaners and an ANC delegation, which demonstrated the growing readiness of some elements in the white community to come to terms with the centrality of the ANC to the future of South Africa. However, as the May election had already shown, with one-third of the votes cast going to parties to the right of the National Party, these elements are still very much in a minority within the white community.

Among the most important advances achieved by the liberation forces have been the growth in struggle and size and the consolidation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and its affiliates. COSATU's second congress in July 1987 met against the

background of two major victories in the industrial field: by the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA) against the Anglo-American-controlled retail chain OK Bazaars in February; and by the South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU) against the state-owned South African Transport Services (SATS) in April/May. Both these disputes, which lasted 11 and 12 weeks respectively, revealed a level of militancy and a mobilising capacity almost without parallel in South Africa's history.

Also of major significance was the success achieved prior to the congress by COSATU in realising its aim of 'one industry — one union'. Among the new sectors where united unions were established were metals/engineering/cars with the formation of NUMSA, food (FAWU) and retail (CCAWUSA). Thus between its first and second congresses, COSATU reduced its number of affiliates from 33 to 13, whilst almost doubling its total membership. The holding of the second congress on schedule, barely a few weeks after the destruction of COSATU's headquarters by the regime's agents, and after a year in which an estimated 750 COSATU officials had been detained, showed the resilience of the organisation.

The congress itself provided the backdrop to the historic confrontation between its largest affiliate, the 270,000-strong National Union of Mineworkers, and the Chamber of Mines. The three-week strike in August 1987 was the biggest in South African history, and probably no less significant than its famous precursor in 1946. The ruthless use of the paramilitary mines' security forces, coupled with the sacking of over 40,000 miners, revealed the desperation of the mining companies, and whilst it staved off the level of wages sought by the NUM, it could not mask the historic leap forward in organisational strength that the miners had achieved.

These historic developments within the ranks of the black workers of South Africa also found expression in a new spirit of political unity. The adoption by the COSATU congress of the Freedom Charter, following similar decisions by major COSATU affiliates such as the NUM and NUMSA, placed COSATU clearly within the ranks of the broad Congress Movement within South Africa. In so doing, it reaffirmed the tradition of non-racial democratic trade unionism which had been pioneered by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which had adopted the Freedom Charter at its founding congress in 1955.

This spirit of political unity was again demonstrated in action when COSATU, together with other democratic non-racial organisations, mounted three major stay-at-homes in the space of two months. These actions — on May Day, on 6-7 May in protest against the whites-only election, and on the eleventh anniversary of 16 June — amounted in effect to general strikes and involved well over two million workers as well as hundreds of thousands of school and college students.

The intensification and consolidation of the liberation struggle was by no means limited to the trade union movement. A number of key new initiatives were taken of which the most significant were the foundation of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) in March 1987 and the UDF Women's Congress in April 1987.

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The birth of SAYCO out of a network of around a dozen regional youth structures, whose affiliates represent a total of over half a million young people, represents the fulfilment of one of the aims of COSAS, and a significant strengthening of the mass democratic movement on one of its most dynamic fronts.

SAYCO's links with COSATU and the UDF, and the involvement of members of all three organisations in mass community actions like the rent boycotts, have reinforced the base of the mass struggles against the system, giving them the capacity to survive even the new forms of repression.

The founding of the UDF Women's Congress created a national structure uniting all women's organisations affiliated to the UDF. It set itself the task of coordinating campaigns coming out of the resolutions adopted at the conference; encouraging the organisation of women; raising women's issues and developing women's leadership in the UDF; and to approach other women's organisations with the objective of relaunching the Federation of South African Women. The conference also adopted the Freedom Charter and the Women's Charter which was originally drawn up in 1954.

The consolidation of the democratic non-racial movement was reflected also in the establishment of alternative structures involving lawyers, writers, musicians, and in the strengthening of the alliance between SANSCO (South African National Student Congress) and NUSAS (National Union of South African Students). This period saw growing confrontations between the student movement and the regime both in the so-called 'tribal' universities as well as on the English-speaking campuses especially during the all-white general election campaign. This in turn led to a new offensive by the apartheid state against higher education. There have also been renewed efforts to organise in the rural areas, within both the so-called 'independent' and non-'independent' bantustans. Nowhere has this resistance had such effect as in KwaNdebele, where popular opposition twice forced the apartheid regime to delay plans to impose 'independence' on the bantustan.

However, the repression has had its impact, not least on the United Democratic Front. The arrest of two key organisers in July 1987 (the acting general and publicity secretaries) brought the total of UDF executive members in detention, in prison or on trial to over 25. As the UDF commented in a statement issued in August 1987 to mark the fourth anniversary of its foundation, 'It is no secret that the combination of measures directed against the UDF by the government have taken a heavy toll on organisations and political activity.' But, the UDF stressed, 'even in those areas where organisation has been disrupted or forced underground, the mood of the people remains militant. The overall political and strategic initiative lies in the hands of the people, and the tide of resistance to apartheid and minority rule cannot be turned back.'

Moreover, the offensive by the apartheid regime against COSATU, the UDF and their affiliates has underlined in the eyes of the oppressed majority the necessity for them to carry on their legal activities. The situation also emphasises the growing importance of the underground organisational work of the ANC and SACTU, and above all the need for a strengthening of the fighting capacity of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. The growth in the frequency and spread of armed actions reflects the success of the ANC in intensifying the armed struggle as the central element in the battle for freedom.

Namibia

Paralleling developments in South Africa, there has been a dramatic growth in trade union organisation in Namibia. Under the auspices of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), a number of industrial unions have been founded, of which the most significant is the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN). These unions have taken deep root amongst the Namibian workers as their campaigns for a living wage and decent conditions correspond directly to the workers' needs. The poverty wages and conditions of semi-slavery in Namibia are appalling by comparison with South Africa.

Workers' struggles reached a new stage in July 1987 when over 4,000 miners working for the Tsumeb Corporation were sacked when they took action in support of MUN demands. The Tsumeb Corporation, controlled by Consolidated Gold Fields and in which BP has a 14% stake, in concert with the South African security forces made unprecedented efforts to break the strike, which nevertheless lasted four weeks despite the mass eviction of the strikers.

This new level of organisation and militancy of the Namibian workers has contributed to a further strengthening of the overall liberation struggle. Indeed, the speed with which the NUNW has been able to develop has only been possible because of the deep roots SWAPO has among black workers in Namibia. SWAPO continues to hold a preeminent position amongst the Namibian people as their sole legitimate representative. This has been demonstrated by the mass mobilisation against South Africa's illegal occupation which SWAPO and the NUNW organised especially on May Day. At the same time, undaunted by a further build-up of South Africa's military forces to an estimated 120,000 troops, SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), has again mounted successive military offensives against South Africa's military occupation. White morale was particularly dented when PLAN carried out a bomb attack causing millions of pounds worth of damage to a building opposite military headquarters in Windhoek.

The response of the racist regime has been to unleash a reign of terror against the Namibian people, especially in the north of the territory where the war is intense. Arbitrary shootings and killings are the order of the day; torture of detainees is almost universal; whilst the curfew has turned much of the country into a free-fire zone at night. Amongst the victims of curfew shootings was the brother of Bishop Dumeni, a prominent leader of Namibia's Christians. This was just one of a catalogue of attacks against the church because of its role in the struggle against South Africa's illegal occupation.

This reign of terror culminated in August 1987 with a nationwide crackdown against the internal leadership of SWAPO and leaders and activists of the NUNW and its affiliates. Amongst those detained were the vice president of SWAPO, Hendrick Witbooi, and the general secretary of the MUN, Ben Uulenga. In early September, following unprecedented international pressure, the courts ordered the release of all those who had been detained. Statements presented by the regime to the courts revealed the extent to which it feared the growing militancy of the Namibian workers.

This catalogue of terror against the Namibian people has further undermined the so-called 'transitional government of national unity' which the South African authorities appointed on 17 June 1985, and brought into sharp relief the contradictions existing within the

Multi-Party Conference. These divisions, representing both different interests as well as the personal ambition and greed of members of the MPC, led to a deadlock over plans purportedly to draw up a constitution for an 'independent' Namibia. This move, in direct conflict with the UN plan for the independence of Namibia, was only one example of the steps being taken by the South African regime to prepare the ground for a Namibian UDI, including the commissioning of a national anthem and the creation of a ministry for international cooperation and development.

Front line states

In the period under review, South Africa has continuously and relentlessly pursued its policy of trying to impose its domination on the region through a combination of direct military intervention, the arming, training and supplying of its surrogate forces, principally Unita and the MNR, and the sophisticated exploitation of its resulting strategic influence over transport and communications, and the overall economy of the region.

Angola for a long time bore the brunt of South African aggression, both direct and through Unita's operations. For the first decade of Angola's independence, South Africa maintained its military threat based on air superiority, such that if Pretoria's land forces (or Unita's) suffered reverses on the ground, the South African Air Force was brought in to reassert its position. Now Angola is rapidly gaining all-round military equality and superiority in the air. Even the *Financial Mail* (10 July 1987) had to acknowledge that: 'If South Africa ever mounts another large incursion into Angola, it will not be able to rely on almost automatic command of the air, or even aerial parity — an essential requirement for a ground operation.'

It is Angola that still suffers most from the fact that South Africa's war against Africa has continued to have the de facto endorsement of the US, especially through its aid to Unita. This aid is both political and, since the revocation of the Clark Amendment, directly military in form — channelled both through South Africa and increasingly via Zaire. The disclosure in the 'Irangate' hearings of a visit by the then CIA director, William Casey, to South Africa in March 1986 to arrange arms shipments for Unita, and of a visit by Col Oliver North to Unita's Jamba base, and the evidence of arms shipments from the US via Honduras, Switzerland and Belgium, show how far the US has been implicated in South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. They also raised the possibility that Unita would itself become a conduit for arms to South Africa. The double jeopardy to Angola flowing from these policies on one hand and the US administration's continuing insistence on 'linkage' on the other hand is compounded by a virtual aid boycott by Britain, which in 1985 gave £0.2m, or less than a fifth of 1% of the total British bilateral aid to the nine SADCC countries of £104m.

Undeterred by US hostility to SADCC, and an overall decline in British contributions to the SADCC countries since 1980, the front line states have continued to coordinate their political positions, including on sanctions, and have taken important initiatives to roll back South African influence on some of the states in the region. As a result, South Africa can no longer count on Malawi's consistent support for the operations of the MNR, and the late President Machel's aim of securing the participation of other countries in the

region in the defence of vital transport routes to landlocked countries has made progress.

The tragic death on 19 October 1986 of Mozambique's President Samora Machel and 33 of his colleagues, in a plane crash, marked a new phase in Pretoria's destabilisation of Mozambique. Although the complete facts of the crash may never be established, the conduct of the South African authorities in the period immediately before and after the crash, their subsequent withdrawal from the tripartite commission of investigation, and the staging of their own inquiry, led President Chissano to state in June 1987 that Samora Machel had been murdered.

The Mozambican government, with the full support of its regional allies, especially Zimbabwe and Tanzania, has succeeded in turning the tide of war against the armed bandits of the MNR in the central zone of the country, provoking the MNR's South African masters to resort in the south of the country to the horrific massacres at Homoine on 10 July and Manjacaze on 10 August — atrocities which confirmed the purely destructive motivation and terroristic character of their operations. Despite their efforts to prevent it, the Beira corridor, serving Zimbabwe as its most direct outlet to the sea, is functioning effectively. A disturbing development has been the campaign in influential circles in the USA for direct American aid to the MNR.

South African aggression and destabilisation in the region take many forms. All the economies of the states in the region have been directly affected by these policies, with Zambia's being particularly hard hit. Both Zambia and Zimbabwe have been targets of direct military attacks during this period, whilst there has been a dramatic growth of bomb attacks, kidnappings and killings by undercover units of the regime in all the territories of the region. The primary target of these operations has been members of the ANC. In the case of Swaziland, they have become almost a daily occurrence: amongst those murdered was Cassius Make of the ANC's national executive committee, whilst another ANC leader, Ismail Ebrahim, was abducted and is now standing trial in South Africa.

A regime in crisis

P W Botha's administration and indeed the apartheid system as a whole are now in a deep and protracted crisis. Last year, the Anti-Apartheid Movement described in its political report how, 'shaken to its roots by the forces aligned against it, the regime has lost the capacity to dictate the course of events'. During the past 12 months, it has desperately sought to regain the initiative through the brutal repression of all forms of opposition. The state of emergency imposed on 12 June 1986 has been renewed and there is much speculation that it will now be a permanent feature of life in South Africa. Under what has proved without doubt to be the most brutal state of emergency in South Africa's history, regulations have been enacted to control nearly every aspect of life. Most have been directed against those organising mass resistance. However, a secondary target has been the press and other media. Designed to create an image of normality both domestically and internationally, these measures have simply confirmed the pariah status of South Africa in the international community.

Likewise over Namibia, Pretoria is in deep crisis. It is now a decade since the then western members of the UN Security Council, in April 1977, usurped the authority of the UN by establishing the so-called

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'Contact Group' and taking on the mantle of 'honest brokers'. Next year, 1988, will mark the 10th anniversary of agreement by all parties involved, including South Africa, to the UN plan for the independence of Namibia and the adoption of UN Security Council resolution 435, and yet the prospects for its implementation are as remote as ever. Whilst Pretoria hides behind the US policy of 'linkage' (ie the linking of Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola), it is doing everything possible to undermine the UN plan. Meanwhile, the Namibian economy stagnates and the territory goes deeper and deeper into crisis.

Pretoria and its allies have deliberately imposed a blanket of silence over Namibia with the objective of taking the Namibian question entirely off the international agenda. With little if any reporting of events within Namibia, especially the growing impact of the armed struggle, and as a result of the refusal of the West to take any initiative to unblock the current international stalemate caused by 'linkage', an impression has gained ground that future developments in Namibia will be solely determined by the course of the struggle in South Africa itself. Such an approach undermines the entire struggle of the Namibian people and directly benefits Pretoria.

In essence, P W Botha and his closest associates know that they cannot rule in the old way either in Namibia or South Africa. They need allies from within the black community and yet they are unable to pursue policies which can provide them with anything but the most fragile of such support. Seeking a way out of this dilemma, P W Botha had hoped that the all-white general election in May 1987 would provide him with a new mandate. In fact, the opposite proved to be the case with the dramatic increase in votes for the ultra-right Conservative Party. In a move reflecting his lack of political confidence in the future, P W Botha then sought to amend the constitution to delay the general election scheduled for 1989. This political manoeuvre not only enraged the Conservative Party, which judged that it would make even more dramatic political gains in 1989, but also led to the first major political crisis within the tricameral parliament, with the resignation of the Revd Alan Hendrickse from Botha's cabinet.

The political crisis facing the apartheid regime also finds expression in the crisis facing the economy. Driven to a further massive increase in defence and security expenditure, committed to expending R3 million a day to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia, and obliged to fund the massive expenditure required to maintain the complex apartheid structures (eg 14 different departments of education), the South African authorities now find that they cannot finance these burdens from the surpluses produced by cheap apartheid labour as black workers become more and more effectively organised. And, of course, this economic crisis simply fuels the political crisis.

In South Africa there is now much talk of political and constitutional 'reform' but no evidence of any meaningful action. P W Botha's attempts to set up a national statutory council, even with the offer of a popular franchise for elections to it, appear doomed to failure. No significant African figure, and none of the bantustan leaders like Gatsha Buthelezi or 'community councillors' are yet prepared to consider participating in such a structure. Linked to this talk of political and constitutional 'reform' is similar speculation concerning the prospect for the beginning of a negotiating process involving the regime and the ANC. This has been fuelled

by P W Botha's statement concerning the possible release of Govan Mbeki, which in turn led to speculation over the release of Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders. It would appear that, due to domestic and international factors, Pretoria judges it to be in its interests to create the illusion that it is genuinely interested in reaching some accommodation with the forces of African nationalism within South Africa. There is no evidence, however, that there is any prospect that this will move beyond the realm of political speculation.

However, Pretoria is continuing unabated its policies of social engineering, which are presented as 'reforms' but in reality are designed to modernise and entrench apartheid. At the core of this social engineering has been the restructuring of power at the national, regional and local level through the State Security Council and the Joint Management Centres. These structures are further consolidating the power of the military at all levels of apartheid society and belie the speculation over 'reform' and negotiations. Likewise, the brutally repressive methods to break the popular resistance to apartheid reveal the true nature of apartheid society. The systematic repression deployed especially since the imposition of the state of emergency appears intended to so stifle popular opposition that the basis can be created for the cooption of more credible elements within the black community into the structures of white supremacy. However, such a policy is doomed to failure. The more the repression, the less prospect that any South African 'Muzorewa' will emerge.

As a consequence, even more brutal forms of repression and intimidation are deployed. Vigilantes, sponsored by the security forces, are on the rampage, murdering and maiming. In the bantustans, including KwaZulu, such vigilantes now have virtually the same powers as the police. Detained children are now being despatched to sinister juvenile centres. This new brutality is best illustrated by the revelation in September 1987 that the regime had begun secret executions with the hanging of three young men the previous December. With two further executions in September 1987, this brought the total of executions of people involved in opposition to apartheid in the past 12 months to eight, with a further 33 on death row.

But such repression further fuels the crisis facing the regime because it undermines the image which South Africa is trying assiduously to promote internationally that it is re-establishing political and economic stability. And, of course, it gives renewed impetus to the campaigns to isolate apartheid South Africa which, in turn, threaten the South African business community.

The regime's international crisis

Whilst it is important to stress that the crisis facing the apartheid system is primarily the result of the struggles and sacrifices of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, as well as the region as a whole, there is a vital international dimension to the crisis. This was appreciated by the leadership of the African National Congress when, in 1959, they first called for the international isolation of apartheid South Africa. The apartheid system has survived into the 1980s precisely because of the support and succour it has received from its allies and friends overseas, especially in the major western countries. It has been a vital element of South Africa's foreign policy to maintain and strengthen such alliances and friendships.

Unlike the period following Sharpeville and Soweto, Pretoria has not been able to prevent the development of concerted international action, both at a popular level and by governments and inter-governmental organisations. This reached a climax in the summer and autumn of 1986 with the adoption of a package of sanctions at the Commonwealth review meeting in London in August, and the congressional rejection of President Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, followed by the imposition of virtual total sanctions by the Nordic countries in early 1987.

All these measures have their limitations. They are neither mandatory nor universal. They do not prevent vital areas of strategic collaboration. Above all, they are not comprehensive. They are also easily undermined, as best illustrated by the British Airways and Lufthansa advertising campaigns in South Africa for the lucrative trade in flights to and from the USA following the ban on direct US-South African flights by the US Congress. However, their adoption did mark a political turning point in the history of the struggle to isolate apartheid South Africa. This at least was appreciated by both South African and foreign interests, conscious of the political and economic crisis facing the regime and above all of the refusal of P W Botha to take any effective steps to resolve this crisis. These limited sanctions measures served to strengthen the pressure on foreign companies to withdraw, of which the most significant must surely be the decision of Barclays in November 1986, followed by Standard Chartered in August 1987 (although it must be stressed that both banks maintain links with South Africa and Namibia, and between them have outstanding loans of over £1 billion). Some, especially US companies, have engaged in a strategy of 'corporate camouflage' or 'warehousing' by which they maintain their operations but in a different form. However, taken together these acts of disinvestment from the South African and Namibian economies represent a vote of no confidence in the apartheid system and challenge the essence of the 'constructive engagement' policies of the USA and Britain.

However, it must be recognised that most foreign companies have not opted for disinvestment. Indeed some, such as Lonrho, have expanded their activities whilst others continue to give vital strategic support to the apartheid regime. Some indeed appear to be so committed to apartheid South Africa that they seem intent on staying whatever the price and, in so doing, will inevitably become even more complicit in the maintenance of apartheid. For South African business interests, unable to withdraw, this period has seen an apparent abandonment of their role as a 'force for change'. This has been most clearly demonstrated by the policies pursued by Anglo-American when faced by the challenges mounted first by CCAWUSA at OK Bazaars and most recently by the NUM in the gold and coal mines. The vicious actions of Anglo-American revealed its true face as it sought to tame the NUM and transform it into a sweetheart union. And it is these very companies, which purport to oppose apartheid, which are most active in developing sophisticated sanctions-busting operations.

Whilst support for sanctions has been consolidated within South Africa, as reflected by the COSATU congress decision to call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, there has been a sophisticated disinformation exercise designed to convey the impression that both prominent black leaders, such as the Revd Allan Boesak, and organisations like COSATU were having

serious doubts about a sanctions/disinvestment strategy. This disinformation campaign coincided with two powerful votes of confidence in the apartheid system. The first was the vetoing by the USA and the UK in the UN Security Council of key resolutions on sanctions (over South Africa in February 1987 and over Namibia in April 1987). These vetoes were a powerful testament to the fact that South Africa could continue to rely on the Reagan and Thatcher administrations to protect it from any effective international action. The second vote of confidence was by the international banking community which, despite its verbal protestations to the contrary, agreed to the second interim arrangements by which South Africa is further delaying the repayment of its international debts, unilaterally frozen in September 1985. The acceptance by the banks of these arrangements was greeted with delight in Pretoria.

These moves, together with the evasive actions of the transnationals in response to disinvestment campaigns, were designed to give the apartheid regime more time to solve its crisis and to blunt the international movement for sanctions. The regime, conscious of the growing strength of the sanctions campaign, also took direct steps to dissipate the campaign through the comprehensive controls it imposed on the media (which in turn has led to self-censorship by much of the British media). As a result there has understandably been some levelling off of the international campaign for sanctions. However, this will only be a temporary phenomenon. More people than ever before understand the need for sanctions. The Movement in Britain and internationally needs to find new ways of lifting and intensifying the struggle in this new situation. The South African regime will be deluding itself if it calculates that the campaign has peaked. The apartheid regime's deepening crisis, combined with the West's increased exposure, will create the conditions for a renewed struggle for sanctions involving even more people than hitherto. Moreover, the fundamentals of the crisis facing the Pretoria regime internationally remain unchanged, and indeed in many respects the crisis has deepened.

This underlying crisis is most vividly manifested by the crisis facing the apartheid economy. Despite much speculation that the economy was pulling out of recession, the Reserve Bank's own annual economic report admitted that it was unlikely that it would meet its target 3% real growth in the gross domestic product. Indeed, in the second quarter of 1987 real economic growth had slowed to an annual rate of 1.5%, not least because of the mass stay-at-homes in May and June. At the same time reflecting general lack of confidence in the economy, there has been little growth in the private sector's demand for bank credit. These problems have been accentuated by the impact of sanctions, not least against South Africa's second largest foreign exchange earner — coal. It is estimated that 1987 will see a drop in export earnings from coal of R1.3 billion from the R3.2 billion earned in 1986. Indeed, it has only been the rise in the gold price which has enabled the South African economy to maintain a surplus on its current account.

Britain and Southern Africa

British policy towards Southern Africa is of crucial strategic importance. It is in a unique situation to influence if not determine the general policy of the major western powers, as well as the decisions of the EEC, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. The

INTRODUCTION

two vetoes in the UN Security Council in February and April 1987 were only manifestations of the determination of British policy-makers to prevent the development of effective international action against apartheid South Africa. Indeed, British policy recently has become even more accommodating to Pretoria. In both the EEC Council of Ministers in May and July 1987, and at the Venice summit in June, Britain succeeded in blocking the adoption of mere policy statements condemning apartheid.

British manoeuvres are evident even more over Namibia. It is now ten years since the so-called 'Contact Group' established itself, with Britain as a key member. Despite agreement now on all matters relating to the UN plan for the independence of Namibia, instead of taking the initiative to bring pressure to bear on Pretoria, it is in practice condoning US policy on 'linkage' by arguing that US/Angolan negotiations provide the best prospect for progress. At the same time, it is engaged in an assiduous campaign to grant 'creeping' recognition to the Multi-Party Conference and the so-called 'transitional government of national unity'. A propaganda office for the South African illegal administration is allowed to operate in London uninhibited and with close links to the Conservative Party; at least one meeting has taken place with the British government at ministerial level; and a so-called minister has been taken on a guided tour of North Sea oil installations. All these moves are designed to confer a legitimacy on to the illegal administration.

For all their deeply ingrained hostility to the national liberation struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, British policy-makers now recognise that it is in Britain's interests to distance itself from the apartheid regime and to project an image that Britain and the other western powers would like to see change and a political settlement in the region. One element of this process has been the meetings by the governments of the major western powers, including Britain and the USA, with the ANC. Assessing these meetings, President Oliver Tambo has explained that in the ANC's view 'the western powers entered into official contact with the ANC because the argument that they were seeking change by talking exclusively to the Botha regime could no longer be sustained. It had lost credibility. In addition, it became clear to the western governments that the majority of our people within South Africa recognised the ANC as their political representative.'

Oliver Tambo added, most significantly, that the ANC had 'failed to move such major western powers as the USA, the UK and the Federal Republic of Germany to view the South African situation from the perspective of the oppressed. On all major questions pertaining to the issues we are discussing, the coincidence of views between the Pretoria regime and the powers that be in most of the West persists.'

Indeed, the essence of British policy shows no sign of change. It is essentially a policy of appeasement based on the mistaken belief that the racist regime in Pretoria can be persuaded to turn itself into the opposite through a process of 'reforms'. And in order to encourage this process of 'reforms', the main priority of British policy is to assist Pretoria in re-establishing political and economic stability in South Africa — hence the determination of Britain to prevent the adoption of so-called 'punitive' sanctions and its diplomatic offensive against the ANC's armed struggle.

Behind the scenes, Britain is actively engaged in seeking to manipulate the situation. Above all, it wishes

to present an illusion that a negotiating process could soon be under way. In this it finds common cause with Pretoria. Both Whitehall and Pretoria recognise that the projection of a mirage of negotiations could undermine internal and international support for both sanctions and the armed struggle. As Mrs Chalker advised the House of Commons in July 1987: 'We shall continue to impress upon the South African government the need to bring people together around the conference table so that together they can work out a future constitution.'

In order more effectively to intervene and manipulate the internal situation within South Africa, Britain has stepped up its so-called 'positive measures' which now involve an expenditure of over £5.5 million per annum. In addition to a range of educational programmes administered by the British Council, the Foreign Office's Central Office of Information has an extensive visitors programme, and Britain alone is putting up 25% of the EEC's 'Programme of Positive Measures'. Britain's obvious desire to manipulate such schemes for its own interests was illustrated by its interference in the EEC funding procedures resulting in the temporary suspension of the programme by organisations in South Africa, including the SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference in the spring of 1987.

These 'positive measures' are in turn linked to the new phenomena of meetings and discussions about Southern Africa which focus in particular on the post-apartheid society. In contrast to the genuine initiatives which are being taken by the liberation movement to grapple with such issues, many of these gatherings appear designed to further the illusion that Pretoria is prepared to negotiate the abandonment of apartheid, and therefore to downgrade the necessity for struggle both in Southern Africa and internationally. Such manoeuvres require the utmost vigilance. Indeed, the entire programme of 'positive measures' needs to be exposed as a fraudulent exercise designed to deflect criticism of Britain's anti-sanctions policy and to increase Britain's capacity for manipulation in the region.

The true character of British policy is best revealed by the refusal to take effective steps to enforce or monitor the limited measures which Britain has formally endorsed. No monitoring procedure exists for either the voluntary investment ban or the voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism. Indeed, it appears that all the action the British government has taken is to send ministerial letters to a handful of organisations, even refusing to intervene when the voluntary bans are blatantly violated. In a characteristic example of British duplicity, the government argues that the measures it has recently adopted should not apply to Namibia as there was no agreement on this within the EEC. However, the voluntary tourist ban is not an EEC measure and yet it does not apply to Namibia, and the government has specifically refused to extend the voluntary ban to include Namibia.

However, the British government is conscious of the lack of popular support for its policies on Southern Africa. It is not only aware of the influence which our Movement now has in Britain, but has also seen the direct impact of our campaigns such as the Barclays withdrawal and the 32% drop in imports from South Africa. Support for our policies has been strengthened and consolidated during the period covered by this report in all quarters. In particular, cooperation and joint campaigning with the TUC and many of its major affiliates have led to a significant increase in activity by the trade union movement. In response to the impact

of our campaigns, the British government is already taking legislative action to prohibit one key area, the purchasing bans on South African and Namibian products by local authorities, whilst the courts are increasingly being used to block anti-apartheid action, most recently by Central Television against the ACTT and Shell against Lewisham. Moreover, the very right to demonstrate peacefully against British collaboration with apartheid is being eroded. It is vital therefore that British policies of appeasement and complicity with apartheid South Africa be challenged as never before.

The tasks ahead

Britain under Mrs Thatcher, now serving her third term in office, represents a major if not the single most important obstacle preventing the implementation of comprehensive and universally enforced sanctions. In its 1986 political report, the Anti-Apartheid Movement spoke of the certainty that the apartheid question would be 'a key issue between the political parties' during a general election. This was not the case; nor were the efforts of the Anti-Apartheid Movement to secure the election of a majority of MPs committed to a sanctions policy successful. The Conservative manifesto explicitly opposed sanctions. Given Britain's key role in Southern Africa, as the country with the largest stake in the apartheid economy, as a major trading partner of South Africa and traditionally the main actor in determining western policy for the region, the vital responsibility now facing the people of Britain is to campaign for and secure a fundamental change in British policy. However daunting that task may seem, it is a realisable objective. Public opinion is basically supportive of the AAM's policies. The AAM has a stronger base than ever before, within Parliament, and it is creating the organisational capacity to take on this task.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has therefore to

harness all its efforts to generate a united and powerful campaign to achieve a fundamental change in British policy and the total isolation of apartheid South Africa. This requires:

- as an absolute priority a renewed offensive to secure the widest possible support for and understanding of the case for comprehensive mandatory sanctions and the total isolation of apartheid South Africa;
- the intensification of the nationwide mobilisation of the people of Britain to impose 'people's sanctions' and the implementation of the Programme of Action for Sanctions drawn up at the AAM's national convention in June 1987 to isolate apartheid South Africa in all spheres including military, nuclear, security, strategic, diplomatic, economic, cultural, academic, scientific and sporting fields;
- a special priority on campaigning in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia, to demand immediate implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia, and the imposition of effective sanctions specifically on Namibia;
- a major campaign of solidarity with the front line states;
- mobilisation in Britain and internationally against apartheid oppression, to stop all apartheid executions, to free all detainees in South Africa and Namibia, and to free Nelson Mandela and all South African and Namibian political prisoners.

Finally, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has to do all in its power to mobilise solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia, under the leadership of the ANC and SWAPO, to enable them to strengthen their capacity to intensify the struggle for freedom and to secure a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa and a genuinely independent Namibia.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Artists Against Apartheid	MPC	Multi-Party Conference
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)	MUN	Mineworkers Union of Namibia
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation	NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
BCC	British Council of Churches	NGO	Non-governmental organisation
BOAF	British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa	NSC	Namibia Support Committee
BICSA	British Industries' Committee on South Africa	NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
CAN	Church Action on Namibia	NUNW	National Union of Namibian Workers
CANUC	Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contracts	NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
CCAWUSA	Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa	OAU	Organisation of African Unity
CCSA	Christian Concern for Southern Africa	PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations	PIRC	Pensions and Investment Research Centre
COSAS	Congress of South African Students	PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions	SAA	South African Airways
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	SACC	South African Council of Churches
ECC	End Conscription Campaign	SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
ELTSA	End Loans To Southern Africa	SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
EPG	Eminent Persons Group	SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union (South Africa)	SANSCO	South African National Student Congress
IDAF	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa	SARHWU	South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority	SATIS	Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society
LAA	Lawyers Against Apartheid	SATS	South African Transport Services
LAAA-NSC	Local Authorities Against Apartheid — National Steering Committee	SAYCO	South African Youth Congress
LRD	Labour Research Department	SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
MAC	Mozambique Angola Committee	TICL	Transnational Investment Centre London
MACSA	Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa	UDF	United Democratic Front
		UKSATA	United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association
		WAAM	Wales Anti-Apartheid Movement

SOUTH AFRICA

On 2 October 1986 the US Senate overrode President Reagan's veto and the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act became law, inter alia banning (a) steel, coal, uranium, agricultural and textile imports from South Africa, (b) US exports of computers and software to the regime's police and military, and (c) US landing rights for South African Airways. Despite some negative features, the legislation represented the most significant rebuff to Pretoria yet given by one of its key allies. It exposed the Thatcher government's position on South Africa as being the most intractable amongst the western powers, and underlined its isolation.

Faced with this obstacle, the Movement had once more to seek ways of challenging the policies of the British government, whilst mobilising solidarity with the freedom struggle. This became perceptibly more difficult following the imposition by the Botha regime on 12 December 1986 of sweeping restrictions in the media. These compelled all reports about 'unrest' to be submitted in advance to the censors, and prohibited not only the reporting of the arrest or release of detainees and of the activities of the security forces, but even the publication of blank spaces showing the effects of censorship.

It was in this context that the AGM on 10/11 January approved plans for the launching of a 'New Offensive for Sanctions'. Parallel with this activity, described in detail elsewhere in this report, the Movement developed its contacts with a range of forces fighting apartheid within South Africa. In February, the AAM was honoured to host an extensive programme of activities for Archie Gumede, co-president of the UDF, including meetings with leaders of the parliamentary parties and a keynote speech to the local authority conference in Glasgow. Accompanied by the Revd Frank Chikane, prominent in UDF circles and later to become general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), he also met minister of state at the Foreign Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker.

Discussions were also held with (and, when appropriate, programmes arranged for) other UDF leaders, and representatives of a range of organisations including COSATU, the End Conscription Campaign, SAYCO, the NUM, CCAWUSA, NUMSA and other trade unions.

In South Africa, the appearance of advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC on 8 January, the 75th anniversary of its foundation, provoked a major political row. In Britain, the AAM as a whole responded with warmth and enthusiasm to the 75th anniversary of the ANC, with numerous activities being organised and strong support given to the events and appeals organised by the ANC itself.

In February, the prime minister signalled the direction of government policy on South Africa in the course of a meeting with President Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. Once again eschewing 'comprehensive economic sanctions and isolation', which she described as 'a counsel of despair' in a subsequent letter to the leader of the opposition, Mrs Thatcher argued that 'those who genuinely want progress in South Africa should focus their attention on practical steps to bring about dialogue. These might include, for example, laying the groundwork for a constitutional conference, to be attended by genuine representatives of all political and racial groups in South Africa...' Two days later, on 20 February, ignoring appeals from the Glasgow local authorities conference, the AAM's national committee and Bishop Huddleston, the British representative at the UN Security Council joined forces with the US, supported by the FRG, to veto a proposal for selective mandatory sanctions similar to those already adopted by the US Congress.

The double UN veto — repeated on 11 April in relation to Namibia — gave encouragement to the Botha regime to proceed with intensified repression at home and aggression outside its borders in the run-up to the election of 6 May. In this election, not a single parliamentary candidate or party was prepared to endorse the basic principle of one person, one vote in a unitary democratic South Africa — thus showing how irrelevant was the event to the disenfranchised majority. They showed their opposition to it by massively supporting a UDF call, supported by COSATU, to stage a two-day stay-away.

In the event, the National Party won its predictable victory, its voters accounting for a mere 5.5% of the total population of South Africa. But it was the worst election result for the NP since it came to power, with a third of votes going to parties of the ultra-right. Only 68% of the white electorate went to the polls, showing a degree of apathy and possibly some deliberate abstention. None of the three much-vaunted defectors from the NP won a seat, and the Progressive Federal Party suffered a humiliating setback.

The renewal of the state of emergency on 11 June 1987, following on a series of savage measures against the non-racial trade unions and their officials, showed that Pretoria was taking full advantage of the licence afforded it by Britain and the US. Soon after the resumption of parliament following the Tories' third successive victory, Foreign Office minister Mrs Chalker again raised the perspective of dialogue and constitutional talks — without indicating any readiness to exert effective pressure on Pretoria capable of creating the conditions in which a meaningful negotiation might become possible.

The Movement continued to oppose collaboration with one of the forces the Conservative government would like to see involved in such talks — the bantustan tribal authorities. A visit by a Chikanean trade mission in April was targeted for direct action, and an AAM letter to the foreign secretary pointed out that it breached both the voluntary ban on promoting tourism and the policy of non-recognition for the bantustans.

The AAM joined with War Resisters International and the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) in February to give a platform to a speaker from the End Conscription Campaign — a movement of growing significance in South Africa, especially following the frequent use of troops in the townships under the state of emergency.



Paul Weisberg/Anadolu

NAMIBIA

The package of sanctions measures adopted by the EEC on 16 September 1986 specifically excluded Namibia. This marked the extent to which the agitation and activity around the crisis in South Africa in preceding months had failed to bring the situation in Namibia into focus.

This was the point of departure for an unprecedented level of campaigning in the autumn for independence for Namibia and in solidarity with SWAPO, especially during the International Week of Action from 27 October (20th anniversary of the termination by the UN General Assembly of South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia) to 3 November. SWAPO speakers addressed meetings in many parts of the country from Exeter to Inverness; local authorities flew the SWAPO flag in at least five cities and four London boroughs; AA activists targeted Shell, Barclays and RTZ on specific days during the week; a sponsored student fast was held on several campuses; and substantial sums of money were raised by groups for SWAPO around the country. The Namibia Support Committee (NSC) launched a campaign for 'Independence Now' and established itself on a wider basis with the formation of a number of local Namibia Support Groups.

A two-day mobilising conference in London which marked the opening of the week, attended by over 300 participants from AA local groups, trade unions, universities and colleges, church groups and others, heard SWAPO secretary general Andimba Toivo ja Toivo stress Britain's special historical responsibility for the situation in Namibia. Other speakers included Angolan ambassador Elísio de Figueiredo, senior SWAPO representatives, author Marga Holness, AAM hon secretary Abdul Minty, and journalist Victoria Brittain. The conference addressed the major issues of solidarity work in Britain and gave an impetus to the following week's activities. These included an intensive programme of visits by the SWAPO secretary general to Glasgow, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester and Hull, addressing well-attended public meetings and civic receptions, and providing an important mobilising focus around the country.

The conference and the week of action stimulated the production of a wide range of briefings and other campaigning materials. Out of these and additional material has emerged a Namibia information pack that is now available as an invaluable educational and campaigning resource.

In disregard of this heightened interest in Namibia and increased support for its independence, foreign office minister Lynda Chalker met two members of the 'interim government' in February, demonstrating that the British government's refusal to confront South Africa over Namibia makes it receptive to the new manoeuvres designed to increase the credibility of the puppet administration and marginalise the UN plan for independence.

This context made very timely the visit by the general secretary of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN), Ben Uulenga, in February, in the course of which he met TUC secretary general Norman Willis, addressed the AAM national committee, met the Scottish TUC, and visited Sheffield, Liverpool and Glasgow, where he addressed the local authority biennial conference.

These and other events provided an important opportunity to put the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) on the map, and lay the basis for solidarity between the British trade union movement and Namibian workers, their trade unions and the liberation movement. This was graphically symbolised later in the year when the Trades Union Congress meeting in Blackpool reserved a guest seat for Mr Uulenga. It stayed empty throughout the week because he was in detention, despite the efforts of the TUC and others to prevent his arrest on his return to Namibia in August, a few days before the TUC hosted a Namibia Day reception for SWAPO.

Bishop Huddleston wrote to the foreign secretary in March seeking a meeting to discuss how to make progress towards Namibia's independence. Before a ministerial level meeting could be arranged, the UN Security Council debated the issues, and a resolution to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa, supported by nine members of the Security Council, was vetoed on 11 April by Britain and the US, supported once more by the FRG. The AAM president immediately wrote again to Sir



Geoffrey Howe expressing his 'bitter disappointment' at the government's action.

Later the same month, the Movement participated in a UN Council for Namibia seminar in Buenos Aires. The AAM's representative, Karen Talbot, presented a major paper requested by the Council on sanctions and Namibian independence, and took part in the drafting committee which drew up the Declaration and Programme of Action of the seminar. The following month, the Movement also took part in a UN Council for Namibia seminar in London, organised by the NSC, on 'Namibia and the Media'.

A week of action to highlight the involvement of British companies in Namibia was planned for the end of May, and considerable research was done to produce an up-to-date list of such companies and their activities. A leaflet was also produced, but the calling of the general election made it impossible for the campaign to proceed as planned.

At the AAM's National Convention for Sanctions in June, the guest speaker from Namibia was Theo Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's secretary for foreign affairs, and he later conveyed the acceptance of President Sam Nujoma of the national committee's invitation to speak at the AAM's October demonstration.

A series of raids, attacks and arrests from June onwards showed that the Pretoria regime was bent on stamping out the nascent power of the Namibian trade unions. These clashes provided the backdrop for the strike by some 4,000 workers at three Tsameb Corporation Ltd (TCL) mines that began on 26 July in support of demands for a living wage and an end to the contract labour system. The TCL, a subsidiary of Consolidated Goldfields, refused to negotiate, sacked the workers and proceeded to evict them, despite attempts to establish the illegality of the methods used. The AAM mounted weekly pickets of the ConsGold offices in London, rushed out posters and leaflets, and mobilised support for the NUNW strike fund.

On 11 August, Liverpool dockers refused to handle five containers of uranium hexafluoride unloaded from a US-registered ship at Seaforth container base until they were satisfied that their contents were not of Namibian or South African origin. SWAPO had earlier disclosed research findings by the NSC which showed that in the first six months of 1986, of a total of 141 containers of uranium oxide arriving at BNFL Springfield, 96 certainly and 41 probably came from Southern Africa.

The arrest and detention of a number of top SWAPO leaders and NUNW officials following a big bomb explosion in Windhoek in August gave rise to fears of an impending show trial. The AAM and SATIS called upon the British government to support moves at the UN to secure their release.

The AAM's chairperson, Bob Hughes MP, addressed a seminar on Namibia on 11 September organised by Edinburgh district council under the auspices of the National Steering Committee for Local Authority Action Against Apartheid — a well-attended event, which was the first of its kind.

FRONT LINE STATES

Following the death of President Samora Machel, the AAM was represented at a well-attended memorial meeting on 25 October by its honorary secretary Abdul Minty. In a letter to the foreign secretary, the AAM's chairperson expressed concern about the suspicious circumstances of the crash, only to be told in reply — in the face of a mass of detail about South Africa's provocative and threatening conduct before the crash and its lies and deceptions after it — that 'we know of no evidence to suggest that the crash... was anything other than an accident'.

The murder in Lesotho of two former government ministers, both known for their positive attitude to the liberation struggle in South Africa, barely a month later sparked fears that Pretoria was embarking on an assassination campaign against leaders of

independent states. Then in December, the abduction of Ismail Ebrahim from Swaziland, the latest in a long series of such incidents, proved to be the opening of a phase of targeted terror against ANC personnel, or against innocent civilians under the pretext of preemptive strikes on ANC personnel, culminating in the brutal murder of ANC executive member Cassius Make and two others in Swaziland on 9 July 1987.

Amongst the key incidents in this period were a commando raid on the Zambian town of Livingstone on 25 April, allegedly aimed at 'an ANC transit facility' (five Zambians lost their lives), a bomb attack on a block of flats in Harare on 11 May (a Zimbabwean woman was killed), a rocket attack in a suburb of Harare six days later on a house reported to be used by members of the ANC, and a commando raid in the heart of Maputo on 29 May which killed three Mozambicans.

The Pretoria regime had earlier disrupted rail traffic moving south from Botswana in an attempt to force the Botswana government to recognise the Bophuthatawana bantustan. The spread of MNR activity into the eastern border region of Zimbabwe in mid-1987 was possibly intended by the Pretoria regime to 'punish' Prime Minister Mugabe's government for its resolute solidarity with Mozambique and to divert military efforts from the strategic task of keeping the Beira corridor open and functioning.

These pressures on member states of the Commonwealth evoked little public response from the Thatcher government. Its indifference to their fate was out of step with the growing public perception of the South African threat to the front line states, and the public's ready response to the first-ever appeal by the Disasters Emergency Committee, combining the major aid agencies, on behalf of a Southern African country, viz Mozambique. British policy towards Mozambique has indeed come to be seen in some quarters as anomalous in the context of British policy towards the region as a whole. In fact, it is entirely consistent with it, since the increasing but still small-scale military aid to Mozambique, which excludes combatant matériel, is intended as a substitute for confrontation with the apartheid system instead of a complement to it.

Recognition of the growing threat to the region prompted the AGM to call for the setting up of a working party to develop the Movement's work on these issues. This met several times and is expected to make a full report to the next AGM, at which support for the front line states is planned to be a major theme. Meanwhile, it made a number of proposals to the national committee which were accepted, including the launching of a campaign pack in the autumn, a speaking tour by senior representatives from the region, support for the Non-Aligned Movement's AFRICA Fund for emergency aid to the front line states and liberation movements, and the setting up of a fund to act as a conduit to it. The working party is preparing briefing material for MPs on the South African threat to the transport routes in the region, and speakers' notes for the campaign pack.

Increased attention to the issues was also evident in the setting up of special structures to promote work on the front line states in several areas of the country and joint activity by members of the AAM and the Mozambique Angola Committee (MAC), eg in Leeds, Sheffield and Bristol.

During a short official visit by President Chissano in May, the London AA Committee and MAC organised a reception for the Mozambican leader. Both organisations supported Camden council in holding a celebration on 25 June of Mozambique's Independence Day. The Movement helped to distribute nationally materials produced by War on Want to promote a container appeal for the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA). *Anti-Apartheid News* regularly provides reports and updates on aggression and destabilisation affecting the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) countries, and the front line states were the subject of a centre spread in the April issue. Consultation is maintained with the diplomatic representatives of the countries concerned, and support given to appropriate non-governmental bodies in the region, such as the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Friendship Association.

Drought and MNR bandit activity have disrupted the lives of the people all over Mozambique. This child is collecting water to irrigate the crops in Chicualacuala, Gaza province, Mozambique



IAN BRY/DALTON

CAMPAIGNS

New Offensive for Sanctions

Following the tremendous advances which were achieved in the campaign for sanctions during the period covered by the 1985/6 annual report, the past 12 months have been a period of consolidation. In January 1987, the AAM set out in its document *A New Offensive for Sanctions* a comprehensive programme of activities designed to put the issue of sanctions firmly back on the political agenda and to reach an even wider cross-section of the public.

The first initiative in this new offensive was the publication of a *Manifesto for Sanctions* on 21 January. The *Manifesto* was published in a popular form and contained, in addition to a well-argued case for sanctions, a list of specific proposals for action at a governmental level. The launch of the *Manifesto* was presided over by Bishop Huddleston, and amongst those present were AAM vice president Jack Jones and AAM sponsor Basil Davidson. The TUC general secretary, Norman Willis, sent a message endorsing the *Manifesto* on behalf of the TUC General Council.

The *Manifesto for Sanctions* proved to be a vital tool in the Movement's campaigning for sanctions in the run-up to the June general election.

During January and February the launch of the *Manifesto* was followed up by a series of local sanctions coordinating meetings organised by local AA groups throughout Britain. These meetings also helped to prepare for the March Month of People's Sanctions. The highlight of this month was the launch of the Shell Boycott campaign on 1 March. However, this was but one example of the many forms of people's sanctions promoted during the month. For this month a new AAM broadsheet on people's sanctions was published, which outlined the full range of popular actions which could be taken to isolate apartheid South Africa, as well as setting it within the context of the wider sanctions campaign. Further publicity produced for the month included a special leaflet and poster promoting people's sanctions. During the month various days were denoted to highlight the involvement of companies in the apartheid economy, including Standard Chartered on 4 March and RTZ on 9 March.

Some of the month's major activities took place on 21 March, the anniversary of both the Sharpeville and Langa massacres. Amongst the many successful events organised on that day was the Scottish Committee's conference for people's sanctions in Glasgow, which provided an important platform for securing endorsements for the *Manifesto* from Scottish political parties. The Communist, Green, Labour, Liberal and Scottish Nationalist parties all participated in a panel discussion, and the SNP representative announced the endorsement of the *Manifesto* by all SNP candidates, as did the Communist and Green parties' representatives.

March also saw a major disinformation operation, aimed against the AAM's sanctions campaign, involving the apartheid regime, a number of key companies, the British Foreign Office and important sections of the British media. From March onwards there was a series of TV programmes, press articles and radio programmes, all with the common objective of undermining the sanctions campaign. They involved the selective reporting of leaders of the black community, speculation that COSATU was to relax its pro-sanctions policy, and distorted accounts of the impact of limited sanctions, all designed to create the impression that the AAM was out of touch with genuine black opinion within South Africa.

The announcement by the prime minister that there would be a general election on 11 June provided a major opportunity for the Movement to secure support for its policies, most notably the proposals contained in the *Manifesto for Sanctions*. The *Manifesto* had already been circulated widely at a local level and endorsements secured with the objective of obtaining the support at a national and local level from political parties contesting the general election.

During the general election period plans were also finalised for the national convention for sanctions, which had been planned as a major element in the new offensive for sanctions. It was also decided to proceed with the preparations for a national demonstration on the theme 'Sanctions Now', to take place on Saturday 24 October. This had been originally conceived of as the culmination of the new offensive for sanctions.

In contrast to the period 1984-86, there was little progress achieved in securing action at a national or inter-governmental level. The Nordic countries agreed to a collective policy which represented virtually total sanctions, thus bringing the other Nordic countries into line with Denmark. This policy is now in the process of being implemented at a national level. Israel also announced a package of partial measures but it remains unclear whether this represents a significant change in policy.

Despite the failure to secure any major advances either within Britain or internationally, basic support for sanctions in Britain has continued to grow. For example, a detailed opinion poll carried out by Marplan in January 1987 revealed that 59% of those interviewed who had an opinion on the subject supported a total suspension of economic links with South Africa.

An important element of the AAM's campaign has again focused on the British government's refusal to take effective action to enforce the measures which it formally subscribed to. For example, it decided to interpret the EEC ban on new investment in South Africa as voluntary, and its own voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa has involved the despatch of two letters. Of particular concern is the government's refusal to extend the measures to include Namibia.

General Election

The 1987 election saw the most organised effort yet made by the AAM at intervention in a general election. The *Manifesto for Sanctions* was distributed to the overwhelming majority of candidates, nearly 400 of whom endorsed it. For the first time, all parliamentary constituencies were 'covered' by one or other of our local groups, although in some cases it was impossible for them to have much impact. In order to focus local activity, some 41 marginal constituencies were targeted, chosen on the basis of being in areas of strong AAM presence. A special leaflet, 'Vote against Apartheid - Sanctions Now!', was produced for use during the election period.

In a good number of constituencies, AAM campaigning made a considerable impact and achieved local media coverage. This was particularly so in most of the 41 targeted marginals, where a total of 55 candidates were persuaded to endorse the *Manifesto*, of whom 19 were elected.

Regrettably, this local effectiveness was not matched by national coverage - reflecting both media priorities and a failure by leaders of the opposition parties to exploit the unpopularity of Mrs Thatcher on the issues of South Africa, Namibia and sanctions. Only the launch of the AAM's election campaign on 21 May made any impact at national level.

In the event, wide support for the *Manifesto* was won from a range of candidates. Pressure on Alliance candidates to endorse the *Manifesto*, and go beyond the selective sanctions approach of their respective party leaders, was sufficiently strong for the Alliance campaign organisers to produce a statement specifically in response to the *Manifesto*. But this did not stop over 70 Alliance candidates from endorsing the *Manifesto*. Numerous SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green Party and Communist candidates also endorsed it.

As a result of these activities, the Movement now has a stronger base of support for its policies in the House of Commons than previously. The election of four black MPs is also a note-

worthy development, not least because each of them has a record of anti-apartheid campaigning.

The election showed that it is necessary for the Movement to develop a strategy to draw the Liberal and Social Democratic parties towards a commitment to comprehensive mandatory sanctions and support for the liberation struggle, whilst at the same time reaching out to those Tories who are dissatisfied with the prime minister's unyielding and unsympathetic stance on sanctions.

Andrew Wainwright Report



AAM National Convention for Sanctions — (left to right) Essop Pahad (ANC), Stanley Clinton Davis (ERC Commissioner), Bob Hughes MP, Theo Ben Gurirab (SWAPO)

National Convention for Sanctions

Coming just two weeks after the general election, the National Convention for Sanctions on 27 June, held in the Westminster Central Hall, London, provided an ideal opportunity to renew the pressure for sanctions at government level and give impetus to the movement for people's sanctions. Attended by delegates from 17 national trade unions, 23 regional trade union bodies, and 80 trade councils and trade union branches, 111 local authorities, 13 student unions, 61 local AA groups and over 60 others, including women's and church groups and political parties, the convention gave a platform to a range of voices calling for action for sanctions. Keynote speakers were SWAPO's secretary for foreign affairs, Theo Ben Gurirab, Essop Pahad (ANC), ERC commissioner Stanley Clinton Davis, the TUC's Norman Willis, TGWU deputy general secretary Bill Morris, and AAM treasurer Vella Pillay. A programme of action was discussed and approved, and a declaration, introduced by Bishop Huddleston, was adopted, pledging support for the 'Sanctions Now' demonstration on 24 October.

Over 40 contributions from the floor brought a variety of experiences into the discussions, and were complemented by videos and an exhibition in the adjoining hall of 'People's Action Against Apartheid'. Members of the diplomatic corps and guests from other solidarity organisations were also present, and messages were received from Neil Kinnock, David Steel and numerous organisations. The convention in turn sent a message to the president of the European Council on the eve of its meeting at the end of June, urging it to ban coal imports, to extend the application of existing EC measures to Namibia, and massively to expand EC aid to the front line states and SADCC. It also called on member states individually and collectively to support comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the UN Security Council.

A similar message was given by the European Parliament on 17 September when, on the initiative of the socialist group, a lengthy resolution was adopted by 102 to 45 (19 abstentions) opposing apartheid death sentences in South Africa, condemning Pretoria for blocking the UN plan for Namibia, and urging the Council to initiate, in cooperation with the UN and other international organisations, 'a comprehensive programme of mandatory sanctions'.

Economic Collaboration Banking

The announcement by Barclays Bank on 24 November 1986 that it was selling its stake in its South African and Namibian associate, Barclays National Bank, was of historic significance. It represented a major victory for the AAM, which had been campaigning since 1989 for a boycott of Barclays in order to force it to withdraw from South Africa and Namibia.

The AAM responded immediately by stating that it wanted copper-bottomed guarantees that it had severed all links with the apartheid economy before it was in a position to give the bank a 'clean bill of health'. After consultation with ELTSA and others, the AAM national committee decided the following month to urge all those who had boycotted Barclays to maintain the boycott for a six-month period whilst assurances were sought from Barclays that they would sever all their links with South Africa and Namibia. This approach was endorsed by the AGM in January 1987.

At the request of Barclays, a delegation from the AAM led by Bishop Huddleston and Bob Hughes MP met the chairman and chairman-designate of Barclays, together with senior management, in March. This provided an opportunity to question Barclays about their continuing relations with South Africa and Namibia. Together with other material obtained by the AAM, a comprehensive report was presented to the AAM national committee entitled 'Barclays Bank, British banking collaboration with apartheid South Africa, and South Africa's international debt crisis'. This report not only made an assessment of the significance of Barclays' action but provided a framework for future campaigning against banking links with South Africa and Namibia. This meeting decided that the Movement would no longer pursue the 'Boycott Barclays' campaign since it had achieved its stated objective, namely withdrawal of Barclays from South Africa and Namibia. It decided, however, to launch in cooperation with ELTSA and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid a boycott of Standard Chartered — the other major foreign bank operating in South Africa and Namibia. Plans



A medal and a handshake from a grateful P W Botha and Lord Barber, chairman of Standard Chartered, on his way after a glowing career as one of apartheid's most influential friends in the world of high finance

were well advanced to launch this boycott campaign following close liaison with the UN Special Committee and the endorsement of the campaign by the international student conference held in London at the end of July, when Standard Chartered announced its withdrawal from South Africa and Namibia. Both Barclays and Standard Chartered initially claimed that their decisions to withdraw were based on economic considerations. However, Barclays, faced with the continuing campaign, soon changed its tune and gave as the primary reason in its annual report the fact that 'our customer base was beginning to be adversely affected by our minority holding in Barclays National'. It should be stated, however, that Standard Chartered's decision would appear to have been primarily influenced by the bank's lack of performance and the need to raise capital. However, the fact that it decided to sell its South African and Namibian interests reflected its lack of confidence in the apartheid economy and its perception of a well-coordinated international campaign.

Another critical issue has been the need to prevent South Africa from rescheduling its massive international debt. On this issue there was a major setback when the South African finance minister announced on 24 March arrangements for the repayment of these debts. The South African Reserve Bank governor, Mr de Kock, described the deal as 'a very good agreement for South Africa'. In contrast to the temporary agreement reached in February 1986 covering a one-year period, this deal involved repayments over a three-year period and included options to convert short-term frozen debt into long-term loans or equity investments. A number of banks claimed that the arrangements were unilaterally imposed on them and they were not in a position to reject them. However, the AAM obtained a copy of the documentation which revealed that the banks could have rejected the arrangement by refusing to acknowledge receipt of the proposal. The South Africans had so drafted the documentation that the mere acknowledgment of its receipt was a formal and legal acceptance of the proposals. The banks could therefore claim that they had not agreed to the proposals but merely received them - thus minimizing criticism of their role and yet enabling them to come to South Africa's rescue.

The Movement, however, is committed to maintaining its campaigns in this area. It protested vigorously when the South African regime announced in its budget that it was to use the funds frozen under the debt standstill to finance the further expansion of its military and security capability - especially when it was discovered that the agreement reached with the international banks specifically permitted the use of these funds for such purposes.

There continues to be a number of critical ways in which British banks continue to support the apartheid economy, including the provision of trade-related loans, corresponding banking relations, and the provision of loans and other credit facilities. Following consultations with ELTSA, the AAM is planning a major offensive in this area.

Investment/Loans

The UK remains by far the largest foreign investor in South Africa, accounting for 40% of all foreign capital in the country, worth around £7 billion. In addition, Britain is South Africa's largest foreign lender, owed over \$4 billion.

The most publicised trend over the past 12 months has been the spate of withdrawals of major companies from South Africa. Whilst these have mainly involved US corporations, 15 British companies have sold their subsidiaries in South Africa, including Barclays, Standard Chartered, Mitchell Cotts, Wilkinson Sword and Bestobell. More have significantly reduced their interests or merged with local companies. Usually, these pull-outs have not encompassed a complete severing of trading links, and apologists for the regime have made much of the supposed ineffectiveness of disinvestment. However, they ignore the long-term effects on the economy of a continual capital drain coupled with a shortage of foreign personnel and technology. Despite their limitations, withdrawals have contributed to South Africa's economic isolation and have had a debilitating effect on economic performance.

Company withdrawals clearly showed the effectiveness of campaigning pressure for disinvestment, together with the dwindling confidence in the apartheid economy on the part of its past supporters in the corporate sector.

British government action in this area, in line with Mrs Thatcher's 'voluntary ban' on new investment announced at last year's Commonwealth review meeting, has, predictably, proved to be weak or non-existent. Several companies, notably Lonrho, have managed to increase the scope of their South African operations by reinvesting profits made in South Africa without government disapproval. The AAM made representations about this breach of the ban to the British and other Commonwealth governments. The prime minister said in reply that the voluntary ban on new investment did not cover reinvestment of unremitted profits.

Much consideration has been given during the year to developing AAM strategy in relation to the targeting of companies implicated in collaboration with apartheid South Africa and Namibia. The number and variety of British companies with significant investment and/or trading links make it necessary to prioritise action against those which make a strategic contribution to the existing order, whilst not losing sight of the basic principle that no company should profit from the apartheid system, nor ignoring opportunities to put effective pressure on companies to disinvest because they happen not to occupy prominent positions in any league table of corporate collaborators.



The London headquarters of Consolidated Gold Fields, the largest UK-based employer in South Africa, was presented with a giant birthday cake to mark its centenary on 9 February. The slices show: 35% of turnover contributed to the South African government in taxes, profits 33%, black wages 13%.

Increasing numbers of South African companies are attempting to reduce their dependence on South Africa and are seeking sanctions-busting facilities by acquiring investments in Britain. Persistent rumours were confirmed with the news that De Beers was setting up a diamond-processing plant at the Isle of Man freeport. The AAM is fully monitoring this sinister development.

Throughout this period, South Africa remained excluded from international capital markets by virtue of the freeze on repayments on its foreign debt. A major setback for the anti-lending campaign occurred in March, when South Africa was able to reach a three-year rescheduling agreement for this debt. This meant that, in effect, in return for payment of a nominal sum every year, South Africa was being allowed to keep its outstanding loans for three years longer. The deal was greeted with relief in Pretoria. Once again, British banks (Barclays, Standard Chartered, NatWest) were amongst those instrumental in negotiating the deal. In June, the South African regime announced it would be financing increased budget spending (mainly on the army) by using the foreign borrowings which it did not now have to repay. The AAM protested vigorously to the banks involved in these matters.

The most pressing need now is to stop the provision of trade credits by banks, and to ensure that the rescheduling agreement does not lead to the resumption of lending to South Africa by the big banks. Action on British investment in specific crucial areas of the apartheid economy is also a priority.

The AAM would like to place on record its appreciation of the contributions of End Loans To Southern Africa (ELTSAs), which has provided specialist information and valuable international links (including an international newsletter), as well as organising protests at a number of bank AGMs. During the year, the AAM has also cooperated with many other organisations, including TICL, LRD and PIRC, in various disinvestment projects. Amongst these were the GMB which, with support from the AAM, hosted an extremely useful conference for its pension fund trustees designed to encourage disinvestment strategies within pension funds. Local authority disinvestment activity is reported under *Local Authorities*.

Trade

British exports to South Africa, after peaking in 1981, show an uneven pattern of decline; whilst imports from South Africa peaked in 1985, then went into a decline which, on the first five months' figures for 1987, was equivalent to a 32% fall from the 1986 figures:

Trade figures (£m)	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987*
UK exports to SA	1,220	1,195	1,109	1,205	1,010	850	381
UK imports from SA	640	746	765	726	990	829	257

* First five months only

The sharp drop in trade in 1986, with both imports and exports falling by 16% by value over their 1985 level, and the even more dramatic decline in imports in the first half of 1987, can by no means be solely attributed to exchange rate fluctuations, but is a result of the deepening crisis in South Africa and the changed international climate in response to it. Even UKSATA (the UK-South Africa Trade Association), which for years has derided the impact of consumer boycott campaigns, was forced to admit that British firms have now 'picked up the inference that trade with South Africa is not approved of' (*Independent*, 25 July 1987).

This turnabout represents a significant blow for South Africa which depends on foreign trade for its livelihood. Fewer exports to Britain mean less foreign exchange available to pay for imports which, in turn, indicates an extremely depressed and crisis-ridden economy. Nevertheless, Britain remains South Africa's fourth most important trading partner, after the USA, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.

British imports were dominated by metal ores, gold bullion, diamonds and fruit and vegetables. However, research by the AAM showed that the latter had dropped by almost 10%. More dramatic still was the fall in the value of imports of textiles and clothing to just under £3m in 1986 — a collapse of over 50% between 1984 and 1986, reflecting the strength of the consumer boycott.

It is Britain, together with West Germany, that has stood in the way of the banning of coal imports into the EEC from South Africa. And it now appears that even the limited ban agreed in 1986 on steel imports from South Africa (which excludes ferro alloys) is being flouted by these same two countries. Reports that Britain imported from South Africa steel worth £3.1m in June/July 1987 alone, and West Germany £4.1m, provoked an official admission that in the first seven months of 1987 the UK had imported 'only 33,000 tons of steel from South Africa' (*Guardian*, 25 September 1987).

Government policy remains committed to promoting trade with South Africa. Despite the undertaking to stop financing trade missions and promotion of trade given by the prime minister in 1985 at Namau, the Department of Trade & Industry still issues surveys of the South African economy and guidance for the benefit of exporters, and much of the activity of British diplomats in South Africa is devoted to promoting commercial relations.

British exports to South Africa continued to be dominated by heavy engineering machinery for the mining industry and information technology. Pressure in the future needs to be turned on those companies providing essential equipment for strategic sectors of the South African economy, eg computers, drilling gear, power generating machinery.

Consumer Boycott

The government confirmed during the year that the Consumer Protection Bill would repeal the 1972 Trades Description Act requiring the marking of country of origin for most goods. A lengthy reply from the Department of Trade & Industry to representations made by AAM chairperson Bob Hughes MP in February indicated that the government intended to seek 'a successor corrective origin marking regime consistent with Community law, to replace the 1972 Act', and that it wished to avoid an intervening period in which no regime applied before the new law came into force. But so far it has failed to give an undertaking that there will be an obligation to mark the country



Richmond AA asking shoppers to think before they buy, supported by Liberal and Labour parliamentary candidates Alan Watkins and Dr Michael Gold

of origin on products from South Africa and Namibia. This represents a potential hazard to consumer boycott campaigning, the increasingly marked effects of which have been reported above.

The consumer boycott forms the cornerstone of work for local AA groups. Discussion has continued on the consolidation and development of the boycott campaign and its role in the promotion of people's sanctions and the overall campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions. This theme was explored by the London Committee Boycott Working Group in their November 'Making the Boycott Bite' conference. Briefings on local activities were provided by Kuomba Balogun of the St Paul's Apartheid-Free Zone Campaign in Bristol, and Shaflur Rahman of South Africa Concerns You (SACY), whose activities in the Asian community in Glasgow and Edinburgh have persuaded two Asian wholesalers, 15-20 retailers and 12 restaurants to implement the boycott. Similar mobilising events were held in, amongst other places, Notting Hill, Yorkshire and Scotland.

Early in 1987 it became apparent that Sainsbury, then the market leaders in groceries, had, as a result of campaigning pressure, in fact got rid of tinned fruit from South Africa, although they continued to import fresh and dried fruit. Tesco, close behind Sainsbury in market share, reneged on an undertaking given in June 1986 to eliminate their own-label apartheid goods, and over a year later were still selling Tesco pineapple slices from South Africa. They not only persisted in selling a wide variety of tinned fruit from South Africa (despite a wide range of alternatives), but also expanded their range of lines of apartheid fresh fruit and vegetables.

Against the background of cut-throat competition between the main grocery chains, these were amongst the specific considerations that prompted the AAM to make Tesco the No 1 target of the consumer boycott campaign, starting on 26 September 1987 with a national day of action. The decision of Tesco in Brixton, south London, to cease the sale of apartheid goods following on that made in Eastville, Bristol, underlined Tesco's potential vulnerability to pressure. AA groups in Sheffield and Brent have taken the lead in action against this company. Both groups have called for a total boycott of Tesco, not just the South African/Namibian goods sold there. This is not a national policy but is obviously a possible option in the future.

A more combative response has been noted from some retailers, especially Waitrose managements in Peterborough and Brighton. In the latter town, nine activists arrested during a 'trolley action' were charged but the case was dismissed. Lawyers Against Apartheid has produced legal briefings and advice for pickets, especially in relation to the new Public Order Act.

Marks & Spencer's hostility to the boycott remains a focus for concern by local groups in Manchester, where the deep dissatisfaction with the policy led to the collection of 10,000 signatures on a petition which was handed over by the Bishop of Manchester, Stanley Booth-Clibborn. The only response from M&S was a letter confirming the continuation of their policy of selling apartheid produce. It was revealed in December that M&S are also involved in trading with the South African retail chain of Wooltru, which pays M&S for the privilege of selling St Michael merchandise. Moreover, M&S 'also acts as a consultant to Wooltru Ltd whereby in return for a fee we give them the benefit of our knowledge and expertise in the retailing field' (letter from M&S to AAM). Employees of Wooltru are amongst the vast number of trade unionists detained during the state of emergency.

Of many other petitions to local managements, another notable one was that collected by Chiswick AA. Members supplemented their letter-writing to the local Sainsbury with the presentation of 2,000 signatures to an embarrassed management. Present were the mayor of Hounslow, the leader of the council, various councillors, prospective parliamentary candidates and local activists.

Trade union boycott action continues to be of great importance. The Dunnes store strikers made a very successful tour of Yorkshire organised by the regional AA committee, where they inspired local activists and the uncommitted alike. A book detailing their experiences is shortly to be released. The TUC's first ever venture into commercial cinema, a 55-second film on health under apartheid, ends with an appeal to boycott South African products. Screenings by the ITV network were banned

by the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority) on the grounds that the film is 'political'. ACTT members on the other hand were compelled by injunction to assist in the transmission of adverts promoting Outspan oranges in contravention of union policy.



The decision of the government-sponsored restaurant of the Department of the Environment HQ to stop buying apartheid products as a result of trade union pressure prompted the SCPS, CPSA, CSU and other trade unions at the British Museum to seek an apartheid-free canteen. A further example of trade union initiatives was the successful ban on purchasing supplies from South Africa by Hampstead District Health Authority in London.

The value of South African textile imports has more than halved in just two years — a tribute to effective campaigning in this area. Current surveys indicate that seven out of 12 major retailers either have a policy of no South African garments or are not stocking them for unspecified reasons. Stores with an explicit policy over South African goods include British Home Stores, Hornes and the Co-op. Stores still refusing to make any concessions include Marks & Spencer, Country Casuals (part of Coats Viyella), Martin Ford and Moss Bros, though the quantity of South African goods they sell varies.

Coal and Steel

Following on from the failure of the EEC Council of Ministers in September 1986 to impose a coal ban as part of a package of measures against South Africa, an important new initiative was launched by the AAM with the National Union of Mineworkers to campaign for sanctions against South African coal. This campaign was a necessary response to the growing importance of coal in South Africa's external trade. In the 1970s, the South African regime had decided to develop its coal export potential for two main reasons. Firstly, to increase foreign exchange earnings so as to finance the increasingly costly apparatus of oppression in the country and the import of strategic commodities. Secondly, to offer the major oil multinationals coal export quotas, at advantageous prices, in return for the guarantee that they continue to supply petroleum products to South Africa. In addition, South Africa wished to develop its coal production for domestic use, so as to reduce its dependence on oil-based products.

In 1986, 22 million tonnes of South African coal entered the EEC. Three hundred and thirteen thousand tonnes entered the UK. More entered in blended form, via the ports of Amsterdam

and Antwerp. This provided South Africa with its second largest source of foreign income, after gold.

Closer research revealed the intimate nature of the link between the British and South African mining industries. Apart from importing coal, Britain is a major supplier of mining technology and the largest supplier of mining equipment. In addition, the South African mining industry has run extensive recruitment campaigns amongst coalfield communities in Britain.

Declaring the intention to break these links, the AAM and NUM distributed 30,000 leaflets around May. Day rallies calling for trade unionists to take action to stop South African coal imports. A demonstration organised in Worksop by Nottingham AA and Notts NUM, protesting at the role of Burnett and Hallamshire in importing South African coal, attracted 400 people. On 19 September, the AAM and NUM held a successful joint conference in Sheffield to devise a strategy for sanctions against South African coal and mobilise more forces for the campaign. Sponsored by the TUC, Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC), National Steering Committee for Local Authority Action Against Apartheid, the Parliamentary Labour Party AA group and the British Labour Group of Euro-MPs, the conference was attended by over 500 delegates, including 120 from NUM branches. Arthur Scargill, NUM president, called on trade unionists to renew their commitment to impose sanctions in the absence of any concerted action from the government. Other speakers included TUC general secretary Norman Willis and AAM executive secretary Mike Terry. Cyril Ramaphosa, of the South African NUM, was prevented from attending by the regime's attempt to foist on him a bantustan travel document. A strategy paper for sanctions against South African coal was presented, and a 12-point plan of action was unanimously adopted.



Sheffield AA members picketing Burnett & Hallamshire AGM

The conference occurred two weeks after the opening of the Offices of the South African Coal Industry in London. The OSACI was established to counter the growing support for the campaign of the AAM and NUM against South African coal and to find new markets to replace those lost through the imposition of a coal ban by Denmark, France and the United States. Despite massive investment, the South African coal industry is in crisis. In 1987, income from exports dropped from R3.2 billion to R1.9 billion. The offices open at a time when the CEEB has declared its intention to buy more coal on the open market.

Over the decade 1976-1985, Britain imported close to 900,000 tonnes of South African steel products (value about £18m per annum). This represented about 2.4% of total steel product imports over the same period. This year, after a detailed investigation into the links between South Africa and the British steel industry by Sheffield city council's Department of Employment and Economic Development and Sheffield AAM, a widely acclaimed report, entitled *South Africa, Sanctions and the Steel Industry*, was published, showing that there was no necessity for the British steel industry to use South African minerals in steel production. The idea that certain strategic minerals were only available from South Africa was shown to be false. A fringe meeting was held at this year's ISTC conference to promote the report, which is still being discussed on the TUC steel committee.

Oil

A potentially significant international development was the decision of the UN General Assembly on 10 November 1986 to establish an 11-member International Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. The group, chaired by Norway and with Kuwait as vice chair, met in March and called upon the Security Council to impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa, pending which member states were urged to adopt measures to broaden the scope of the General Assembly's 1979 embargo. The group's main work is to gather and verify information on violations of the oil embargo and to pursue such cases with the governments concerned, and cooperating in the process with NGOs.

In Britain, the year's activity has been dominated by the campaign against Shell. After consultations with organisations from five other countries involved in the campaign, the AAM and Embargo mounted a month of boycott action. With moves afoot through the AAM's AGM to launch a permanent boycott of Shell until it withdrew from South Africa and Namibia, the AAM and Local Authorities National Steering Committee (NSC) jointly canvassed the idea of a boycott of Shell with local authorities, getting a response that was on balance positive from those that replied. The AGM in January duly endorsed the boycott proposal, and since it came only six weeks after Barclays Bank's sale of its South African subsidiary, the media took up the idea that, if 1986 was the year of Barclays' withdrawal, 1987 would be the year of Shell's. The AAM and Embargo took part in a further planning meeting of the international campaign in Amsterdam in January.



The boycott campaign took off on 1 March with a well-publicised picket in London and a press conference given by Major General J Garba, chair of the UN Special Committee, and Frances Morrell of the ILEA. Numerous local pickets of Shell petrol stations were staged to coincide with this event, and more took place during the ensuing Month of Action for People's Sanctions. An updated edition of the *Shell Studies Report* was issued, together with a range of campaign materials. A comprehensive survey of the case and the campaign against Shell was provided by a centre-spread in *AA News*.

It quickly became apparent that much of the momentum of the Barclays campaign had been transferred to Shell, and the company counter-attacked with a PR offensive that distorted the views of Dr Allan Boesak and COSATU to give the impression that black South Africans were opposed to disinvestment.

The next phase of the campaign was an International Week of Action in the second week of May. The AAM's London Committee mobilised over 100 pickets, including several MPs, outside Shell-Mex House in the Strand on the eve of the Shell AGM, and 35 Labour MPs called on Shell chair Peter Holmes to disinvest. At the AGM the next day, the Shell board was subjected to a well-informed barrage of criticisms which entirely dominated the meeting and continued after the formal proceedings had concluded, until eventually Shell's directors abandoned the field. Numerous local and motorway pickets, especially by

students in Northern Ireland, added to the pressure on the company, as did advertisements in *The Independent* and the European edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, placed by American organisations supporting the boycott.

Support for the boycott spread in diverse quarters. Several local authorities, including Sheffield council, began to review their trading relations with Shell. NUPE was one of the first trade unions to endorse the boycott, along with the NUM, TASS (which urged its officials to boycott Shell while on union business), and NALGO. The Methodist Church's annual conference decided to support the boycott campaign, and War on Want activists took the message on to the streets. The AAM had discussions with the National Council of Voluntary Organisations and Friends of the Earth about the need to reject Shell sponsorship, and in September student pressure forced the Glasgow union to renounce Shell sponsorship for a series of debates to be televised by the BBC.

Throughout this period close contact was maintained with the organisations leading the campaign in the United States, Holland and elsewhere. It is believed to be the first time that a multinational has been boycotted in at least a dozen countries simultaneously because of its apartheid connections. Shell appeared to be especially concerned about the spread of local authority boycotts, and at the time of writing was seeking, by way of a judicial review, a court ruling to declare unlawful the decision of Lewisham council to avoid purchasing Shell products where alternatives existed. The TUC congress and the Labour Party conference both endorsed the campaign, thereby giving it added impetus in the labour movement.

The South African regime confirmed its intention to proceed with the Mossel Bay natural gas exploitation project, despite doubts about its economic viability, indicating the high political priority it attaches to self-sufficiency in fuels. The Movement undertook research to establish the degree of involvement of British companies in the project and to highlight the dangers of the transfer of skills and technology from North Sea oil operations to South Africa.

Tourism

Tourism continues to be an important source of foreign exchange to the South African economy, especially since the decline in the value of the rand, as well as being a boost to the morale of the racist white minority and a public relations resource for improving the image of the apartheid society.

The British government's adoption of a voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa following the Commonwealth review meeting has proved to be a hollow, indeed cynical gesture. Only two official letters have been issued to draw attention to it, and it does not apply to Namibia, nor does it extend beyond promotion of South Africa as a destination for leisure travel to cover general promotion of travel facilities or hotel accommodation for those with business or family connections with the country. There is no monitoring and no attempt to get the travel industry to take it seriously.

This virtual invitation to the South African tourist industry to develop one of its strongest markets has been exploited to the full. Aiming to reverse an 84% drop in tourism to South Africa between 1984 and 1986, the industry launched a £5m promotion plan and sent 50 SATOUR and other tour promoters to the Olympia World Travel Market in November.

AA News exposed this operation in March and listed the UK operators that promote tours to South Africa. A survey by the *Observer* some weeks later showed that, whilst a few of these tour operators had made cosmetic changes to disguise the continuing provision of package holidays, at least half of them were continuing to function in total disregard of the ban. Amongst the most notorious of these is Twickers World in Twickenham, which has been the target of sustained pressure by the Richmond AA group. London students have mounted frequent pickets of the South African Airways office in Oxford Circus, and the London Committee and the NUR joined forces in February to mount a picket against the holding of the AGM of the 'Friends of the Springbok' (a travel-promoting kith-and-

kin organisation) at the Great Western Hotel in Paddington. The NUR secured an undertaking from management that the pro-apartheid body would not be allowed in future to use the hotel.

In March, LBC, the London commercial radio station, provoked a storm of anger by running a series of advertisements for South African Airways. Employees protested strongly, Bishop Huddleston protested to LBC chairperson Christopher Chataway, and AAM chair Bob Hughes MP raised the matter with Lord Young at the Department of Employment. The reply from junior minister David Trippier merely expressed regret that 'not all sections of the media have so far heeded the appeal I made', and invoked the freedom of the press to justify the voluntary nature of the ban.

A significant concession to the strength of public opinion against collaboration with apartheid was the decision in the spring by British Airways to allow cabin crews to refuse to serve on the daily flights to Johannesburg, which earn BA some £60m a year. Although not a satisfactory substitute for ending all flights between Britain and South Africa — an action which would bring Britain into line with the USA, Canada and Australia — this de facto 'conscience clause' at least set a precedent which could assist employees in other sectors engaged in efforts to end their employers' collaboration with apartheid.

Emigration

For the second year running, the number of those leaving South Africa exceeded those entering:

	1986 (January to May)	1987
Immigration to South Africa	3,131	2,785
Emigration from South Africa	6,114	5,501
Net loss 1986: 2,983		

The recent figures show that immigration is virtually drying up, despite the attempts of the government to show that 'normality' is returning to South Africa. This year there have been few recorded incidents of recruitment adverts appearing for skilled personnel, mainly because of trade unionists refusing to handle copy. The most recent example was the placing of an advert by the Blue Ribbon Meat Corporation, for managers, in the *Meat and Butchering Gazette*. This was forcefully challenged by USDAW in this country.

Military and Nuclear Collaboration

The Movement has continued to campaign actively for the strengthening and strict implementation by the British government of the UN mandatory arms embargo, as well as cooperating closely with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration which the AAM initiated in 1979.

As reported in the 1985/6 annual report, the AAM assisted in the organisation of a seminar on the UN arms embargo in London in May 1986, which was organised by the Special Committee against Apartheid in cooperation with the World Campaign. Much effort has been put into promoting the decisions of that seminar and they found expression in the decision of the UN Security Council to adopt unanimously resolution 591 on 28 November 1986. This resolution, although not mandatory, sought to strengthen the existing UN arms embargo in a number of significant ways. Items to be covered by the embargo were to include electronic and telecommunications equipment, computers, and four-wheel drive vehicles which were destined for the military and/or police forces. However, the British

government was the only member of the UN Security Council to express qualifications and informed the House of Commons that no action was required to enforce the resolution as it was simply a clarification of the existing embargo and non-mandatory.

The World Campaign has been active in seeking the implementation of the proposals agreed at the seminar in a number of countries, especially the Federal Republic of Germany. Approaches have been made to a wide range of religious, trade union and parliamentary groups in the FRG by the World Campaign with the objective of securing action at a governmental level to enforce the embargo. One crucial issue in the FRG has been the disclosure that South Africa was supplied with the plans to construct submarines. This move followed the visit of P W Botha to western Europe in May/June 1984 with the declared intention of securing a relaxation of the arms embargo. Within ten days of Botha's meeting with Chancellor Kohl, the plans were transmitted to South Africa by South Africa's diplomatic bag in breach of FRG law. The submarine construction plans were illegally delivered to South Africa by the state-owned Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft AG and Ingenieurkontor Luebeck.

The World Campaign prepared a detailed briefing on the case, highlighting in particular the strategic significance of submarines for the South African navy, allowing them to carry out seaborne attacks against coastal African states in both the Atlantic and Indian oceans, as well as the delivery of supplies to the MNR and Unita. It coordinated action in the FRG and internationally to seek the prosecution of those responsible. As well as meeting officials of the government of the FRG, Abdul Minty, the World Campaign's director, gave evidence to a parliamentary enquiry set up to investigate the case.

The World Campaign also participated in a campaign to expose the role of the FRG company, Daimler Benz, in supplying military vehicles to South Africa and was represented at the company's AGM.

The AAM has worked closely with the World Campaign in support of its efforts to secure the suspension of South Africa from the International Atomic Energy Agency. In June, the board of governors of the IAEA voted to recommend to its annual conference that South Africa should be suspended from the Agency. However, following systematic lobbying by the US administration in particular, the annual conference in September voted to postpone acting on the recommendation. In Britain, Bob Hughes MP wrote on behalf of the Movement urging the government to support the suspension of South Africa. However, the government replied with a justification for South Africa's continued participation in the IAEA.

A significant development in the campaign to secure the strict enforcement of the UN arms embargo internationally was the publication in April 1987 by the US State Department of a report entitled 'Compliance with the UN Arms Embargo'. Its publication was one of the requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act adopted by the US Congress in October 1986. Although the full report was classified, the public section named seven countries involved in breaches of the arms embargo: Israel, Italy, France, FRG, UK, Netherlands and Switzerland. The report was particularly critical of Israel's role in supplying arms to South Africa. Subsequent Israeli statements announcing restrictions on its relations with South Africa appeared to be designed to counter possible retaliatory action by the US Congress, but there is no evidence yet that they will lead to an end to South African/Israeli strategic collaboration. The AAM has continued to seek the exposure of this collaboration, and its honorary secretary appeared on a Channel 4 film on this issue. The World Campaign also took up the case of the delivery by Israel to South Africa of two Boeings adapted for in-flight refuelling. Such military aircraft clearly enhance South Africa's capacity to carry out acts of aggression far beyond its borders.

The UN Security Council arms embargo committee continues to be effectively neutralised by the attitude of some of its western members. The World Campaign provided the committee with specific details of planned US deliveries of arms to South Africa via Honduras, possibly for onward delivery to Unita, in December 1986. The matter is still being investigated. The World Campaign's director gave evidence on this and other cases of violations of the embargo when he testified to the committee in

February 1987 at UN headquarters in New York.

In Britain, there has been further evidence of illegal shipments of arms to South Africa. In April 1987, the government admitted in parliament that there had been two cases of shipments of components of 140mm howitzers by a company known as Clement Shaw Ltd via Felixstowe harbour, in November 1984 and February 1986. None of those involved had been prosecuted — the Customs Department simply compounded the case, ie imposed a fine of an undisclosed amount without any public criminal proceedings. In another case, however, involving 'high tech' equipment — long-range aerial photographic reconnaissance equipment — two men were brought to court in Isleworth in April 1987, found guilty, and had prison sentences imposed of six months each with a further three months suspended.

Amongst the many initiatives of the World Campaign during this period was the preparation of a memorandum following the plane crash which killed President Machel, in which evidence was presented as to how a decoy beacon could have been responsible for the crash. The memorandum was published by the Mozambique information agency (AIM) on 14 November 1986 and widely reproduced.

On 17 July, Col R F Crowther, South Africa's military attaché in London, relinquished his duties and returned to South Africa. On the same day, three men believed to have connections with South Africa and/or the armed forces of the former colony of Rhodesia appeared in Lambeth magistrates' court in London charged with conspiring together and with others to kidnap members of the ANC. The charges covered the period from 1 October 1986 to the date of their arrest on 10 July 1987. A fourth man, resident in Anglesey, was similarly charged a few days later. AAM chairperson Bob Hughes MP wrote to the home secretary seeking guarantees for the safety of South Africans and Namibians living legally in Britain. The South African government subsequently sought to nominate a successor to Col Crowther, but was told — in conformity with EEC policy not to accept accreditation from South African military attaches — that this was unacceptable.

Sports Boycott

Although there were no major tours to or from South Africa this year, Britain continues to be a key country collaborating with apartheid sport, and the government's commitment to the Commonwealth Gleneagles Agreement lacks conviction, despite constant pressure from the AAM and the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) over the year. The Movement has maintained a close working relationship with SANROC, as well as continued liaison with the Campaign for Fair Play and the Black British Conference against Apartheid Sport (BBCAAS).

RUGBY: A South African touring side, 'The Hedgehogs', purportedly a non-representative side, but more likely representing the University of Cape Town, appeared in December in breach of the boycott. The Movement made fruitless approaches to the RFU and the government, with the latter denying a need to intervene because the remaining matches had apparently been called off. In fact, further matches were secretly arranged. The whole tour was deliberately organised in great secrecy, although a picket did take place of a match in Beckenham, organised by local anti-apartheid activists.

A rugby tour of South Africa took place in July and August, under the auspices of a Sussex side, 'Felbridge Juniors', which in reality was a representative student squad. The Movement approached the RFU and the government for intervention, as well as writing to leading student rugby players urging them not to go on such a tour, from which only two positive replies were received. The support of local student unions was also sought where top rugby teams existed. The Movement liaised closely with the NUS over this student tour, and NUS approached the major student sporting bodies as well as the RFU and student unions. A considerable amount of press coverage was secured over the campaign, but the tour went ahead, with the RFU

maintaining its stance that non-representative sides can tour South Africa and that 'Felbridge' fitted into this category, even though the club was moribund and the players were drawn exclusively from top students. The nature of the tour and its collaboration with apartheid sport were exposed when the first match of the tour was against a South African police side.

CRICKET: A considerable number of British players are still coaching and playing in South Africa in the winter. The English Test and County Cricket Board's refusal to confront the problems posed by such links was exposed when the International Cricket Conference met in London in June. A West Indies proposal on sporting links with South Africa was discussed and, although a compromise was reached and a decision put off, the TCCB revealed its true colours by remaining opposed to any action against links with apartheid sport. The Movement wrote to the chairman of the TCCB immediately prior to the ICC meeting, urging reconsideration of that position, but no reply was received. The English Players Association has been equally intransigent, even going as far as to suggest that Caribbean and Asian players should be banned from county cricket if the West Indies' proposal had gone through unamended. The Women's Cricket Association has pursued an altogether more progressive line. Its stand on banning from test cricket players who have been to South Africa has been under attack; the Movement has liaised with the WCA, offering support and advice, and their position has been maintained.

OTHER SPORTS: There have been a number of breakthroughs over the past year. In February, the International Squash Players Association decided to exclude South Africans from the grand prix circuit, and 18 of the top squash players, including the New Zealand world champion and five Britons, pledged to the UN not to return to South Africa. This major success effectively secured South Africa's exclusion from international squash. Boxer Lloyd Honeyghan, in December 1986, gave up his World Boxing Association title, one of the three world titles he held, rather than abandon his principles and meet a South African opponent. This stand, which received wide publicity and was a major boost to the campaign against apartheid sport, was recognised by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and Honeyghan was awarded a UN citation for his stand, along with other leading British sports figures such as Chris Hughton, Peter Roebuck and Ron Pickering, at a reception in the House of Commons in May.

The Movement has continued to promote the UN Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, and a number of successes have accrued. More local authorities are now taking action: for example, Bristol city council withdrew support and facilities for two tennis tournaments in April because South Africans were due to play — this action cost the Lawn Tennis Association an estimated £10,000; also in April, Haringey council held a day conference on apartheid and sport, at which the Movement was represented and where a Council Declaration against Apartheid Sport was considered — an example that, hopefully, other authorities will take up. Local AA groups continue to campaign around the sports boycott: for example, Guernsey received coverage for their campaign around the local squash star, Lisa Opie, who, having pledged not to return to South Africa in January 1987, later went back on that and competed in the South African Open Championship. Also, growing numbers of British golfers are now pledging not to return to South Africa: one who did not, Ian Woosnan, was banned from defending his Kenyan Open title by the Kenya Golf Union for having played at Sun City. British collaborators with apartheid sport, unable to escape the sports boycott campaign at home or internationally, are becoming increasingly isolated.

Cultural Boycott

The past year has seen intensified efforts to promote the cultural boycott, and increasing numbers of artistes and performers subscribing to it, including amongst those who had previously visited South Africa but have now renounced such visits. It has also seen a considerable amount of controversy and confusion about the cultural boycott and many calls for the adoption of 'flexible' or selective boycott policies.

Underlying these developments have been two distinct phenomena. On the one hand, the blossoming in South Africa of an alternative people's culture, dynamic, informed by the spirit of resistance, and increasingly organised on a democratic basis. On the other hand, the growth of elements both inside and outside the country, tenuously if at all linked to the liberation struggle, but keen to take advantage of the popularity of all things 'anti-apartheid' in order to enhance their careers and earnings. The problem faced by solidarity movements has been how to respond positively to the former without giving a free run to the latter, with potentially disastrous effects for the cultural boycott.

The first such controversy in the UK arose around the presentation at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, in December of a play, 'The Biker's Husband', produced and performed by South Africans. Members of the newly formed Hammersmith and Fulham AA organised nightly pickets, supported by LAAC. These led to several attacks on the AAM and the cultural boycott, including in the editorial columns of *The Independent*. The AAM chairperson's reply, and discussions with the local council, gave opportunities to put across AAM policy, and the pickets seemed to have reduced attendances.

The AGM the following month endorsed the action taken and called for intensified campaigning for a total cultural boycott. The AAM approached the National Theatre to indicate its concerns about the production of 'Bopha', which appeared briefly in February. By this time, the controversy around the American singer Paul Simon had taken off. His visit to South Africa the previous year to record 'Graceland' was seen by the AAM as a breach of the cultural boycott and condemned as such. With the 'Graceland' tour pending, Paul Simon gave a press conference in London at the end of January at which he indicated that he believed he had done nothing wrong in going to South Africa. This was at variance with an ambiguous undertaking he had given to the UN Special Committee against Apartheid ostensibly in line with the cultural boycott.

After consultation with the ANC, the AAM requested that Simon be added by the UN Special Committee to the register of performers who have performed in South Africa if no clear and unequivocal undertaking was forthcoming from him not to go to South Africa again. Since no such undertaking was given, despite the UN's clarification that 'performing' in South Africa also included recording, the Movement organised protests at his performances in London and Birmingham in April, and a special insert was produced to explain to concert-goers the cultural



Jerry Dammers at the Albert Hall stage door holding a letter of protest to Paul Simon from Artists Against Apartheid

boycott and how Simon had breached it. Jerry Dammers, founder of Artists Against Apartheid, handed in a letter at the Royal Albert Hall and gave several interviews in defence of AAM policy. Intense media interest surrounded the whole affair, with the music press often taking a more positive approach to the cultural boycott than the mainstream media. The April issue of *AA News* carried a full account of the development of the AAM's policy in this area, which was well received. The ANC endorsed the action taken by the AAM in relation to Paul Simon.

Throughout the debates surrounding the cultural boycott, the Movement was in close contact with the ANC, its London office and national executive committee, providing material summarising the AAM's policy and experience in this area when requested. In an extension of these discussions, the Movement was able to benefit from a meeting in March with the leading anti-apartheid artiste, Harry Belafonte, who gave a briefing on developments in the United States in relation to the cultural boycott. In May, ANC President O R Tambo, in the course of the Canon Collins Memorial Lecture in London, identified the need to give positive support to 'the developing and vibrant culture of our people' and to 'the alternative structures that our people have created and are creating'. These remarks were prefaced by the statement: 'The boycott campaigns, from their inception in the late fifties, were aimed at the total isolation of apartheid South Africa. This objective is inviolate and needs to be pursued with even greater vigour.' The national committee, in the light of the diverse interpretations being placed on the speech, decided to seek clarification of its implications.

The UN Register of Performers who have been to South Africa has continued to be promoted and provides a useful campaigning tool. In April, the AAM undertook considerable research to assist the UN to update the register, with the addition to it of the names of a number of British performers. Meanwhile, Leeds city council was but one of a growing number of local authorities to have denied the use of council-controlled venues to those appearing on the register. Partly as a result of this trend, the number of artistes giving pledges to the UN not to return to South Africa is also growing and has now reached around 100 since the register was launched in 1981. Amongst those to have secured the removal of their names from the register in the past year by endorsing the boycott have been Dolly Parton and Queen.

Equity, the actors' union, reaffirmed its 12-year-old policy of not allowing its members to work on television programmes that would be sold to South Africa. This decision of Equity's council, by a majority of 28 to seven, on 21 July, followed a controversial attempt at a council meeting a week earlier to abandon the policy — a decision taken by a small majority against the legal advice given to the union. This outcome brought Equity back into line with the boycott policy of the film technicians' union ACTT, which allows its members to work in South Africa only on news and current affairs programmes.

The broadcasting unions and the National Union of Journalists were due to meet in September following controversy about the sale of BBC features, news and current affairs programmes to South Africa. The AAM's chairperson wrote to BBC chairman Marmaduke Hussey in August expressing concern; the reply confirmed that the BBC does not promote or distribute TV videos for home use in South Africa, and does not sell 'entertainment programmes' to South Africa, but defended the sale of 'journalistic output' material, claiming that 'proper and sensible safeguards' protected it from editing that would impair its quality or integrity.

The work of Artists Against Apartheid, headed by Jerry Dammers, continues to be important, generating both political support for the Movement's policies, especially in the cultural field, and financial support for its activities. Individual stands against apartheid by writers and performing artistes are significant. A large number of poets and writers gave their support to a 'Poets Against Apartheid' event organised by the Poetry Society for the British Defence and Aid Fund; and playwright Caryl Phillips refused to allow the film, 'Playing Away', for which he had written the script, to be shown at the opening of the Durban Film Festival in May.

The growing enthusiasm for people's sanctions has led a number of people working in publishing to question the involvement of various publishing houses in South Africa, and to explore the perspective of disinvestment by such companies (as already carried out by the US firm McGraw-Hill) and the possibilities of ending commercial sales to South Africa.

Academic Boycott

The academic boycott remains an important area of work where growing successes have accrued in the international campaign for the academic isolation of apartheid South Africa. The strength and success of the boycott have been highlighted by an article in *Nature* magazine, May 1987, entitled 'Boycotts are biting hard', where the effectiveness of the boycott was admitted, including an admission by the president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) that their recruitment had shrunk from around 100 scientists a year to two or three individuals. There can be no doubt that the continued vigilance of AA groups, students, college staff and others has ensured that South Africa is now feeling very isolated.

The Movement has continued to support and initiate academic boycott campaigns. Examples this year where the Movement has provided assistance and support include the case of the editor of the prestigious academic journal of the Linnean Society, who took a stand by refusing to accept contributions from South Africa; and a Birmingham academic who sought advice from the Movement in relation to receiving an academic from the University of Pretoria and subsequently terminated his contact with the South African. The Movement has addressed a number of gatherings of academics in relation to the boycott, promoting a strengthening of the boycott with considerable success.

The highly successful campaign in relation to the World Archaeological Congress has continued to develop, following on from the Southampton congress and in the run-up to the conference in Mainz, FRG, in August 1987, where South Africans were allowed. The Movement has continued to support the campaign initiated around Southampton, including lobbying the Czechoslovakian embassy in relation to the exclusion of South African and Namibian participants if Prague is the next congress venue.

Students have also continued to be vigilant in relation to the boycott. One important example was the successful campaign run by Leeds University Union to secure a university senate policy in support of the academic boycott, the first such in an English university. This stand was supported by the Movement and received considerable publicity — it provides an example for other colleges to take up. Student unions, with the support of the Movement and the NUS, have been campaigning in many colleges in relation to the activities of AIESEC (International Association of Students in Economics and Management), which has a South African section and promotes international exchanges and collaboration in breach of the boycott. AIESEC UK has not opposed South Africa's status, and local student unions have lobbied and in some cases banned AIESEC local branches because of this collaboration and intransigence.

In the recent period, Sheffield University has undertaken a major piece of research work in relation to South African-funded research being undertaken in colleges, which will provide a further important focus for campaigning for a strengthening of the boycott in colleges.



ARTISTS AGAINST APARTHEID



Southern Africa - The Imprisoned Society

The unprecedented scale of political repression unleashed by the apartheid regime against the people of South Africa and Namibia as their resistance grows stronger has made increasing demands on the work of SATIS. In March 1986 it had launched an Emergency Campaign to increase campaigning efforts against mounting repression. The worsening repression, especially after the imposition of a full-scale state of emergency in South Africa, meant that this campaign had effectively to become a permanent part of SATIS's work.

To give a new impetus to this work in all its main areas, SATIS convened a national conference in December, the relevance of which was underlined by the announcement of the regime's new media bans. Jacob Hannai, deputy chief representative of SWAPO, and Reg September of the ANC's national executive committee addressed the conference, where 200 people gathered to discuss and formulate campaigns. Papers on each of the key subjects were prepared for the conference: no apartheid executions, children under apartheid, political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia, campaigning against repression in South Africa and Namibia, free all apartheid's detainees. Several briefing papers on current trials (SWAPO 8, COSAS) were also distributed. The conference had a positive mobilising impact which helped to lay the basis for SATIS's response to the increasing demands made on it.

Free all apartheid's detainees

One of the most pressing and urgent areas of work has been the campaign to free the thousands of women, men and children detained without trial by the regime, especially following the state of emergency declared on 11 June 1986. By the end of that year, more than 30,000 people had been detained.

SATIS distributed information and guidance for running campaigns against detentions and, in December, launched a fresh initiative with the publication of a campaign document, 'Free all apartheid's detainees', at the national conference. This document provided details of the nature of detentions and guidance for organisations as to how to target their campaigns on groups of detainees with whom they shared a natural bond (eg students, trade unionists, etc). As part of this campaign, SATIS printed a detainees postcard addressed to the South African authorities, enabling people to register their protests; 50,000 of these were distributed over the next few months. Further campaign guidance and lists of detainees (where available) have also been widely distributed to the many groups and organisations in Britain that have taken up this issue.

Though the campaign to release detainees was taken up widely and many thousands of individuals and groups became involved, the regime, hiding behind the media clampdown, continued to detain hundreds of people, whilst from time to time releasing numbers of detainees in response to pressures from many quarters. The detention of large numbers of children in particular caused widespread concern. Bishop Huddleston convened an international conference on the plight of the children. By May, it was clear that renewed pressure needed to be generated on behalf of detainees, and the AAM and SATIS approached a number of organisations which had also been working for the release of detainees to initiate a mass coordinated campaign.

These discussions resulted in the National Petition Campaign, which was launched on 11 June - the day of the renewed imposition of the state of emergency in South Africa and general election day in Britain - by Bishop Huddleston and TUC general secretary Norman Willis. The organisations involved are the British Council of Churches, TUC, National Union of Students, AAM, SATIS, British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Christian Concern for Southern Africa, Namibia Support Committee, NSCLAAA, Catholic Bishops Conference and United Nations Association. This petition calls for the unconditional

release of all those detained without trial in South Africa and Namibia, and is to be presented to the British prime minister and the UN on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1987. The unique feature of this campaign has been the joint activity of some of the most broadly representative organisations in the country.



No apartheid executions

The regime sharply expanded the use of the death sentence against those taking action against it. At least 36 people were sentenced to death in the two years to September 1987 - people from all walks of life, including ANC freedom fighters, three members of the National Union of Mineworkers, community activists, and members of youth and student groups. Five of these 36 were executed: Moses Jantjies and Miamli Mielles on 1 September 1987, despite appeals for clemency internationally including one from the EEC; Alex Matsepane and Solomon Maowasha on 5 December 1986, an execution unreported both inside South Africa and internationally; and Ehlil Webushe, who was also executed in 1986 (precise date unknown).

These tragic developments have given added impetus to the importance of the 'No Apartheid Executions' campaign coordinated by SATIS. Many thousands of people and scores of organisations have been drawn into the campaign, largely through the case of the Sharpeville Six, whose appeal was due in September 1987 but delayed until November. SATIS marked the first anniversary of the execution of Benjamin Moloiwe with the delivery of a letter to the Foreign Office on 18 October 1986.

In July 1987, an international appeal to save the lives of all those on death row was initiated in South Africa by the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) supported by organisations including the NUM and the UDF. ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo appealed for an international campaign on the issue. In response, SATIS with the AAM launched a fresh initiative at a press conference addressed by SAYCO on 4 August. Then, on 9 September (the anniversary of the execution of Payi, Xulu



Richard Caborn MP and Vella Pilley, AAM treasurer, protesting outside South Africa House at the execution of Moses Jontjies and Mlamli Mielles

and Zoulo), a joint SATIS/AAM delegation made representations to Foreign Office minister Lynda Chalker. SATIS published a dossier on all the known death sentences in political cases, and on the same date a mobilising meeting, chaired by Betty Heathfield from Women Against Pit Closures, to build up the campaign was held in London. Some 200 people demonstrated outside the South African embassy the following day calling for the saving of the Sharpeville Six. The Sharpeville Six Declaration, signed by 12,000 people, was presented to the government. A wide range of organisations have been written to asking for sponsorship and support for the 'No Apartheid Executions' campaign.

Political trials/political prisoners

Many political trials are continuing to take place in South Africa and Namibia, often resulting in severe sentences. The large number of trials make campaigning difficult, but several have been the subject of SATIS campaigns.

NAMIBIA 8: This trial, which began in August 1986, attracted more attention following the revelations in court of mistreatment and torture of SWAPO freedom fighters. SATIS produced



Picket to mark the resumption on 17 February of the trial of the Namibia 8

a leaflet aimed at inducing the British government to intervene over this illegal trial, and many organisations responded to the joint initiative of the Namibia Support Committee and SATIS. The eight were all sentenced to prison terms in May, though appeals are being made in some of the cases. A picket of the South African embassy was held on 18 May.

VAAL 22: Three of the 22 leading political activists and trade unionists on trial in Delmas were released at the end of November after being on trial since 21 January 1986; 16 of the others were eventually granted bail, but three UDF leaders, Mosa Chikane, Patrick Lekota and Popo Molefe, were refused bail. The trial is still continuing.

ISMAIL EBRAHIM: This ANC leader was illegally abducted by the South African security forces from independent Swaziland in December 1986 and held in detention until May before being committed for trial on charges of 'treason'. SATIS raised this issue with HMG and further work on this case is being carried out by AAM.

SATIS continues to campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia. On 11 October 1986 — South African Political Prisoners Day — SATIS produced a huge banner calling for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia which was displayed at a picket of Downing Street, where a letter was delivered to the prime minister calling for more action by the British government on this vital issue. SATIS published a list of all known prisoners in December and has appealed for the release on humanitarian grounds of Oscar Mpetha and Harry Gwala (who has motor neurone disease).

Free Nelson Mandela campaign

Nelson Mandela has been imprisoned for 25 years, but he continues to play a pivotal role in the liberation struggle and in the campaign to free all apartheid's political prisoners. On 5 May a poll in *The Sowetan* newspaper showed overwhelming support for him, in contrast to the 'whites only' election results on the same day. Speculation about his release mounted in September after the regime indicated that it was considering the release of fellow ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

In response to the continuing struggle of the Mandelas, support for them has been generated widely in Britain and internationally. Some of the initiatives and honours include a number of films about their lives in preparation, the award of an honorary degree to Nelson in Havana, Cuba, and in Britain the election of Winnie Mandela as rector of the University of Glasgow. She was represented at the installation ceremony by Amanda Kwadi, who is studying on the Nelson Mandela scholarship at the London School of Economics. Both Winnie and Nelson Mandela were granted the freedom of Idwyn, Labour leader Neil Kinnock's constituency. The Mandela bust on the South Bank in London, which was badly damaged by vandals in late 1986, is to be replaced at the end of 1987. Hundreds of people all over Britain organised letters and cards on the occasion of Nelson Mandela's 69th birthday (including one several feet high in Leeds).

The largest event in Britain around this day — 18 July — was the annual 'Cycle for Mandela', jointly organised by SATIS and the AAM, which for the first time was staged in other parts of the country in addition to London, where more than 200 people took part. These areas were Brighton, Oxford, Tyneside, Glasgow, Bath, Sheffield and Birmingham. The event was sponsored by *City Limits* magazine and raised over £8,000 for the SATIS Political Prisoners campaigns. Parallax Pictures director Lyn Franks presented the Free Mandela campaign with a cheque for £1,100 as the proceeds from their video, 'Sounds for Mandela'.

Trade unionists under repression

The regime's attempts to curb through repression the rapid growth of the trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia, and the spirit of workers' resistance, have resulted in the detention of many hundreds of trade unionists, the deaths of several officials, and a number of trials, including in one case the imposition of the death sentence on three NUM members.

SATIS has campaigned on behalf of all these trade unionists, including Moses Mayekiso, who with four others stands accused of treason in connection with the activities of the Alexandra Action Committee and whose case aroused particular concern in Britain. The AAM raised it with the TUC and (jointly with SATIS) with the government. SATIS distributed widely material about detained trade unionists to many trade union branches. The AAM national committee meeting in September 1987 undertook to launch with SATIS a campaign specifically on trade unionists to mobilise further action in relation to all these cases.

NAMIBIAN ARRESTS: The detention under section 6 of the Terrorism Act of five top SWAPO and trade union leaders on 18 August 1987 met a swift international response. The following day, the chairpersons of the AAM and SATIS, Bob Hughes MP and Geoffrey Bindman, urged the foreign secretary to intervene. On 21 August, the West German government, on behalf of the European Community, called for the detainees' release. A few

days later, Ben Uulenga, Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN) general secretary, was also detained on his return from Britain. Other protests were made, including by the TUC, and the SATIS/AAM delegation to the Foreign Office on 9 September again raised the matter. Two days later all the detainees were released, and expressed their gratitude for the actions taken.

Geoffrey Bindman, SATIS chairperson, visited South Africa in February as a representative of the International Commission of Jurists to prepare a report on the situation there in respect of the rule of law. The initial article was published in the August edition of the ICJ journal, *Justice*. This visit attracted some considerable publicity, especially the information it revealed on the plight of children under apartheid.

SATIS helped with the organisation of a memorial service for Steve Biko on 13 September 1987 (see *Multi-Faith* section for further details).

International Work

The Movement has continued to be actively involved in promoting support for its policies at an international level and in seeking to strengthen coordination and liaison with other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements.

Once again, a very heavy burden of this work has fallen on the shoulders of the Movement's president, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, and its honorary secretary, Abdul Minty, who also serves as director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

By far the most important initiative in which the AAM was involved was the Harare International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa. Convened by Bishop Huddleston and held under the auspices of the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust (BART), this conference not only highlighted the plight of children in South Africa but gave a fresh momentum to the entire worldwide campaign against apartheid. It also provided a new dynamic to the relationship between the struggle inside South Africa and the international solidarity movement.

The Movement has continued to liaise closely with the United Nations and, in particular, the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Council for Namibia. In February, the AAM's honorary and executive secretaries were both invited to a Special Strategy Session which the Special Committee against Apartheid convened at the UN headquarters in New York. As well as providing an important opportunity to consider the future development of campaigning strategies, the meeting enabled the AAM representatives to have extensive consultations with US groups and both the UN Centre Against Apartheid and the Council for Namibia.

The chairman of the Special Committee, Major-General Garba, visited Britain in March for a programme organised by the Movement which included participating in the launch of the Shell Boycott campaign and addressing the Royal Commonwealth Society. General Garba also visited Bristol and Southampton where he was able to meet activists engaged in people's sanctions campaigns. He visited Britain again in July for the International Student Conference sponsored by the UN Special Committee and organised with the assistance of the AAM and the National Union of Students (further reported under *Students* below).

The United Nations appointed a new assistant secretary general for the Centre Against Apartheid, Mr Mousouris, and he also visited London twice during this period, which provided the opportunity for useful exchanges of view about relations between

the AAM and the UN.

Relations with the UN Council for Namibia have also been strengthened during this period. As reported in the *Namibia* section of this report, the AAM was represented at a number of events organised by the Council. Both the Council and the Special Committee made grants available to the Movement to assist in its work. The Movement also cooperated with the Centre Against Apartheid in producing publicity material.

The Movement has continued to liaise closely with the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth's Southern Africa Committee. Following the Commonwealth review meeting in London in August 1986, close contact has been maintained with many Commonwealth governments to ensure that the momentum for Commonwealth action is maintained. Especially close contact has been maintained with India. The Movement's president and honorary secretary visited New Delhi for an International Youth Conference in January 1987 to mark the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the ANC, and were able to hold extensive consultations with the Indian prime minister and other senior government ministers. Again in August, they attended a parliamentarians' meeting in New Delhi, during which further consultations were held. India has assumed a particularly significant role on the question of Southern Africa, as reflected by Prime Minister Gandhi's chairmanship of the AFRICA Fund established at the initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement.

An important area of work has been the strengthening of relations with other anti-apartheid movements. There have been numerous visits to Mandela Street from groups all over the world. Abdul Minty represented the Movement at an international 'Workshop on Namibia and Sanctions' for anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations held in Stockholm in October 1986, and the Movement has been involved in consultations to prepare for a follow-up meeting in the autumn of 1987. Abdul Minty also participated in a meeting convened in Strasbourg by the Association of West European Parliamentarians against Apartheid in May.

The Shell Boycott has required close liaison with other anti-apartheid organisations; one liaison meeting was hosted at Mandela Street, and the AAM was represented at a follow-up meeting in Amsterdam.

London was also the venue in January of an international women's conference in solidarity with the struggle in Southern Africa. The AAM women's committee assisted with the preparations and both it and the AAM EC were represented at the conference, which was opened by Bishop Huddleston.

AREAS OF WORK

Trade Unions

The sustained growth in support from the trade union movement for the campaigns of the AAM must be placed in the context of the growth in struggle of the workers' movements in Namibia and South Africa, outlined above.

The past year has seen major confrontations in almost every sector of the South African economy. There were significant victories for CCAWUSA over the retail outlet, OK Bazaars, and for SARHWU in its fight for the right to organise and be recognised in the state-owned South African Transport Services (SATS). More recently, COSATU's largest affiliate, the NUM, sustained a strike of 340,000 miners — one and a half times its total membership — for three weeks.

The AAM received a delegation from CCAWUSA, including its president, Malobulo Ledwaba, and launched a solidarity appeal, the funds being sent through USDAW. The Movement also came out strongly with appeals for support for SARHWU and the NUM. In addition, during the mine strikes in Namibia and South Africa, following a special meeting of the trade union committee convened to coordinate solidarity and financial support throughout the British trade union movement, a series of pickets was organised outside the London offices of the major mining houses throughout the strike.

Trade unions under attack

Trade unions in Namibia and South Africa have borne the brunt of the attacks by the apartheid state. In South Africa, a vicious attack was launched against COSATU and its Living Wage campaign. This culminated in the murder of six railway workers and the bombing of COSATU House in May. Attacks were also made on the regional offices of COSATU and its affiliates. These developments prompted the launching of a 'Hands Off COSATU' campaign, which needs a wider response in this country.

In addition, many trade unionists have suffered detention and torture. The AAM trade union committee, working closely with SATS and SACTU, has sought to give the greatest possible exposure to the repression of trade unionists in Namibia and South Africa. The SATS briefing, 'Free All Apartheid's Detainees', with a set of guidelines on targeted action on trade unionists in detention, was widely circulated among AAM's trade union affiliates.

There was great concern over the detention of trade union leaders such as Ntali Sello (now released) and Themba Nxumalo (general secretary of the Municipal Workers' Union), and the prosecution of NUMSA general secretary Moses Mayekiso (see SATS). Rail Against Apartheid organised a special picket of

South Africa House by railway workers calling for Sello's release. The AAM raised the Mayekiso case with the government and with the TUC, and Norman Willis, general secretary of the TUC, issued a special appeal for his release from the platform of the AAM's National Convention for Sanctions. Additionally, a letter signed by all unions affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions was delivered to the South African embassy protesting at the detention of Mayekiso and his fellow trialists. NALGO and NUPE both mounted campaigns amongst their membership for the release of Nxumalo.

The past year has also seen a number of unions establishing close bilateral relations with COSATU affiliates, in line with COSATU policy of developing links between unions organising in the same sector and after close consultation with SACTU. There is no doubt that such links greatly assist in mobilising solidarity amongst trade unionists in this country, especially when they result in concrete action by unions here to raise their members' awareness. Both NALGO and the NUR have developed extensive programmes of material and financial assistance for their sister unions in South Africa.

A measure of the close relations developing between the South African NUM and the British NUM was the speed and efficiency with which an appeal was issued for financial support during the mine strike. Over £75,000 was raised in this country in response to this appeal. The NUM, with the AAM, also held a memorial service in Sheffield in November for the victims of the Kinnross disaster, which was

attended by James Motlatsi, president of the NUM. The tour of the sacked BTR workers' play, 'The Long March', is reported under Local AA Groups.

Relations with the TUC

Following the comprehensive anti-apartheid resolution passed at the 1986 TUC congress, the AAM has enjoyed an improved and developing relationship with the TUC International Department. The TUC launched an educational campaign, 'Beating Apartheid', involving the development of courses on apartheid, advice on pension fund disinvestment, and support for the consumer boycott. A pamphlet, newspaper and leaflet were produced to support this initiative. The TUC's cinema commercial promoting the consumer boycott won a prize at the Cannes Film Festival.

Norman Willis, general secretary of the TUC, and Ron Todd, chair of the TUC International Committee, addressed a number of regional trade union conferences on the need for trade unionists to take concerted action against apartheid. Reiterating TUC policy in support of any trade unionist victimised for carrying out action against apartheid, Norman Willis, speaking at the AAM National Convention for Sanctions, promised TUC support to 'any trade union which undertakes effective and deliverable action to harm or disrupt trade with South Africa'.

In the light of the increasing role of the TUC in campaigning against apartheid and in order to strengthen working relations between the TUC and the AAM, a special meeting was organised in February between the AAM trade union committee and the TUC International Department to



COSATU delegate Khoetsi Lekoto receives a standing ovation at the TUC congress in Blackpool, September 1987

discuss matters of common concern. It is hoped that further such exchanges will take place.

In a series of significant moves, the TUC has joined the AAM in initiating the National Petition Campaign (see SATIS) and in sponsoring major events such as the national convention, the conference for sanctions against South African coal, and the 'Sanctions Now!' demonstration. The AAM, although a non-trade union organisation, had a complimentary stall at the 1987 TUC congress. The AAM's fringe rally was the biggest such event during congress week and included speakers from the NUNW, COSATU, SACTU and the British NUM.

Especially welcome has been the development of TUC work on Namibia. The TUC hosted two press conferences for Ben Uulenga from the NUNW and made a major contribution to the international campaign for his release from detention. Both the NUNW and SWAPO were invited as guests to congress, and the TUC's resolution recognising the NUNW represents an important development. Much remains to be done, however, to carry this awareness of the Namibian issue to the membership of TUC affiliates.

Trade union committee

The continued progress in the trade union movement could not have been achieved without the hard work and commitment of the AAM trade union committee. The committee continues to meet monthly, chaired by national committee member Fred Carneson. Of the AAM's 38 national affiliates, 35 have taken up the opportunity to be represented on the committee. A welcome development is the increasingly active role being taken by the recent trade union affiliates.

The committee has followed closely developments within the trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia, and is at the centre of the close relationship developing between the Movement on the one hand and COSATU and the NUNW on the other. Ben Uulenga addressed a meeting of the committee on developments within the Namibian trade union movement. A message of solidarity from the AAM was read out at the second COSATU congress. Close contact is maintained with SACTU over all aspects of the AAM's trade union work.

As a result of the work of the committee and with the able assistance of George Lobo, the AAM was represented (by way of a bookstall and in some cases a fringe meeting) at the following union conferences: BETA, BIFU, CPSA, CSU, ACTT, FBU, IPCS, IRSE, NALGO, NCU, NATFHE, COHSE, USDAW, UCW, TASS and SCPS. In addition, AAM materials were placed on the publicity stalls at the conferences of the TSSA, APEX and ASTMS. Representatives of South African trade unions or liberation movements addressed the conferences of TASS (ANC), NUR, STE, CSU, IRSE, FBU, NCU (SACTU) and SCPS (SAYCO). Many unions adopted new or improved positions on the question of Southern

Africa, and several emergency motions were passed calling for financial assistance to be given to SARHWU. The FBU raised £3,000 at its conference for this appeal. In addition, there were indications of developing support among unions not affiliated to the AAM, such as the FDA and NUIW, and a fringe meeting was held at the ISTC conference on ending the use of South African minerals in the production of steel in this country.

Three more national trade unions have affiliated to the AAM: NAPO, NUFLAT and the TSSA. Membership at regional and local level has remained steady, with 600 trade union branches, regional committees and trades councils in national membership (many more are affiliated to local groups).

The work at trade union conferences has been followed up by extensive educational work, providing speakers at trade union meetings and schools, and material for trade union branches. AAM has maintained close liaison with many national trade union officers regarding the developments and implementation of anti-apartheid policy. A special meeting was convened to discuss the implications of the Local Government Bill for anti-apartheid work in local and public authorities.

The committee cooperated in the production and promotion of a special trade union issue of *AA News*, an extra 50,000 copies of which were circulated around trade union branches, including 12,000 throughout the NUM. The AAM has been given useful coverage in a number of trade union journals, with the *USDAW (Dawn)* and *TASS* journals being especially supportive. A number of unions have introduced sessions on apartheid into their education modules. A special meeting was held of trade union education officers to pool resources, exchange ideas and to identify future needs in this area.

More unions have produced special educational material aimed at their members. The excellent NUM pamphlet, *Miners United Against Apartheid*, was distributed to all members. Other unions producing special material for their members include *USDAW*, *NATFHE* and the *NUR*.

More unions are developing structures to implement their anti-apartheid policies. *NALGO*, *NUR*, *ACTT* and the *NUJ* have well-developed specialist bodies for carrying out this work. In addition, with anti-apartheid work assuming greater importance in the international work of many trade unions, the AAM has been invited to attend and advise several committees.

The Movement has worked with *USDAW* on strengthening the consumer boycott, and provided advice and guidance to the *GMB* for a major conference on strategies for disinvestment, for pension fund trustees. This event, in Manchester in September, attracted considerable media attention.

An increasingly important coordinating and initiating role is being performed by the South West, Tyneside, Yorkshire and Humberside regional trade union commit-

tees. A number of local and regional AA groups have recognised the importance of developing work in the trade union movement through the establishment of trade union sub-committees or liaison officers. Several AAM conferences aimed at the labour movement have had the support of regional TUCs.

The AAM mourns the loss of Mike Perkins, who died this year. Mike, a former president of the SCPS and that union's representative on the AAM national committee, was a powerful advocate of the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia, and his contribution to our campaigns will be sadly missed.

Trade union action for sanctions

Many unions are now devising campaigns to give effect to people's sanctions, particularly in support of the consumer boycott. One of the most significant victories was that won, after a long-running campaign, by workers at Fords Dagenham, who secured guarantees from management that they would cease direct exports to South Africa. This accounted for £46 million worth of trade. In addition, Fords agreed to stop the import of P100 pick-up vans.

TASS gave a lead in the Shell boycott campaign by instructing all full-time officials not to purchase Shell products whilst on union business. Support for the Shell campaign was included in the resolution passed at TUC congress. *USDAW* was instrumental in obtaining a decision from the Co-op retail outlets to stop stocking South African produce. The union has also been applying pressure on the other major food outlets in this country. Other important work has been carried out among local authorities and the unions organising in this sector.

A setback was the injunction secured by Central TV against members of the ACTT preventing them from implementing union policy of refusing to transmit adverts for South African produce. Faced with the possibility of a substantial fine or sequestration of assets, the ACTT was forced to comply. ACTT and AAM members staged protest pickets outside the IBA in London and Central TV's premises in Birmingham. The debate in *Equity* is reported elsewhere.

A most welcome development has been the campaign established by the AAM and NUM to stop coal imports into the UK and EEC (covered in detail elsewhere). On 12 September over 400 people attended a demonstration outside the Worktop offices of Burnett and Hallamshire, a company with extensive mining interests in South Africa. The AAM/NUM Coal conference on 19 September is also reported elsewhere.

Sheffield AAM launched a similar initiative to stop the use of South African minerals in the production of steel in this country. The ISTC took the first step in supporting this campaign by agreeing at its annual conference to 'demand an end to all non-strategic imports, especially steel-related ones, from South Africa'.

AREAS OF WORK

Notable actions to impose people's sanctions included the following: Hull dockers refused a contract to handle South African coal, arguing that the docks management would have to 'grass over the docks and plant trees before they would handle South African goods'; members of the SCPS at British libraries refused to handle requests from South Africa for informa-

tion which included a request for details of the effect of the cat on a person's nervous system; CPSA members at passport offices refused to process or delayed the processing of documentation for people travelling to South Africa for business and for South Africans visiting this country.

Trade union members in the British

Council voted in a referendum to oppose the British Council's programme in relation to South Africa, which was also unanimously condemned by the AAM's AGM. On more than one occasion local authorities or community organisations have declined to meet visitors from South Africa brought to the UK under the programme.

Local AA Groups

There are now 177 local AA groups affiliated to the Movement and, at the time of writing a further 10 in the process of being established. Wales AAM now has 18 affiliated local groups, and there are 23 in Scotland. There are also six regional AA committees coordinating work in Glasgow, Greater Manchester, London, Wessex, West Midlands and Yorkshire & Humberside.

The changes in the organisation of the Movement agreed at the AGM in January and implemented in the course of 1987, entailing the merging of national and local members into a unified system and putting the AGM on to a delegate basis, have placed a heavy responsibility on local groups to further improve their administration and organisational basis. This has meant that a number of local groups have faced initial difficulties. Conversely, it has prompted a much greater number to tackle matters such as finance, membership recruitment and constitutional issues with a view to securing a much sounder footing for future work. At the same time, campaigning work continues to get done and indeed to expand, which is a fitting testament to the energy, enthusiasm and commitment of local groups.

Some long-established local groups and regional committees have been taking steps to strengthen their organisational and administrative capacity. London, Sheffield and Bristol are all at various stages of setting up an office and employing a worker. The Scottish Committee of the AAM now has a full-timer and office. Many of our local groups have established structures to undertake projects or cover certain areas of work. However, few groups have so far responded to the AGM resolution urging the appointment of a women's officer.

Information, education and mobilisation

Educating the public and activists alike is the key to effective and informed campaigning. Some local groups show a welcome desire to innovate and develop their information techniques and resources. Of a number of noteworthy local newsletters, two stand out for special mention: those of Cheltenham and Haringey — both professional and attractive.

Members of Camden AA wrote, shot, directed and produced a polished and stimulating video which deals with people's sanctions and is ideally suited for showing at workplaces. 'The Other Side' collective in Nottingham produced a

fundraising video for the South African trade union movement, using footage from a local AA demonstration. Proceeds from the video went to COSATU via Nottingham AA.

Efforts to inform the public through the traditional means of public meetings, bulletins, posters and leaflets, together with improved media work, have assumed a special importance in reducing the impact of the restrictions on the flow of information from Southern Africa.



Conferences are an important way of informing and mobilising. Part of Brent AA's contribution to the March Month of Action for People's Sanctions was the organisation of a people's sanctions conference. In November, over 280 delegates from trade unions, trades councils, political parties and AA groups attended an East London labour movement conference — one of several events organised on a local or regional basis aimed specially at the labour and trade union movement. The keynote speeches came from the ANC and SWAPO, Mike Terry (AAM), Betty Heathfield of Women Against Pit Closures, Labour MP Diane Abbott, and Ken Gill of TASS.

Nottingham AA held a similar conference in April, as did Birmingham in September. Tyneside AA are in the process of forming a trade union committee following their successful trade union conference held in conjunction with Newcastle Trades Council at the end of January. Over 100 trade unionists attended and were addressed by Ron Todd of the TGWU. The day's programme of educational and campaigning workshops

included showings of the IDAF video on the formation of COSATU.

On a number of occasions, local groups in close proximity organised conferences to attract attendance on a regional basis, as well as to strengthen communication within a given area. Examples of this include groups in Norwich, South-West England, Hampshire and East Dorset, West London and Peterborough.

Production and research of educational and campaign material was another indicator of the continuing growth of local groups' capabilities. Sheffield AAM initiated the establishment of a joint working party with the trades council, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the city council. This working party produced a major research paper entitled *Steel, South Africa and Sanctions*, as well as broadsheets containing a résumé of the report. Covering the steel industry and its so-called dependence on 'strategic raw materials' available from South Africa, the report is an impressive and scholarly work. On a smaller scale, but of great usefulness, was the update on apartheid-free shopping produced by Exeter AA and subsequently taken up by other local groups.

Fundraising and material aid

Underpinning the work of AA groups is the expression of solidarity with the liberation movements of Southern Africa, both politically and financially. Fundraising for the ANC and SWAPO takes many forms: collections organised at meetings and socials (eg Leighton Buzzard, St Albans and many others); benefit concerts/discos (eg Saffron Walden, North Tyneside, West London groups, North Manchester, Redhill & Reigate); material aid collections (eg Lambeth, Aberdeen Women's Group, Hemel Hempstead); flag days (eg Aberdeen, Manchester, Birmingham); lotteries and raffles (eg Camden, which was doubly successful in that the winner of the first prize of £100 donated it to the ANC). Wales AAM relaunched its material aid campaign for the ANC and SWAPO refugee settlements by asking all its local AA groups to collect £150 cash plus donations of toiletries and medical items.

Soweto Walks have become an annual feature for some local groups, but this year fewer were held. It seems that a number of comparatively new local groups have yet to discover the advantages of this type of activity. Nonetheless, substantial sums of money were raised (half of

which goes to Somafo, the ANC school in Tanzania, and half to the AAM's educational work). Southampton raised over £1,100 (bringing their running total to over £6,000) and Sheffield £2,500. Other walks were held in Brighton, York, Bristol, Wandsworth, Camden, Aberdeen, Nottingham, Canterbury, Sheffield, Sutton, Leicester and Redbridge.

Festivals, large and complex to organise, played an important role too. In March, Manchester AA brought together over 1,500 young people who marched through the city to the Free Trade Hall, where stalls and displays were set up. The Bivundu Boys headed the bill. Also in March, Totnes AA held a weekend of events in support of SWAPO to raise money for medical kits. Events included market stalls, street entertainment, and music, whilst exhibitions, videos and puppet shows provided information about the situation in Namibia.

In May, Peterborough AA organised one of the most successful events of its kind ever held in the city, with an attendance of around 1,000. 'The Men They Couldn't Hang', Rory McCloud and others played the first night, with stalls, videos and speakers from the ANC and SWAPO supplementing the event.

Oxford AA combined with the polytechnic and university groups to organise a day festival entitled 'Oxford Against Apartheid'. The themes of anti-racism and anti-apartheid were taken up in workshops using puppets, music and drama, and speakers. Hugh Masekela and the Jazz Defectors sounded off the programme.

Similar events to these have also ensured money has been raised for SACTU (eg concerts organised by Camden and Tyneside) and the various strike funds that have been established during industrial disputes in South Africa and Namibia.

Financial aid for the front line states, particularly Mozambique, has not been overlooked. Aberdeen AA launched a Samora Machel memorial fund for Mozambique, to raise funds for Oxfam projects including emergency relief and the provision of a ferry service in the northern province of Nampula. Sheffield city council, at the initiative of Sheffield AA, launched a Sheffield-Mozambique appeal.

A growing phenomenon has been that of merchandising. Cheltenham produced and sold a tape of anti-apartheid music. T-shirts, tea-towels and mugs are all produced by various groups. Bristol raises funds by charging 50p a throw to 'Bomb Botha', a cardboard and metal construction of Botha's head with mouth open. A particularly lucrative venture has been the production of enamel badges by Sheffield AA. Further success has been achieved by the London Committee and North Devon AA. The latter raised £223 at a rock concert, the former over £2,500 with two gigs during the year.

Anti-collaboration, people's sanctions, SATIS work

Local groups have responded to 'weeks of action' to various degrees, dependent on

local circumstances. Local initiatives have included marches and demos in Aberdeen, Manchester, Doncaster, Birmingham, North Shropshire, Wakefield, and a national demo in Scotland (Glasgow). All-night vigils were held in Croydon and Lambeth.

Mobilisation has also been achieved through cultural events, for example Leicester AA's mobilisation around performances by the Temba Theatre Company of 'Woza Albert' and local group work around 'The Long March', the play produced and acted by sacked BTR workers of the Sarmcol co-operative in Natal, who did an extensive tour of Britain in September 1987.



Morning Star

Other types of activity included countless pickets, speaking tours, letter-writing, phone blockades, leafleting, wreath-laying, street theatre (St Albans AA have a particularly impressive repertoire), motorcades and phone-ins.

AA groups have a vital role to play in identifying and putting a stop to any collaboration with apartheid in their area. A South African MP from the National Party had most of her trip to Newcastle and the north-east cancelled after protests sparked off by Tyneside AA. A South

African housing official was forced to withdraw from an international delegation visiting Birmingham after protests by Birmingham AA. A group in the process of being established in Stratford coordinated Midlands AA groups in their efforts, for the second year running, to stop the raising of the South African flag for the celebrations of Shakespeare's birthday. Speakers from the ANC, the Labour Party and the Royal Shakespeare Company attended the protest with about 250 demonstrators.

Much activity was devoted to SATIS campaigns on repression and political prisoners. North Staffs released 500 black and white balloons — one for every 50 detainees — to mark the anniversary of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres. Each balloon was sponsored at 50p each, all proceeds to SATIS. Many groups send postcards protesting at the detentions. North Tyneside made a giant card signed by local people and sent it to Nelson Mandela on his birthday.

Liaison between local groups and the AAM HQ has improved but is still patchy. The Campaign Bulletin is part of the process to further rationalise and improve communication.

Building the base

The AAM's first attempt to hold a weekend residential summer school, which would have given new activists an in-depth and intensive exposure to the history, policies and activities of the liberation and solidarity movements, had to be cancelled due to insufficient take-up, but it is hoped to carry it through in 1988, with similar schools also being held on a regional basis. This type of cadre development is an important means towards reducing the wide disparity in levels of political and organisational strength between older and newer groups. Another means to this end will be the appointment of a full-time field worker. Attempts to procure funding for this post did not bear fruit during the past year, but renewed efforts will be made in view of the potential benefits of such an appointment.



Manchester AA demonstration for sanctions, 8 November 1986

Local Authorities

Third biennial conference

Delegates from 75 councils, representing over 22 million local electors, attended the third biennial conference on local authority action against apartheid held in Glasgow on 19-20 February. This highly successful and positive conference, open to all local authorities, organised by the National Steering Committee (NSC) of the renamed Local Authorities Against Apartheid (LAAA) and hosted by Glasgow city council, was addressed by Archie Gumede of the United Democratic Front and Ben Uulenga of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia. Representatives of the front line states of Angola, Tanzania and Zimbabwe also took part.

The conference elected a new LAAA national steering committee and agreed a programme of action for the coming year, which included support for the Boycott Shell campaign and the AAM's *Manifesto for Sanctions*, as well as organising seminars on Namibia and education under apartheid (see the relevant sections in this report).

Ten days of action - 16-26 June

The centrepiece of local authority action against apartheid has remained the ten days of action held in June. This period saw local authorities in Britain putting into action some strong and varied programmes of activity. For the first time, many of the events focused on the front line states as well as South Africa and Namibia.

Hounslow council put on a series of exhibitions ('Frontline States', 'Nelson Mandela', 'Women Under Apartheid'), meetings, debates and musical events, working closely with Hounslow AA. In Manchester, the city council organised a black writers workshop where Mollie Pheto spoke about the difficulties of finding a publisher in South Africa. Kantamato were invited to give a performance of South African drumming, and the theme of youth was emphasised in workshops on 'race and new technology'.

A public meeting held by Glasgow district council, with speakers from the ANC and SWAPO, was only one of many such meetings held all over Britain during the ten days. Bill Morris, deputy general secretary of the TGWU and an AAM sponsor, gave a lecture in Sheffield on 'trade unions in the struggle against racism and apartheid'. Other events held by Sheffield city council included an 'evening for Mozambique' which raised money for the Sheffield-Mozambique appeal.

Mozambique was also the theme of Camden council's reception celebrating Mozambique Independence Day on 25 June. A sponsored swim was held on 21 June to raise money for the ANC's school in Mazimbu, Tanzania, and in the evening Minty in Boots and many others performed at the Star Theatre in London.

Also in London, a conference on

Wreath-laying at plaque commemorating Sharpeville massacre in St Pancras Gardens
L-R: Karen Talbot (AAM), Solly Smith (ANC), Cllr Jerry Williams, mayor of Camden, Cllr Nirmal Roy



'action against apartheid' was held in Southwark with representatives of the ANC, SWAPO and St Paul's Apartheid-Free Zone. Southwark council also presented film shows, displays and public meetings organised with the Southwark Muslim Women's Association and Southwark Black Workers Group. A community group, East Dulwich Against Apartheid, held a day of action sponsored by Southwark Race Equality and the Greater London Arts Association on 20 June, including an international food festival, live music and speakers.

In Aberdeen, the district council planted a floral message on 16 June, reading 'Please remember the children of Soweto'. The council sponsored a range of events organised by Aberdeen AA during the ten days, including a Freedom Day cultural evening. Glasgow and Edinburgh councils also took part, with public meetings as well as Edinburgh's benefit concert for the AAM.

Various actions also took place outside these ten days, with councils' activities including flag flying, flower bedding, civic honours, etc. Archbishop Tutu was granted the freedom of the city of Durham in March. Lewisham council's Outreach Team produced colourful and attractive exhibitions on women under apartheid and Britain's links with apartheid.

Local Government Bill

A critical development and one with potentially grave consequences is the Local Government Bill currently before Parliament. Powers contained in this Bill, which received its second reading in the House of Commons on 6 July 1987, would prohibit public authorities, including all local authorities, from imposing bans on the purchase of products from South Africa and Namibia. It has also been deliberately drafted to stop local authorities from choosing to avoid contracts with companies with links with South Africa and Namibia. The Bill also proposes to narrow the scope of the Race Relations Act. The Movement immediately alerted local authorities to the dangers of the Bill

and briefed opposition MPs, officials of local government trade unions, and local AA groups. A vigorous campaign will be needed to get the Bill amended.

Disinvestment and the Shell campaign

LAAA's work on disinvestment has been aided by the setting up of a sub-committee called 'Local Authorities for Disinvestment from South Africa and Namibia', which will encompass the Lewisham-based initiative called Joint Action Against Apartheid. A number of local authorities have been selling their Shell shares in protest at Shell's role in Southern Africa.

This was but one aspect of local authority action on Shell. Following a widely-supported month of boycott action in November 1986, the NSC and AAM consulted local authorities about a possible boycott of Shell products in a joint letter in December. In January, ILEA announced a review of its suppliers, which could potentially affect a contract with Shell worth some £11m pa, and later the AAM was contacted by ILEA to research its supplier list. Several other authorities proceeded to adopt boycott policies, and the spread of actions of this sort met with a litigious response from Shell, which sought, by way of judicial review, to challenge Lewisham council's decision not to buy Shell products where alternatives were available. These proceedings had not yet gone to court at the time of writing.

Resource unit

The NSC, in liaison with the AAM, has continued to play a central role in coordinating local authority activity. To strengthen such action, the NSC is establishing a Local Authority Resource Unit on Apartheid which will be a centre for information and advice. Its main functions are to be: the development of expertise through the pooling of experiences; the development of a resource centre to serve as a source of information concerning Southern Africa; and the production and circulation of information.

Students

The Movement's work in the student movement has continued to have a high profile in the past year, with students playing an important role in the Movement's work. At national level, the Movement has continued to work closely with the National Union of Students, which has maintained the high priority given to work on Southern Africa. Joint activity with NUS has included collaboration over a campaign pack for student activists, which was prepared and circulated to every student union at the start of the academic year; a coordinated campaign to mobilise student activity for the Namibia Week of Action, which ensured for the first time a major profile for SWAPO in the colleges; an NUS/AAM student convention in London in January; and a nationwide day of action in the colleges on 11 March, which saw widespread activity all around the country.

Both the Movement and NUS have encouraged student unions and student AA groups to work closely with their local AA groups. This coordination is developing, one of the best examples being in Oxford where the polytechnic, university and town groups have effectively combined to organise events, including a major fundraising concert last year.

The student movement's biggest boost was undoubtedly the successful conclusion of the Barclays campaign — the culmination of years of coordinated and concerted activity initiated and supported by the Movement and NUS nationally. The victory was not just a boost, but provided the opportunity to begin to develop equally imaginative and concerted activity against Shell, now set to become the key boycott target for the student movement. Another major campaign of the Movement which students linked into effectively was around the general election and the *Manifesto for Sanctions*. NUS nationally made sanctions one of its three election issues, producing a leaflet and poster, and students locally assisted the campaign to raise the sanctions issue in the general election.

Student activity on a local level has continued to flourish. Many successful campaigns have been run, such as the election of Winnie Mandela as Rector of

Glasgow University, a campaign coordinated by the SRC; students at UC Swansea won their campaign for a college canteen boycott of South African goods after the AA group held an occupation; amongst material aid projects in colleges, Edinburgh School of Art AA group raised about £1,000 for SWAPO and Namibia Support Committee projects around the Namibia Week of Action.

Although there is yet to develop a coordinated national disinvestment campaign, a number of local campaigns have continued to develop, notably at the London School of Economics where a major occupation took place, receiving considerable publicity. The Movement supported the students' campaign and, as well as addressing the occupation and a rally, secured messages of support from anti-apartheid movements around the world for the students' campaign. Another ongoing disinvestment campaign has been at Durham University, where petitions and other tactics have been developed to try to overcome the obstacles of a vice-chancellor who is a director of Shell as well. Growing numbers of colleges are also initiating scholarship schemes for ANC and SWAPO students, such as the Winnie and Nelson Mandela scheme at Sussex University. The Movement continues to provide support and information for student groups and unions around the country, addressing a considerable number of meetings and dealing with numerous enquiries on a regular basis.

On a wider level, the Movement, along with NUS, undertook a major initiative in hosting an international student conference entitled 'Fighting for Freedom' for the UN Special Committee against Apartheid at the end of July. Attended by over 150 participants from national student unions and anti-apartheid movements worldwide, the conference provided a major focus and boost for strengthening coordinated and concerted campaigning in the international student movement. A comprehensive programme of action and declaration were adopted by the conference, which will undoubtedly help to focus campaigning. The conference afforded the Movement and NUS the invaluable opportunity to meet student leaders and activists, and wide-ranging discussions were held with participants from the US divestment campaign and others.

Youth

The AAM's youth work has developed an increasing profile in the last year. Growing numbers of young people have become involved in anti-apartheid activity, from supporting national demonstrations to becoming active forces in local AA groups. In part this has been inspired by the formation at the end of March of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), which is spearheading the struggles of youth against apartheid in South Africa.



Nigel DASHWOOD

Over the past year, a number of youth committees and groups have been established locally, working with local AA groups but specifically coordinating and mobilising young people, organising pickets, festivals and rallies, bringing more young people into the Movement. The Movement has welcomed and supported these initiatives and groups, such as those established in Birmingham and Nottingham. This upsurge of activity and involvement was recognised by the Movement's AGM, where a clear priority was given to youth work and a commitment made to hold a youth conference.

After some delay caused by the timing of the general election and other factors, a steering committee was established to plan for the conference, involving the NLYL, NOLS, NUS, BYC, UNA Youth, TASS Youth Committee, Birmingham and Manchester AA Youth groups. The steering committee is now meeting regularly and tackling its mandate of planning the organisation and mobilisation for a major national youth conference, to be held in January 1988.

The Movement has continued to develop its relationship with a wide range of youth organisations, including in particular the British Youth Council (BYC), which has an important role as an umbrella for a wide range of youth organisations. The BYC is now promoting a number of campaigns of the Movement and giving them coverage in its magazine and publicity materials. The Movement has also continued to liaise with many other youth organisations, including UNA Youth, Young Liberals and the British Council of Churches Youth Unit, with the objective of securing further support



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AREAS OF WORK

and awareness from amongst these organisations and their membership. Amongst others, the Movement has addressed meetings at Liberal Youth Day and BYC conference.

The Movement also continues to deal with a considerable number of requests for speakers, materials and information from a wide range of local youth organisations such as LPYS branches, youth clubs and church youth groups.

Education

Educational work is a developing priority of the Movement. A growing number of requests for materials and information are being dealt with from students and teachers as increasing numbers of schools are including studies on apartheid in their courses. Likewise, many more schools are requesting speakers from the Movement; this service continues to expand, covering a wide range of schools and addresses to sixth form conferences, school assemblies, general studies classes, etc.

Local authorities and LEAs are continuing to develop anti-apartheid policies in the education arena and into the curriculum in particular, and the Movement is cooperating with the NSC-LAAA in developing this important area of work. One particular focus is the forthcoming NSC conference on Education on Apartheid, to be hosted by Rotherham borough council in November, which will tackle the development of LEA anti-apartheid policies and concrete initiatives in the curriculum. The Movement is participating in the working group planning the conference, and it is hoped it will attract a wide range of LEA members, staff and teachers. This year again the local authority ten days of action was taken up by LEAs and resulted in schools using various exhibitions, displays, videos, etc.

The development of educational work with the teaching unions was undoubtedly strengthened by a successful conference held in November on education against apartheid organised by the World University Service and sponsored by the AUT, NATFHE, NUT and NUS, which the Movement supported and participated in fully. The Movement also continues to support the educational work of the British Defence and Aid Fund and has promoted the valuable resource book for teachers, *The Child is Not Dead*, jointly produced by BDAF and ILEA.

Health

The AAM health committee has benefited from an influx of new members, which has enabled it to strengthen its campaigning for the isolation of South Africa in the health field, and the spread of information

about the devastating effects of apartheid on the health of the black majority in South Africa and Namibia. Active campaigning to raise money to buy medical supplies for the liberation movements has been sustained under the auspices of the Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa (MACSA).

The work of the health committee was given new impetus this year by the news of South Africa's resignation from the International Planned Parenthood Federation, following three years of concerted campaigning. This was followed closely by South Africa's expulsion from the International Red Cross. The health committee has focused its attention on physiotherapists in an attempt to gain the expulsion of the South African Society of Physiotherapists from the World Congress of Physical Therapy. A briefing document on the case for the expulsion of South African physiotherapists has been produced and was circulated through contacts at the congress in Australia.

Lobbying of the Royal College of Psychiatrists has continued this year in an effort to gain the expulsion of South Africa from international psychiatry. This resulted in the adoption of a resolution by the College in January condemning apartheid and encouraging the breakage of links with South Africa.

Developing contacts in the medical schools and the campaign to stop electives to South Africa have been actively pursued this year. Many fundraising events for the MACSA have been organised throughout the London medical schools, and an activists' conference for students in the health sector was planned for October 1987. Discussions have also been commenced to lay the groundwork for a conference of health service trade unionists in 1988.

Health and Liberation, the quarterly bulletin of the health committee, has covered the campaigns of the health committee and a regular update on the health situation in Southern Africa, as well as special issues focusing on the boycott and the effects of the state of emergency on the health of the people of South Africa.

Updates have been done of the health committee's leaflets on student electives, nursing recruitment and its educational leaflet, 'Apartheid Kills'. Members of the health committee have also travelled widely to speak at meetings on health in South Africa. Further educational work has involved steps in the production of an exhibition on health in South Africa.

The MACSA has continued to be widely supported this year. Many fundraising events have been organised throughout the country, and health committee members have organised a successful sponsored walk and a raffle. There is a great need, however, to increase such efforts in fundraising throughout the Movement in the coming year.

Women

An increasing number of women are showing interest in and commitment to the struggle for liberation in South Africa and Namibia. In the past year, the women's committee has worked towards building links with women in this country as well as in Southern Africa, through the newsletter, workshops, meetings, campaigns and outreach work. In order to strengthen these links and to create a network of women committed to ending apartheid, the women's committee proposed, in a resolution passed at the last AGM, that all local groups should appoint a women's officer to liaise directly with the Women's Committee.

The *Women's Committee Newsletter* is an important means of communicating with women both in this country and abroad. It plays a vital role in educating and informing people about women's resistance to the triple oppression of race, class and gender imposed by the apartheid regime in South Africa and Namibia. The newsletter's new format and design have increased its popularity and enabled it to attract more subscribers.

In the past year, the newsletter has carried reports of campaigning work by women in Britain, eg the protest letters sent to several women's magazines refused to publish 'Boycott South African goods' advertising, and news of the campaign to release South African political prisoners, such as Theresa Ramashamola. It has also reported a variety of women's 'grass-roots' activities, from picketing supermarkets selling South African goods to collecting material aid.

Inspired by a suggestion from the ANC Women's Section, members of the women's committee pooled their creative skills to make a large banner consisting of 12-inch square logos submitted by a wide variety of women's organisations in Britain. This banner symbolises the diversity of women's organisations which are working in solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. The banner was on display for the first time at the ANC celebration to mark South African Women's Day on 9 August in London.

To celebrate International Women's Day in March, the women's committee arranged a public meeting with speakers from ANC, SWAPO, SACTU and SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign. There was entertainment in the form of poetry and political folk-singing, and the event was sponsored by the feminist magazine *Spare Rib*. The women's committee also lent its support to an international conference, entitled 'Solidarity with Southern African Women', which was held in London in February. Organised by the National Assembly of Women and the Women's International Democratic Federation, it was attended by women from many parts of the world, including delegates from the front line states.



Angela Davis (SWAPO) and Angela Davis at the SA Women's Day Festival

Undoubtedly the highlight of the year's activities was South Africa Women's Day (9 August). This key date was marked by a huge festival in Finsbury Park, north London. Angela Davis and Ruth Mompati were among the 'star' speakers, and the women's committee brought a message of solidarity. The committee also organised a highly successful fundraising benefit at the South London Women's Centre which raised over £300 for the ANC.

Plans for the next 12 months include training workshops for women involved in anti-apartheid work to develop speaking and campaigning skills, as well as sharing of information-gathering and fund-raising skills. One of the priorities is to publish a series of fact sheets, covering issues such as women's health, women in trade unions, repression and women's resistance. This project is already under way.

Black Community

The formation and functioning during the past year of a working party to plan the framework of increased anti-apartheid solidarity activity in and with the black and ethnic minority communities represents a watershed in the Movement's development. Set up by the national committee in terms of an AGM decision, the working party was convened by the Movement's vice-chairperson, Dan Thea, and brought together representatives of local groups in several parts of the country with activists in the black community. The working party submitted an initial report to the July meeting of the national committee and a more developed draft to its September meeting, in preparation for the submission of a final report to the November 1987 AGM. The report will recommend that the Movement prioritise work in this area, establish a standing committee to develop it, and commit the resources that would make it possible to

give practical effect to the importance attached to this area of work.

The election of four black MPs in June was an historic development, notable amongst other reasons for the high profile given by them to the anti-apartheid struggle. Two of them were involved on a consultative basis with the working party (Diane Abbott and Paul Boateng) and a third (Bernie Grant) became vice-chair of the PLP's anti-apartheid group. The growing involvement of the black community in anti-apartheid activity was reflected not only at national level but also locally with the formation of community anti-apartheid groups, eg in Hackney, and the spreading scale, variety and impact of local authority-led activities, especially cultural events, in the period between 16 and 26 June. In line with these developments, the Movement published leaflets for the 24 October demonstration in six languages other than English.

The AGM condemned the threatened deportation to Sri Lanka of the AAM member and well-known campaigner against the immigration laws, Viraj Mendis, and the Movement wrote to the home secretary urging him to reconsider his decision. *AA News* and the Campaign Bulletin kept the Movement's membership abreast of developments in this case, and contact was maintained with the Defence Campaign.

Multi-Faiths

A number of key campaigns supported by the religious community and events organised by the AAM multi-faith committee have taken place during the year. Of the former, the foremost was the support of the Christian community for the National Petition Campaign. The two leading representative bodies — the British Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops Conference of England and Wales — are both sponsors of the petition, which is also sponsored by Christian Concern for Southern Africa. All the member bodies of the BCC also agreed to promote the petition.

Two main events were organised by the multi-faith committee. 'Carols for Liberation' in Trafalgar Square on Sunday 21 December was sponsored by the four leading black newspapers in London, the *African*, *Asian* and *Caribbean Times*, *The Voice* and the Methodist Inner City Churches Group. The London Community Gospel Choir, SWAPO Singers and the ANC Choir led the singing, and a range of organisations gave readings on the situation in Namibia and South Africa.

On Sunday 13 September the multi-faith committee and SATIS jointly held a memorial meeting at Notting Hill Methodist Church to mark the tenth anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko. A packed church sang and heard readings from a range of faiths including Muslims, Jews and Christians.

The main address was delivered by the Revd Barney Pitso, Steve Biko's close colleague and one of the many friends of Biko present.



There were a number of other events supported by the MF committee, including the 'Rally for Namibia' on 27 November organised by Church Action on Namibia, where a number of leading clergymen from Namibia, including Bishop Kautuma, spoke, and the Christian Concern for Southern Africa conference, which was addressed by Mike Terry from AAM and attended by the Revd Frank Chikane, now general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Jews Against Apartheid, formed in August 1986, have developed strongly, with a number of events well supported by members of the Jewish community. They have also played an active part in the multi-faith committee, which has been convened a number of times during the year.

On the international level, there were a number of initiatives, including an historic meeting in Lusaka in May organised by the World Council of Churches between representatives of the church in Southern Africa, the international community and the liberation movements, which affirmed 'the unquestionable right of the people of Namibia and South Africa to secure justice and peace through the liberation movements'.

Political Parties

parties, making it more difficult than in the previous year to generate momentum on key issues.

In the general election, for the first time, virtually all the contending parties included some explicit reference at least to South Africa in their manifestos. The Conservative manifesto, counterposing dialogue and negotiations to violence and sanctions, offered a sterile and false perspective. The dissatisfaction amongst some Tory backbenchers with the prime minister's hostility to measures against apartheid South Africa and the government's zeal in blocking joint action with the Commonwealth and the EEC remained muted, and Conservatives for Fundamental Change in Southern Africa seemed not to sustain their initial momentum once the government started to talk to the ANC at ministerial level. On the other wing of the party, a virulent campaign against SWAPO was launched by a few pro-apartheid MPs, whilst a group of MPs was established to promote the KwaZulu 'Indaba' constitutional option and with it the role of Chief Gatsha Buthelesi. The Movement needs to consider how to create the conditions in which the substantial differences within the ranks of the Conservative Party on Southern Africa can surface more openly.

The Labour Party's manifesto, like its policy resolution on Southern Africa adopted at its 1987 conference, represented the strongest commitment yet by the Party to the policies put forward by the AAM. The Movement continues to receive the support of the Party both in Parliament and at constituency level for most of its major campaigning initiatives. A large number of CLPs and other structures within the Labour Party are affiliated to the AAM. The Party, with its Socialist International partners, met leaders of the front line states in Lusaka in furtherance of a process of dialogue to which the latter attach great importance. Larry Whitty, general secretary, and Glenys Kinnock launched an appeal for Somafo and at conference handed over to the ANC the £6,000 raised thus far. Ms Kinnock also spoke at the AAM's fringe meeting, with Lord Gifford and liberation movement representatives. Labour MEPs were also active in a successful fundraising drive for the ANC.

The Alliance manifesto contained a firm commitment to sanctions, albeit limited to 'selective, targeted sanctions', a limitation which seemed to be at variance with the readiness of candidates and their supporters to go further in the direction of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. On the eve of the election, Bishop Huddleston met Alan Belth MP, Liberal foreign affairs spokesperson, to

urge firmer support for sanctions, and Mr Belth spoke at the AAM's Liberal Assembly fringe meeting, together with Abdul Minty, Janice Turner and Zebanoo Gifford. Whatever the future form of the Alliance, the range of opinion represented by it is one whose potential for support for AAM policies needs greater attention by the Movement.

The AAM and its policies have continued to receive support from the smaller parties. The Communist Party collected £18,000 for the ANC and launched a campaign around the consumer boycott and support for sanctions. Plaid Cymru and the SNP both gave positive support to the *Manifesto for Sanctions* and other initiatives, and the Green Party took a strong stand against apartheid with a special interest in Namibia.

Parliament

The Movement has continued to seek support for its policies in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The election of a large number of new MPs at the general election provided a new opportunity to involve MPs in our work. All the MPs who endorsed the proposals contained in the *Manifesto for Sanctions* were written to and urged to work for their implementation in parliament.



MPs Tony Banks and Jeremy Corbyn at AAM picket of Anglo American Corporation, in support of South African and Namibian miners

The Parliamentary Labour Party anti-apartheid group was considerably strengthened as a result of the general election and held a successful meeting at which representatives of the ANC, SWAPO and AAM briefed MPs on recent developments. The secretary of the group, Richard Cahorn MP, has been particularly active in coordinating the submission of parliamentary questions, for both oral and written replies, early day motions and other parliamentary initiatives.

Close contact has also been maintained with Liberal, SDP, Plaid Cymru and SNP MPs, and a small but growing number of Conservative MPs have also been raising anti-apartheid issues.

One key area which will require a major focus for the Movement is the Local Government Bill, which seeks to prohibit local authorities from imposing boycotts of South African and Namibian products. The AAM NC statement on the Bill was sent to all members of the standing committee considering the Bill, and discussions were held with a number of MPs to secure their support for amendments to the Bill.

Professional Groups

Lawyers Against Apartheid

At the SATIS conference in December 1986 a new group was formed - Lawyers Against Apartheid - which held its inaugural meeting the following spring. This group has attracted lawyers concerned about the abuse of the law by the apartheid regime and is campaigning on a number of political trials and several other issues. LAA is represented on SATIS. Its members also give advice to AA activists.

Architects Against Apartheid

Now established on a permanent basis, Architects Against Apartheid has made considerable headway in increasing South Africa's international isolation, and is moving the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) into a progressive position on apartheid, including the provision of support for professional training for refugees. The group has also campaigned to discourage use by the profession of key British companies involved with collaboration with apartheid.

INFORMATION & RESEARCH

Anti-Apartheid News

The Newspaper of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

1987 has been a particularly eventful year for *Anti-Apartheid News*. The Movement's newspaper has been granted extra resources of staff time on the editorial side, its distribution has been placed on a professional, mechanised footing, and the print run for its annual TUC issue topped a record-breaking 70,000 copies.

Above all, *AA News* has had to face up to the challenge of the national state of emergency in South Africa and the almost total media blackout of Namibia. The lack of information, and the low priority given to Southern Africa by much of the western press compared with previous years, has placed a heavy responsibility on *AA News* to convey the facts about resistance to apartheid to the AAM's membership and the public at large.

Until this year, all the editorial work on *AA News*, including page layout and paste-up, as well as research, reporting and feature writing, was carried out entirely by volunteers coordinated by the (voluntary) editor. Since April 1987, however, the editorial team has been immensely strengthened through the appointment of Elizabeth George as part-time editorial assistant on *AA News*, based at the Movement's Mandela Street headquarters. She has been employed through the generosity of the families of Lis Hollis and Andrew Wainwright, both deeply committed supporters of the anti-apartheid struggle who tragically took their own lives while still only in their early 20s.

The appointment of a specific staff member with responsibility for *AA News* is also helping to raise the newspaper's profile within the AAM's campaigning work and to make it more accessible to local AA groups and members. *AA News* is now better equipped to develop its own research material and picture resources, and to put these to

more effective use.

AA News has reported and interviewed a wide range of visitors to Britain from the Southern African liberation struggle over the past year, including Andimba Tsveto ja Tsveto, secretary general of SWAPO; Dr Allan Boesak of the UDF (and prominent but of necessity anonymous representatives of the UDF and UDF Women's Congress); Dr Zephaniah Kameeta of the Lutheran Church in Namibia; Eric Molob, national coordinator of the National Education Crisis Committee in South Africa; Amanda Kwadi of the UDF; Mike Worsnip, former general secretary of the Christian Council of Lesotho; Ben Uulenga, general secretary of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia; Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Archie Gumede, UDF co-president; Ephraim Nkomo and Simon Ntombela, Joe Nkuna and Fay Bagon, office bearers of the newly-formed South African Youth Congress (SAYCO); President Chissano of Mozambique; Jay Naidoo, general secretary, and Peter Harris, legal adviser, of COSATU; and President Oliver Tambo of the ANC. The paper also interviewed Helen Mhaka, foreign minister of Tanzania, and reported from the Non-Aligned conference in Harare.



Guest contributors have included Francis Mell, ANC national executive member and editor of *Sechaba*; Peter Manning, information officer for SWAPO in Western Europe; Mark Verbaan of *The Namibian*; Cain Mathema of the Zimbabwe Mozambique Friendship Association in Zimbabwe; Paul Spray of the SADCC Liaison Committee; Geoffrey Bindman, a member of the ICJ mission to South Africa; Steve Hart of the TGWU (Fords Dagenham); and John Edmonds (GMB). *AA News* interviewed Viraj Mendis following an AGM resolution of support for his campaign against deportation from Britain.

Special features included centre spreads on the 20th anniversary of SWAPO's armed liberation struggle; the death of President Samora Machel of Mozambique; the Shell boycott; destabilisation and apartheid's war against the front line states; British companies in Namibia; and the resistance struggles in South Africa's bantustans. *AA News* has begun to develop regular thematic issues with appropriate solidarity advertising supplements: during 1987 these have focused on the ANC's 75th anniversary, trade union solidarity with Namibian and South African workers, youth and student resistance in Southern Africa

and (planned) political prisoners and detainees.

The September issue of the paper, produced to coincide with the TUC congress and including a four-page trade union advertising supplement, was run on to over 70,000 copies. More than 52,000 were distributed through national trade unions in a promotional drive to regions and branches.

In a welcome move for the hard-pressed Mandela Street staff and volunteers who until recently have packed and mailed *AA News* by hand, the despatch of bulk orders of the paper was handed over to a commercial distributor with effect from January 1987, and the despatch of its mail-out to national AAM members with effect from September. The move has not only put the despatch of a newspaper whose circulation normally tops 22,000 copies on to a proper professional footing, but has freed staff and volunteer time for more challenging and worthwhile tasks.

Considerable thought has been put into improving the appearance and presentation of *AA News* and to produce a range of promotional materials to boost circulation and sales. These plans are due to come to fruition early in 1988.

Thanks are as always due to the many people who support *AA News* in a variety of ways, including photographers, designers and journalists who have given help and advice free of charge. Nancy White, our typesetter, continues to make the whole thing possible.

Those who have served on the editorial board during the year are Margaret Ling (editor), Brian Bunting, David Coetzee, Deborah Ewing, Jean Middleton, Gerald O'Sullivan, Keith Somerville and Bernadette Vallely, and from the staff, Mike Terry, Alan Brooks, Vanessa Eyre, Colin Adkins, Mick Flynn, Clive Nelson, Karen Talbot and Elizabeth George (secretary to the editorial board).

Publications

1987 has certainly been the most prolific year ever in terms of campaign and resource material produced. Not only has the range broadened, but distribution levels are higher than before.

The end of 1986 saw the joint AAM/SATIS launch of the 'Free Apartheid's Detainees' campaign. Fifty thousand cards were distributed and the complementary fact sheet was well taken up, especially within the trade union movement. The campaign gathered momentum, and in June the 'National Petition Campaign: Free All Apartheid's Detainees' was initiated, the AAM is promoting and distributing the petition and related material.

In January, the AAM set the agenda for the year by publishing the *Manifesto for Sanctions* pamphlet. The initial run of 10,000 was used up within the month, and a further 15,000 copies were despatched in the run-up to the general election, making it the AAM's best-seller to date! A leaflet for use during the election was also widely circulated.

Complementing the *Manifesto for Sanctions*, a quantity of material, including a detailed broadsheet, was produced on the theme of 'People's Sanctions', for use in the March Month of Action.

In a new, joint initiative, the National Union of Miscellaneous Workers and the AAM have worked together on a range of materials for the campaign 'Sanctions against South

African Coal'. The Movement also produced posters and leaflets about the South African and Namibian miners' strikes in August.

Another focus this year has been the role of British companies. Various briefing papers and leaflets have been produced on: *Is Your Company Breaking International Law?* (in Namibia) and *Don't Buy Tesco's Apartheid Goods*.

In addition to the AAM's regular publications, *Anti-Apartheid News*, *Women's Committee Newsletter* and *Health and Liberation*, the AAM now publishes a bi-monthly *Campaign Bulletin* — a lively source of up-to-date information and practical advice for activists.

Publicity and briefing materials have been produced for numerous events: the UN 'Fighting for Freedom' conference for students, the AAM's 'National Convention for Sanctions', the NUM/AAM conference 'Sanctions against South African Coal', the AA rally at the TUC congress, the Free Mandela Cycle Ride, and activities around the 'No to Apartheid Executions', 'Save the Sharpeville 6', Remember Biko' and 'Free the Namibian 8' campaigns. Items have also been produced for membership recruitment, as well as new cards for the membership renewal system.

The year culminates in the 'Sanctions Now' demonstration, for which a variety of material has been prepared, including leaflets in six languages.

Research

With the appointment of a research officer, funded by BART, the AAM has been able to undertake more thorough background work in support of its campaigns, especially in the area of economic collaboration. We have also been able to service in a more satisfactory manner a variety of organisations ranging from local authorities to the press, dealing with anything from simple enquiries for information to in-depth reports.

Specific projects have included production and updating of the company list of investors in South Africa and production of a new list of companies in Namibia. Both have been distributed widely. In addition, briefing papers on various aspects of the South African economy, such as the computer sector and the Mossel Bay gas project, have been produced. Profiles of the major companies operating in South Africa and Namibia are available and form part of a rapidly expanding database of company information.

The AAM has cooperated closely with IDAF in the area of research, especially over information on political prisoners and repression.

At the same time, the character of the state of emergency has led to new forms of struggle and organisations which require different forms of reporting. Regrettably, there has been extensive self-censorship by the media which have been reluctant to risk the deportation of their correspondents and have lacked the imagination to find new ways of covering events in Southern Africa.

The reluctance of much of the media to report on developments in Namibia continues to be a major issue of concern, and enabled South Africa and its allies to pursue their policies confident that international public opinion is largely ignorant of their activities. The UN Council for Namibia and the Namibia Support Committee sought to counter this by organising a seminar on Namibia and the Media.

In May, the South African authorities announced the expulsion of the BBC TV and ITN correspondents, who joined a long list of international correspondents expelled during the recent period. This action was condemned by the British government which, however, refused to act on a proposal from Richard Caborn MP, secretary of the FLP AA group, that the information attachés at the South African embassy be expelled in retaliation.

The Movement has continued to seek positive coverage of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and publicity for its own activities. Numerous press conferences have been organised, press releases issued and a range of briefings undertaken, for both the British and international press. But it remains the case that there is much less exposure of the work of the AAM especially in the national media than the gravity of the situation warrants.

A major people's sanctions-type achievement was the decision of the International Publishing Corporation (IPC), publisher of numerous women's and general interest magazines, not to take advertising from the South African government or its agencies, including South African Airways. This followed pressure from NUJ members on IPC's editorial staff.

The Media

One of the most serious setbacks for the Movement's work has been the impact of the controls imposed on media reporting from South Africa under the state of emergency. In contrast to the period from 1984 to 1986, there has been a marked reduction in coverage of events in South Africa, especially on television, and as a consequence much less coverage of developments in the international campaign against apartheid.



FINANCE

There was a slight improvement in the financial situation of the Movement during the year 1986/7. The deficit of £17,287 in 1985/6 was turned into a small surplus of £4,476 in 1986/7. However, the accumulated deficit remained considerable at £22,214.

This improvement was achieved despite a large increase in the cost of salaries and other overheads during the year. Overall, expenditure declined slightly, as there was no major demonstration or festival within the year. The Movement's income rose by £20,000, all of this being accounted for by new fundraising efforts and by literature sales.

The increased financial turnover of the Movement and the difficulties encountered after the 1986 festival, which had prompted a special financial appeal, led to the appointment of a finance officer, Mike Ketchum, in March 1987. A system of tighter budgeting is gradually being introduced, but the situation remains difficult. Expenditure on salaries and overheads is budgeted to rise by 20% this year, with new appointments in the administrative and fundraising areas. Although membership fees have risen, they alone will not provide sufficient additional funds. A major membership drive is to be launched and members and local committees should take every opportunity to raise funds for the Movement's headquarters.

Income went up largely because of the efforts of many different people in the past year. AA Enterprises has continued to expand and contributed a valuable £5,000 to the Movement's funds. It has made substantial progress to promote the anti-apartheid message to people we don't always reach.

Artists Against Apartheid, by the end of 1986, had succeeded in raising a total of £30,700 for the ANC, SWAPO, AAM and Oxfam in South Africa. A major benefit for the Movement at the Royal Albert Hall in March, in association with the launch of *News on Sunday* and featuring the Communards, brought in over £5,000. We thank both of these organisations and hope their support for the AAM will continue to grow in the coming year.

In the New Year, the Movement will be expanding its premises in order to improve the working conditions and efficiency of the staff. The Office Expansion Appeal has been set up to raise £75,000 to allow building work, security provisions and re-equipment to proceed in the newly-acquired premises on the first floor of 13 Mandela Street. All members are asked to support this and other financial appeals that may be undertaken, so that the Movement may at last get on to a sound financial basis.

There will be continuing efforts to reach out to a wider public. The past year saw the Movement advertising in the

national press, thanks to some substantial loans given for this purpose by well-wishers. These advertisements had a limited success, but a fresh start will be made with another advertising agency. National advertising linked to a full-scale membership drive will continue in 1988.

The Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust granted the Movement sufficient funds to cover the salaries of a full-time researcher, Stuart Bell, and a part-time editorial assistant on *AA News*, Elizabeth George. The Movement thanks the trustees of

BART for their invaluable assistance and hopes that the expansion of BART will get the wide support that it seeks from AA members and the broader public.

Finally, the Movement expresses its thanks to the auditor of the Movement, Mr Arthur Prior, who gave much valuable time and advice during the year, and to all those members of the finance committee who helped in mobilising the resources needed to see that the Movement was in relatively better financial shape at the end of June 1987.

Fundraising Projects

Following the increased recognition of the importance of fundraising, this year the work of the fundraising projects sub-committee has taken on a higher profile. Much has been accomplished over the past 12 months, and the Movement would like to take this opportunity to thank all those members and supporters who responded so magnificently to appeals for their support and those who have contributed in any way.

October 1986 saw the launch of the goods and gifts catalogue which has fulfilled the important function of bringing a steady flow of income into the Movement throughout the year, as well as during the Christmas period. Sales of the popular *Big Red Diary on Southern Africa 1987* generated a profit of around £5,000.

Another extremely successful fundraiser has been the 'White Wind Black Tide' cassette of 11 songs by Peggy Seeger and Ewan MacColl, who took their inspiration from the intensifying struggle in Southern Africa. Thanks are due to all the artists involved, who gave their services gratis. All profits from the 2,500 cassettes sold go to the AAM.



Sponsored events have continued to feature prominently on the fundraising agenda. Munir Malik, a member of the finance committee, took part in the London Marathon. Over £2,000 was raised through his efforts and those of people who sponsored him or asked others

to do so. The Cycle for Mandela '87, a nationwide event, brought in over £8,000 (see also SATIS). Local AA groups held Soweto Walks to mark the anniversary of the Soweto massacre — more details are given under *Local AA Groups*.

The Grand Summer Draw, launched in March, was the Movement's most exciting raffle yet, with over 100 prizes including as first prize a holiday for two in India donated by Air India. This project proved enormously successful due to the commitment and efforts of members and supporters who sold and bought tickets, raising well over £24,00.



Jerry Dammers of AAA picking the winners in the AAM raffle

AA News advertising

During the past 12 months, revenue from advertising in *AA News* has continued to increase. Most of this advertising has taken the form of solidarity advertisements to tie in with the theme of the issue and complement the editorial copy. Affiliated organisations have constituted the majority of advertisers, though local authorities have also taken advantage of the opportunity to publicise their solidarity. Regular advertising commitments from AA Enterprises and TASS have ensured a regular income. Both IDAF and BDAF have continued to publicise their publications in the newspaper.

ORGANISATION

The organisational work of the Movement has focused on the implementation of *Challenging Apartheid*. This was the title of a report published by the AAM in September 1986 which outlined the developments necessary for the Movement's organisation and structure to enable it to respond to the challenge of the final stage of the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

Challenging Apartheid was the result of the work of the development sub-committee set up in 1982, whose interim report was presented to the 1985 AGM. The proposals in *Challenging Apartheid* covered the role of local anti-apartheid groups; the establishment of a two-tier membership structure for individuals; the creation of a series of categories of affiliated organisations; new methods of communication, especially the production of a *Campaign Bulletin*; the strengthening of democracy within the AAM, including the establishment of a delegate AGM; and new initiatives to develop the campaigning skills of AAM activists.

The consequent constitutional changes were ratified by the AGM in January 1987, and in February a credentials committee was elected as required under the new constitution by the national committee. Extensive work has been necessary, particularly by the membership secretary and local groups organiser, to make the necessary changes in administrative arrangements for the new constitution to operate properly, and thanks are due to all those who have contributed to the required reorganisation in membership procedures. All affiliated organisations were required to complete new information forms in order to enable the new system to become operational, and local anti-apartheid groups had to act likewise in order to be accepted as recognised local AA groups under the new constitution. These new procedures have placed the Movement on a much sounder organisational basis.

MEMBERSHIP

The national individual membership of the AAM is currently 8,400. National membership figures have never accurately reflected the real level of support for the AAM as there are many activists who have in the past simply joined their local group but not the national Movement. Under the new system, local groups will supply the AAM HQ each year a list of names and addresses of LOCAL members so that for the first time a national record of the entire membership can be maintained. This new membership structure has obvious advantages and will also provide the basis for a mass recruitment into the AAM through the local membership category.

A new renewal system has been introduced both for individual members and affiliated organisations. Individual members now receive a special renewal card with an envelope the month before their membership expires, instead of a series of renewal forms with different issues of *AA News*. It is hoped that the new procedure for renewals will ensure that a much higher percentage of renewals is achieved than at present.

The affiliation fee for organisations now covers a one-year period from 1 July. Organisations which affiliate during the year pay the full year's subscription unless they join between 1 April and 30 June, in which case they pay for the following financial year. This new arrangement has been introduced to rationalise procedures at Mandela Street and so that the period covered by the affiliation fee coincides with the AAM's financial year.

New membership subscription rates for national individual members and affiliated organisations were approved by the national committee in May 1987.

To secure wider support for our policies and campaigns, it is vital that the AAM expands its membership. The new membership drive as agreed by the national committee is to be launched in December 1987. Effectively undertaken, this campaign should result in a much greater rise in membership in 1988.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The annual general meeting is the major opportunity during the year for AAM members to play a part in the formulation of policy and to discuss plans for campaigning for the period ahead. Resolutions adopted form the framework of policy for the AAM, and constitutional changes have to be ratified by the AGM.

The AGM scheduled for 1986 took place on 10-11 January 1987 because no suitable premises could be found for a date in the autumn of 1986. For the first time, the AGM took place over two days and a small registration fee was charged. It was held at the Camden Centre, London.

The AGM carried out an extensive programme of work, and 34 resolutions were adopted which incorporated 61 of the 76 motions on the final order paper. In contrast to previous years, only 12 motions were remitted to the national committee due to lack of time.

The AGM also considered a series of amendments to the

constitution which arose as a result of the report, *Challenging Apartheid*. These involved a number of significant changes in the organisation of the Movement, including the establishment of a dual-tier structure for individual members (local and national), as well as a delegate AGM. All these amendments were ratified.

The AGM elected a new national committee and discussed plans for campaigning on sanctions and Namibia.

The national committee agreed in February 1987 that the first delegate AGM should take place in November 1987 in Sheffield over two days. The new structure for the AGM is intended to increase the democratic involvement of the membership both nationally and locally in the formulation of policy, as well as providing a better forum for debate and discussion.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The national committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and carries out its work within the framework of AGM resolutions. Its members comprise the president, vice-presidents and sponsors; 30 individual members elected at the AGM; one representative of each recognised local anti-apartheid group (except when its membership is over 250, in which case it is entitled to two representatives); two representatives of the Scottish Committee and the national committee of the WAAM; and representatives of 25 national or regional organisations elected annually from amongst such organisations. The Southern African liberation movements attend the national committee in a special category with observer status, and observers are invited from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM.

The national committee met six times during the period covered by this report. One of these meetings was in Birmingham, the remainder in London.

In view of the mounting international dissatisfaction with Britain's role in protecting the Botha regime from sanctions, and the consequent dangers of retaliatory action against British interests in third countries motivated by solidarity with the liberation struggle, the national committee approved a policy paper endorsing such actions as being in line with the Movement's policy.

The meeting in December 1986 reviewed the work of the Movement prior to the postponed AGM and agreed on the plans for 'A New Offensive for Sanctions'; whilst the January meeting, held immediately after the AGM, was primarily concerned with the election of officers and the executive.

In February, the national committee gave detailed consideration to the action required to implement the resolutions adopted at the AGM, as well as reviewing the implementation of the 'New Offensive for Sanctions'. The meeting also established two working parties, as required by resolutions adopted at the AGM, concerning the front line slates and black and ethnic minority communities. The meeting was addressed by Ben Muroga, general secretary of the newly-formed Mineworkers Union of Namibia, and Archie Gumede, the co-president of the United Democratic Front.

The May meeting likewise benefited from a direct input from participants engaged in the struggle in Southern Africa, when two representatives of the newly-formed South African Youth Congress reported on its foundation and planned activities. This meeting also gave detailed consideration to a report on banking links with South Africa and Namibia and endorsed its recommendations unanimously, including the lifting of the Barclays boycott. The meeting also agreed to a number of minor adjustments in the membership subscription rates and approved amendments to the standing orders.

The July meeting provided the first opportunity for the AAM collectively to assess the results of the general election and the future direction of our work. Various initiatives were agreed, as well as a policy statement concerning the Local Government Bill. The meeting also endorsed the participation of the Movement in the Free All Apartheid's Detainees National Petition Campaign, as well as plans for a campaign to stop apartheid executions. The meeting received a report on the action taken by the executive officers and the PLP AA group to reverse the ban which had been arbitrarily imposed by the Metropolitan Police on demonstrations outside South Africa House.

The meeting of the national committee in September, which considers the preparations for the AGM, adopted the Political Report and two changes to the constitution involving youth anti-apartheid committees and associate members. Amongst other items on a heavy agenda was the draft report of the black and ethnic minorities working party.

In view of the financial situation facing the Movement, all the national committee meetings gave careful consideration to reports from the treasurer on the Movement's finances. There were also detailed reports presented to several meetings on the implementation of *Challenging Apartheid*.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee, which is elected by and from the national committee, advises the national committee and sees to the execution of policies and campaigns decided on. It meets at least monthly and more frequently when required.

Its composition has undergone some changes during the period of this report. Previously consisting of up to six officers and eight other elected members, the potential number of officers has been increased to nine and there are two ex-officio positions nominated by the Scottish Committee and the national committee of WAAM.

The expansion in the number of officers arises from the decision to create a position of deputy executive secretary and to allow for up to four vice-chairpersons.

The executive committee can coopt up to six individuals and four such cooptions were made for this year. It can also establish sub-committees and those currently functioning are the trade union, health, women's multi-faiths and finance committees. A fundraising projects sub-committee functions as a sub-committee of the finance committee. In addition, there is the editorial board of *Anti-Apartheid News*, which is also a sub-committee of the executive committee.

The executive committee has focused much of its attention on the steps necessary to strengthen the functioning of the Movement's headquarters. The rapid expansion of the AAM, in particular from 1984 onwards, had resulted in an intolerable situation at Mandela Street. Crucial decisions were required in relation to both the expansion of the headquarters and the expansion of the staff. After a thorough consideration of the alternatives, it was decided in November 1986 to seek additional premises on Mandela Street, and the following month, at a special meeting, detailed plans were agreed concerning the expansion of the staff and the establishment of internal structures to ensure more effective communication and liaison amongst the staff, and between the staff and the executive committee.

Much progress has been made towards achieving the full implementation of the decisions taken, both in relation to the AAM HQ as well as the expansion of the staff. When completed, the Movement will be well placed to face the challenges posed by the final stages of the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

AAM HEADQUARTERS

The AAM moved to its current headquarters in Mandela Street, then known as Selous Street, in 1983. As reported last year, Camden council was able to provide temporary accommodation on Mandela Street in advance of the 28 June March and Festival. This temporary arrangement has continued. From the beginning

of 1987 the Movement has been leasing an additional property on Mandela Street, where a number of staff have been based. However, following negotiations with the previous tenant, the AAM has taken over the lease on the first floor of 13 Mandela Street and work has been commissioned to create a single unit capable of providing space for all the Movement's existing staff. Once this work is completed, there should be a marked improvement in the functioning of the AAM HQ. The existing split-site arrangement has proved extremely inconvenient, not only for the Movement's staff but also for many members.

In order to finance this expansion, the national committee launched a £75,000 HQ Expansion Appeal. This had only raised some £6,000 at the time of publication of this report and, without a successful response to this appeal, it will not be possible to carry through the expansion plans required.

The expansion of the AAM headquarters has been necessary both to provide adequate accommodation for existing staff and to enable new appointments to be made in a number of key areas. During the period of this report, a number of important appointments have been made. In September 1986, it was decided to create a new post of deputy executive secretary who, like the executive secretary, would be an officer of the Movement and a member of the executive committee. Alan Brooks, who had worked for the AAM in the 1960s and had subsequently served as director of research at IDAF and director of the Mozambique Information Office, was appointed to this new post and began working for the Movement in January 1987. Other newly-created posts were a finance officer to oversee the Movement's finances (Mike Ketchum was appointed to this post in April 1987); a part-time post of editorial assistant for *AA News* (Elizabeth George was appointed to this post in March 1987); and a research officer (Stuart Bell, who had worked on a temporary basis, was made a permanent employee with effect from January 1987).

Two staff left the Movement's employ during this period. Carola Towle, who had been employed on a job-share basis following the return of Sue Longbottom from maternity leave, left in October 1986 and was replaced by Rosalind Epton. In January 1987, as a result of a reallocation of responsibilities, Rosalind became the office manager and Sue Longbottom's position was re-designated as publications officer. In November, Simon Sapper, the AAM's trade union secretary, who had served for a brief period as acting deputy secretary, left to take up a full-time trade union post with the IPCS, and Colin Adkins was subsequently appointed to replace him.

The Movement would like to express its appreciation to the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust, which has provided funds to assist with the appointment of a research worker, and to the Andrew Wainwright Memorial Trust and the Hollis family for funding the equivalent of a full-time employee for *Anti-Apartheid News*. Plans are proceeding for the appointment of three additional staff members; one of these posts — for a fundraiser to work for 12 months — is possible due to the generosity of two supporters of the Movement.

A number of steps have been taken to improve the efficient running of the AAM headquarters, including the purchasing of modern equipment such as word-processors. However, a heavy burden continues to fall on the staff and the team of committed volunteers without whom the Movement could not function.

OBITUARY

The Movement records with sadness the deaths during the past year of Mrs Margaret Reeves, widow of Bishop Ambrose Reeves, the former president of the AAM; Judy Kimble, a founder of the AAM women's committee and member of the national committee; Mike Perkins, former president of the Society of Civil and Public servants; and M B Yengwa, a leading figure in the ANC in Natal and close former colleague of Chief Albert Luthuli.

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