



the Anti-Apartheid Movement

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A N N U A L R E P O R T

Introduction

The past year has been momentous for Southern Africa.

The unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965 by the minority-based Smith regime in Rhodesia represented a new and desperate bid on the part of the forces of apartheid to create a white-dominated Southern Africa bloc, linked by a common race and colonialist policy; and to hold this rich area by the force of arms. As events over the past year have shown, UDI was not an aberration on the part of a small group of frightened men. It was another step in the process of sealing off the region of Southern Africa as a zone of white privilege, the roots of which were to be sought in the aggressive South African apartheid system and in the support given to that system by the great powers, principally, Britain and the United States. These developments have transformed the nature of the problem of apartheid : it has assumed a new urgency and dimension threatening to engulf the whole of Africa in a race war and to divide the world along race lines.

By their open support for the illegal Smith regime, South Africa's rulers have shown themselves determined to extend their evil influence and policies over the entire area of Southern Africa. They are bent on creating white-dominated dictatorships over the region's 33 million African population. Already Rhodesia has become an economic dependency of South Africa. In the mandated territory of South West Africa, South Africa's rulers have taken advantage of the International Court judgment and continue their colonial subjugation of the South West

African people. South Africa has joined with Portugal in far-reaching political and military arrangements to entrench their hold over Southern Africa. Inside - in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia - terror, intimidation and police violence reign on an unprecedented scale. The struggle for freedom and democracy has met with brutal repression; thousands of freedom fighters are held in prison, in many cases without trial. In all these territories the rule of law has virtually ceased to exist and every opportunity for peaceful progress towards democracy has been destroyed. Even the appeals and exhortations of the international community and the United Nations has been defiantly ignored.

South Africa

The international implications of these developments are profoundly serious. They have severely aggravated relations between nations and threaten to undermine confidence in the United Nations and its ability to carry out its responsibilities. The apartheid question has already divided the world along race lines : the oppression of masses of people on grounds of race and colour is a particularly virulent form of colonialism. Those nations who by their actions and policies continue to tolerate apartheid South Africa in the international political system are in fact and in deed collaborating and encouraging this colonialism.

What emerges most clearly in the past year is that the consolidation of the apartheid regime has been possible only because of the support and protection received from the Western great powers. The support which these powers give to the apartheid regimes in southern Africa take a thousand different forms : they obstruct every international effort to isolate apartheid, they give these regimes diplomatic support, extend investment and general economic support, provide them with the blue-prints and the capital to manufacture arms, exchange military personnel and information etc. etc. Without these supports the apartheid system would have long collapsed under the weight of the people's freedom struggle.

Britain's Policy

In its 1965 Annual Report, the Anti-Apartheid Movement warned that Britain was "step-by-step" joining the forces of apartheid and race reaction. The past year has amply proved the correctness of this view. We have seen this country exercising its responsibilities in Rhodesia in a way as to protect the illegal Smith regime and to permit South Africa to provide support for this regime - thus enabling it to survive. Mr. Wilson has admitted that Britain "has been protecting Rhodesia and carrying the can for this." By refusing to exercise Britain's sovereign powers in Rhodesia and by obstructing every effort in the Commonwealth and at the United Nations for decisive actions, the Rhodesian racist regime has managed to last out for a full year with growing prospects of remaining in power for a

further prolonged period. The past year has seen successive British retractions of its promises and undertakings on Rhodesia. The objective of ousting the Smith regime seems to be abandoned, and in the light of the numerous contradictory and equivocal declarations and acts such as the "talks about talks" and the current negotiations at Ministerial level with the Smith regime, the view is now widely held that Mr. Wilson's government is determined to reach a settlement in Rhodesia which sanctifies white domination and apartheid. The "six principles", on which Britain stood for a settlement, have now lost all their force as a result of the refusal of Mr. Wilson to acknowledge the indispensable condition for democracy in Rhodesia i.e. the development of majority rule government before the granting of independence. Not even the threats of Commonwealth disintegration and collapse have proved strong enough to dissuade Mr. Wilson's government from its present disastrous course of betrayal in Rhodesia.

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The policy of betrayal is equally evident in Britain's policy towards South Africa. In its relations with Britain, South Africa is very much more inside the Commonwealth than outside. It is true that Britain imposed a limited embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa in November 1964. But this embargo has lost all significance in view of the growing evidence of British capital and technical involvement in the expanding South African arms and military equipment industry. The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid has extensively reported on the nature and degree of this involvement. Further, South Africa continues to benefit from preferential trade tariffs on its exports to Britain; at a time when over 45 countries of the world are boycotting trade with South Africa, Britain is intensifying its trade and overall economic relations with that country. British capital continues to be invested in South Africa's profitable apartheid system and in quantities considerably larger than British capital exports to the non-white Commonwealth. In a rush of "independence" arrangements for the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Mr. Wilson's government has now explicitly placed these territories at the mercy of South Africa subjecting them to South Africa's economic and political dictates or "guardianship" as Mr. Vorster calls it. The future integrity and independence of these territories cannot be taken for granted. After decades of British colonial negligence, the government of Mr. Wilson has decided to disengage this country from the desitny of the peoples of these territories in the full knowledge that they will now become the victims of South Africa's apartheid and its cheap labour requirements. The enormity of the British betrayal is evident from the present economic condition of the High Commission territories - their poverty and lack of development, and their dependence on the export of that cheapest of commodities of the region - human labour.

The Labour Government has argued that its dealings with Rhodesia is governed by the need to avoid colliding with South Africa; this argument has been made to rest on several self-interested reasons,

in particular that the economic crisis does not permit any disruption of economic and trade relations with South Africa. The implications of this argument require to be noted. It means that Britain acknowledges and recognises that apartheid South Africa - already isolated and condemned by the whole civilised world - possesses a right to dictate the conditions of any settlement in Rhodesia and to determine the political and social order in Southern Africa. Such an acknowledgement on Britain's part is immoral. It puts Britain decisively on the side of racialism and apartheid. For, concretely, it has let Mr. Wilson's government to declare that :

- (a) It would oppose any move at the United Nations to impose mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia on the grounds that this would require international action to persuade South Africa to comply.
- (b) It opposes any commitment to the objective of majority rule before independence in Rhodesia.
- (c) It will oppose any effort at the United Nations to terminate South Africa's rights (as a mandatory power) in South West Africa.

These policy positions enforce the racial status quo in Southern Africa. It is this, which has moved responsible African statesmen to characterize Britain's policies as being racist.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is necessarily concerned with the course of Britain's policy towards the problems of race rule and apartheid in Southern Africa. For over seven years it has campaigned and struggled to mobilise British opinion in support of the anti-apartheid cause and to influence British policy accordingly. Throughout these years, the Movement has had the strong support from all sections of responsible opinion and in particular from the Labour Movement. Whilst in opposition the present leaders of the Labour Party and Government not only actively opposed apartheid in South Africa, but took several important initiatives to suggest that once in power they would introduce substantial changes in Britain's policy and actively work for non-racial co-operation and understanding among nations and peoples. Millions of people throughout Africa looked forward to the advent of a Labour Government in the belief that such a government would join in the struggle to uproot racialism and apartheid and to advance the cause of human liberation. The past two years of Labour's rule have severely disabused them, and indeed many people in this country, of these beliefs. The Prime Minister may well resent the charge of racialism being made against his government's policies. Whether he is aware of it or not, his government has pursued a course of the gravest danger to the peace of the world - a course which exacerbates the great racial divide. The emergence of a crude racial bloc in Southern Africa today is seen both in Africa and Asia as the direct result of Britain's policies.

Rhodesia

We have conducted an intensive campaign, calling for the implementation of mandatory sanctions through the United Nations and the establishment of a free and independent Rhodesia based on majority rule. A petition on these lines was circulated and signed by almost 10,000 people: the declaration, sent to public figures has 41 distinguished signatories; two leaflets "The Unholy Alliance" and "Crisis for Rhodesia" were widely distributed and our newsletters and Anti-Apartheid News emphasised the need for increased activity on the part of local Anti-Apartheid Committees and student groups. Their response was impressive. Our public activity started at the beginning of May and culminated in the massive march and rally in Trafalgar Square on June 26th.

The press conference to announce the rally was held in the House of Commons on June 21st and was chaired by Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, MP - Terence, Parry, General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, Professor Burhop and playwright David Mercer, all of whom had signed the Declaration - were present.

One of the distinguishing marks of the well-attended rally, was the variety of organisations represented on the platform. Speakers included the Rev. Bill Sargent from the British Council of Churches, John Grigg, Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., Lord Soper, Judy Todd, John Ennals (United Nations Association), Geoff Martin and others. Newspaper coverage was exceptionally good. We have followed this rally by an urgent appeal to Labour Parties to adopt our Rhodesian Manifesto - the response to this has been poor. However, there are a number of resolutions on Rhodesia tabled for the Labour Party Conference. We have emphasised the need for increased public pressure on Rhodesia in view of the rapidly deteriorating situation in Southern Africa.

South West Africa

An international conference on South West Africa sponsored by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Africa Bureau, took place in Oxford from 23-26 March. The 160 delegates were representatives of political parties and organisations from 40 countries and included 19 Governments from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. Mr. Olaf Palme, Swedish minister of Communications was the chairman. Among the conclusions of the Conference - that "The termination of the Mandate must be secured by the organisation of an international presence acceptable to the people of South West Africa, preparatory to the establishment of an independent Government of South West Africa. Such an international presence would require adequate military and security forces." The conclusions of the Conference have been widely noted.

Judgment of the International Court of Justice at the Hague on South West Africa was announced on July 18. At our press conference

held the next day at the House of Commons, we said that "action to rescue the inhabitants of South West Africa from the ravages of apartheid has been and remains a political obligation of the organised international community" and "that Britain bears a special burden of responsibility."

We have drawn the attention of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid to our statement on South West Africa.

Anti-Apartheid News

1. The newspaper has, throughout its second year of publication, demonstrated repeatedly its value to the Anti-Apartheid Movement, as a vehicle for our policy on various issues, and as a continuing source of news about Southern Africa particularly at those times (increasingly fewer of late) when international attention has been focused elsewhere.
2. Underlining the increased interest of the Movement in Rhodesia this past year the paper has carried a wealth of material dealing with that country, as well as with South West Africa and other territories neighbouring South Africa.
3. It has served as a useful forum for the ideas and opinions of a wide range of supporters of the Movement, and for the comments of newly-arrived refugees from South Africa. It has carried reports and articles of many professional journalists working in the field of diplomatic relations and African affairs, providing an opportunity of using some of the reservoir of goodwill towards the Movement existing among journalists.
4. The paper has again proved a most useful weapon in the grass roots work of the Movement providing a point of departure for many activities by local committees, and providing a job (i.e. selling) for any member of the Movement who feels that simply paying his subs. is not enough. Sales have again been great in the universities (as well as through local committees) - few in the trade unions and political parties.
5. Overall, however, sales have not increased in the past year, and the burden of printing and production costs to the Movement, despite the fact that no member of the staff is now fully employed on the paper, is growing too heavy to be shouldered much longer.

There is a need for comment, criticism and practical interest from the general membership concerning their newspaper. The cross flow which should exist between those who produce a paper and those who read it hardly exists with Anti-Apartheid News. The faults of the paper should be continually pointed out by an alert membership which really cares that news and opinion about South Africa be circulated, so that a better paper can be produced, easier to read, and

above all easier to sell.

6. The increasing proliferation of journals in the field covering Southern Africa gives cause for concern regarding circulation increases and fund-raising for Anti-Apartheid News, however, until such time as a more rational plan for the production of news by the various anti-apartheid groups can be worked out, the problems of boosting sales and raising funds must be considered as paramount if the paper is to continue publication.

Academic Boycott

Signatures of university lecturers in support of the declaration not to apply for or accept posts in South African apartheid universities continue to come in. We now have over 600 names.

Overseas Work

In March this year a meeting of overseas anti-apartheid committees was held following the International Conference on South West Africa. This was attended by delegates from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, United States, Netherlands, France and individuals from S.W.A.P.O. A very useful interchange of ideas took place based on a document previously circulated and dealing with the work of the Movement. 1968, designated by the United Nations as Human Rights Year, provided a most useful opportunity for anti-apartheid work. Letters and information on South West Africa and Rhodesia from committees and contacts indicate that there has been activity internationally on these questions.

World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

Campaigns for the release of Mr. Isaac Heymann, the first 180-day detainee, were organised. The subsequent court application by his wife was publicised and international pressure on the 180-day detention law was increased. Details of the Gosschalk application were also provided.

The trials of the bus workers in Port Elizabeth charged for the second time three and a half years later for striking (a charge on which they were originally found guilty and fined), this time for furthering the aims of the illegal African National Congress; the 194 in the Western Cape also charged again with offences for which they are already serving sentences; a campaign for the release of Bram Fischer and all political prisoners based on the 1963 United Nations resolution demanding their release; the demand for the return to Bechuanaland of Mr. Michael Dingake arrested in Rhodesia and handed over to the South African police by the Rhodesian police (he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment); the proposed legislation to disbar members of the bar and of the side bar in South Africa who are "listed" : all these issues have been publicised and inter-

national protest has been widespread, particularly on the question of Bram Fischer's arrest and subsequent sentence to life imprisonment. The International Commission of Jurists, in its latest September Bulletin, has mentioned the 180-day law, the Heymann case, the Gosschalk case, the trials of the 194 in the Western Cape, and the use of retrospective legislation in political trials. Both the I.C.J. and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers have taken up very strongly the disbarring of listed lawyers in South Africa as this is regarded as interference in the affairs of bar councils as well as being prejudicial to the defence of political accused. The whole Strachan trial and the general expose of prison conditions was given considerable publicity by World Campaign and subsequent reports have indicated an improvement in the conditions of the white political prisoners. The non-whites on Robben Island have not benefitted, however, and it is necessary to campaign particularly for improvement in their diet and in the system of punishment which is continually being meted out to them. They are put on spare diet on the slightest provocation and this means water in which rice has been boiled. This is detrimental to their health already affected by existing harsh living conditions.

Finance

Financially, the year 1965/1966 has been a difficult one. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has in the past been able to depend on campaigning activities to produce its own income, but for the last two years we have found that the automatic response to activities is no longer enough to keep us out of the red. This is in part, another result of a labour government. We can no longer expect so much official support from Constituency Labour Parties and Trade Unions, which would once freely distribute our material and contribute to our funds.

On the question of Rhodesia, where Anti-Apartheid finds itself strongly opposing Labour Government policy, we have had to build our support from an individual level once more. This has for the first time in several years put us in the position where we have to decide between campaigning and fund raising as alternative claims on the time and energy of our staff.

From a series of special appeals to members, letters written to sympathisers, from subscriptions, campaigning activities (special activities including the Trafalgar Square meeting in June and the very successful party in September), we have been able to raise over £6,000, but we have a considerable deficit and require a major fund raising event. The first night of a West End show was to have been this year's effort, but for various reasons the two shows offered to us fell through. The Executive has thus had to reduce expenditure. Two members of the permanent staff who left at the end of May and June were not replaced and the newspaper

has on two occasions appeared as four, not eight, pages.

Plans are at present under way to set up specific fund raising projects as far as possible outside the office. A raffle is being run and a second major raffle in which we hope to raise up to £700 is due to be launched at the Annual General Meeting in October. Profits from an exhibition in November at The Curwen Gallery of works by the American artist, Martin Weener, are all to be donated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

March 21st

The Anti-Apartheid Movement presented an "Anatomy of Apartheid" at the Central Hall, Westminster. This factual report taken from case histories and illustrating apartheid legislation is a valuable and moving document. John Hales produced it and also worked on the script in collaboration with Christopher Williams. The script aroused considerable interest and is to be used again both in this country and abroad. It is an important document and brought home to many in the audience the meaning of apartheid. It emphasised the need for intensified protest from people of conscience throughout the world.

Consumer Boycott

In January a letter was sent to all branches of the National Union of Mineworkers asking them to request the National Coal Board to boycott South African goods. The South Wales National Union of Mineworkers agreed to do this. An appointment with Lord Robens followed and our delegation which included David Ennals - then President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Tom Kellock, Q.C. and S. Abdul, was assured that the National Union of Mineworkers had no connection with its South African counterpart, and was in no way co-operating with it.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

At the opening of the Conference Mrs. Lena Jeger, M.P. delivered a letter to the Chairman of the Conference from the Anti-Apartheid Movement. This emphasised our support for the aspirations of the Rhodesian people for freedom and against white supremacy. We met a number of Prime Ministers and delegates to the Conference - some of them in conjunction with M.C.F. and a useful exchange of views took place.

Presidency

We are happy to welcome David Steel, M.P. as President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. David Ennals, M.P. after a long and close association with the Movement had to resign on being appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Army.

Representations to the Government

The Movement has made several representations to the Government during the past year.

Conferences

Meetings are being organised at both the Liberal and Labour Party Conferences. The subject at our meetings will be "The Crisis of British Responsibility in Southern Africa."

Anti-Apartheid Committees

There are now 30 Anti-Apartheid Committees of which 20 are active. Their activities have ranged from an intensive series of meetings towards the end of May and into June on Rhodesia - to pickets, jumble sales, the collection of signatures for the petition and large fund raising projects such as the folk song concert organised by the Hornsey Anti-Apartheid Committee in March of this year. However, throughout the past year they have organised regular meetings at which the facts about Rhodesia, South Africa, the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland have been publicly aired. They have distributed leaflets, pamphlets and Anti-Apartheid News, and committees such as Epsom & District have now produced their own stickers. The range of work of many committees has considerably increased and promised to encompass an even wider area in this coming year.

Students

Many student groups have organised a "South Africa Week" - concentrating on debates and teach-ins. Our contact with universities is being maintained. We sponsored the National Organisation of Student Rhodesia Action Groups and have co-operated with them for some six months. More work needs to be done on the dissemination of up-to-date information to students.

Membership

Our total paid up membership remained at around 2,500. Efforts are being made to remind lapsed members to renew their subscriptions. A campaign to recruit members and subscribers to Anti-Apartheid News has started - individual members are being asked to devote one evening a week to this, each in their own area.

Pamphlets, Leaflets, Badges

We have sent out a considerable amount of pamphlets, leaflets and posters this past year. Sales have taken place at meetings for which speakers have been provided through the office - and a great deal has been sold in response to requests through the post. We have also sold over 10,000 badges and more than 10 gross of A.A. pens.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Future

Ever since its formation in 1959, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has aimed at striking from the apartheid system the support it receives from Britain and the other Western countries. The Movement has believed that all its work in support of this aim can and would provide valuable assistance to those in South Africa who struggle for freedom and a non-racial society. In 1966 the Movement was actively drawn into the campaign for a democratic Rhodesia, because the Rhodesian problem is very much a part of the wider problem of apartheid and racism in Southern Africa.

In the coming year the Movement will attempt to intensify its campaigning work in support of this aim and in particular :

1. to mobilise the support of the British people for immediate and progressive changes in Britain's policy towards apartheid and race rule in Southern Africa, to oust the Smith regime and to set in train a process of political development in Rhodesia with the firm objective of creating a free and independent Rhodesia based on majority rule.
2. to advance the cause of sanctions and boycotts against the Vorster tyranny in South Africa, to educate British opinion about the importance and urgency for an adequate international policy, fully backed by Britain, which isolates apartheid and gives full support to those forces working for freedom and democracy in South Africa.
3. to win public support for international action aimed at terminating South Africa's rights (as the Mandatory Power) over the territory of South West Africa, to transfer these rights to an agreed international organ, charged with the task of creating, through democratic elections, a free and independent South West Africa enjoying the confidence and support of all its people.
4. Through public activity, to warn against the dangers of the emerging race alliance and bloc in Southern Africa, and to fearlessly expose all aspects of Britain's collaboration with apartheid.

In committing the Movement to these objectives, its members and supporters will undoubtedly be contributing substantially to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa and the larger cause of racial co-operation and peace in the world.
