



the Anti-Apartheid Movement

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SEPTEMBER 1967

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ANNUAL REPORT

Introduction

The past year has seen substantial changes in the political climate surrounding the southern African question. For the Anti-Apartheid Movement it was a year of challenge; many of the assumptions about the possibilities of winning advances in Britain's policies, about the adequacy and effectiveness of economic sanctions as an instrument of international policy, about the role of the United Nations in this respect, etc., came under heavy scrutiny and questioning. At the same time, the armed struggle of the African people has taken important steps forward and has been revealed for all the world to see as the most important instrument for change in the sub-continent. The Movement is therefore required to reconsider several of its campaigning activities, its style of work and responses to developments and to find the appropriate basis for political action corresponding with a political situation in many ways new and considerably more urgent and grave for the cause of freedom and justice in southern Africa.

The Expansion of South Africa

The assassination of Hendrik Verwoerd and the coming to power of the ex-Nazi, Johannes Vorster, brought no respite for the non-white peoples of South Africa. On the contrary, the past year has seen the further development of the apartheid system. This has been a year in which the South African apartheid regime has been particularly aggressive and militant, dictating the conditions of political power and policy in virtually the whole of southern Africa.

Inside the country several further steps were taken to intensify the suppression of opponents of apartheid. The notorious 90-day clause was extended so that the South African police could arrest and hold political suspects without trial for periods of 180 days. The 180-day clause was extended to the territory of South West Africa and many people there were detained. The Suppression of Communism Act was extended to make more

difficult the provision of legal aid to political prisoners, and lawyers who were banned under this measure were debarred from continuing their profession. The "Terrorism" Act, an amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act, was passed in June 1967 and is retrospective to June 1962. The Act puts upon the accused, against whom no prima facie case exists, the burden of proving his innocence. It provides for the secret detention for an indefinite and unlimited period of persons suspected of "terrorist" activities or likely to commit "terrorism" or of having information about "terrorist" activities. The definition of "Terrorism" includes acts committed anywhere with the intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic including South West Africa; any form of training which could endanger the maintenance of law and order. The Act provides for the compulsory imposition by the courts of the minimum sentence of five years imprisonment where the death penalty is not imposed, for offences defined as terrorism. The trial of 37 South West Africans under this Act is now taking place in Pretoria.

A feature of the past year has been the continued expansion of the country's military preparations. The 1967-68 Budget provided for military expenditure amounting to £128 million - the highest in the country's post-war history. This excludes unspecified expenditures for the creation of para-military units under the control of the security police, and for military aid and assistance to the Smith regime in Rhodesia. Under the Defence Amendment Bill of June this year, compulsory military service for all white men was proposed; further plans were announced for the expansion of production facilities for a variety of armaments and military equipment.

The South African army was reported to number over 140,000 men with 100,000 supporting Commandos. In February this year, the South African Defence Minister announced that virtually the whole of southern Africa was covered by a network of South African radar, with appropriate air and other bases. The Government is continuing the development of its plans (with British and other international oil companies) to ensure the adequacy of oil supplies under all circumstances. The supply of arms to South Africa continues despite the international arms embargo. Britain is reported to have shipped military spares and quasi-military equipment, while France has emerged as the principal supplier of heavy military equipment - helicopters, submarines, jet aircraft, etc. Another form of foreign military support is the export to South Africa of capital and technical know-how by British and other firms for the completion of South Africa's plans to construct a fully balanced and all-embracing armaments production industry in the country.

Serenely confident in its growing strength the South African government has refused to comply with the economic embargo imposed on Rhodesia by the U.N. Security Council, and, with Portugal, has ensured the continuation of Rhodesian trade on a basis more than adequate for survival.

Today South Africa is the major region through which the Smith regime trades with the rest of the world and this includes British firms, which

have subsidiaries or agents in South Africa. The Finance Minister of the Smith regime was correct when he recently asserted that British firms were maintaining their exports to Rhodesia despite the embargo: This is reflected in the one-third increase in British trade with South Africa.

South Africa's absorption of the territory of South West Africa is now virtually complete. The Vorster regime no longer even maintains the pretence of administering the League of Nations' Mandate. From all practical points of view the termination of the mandate by the United Nations under a special General Assembly resolution remains a dead letter.

The new expansionist policy of South Africa takes its most blatant form in the large scale intervention by units of the South African police and army in the British territory of Rhodesia. These units have been sent into Rhodesia in the first place to sustain the Smith regime - in rebellion against Britain - and next, to menace the government and people of Zambia. The South African prime minister has declared that these forces will remain in Rhodesia and will join the security forces of the Smith regime in fighting African resistance. South Africa's armed intervention in Rhodesia undoubtedly adds a new dimension to the Rhodesian problem and establishes clearly that any progress towards majority rule in Rhodesia now depends on the struggle against South Africa.

To the north the Rhodesian regime shares the growing confidence of Pretoria. Mr Smith's UDI is now almost two years old. His regime has been strengthened; he confidently talks of taking further steps in applying the race policies of apartheid in the territory and completing UDI with the setting up of a white Rhodesian republic modelled on the style of the South African Republic. The economic sanctions measures have not significantly affected the stability of the Smith regime; they have done nothing to swing Rhodesia's white opinion away from the policies of the Smith-led Rhodesian Front or from apartheid. On the contrary, the past two years have seen the consolidation of white power in Rhodesia.

The Failure of Britain's Policies

It is clear that South African self-confidence is not derived only from factors internal to South Africa. Her present prosperity is owed in no small measure to foreign trade and to foreign capital. Her military strength is based on imported weapons and on weapons manufactured in South Africa by overseas firms or under licence from overseas firms.

Above all, South Africa's self assurance in foreign policy is based on the assumption that there is no prospect of hostile action by the Western powers against her. Recent events fully justify that assumption. The obvious reluctance of the Western powers to devise effective measures has given Vorster the green light to defy the United Nations over South West Africa. He knew that he could get away with breaking sanctions against Rhodesia - he had the personal assurance of Britain's Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, that Britain would not seek an economic showdown with South Africa. South Africa's armed forces have joined the security

forces of the illegal Smith regime to engage in war on the British territory of Rhodesia and the only action Britain has taken has been to protest to Pretoria and to balance this by a protest to Zambia, for allowing freedom-fighters passage through its territory. The South African government has ignored their protest and declared that South African security forces will remain in Rhodesia.

Britain's acquiescence in the military invasion of Rhodesia by South Africa sets the seal upon the policy towards which the Labour government has been steadily moving throughout its term of office. This policy amounts to the recognition of southern Africa as a sphere of influence of the South African Republic.

One after another, positions which could have been used to counteract the influence of South Africa have been abandoned. The Protectorates could have been built up as bastions of democracy; instead they have been left to fend for themselves under circumstances which force them to cooperate with South Africa. South West Africa could have been the scene of an international intervention amply justified by even a conservative view of international law; Britain has been prominent among the nations responsible for letting that opportunity slip. Rhodesia could have been a decisive defeat for apartheid; instead sanctions have been applied in such a way as to increase South Africa's influence. Britain could have thrown her weight behind Zambia; instead, Zambia's policies have been consistently rejected. Labour could have broken with the concept of South Africa as the guardian of the West's strategic sea routes; instead the Royal Navy has undertaken visits intended to symbolise the continued vitality of the Simonstown Agreement.

With these actions to assure him of the degree of respect and recognition which he has achieved, it is no wonder that Vorster feels strong enough to adopt a more aggressive policy.

The Growth of Resistance

Fortunately, although the betrayal by the British Government inevitably looms large in the eyes of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, it is only one event in the unfolding of the struggle. In recent years, one of the most powerful propaganda weapons of the South African and Rhodesian regimes has been their claim that "everything is peaceful" in their territories. Of course, the claim has always been false. The maintenance of white supremacy has always been a matter of daily violence against a population which has never ceased to resist. Nevertheless, the temporary absence of large scale, organised and visible resistance has impressed many uncritical observers.

Now all that has changed. Whereas a year ago the armed struggle of the African people was visible to the world only in the Portuguese territories, it is now visible on a much wider basis. We now know of the existence of SWAPO guerilla units in South West Africa. There has been a series of armed clashes in Rhodesia. Finally, in August, the world learned of the operations being conducted on a substantial scale by a combined force of

ANC and ZAPU guerillas.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has consistently warned that the failure of international action against apartheid would inevitably lead to violence in Southern Africa. It has consistently seen its own role as one of solidarity with a struggle of which Southern Africa itself must always be the main arena. The events of August have brought these truths into much sharper focus than ever before. From now on the existence of an armed conflict in Southern Africa will be the background against which all our activities take place. We must not fail to respond to the new tasks with which this confronts us and the desperate urgency which it gives to all our work.

Campaigns

Over this past year we have campaigned both on Rhodesia and South Africa but our emphasis has been on presenting the situation in Southern Africa as an indivisible complex. We have also seriously examined our relations to the government in power, the amount of work, time and effort that has been spent in winning a change in British government policy in Southern Africa in relation to its achievement.

In November 1966 we organised a joint conference with the United Nations Association on "British and United Nations responsibilities in Southern Africa". It was attended by over 100 people who heard Dr Richard Whittaker on Rhodesia, and Mr E. Lauterpacht and Miss Ruth First on the South West African situation. The problems involved in working for majority rule in Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa and the attendant problems of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland were discussed as was the relationship of independent Africa to Southern Africa. John Ennals spoke on the role of the United Nations, and Frank Judd MP on Britain's role in Southern Africa. Those attending covered a wide cross-section of organisations, trade unions, MPs, the United Nations Association and Anti-Apartheid Groups throughout the country. The Conference subsequently issued the following statement to the press:

"Rhodesia should not be granted independence without majority rule and, as an essential first step towards achieving this, Britain should at once initiate a resolution at the Security Council demanding the application of all-embracing sanctions against Rhodesia in order to bring down the illegal Smith regime, and that Britain should forthwith undertake all requisite contingency planning against the possible necessity for the use of force.."

In December we invited a group of prominent economists, international journalists and others to a meeting at the House of Commons to discuss the question of economic sanctions against Southern Africa, the feasibility of such measures and their possible effects. As a result of this meeting we learned of the many loopholes that exist.

Sharpeville Commemoration

In March we organised a one-day conference in the Caxton Hall on "The Crisis

in Southern Africa". The morning session, dealing with the Nature of the Crisis, was devoted to an examination of the unholy alliance of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, South Africa's imperialism, and her economic penetration of the rest of Africa. In the afternoon we heard speakers on Labour's Record and her Responsibility. This delegate conference was well-attended and the discussion and questioning lively. A concrete suggestion for work in the Trade Union Movement was proposed, which we now plan to put into effect. The individual speakers, who included Basil Davidson, Professor John Rex, Mary Benson and Robert Sutcliffe, prepared papers for the conference and these were supplemented by others prepared in the office. This material was widely circulated both during the conference and since.

We have in the past assumed a considerably larger knowledge of the situation in southern Africa on the part of the British public than is, in fact, the case. These conferences have reflected the essential political facts and the changing situation. The material produced for them has reached a much wider readership than those attending. Similar conferences were organised by Anti-Apartheid Committees in Manchester (February 1967) and Birmingham (June 1967).

Rhodesia

We have, however, campaigned on Rhodesia as a separate issue - one for which the British government is seen to be more directly responsible. We circulated the postcard pledge in November 1966 and again in August 1967, calling for "majority rule and democracy for all the Rhodesian people". We supported the National Organisation of Students' Rhodesia Action Groups in a 60 hour vigil held on the weekend of November 11, 1966. We both supported and participated in rallies held in Trafalgar Square on November 12th and 13th organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Young Liberals to 'Oust Smith'. The postcard pledge was widely taken up by Anti-Apartheid Committees and Student Groups throughout the country. It became the occasion for setting up stalls in the local High Streets where, in addition to the postcard, our literature and ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS was distributed. Though the initial cost inhibited sales, we subsequently reduced it and many thousands have been sent to the House of Commons.

Both in the central office and more especially among AA Committees - here the Surrey Anti-Apartheid Movement must be mentioned particularly - considerable organisation has gone into countering the demonstrations and meetings arranged by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. A united effort produced a successful counter demonstration on the occasion of the Duncan Sandys rally in Trafalgar Square early this year, where our turnout was most impressive and considerably outnumbered the Sandys supporters.

In January of this year, with representatives of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the United Nations Association, we went to see Mr Herbert Bowden at the Commonwealth Relations Office and raised a number of issues, among them, that majority rule in Rhodesia should follow soon after the downfall of the Smith regime. Earlier the heads of the three organisations had sent a statement to the Prime Minister following the adoption of

the Security Council's resolution imposing mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia. They urged the fullest cooperation with the United Nations on securing compliance by all states with the mandatory sanctions approved by the Security Council and the 'mobilisation of public opinion in favour of the replacement of the Smith regime by a democratic non-racial society'.

Both in ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS and in the AA Newsletter we have urged our members and supporters to actively participate both by protest and public demonstrations against the possibility of a sell-out in Rhodesia. We have issued statements to the press as particular issues have arisen (e.g. Tiger talks) and many of these have been covered.

South Africa Political Prisoners

In February this year it was agreed that World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners should be transferred to the International Defence and Aid. Anti-Apartheid is no longer the sponsor, although the Hon. Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement serves on the committee in his individual capacity.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement continues its activities on political prisoners. In February we wrote to the Foreign Office regarding the alleged kidnapping of Mr Tynobeka of the Pan African Congress from what was then Basutoland (Lesotho). We had written earlier to the Commonwealth Relations Office regarding the alleged kidnapping of Mr Pokela from Basutoland in August 1966 and wrote again in February asking that the circumstances of Mr Pokela's disappearance be ascertained. We also protested to the South African authorities at the death sentence passed, and now executed, on nine members of the banned Pan African Congress.

In August we circulated a background document on the South African Group Areas Act - and Mr Nana Sita, who was on August 28 sentenced to his third term of imprisonment for his stand against this Act. We requested well known public figures to sign a message recording their admiration for Mr Nana Sita and condemning the Group Areas Act and the apartheid system. Many public figures signed this statement, which was telegraphed to Mr Nana Sita and also issued as a press statement. Among those signing were Ben Whitaker MP, Baroness Asquith, Philip Toynbee, Gavin Maxwell, Thomas Hodgkin, John Neville, Hugh MacDiarmid, Lord Gifford, Lord Soper, Professor Titmuss, the Bishop of Woolwich, Sir Hugh Casson, Angus Wilson, and Lord Collison. We also supported and participated in a demonstration in support of Mr Nana Sita organised by the South African Indian Congress outside South Africa House, which was well covered in the National Press.

On the trial of 37 South West Africans now taking place in Pretoria who are charged under the "Terrorism" Act, we organised a successful demonstration outside South Africa House during which a letter calling for the abandonment of this trial and the release of these men was delivered to South Africa House by a group of MPs led by Mr Andrew Faulds. We have written letters to Mr Harold Wilson, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, and the International Commission of Jurists, asking that representations be

made to the South African authorities. The terms of the October 1966 UN resolution on South West Africa, whereby South Africa's mandate over this territory is terminated, make the arrest, detention and trial of these 37 South West Africans illegal. Information on the "Terrorism" Act has been widely circulated among Members of Parliament and Constituency Labour Parties. An emergency resolution on this trial is to be put forward at the Labour Party Conference.

British Navy Visits to South Africa

In May we conducted an intensive campaign, including a lobby of Parliament, on the June visit planned for three British Navy ships to South Africa. Nine MPs, led by David Steel, delivered a letter to the Prime Minister urging the cancellation of the visit. Both Mr Wilson and Mr Healey received many letters of protest. David Steel and Andrew Faulds wrote to all members of the government who are known to be sympathetic to the Anti-Apartheid cause asking them to make every effort to see that the visit was cancelled. These and other appeals were to no avail and the visit went ahead and has been followed by another in September. This action on the part of the British government provoked a strong reaction within the Anti-Apartheid Movement and throughout the country.

June 26 - South Africa Freedom Day

Our campaign on the visit of the British navy ships culminated in a well-attended meeting at Caxton Hall on June 26 - South Africa Freedom Day. David Steel MP chaired the meeting, which started with a dramatised reading of "Labour's Record on Southern Africa", with many well-known actors and actresses participating. Speakers included John Ennals, United Nations Association; Canon Collins; Mr Simbule, now High Commissioner for Zambia; and Mr Robert Resha, a leader of the African National Congress. Patrick Wymark closed the meeting with a dedication to all South African political prisoners.

June 26 also saw the publication of our pamphlet "Labour's Record on Southern Africa", a considerable indictment of the Labour Government. This pamphlet has created wide interest throughout the country.

ANC and ZAPU - Joint Guerilla Action

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has long maintained the inevitability of conflict in southern Africa in face of the British Government support for the white racist regimes of southern Africa. On August 19 the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress of South Africa issued a joint statement in Lusaka announcing their decision to join forces in confronting the white supremacy regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. Some time before that, news of South African armed units arriving in Rhodesia had filtered through and late in August Vorster admitted that South African security forces had joined the security forces of the illegal Smith regime in an attempt to suppress African resistance in Rhodesia.

On August 26, the Anti-Apartheid Movement issued a statement calling on

Britain to act immediately to stop South African armed invasion of British territory. We followed this by a letter to Mr Wilson. The last paragraph reads:

"We urge you to act now to put a stop to South Africa's armed intervention in Rhodesia, to cease these naval visits and to end all economic and other forms of support which this country gives to the South African apartheid regime. We call upon you to take effective steps to overthrow the Smith regime in Rhodesia, and to replace it by a free, independent and democratic government based on majority rule."

This letter was issued to the South African press and received wide coverage.

We have circulated information on the invasion to Members of Parliament, Constituency Labour Parties and Trade Unions. We have sent a letter to nearly 200 MPs urging the recall of Parliament. We have also circulated well-known public figures asking them to sign a statement 'urging HMG to ensure the removal of South African forces from Rhodesia and to work towards the establishment of democracy and majority rule'. We are organising a delegation to the Foreign Office and planning a meeting on November 14 on 'Rhodesia, South Africa : The challenge to Britain'.

Conferences

We had a well-attended meeting on September 21 at the Liberal Assembly in Blackpool. The main speakers, on 'The Betrayal in Southern Africa' were Nicholas Chitsiga of ZAPU and Albie Sachs; David Steel chaired. As a result of this meeting the Anti-Apartheid Movement acquired new members, and a quantity of literature was sold.

Our meeting at the Labour Party Conference in Scarborough takes place on October 5. Speakers include Tom Driberg MP, chairman, Ben Whitaker MP, Sir Dingle Foot MP, Ben Morris of the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers, and Robert Resha of the African National Congress of South Africa, on "Labour's Record on Southern Africa".

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

The newspaper has now survived through three years of publication, and has maintained its value to the Movement, in publicising our policy and various activities, and in providing a unique channel for news and views about southern Africa, not always easy to place in the national press.

Reflecting the Movement's increased awareness of the problems of southern Africa as inextricably interlinked, the paper has attempted to provide information not only about South Africa but also about South West Africa, the former protectorates, Portuguese southern Africa and especially about Rhodesia. To this end specialists in these fields have been called upon for their help, and a wealth of valuable material has been produced. Professional journalists have been steady in their assistance with the production as well as the writing of the paper.

Local committees and university anti-racist groups have continued as the main outlet for sales - and the paper has provided many of these with a starting point in their attempts to get across to a wide number of potential local sympathisers. Sales abroad have increased slightly, and the paper is now well-established in English-speaking libraries around the world.

While we cannot point to a great increase in sales over the past year, we can state that sales have remained steady despite the increased interest taken in Southern Africa over the past year by the national press, and the addition of one or two specialist periodicals in the field which aim, at least in part, at the same audience as ourselves.

As we mentioned in last year's annual report, it seems vital in view of the costs of producing journals like ANPI-APARTHEID NEWS, and the ultimately limited number of potential readers, to rationalise the production of specialist information on southern Africa from amongst the various Anti-Apartheid groups. Until this is done, raising funds for the paper and increasing its sales must be considered as a major part of the commitment to our aims by all readers and members, if we are to be able to continue publication.

Overseas work

1968 has been designated by the United Nations as Human Rights Year. We have made initial approaches to our contacts overseas with suggestions for coordinated activities between March and June next year, as well as on December 10 - Human Rights Day. No detailed programme of activity has reached us from overseas contacts to date and we shall now make further enquiries. We are to have discussion with the UK Committee for Human Rights to coordinate work on Rhodesia.

Anti-Apartheid Committees

Five new local committees have been established over the year. There are now 35, of which at least 20, in regular touch with the office, are active. Personal contact with local groups will be established and maintained more effectively than in the past, in the coming period.

1967 saw the death of Chief Albert J. Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. A remarkable man and a great leader, whose absence will be deeply felt. A memorial service was held at St Paul's Cathedral and a memorial meeting arranged by the African National Congress London Office was held at Friends' House. Those paying tribute to Chief Luthuli included the Rt Hon. Mrs Barbara Castle MP, Bishop Reeves, James Cameron and Robert Resha of the ANC.

A United Nations International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa was held in Kitwe, Zambia in July/August. The Seminar adopted 23 recommendations condemning the situation in southern Africa as a 'crime against humanity' and suggested specific

methods of support for the struggle of the national liberation movements.

Sport

Here we have worked closely with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and Dave Shipper of the Cardiff Anti-Apartheid Committee, who has on many occasions alerted the office to lines of work. On his initiative, both Tunisia and Morocco withdrew from the International Cross Country Championships held in Barry, South Wales, in March, to which South Africa was also invited. Several teams also withdrew from the White City AAA Meeting when it was learnt that South Africa had sent not one but two teams, white and non-white. It is disturbing that the British Amateur Athletics Association was and is prepared to connive with South African plans to soften their image, and it is proposed to ascertain the attitude of the Ministry of Sport in relation to the AAA grant if such collaboration is continued. The importance of such collaboration to South Africa in a pre-Olympic year cannot be underestimated.

Immediately following the statement by Yorkshire County Cricket Club that they would not accept an invitation to tour Rhodesia, following government pressure, a spokesman for the British Lions rugby team stated that not only would the Lions continue their tours to South Africa but that their next tour would also include Rhodesia.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement will continue to cooperate with SANROC and others concerned in maintaining pressure in this field.

Meetings

We have provided speakers for a great number of meetings over this past year. Requests have come in from schools, universities, all the political parties (youth and adult sections), Anti-Apartheid Committees, but only from one trade union. This absence has to be remedied. Anti-Apartheid Committees will have a crucial role to play in developing contact between themselves and the trade union branches in the coming year.

Students

In universities and colleges where there are a few dedicated students, anti-apartheid activity has been considerable. As a result of efforts by the students at LSE, for instance, almost £100 was donated to AAM funds. The general pattern, however, is that Anti-Apartheid societies are becoming anti-racist societies, thus enabling them to work against the growing racial tension in this country. The work on southern Africa continues and we have now, in view of the developing situation, to emphasise the need for it.

Finance

As in 1965/66, we have found this year a difficult one. We have had three major fund-raising events and have sent out numerous letters of appeal. Our debts have been reduced since last year, but this has been an additional strain and our present resources are very low.

We plan a series of fund-raising evenings on the lines of that arranged in May. Cleo Laine, John Dankworth and Fou T'song performed and we served dinner. The evening raised over £500.

However, we need help to raise the money needed. Detailed plans for the coming year will include some valuable ideas already submitted. We need people who will actively involve themselves in implementing these ideas.

The South African Racial Amity Trust (SARAT) is now established and appeals for it have been sent out. Responses have produced a small credit in the bank account.

Membership

This has not increased but remained steady around 2,500. This should not discourage further individual efforts in the coming year.

Our Future Work

Throughout the past year, the Movement has been debating its programme, its methods and style of work, with a view to finding new ways of tackling the very difficult and urgent tasks which face us. Our basic problem remains - we are trying to build the broadest non-party alliance of people interested in supporting the struggle for liberation in southern Africa: to win the support of others via an intensive educational campaign and to secure such changes in Britain's policy towards South Africa as advances the cause of liberation.

Our debates have revealed the need for a shift in the emphasis of our work. Our initial strategy was based on the assumption that with the Labour Party in power our representations to Parliament and to the government would prove more fruitful. But we have found that our efforts have not produced the required results. We concluded that if the Anti-Apartheid Movement were to make any impact it must build a powerful political base centring not only on political parties but also on the Trade Union Movement, Youth and Student groups and other militant anti-racist organisations.

We must strengthen our support throughout the country via our political and educational campaigns and thus provide solid ground from which representations can be made.

With this in mind we outline the following objectives:

- a) to undertake a planned expansion and invigoration of the local committee system;
- b) to create a network of contacts with trade unions, political parties and other organisations, not only at the national but also at the regional and local levels;
- c) to reach a target of 10,000 members of the Movement and subscribers to AA NEWS.

Our appointment of an Organising Secretary will help to achieve these objectives.

The Political Campaign

Our response to the launching of armed resistance to white supremacy rule in South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia must be two-fold: to demand an end to British collaboration with the forces of apartheid economically, militarily, politically and culturally; and to build an atmosphere of sympathy and support for the courageous resistance fighters.

The latter is of the utmost importance and urgency. In the view of the Anti-Apartheid Movement an all-embracing boycott of South Africa and Rhodesia as detailed below represents the most tangible means by which individuals, organisations and the country at large can demonstrate their opposition to race rule and their support for the heroic efforts of the African people in this new phase of their struggle.

Our three main areas of activity will be among :

- 1) the consumer public who buy South African goods, invest in South African shares;
- 2) the Trade Union Movement;
- 3) British firms with a major stake in southern Africa who profit from apartheid. We will concentrate on a few significant concerns.

We shall campaign around the slogan "Stop Collaboration with Apartheid - Support Resistance".

We shall -

- 1) campaign for a total boycott of South African and Rhodesian goods to end British collaboration with racialism in southern Africa, and to build up support for the resistance movement. The export of arms to southern Africa must be exposed and opposed at all points. Collaboration with racials in sporting and cultural activities must be stopped.
- 2) report on the monstrous conditions of the workers in South Africa to the Trade Union Movement with a view to their launching a massive solidarity campaign.
- 3) expose the firms with a stake in apartheid by picketing and other means which are locally appropriate.
- 4) prepare material along the following lines:
 - a) specialist information dealing with conditions in the equivalent trades in South Africa for workers in the particular firms and unions here;
 - b) exposure of the role of individual firms in collaboration with apartheid;
 - c) exposure of trade union investments in South African companies or collaborating companies.

The campaign will also embrace a variety of other activities such as propaganda on investment in and emigration to South Africa, demonstrations against collaboration in sport and entertainment, opposition to the activities of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, opposition to South African visits by local Chambers of Commerce, etc.

Conclusion

The political programme proposed here - the mounting of an all-embracing boycott of South Africa and the reaching out to all groups and sections of British opinion in support of the anti-apartheid cause - assumes, it is believed, critical importance in the light of the new stage in the freedom struggles of the African peoples of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Facing an extremely militant and aggressive alliance of white reaction in southern Africa, the African peoples have forged their own alliance and have mounted new and forceful campaigns of armed resistance - a development which the Anti-Apartheid Movement has for long explained as being inevitable in the light of South Africa's aggressive policies and the failure of Britain to overthrow the Smith regime in support of majority rule and freedom. In mounting these struggles, the African peoples and their liberation organisations have visibly shaken the self-assurance and confidence of the South African white dictatorship and have exposed the fundamental instability of the Smith regime and the latter's complete dependence on South Africa. Thus, these African struggles demand the full support and the solidarity of the people of this country.

The Movement believes that in calling for all-embracing boycotts of apartheid, the strengthening of economic sanctions against Rhodesia and the end to British trade, capital, military and other forms of support for South Africa, we will be opening opportunities for the British people to give active support and solidarity to the African peoples of southern Africa. But the support requires to be widely manifested: in all areas of the country, among organised groups and bodies, the trade unions, the universities, youth and women's organisations. Every individual and organised demonstration of boycott can become, not only the focus for winning changes in Britain's policies, but valuable acts of solidarity in support of the African people in their heroic resistance against apartheid and race rule.

A n t i - A p a r t h e i d M o v e m e n t
89 Charlotte Street, London W1

Statement of Income and Expenditure from
1st October 1966 to 30th September 1967

Payments and Expenditure

September
1966

829	Rent, Rates and Services	627	-	7
3424	Salaries, including PAYE	2717	12	6
1485	Postages, Sundry and Petty Expenses, Insurance and Hire and Telephone	1614	8	2
70	Travelling Expenses and subs	33	16	3
15	Bank charges	14	4	-
<hr/>		<hr/>		
5823		5007	1	6
1769	AA NEWS, Printing and Stationery	1979	8	1
507	Literature, Pens, Badges & Cards	297	12	10
190	Advertising and Publicity	120	17	-
55	Halls Hire	53	7	-
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8344		7458	6	5