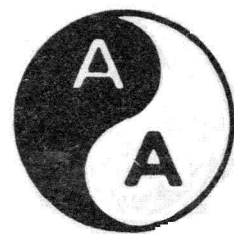


ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT



Annual report on activities and developments



October 1976 — September 1977

20p

Anti Apartheid Movement

ANNUAL REPORT October 1976 – September 1977

Hon President

Bishop Ambrose Reeves

Vice Presidents

Bishop Trevor Huddleston CR

Jack Jones MBE

Joan Lester MP

Rt Hon Jeremy Thorpe MP

Sponsors

Lord Brockway

Basil Davidson

Thomas Hodgkin

Rt Hon Reg Prentice MP

Rt Hon David Steel MP

Pauline Webb

Angus Wilson

Chairman

Bob Hughes MP

Vice Chairman

John Ennals

Hon Treasurer

Tony O'Dowd

Hon Secretary

Abdul S Minty

Staff

Sheila Allen (Clerical Secretary)

Linda Arden (Administrative Secretary)

Chris Child (Project Officer)

Betty Northedge (Membership Secretary)

Yvonne Strachan (Field Officer)

Mike Terry (Executive Secretary)

Editor, Anti-Apartheid News

Christabel Gurney

Foreword

The readers of this Annual Report can hardly fail to notice the rich diversity of tasks in which the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been engaged during the last twelve months. This would have been impossible without the energetic cooperation of our staff, as well as the ungrudging help given by so many of our members. But we must not lose sight of the objective of all our endeavours — namely the complete overthrow of apartheid throughout Southern Africa.

We have come a long way since the Anti-Apartheid Movement was started. Still, a lot remains to be done. My plea is that in all the work in which, of necessity, we constantly engage it is essential that we never lose sight of our primary objective.

Much has already been accomplished, but if the evils of apartheid are to be eradicated from human society we need all the help in time and money which every single reader of this Annual Report can give.

Please give in time and money, even at personal cost.

† Ambrose Reeves
Hon President

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
CAMPAIGNS	
General	7
Military Collaboration	8
Bantustans	9
Investment & Trade	9
Banks	10
Emigration	10
Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society	10
Namibia	12
Zimbabwe	13
Mercenaries	13
War Resisters	14
Sports Boycott	14
Cultural Boycott	14
INTERNATIONAL WORK	15
AREAS OF WORK	
Trade Union Movement	16
Student Work	17
Local Activity	19
Political Parties	19
Parliament	20
Black Community	20
The Churches	20
Schools	20
Women	21
Youth Organisations	21
INFORMATION	
<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i>	21
The Media	22
Speakers	22
Publications	22
Obituary	22
ORGANISATION	
Membership	23
Annual General Meeting	23
National Committee	23
Executive Committee	23
AAM Office	23

INTRODUCTION

The rapidly changing situation in Southern Africa continues to develop in favour of the forces of African liberation. The newly-liberated states of Angola and Mozambique are consolidating their independence. With Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana they are in the front line. They are the targets of frequent acts of aggression by the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and other attempts at destabilisation. The 'front line states' have emerged as a new and key factor in strengthening the ongoing struggle for freedom in Southern Africa.

Throughout Southern Africa — in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa — the oppressed people have intensified their resistance to racist rule. In this situation the Southern African liberation movements have emerged with greater strength and authority as the genuine representatives of the people of Southern Africa and the prime force in the freedom struggle. This has created an unprecedented crisis for the racist regimes. But equally it has created a crisis of policy in the capitals of the traditional allies of South Africa — the major Western powers.

In response to these developments there have been a series of initiatives by the major Western powers based on their claimed desire for 'peaceful solutions'. The recent Anglo-American plan for Zimbabwe, which was preceded by the Kissinger proposals and the Geneva Conference, and the talks on Namibia being conducted by the five Western members of the UN Security Council both have a common central feature — any changes to be brought about must be first of all acceptable to the Pretoria regime, which the major Western powers regard as vital for the defence of their economic and other interests in the region. A new and disturbing feature of these initiatives is the arbitrary distinction which Western policy-makers are drawing between the situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe, which they now recognise as colonial situations, and in South Africa where, although they talk of the need to reform apartheid and end racial discrimination, they refuse either to support measures designed to eliminate apartheid or to recognise the legitimacy of the liberation struggle.

South Africa — A Threat to Peace

The Anti-Apartheid Movement long ago warned that whilst the Pretoria regime talked of 'dialogue' and 'detente' it was simultaneously building up its military arsenal so that it had the capacity both to intimidate and threaten independent Africa. Its military strength, far from being an alternative to 'detente' was an essential and vital aspect of its 'detente' policy. Those countries and corporations which continued to supply South Africa with military equipment thus

enabled South Africa to develop into the most powerful and aggressive military power in Africa.

Exposures of such military collaboration brought embarrassed responses from Western governments but no effective action to stop the supply of arms. Similar warnings against nuclear collaboration also failed to change Western policy. Now a new situation exists: South Africa's 'detente' policy has suffered serious reversals, its threats against independent Africa have failed to undermine their support for the liberation struggle, and so South Africa, with the Salisbury regime, are now blatantly attacking independent Africa. The time has come for the world to recognise that it is not only apartheid that is a threat to peace, but also those states and corporations which maintain their military collaboration with South Africa are themselves responsible for threatening the peace of Africa and the world. South Africa is on a war footing. Military expenditure is running at 19 per cent of state expenditure and totals R1,711 million for 1977/8; the armed forces number 224,000 personnel; the initial compulsory call-up period for white males has been doubled from 12 months to two years: its aggressive character is revealed both by its preparations and its actions.

On three separate occasions within the past twelve months Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique have each requested the convening of UN Security Council meetings to discuss acts of aggression against them by either South African or Rhodesian forces. However, the most disturbing recent development has been the Pretoria regime's capacity to develop nuclear weaponry. There can be little doubt that South Africa has the ability to launch nuclear attacks against independent Africa.

In this context the resolute refusal of the three permanent Western members of the UN Security Council to accept that the situation in South Africa amounts to a threat to peace, and their vetoing of proposals for a UN mandatory arms embargo, constitutes a complete abdication of their responsibilities under the United Nations Charter.

Zimbabwe

The African liberation forces have continued to intensify the offensive against the illegal Smith regime. Widespread guerrilla action is taking place throughout the country and with increasing effect is driving the Rhodesian forces into retreat. Large areas of the country are clearly no longer under the control of the illegal regime. In response the regime's security forces, equipped with substantial modern weaponry provided by South Africa, are resorting to even more widespread and vicious forms of repression against the African popula-

tion. The formation of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, uniting ZANU and ZAPU, has considerably strengthened the Zimbabwe liberation movement at the diplomatic, political and military levels. The regime has only been able to survive the intensification of the armed struggle because of the vital military, economic and material assistance which it has received from Pretoria. South Africa is determined to maintain the stability of the region and remains resolutely opposed to an independent Zimbabwe committed to the freedom of Southern Africa as a whole. The series of initiatives by the United States and Britain have all failed to provide a solution to the central issue — how the Smith regime will voluntarily transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe. The Kissinger proposals, the Geneva Conference and the current Anglo-American plan have proved unacceptable to the Zimbabwe liberation movements precisely for this reason.

Meanwhile, despite repeated AAM representations, the British Government refuses to take action to deter or prevent the Smith regime from carrying out its illegal executions of African leaders. Our demand is simple — that Britain, as the legal authority, should discharge its responsibility by declaring that the illegal hanging of Africans for resistance to the Smith regime amounts to murder and that those responsible are liable for their criminal actions. The pattern of appeasement, of not doing anything to offend the Smith regime because it 'may jeopardise the chances of a settlement', is only too familiar — and it is precisely because Britain has always placed so much importance on dealing with Smith and winning his support that all efforts at reaching a solution have so far failed. The problem is not one of returning Rhodesia to 'legality' but of bringing about genuine self-determination for Zimbabwe.

Both South Africa and the illegal regime now appear to be at one in wishing to produce an 'internal solution' which could lead to changes which would in reality retain political and economic power firmly in the hands of the white supremacists. It is absurd to expect that the Vorster regime, which is firmly opposed to the African liberation movements, can be drawn in to promote genuine self-determination and independence for Zimbabwe when such a development could only contribute to undermining the survival of the apartheid system in South Africa itself.

There is an urgent need for international action — not in seeking to do deals with the racist regimes, but by supporting the intensifying liberation struggle. In particular the UN mandatory sanctions against the illegal regime should be extended to South Africa as the major sanctions buster and action should be taken against oil companies, banks and other corporations which continue to provide Rhodesia with vitally needed supplies and financial support.

Namibia

The Namibian people, through the armed wing of SWAPO, have had growing success in inflicting blows against South Africa's army of occupation. At present they are tying down an estimated 50,000 South African troops in northern Namibia alone. These military advances have been accompanied by major developments at the political level. The Turnhalle talks have failed to achieve their central purpose — to isolate and destroy the influence of SWAPO. In fact there is ever-growing support for the liberation struggle and several groups within Namibia have dissolved and openly declared their commitment to SWAPO.

South Africa's strategy to impose a pseudo-independence on the Namibian people has met growing opposition, both internally and internationally. Significantly, both the EEC and the USA have publicly rejected the Turnhalle proposals. In spite of this, the South Africans have continued to implement their Bantustan programme. Currently the five Western members of the UN Security Council are directly negotiating with the South African regime over the future of Namibia. These talks, reminiscent of the initiative of the UN Secretary General in 1972, are once more based on the strategy that concessions can be negotiated from the apartheid regime. Until the Western powers themselves are prepared to confront the apartheid regime, any concessions granted will be on terms which are acceptable to Pretoria and in the interests of white supremacy. Thus it is crucial that if the efforts of the 'contact group of five' are to be meaningful, it is imperative that they operate in the context of Resolution 385 of the UN Security Council. SWAPO has pointed out that elections promised by the Vorster regime will be a farce since they will be conducted under South African control. SWAPO has also laid down certain minimum conditions to facilitate genuine self-determination for Namibia, including the total withdrawal of the South African army of occupation.

Within Namibia the South Africans have escalated their repressive measures: numerous reports of torture and brutal acts which have been committed by the security forces in the war zones have been smuggled out of the country.

South Africa

The courageous and unprecedented resistance to apartheid which spread throughout the townships of South Africa in 1976 has been sustained and accelerated. With imagination and resourcefulness the oppressed people have resorted to numerous methods of struggle to maintain the initiative within the bastion of white supremacy despite the massive repressive machine of the apartheid state. Mass stay-at-homes, school boycotts, the campaign against the Urban Bantu Councils are examples of mass campaigns which have developed and convincingly demonstra-

ted the determination and courage of the oppressed people and the continuing growth of black consciousness. Complementing these have been the underground actions of the liberation movement involving sabotage, distribution of propaganda and recruitment.

The apartheid regime has responded with all the terror at its disposal. Since June 1976 over 10,000 people have been arrested: between June and October 1976 alone over 4,000 people were charged with offences relating to the uprisings, and since June 1976, 80 people have been sentenced under the Terrorism and Sabotage Acts to a total of over 450 years' imprisonment. Torture of detainees is widespread: since March 1976 there have been 24 deaths in detention. Currently a number of major Terrorism Act trials are taking place, including the trial of the Pretoria 12. But even this repression of political opposition bears no comparison to the coldblooded murder of an unknown number of unarmed protesters by the South African police.

These developments have further intensified the political and economic crisis of the apartheid regime. At the political level the united actions of the different sections of the oppressed people — the Africans, Coloured people and Indians — have delivered a serious blow to the grand plans of apartheid. The so-called 'independence' of the Transkei has proved to be a fraud and not a single state, except South Africa, has recognised it. Already the accelerated plans for the granting of 'independence' to Bophuthatswana this December are meeting obstacles as the reality behind the Transkei's 'independence' is demonstrated and popular opposition to the Bantustan policy grows.

New constitutional proposals from the Nationalist Party for the Indian and Coloured communities are only gaining support amongst the handful of collaborators within these communities. The collapse of the Urban Bantu Councils and other agencies of collaboration with the apartheid system has required the regime to propose new structures which are equally unacceptable to the people.

The political crisis is further accentuated by the deep crisis of the apartheid economy. Apartheid provides the foundation of the South African economy, already suffering from the general recession of the Western economies and in particular from the effect of the fall in the price of gold for a considerable period. The increased militancy of the black workers, the mass stay-aways and the distorting effect of the massive build-up of the South African military are hitting the economy hard. But its most serious problem is its need for international capital investment and short- and long-term loans, which are vital to South Africa as it withstands the current political and economic crisis. Every effort is being made by the apartheid regime to secure this economic support

and to portray the image of stability and peace in South Africa. Proposals to halt the flow of investment to South Africa at the UN have been blocked by the major Western powers, despite the growing support for such proposals from the Nordic states and public opinion in the West.

Britain

Britain remains in the forefront of the collaborators with apartheid and, despite the growing crisis, continues to encourage increased economic and other links. In October 1976 it joined the two other permanent Western members of the UN Security Council in vetoing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. In March 1977 it again indicated its readiness to veto proposals under Chapter VII of the Charter from the African states at the UN. Its policies on Rhodesia and Namibia remain governed by its desire not to confront South Africa. Such policies involve regular consultations and negotiations with South Africa and in August 1977 led to the South African Foreign Minister being invited to London to take part in tripartite talks on the future of Rhodesia with the British Foreign Secretary and the US Secretary of State.

The British Government is persistently pressed by the Anti-Apartheid Movement but it refuses to implement effective measures designed to end collaboration with apartheid. British banks, multinationals and other corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa also have a direct responsibility for the situation in that country. It is they who profit from apartheid. Renewed efforts are required to expose these links and to ensure that HMG adopts a policy of disengagement from apartheid as an initial step to securing the complete isolation of the racist regimes of Southern Africa.

Conclusion

The new and favourable situation for the Southern African liberation movements requires not a slackening but an intensification of the international campaigns against apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa. The UN Conferences in Maputo and Lagos demonstrate the strength of these campaigns and the determination of the world community to assist the oppressed people of Southern Africa. But these actions will be ineffective so long as the principal Western countries act in solidarity with the Pretoria regime. There is an immediate need for new international measures. Firstly, as a minimum, there should be a comprehensive mandatory UN arms embargo against South Africa covering all forms of military collaboration. Secondly, there should be an immediate freeze on the transfer of all investments and bank loans, the ending of export credit guarantees and the financing of trade missions to the apartheid regime. Thirdly, the existing UN mandatory sanctions against the illegal Smith regime should be extended to South Africa as the major sanctions

breaker. Finally, at the United Nations and other international organisations, renewed efforts should be made to secure the recognition of the South African liberation movement as the representative of the people of South Africa.

The war in Southern Africa is escalating rapidly and the situation now represents the single greatest threat to international peace and security, including the prospect of nuclear catastrophe. The world has been warned repeatedly in the past — but the danger presented by

the apartheid regime has never been greater and it is crucial that the peoples, organisations and governments of the world act decisively and with a sense of urgency to destroy the evils of apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. There isn't much time.

CAMPAIGNS

A central feature of the campaigning of the Anti-Apartheid Movement during the period covered by this report has been of a general character aimed at winning greater understanding amongst the British people about the situation in Southern Africa, greater support for the AAM's policies for the isolation of the racist regimes, together with gaining support for the Southern African liberation movements.

The 1976 Annual General Meeting was presented with campaigning plans involving a combination of local and national action which have formed the basis of much of the AAM's work. It was recognised that in the wake of Soweto and the growing resistance in Zimbabwe and Namibia extra special efforts were required from the AAM and its supporters. As this report shows, numerous means have been used to effect our campaigning.

In an effort to increase local action, 4 December was chosen as a national day of solidarity with the people of Southern Africa. Activities were organised by local and student Anti-Apartheid Groups throughout the country. These included rallies, film shows, photographic exhibitions, leaflet distributions, picketing, etc, involving hundreds of anti-apartheid activists. In Glasgow and Manchester highly successful conferences were organised to lay a basis for future campaigns in Scotland and the North-West. 70,000 copies of a specially produced leaflet were distributed over the weekend.

During the Spring much of the AAM's efforts were concentrated in organising two national marches in London and Glasgow. On Saturday 5 March the Scottish AAM held a large march through the streets of Glasgow to a rally at Strathclyde University, which was addressed by AAM Chairman Bob Hughes MP, Duma Nokwe, Deputy General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, James Milne, General Secretary of the Scottish TUC, and Revd Geoff Shaw, Convenor of Strathclyde Regional Council. During the weekend, Mayibuye, the cultural unit of the ANC, toured Scotland, performing at AAM events and providing a stirring finale to the rally.

The following day, Sunday 6 March, thousands of AAM supporters marched through London to a rally in Trafalgar Square. The march was supported by a wide range of trade unions, student organisations, church groups, political parties, together with AAM supporters from groups throughout England and Wales. The rally itself was chaired by Bob Hughes MP and was addressed by liberation movement representatives, Duma Nokwe of the ANC, Mischeke Muyongo of SWAPO, and Patriotic Front speakers Dzingai Mutumbuka (ZANU) and Daniel Madzimbamuto (ZAPU). The rally was also addressed by Pauline Webb of the World Council of Churches, Joan Lester MP of the Labour Party NEC, and Abdul S Minty, Hon Secretary of the AAM.

In the work preparing for these two events and in the thousands of leaflets and other campaigning material which were distributed, special emphasis was placed on two central issues: the need for the British Government to enforce a strict and comprehensive arms embargo against South Africa and to halt all new investment in South Africa.

To mark the anniversary of the Soweto massacre and in response to the United Nations call for action on 16 June, a series of activities was organised at both a national and a local level. On 16 June itself, mass pickets were held outside South Africa House and South African Airways in London. A similar

picket was held in Glasgow outside the South African Consulate's office.

A special commemoration service was held in the Crypt of St Paul's Cathedral presided over by Canon John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund. The service was addressed by Nkosazana Dlamini, Vice President of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), with readings by Glenda Jackson and Morag Hood. The singing was led by the choir of the African National Congress, whose acting President, Oliver Tambo, sent a special message to the service.

On the evening of 16 June, Nkosazana Dlamini addressed a public meeting at the Africa Centre at which slides depicting the events in Soweto and other South African townships were shown. Churchmen held a 24-hour vigil in the Crypt of St Martins in the Fields, arranged by the London Trustees of the Christian Institute for Southern Africa.

On Saturday 18 June, the National Union of Students organised a 'Remember Soweto' march and rally in London (for details see *Students*).

The AAM also supported two meetings called by the African National Congress during the year. On 16 December, South Africa Heroes Day, a meeting was held at the Conway Hall, London, at which the Juliet Curie Gold Medal was posthumously awarded to Bram Fischer. And on South Africa Freedom Day, 26 June, the ANC organised a meeting to commemorate the day which was addressed by Stephen Dlamini, President of SACTU, who had recently fled South Africa.

Special attention has been focused during the year on the role played by students in South Africa. On 4 October the AAM organised a press conference for Tsitsi Mashinini, President of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), who had fled South Africa; and on 3 December it worked with the ANC in the organisation of a press conference for Nkosazana Dlamini, Vice President of SASO. Articles by Nkosazana Dlamini and Tebello Motapanyane, Secretary General of the South African Students Movement (SASM), outlining the activities and role of students, appeared in *AA News*.

Two films dealing with the events in Soweto have been distributed through the AAM. During the first week of March, the International Defence and Aid Fund arranged an exhibition of photographs of the Soweto events at the Africa Centre. This exhibition has now been made available in the form of slides for wider distribution.

On 19 July the AAM organised a protest outside the hotel of Brigadier Visser, the head of Soweto police, who was on a short visit to London. A group of AA members confronted him in his hotel room and the same evening he cut short his visit and returned to South Africa.

Similar protests were organised against the visit of the South African Foreign Minister to London for a tripartite meeting with Foreign Secretary David Owen and US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on 12 August. Demonstrators, including Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, and Peter Hain, picketed the Foreign Office on the morning of the talks; other AAM supporters protested outside the residence of the Foreign Secretary whilst Mr Botha talked with Dr Owen and Mr Vance. The previous day, at a joint press conference, representatives of the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the ANC condemned the visit.

Military Collaboration

The ability of the apartheid regime to obtain military and police equipment and relevant technological knowhow, despite the UN arms embargo, continues to be of critical concern to the international community and to the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Efforts to secure a strict and comprehensive embargo by the British Government have been the AAM's main priority. Special attention has also been focused on the need for the British Government to support a UN mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The 1975/6 Annual Report detailed evidence of continued British military collaboration with South Africa. A number of these matters have been followed up during the past year.

Export of Goods (Control) Order 1970: A reply to representations made to the Government in April 1976 was eventually received in November. This took the form of a short memorandum which in no way explained why South Africa had preferential status. In March 1977 the AAM wrote again to the Foreign Office expressing our concern about this. A further unsatisfactory reply was received in May.

Marconi Tropospheric Scatter Equipment: The go-ahead to the amended contract from the South African Armaments Board for this advanced military communications equipment was given by the Government in October 1976. The AAM protested and the issue was raised in the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Labour Party NEC. The AAM also wrote to a number of Heads of States whose governments were alleged by GEC/Marconi to have no objections to their relations with South Africa. The December issue of *AA News* gave a detailed account of the extensive manoeuvres which Marconi engaged in to secure a licence for the export of this equipment. The AAM wrote again to the Government on 23 December asking whether Marconi were seeking to sell Tropospheric equipment to Namibia but no longer via the SA Armaments Board. The Government's reply stated: 'It is not the practice to comment on applications for export licences which, together with the information provided in support of them, are regarded as in commercial confidence.'

Spare parts, licensing arrangements etc: The AAM has been in correspondence with the Government on a number of issues including the supply of spares, licensing arrangements, exchange of surveillance information, visits to British defence establishments by South African personnel, and the supply of equipment manufactured under licence in a third country. A detailed reply to these points was received in a letter dated 20 May, and the matter is being pursued with the Government.

Racal/Ferret cars: On 4 October the AAM wrote to the Prime Minister giving details of military equipment which had been captured in Mozambique from the forces of the illegal Rhodesian regime. The principal items were a Ferret armoured car and 'Transcriber' communications equipment manufactured by Racal Electronics' South African subsidiary.

In a reply from the Minister of State, Ted Rowlands, dated 20 January he explained that the Ferret armoured car was supplied to South Africa in the 1950s before the arms embargo. The Racal equipment, he stated, was not made under licence from the British company but appeared to be entirely a South African-made product which had reached Rhodesia and was thus a clear breach of sanctions. Further information was supplied to the Foreign Office as a result of which a reply was received explaining that the Ferret car was ordered by South Africa in 1953.

NATO Codification system: When the NATO Ministerial Council met in London on 10 May a letter was delivered to the President of the Council, Dr David Owen, asking that the Council withdraw the Codification system from and cease to provide any support, either on a multilateral or bilateral basis to South Africa. Plans to picket the Council meeting had to be cancelled at less than 24 hours notice when the police invoked powers to prevent demonstrations in the area surrounding the Council meeting.

On 20 May Minister of State Ted Rowlands wrote to the AAM that 'the Government no longer supply codification data to South Africa and we have also ceased supply of manuals,

handbooks and guides in connection with the Codification System'.

Naval training: In August the AAM wrote to the Foreign Secretary concerning the training of South African naval personnel following the receipt of documentary evidence that a South African naval lieutenant had trained at the Royal Naval Engineering College in Plymouth in 1975. No reply has as yet been received.

UN veto: In October the UN Security Council met to consider the issue of Namibia and the refusal of South Africa to comply with Resolution 385 adopted in January 1976. The African states proposed that a mandatory arms embargo be imposed against South Africa and the AAM, in support of this proposal, made representations to the British Government. AAM President Bishop Reeves sent a telegram to the Prime Minister urging that the Government refrain from using its veto, and a letter was delivered to 10 Downing Street signed by Jack Jones and 21 other TUC General Council members and leading trade unionists. On 19 October the United Kingdom, together with France and the United States, vetoed the resolution. In reply to Bishop Reeves' telegram it was explained that the resolution 'resorted to extreme language... We are always ready to support constructive moves, but sanctions do not come into that category'. In a letter to Jack Jones the Prime Minister explained that the resolution 'would have paved the way for a whole range of mandatory sanctions extending well beyond the arms embargo'. 'A trade ban,' he added, 'would do great damage to employment in Britain and to our prospects for economic recovery.'

In protest at the use of the veto, an impressive range of youth organisations jointly presented a letter to the Government and in the House of Lords Fenner Brockway initiated a debate on the Government's action. SWAPO held a press conference in London on 27 October at which they condemned the three permanent Western Security Council members for their action.

Following the 1976 AGM, at which it was agreed to initiate a new campaign on the issue of military collaboration with South Africa, a petition was launched on 16 November at a meeting in the House of Commons addressed by the Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Ambassador Leslie Harriman. A total of 100,000 'Remember Soweto' petitions were circulated throughout the country. The petition secured the official support of the Labour, Co-operative, Liberal and Communist Parties, the Methodist Church, the NUS, a number of trade unions and other supporters of the AAM. On the 4 December Day of Action many signatures were collected on the streets and AAM Groups held special signature collecting efforts at other occasions during the campaign. Special campaigning material was produced and efforts were made to increase sales of the AAM pamphlet *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace*. During the course of the campaign an attempt was made to smear the AAM through the circulation of a fake petition, thousands of copies of which were sent to MPs, churches, students, etc. Details of this fake petition were given at a press conference on 14 March and the matter was referred by AAM Chairman Bob Hughes MP to the Home Secretary. Police investigations were carried out but the Director of Public Prosecutions decided that no offence had been committed.

Completed petitions with 64,000 signatures were presented to the Foreign Secretary, Dr Owen, on 21 March - Sharpeville Day - by an AAM delegation consisting of Vice President Jeremy Thorpe MP, Chairman Bob Hughes MP and Hon Secretary Abdul S Minty. During a half-hour meeting with Dr Owen he agreed to investigate a number of matters relating to the implementation of the arms embargo.

The following day, 22 March, an AAM briefing meeting was held in the House of Commons to provide detailed information about violations of the arms embargo. Jeremy Thorpe MP, speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the United Nations Association, appealed to the British Government to refrain from using its veto against a mandatory arms embargo.

At both the TUC and Labour Party Conferences resolutions were adopted supporting a mandatory UN arms embargo. The United Nations Association and the British Council of Churches issued policy statements supporting a mandatory embargo during the year and in August 1977 Liberal Party leader, David Steel MP, pledged his Party's support.

On 24 March Abdul Minty addressed the UN Security Council and gave extensive details of violations of the existing embargo. His statement was reproduced by the United Nations. At the Lagos UN Conference in August various Western powers denied military collaboration with South Africa. Abdul Minty was able to counter these claims with detailed evidence of military supplies, spares, licences and other forms of collaboration with Pretoria, especially by France, Italy and West Germany, as well as Britain, the USA and Israel. AAM called upon all these countries to end all forms of military collaboration with the apartheid regime and urged those countries which continue to provide the NATO Codification system to Pretoria to cease doing so.

Following the Lagos Conference it became clear that concerted action was needed on this issue and the AAM decided to initiate an international campaign against military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

In August the major Western powers publicly warned South Africa not to proceed with its nuclear test explosion in the Kalahari and this produced strong denials from Pretoria, which claimed that its nuclear programme was entirely of a peaceful nature. AAM has for over a decade warned about South Africa's nuclear ambitions and it is now clear that as a result of close collaboration with various Western countries, including the USA, Britain, France and West Germany, South Africa has been provided with nuclear capability.

During the period covered by this report, the AAM has worked closely with other anti-apartheid movements as well as with several African Governments and the United Nations.

Bantustans

The apartheid regime's policy of 'separate development' reached an ultimate and logical conclusion with the granting of so-called 'independence' to the Transkei on 26 October 1976. The international community had previously expressed its total rejection of the Bantustans. The OAU had decided in Mauritius in June 1976 that no African state should recognise the bogus independence of the Transkei. At the General Assembly of the United Nations a resolution calling on all member states to refuse all forms of recognition to the Transkei was adopted with only the United States abstaining.

In Britain, however, there was a host of publicity in favour of recognition, varying from the expensive advertisements of the Transkei Development Corporation to editorials in the national press, including *The Guardian*. The AAM wrote to the Advertising Standards Authority complaining about the content of the Transkei advertisements, which deliberately distorted reality. The Authority's response was that such advertisements fell outside their terms of reference.

In addition, the AAM held a special meeting in the House of Commons on 13 October with the aim of setting out the case against the Transkei. A well attended meeting heard the Botswana High Commissioner, B M Setshogo, Alan Brooks, author of an AAM pamphlet on the Transkei, and Sandy Kirby of the World Council of Churches outline different arguments against the Bantustan policy.

The credibility of the Transkei as a democratic and independent state was effectively undermined by the actions of the Matanzima regime. Prior to 'independence' the main opposition leaders were detained and were thus unable to register as candidates in the elections, and world-famous actors John Kani and Winston Ntshona were detained in Butterworth on 8 October following a performance of their play *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* (see *SATIS*).

The AAM has taken up a number of issues relating to the Transkei during this period, including representations to the organisers of the 'Miss World' competition following reports

that a 'Miss Transkei' was to participate; and representations to the Home Office regarding a planned visit by the Transkei Prisons Chief and the use of Transkei passports to gain entry to the United Kingdom. On all three issues, satisfactory assurances were given. The AAM has also investigated various reports of the Transkei securing international loans and, where appropriate, action has been taken as part of the banking campaigns.

AA News has continued to report on developments relating to the Transkei: the December issue, for example, gave a detailed account of Transkei's 'non-independence'; and other reports have dealt with the crisis being faced by Lesotho as a result of the closure of the Transkei-Lesotho border when Lesotho refused to recognise the Transkei.

A further development in South Africa's Bantustan policy was the decision to speed up the granting to 'independence' to Bophuthatswana, which is now planned for 6 December.

Investment & Trade

Economic collaboration with South Africa has emerged as a central issue both for the AAM and at an international level. The developments reported last year in Scandinavia have continued, with Sweden preparing legislation to prevent the flow of Swedish capital to South Africa. Sweden also sponsored a resolution passed by consensus at the United Nations General Assembly calling for an investment freeze. A new dimension to the campaign was added at the UN Conference at Lagos (see *International*) where the Nigerian Head of State announced that no contracts would be awarded to companies operating in South Africa and the establishment of an Economic Intelligence Unit by the Nigerian Government to monitor such links.

The major priority of the AAM's work has been to focus attention on the need for a freeze on the flow of new investment to South Africa. This policy received during the period covered by this Report the official support of the Labour and Liberal Parties and the Trades Union Congress. However, the Government persists in refusing to implement such a policy and so the AAM has been developing its campaigning activities to secure a change in this policy.

The most important was the convening of the Conference - Southern Africa and the British Trade Union and Labour Movement - on 6 November 1976 (see *Trade Unions*). Prior to this Conference the first two pamphlets in a series on investment were published (see *Publications*). A central feature of this Conference was to discuss means by which the trade union movement could take up this issue with greater determination and effect.

The Executive has been assisted in this work by a special Investment Unit consisting of economists and others specialising in this field, who have been advising the Executive on the whole investment issue.

Most of the AAM's campaigning efforts during this period have been concentrated on particular companies and industries. The following is a short outline of some of this work.

British Leyland: The campaign reported in last year's Report has continued, although it has proved impossible to secure an effective blocking of spares and kits to South Africa. During the year a number of specific issues were raised, including the banning of officials of the MAWU, the Leyland Union in South Africa, the importing of spares into Britain from South Africa, and the construction of a further production line in South Africa. The AAM continues to liaise with the shop stewards at plant level, with the Leyland Trade Union Committee and the national union involved. At their August meeting the Shop Stewards Combine decided to organise a joint campaign with AAM.

Marconi: The role of GEC/Marconi continued to be highlighted during this period because of Marconi's action in providing the Tropospheric Scatter system to South Africa. This included action at shareholder meetings, liaison with the trade unions involved, as well as protests from the Labour Party and in Parliament.

Shell/BP: The AAM, together with the Haslemere Group, published a report on Shell and BP in South Africa on 1 March. Although the report concentrated on these companies' role in South Africa, much of the press publicity and subsequent actions related to their role in sanctions breaking (see *Zimbabwe*).

RTZ: A new campaign was launched — Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract (CANUC) — to oppose the contract between RTZ and British Nuclear Fuels. For details see *Namibia*.

Other organisations which have investigated the operations of British companies in South Africa are Christian Concern for Southern Africa and the British Trade Union-SACTU Liaison Group. Other actions in this field include the decision of the GLC to cease the purchase of South African products, the suspension of the promotion of South African products following the adoption of a resolution at the Co-operative Press Board to stop advertising South African products in *Co-operative News*. New policies calling for withdrawal of South African products were adopted by the London Co-operative Society and the South West Region Co-operative Society.

These developments in the Co-op and the general boycott campaign would have been impossible without the consistent work of AAM members and supporters at a local level.

Banks

The particular economic and political crisis which South Africa is now experiencing has made the campaigns against bank loans to South Africa of special importance. The apartheid economy is in desperate need of both long- and medium-term loans, as well as short-term loans, if it is to overcome its current crisis. However, the political crisis in Southern Africa means that increasingly investors are questioning the wisdom of such investment. For the first time there are indications that these campaigns are beginning to have effect.

Barclays Bank: The main target of the AAM's campaigns has been Barclays Bank. Sales of the pamphlet on Barclays have been sustained during the year. Action, as usual, began during the first term of the academic year when, in conjunction with the NUS and local student unions, the boycott campaign had great success. However, it gained new momentum with the announcement in December that Barclays South African subsidiary was to invest R10 million in South African defence bonds. AAM Chairman Bob Hughes protested immediately to the Prime Minister and protests came from many quarters, including shareholders of Barclays. A nationwide picket of over 100 branches was organised by the AAM on 20 January. Foreign Office Minister of State Ted

Rowlands summoned Barclays International to the Foreign Office to explain the Government's opposition to the investment. It appeared from press reports that Barclays were quietly intending to sell the bonds but by the AGM, which was again well attended by AAM supporters, no action had been taken.

A new leaflet updating the Barclays pamphlet was published during the year.

Midland Bank: ELTSA (End Loans to Southern Africa) has again campaigned with great effect against Midland's involvement in providing loans to South Africa. Again through shareholder action the issue came to the AGM in the form of a formal resolution sponsored by 100 shareholders owning nearly 1 million shares, led by the GLC. A statement prepared by ELTSA was circulated to 100,000 shareholders urging them to support the resolution. The resolution was defeated at the AGM on 20 April, but ELTSA supporters gained 3.6 million votes (6.9 per cent).

During the year ELTSA expanded its activities to involve Hill Samuel and the Standard Bank.

Emigration

The past year has seen a significant drop in the number of immigrants into South Africa. The figures show that over 54,000 people emigrated to South Africa in 1976. There was a substantial decrease after June and 13,000 left South Africa during the year. The figures for those leaving South Africa are double those for 1975 and the net increase for the year is just over half the 1975 figure of 3,264.

The AAM has continued to sustain its campaign against emigration to South Africa. Local AA Groups have been active in anti-recruiting campaigns in Aberdeen, Glasgow and Leeds. The two AA leaflets continue to be widely distributed.

Support for the campaign has come from the TUC, which wrote to the Newspaper Publishers Association urging them to introduce a policy against employment and tourist advertisements for South Africa. In the universities and colleges students have been active in opposing the recruitment of students for posts in South Africa. A new development has been the action of university teachers: at the Open University the AUT succeeded in securing the agreement of its Senate for a ban on all advertising for staff for South African academic institutions.

A disappointing development was the acquittal of the Nurses Association for publishing an advertisement which included the phrase 'all white patients only'. The action taken by the Race Relations Board following a complaint by the Anti-Apartheid Movement under the Race Relations Act points to the need to amend the Act to stop this blatant racism.

Southern Africa-The Imprisoned Society

In the past year there has been an unprecedented escalation of repressive measures in an attempt to combat the ever-increasing resistance to minority rule in Southern Africa. In South Africa the aftermath of Soweto was marked by the implementation of the new Internal Security Act providing, among other things, for indefinite periods of detention without trial. In Namibia, as in South Africa, political trials aimed at eliminating the leadership of the liberation movement continue. And in Rhodesia, too, trials and hangings of opponents of the illegal regime continue unabated.

Campaigns and activities in this field have been largely organised through Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society (SATIS), the British campaign for the release of political prisoners and detainees.

Detention, Torture and Deaths

In the months that followed the Soweto uprisings, thousands of people were detained in massive police round-ups.

Organisations of the black community, such as the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), Black Parents Association (BPA) and SASO were the prime targets. Teachers and pupils at schools in the townships were subjected to random arrests and in November it was known that at least 1,400 children were charged, of whom 1,000 were still awaiting sentence. Some as young as 10 years old were being held in solitary confinement.

A further horrific aspect has been the dramatic increase in the number of deaths in detention. Since March 1976, at least 24 people are known to have died in suspicious circumstances — two more than the total for the previous 13 years. Late in September it was learnt that four detainees had died in detention, three of them students. A protest attended by over 250 people was called on 20 October. By December the total for the year of deaths in detention had risen to 13 and SATIS organised a mass torchlight vigil on 10 December, Human Rights Day, to highlight the systematic torture and brutality

of the security police. A list of detainees, giving details of their backgrounds, professions, etc, was circulated to similar organisations in Britain and this was successful in outlining the many different categories of people affected by the onslaught of repressive measures. The vigil received support from trade unionists, churchmen, MPs and people in the entertainment field.

The international outcry spread and amongst those protesting was the Catholic Church in South Africa, which issued a statement condemning the brutality of the police. On 19 March, the first anniversary of Joseph Mdluli's death (see 1975/6 Annual Report), SATIS organised an all-day vigil outside South Africa House to protest against the deaths of at least 18 detainees since 19 March 1976 and to call for the release of all political prisoners. The vigil was widely supported. Earlier in the year the four South African policemen who had been charged with the culpable homicide of Joseph Mdluli were acquitted.

On 18 August, as the total of deaths continued to rise, a poster parade around Trafalgar Square was organised by SATIS. The parade was attended by over 300 people and successfully publicised the plight of those interned in detention centres and gaols in South Africa. A further picket of South Africa House was held on 15 September following the news that the first President of SASO, Steve Biko, had died in detention.

On 16 April, SATIS organised a national conference in London on Repression. Over 120 people attended and were addressed by former political prisoners who movingly depicted the horrors of the police states in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Specialist groups studied campaigning amongst their constituencies and the panel discussion, led by, amongst others, Pauline Webb (World Council of Churches), Sam Kahn (a South African lawyer) and Judy Acton, outlined the necessity to promote campaigning on this crucial area. Horst Kleinschmidt of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa told the conference of a new report on detentions in South Africa which revealed that over 1,000 people had been detained since January and at least 471 were being held without any prospect of coming to trial. The report also indicated that many people had simply disappeared and their whereabouts were unknown to family and friends. The conference reaffirmed the importance of the issue and laid the basis for future campaigning work as well as establishing new contacts. Amongst the organisations attending were PROP, AUEW-TASS, NALGO, NUS, World Development Movement and Ruskin Kitson Committee.

On 8 October 1976 two South African actors, Winston Ntshona and John Kani, were arrested in Butterworth, Transkei, following a performance of *Siswe Banzi is Dead*. Their detention caused an outcry in the entertainment world and actors, playwrights and directors, in conjunction with AAM, immediately arranged a series of protests. A picket was held outside South Africa House on 13 October, at which Albert Finney, Sheila Hancock, Robert Morley, Kenneth Williams and Kenneth Haigh handed in a letter to the South African Ambassador demanding the release of the two actors. At a press conference at the Royal Court Theatre, Mary Benson, John Matchikisa, Johnny Worthy and Louis Mahoney lent their voices to those demanding the actors' release. The protest received wide national and international coverage in the media and it was as a result of this pressure that both John Kani and Winston Ntshona were released on 24 October. Their detention was particularly significant for on 26 October the Transkei gained its so-called 'independence'.

In addition to the many other categories of detainees, black journalists were particularly persecuted in the aftermath of Soweto, for they had recorded the facts of the uprisings and the details of police brutality. Many were detained without trial. In response to this suppression of the press, the NUJ condemned the arrests and journalists in Britain became involved in the overall campaign for political prisoners.

Political Trials

In the period covered by this report, numerous trials have taken and are taking place under South Africa's security laws.

On 15 December 1976 the longest trial ever held in South Africa came to an end after 22 months. The nine accused, all leading members of SASO, were found guilty: six were sen-

tenced to 6 years' imprisonment and three to 5 years. They were all sent to Robben Island. On 20 December a press conference was held in London at which Jeremy Thorpe MP appealed on their behalf. His call was backed by NUS President Charles Clarke, AUT President Dave King, and Nkosazana Dlamini, Vice President of SASO. At the NUS/AAM conference in Loughborough, student delegates agreed to adopt the SASO nine.

A second long-running trial, which opened in May 1976, came to its conclusion in July 1977 in Pietermaritzburg. Ten men were alleged to have furthered the aims of the African National Congress and conspired to send people for military training. Nine of the ten were found guilty - five of whom were sentenced to life imprisonment. The savagery of the sentences and the horrifying reports of torture testify to the measures resorted to by the apartheid regime in its efforts to crush the underground organisation of the ANC. The AAM published an account of the trial and on 21 July, the day sentence was expected, a group of supporters of the Pietermaritzburg trialists occupied South Africa House for approximately an hour.

An international campaign was launched at a press conference in the House of Commons on 20 June as 11 men and one woman went on trial under the Terrorism Act in Pretoria. The Pretoria 12 are charged with recruiting people for military training, being in possession of firearms and explosives, and mounting sabotage operations. All face the minimum sentence of 5 years' imprisonment and the maximum penalty of death. This, the most significant trial since the Rivonia trial in 1964, has been brought to the attention of organisations and activists throughout the country. Leaflets and posters have been circulated and thousands of postcards addressed to Prime Minister Vorster, calling for the release of the Pretoria 12, have been distributed nationwide. Already this campaign is the focal point of student campaigning on political prisoners. During the course of the trial, horrifying reports of torture have been given by witnesses.

On 18 August the AAM announced details of proposals it was to make at the World Conference Against Apartheid in Lagos for an international petition against repression in South Africa. The press conference was addressed by Mac Maharaj, who had recently fled South Africa after serving 12 years on Robben Island. Maharaj took the opportunity of the press conference to emphasise the importance of international solidarity for political prisoners.

In Namibia, the situation has been as grim, with trials, disappearances and detentions being reported daily. On 30 August 1976 the trial of Filemon Nangolo, accused of the murder of four white people and one black policeman, opened in Windhoek. As in many other cases, the trial seemed designed to implicate SWAPO as an organisation in the murder charges. Nangolo was one of ten people charged with complicity in the killings. Charges were withdrawn from three and six were kept in custody. In September the death sentence was passed on Nangolo and, despite appeals from the international community and the five Western permanent members of the UN Security Council, he was executed on 30 May 1977.

The campaign for the release of Aaron Muchimba and Hendrik Shikongo, sentenced to death in May 1976 (see 1975/6 Annual Report), continued during the year. Thousands of postcards were sent to the British Government demanding British intervention in the case. On 15 February their appeal, leave for which had been granted the previous summer, was heard. SATIS, in conjunction with the Namibia Support Committee (NSC), organised a vigil of solidarity with the two SWAPO leaders on the evening of 14 February outside South Africa House. At the same time activities took place elsewhere demanding the release of the men. Then, on 17 March their death sentences were set aside and they were released. The prison sentences on their two fellow trialists, Anna Ngaihondjwa and Rauna Nambinga, were also set aside and they too were released. Jubilant crowds met Muchimba and Shikongo in Windhoek and SWAPO sent out a message of thanks to all those who had worked towards their release.

Readers are again referred to the bi-monthly publication of the International Defence and Aid Fund, Focus, for fuller information on the many trials held in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia over the past year.

Prison Conditions

In March it was reported that Robben Island prisoners had been assaulted by warders using guard dogs. Following these reports a group of journalists were permitted to visit Robben Island under strict conditions. The journalists were not permitted to converse with any political prisoners on the Island. On the day following the visit a press conference was held in London at which Albert Dloomo and Seretsi Choabi, former prisoners on Robben Island, spoke.

Earlier in the year, Namibian prisoners on Robben Island smuggled a letter out of the prison stating that they would be opposed to being released to take part in the Turnhalle talks. In addition, they outlined specific cases of brutal torture.

The conditions under which the South African Government holds political prisoners also came under attack from the International Red Cross. On a visit to South Africa in April Alexandre Hay stated that restrictions were unnecessarily severe and he attacked the communications blackout. The International Red Cross demanded that they should also be able to visit detainees held under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts and that they be able to speak to detainees alone. After lengthy representations the Minister of Police agreed to permit ICRC representatives to visit Internal Security Act detainees.

In Rhodesia, conditions at Khami Prison were revealed in several letters sent during the year which gave details of atrocious conditions and the deliberate provision of wrong medicines, causing several deaths. The prisoners are being kept on starvation diets and subjected to torture.

During the year the SATIS photographic kit was sold to large numbers of people and the film *The Lawbreakers* (made by Granada TV's World in Action team), depicting deaths in detention in South Africa, was seen by many groups. Four new posters on political prisoners were produced.

The annual list of political prisoners' families, detainees, banned people in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia was published again last year and the public asked to send greetings. This has been a most appreciated activity.

For the first time in many years press coverage on political prisoners and detainees was fairly wide. Feature articles appeared in both *The Times* and the *Observer*; deaths in detention were covered by the daily press on many occasions and the TV documentary on deaths in detention, *The Lawbreakers*, was screened.

The consistent work of those on the SATIS committee, the sponsoring organisations and the many committed supporters of the Movement has helped this breakthrough, as it has helped to expose the plight of those in detention and prison in Southern Africa. The work of the International Defence and Aid Fund has continued to be invaluable. In addition, particular mention must be made of the local and student groups, church and trade union groups, who have carried out much of the work, and of many organisations such as AUEW-TASS, NUS, NSC and the Ruskin Kitson Committee who have consistently raised the issue of Southern Africa's political prisoners and detainees.

Namibia

The liberation struggle in Namibia has continued to be a major focus of the AAM's campaigning activities during the period of this Report. Close liaison has been maintained with both SWAPO and with the Namibia Support Committee. *AA News* has given extensive space to political developments within the country, interviewed a deserter from the South African army who gave horrifying accounts of the torture of Namibians, as well as to the successes of SWAPO and its military wing, PLAN.

Turnhalle: The South Africans have continued with their plans to bantustanise Namibia and to impose a pseudo-independence. The AAM helped in the distribution of a special pamphlet, *Turnhalle: A Traitors' Government*, and to campaign at other levels against the Turnhalle talks.

Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract (CANUC): The key area of collaboration over Namibia is the RTZ contract and the campaign was launched in May 1977 at a press conference attended by Shapua Kaukungua (SWAPO Western European Representative), CANUC Chairman, Alex Lyon MP, and representatives of the National Union of Seamen and the Association of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. The campaign was established to secure the termination of the contract between British Nuclear Fuels and the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation for the supply of £120 millions worth of uranium, and is organised jointly by the AAM, Namibia Support Committee and Haslemere Group.

The campaign has concentrated on raising the issue in the Labour Movement. In 1976 the Labour Party Conference adopted a clear and comprehensive policy on Southern Africa and one of the points made was Conference's dissatisfaction that this contract had not been cancelled by the Labour Government in accordance with the Party's pledge to do so. CANUC has now circulated all Constituency Labour Parties asking them to protest to the Government directly, and indirectly through Conference and the NEC, at the failure to realise this pledge. The campaign has met with some support in the Labour Party.

Earlier in the year the National Union of Seamen and ASLEF both promised to take action: NUS said that they would circulate all branches to be especially vigilant for cargoes that might contain the uranium oxide, and contacted the International Transport Workers Federation. ASLEF Executive member George Saville said at the CANUC press conference that he had no doubt that ASLEF would refuse to allow the uranium to be transported by rail, and ASLEF too has contacted the ITF and the TUC. A third union, the Transport & General Workers Union, whose members include dockers and lorry drivers, are considering this matter at a high level at the time of writing. NALGO have also pressed the Government strongly on this question.

In other areas, the campaign to end the contract has met with strong support from the Methodist Church Division of Social Responsibility, who have distributed 160,000 leaflets on the contract and why it should be ended. The Methodist Church is also working with CANUC on the production of a film strip and accompanying tape about the Rossing mine itself.

Muchimba and Shikongo: Details of this campaign are included in the SATIS section of the Report. At the time of going to press a new and serious development is the decision of the illegal South African authorities to prosecute SWAPO member Victor Nkandi, who had refused to testify as a state witness in the trial of Muchimba and Shikongo and was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for contempt of court. On his release in February 1977 he was rearrested and his trial, on an allegation of the murder of Chief Elifas, began on 27 September. The Namibia Support Committee has launched a campaign, fully supported by the AAM, for his release and the freeing of all other Namibian political prisoners and detainees. The object of the campaign is to stimulate international pressure on the scale of that which led to the release of Muchimba and Shikongo.

Medical Aid: During the year supporters of the AAM have responded with great enthusiasm to the SWAPO Medical Aid campaign in which different organisations pledge to raise £100 for a Medical Kit. The campaign is organised by the Namibia Support Committee.

At a local level considerable activity has been organised involving the distribution of leaflets and pamphlets on Namibia, speaker meetings and the showing of films, including the new film, *Namibia Armed*, produced by the SWAPO Information Department. Other actions included pickets of Karakul fur sales and shops distributing Karakul furs.

Zimbabwe

Throughout the period of this report there have been dramatic and significant developments affecting the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. The AAM has been required to develop its campaigning work whilst at the same time being in a position to react rapidly to particular events. The work of the Executive has been greatly assisted by the Zimbabwe Working Group which has met regularly and assisted in the organisation of the campaign and in the production of material.

The crisis for the white minority has deepened during the last year. Militarily the regime is on the defensive — it is becoming increasingly dependent on sheer brutality and unmasked aggression against the Zimbabwe people and the 'front line states'. The regime's economy is gradually grinding to a halt as sanctions bite deeper, the war becomes an even greater burden, and the exodus of whites grows. Politically the regime is rapidly running out of options.

Much of the AAM's attention has been focused on the so-called peace initiatives — Kissinger's plan, the Geneva Conference, and now the Anglo-American proposals. However, the possibility of a 'negotiated settlement' remains as remote as we predicted last year, for Smith is still guaranteed the active support — military, economic and political — of the Vorster regime. An important feature of our campaigning work has therefore concentrated on showing that no 'solution' can succeed which is dependent on the goodwill of the Vorster regime. *Anti-Apartheid News* has been the chief means by which we have conveyed the AAM's response to these developments. Regular articles, including interviews with Zimbabwean leaders and other reports, have provided an alternative to the views expressed in general by the British press.

The AAM also published two new leaflets and two posters for general distribution to assist in bringing the issue to public attention. The leaflets — *Zimbabwe: Majority Rule Now* and *Rhodesia: Who are the Murderers?* — included proposals for activity which people could take up.

Local groups have been especially active in organising meetings and providing opportunities for liberation movement speakers to inform the public of the developing situation. In London the AAM cooperated with the Patriotic Front in organising a rally for Joshua Nkomo, which filled Friends Meeting House at two days' notice. On 12 May a public meeting was organised by the AAM which was addressed by a number of speakers, including K. Kangai of the Central Committee of ZANU. This meeting occurred during a week of action on Zimbabwe during which AAM Groups organised meetings in Cardiff, Coventry, Greenwich, Southampton, South London, West London, Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds and Northampton. The AAM cooperated with an Ad Hoc Committee on Zimbabwe which also organised several activities during the week.

A number of initiatives have been taken during the year in relation to different aspects of the campaign, as follows:

Brutalities: A number of publications have been produced which provide extensive information on atrocities. These have included *Civil War in Rhodesia* published by CIIR, *Smith's Hostages* published by IDAF, and material directly obtained by *AA NEWS*. The AAM has helped in getting as wide distribution as possible of this material.

Death Sentences: There have been repeated reports of the regime carrying out illegal executions, and in May the AAM prepared a list of all those known to have been sentenced or executed. In a letter delivered to the Foreign Office on 12 May during a mass picket to protest against British Government inaction over these executions, the AAM urged the Foreign Secretary to take effective action by declaring that those responsible for carrying out these executions were criminally liable. In addition, the letter referred to two individuals awaiting execution — ANC (Zimbabwe) officials Robert Bhebe and Painos Zehama. Both were subsequently executed. Following Bhebe's execution, Ted Rowlands, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, received a delegation on 18 July from the AAM, at which he promised to consider the granting of a reprieve. On 28 July the AAM took part in a further delega-

tion to the Foreign Office with Amnesty International, International Defence and Aid Fund and United Nations Association.

The Government's policy was tested further the following week when the lawyers representing Joan Lester MP, AAM Vice President, challenged a London magistrate's decision to refuse a warrant for the arrest of Judge Macauley, one of the illegal regime's judges, who had sentenced a number of Zimbabweans to death. The Chief Justice granted the AAM leave to appeal, but not until 4 October. The AAM immediately urged the Government to act to stop the judge leaving, but they claimed they had no powers to do so. News reached London on 12 August that Zehama had been executed.

Sanctions Busting: A number of issues have been taken up during the year, including the advertising of jobs at the University of Rhodesia, the transferring of junior accountants from the London to the Salisbury offices of Price-Waterhouse, British competitors participating in the World Practical Shooting Competition in Salisbury, the supplying of careers material for employment in Rhodesia by the University of Surrey Careers Office, and the granting of passports to officials of the regime. However, the major issue with which the AAM has been concerned has been oil sanctions. On 1 March the AAM with the Haslemere Group published a pamphlet entitled *Shell and BP in South Africa*. The publication gained headlines in the press because of its allegations of sanctions breaking by the oil companies. The issue had been previously taken up in the United States in relation to the activities of Mobil in sanctions breaking. As a result of the publicity given to the AAM/Haslemere pamphlet, protests in Parliament, and the action of the OAU and in particular of Zambia, the British Government responded by establishing a special enquiry on Good Friday. On 25 April AAM and Haslemere released their submission to the Enquiry, giving more extensive information on sanctions breaking. The AAM has liaised with the Enquiry Chairman, Thomas Bingham QC, and supplied further material.

Fund Raising: Two new organisations have been established during the year which the AAM has encouraged its members and supporters to assist: ZIMA (Zimbabwe Medical Aid) specifically raises medical aid and is applying for charitable status, whilst MSA (Mozambique Solidarity Action) raises funds for the Mozambique Solidarity Bank which FRELIMO established as an expression of solidarity with the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. MSA specifically encourages people to give aid to Zimbabweans based in Mozambique and to Mozambique in bearing the responsibilities as a front line state. MSA and AAM have liaised to protest against Rhodesian attacks on Mozambique. A film on the Nyazonia massacre has been widely distributed and in June a picket of the Foreign Office was organised to protest at the Mapai attacks.

J Z Moyo

The AAM was deeply shocked to learn of the assassination on 22 January 1977 of J Z Moyo, Vice President of ANC-Zimbabwe and for many years a leading official of the ZAPU External Mission. He was known, loved and respected by many in the AAM, several of whom were able to attend a memorial meeting convened by ZAPU in London on 29 January. (See AA News, March 1977.)

Mercenaries

The AAM has been working with other organisations concerned with the recruitment of mercenaries in an Ad Hoc Group against Mercenarism. This group was originally established in the wake of the publication of the Diplock Commission's report, when it was expected that the Government would announce its intention to introduce legislation during the current Parliamentary session. However, no proposals were put forward by the Government and so attention has been largely concentrated on exposing the recruitment of mercenaries in the United Kingdom and liaising with groups in other countries attempting similar campaigns.

The publication by Penguin — *The Whores of War: Mercen-*

aries Today, written by two of the members of the Luanda Commission which met during the trial of the captured mercenaries in Angola, has played a valuable part in providing comprehensive information about the role of mercenaries in Angola and in Southern Africa in general.

Repeated reports of the ease and success with which the Smith regime is able to recruit in the United Kingdom for its military forces despite sanctions legislation, points to the need for more effective action by the Government and greater attention by the AAM to this area of work.

War Resisters

A new feature of the work of the AAM has been the problems arising for individual South Africans and Zimbabweans who are liable for military service but do not wish to serve in the forces of the racist regimes. This applies in particular to a growing number of young white South Africans and to Coloured and Asian Zimbabweans who, under the Smith regime's peculiar definitions of race, are defined as Europeans for the purpose of military service.

A number of cases have occurred of white South Africans contacting the AAM office to seek advice on how to obtain political asylum. In this matter we have worked closely with the UK Immigrants Advisory Service and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants. A number of MPs have also been particularly helpful. At present the cases of two individuals who were refused asylum are the subjects of appeal.

The position of Zimbabweans is different in that they are subjects of a British colony. However, there have been a number of cases of war resisters being refused entry to the United Kingdom. Repeated representations concerning individual cases failed to secure a change in policy and so the AAM sought a high level meeting with the Home Secretary. On 9 May a delegation led by AAM Chairman Bob Hughes MP, together with Frank Hooley MP, John Ennals, Abdul Minty and Monsignor Bruce Kent of Pax Christi, presented a detailed memorandum to Mr Rees and impressed on him the importance of this issue. He gave an undertaking that no Zimbabweans would be refused entry until the matter had been considered at Ministerial level and subsequently confirmed this in writing. He also agreed to give favourable consideration to the individual cases of South African war resisters. Following this meeting a press conference was held, at which two South African draft dodgers were introduced to the press.

Sports Boycott

The campaign to secure the exclusion of racially selected South African sports teams from all international events continued to gather momentum. The stand of the African states at the 1976 Montreal Olympics at last convinced governments and sporting organisations of the importance of the issue. This was reflected at the Commonwealth Conference in June 1977, when the Gleneagles agreement was unanimously supported by all Commonwealth countries participating and reflected a considerable advance on previous policy for some Commonwealth members.

Stop All Racist Tours (SART), the main campaigning body in Britain, has been less active than in previous years but it did take the initiative in forming SCARS (Sussex Campaign Against Racist Sport), which was set up specifically to campaign against four sporting events to be held in Sussex during the summer. The campaign was launched on 30 April at Sussex University and was successful in securing the withdrawal of the South African team from the Women's Bowling Championships in Worthing and the cancellation of two cricket matches, also at Worthing. However, the most important of the events was the Federation Cup (tennis) which took place in Eastbourne from 13-18 June. Despite a most effective campaign, with action at both national and local levels, the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF) refused to withdraw the invitation to the South Africans.

When the ILTF met in London on 29 June a picket was held to protest against South Africa's membership. Plans are

now being discussed on ways of securing South Africa's exclusion from this, the most important international sporting federation which still accepts South Africa in membership.

Cultural Boycott

Equity, the Actors' Union, and ACTT, the television and film union, were the principal actors in the ongoing campaign to maintain the cultural boycott against South Africa this year.

The Musicians' Union, continuing its strong policy against visits to South Africa, required at least one production company to drop its plans for taking British musicians to South Africa. The union has warned others that it will take strong action should members wish to perform in South Africa.

Equity, in a referendum among its 4,000 members in October, voted to maintain its ban on the sale of TV programmes to South Africa. It also confirmed that performers who went to South Africa should not be covered by Equity contracts and should be asked to sign a declaration saying that they would refuse to perform if they were prevented from doing so before multiracial audiences. But a move to extend the ban on television programme sales to radio, film, cassette and other recorded material was defeated by 1,921 votes to 1,909 — a margin of only 12 votes. Equity members also rejected a motion which would have placed a ban on sales of recorded material and extended to Rhodesia the conditions under which it allowed members to perform in South Africa. The referendum was held after a resolution was passed by the union's AGM calling for the extension of the ban on television sales to other material. AAM worked closely with Performers Against Racism, a group of Equity members who wished to see the retention and extension of present Equity policy, in making information available to Equity members, and during the year a large number of the IDAF Factsheet on Black Theatre in South Africa were distributed. A new document, 'The Cultural Boycott and Why It Matters', is presently being prepared for publication in the winter.

However, the Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians (ACTT), which over the years had been progressively tightening its boycott policy, overturned it by a resolution passed at the union's annual conference in May this year. There were two resolutions moved at conference calling for the lifting of the instruction to members not to work in or handle material from South Africa: the first stating that members should have the right to make their own decisions on 'political and moral questions'; the second instructing the union to withdraw from its South African policy altogether and in future to 'consider carefully the ramifications of implementing any political policies', on the grounds that the union's prime function was to safeguard its members' interests. The second resolution was the one that was passed, thus undermining what had been an effective policy of boycott by the three major unions in the cultural field.

A number of South African companies visited Britain during the year, notably the *Ipi Tombi* production. *Ipi Tombi*, an all-black musical, gave rise to a number of pickets in different parts of the country and eventually the company left the UK for the United States after dissension amongst the cast, though another company is continuing its London run.

Ballet International, a newly-formed South African-financed ballet company, returned from South Africa to be greeted by protests as it toured Britain. The management claimed that it had cut its links with South Africa and after a written undertaking the AAM ceased its campaign.

A number of TV programmes beat the various union bans during the year. The New Avengers, The Sweeney and a BBC-20th Century Fox co-production were the most widely publicised. Several British entertainers have performed in South Africa in the past year and leading British actors, including Richard Burton, have made films in South Africa.

Thus the boycott has had mixed fortunes during the past year, despite strong support from leading cultural figures like Robert Bolt, and the AAM continues to experience problems in seeking the maintenance of the boycott.

INTERNATIONAL WORK

The growing campaign against the apartheid regime has been reflected in the formation of new anti-apartheid movements and other action groups in many parts of the world. Cooperation and coordination at an international level have become of greater importance because of the close liaison between the major Western powers which collaborate with South Africa. This liaison has been shown specifically with the Anglo-American initiative on Rhodesia, the joint action of the five Western members of the Security Council on Namibia, and the common EEC policy initiatives on Southern Africa generally.

During the past year the AAM has been represented at a number of international gatherings as well as developing bilateral contacts with particular anti-apartheid movements. The AAM Office is visited frequently by representatives of groups from all over the world, including Norway, Denmark, Sweden, West Germany, Netherlands, Ireland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Greece, USA, Canada, New Zealand, India, Australia and many African states. Numerous representatives of international organisations have also been in contact with the AAM Office for information or material.

United Nations

The AAM was honoured to host two brief visits to London by the Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Ambassador Leslie Harriman. During the first of these visits he addressed a special meeting on 16 November called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement at the House of Commons, where he spoke of the newly adopted General Assembly Programme of Action against Apartheid. He visited London again in March, when he met representatives of the AAM, other support groups and the liberation movements.

The 1976 UN General Assembly adopted a number of significant resolutions on apartheid, the most important for the Anti-Apartheid Movement being the abovementioned Programme of Action. The AAM declared its support for this programme and has sought to gain publicity and support for its aims.

In October 1976 the AAM's Hon Secretary, Abdul S Minty addressed the Special Committee Against Apartheid and again in March 1977 he was invited

to address the UN Security Council when it met to consider a series of proposals from the Africa Group, including a mandatory arms embargo.

International Conferences

During the year the United Nations convened two conferences which directly affected the work of the AAM. The first — International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia — was held in Maputo, Mozambique, from 16-21 May. The second, and more significant for the work of the AAM, was the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid which was held in Lagos from 22-26 August 1977. Convened by the United Nations and in cooperation with the OAU and the Nigerian Government, it represented the most important anti-apartheid international conference ever to be held, bringing together over 100 governments (including all the major Western powers), leaders of the Southern African liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other organisations.

The Conference Declaration was overwhelmingly approved — although the major Western powers expressed reservations on a number of key issues, signifying both their guilt and complicity in sustaining the Pretoria regime.

The Nigerian Government took advantage of the Conference to announce that its future economic relations with Western corporations 'will be determined by whether they operate in South Africa or not'. This is an important step which is likely to be followed by other nonaligned countries and could result in effective pressure being applied against those firms which collaborate enthusiastically with the apartheid regime.

The AAM was represented at the Lagos Conference by Abdul S Minty and Mike Terry. Also invited as special guests were David Steel MP, Joan Lester MP, Canon John Collins, Lord Caradon and John Hosey Sr.

The AAM was also represented at an emergency conference on South Africa convened by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation in cooperation with the African National Congress of South Africa, which was held at the end of October in Addis Ababa. It agreed on a programme of action for international campaigning in response to the uprisings in South Africa in the summer

of 1976.

From 16-19 June a World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa was held in Lisbon, attended by liberation movement leaders Oliver Tambo, Sam Nujoma, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. Proposals were discussed for the intensification of the international campaign in support of the liberation movements and for the isolation of the racist regimes. A large delegation from Britain included AAM representatives Bob Hughes MP and Chris Child.

Commonwealth

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference met in London from 8-15 June 1977. The Conference was preoccupied with Southern Africa and the final communique reflected the commitment of the majority of Commonwealth countries to freedom in Southern Africa. Significantly the communique recognised the inevitability of armed struggle and that the policies and actions of the South African regime constitute a grave threat to world peace and security.

The Conference also approved the Gleneagles Agreement on international sporting contacts with South Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement hosted a reception for leaders of the Southern African liberation movements during the Conference which was attended by over 300 guests.

Overseas Visits

Representatives of the AAM were invited to several overseas countries during the year. Abdul S Minty visited Scandinavia in December and addressed various groups in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. In May he was invited to give the opening speech at a national Canadian conference on Southern Africa which took place in Vancouver. And in November he was invited to present a paper on South Africa's military build-up to a consultation organised by the All African Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches in Kitwe, Zambia.

AAM Chairman Bob Hughes MP and Executive Secretary Mike Terry were guests of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in April 1977, and John Ennals, AAM Vice Chairman, addressed a rally of the Ghana AAM on 21 March in Accra.

AREAS OF WORK

Trade Union Movement

Introduction

Since its inception the Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought to develop closer and more extensive links at all levels in the trade union movement with a view to encouraging the development of effective solidarity action with the people of Southern Africa and a deeper understanding of the nature of apartheid and especially the position of black workers. It has undertaken this work in close association with the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

The AAM has sought to establish as broad a base of support as possible in the trade union movement and to integrate trade union support into the general work of the AAM, whilst at the same time developing campaigns that are directly related to the concern of British trade unionists for black workers in South Africa.

We have attempted to bring together a number of separate campaigns and work in different areas, rather than treating the trade union movement as a homogeneous whole that can be approached on only one level and only one issue.

In this context the strengthening of our links with the component organisations of the organised trade union movement over the past year has been of major importance. Five national unions have affiliated to the Movement in the course of the year, bringing the total to 24. These, together with the affiliations of four regional councils of the TUC (Northern, South East, West Midlands and North West), two shop stewards committees (Fords Dagenham and the national British Leyland Trade Union Committee) and a number of trades councils and branches, has accounted for almost one-third of the new organisation members of the Movement. The five national unions are the General & Municipal Workers Union (GMWU), Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (Engineering Section), National Union of Seamen, Furniture, Timber & Allied Trades Union, and the Association of Broadcasting Staffs.

The Trade Union Committee of the AAM, which is responsible for advising the Executive on the AAM's work in the trade union movement as well as assisting in its implementation, now contains 13 official representatives of national trade union affiliates.

A major disappointment was the disaffiliation of the Society of Post Office Executives, whose national conference decided to end their long association with the Movement after discussion that largely concerned the role of the Society in relation to Southern Africa and 'political questions generally', and

the policy of the Movement in supporting the African liberation struggle.

The past 12 months have seen renewed interest on the part of a number of local AA Groups in strengthening their links with the trade union movement locally. There have been three local trade union conferences in the past year and it is in response to the desire of local groups to intensify their trade union work that the AAM is to prepare a comprehensive range of new material in preparation for a campaign in 1978 which will highlight the position of South African workers and the importance of a ban on new investment by the British Government.

The black workers of South Africa have played a special role in the growing resistance to apartheid following the Soweto uprisings. In the mass stay-at-homes in Johannesburg and Cape Town they totally identified themselves with the upsurge of militancy. At the same time the emerging African trade unions have been playing an important role in challenging the apartheid system in their demands for recognition, against unemployment and for better wages and conditions.

Trade unionists have therefore been a special target for the regime's police, especially those who have related the struggle for trade union rights with the overall struggle for national liberation. Two prominent trade unionists — Lawrence Ndzanga, a former SACTU Executive member and Secretary of the Railway and Harbour Workers Union, and Elijah Loza, former chairman of SACTU in the Western Cape — were among those who died in detention (see *SATIS*). In November 1976, in a move designed to crush the organisation of African workers, the South African Government imposed banning orders on 23 trade union organisers, including a number of white trade union advisers. Numerous other trade unionists have been the subject of police action and are among the many people being charged under the regime's security legislation, for example at the Pietermaritzburg trial (see *SATIS*).

These efforts to suppress the African trade union movement in South Africa have prompted widespread international action. On 24 November the TUC General Council called on the South African Government to lift the banning orders referred to above, and a delegation including Len Murray, TUC General Secretary, and Jack Jones, Chairman of the TUC International Committee, joined a protest outside South Africa House.

Partially in response to these repressive acts and partly in solidarity with the growing struggle against

apartheid, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) decided at its Board meeting in November to call an international week of action from 17-24 January. This left British trade unions with little time to organise and it was only the threat of industrial action by the Union of Post Office Workers and the ensuing legal battles in the Courts which really had an impact. However, as *Anti-Apartheid News* reported in its January/February edition, the response was by far the greatest which has ever been achieved and showed the potential of such action if properly planned and coordinated. Amongst activities organised at an international level were the following:

Australian, Belgian, New Zealand, Canadian and Dutch dock workers imposed complete bans on the handling of South African goods and ships. The three Italian trade union centres jointly organised a three-day boycott of South African aircraft. French postal workers introduced a ban on mail and phone calls and in Norway trade unionists introduced a permanent ban on South African wine imports. In West Germany there were a number of trade union rallies and a docks boycott in Hamburg.

The action of the UPW, referred to above, came in response to a call by the TUC General Council for all TUC affiliates to support the week of action, a call to which the TUC's own staff responded with a 40-strong picket of South Africa House. All trades councils and affiliated unions were informed of the decision to support the week of action and urged to take appropriate action. The TUC produced a special poster urging trade unionists to speak out against apartheid, and distributed 100,000 copies of a special leaflet.

A number of unions took up different forms of action. The General and Municipal Workers Union circulated its officers and urged that members take up with their companies the nature of their links with South Africa. NALGO's international committee decided to write to the Government and British Nuclear Fuels about the BNF-RTZ contract for uranium extraction in Namibia. The ASTMS Executive, the National Executive of all four sections of the AUEW, the Seamen's Union, the Tobacco Workers Union and ASLEF all gave full support to the week, and NUS called on all their members not to staff South African-registered ships during the week. Subsequently the Cardiff branch of the seamen's union passed a resolution calling on its executive to call an indefinite boycott of South African ships.

In Portsmouth, workers at an engineering firm, Power Brakes, which had recently won a big order from South Africa, refused to move crates containing brake linings destined for

that country. In Liverpool, a mass meeting of 800 dock workers met to discuss action that they could take, and at Heathrow airport the catering, cargo, maintenance and engineering branches of the Transport & General Workers Union decided that they would refuse to service South African aircraft and other aircraft destined for or arriving from South Africa on the first day of the week, and to 'impede and delay' during the rest of the week.

Gloucester and Hackney Trades Councils held demonstrations during the week, and in Liverpool, Manchester, Southampton, Reading, Norwich, Cheshire, Leeds, London and Cornwall, AAM and SACTU speakers addressed meetings organised by trades councils, trade union colleges and union branches.

Other initiatives taken by trade unionists were regularly reported in *AA News* and included action by Leyland shop stewards (see *Investment & Trade*); the GMWU, in relation to Pilkington's South African subsidiary, Armourplate Safety Glass; the Association of Broadcasting Staffs over the transmission of the Cup Final in South Africa; the Scottish NUM over the importing of South African anthracite; Yorkshire NUM's protest against a visit by South African coal executives; Equity, in response to the detention of actors John Kani and Winston Ntshona; and Chloride Batteries workers who succeeded in requiring their employers to stop importing batteries from South Africa. A serious blow to the AAM's work in the trade union movement was the decision of the ACTT to reverse its strong policy of no collaboration (see *Cultural Boycott*).

The Transport and General Workers' Union took up the case of John Hosey, serving 5 years in Pretoria Prison. A petition circulated throughout the TGWU regions secured 2,000 signatures and was handed in at South Africa House by the Union's General Secretary Jack Jones on 13 January.

November 6 Conference – Southern Africa and the British Trade Union and Labour Movement: The Conference was called to highlight the need to end British investment in South Africa but the delegates took the opportunity to discuss a whole range of solidarity action. Chairmen, speakers and commission leaders included Ian Mikardo MP, Michael O'Leary (ILO President), John Gaetsewe, Ruth First, Peter Nicholas of the British Leyland Trade Union Committee, Abdul S Minty, John Forrester (Deputy General Secretary of AUEW-TASS), and national officers John Miller (TGWU) and Tim Webb (ASTMS). Amongst the participants were representatives of 26 national trade unions and delegates from 145 branches, 36 trades councils and 24 Constituency Labour Parties. It was the first time that so many trade union representatives – from shop floor to national executive level – had met to discuss solidarity action.

In three commissions delegates discussed the role of multinational corporations, the British crisis and the apartheid economy, and forms of solidarity action. High on the list of priorities for action recommended by the commissions were a campaign against emigration by British workers to South Africa, an end to links between the TUC and the white-dominated Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), disinvestment by British unions of shares in firms with major holdings in South Africa, and a boycott of South African goods.

Other points raised by the commissions were the importance of campaigning within the EEC and of international rank and file solidarity action.

Summing up the work of the commissions, John Forrester declared: 'Apartheid will be ended by the armed struggle of the African people. It is our responsibility to ensure that the forces of liberation are given all the assistance that can be given by the British working class.'

There have been many other features of the AAM's work in this area. The Movement has been represented at several Trade Union Conferences, at a

number of which resolutions were adopted on Southern Africa. Regular contact is maintained at a national level with the offices of many trade unions, with a number of shop steward committees and with the Welsh and Scottish TUCs. Much effort has also been put into securing trade unionists' support for the AAM's general campaigns, including the Remember Soweto petition, and the rallies held on 5 and 6 March.

The prospects for strengthening this area of work are very encouraging due to a number of recent decisions. In June 1977 the Second International Conference of Trade Unions Against Apartheid adopted a strong resolution laying out the basis for trade union action including the calling of a further week of international action. On 25 June the AAM's National Committee discussed specifically this area of work and a plan of action was agreed at the following National Committee meeting on 10 September. Finally, the TUC Conference adopted two resolutions relating to Southern Africa, which included support for the proposals arising from the AAM Conference on 6 November and for a further week of international action.

Student Work

Since the formation of the AAM students have been active on the question of Southern Africa and the AAM has always encouraged the development of campaigning activity within this sector. By building up a network of local student AA groups over the years, a strong coordinated base has been established and this has been complemented by close liaison and cooperation with student organisations, political groups and campaigning groups such as Student Christian Movement, Third World First and War on Want.

Over the years, however, and particularly since 1970, AAM has worked most closely with the National Union of Students and much credit for the cohesive and effective campaigning work is due to this working relationship. The establishment of the NUS/AAM network in 1971 has helped to facilitate the coordination of student activity. The network meets regularly, usually at least once a term, and provides a national forum for debate and discussion both on political developments within Southern Africa and campaigning work in general. Scotland and Wales have similar networks which operate on the same basis. Supplementary to the meetings, the network provides a regular mailing service, disseminating current information and publicity material. The current mailings are received by over 300 colleges, AA groups and student officers.

At the end of each academic year the NUS/AAM network organises an annual student conference on Southern Africa

which serves the important function of outlining the framework of campaigning work for the forthcoming year, in addition to providing activists with information and background to implement these campaigns effectively.

The 1976 conference was held in Sheffield and it decided to concentrate campaigning activity on two areas: the economic boycott, which designated the consumer boycott and disinvestment as priority areas; and activity to raise material aid for the liberation movements.

Economic Boycott

In the first term the primary thrust was directed at the university sector through the disinvestment campaign. During the summer research had been carried out on university investments in the top 60 companies, and NUS/AAM jointly produced a comprehensive briefing document on how to run such a campaign which was circulated to all universities. Posters and stickers were also produced. At the first network meeting at the end of September, there was a study group specifically on the investment question which was designed to brief all union presidents on the campaign. Throughout the first term many universities presented motions of disinvestment to their Courts, complemented by mass campaigning amongst the student body. The first success was achieved at Bath University in October, where the University agreed to sell its shares in companies with major interests in Southern Africa. In the weeks that

followed campaigns were mounted at Loughborough, Hull, Sheffield, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, UCL, LSE and Durham. The success at Bath was shortly followed by Loughborough University which in November announced that shares totalling £20,000 would be withdrawn from firms operating in South Africa. This result was achieved after a strong campaign waged by the students and a motion overwhelmingly passed by the student union. In the early part of 1977 Wolfson College, Oxford, also persuaded the college authorities to withdraw their investments totalling £50,000 from firms operating in South Africa. In March, Warwick students were rewarded for their persistent action by a recommendation from its General Purpose Committee that it should sell its holdings in companies with interests in Southern Africa — total value £90,000. The Committee also recommended the closure of the University's account with Barclays Bank. In April the governing body of St David's University College, Lampeter, adopted a policy of refusing to invest in companies with significant interests in South Africa. Then, in May, the authorities argued that their investment committee investigate the policy adopted by ICI and GEC towards their black employees and a report of the College's South African holdings should be made at each Executive Committee.

Efforts made by students at the Universities of London, Hull, Aberdeen and Bristol deserve mention, for in these four universities the investment issue was given a high priority throughout the year; although their efforts were unsuccessful, student action surrounding Court meetings has laid a good basis for continuing activity this year.

At the beginning of the academic year unions all over the country dissuaded new students from banking with Barclays. Briefing material and posters were produced jointly by NUS/AAM and circulated widely. Barclays Bank were so concerned about the campaign that they launched increased advertising and counter arguments to the NUS/AAM position. Letters were circulated by the Bank to many student union presidents and at a local level branch managers invited selected student officers to lunches and teas in an effort to stem the campaign — all to no effect. For instance, at Sussex University the Bank's local manager admitted that the number of freshers opening accounts with Barclays was two-thirds down on the previous year. Similar campaigns were mounted at, amongst others, Loughborough, Warwick, Durham, Bath, Exeter and Bristol Universities.

In December Barclays announced the purchase of £6½ millions worth of South African defence bonds. This caused a national outcry and in response AAM called a day of protest on 20 January. Around the country students picketed campus and local branches of Barclays.

Material Aid

The material aid campaign launched late

in the academic year sought to raise funds for the liberation movements. Information on the needs of the liberation movements was circulated, as well as a poster. As in previous years, much of the money raised was sent directly to the liberation movements and related agencies, and therefore it is difficult to gauge the actual sums involved.

In addition to these specific areas of work, the student movement was involved in many other aspects of the AAM's work.

Following the picket outside South Africa House on 20 October, called in protest against the mounting number of deaths in detention (see *SATIS*), a letter signed by NUS President Charles Clarke and NUSS President Dan Hopewell was delivered to the Prime Minister. The letter demanded British Government action on deaths in detention, called for the implementation of the isolation of South Africa, and expressed dismay at the Government's recent veto of a mandatory arms embargo at the UN Security Council. Concern for the plight of political prisoners continued throughout the year, with students participating both locally and nationally in AAM protests.

The University of East Anglia held a conference on socialism, imperialism and apartheid in Southern Africa from 29-31 October. It was well-attended and helped to develop AA work within the University.

On 4 December AAM called a national day of action with a major emphasis on British arms sales to South Africa. On and around that date various student unions undertook activities: Durham University held two pickets of Barclays Bank; UCL held a fund-raising drive on 20 November in aid of their scholarship appeal; LSE held a day of action on 3 December including a teach-in, meeting and evening social; the London Students Organisation held a one-day seminar on 5 December which included films, speakers and workshops. Birmingham Poly held a week of action from 5-12 December during which they picketed the South African Airways office; Lanchester Poly held a day-school on 4 December; and the Union of Students in Ireland held a week of action from 6-10 December.

At the NUS Universities sector conference on 6 January a resolution was passed condemning Barclays Bank's purchase of South African defence bonds (see above) and calling on all universities to support the NUS/AAM plan of action for the term. Priority would be to mobilise for the 6 March demonstration. A week of action was called from 28 February to 5 March, and many universities organised activities.

During the year academic links with South Africa became the focal issue at Surrey University where, by the efforts of the AA group, the recruitment of graduates for employment in South Africa was made public, as was the discovery that vacancies in Rhodesia were being made available to students.

A picket of the interviews to be held in February was organised but, due to the pressure, the interviews were cancelled.

The anniversary of Soweto was marked by students in many ways, of which the main event was a national student demonstration on 18 June — the first staged by NUS on an international issue. Posters, badges and stickers were produced and mobilisation was nationwide. The demonstration was attended by 3,000 students and the rally was addressed by Stephen Dlamini, President of SACTU, Nkosazana Dlamini, Vice President of SASO, Sue Slipman, NUS President, Dan Hopewell, NUSS President, and chaired by Charles Clarke. Due to a disagreement over the NUS's choice of speakers, an alternative rally was held at the end of the march.

1977 Student Conference

The 6th annual student conference on Southern Africa was held from 1-3 July at Loughborough University. Over 80 delegates attended from 40 colleges and, although numbers were fewer than the previous year, the calibre of contribution and discussion was exceptionally high. The conference was addressed by speakers from the liberation movements and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Many of the fundamental problems affecting solidarity work were tackled and as a result all present were much clearer as to the way forward. Consideration was also given to the problems surrounding the previous year's campaigning work, and two important factors emerged from this appraisal: that while much energy has been directed at the university sector relatively little emphasis had been placed on campaigning in the public sector colleges; and that not enough priority had been given to the development of student AA groups, to the detriment of the overall campaign. It was hoped to remedy these factors during the 1977/78 campaign.

The programme adopted by the conference again defined the material aid campaign and the economic boycott as the main areas for campaigning. It was felt that by concentrating on these two aspects students would make the most effective contribution to the liberation struggle. In addition, it is planned that action will be taken on academic, cultural and government collaboration, the development of stronger AA bases in colleges, and more work amongst women. Material on these areas of work is already in process of production.

At the end of August it was learnt that the University of Cape Town debating team was again planning to tour Britain during 1977/8. NUS/AAM requested colleges not to host the team and a letter outlining the arguments for this decision was circulated by NUS President together with a briefing document prepared by AAM.

The national network met 5 times during the year and with the introduction of study sessions prior to the meetings activists have had an opportunity to meet and discuss topical

points with representatives of the liberation movements. This aspect of the network meetings will be continued next years.

The AAM was represented at both NUS national conferences at Blackpool in addition to the University, FE and Polytechnic sector conferences in York. Contacts made at these conferences have been of immense value, particularly

in terms of an increase in membership. Over the year there have been many people who have facilitated the work on Southern Africa within the student movement and our thanks should go particularly to the staff of the international department of NUS, the NUS executive members responsible for Southern Africa, and the many local activists throughout the country.

Political Parties

There have been encouraging signs of increased support for the policies of the Anti-Apartheid Movement from the political parties and other political groups. This area of work requires systematic efforts: arranging meetings at party conferences, liaising with party headquarters, regular contact with the newspapers and journals of the parties and groups.

The Labour Party has taken a number of significant decisions on Southern Africa during the year. On 27 August 1976 the National Executive Committee issued a policy statement at a press conference; amongst the participants was the former AAM Executive Secretary, Ethel de Keyser, who was one of several AAM members serving on the Working Group which drafted the statement.

At the 1976 Labour Party Conference the AAM held a successful meeting and the Conference adopted overwhelmingly a comprehensive resolution on South Africa and Namibia. Also adopted by the Conference was a statement from the NEC which had been drawn up in response to the 'Kissinger proposals' on Rhodesia.

During the year the Labour Party has supported a number of AAM campaigns, including the distribution of the Remember Soweto petition and official support for the demonstration on 6 March. The AAM Executive held a meeting with the Labour Party NEC to discuss the implementation of the Party Conference resolution and, arising from this, it was decided to convene a joint meeting for delegates of organisations affiliated to the Labour Party, which is due to take place in December 1977.

The Liberal Party has also responded positively to developments in Southern Africa. At the Liberal Assembly in September 1976 an emergency resolution was adopted and the AAM held a well-attended meeting.

In order to encourage more local Liberal Party Associations to affiliate to the AAM, the Liberal Party's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Jeremy Thorpe MP, wrote to all Associations and at the same time urged them to support the Remember Soweto petition. Members of the Parliamentary Party have supported many of the AAM's initiatives and in August 1977 the Liberal Party leader, David Steel MP, attended the UN Conference for Action Against Apartheid, held in Lagos, where in his address he spelt out Liberal Party policy. His speech was reproduced in *Liberal News*.

The Young Liberals have once more played a very active role, both within the Liberal Party and in support of AAM campaigns.

The Communist Party has continued

Local Activity



The success of the AAM in developing nationwide activity has depended over the years on the persistent and rigorous work done by the local Anti-Apartheid Groups which form the backbone of the Movement. These groups, with the minimum of funds and depending on the sheer commitment of their members, have repeatedly enabled the AAM to sustain itself as a national movement. It is not possible to report in detail on the extent of activities which the 49 local groups and the Scottish committee have carried out.

One most welcome development has been the number of new groups which have been formed or resuscitated during the year. Altogether 15 such groups were formed - in Cardiff, Coventry, South London, Ipswich, Nottingham, Northampton, Rugby, Enfield Highway, Chelmsford, Burnley, St Austell, Leeds, New Barnet and East London, which split into two to form Newham and Hackney. A specially important development was the formation of a Scottish Committee to coordinate work at a Scottish level.

The activities of local groups in relation to particular campaigns are reported in the relevant sections of this Report. Campaigns in which they played a vital role were the 4 December day of action, the Barclays Bank day of protest on 20 January, mobilisation for the 5 and 6 March rallies, organising events during the Zimbabwe week of action from 9-14 May, and local activities to mark the Soweto anniversary. Groups also were the main organisers of signature collections for the Remember Soweto petition.

Local groups have also been active in supporting anti-emigration campaigns and the CANUC campaign. Many groups have raised funds for the Southern African liberation movements and for the AAM Office.

During the year the Scottish Committee, Manchester AA and Cardiff AA have organised ambitious and highly successful conferences focusing especially on work in the trade union movement, and the Southampton

Group is planning a conference on trade unions and Southern Africa for the end of November. Liaison between AA Groups and trade unions at a local level has grown significantly over the part year and in addition to the conferences mentioned above, Oxford and Coventry have done valuable work in building links with Leyland shop stewards, and Norwich have built up contacts with trade unions in companies with South African links. This aspect of AAM's work has been the subject of considerable discussion with local groups and it is hoped that the coming year will see a marked increase in trade union action at a local level.

The Oxford AA Group took a useful initiative in organising a conference on political prisoners at Ruskin College on 14 May. Over 65 delegates attended; participants included former political prisoners and representatives of the liberation movements. During the conference the launching of a petition calling for the release of former Ruskin student, David Kitson, was announced.

In an effort to improve liaison with the AAM Office and coordination of local activities, several meetings have taken place usually coinciding with National Committee meetings. These were held on the Saturday before the 1976 AGM and on 7 February, 7 May, 25 June and 11 September. They have provided a forum for debate on political issues, an opportunity for discussion on local campaigning, and an opportunity for the frank discussion of problems and difficulties which have arisen. The 7 May and 11 September meetings were held in Manchester and Birmingham respectively.

The AAM Office has also attempted to put onto a more regular basis the mailings for local groups and to ensure better liaison between the Executive and local groups. In addition, on an experimental basis, the National Committee held its first meeting out of London on 10 September in Birmingham. It is hoped that with these innovations liaison and coordination will improve during the coming period.

to respond positively to the campaigns of the AAM. Its Executive Committee at a meeting in September 1976, in the wake of the Soweto uprisings, issued a statement to its members calling for action against the apartheid regime and in support of the Southern African liberation movements. Both the *Morning Star* and *Challenge*, the Young Communist League's paper, have regularly reported AAM activities and given advance publicity for pickets, rallies, meetings, etc.

Plaid Cymru has actively supported AAM campaigning initiatives in Cardiff and in Wales as a whole. The Scottish National Party has given its support to the Scottish Committee's work.

During the year the International Marxist Group joined the AAM's National Committee and its members have been active in supporting AAM activities at a national and local level. *Socialist Challenge*, *Socialist Worker* and *Newsline* have all reported on AAM campaigns.

Parliament

Members of the Parliamentary Labour and Liberal Parties have been active in taking up issues on Southern Africa. The AAM has held three meetings in the House of Commons — on Bantustans, UN Action against Apartheid, and the Arms Embargo — all of which have been well-attended by MPs.

The AAM Office continues to brief individual MPs on different aspects of the situation in Southern Africa and in addition regular briefings on a wide range of policy questions are circulated to a large group of MPs. The effect of this work is reflected in the contributions to debates, the asking of Parliamentary Questions, and support for Early Day Motions on different issues.

During the year issues taken up have included the recruitment of mercenaries, political asylum for war resisters, the attacks on Botswana, detentions in South Africa, and the breaking of sanctions by oil companies. Individual MPs have also taken up a number of issues directly with the Ministers responsible.

MPs also directly support the initiatives of the AAM by signing letters, attending pickets and demonstrations, and addressing AAM meetings. Particular thanks go to the officials of the AAM in Parliament — Bob Hughes MP, AAM Chairman, Vice Presidents Joan Lester MP and Jeremy Thorpe MP, who have been especially active.

Black Community

This area of potential support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa remains an area where insufficient work is done by the AAM. However, there have been some developments. On 10 October a demonstration took place from Notting Hill to South Africa House, organised by a group of black organisations in London. The AAM cooperated with the organisers and London local AA Groups helped in publicising it.

Other black organisations have been in contact with the AAM both at a national and local level. The *West Indian World* has been particularly helpful in

publicising general information about the situation in Southern Africa and AAM campaigns.

The growth of racist organisations in Britain has naturally direct significance to the work of the AAM. A number of local AA Groups continue to be harassed by these organisations. The AAM nationally cooperated closely with Liberation in the organisation of their national conference on racism held on 19 March, at which Abdul Minty spoke for the AAM, and many local AA Groups have been closely associated with anti-racist organisations in their areas.

The Churches

During the period of this report there have been a number of important developments in this area of the AAM's work. At the initiative of the Methodist Church, a Task Force for Southern Africa has been established which provides an opportunity for liaison and joint action between secular and church organisations concerned about the situation in Southern Africa. This has resulted in a number of church organisations responding directly to campaigns of the AAM, for example the Remember Soweto petition.

The AAM has also been invited to participate in a number of meetings convened by the British Council of Churches, including an extremely interesting meeting addressed by Tim Smith from the New York-based Centre for Corporate Responsibility. The AAM has also liaised directly with the Catholic Institute for International Relations and Christian Concern for Southern Africa, especially over distri-

bution of their literature.

The church press continues to give favourable coverage to the activities of the AAM and many individual Christians play active roles in the work of local AA groups. At the Repression conference on 16 April, a group discussed specifically how more work could be developed in this area and a provisional decision was taken to convene a conference during 1978.

The question of church investments in South Africa remains an important area of debate. The Christian Institute for Southern Africa, in a significant statement issued on 20 September 1976, decided to support the economic boycott of South Africa. The policy of the British churches is currently under review. However, the action of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster in selling all but one of its holdings in Consolidated Gold Fields is an important indication of the shifts in thinking taking place on this issue.

Schools

The level of interest in the question of apartheid and Southern Africa within schools has been exceptionally high this year. Many requests from both school students and teachers for information on apartheid have been received by the AAM office. In addition, many schools have requested AAM speakers. The IDAF photographic exhibition has been bought by schools and requests have been received for other educational material.

Throughout the year conscientious moves have been made by teachers, student teachers and pupils to root out propaganda texts, not only on the question of Southern Africa but also on the wider aspects of racism.

The National Union of School Students (NUSS) has supported AAM activities and at local schools action has been taken against the establishment of Barclays branches in some school campuses.

Youth Organisations

Throughout the year many youth organisations have been exceptionally active on Southern Africa. The Young Liberals have attended pickets and associated themselves readily with regular AAM activities, as have the YCL, Young Socialists, UNYSA — to name but a few.

On 20 October the British Youth Council and AAM held a meeting in London, which was addressed by Andrew Chikuse of ANC (Zimbabwe), Ehrenst Jjitiange of SWAPO, Thami Sindela of ANC (South Africa), Jose Carlos Cunhal (MPLA) and Abdul S Minty of AAM. The meeting sent a letter to Prime Minister Callaghan protesting against the British veto at the

UN Security Council of a resolution calling for a mandatory arms embargo. The letter was signed by representatives of NUS, NUSS, NOLS, ULS, Young European Left, LSO, UCL, NLYL, YCL, NSC and ASC. The meeting followed a four-day conference on Southern Africa organised jointly by the Pan African Youth Movement and the Council of European National Youth Committees. The conference was attended by over 30 youth committees from European and African countries. It was an important development as it was the first of its kind in which youth of the two continents had held joint discussions, and it was significant that it was hosted by the British Youth Council.

Women

The role of women within the national liberation struggle was raised by MPLA leaders Ruth Neto and Maria Membo when they spoke at a London meeting on 11 November to mark the first anniversary of Angolan independence. The meeting was chaired by Terry Marsland and was also addressed by Polly Gaster and Mary Davies, who outlined ways in which women in Britain could support their sisters in Angola. The meeting was organised by the Angola Solidarity Committee (ASC) and the National Assembly of Women.

The need to involve more British women's groups in the Southern Africa campaign is an aspect of work currently in hand by the AAM and of concern to the student movement. At the NUS/AAM conference in Loughborough, lengthy discussion ensued on this matter and it is hoped that in the coming year Southern Africa will be an area of concern to national women's organisations.

INFORMATION

Anti Apartheid News

As the struggle in Southern Africa sharpens, the role of *Anti-Apartheid News* has become more important — both in mobilising public opinion behind campaigns initiated by the Movement and in counteracting the biased reporting of the national media.

The campaign for an effective international arms embargo against South Africa has been the issue to which *AA News* has devoted more space than any other during the past year. It has carried a series of detailed exposés by Abdul Minty of how Western countries break the ban, and a special feature on how British firms operating in South Africa manufacture military equipment for the apartheid regime.

AA News has tried to show the full extent of the reign of terror which the Vorster regime has unleashed on its opponents. It has reported on the scale of the mass detentions, the deaths of 24 detainees since March 1976 under torture by the security police, and on the trials held under the Terrorism and Sabotage Acts. It has also published accounts of torture given by school students who have fled the country and by journalist Nat Serache, as well as extracts from the eyewitness accounts collected by the Ministers Fraternal in Cape Town on the role of the riot police in the African townships.

In particular, it has campaigned for the release of the Pretoria 12, exposing how the Vorster regime intends to impose the death sentence on some of the accused and to use this as a precedent for further political hangings. Other issues on which *AA News* has carried special features are the Bantustan policy and Transkei 'independence'; the crisis in the South African economy; 'multiracial' sport; and South Africa's propaganda machine.

On Zimbabwe, *AA News* has tried to counteract the distortions in the national media by reporting on the objectives of the liberation movements and their statements during the various negotiations for a 'settlement' which have taken place during the past year. It has tried to alert public opinion to the horror of the secret hangings carried out by the illegal regime

and the brutality to which the population at large is being subjected. The September 1977 issue carried an article by a former teacher in Zimbabwe, Bridget Parsons, about the methods of the security forces.

The newspaper has reported on the role of the Turnhalle talks in South Africa's plans to maintain control in Namibia, and campaigned for the release of SWAPO leaders Aaron Muchimba and Hendrik Shikongo, sentenced to death under the Terrorism Act (see *SATIS*).

It has carried statements by and interviews with many leading figures in the Southern African liberation movements — among them Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe and Daniel Madzimbamuto of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front; Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO Secretary for Information, and Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO's UK representative; John Gaetsewe, Secretary-General of SACTU; Tebello Motopanyane, Secretary of the Soweto Students Representative Council, and Nkosazana Dlamini, Vice President of SASO.

The September 1977 issue also carried an interview with ex-Robben Island prisoners Mac Maharaj and Indres Naidoo about conditions on the Island. Mary Benson talked to actors Winston Ntshona and John Kani in an interview which appeared in January.

AA News has reported on anti-apartheid campaigns in different areas of public opinion — in particular the Labour and trade union movement, the churches, students and local anti-apartheid groups.

John Hatch wrote about the 1976 Labour Party Conference, and Terry Marsland, Deputy General Secretary of the Tobacco Workers Union, on the TUC.

In its September issue the newspaper initiated a regular page devoted to trade union solidarity action and a series of features on black workers in different industries in South Africa.

It has continued with its page 2 round-up of the activities of local AA Groups and other organisations, and has carried

longer features on some groups — eg the formation of Leeds AA Group and Surrey University students' campaign against job recruitment for South Africa.

Contributors have included Lord Avebury, Chris Searle, playwright David Edgar, Basil Davidson, Eric Abrahams and LCS Director David Hutton.

A new feature has been the use of the centre pages for spreads designed as pull-out posters giving basic information about the situation in Southern Africa: 'Rhodesia — The Facts' appeared in May, and 'This is Apartheid' in July/August.

AA News circulation remained steady at around 7,000. The annual subscription went up from £1.75 to £2 during the year and will be raised further to £3 from January 1978.

The Media

The task of the AAM in relation to the media is difficult and complex. In essence it is to gain the maximum favourable coverage for the cause of freedom in Southern Africa and at the same time to secure as much coverage as possible for the activities of the AAM. During the year there have been some healthy developments.

Two excellent films — *South Africa: There is no Crisis* and *The Lawbreakers* — were both screened at peak viewing times and vividly portrayed the repression in South Africa. Some initiatives of the AAM have also been accurately reported. The publication of *Shell and BP in South Africa*, the occupation of Brigadier Visser's hotel suite and the legal action against the Smith regime's Judge Macauley all made headline news. However, there were many other more important areas of the AAM's work which received little or no coverage. For example, the deaths in detention only finally made headline news with the death of Steve Biko in September 1977, and one cannot but speculate that if there had been a greater response to the initial deaths by the international press that his and other lives could have been saved.

During the year the AAM has held 14 press conferences covering issues as varied as Soweto, political prisoners, Robben Island, economic links, trade union action, etc. In addition regular press releases are sent to over 150 press contacts informing them of action being undertaken.

AA News has carried articles on bias in the press and media and in the January/February issue a special appeal was made to readers to phone or write in to protest at distorted coverage of the war in Zimbabwe. On 11 November AAM wrote to the Chairman of the BBC Board of Governors and the Chairman of the IBA seeking urgent meetings to discuss coverage of events in Rhodesia, but in both cases meetings were refused. Coverage on BBC TV News and ITN of the war in Zimbabwe continues to disturb us.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the many individual journalists who have helped the AAM during the year; and special thanks should go to *West Indian World*, *Morning Star* and *The Guardian*, all of which have reported in detail on campaigns of the AAM.

Speakers

The speaker service provided by the Movement has been fully utilised this past year and to date some 125 speaker meetings have been arranged. Many of the Movement's speakers also addressed student and trade union conferences, and a number of public meetings held by a variety of political organisations. The Movement also cooperated with the Namibia Support Committee and the Mozambique Angola Guine Information Centre to provide speakers, as well as with speakers from the liberation movements.

Student organisations represented the greatest demand for speakers and, significantly, requests from schools and sixth form groups have increased since last year. This is a trend which it is hoped will develop further in the coming year. Trade unions and political parties continue to use the speaker service frequently and this is in itself encouraging.

In addition, the office arranged 63 showings of the film *South Africa: There is no Crisis*.

Publications

During the past year every effort has been made to extend the publications and other campaigning material of the AAM. In the autumn the first two in a series of pamphlets on investment were published: *South Africa: The Crisis in Britain and the Apartheid Economy* by Dorcas Good and Michael Williams and *Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa* by Martin Legassick and David Hemson. Also published by the AAM were documents prepared for the AAM's trade union conference on 6 November and for the Conference on Repression on 16 April.

The United Nations Centre Against Apartheid also published a number of pamphlets prepared by the AAM, including *The Case for Economic Disengagement* by Abdul S Minty.

New leaflets produced included two on Rhodesia — *Rhodesia: Who are the Murderers?* and *Zimbabwe: Majority Rule Now*; a CANUC leaflet on the RTZ contract; and a number of general leaflets on South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole.

The range of posters has been greatly extended during the year. A series of five general posters and a set of three relating to political prisoners were produced in cooperation with the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. In addition, two new posters on Zimbabwe, two relating to events in Soweto and three general ones were produced.

Apart from the Movement's own publications, those of the International Defence & Aid Fund, United Nations, Africa Bureau and other organisations are distributed by the AAM Office — not only to groups and individuals in Britain but also to many countries throughout the world.

Obituary

M P Naicker

M P Naicker, known and loved by members and supporters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement as the ANC's Director of Publicity and Editor of SECHABA, died of a heart attack on 29 April 1977 (see *AA News*, June 1977).

A tireless worker, he gave everything to the job in hand — whether organising workers in trade unions, the passive resistance campaigns of the forties, the Defiance Campaign of 1952, and the many other activities in which he was involved during the years before he was forced to leave South Africa — and it was in the course of his work, in bringing out an issue of SECHABA, that he died.

During his almost 40 years in the struggle for freedom in South Africa, his contribution was immeasurable. He will be sorely missed by his friends and comrades and all those involved in the liberation struggle.

ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP

A total of 547 new members have joined the Movement since August 1976 but 420 have lapsed. AAM membership at present totals 2,486, of whom 2,164 are individual members and 322 affiliated organisations.

The apparent decrease over the year of 311 is, we hope, temporary: in the past few weeks we have been conducting a major check on Banker's Orders and 438 of them do not appear to have been honoured during the past twelve months. Letters have been sent to the people concerned and the new orders are now beginning to be received at the office, all for increased amounts. But for this check there would have been a net increase in membership of 127. There was a steady increase in new members each month until February, when it reached 84, but since then there has been a sharp drop in the monthly totals of new members.

The area in which the biggest gains have been made is in affiliated organisations. In particular, trade union affiliations have increased by 20 to 73, including four national unions (AUEW Engineering, National Union of Seamen, General & Municipal Workers Union and Furniture, Timber & Allied Trades Union). There have been increases in all groups except CLPs (now 67 — four less than last year): LPYS groups have increased from 2 to 8; two Liberal Associations have now joined and YL groups have increased to 5; CP groups have increased by 4 to 10, and 2 YCL branches have affiliated. The number of colleges/universities is 77 and miscellaneous organisations such as AA Groups and Community Relations Councils number 40.

In view of the thousands of supporters who turn up to demonstrations, there is much scope for a big increase, particularly in individual membership.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting is the major opportunity during the year for AAM members to play a part in formulating the activities of the Movement for the year ahead. Every year the July newsletter invites members and affiliated organisations to submit resolutions to the annual meeting and to nominate individual members to serve on the National Committee. At the AGM itself, usually held towards the end of October, members discuss and vote on the resolutions and elect the 30 individual members from those nominated.

The 1976 AGM adopted resolutions on a number of issues. A lengthy debate took place on a resolution dealing with Zimbabwe, which was eventually adopted by an overwhelming majority. Other resolutions covered investment, military collaboration, mercenaries and Namibia. The AGM was addressed by Bishop Trevor Huddleston, who spoke about the urgent tasks facing the AAM. A report on future action was also discussed.

Attendance was an improvement on previous years but still reflects a small minority of the AAM's total membership and we would take this opportunity to remind all members that it is their AGM and that it is open only to members of the Movement.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement. Its members comprise the President, Vice Presi-

dents and Sponsors, the 30 individual members elected by the AGM, representatives of up to 20 national organisations affiliated to the Movement and representatives of local Anti-Apartheid Groups. The National Committee also invites observers to its meetings from Southern African liberation movements and from organisations or groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to ten individuals may be coopted to the Committee.

During the past year the National Committee has met on six occasions. At its meeting on 29 November it discussed proposals for the implementation of resolutions adopted at the AGM. The 5 February meeting discussed a proposal from the Executive for a special policy statement — *Crisis in South Africa: What is our responsibility?* — which was agreed upon and eventually widely circulated in an effort to secure support for AAM policies. Local AA Groups also put forward a number of proposals about their work at this meeting.

The meeting on 25 April mainly discussed the AAM's financial situation, including proposals for subscription increases; whilst the 25 June meeting discussed a proposal for AAM work in the trade union movement. The National Committee meeting held on 10 September in Birmingham mainly discussed the political report of the Annual Report for presentation to the AGM.

A number of special guests were invited to address the National Committee, including Shapua Kaukungua, the newly-appointed SWAPO representative, and Stephen Dlamini, President of SACTU.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee, which advises the National Committee and sees to the execution of policy decided on, is the working committee of the Movement. It is elected by and from the National Committee and consists of the five officers of the Movement — the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Hon Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Secretary — and 8 individual members. It can coopt up to 6 individuals to assist in its work.

It meets at least monthly but can also be called upon to meet more often should the situation arise. In addition, the Executive Committee calls occasional meetings for in-depth discussion on particular aspects of the situation in Southern Africa.

AAM OFFICE

The AAM Office has six members of staff and the past year has seen two changes: Nancy White, who has given invaluable service to the AAM for over 8 years, decided to leave the staff in November 1976, although she continues to assist in a voluntary capacity; and Yvonne Strachan, who joined the AAM's staff in December 1975, left in August 1976 to work as NUS International Officer in Scotland. We would like to take this opportunity to thank both Nancy and Yvonne for their outstanding contribution to the work of the AAM.

We would also like to express our gratitude to all the many voluntary helpers without whom the office could not function. The willingness with which volunteers respond to the most menial and boring tasks is a real encouragement to the fulltime staff. Their assistance is vital, especially in the monthly distribution of *AA News* and all the other varied work connected with the Movement's campaigns and demonstrations.

