

# **ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT**

## **Report On Activities And Developments**



**Annual Report October 1972 September 1973**

# The Anti-Apartheid Movement

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Annual Report

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# Foreword

All of us who are concerned with the cancer of racism ought to study this report carefully because it effectively summarises the various ways in which the Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought in the last year to combat the evil effects of racism and colonialism in Southern Africa both through the education of the public and through protest. But this report also indicates two features in the life of the Movement which I find most attractive.

First, it indicates that the thinking of the Movement both on the international scene and on its own task is constantly developing. So many movements seem to get bogged down in their attitudes and forms of action. The result is that through the years they are content only to think and work in ways that are familiar and maybe have become stereotyped. Not so the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Here is a movement that is truly dynamic, courageously facing the changing patterns of life in countries dominated by racist ideologies and ever seeking new ways of opposing such racism.

Secondly, that the Anti-Apartheid Movement does an incredible amount of work with very limited resources both in money and in man-power. This may not be attractive to any who are accustomed to movements that have financial security and

a large staff to carry out their policies. Because of its very nature the Anti-Apartheid Movement has neither. Yet strange as this may seem, I believe that this has been one of the secrets of the Movement's continuing strength. But this will only remain true as the rank and file of the membership share more and more actively in the work of the Movement.

Important as it is for us all to recognise everything that the Movement owes to the untiring efforts and financial sacrifices made by the Movement's staff, together with the faithfulness with which members of the Executive Committee discharge their responsibilities, this in itself is not enough. The Movement needs constantly more members who are ready both to give up their time and energy to supplement the day to day efforts of those who work in the Charlotte Street office, and are also willing to back their faith in the Movement by contributing generously to its financial needs. Provided this happens we can face the future with confidence.

This report bears witness to the fact that much has been achieved in the past year. But much more remains to be attempted. With the active support of our members it can and will be done.

Bishop Ambrose Reeves  
Hon. President

# General Introduction

## Britain and Southern Africa

Recent resistance developments in Namibia, South Africa and Rhodesia, taken together with defeats inflicted on the Portuguese forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné Bissau, have caused a serious crisis for the Unholy Alliance regimes in Southern Africa. Tactics of brutal retaliation, in the form of the Rhodesian border closure, the imposition of collective tribal penalties, and the elimination of entire village communities either by massive removals or bloody massacres, reflect the escalating panic of the minority rulers. And the cowardly assassination of Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the PAIGC, symbolises the desperate measures to which the enemies of African liberation resort in an effort to crush the freedom struggle. Another example of this desperation is the Sharpeville-type shooting in South Africa on 11 September when police fired at and killed at least 11 unarmed African mine workers.

The crisis for the white power system in Southern Africa is also creating serious problems for those outside powers with vested interests in the maintenance of white domination in that region. Domestic and international factors have forced some of these Western powers to appear to modify their support for the white regimes and, in the case of Britain, to postpone plans for legitimising the Smith regime. This is aimed to give the semblance of a more enlightened policy towards Southern Africa. However, Britain's perception that its major interest lies in the alliance with the white regimes was again revealed this year by the British Government's determination to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance despite protests at home and abroad.

Thus, what may be interpreted as a certain shift in British policy towards Rhodesia is more a temporary lack of enthusiasm to proceed with a settlement this year due to pressing considerations of British interests in Commonwealth Africa and the failure of the Smith regime to persuade any significant section of African opinion to reach an agreement. Nevertheless, the central feature of the Rhodesian issue is the new success of the liberation movement internally and the shock and dismay it has caused among the racist forces and their allies. As the African freedom movement advances the pressures for a British

settlement with Smith will increase since both parties are committed to preserving the status quo of white domination. It is therefore crucial that the campaign against a British sell-out in Rhodesia is maintained.

A series of heroic strikes in South Africa has followed the strikes by Namibian workers last year, demonstrating yet again the will of the African people to confront their enemies in the face of official repression. The black alliance of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples of South Africa by their joint action which has found expression, for example, within SASO and the formation of the Black People's Convention, is further evidence of the growing movement of the oppressed people to seize new initiatives in forging their struggle.

## Investment Debate

As the last Annual Report made clear, the growing militancy in Southern Africa is producing certain lobbies in the West committed to strategies which conflict sharply with the policies of the liberation movements. As predicted last year, the investment debate has reached new levels in Britain but even the AAM did not anticipate the intensity of the controversy produced by the articles in the Guardian this year. The exposure by Adam Raphael of British companies in South Africa was timely and thorough. But the terms within which the Guardian attempted to limit the debate exposed the real dangers to which large numbers of people are susceptible. It was suggested that the concession of higher wages for African workers is an indication that economic pressures, resulting in liberalised employment policies, will on their own produce radical change within South Africa. Once any campaign against discriminatory wage policies is conducted within the limits of this "change through internal reform" perspective, it can be seen as one attempting to prevent a real restructuring of the South African political and economic system, and one calculated to divert attention and support from the liberation struggle.

The hearings before the Parliamentary Select Committee show how determined company chairmen are to maintain their high level of profits and defend the racist practices of their South African subsidiaries. Inevitably much of the Movement's energy was taken up by the investment controversy, resulting in a greater understanding of the case for withdrawal despite certain difficulties

in conveying this case through the media. Unfortunately the welcome example of the World Council of Churches in selling its shares in companies with links in Southern Africa was not followed by British churches, although it has provoked a small movement in that direction. Much more work needs to be done within the churches since many well-intentioned church leaders also suggest that investment can be utilised for so-called "positive" results and in the process the case for withdrawal and disengagement is often distorted.

The investment debate is likely to continue for some time and it is important that it be well-informed in order to focus not only on whether or not higher wages should be paid but also on the wider and more long-term issues. The Movement has always been in support of equal wages for Africans, and above all on the right of African workers to full trade union and political rights, but it recognises the fundamental role of international investment in support of the apartheid system. The case for capital disengagement as part of our total policy of disengaging British support from the South African regime and redirecting it towards the forces of liberation, becomes clearer in the light of the advances being made by the African people. But powerful vested interests with substantial resources will undoubtedly attempt to intervene more directly to divert and sabotage our campaigns.

## Bantustans

Prime Minister Vorster's statement in February this year, that foreign capital investment in the "Bantu Homelands" would after all be allowed, will also be used in the argument for continued investment in South Africa. This capital - in theory only in the initial phase - will be controlled by the South African Government, thus reinforcing the present reality of the situation in the Bantustans which, far from providing separate freedoms, are actually the bases of exploitation. South African law also entitles certain areas in the Bantustans to be reserved for particular types of employment, thus providing a reservoir of unemployed labour for exclusive exploitation by the white authority.

## Namibia

The Report of the UN Secretary-General covering negotiations with South Africa about Namibia is due shortly to be con-

sidered by the Security Council. At its summit meeting in May, the OAU called for an end to these contacts, and the UN Council for Namibia has also taken the same stand, which supports the official SWAPO position. There is, however, a suggestion that certain Western powers are hoping to work for a temporary "suspension" of talks so that they may be resumed later - presumably once the Vorster regime has succeeded in establishing the mini-Bantustans within Namibia. It is important to record the growth of armed struggle and the military success of SWAPO, and the united opposition of the Namibian people to the fragmentation of their country shown by their successful boycotts of fraudulent structures created by the apartheid regime and their refusal to be intimidated by official acts of repression. Premier Vorster in Windhoek in August responded thus to the growing militancy in Namibia: "If they look for confrontation they are going to get it.. ..they will suffer the consequences."

## Struggle in Mozambique

At this point in time it is in Mozambique that the heaviest battles are being waged against the white power system. The Movement's anticipation over a number of years that battles fought in any one of the Southern African territories will be battles for the future of the whole region is borne out by recent events in which the struggle has escalated heavily to involve not only Portugal's intensified commitment, but larger and larger commitments of Rhodesian and South African forces and their strategic and political over-planning. The advances of FRELIMO forces and the growing threat to the Cabora Bassa Dam pose new political and military problems for the Unholy Alliance. The white regimes had not anticipated the widespread victories of the freedom struggle and there is now the real problem of defending not only the Dam itself but also the electricity cables which stretch over hundreds of miles. The bulk of Rhodesia's international trade is carried along the railway line through Mozambique. The railway is vulnerable to guerrilla actions and it is thus the freedom fighters who will most effectively enforce United Nations sanctions against the illegal regime.

## Future Perspectives

All these developments sustain not only the view that the white regimes act in unison against the advance of African

freedom in Southern Africa but also the view that the economic, political and military problems of all the territories under colonial and race rule - whether of the South African, Rhodesian or Portuguese variety - are directly linked to each other. It is therefore necessary to look at the region as a whole and note the varying and new initiatives which are being taken by the oppressed people of the entire region. But whilst there is every reason to view the achievements of the past year with satisfaction, we must not

lose sight of the fact that Western governments are increasing their supportive links with the white régimes. With Britain's membership of the EEC, the Common Market area has become the most important region from which the Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African rulers draw support and comfort. This means that more intensive campaigns have to be initiated within the EEC area as a whole to resist the growing economic, political and military links.

# Campaigns

## Investment and Companies

During the past year the operations of British companies in Southern Africa became an issue which hit the headlines and engaged the attention of a much wider section of the British public than ever before. The Movement's work in this field over many years became more meaningful to the general public when attention was focused on the issue by a wave of strikes by black workers which began in Durban in December 1972 and then by the front-page coverage given by the Guardian in mid-March to reports of the below-subsistence wage rates paid by the South African subsidiaries of British companies.

The AAM's distinctive contribution to the debate has been to explain the political role played by British investment in Southern Africa - how all foreign investment there strengthens the white minority regimes and how wages paid to African workers cannot be significantly raised as long as the apartheid system continues. The Movement has consistently argued the need to campaign for the withdrawal of British investment from the area, and organisations opposed to apartheid have been asked to sell their holdings in companies which have such investment.

In February the AAM supported a call by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) to 27 of the biggest British companies to withdraw from South Africa, and circulated information about their operations there (see Trade Union Movement).

At a press conference held shortly after the Guardian disclosures on 19 March, the AAM announced a four-point programme of action: intensified activity for an end to all future investment in South Africa; pressure on companies not to recruit British workers for their South African subsidiaries; a call for no loans to be made to the South African Government or to companies operating in South Africa; and the continued exposure of British companies which exploit black workers. The conference received good coverage in the Times, Guardian, Financial Times and Morning Star.

The Movement believes that all international links and particularly economic links with South Africa help to maintain the apartheid system. Investors in the system automatically develop a vested interest and when challenged by the oppressed majority support the white supremacists, since by their investment

they have already intervened on the side of the status quo. The public exposure on investment has centred on the question of whether wages are below, on, or above the Poverty Datum Line calculated by the white authority and this has tended to obscure the issues. It has been suggested that an increase in wages is the first step in the process towards radical change. On 27 March the Movement organised a meeting of interested groups in the House of Commons, at which Adam Raphael and Abdul Minty debated these issues.

The public outcry prompted the investigation by the House of Commons Select Committee on Expenditure, into "how far the wages and conditions of employment of African workers employed by British companies in South Africa represent a factor affecting the investment prospects, export performance and reputation abroad of British industry". The Movement made contact with the Committee, offering to submit written and oral evidence. A document was prepared with subject headings on foreign investment and the evolution of the apartheid economy, the conditions of black labour under apartheid, and giving the case for Britain's withdrawal from South Africa. This was submitted early in June and the Movement was subsequently informed that this evidence had been accepted.

In May the Committee proceeded to take oral evidence, mainly from companies, which was printed in detail in the Guardian. The information given and attitudes displayed by many of the company chairmen simply confirmed the obvious, in that the companies were there for profit and prepared, if not always eager, to adopt the attitudes of the apartheid society to their black labour force.

In the mid-sixties the Movement produced a list of all British companies with subsidiaries and associates in South Africa, which has been updated each year and was now much in demand. A list of church investment was researched and published, together with documents on individual companies and a paper giving the arguments on the issue.

Throughout the year the AAM campaigned for the sale of shares in companies with South African subsidiaries by trade unions, universities, local councils, churches and voluntary organisations. In January the TUC sold shares worth £106,325 in six companies as a first step towards implementing the resolution passed at its 1972 Congress in Brighton, which committed it to selling shares in all companies operating in Southern Africa. A number of trade



unions took similar action, including the GPSA, the General & Municipal Workers Union, and the print-workers union SLADE & FW.

The Inland Revenue Staff Federation passed a motion censuring British companies who denied their African workers a living wage at its conference in June. At the NUT Conference in Scarborough from 21-26 April, in response to a call from Brent Teachers Association, the union's Treasurer told delegates that the Executive would consider selling holdings in companies with South African interests if it received enough requests to do so from local associations. Teachers' associations which subsequently passed resolutions urging the Executive to disinvest include Bristol, Bexley, Lewes, Mid-Sussex, North London, West London and Hackney. Nottingham Teachers Association withdrew its account from Barclays Bank in February. During the year there were moves within the local government officers union, NAIGO, to urge local councils to dispose of shares held by their pension funds in companies involved in South Africa: Manchester City Council and Stockport Metropolitan branches passed resolutions calling on their respective authorities to sell such holdings. In Oxford, workers at British Leyland's Cowley works wrote to company chairman Lord Stokes protesting against wages paid by Leylands to black South African employees, and in April Oxford Trades Council passed a resolution calling on the Government to freeze British investment in South Africa until British firms there paid equal pay for equal work "regardless of race, colour or creed".

Some local councils disposed of shareholdings in protest against firms' South African operations. Derby Borough Council announced that it would sell its Superannuation Fund's holdings in companies investing in Southern Africa shortly after the Guardian's disclosures; Greenwich Borough Council sold holdings in firms with South African interests in December; Hammersmith Borough Council sold £10,000 worth of shares in De Beers in March; and Lambeth Borough Council announced that it would stop dealing in the shares of companies which paid black workers below the poverty line in April. In May, the strongly Tory Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council sold £25,000 worth of shares in Consolidated Gold Fields and Bowater Paper Corporation. Other councils under pressure to dispose of holdings because of their South African involvement were Barnet, Stockport County Borough, Coventry, Surrey, Berk-

shire, Manchester and Birmingham. Stockport County Borough Council decided to raise the issue at the Association of Municipal Corporations. During the year Camden, Newbury, Brent and Liverpool Councils announced that they would boycott South African goods. Camden Council also withdrew its account from Barclays Bank.

The student campaign to persuade universities to sell shareholdings in companies involved in Southern Africa gained considerable support throughout the year. Student unions at Salford, York, Durham, Swansea, Leicester, Bangor, and University College London passed resolutions calling on the university authorities to dispose of shareholdings. In Manchester students and staff joined with groups outside the university to conduct a prolonged campaign which culminated in an occupation of the university administration building on 7 March. During the campaign the authorities revealed that they had already sold shares in Consolidated Gold Fields. At Hull, students continued their attempt to force the authorities to sell their big holding in Reckitt & Colman: a demonstration was held during the university's Founders Day service on 4 May and a Union General Meeting mandated the President and President-elect not to attend any degree ceremonies until the university had disinvested. The campaign scored a major success when Leeds University announced in February that it would sell £19,000 worth of shares in ICI.

In May, a letter was sent by Bishop Reeves to all constituents of the British Council of Churches. The letter argued that "the decision of the World Council of Churches calling for the withdrawal of investment from Southern Africa (was) a most positive contribution towards change...". It concluded by asking for support in "calling on companies with links in Southern Africa for an assurance that they will freeze all further investment in the area and cease the recruitment of skilled white labour...". The response to this request has in most cases been a positive one and the campaign is being pursued.

The Church of England Commissioners sold £1½ million worth of shares in Rio Tinto Zinc and announced that they would not invest funds in companies which carried on a substantial part of their operations in Southern Africa. In June, the Church of England's Central Board of Finance announced that it would sell its holding in Consolidated Gold Fields, and earlier the Chelmsford Diocesan Board of Finance had announced that it would not

invest in companies which invested wholly or mainly in Southern Africa. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Portsmouth and the Trustees for Roman Catholic Purposes sold their holdings in Consolidated Gold Fields, and the Methodist Church disposed of a small holding in Consolidated Gold Fields.

The Architectural Association decided to sell all its holdings in companies with South African interests. Newbury Constituency Labour Party sold shares in Slater Walker and used the profit on the transaction to set up an anti-apartheid campaign fund. Anti-Apartheid supporters attended the annual shareholders meetings of British Leyland Motor Corporation, RTZ, ICI, GEC, Barclays Bank, Beral Tin and Wolfram, and Charter Consolidated to protest against their Southern African operations.

The growing impact of this campaign has had the effect of provoking the apartheid government and its supporters to extend its already massive propaganda effort abroad. A series of advertisements has appeared in the Times and Guardian - and we are promised more - placed there by a mysterious "Group of Ten" attacking at various times the campaign against investment in South Africa, the World Council of Churches for its humanitarian support for Southern African liberation movements and, most recently, the United Nations. These advertisements have also appeared in Scandinavia and in Holland. The Movement was able to ascertain that Judge Gerald Sparrow, public spokesman for the Group of Ten, had recently written a book on South Africa - "Not What I Expected" - for which the "South African Government has offered a British publisher £1,500 guarantee as an inducement to publish..." (Guardian, 30.8.73).

On 19 September, the Trust Bank of Africa Ltd placed its first advertisement in the Guardian, showing a picture of Bantustan Chief Mangope and quoting him as saying: "Economic sanctions make me shudder." A series of similar advertisements has appeared in New Zealand and this first one in Britain will doubtless be followed by others.

More work needs to be done in Britain to explain the basic apartheid structure. This was sharply revealed on 11 September with the tragic killing of 11 African miners at the Western Deep Level Mine at Carletonville by the South African police. The workers had no guns and were legitimately protesting against poverty wages, but Anglo-American - as with other companies - ultimately depends on the brutality of the South African police to

help protect them against the legitimate demands of African workers. The Movement issued a press statement which was widely reported. A cable protesting at these murders was sent to Anglo-American, and a demonstration was organised on the day the news appeared in Britain - 12 September. Some 200 people, including a number of MPs, took part in the demonstration.

News of the use of an ICL computer sold to the South African Bantu Administration Department to computerise information about South Africa's African population collected from the operation of the Pass Laws first appeared in the Guardian (5.9.73) following a report prepared by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science. Statements strongly condemning this sale were issued by both Labour and Liberal Parties, and Mr Wedgwood Benn for the Labour Party said: "A future Labour Government will demand a tough guarantee in future sales of computers to South Africa about their end use" (Financial Times, 6.9.73). The Movement, which had accumulated information on ICL and its operation in South Africa, produced an information document for distribution which was given to the press and widely used.

In a reply to a letter from the Movement protesting at these sales, the ICL chairman stated that the sales conformed to United Kingdom law and that ICL would not alter their policy of trading with South Africa. A protest from the Movement to the Prime Minister produced a reply from the Department of Trade & Industry which included the sentence: "Moreover, the present Government like its predecessor does not believe that an extension of the embargo would be justified and computer sales are accordingly matters for the discretion of individual companies." The AAM will campaign against this direct collaboration in the implementation of the apartheid system.

The issue of investment, linked as it is with the very foundation of apartheid in exploitation for profit, is likely to remain a central one in the work of the Movement.

## The EEC

British Membership of the European Economic Community could have serious repercussions for the South African economy - repercussions which the South Africans are doing their best to avoid by seeking a separate trade deal with the EEC. In this

effort they are receiving the assistance of some member countries of the European Commission. In June 1971, South Africa established a mission to the EEC. South African Government officials have toured EEC countries and numerous trade missions from Britain and the EEC countries have visited South Africa during the year. In September it was reported that "... British industrialists are now urging the South Africans to use Britain as a base from which to penetrate the Common Market. One possibility openly discussed is the setting up of South African financed companies in Britain to import finished and semi-finished components from the apartheid state. The prospects have been canvassed by a Birmingham Chamber of Commerce delegation that toured South Africa for three weeks in what the South Africa House bulletin, Today's News, called 'a trade mission with a difference' (Tribune, 21.9.73). The South African response is as yet unknown and the EEC tariff barrier on industrial goods will still apply, but such an arrangement would give South Africa a foothold within the Community which it desperately needs. Six trade missions are due to go to South Africa in the next three months, representing more than 100 British companies; a further 12 are planned for next year and this excludes visits by representatives of individual companies.

The Movement, alert to these developments, wrote to Dr Mansholt when he was President of the EEC Commission, urging that both South Africa and Portugal be excluded from any "special" agreements. A document giving the background to the situation was prepared and circulated to AA groups and other contacts in EEC countries, together with a covering letter urging action on the issue. The document was translated and published in the press in both France and Belgium. The Movement also circulated this background material to the representatives of African countries who met in Europe early in the year to discuss their association with the EEC. Copies of the document were also sent to their related High Commissions and Embassies in Britain.

The EEC countries, with Britain, provide the bulk of South Africa's investment capital requirements. Such capital support will be given only if European industry and finance are confident that the apartheid economy will be protected from any disruption resulting from Britain's membership of the Community. An EEC sell-out to South Africa is a very real danger. South African citrus fruit now benefits from a seasonal tariff

reduction of from 15% to 5%. Portugal has a special agreement with the EEC which came into force on 1 January. Mutual trade barriers will be gradually abolished and after a period of transition goods will be able to circulate freely between the countries involved. Though extensive lobbying on this most important issue continues, it is clear that a great deal more needs to be done to achieve a trade and capital embargo against the racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa.

## Anglo-Portuguese Alliance

Portugal's colonial wars against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné Bissau have met with greater setbacks than ever in the past year. The growing strength of the liberation movements and the considerable advances they have made have resulted in an even closer collaboration between the minority white powers aimed at preventing the liberation of the African sub-continent. Increasingly brutal reprisals by the Portuguese against the African populations of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné Bissau have now been reinforced in Mozambique by South African and Rhodesian troops operating there.

Portugal, the poorest country in Europe, is able to pursue these colonial wars, on which almost half the country's annual budget is spent, with the support it receives from Britain and the West. Through its membership of NATO it obtains aircraft, ships, vehicles and arms, all of which have been used against the liberation movements. 25% of all capital investment in Portugal is British and British investment in the colonies is growing. Britain also gives political support to Portugal at the UN and other international fora.

On 20 January, Amílcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guiné and Cape Verde (PAIGC), and recognised as one of the most prominent leaders of the African struggle against white supremacy, was assassinated in Conakry, Guinea. His death was a loss not only to the people of Guiné Bissau but to people throughout the world struggling against racism and oppression. Those who had met him on his tour of the United Kingdom the year before were shocked and outraged, and statements mourning his loss and calling for an end to Portugal's colonial rule in Africa were issued by political parties, trade unions and many other organisations and individuals. The Movement participated in the vigil called

by the CFMAG on the evening following the news of his assassination. A statement issued to the press condemned Cabral's murder and continued: "...the AAM is comforted by the knowledge that his death will in no way deter the people of Guiné Bissau in the struggle to which Cabral dedicated his life". A public meeting, jointly organised by the CFMAG and AAM, was called on 29 January as a tribute to Cabral and in protest at his murder. Oscar Monteiro, FRELIMO representative, flew to London to take part. He spoke of Cabral as a fighter in a fight that went far beyond the frontiers of his own country. Other speakers were Basil Davidson, a close friend of Cabral who had recently visited Guiné Bissau, the High Commissioner for Tanzania, Mr Nhigula, and AAM's Hon. Secretary, Abdul Minty; and the meeting, attended by over 600 people, was chaired by Tony Gifford, chairman of the CFMAG.

This year marks the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, and the Movement, together with the CFMAG and other organisations, has worked intensively in the End the Alliance campaign and against the celebrations planned by HMG to mark the occasion.

In January and February, a series of workshops organised by CFMAG, had taken place throughout the country and many local AAM groups participated. Political parties, trade unions, local councils and trades councils were called upon to refuse to take part in the 600th anniversary celebrations, and letters were sent to the Duke of Edinburgh urging him not to go to Portugal to participate in the celebrations. In the six weeks prior to his visit, scheduled for early June, the Duke was met by demonstrators at all his public engagements calling for the cancellation of the visit. The Movement took part in many of these demonstrations and undertook the organisation of the demonstration outside the Royal Academy on 22 May. Key dates in the campaign were 16 June, the date on which the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance treaty was signed in 1373; 20 June, on which the Movement, together with the CFMAG, organised a public meeting at the Central Hall Westminster; and 15 July, on which a mass public demonstration against Prime Minister Caetano's visit was planned. Pickets and marches took place outside many Portuguese consulates throughout the country on 16 June and in London a picket was mounted outside the Foreign & Commonwealth Office in which all the constituent groups of the End the Alliance Campaign took part. A letter calling for the cancellation of Prime Minister Caetano's visit and an end to

the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was delivered to 10 Downing Street.

The End the Alliance Campaign which, in addition to the AAM and CFMAG, involved the Africa Liberation Committee, the Labour, Liberal and Communist Parties, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the Portuguese Workers Committee, National Union of Students, United Nations Youth & Student Association, a number of trade unions, Young Liberals and Young Socialists, among other organisations, gained strength and support from every sector of the community. Leaflets, posters and other background material were widely distributed and following the 16 June demonstrations the Movement's energies were concentrated on the Central Hall meeting.

**South Africa Freedom Day** - 26 June - is a day marked each year by the AAM. In South Africa it is a day noted since the early fifties as a day of national protest, a day of rededication and a day of resistance. This year the AAM commemorated South Africa Freedom Day with a meeting - Southern Africa in Struggle - which reaffirmed the unity of the forces of resistance throughout the African sub-continent. The main speakers were Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Marcelino dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front). Almost 2,000 people attended the meeting and gave a standing ovation to the liberation movement leaders. Other speakers were Judith Hart MP, chairman of the Labour Party Southern Africa Solidarity Fund, Richard Wainwright, former chairman of the Liberal Party, and Abdul Minty, Hon. Secretary of the AAM. The chairman was Winston Pinder of the CFMAG, and the collection was taken by Maurice Styles of the Union of Post Office Workers.

In Manchester, on the weekend following the Central Hall meeting, a conference on "Revolution Against Portuguese Colonialism" was attended by some 300 people. This weekend conference, organised by the CFMAG and supported by the AAM, produced a high level of discussion and promised the expansion of political work on this issue far beyond the limits of this particular campaign.

An article written by Father Adrian Hastings, giving details of the massacre at Wiriyamu, appeared in the Times on 10 July, five days before Prime Minister Caetano's arrival in London. Information on Portuguese brutalities against the African people in Mozambique, Angola

and Guiné Bissau had been reported in AA News since 1971, though not with the detail given in Father Hastings' report, and the outraged reaction of the British people was immediate. The information given in the Times was taken up by the press and has had wide international repercussions which still continue. The groundwork of informing a larger number of people about the facts of the situation in the Portuguese colonies and the political implications of the liberation struggle for Southern Africa as a whole had been done in the months leading up to 15 July, principally by the CFMAG within the framework of the End the Alliance Campaign. The Times report gave an additional spurt to the campaign. Over 10,000 people turned out for the public demonstration on 15 July in protest at Caetano's visit, the first such visit by a Portuguese Prime Minister since before the fascist coup of 1926. Delegations from political parties, trade unions, universities and many organisations took part. The march, which started at Charing Cross and went past the Foreign Office and the Portuguese Embassy, ended with a rally in Hyde Park. Once the programme for the visit had been obtained, demonstrations were organised at every public event. The effect of the campaign was to bring larger numbers of people to a clearer understanding of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese territories and in Southern Africa as a whole. It also involved more people in providing direct assistance to the liberation movements.

Since July, FRELIMO has continued its advances in Mozambique, and the PAIGC declaration of Statehood in Guiné Bissau is expected before the end of the year. In the liberated areas of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné Bissau more people are being educated, receive medical attention and other social services than was ever the case under Portuguese colonial rule. The struggle continues and the solidarity work in Britain and elsewhere must expand to meet its growing needs. In an interview with Marcelino dos Santos in AA News (September 1973) he said: "Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia are consolidating their alliance especially in the military field. In Mozambique, South African soldiers, air force planes and helicopters are operating quite openly. And we find growing military implications in their links with the West - US, UK, France, West Germany individually and through NATO ... Our struggle is just one part of the general struggle in Southern Africa,

developments in South Africa and Zimbabwe and Namibia have already created new situations and will continually create new situations for all of us... The main contribution that British people can make to victory for our struggle is to convince - force - the British Government to change its policy of collaboration with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia."

## Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

In September last year, Michael Mawema, formerly organising secretary of the African National Council, reported on the manoeuvres undertaken by the Smith regime to reverse the massive NO given by the Africans to the Smith-Home settlement proposals. At various times during the year there have been reports that representatives of the Rhodesia Settlement Association, constituted by Rhodesian commerce and industry, had collected a number of African signatures agreeing to these proposals and that these were to be delivered to the Foreign Office in London. In February, a two-man delegation from the Settlement Forum, another organisation formed with the intention of attempting to ensure the acceptance of the settlement proposals, did in fact visit London. However, even the pro-settlement media treated these developments with some scepticism and no further moves appear to have been made in this direction.

The Rhodesia Front Congress, held in the same month, agreed on further apartheid-style legislation which was subsequently presented to the Salisbury parliament and which included the African (Registration and Identification) Bill introducing full-scale South African type Pass Laws into Rhodesia. On 9 January 1973, the regime closed the Zambia/Rhodesia border in a direct attempt to blackmail Zambia and force the latter to cease supporting the liberation movements. Following strong international protests, this decision was reversed on 3 February, two days after an announcement by President Kaunda that the border would now remain sealed until there was "one man, one vote" in Rhodesia.

The upsurge of armed resistance in December clearly indicated that the freedom fighters had now developed a solid base within Zimbabwe and events during 1973 have confirmed this view. The response by the Smith regime to the successes of the guerrilla fighters has been brutally repressive action against

the civilian population. Whole communities are now punished if suspected of assisting guerrillas - by the imposition of fines and the seizure of property without resort to any legal procedure. Further measures were announced which imposed sentences of up to 20 years imprisonment for aiding guerrillas, and on 8 September the Times reported that "New laws tabled in the Rhodesian Parliament today (7 September) will bring in the death penalty for harbouring guerrillas or failing to report their presence..."

The arrest and detention in February of Peter Niesewand, BBC and Guardian correspondent, caused world-wide outcry. Although one of many held in detention without trial, his incarceration provoked widespread protests which to some extent also served to highlight the situation of other political prisoners and detainees. The effect of this pressure brought about the release of Peter Niesewand on 4 May and his immediate expulsion from Rhodesia.

Numerous press reports have stated that the African National Council and newly-formed Rhodesia Party have been negotiating to agree on constitutional proposals for a settlement. Little is as yet known of these negotiations, nor of their likely impact within Rhodesia. However accommodating, they will not, according to press reports, be acceptable to the Smith regime.

The armed struggle in Zimbabwe is growing, immigration figures are falling and many more people are leaving the country. There is also now a growing possibility that America's importation of Rhodesian chrome will be stopped. The two-pronged campaign by the Rhodesia Front has been on the one hand to seek a settlement with HMG and on the other to intensify racist repression within the country and to bring in the full range of apartheid legislation. The development of the freedom struggle has strengthened the ties between the white minority rulers of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal. The number of South African para-military police and troops in Rhodesia has increased and frequent consultations have taken place over the past year between Ian Smith and Prime Ministers Vorster and Caetano.

During the 1972 sanctions debate it was reported that Sir Alec Douglas Home had suggested to his back-benchers that this was the last time that sanctions would be renewed. These reports were widespread at the time and the Movement intensified the campaign for the maintenance and strengthening of sanctions as an essential

instrument of pressure in the hands of the international community. Before the sanctions debate in Parliament, a briefing was sent to all MPs covering developments to date. It was pointed out that HMG's representative at the United Nations had used the veto three times in the Security Council on a resolution calling for "no independence before majority rule", and that the Conservative Government gave every indication of wanting to be rid of the Rhodesian dispute. Though the sanctions order was passed, Sir Alec made no proposals for extending or strengthening sanctions. Prior to the debate, meetings had been organised at both the Labour and Liberal Party conferences, where Rhodesia was a major issue, and a strong resolution in support of the strengthening of sanctions and for no agreement on Rhodesia except on the basis of one man, one vote had been passed by the former, and MPs of all parties were lobbied. Early in January a letter, similar in its demands to the resolution, signed by MPs from both the Labour and Liberal Parties, was placed in the columns of the Times. Also at this time information on sanctions-busting was given to MPs; this was taken up and an investigation instituted.

A conference titled "Rhodesia After Pearce : Betrayal or Freedom" was organised in February with Guy Clutton-Brock as Chairman and Didymus Mutasa, then recently released from detention in Rhodesia, as one of the speakers. Attended by over 200 people, the conference divided into discussion groups during the afternoon session to formulate plans for the ongoing campaign. Three documents were prepared for the conference and have since been more widely distributed.

In calling on the British Government to take action on behalf of Peter Niesewand, the AAM stressed the need for HMG to discharge its frequently claimed responsibility for Rhodesia and to press for the release of all political detainees and prisoners, in particular of the six Africans who were sentenced to death at this time. Work on behalf of these men and others who have since been sentenced has continued (see Political Prisoners).

In May/June, the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, together with Daily Mirror reporter Nick Davis, exposed a sanctions busting organisation under the name of Zephyr Holland Transito NV. A series of articles appeared in the Mirror and these were drawn to the attention of MPs who raised questions in the House in reference to a number of British firms involved. Subsequent information uncovered by the investigation was made available to the

Movement and this was sent out widely to the UN, the relevant embassies and to the press.

In June, the Rhodesian and South African universities withdrew from the Association of Commonwealth Universities Conference following a campaign conducted by the National Union of Students, the Edinburgh Action Committee and the AAM (see Academic Boycott).

While continuing its own work on this issue the AAM also became part, together with other organisations, of the Justice for Rhodesia Campaign, which was set up at the end of January.

Press coverage is constantly sought both for the Rhodesian issues and for action in Britain. Information which comes to the Movement and which will assist in exposing the situation is passed on and suggestions are made emphasising certain aspects at particular times.

During the year a series of meetings and press interviews was arranged for Jason Moyo, Treasurer of ZAPU and member of the ZAPU/ZANU Joint Military Command, and for Herbert Chitepo, Acting President of ZANU.

With the change of governments in Australia and New Zealand, the majority view at the Commonwealth Conference was a more positive one and new fields for pressure are now revealed. The need to maintain our work on this issue at a high and sustained level is vital.

The AAM Executive has maintained close contact with the Zimbabwe liberation movements throughout the year.

## Namibia

Since the founding of the United Nations in 1945-6, innumerable resolutions have been passed by the General Assembly, Security Council and latterly by the Council on Namibia, condemning South Africa's illegal occupation of the territory and the continuing exploitation of its human and other resources. Following the World Court decision given in June 1971, which pronounced "...that South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration", and that UN member states were to refrain from any acts "implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to such presence of administration", an initiative for "talks with South Africa" commenced in an attempt to defuse the situation. Visits to South Africa by Dr Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, and then by his

representative, Dr Escher, finally produced the report in November 1972 in which it was stated that "the majority of the non-white population of Namibia supported the establishment of a united independent Namibia". Despite this conclusion and the unreconcilable distance between the United Nations conception of self-determination and that of the South African Government, Dr Escher put forward the view that the Vorster proposal for an advisory council "would appear to be in line with the aim of maintaining the unity of Namibia".

The South African Government, while clearly anxious for "talks" to continue which may effectively freeze the issue, has proceeded with the administrative incorporation of the territory on the basis of apartheid, established Bantustans and encouraged foreign companies to increase their investment in and exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, particularly its mineral wealth, where the return on investment averages 15-20%.

Despite arbitrary detentions, arrests, assault and killings by the South African police and troops, resistance to South Africa's illegal presence has grown, both at the level of armed resistance and of unarmed open defiance of the apartheid authority. African leaders in Namibia rejected the establishment of the "Advisory Council" and the National Convention, representing all the main political organisations, declared that it would inevitably mean a body composed of "tribal lackeys of the government". In his statement to the UN Council on Namibia, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma declared that the people of the territory "rejected further diplomatic contact with the enemy" and that "the intensification of the armed liberation struggle was the only language understood by South Africa". On 30 April, 3,000 people demonstrated against the setting up of the Ovambo Bantustan, which was established on 1 May. Armed confrontation between SWAPO freedom fighters and South African troops escalated - notably in the Caprivi Strip. The "election" of the Ovambo legislative council took place on 1-2 August and met with an almost total boycott. 50,000 people were eligible to vote and only 1,300 did - a turnout of 2.5%. 35 of the 56 seats in the Assembly are to be filled by government appointees, and of the remaining 21 only 6 were contested. The Windhoek Advertiser reported that Namibians had showed a "cold contempt"

for the election. Meetings were held in the period leading up to the election, despite the State of Emergency. These were brutally attacked by the South African police and many were arrested, including a number of SWAPO Youth League leaders.

During the first half of the year covered by this report, the campaign on Namibia focused on the sales of Namibian Karakul fur, marketed as SWAKARA, which are held every few months by Hudsons Bay & Annings Ltd. A leaflet was published pointing out that nearly half the world's supply of Karakul came from Namibia and the 1972 season earned £25 million, of which £10 million was revenue for the South African Government and £15 million income for the white Karakul farmers. This contrasted with the wages of African shepherds and farm labourers who average £5 per month and whose labour was the basis of the industry.

Working closely with SWAPO's London Office, Operation Omega, the National Union of Students and Friends of Namibia, a number of demonstrations were organised at these sales. Letters were delivered to the Managing Director calling on him to discontinue all imports and the marketing of Namibian Karakul. The South African press and the Windhoek Advertiser showed great interest in these protest demonstrations, which were widely covered; they also received attention in the British press. London is the main centre for these fur sales, which are also conducted in Copenhagen among other capitals. Letters were sent to groups in Denmark who, on 12 December, organised a demonstration at the Fur Centre. All 250 workers refused to handle the sales and demonstrators disrupted the proceedings by distributing leaflets and making speeches from the floor. Since the Copenhagen demonstrations, efforts have been made by the companies to keep the dates of the sales secret, but at the sale on 19 March a further demonstration took place and a letter was sent to the Danish Foreign Minister by Danish youth organisations, asking that UN resolutions be observed and that all trading with Namibia be stopped. A document on "Namibian Karakul - An International Slave Trade" was produced and widely circulated, together with a background leaflet.

On Namibia Day, marked this year on 1 June, action was focused on RTZ, which is developing a uranium mine at Rossing in Namibia. Demonstrators holding placards which exposed the exploitative nature of the RTZ operation stood outside

the RTZ Offices and leaflets giving the background to the RTZ question were distributed to passers-by. It was interesting to note that this demonstration was also covered in the Windhoek Advertiser. In May, AAM and other share holders had attended the RTZ annual meeting and asked questions in relation to the wages paid to their African workers in South Africa and their mining operations in Namibia.

Public exposure for the Namibian issue is sought at every opportunity and interviews have been arranged in the national press - particularly the Guardian - for SWAPO leaders visiting the UK. The issue has also been raised in the AAM documentation to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference.

In August a list of all foreign investment in Namibia, prepared by Roger Murray, was produced by the Movement.

## Political Prisoners

The torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners and detainees in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia are basic features in the implementation of apartheid and of the racist system in Rhodesia. And in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné Bissau, where the liberation struggle has advanced to a state of open warfare against the colonial oppressors, massacres and hideous brutalities have been perpetrated by the Portuguese in a vain effort to halt the progress of the liberation movement: the Wiriyamu massacre is not an isolated instance. Brutality is institutionalised in Southern Africa's machinery of oppression.

Campaigns on behalf of political prisoners have in a number of instances been of assistance since these regimes, dependent as they are on international support, are vulnerable to international opinion. Specific cases on which we have worked over the past year include the trial of the Pretoria Six, the hangings in Rhodesia and, in the latter part of the year, the initiation of an international campaign for the release of all South African political prisoners, which will continue.

Towards the end of last year the Movement produced and circulated a list of the families of political prisoners, detainees, the banned and the banished, in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. This is an annual task and undoubtedly supportive for the people suffering in this way.

Also in December, the Movement sought



and obtained publicity in the Sunday Times for the then forthcoming trial of the Pretoria Six - Theophilus Cholo, John Hosey, Alexandre Moumbaris, Justus Mpanza, Petrus Mthembu and Gardener Sejaka - particularly in reference to the fact that the London flat of Alexandre Moumbaris had been raided by the South African police. Members of Parliament were informed and the matter taken up with the Home Secretary, who replied that a thorough investigation had been carried out but supporting evidence for this allegation had not been found.

A demonstration was organised to coincide with the opening of the trial on 14 March, and Mrs Moumbaris, wife of Alexandre Moumbaris, and John Hosey's parents, his brothers and sisters, all took part. Interviews on radio, television and in the press were arranged for the two families, and the case was widely publicised. Of the four African accused there was at that time little available information.

Prior to the opening of the trial a letter giving details of the notorious Terrorism Act, under which the accused had been detained for many months and then charged, information on the trial, and calling for an international campaign, had been sent to international organisations and anti-apartheid committees throughout the world. The response was good. The trial also received regular coverage in the British press, notably in the Guardian and Morning Star. In Coventry, home of the Hosey family, a Defence Committee was formed, which has made an impact throughout the country. Public meetings were arranged and a petition demanding the release of the Pretoria Six was launched. Mr Hosey, father of John Hosey, flew out to South Africa to be with his son during the trial. He managed to see all six accused and on his return to this country he was able to publicise the facts about the tortures to which they had been subjected in detention and the conditions under which they had been held.

In anticipation of the verdict, a 24-hour vigil was organised outside South Africa House starting on Sunday 27 May. Many ex-political prisoners from South Africa took part, together with members of the Coventry Defence Committee. Sentences were in fact passed a month later and though savage - the four Africans, Theophilus Cholo, Justus Mpanza, Petrus Mthembu and Gardener Sejaka, received 15 years each, Alexandre Moumbaris 12 years and John

Hosey 5 years - they were less harsh than anticipated in view of the importance the South African authorities had given to this trial. The campaign undoubtedly contributed to this. John Hosey Sr returned to the UK on 21 June and a press conference was arranged for him at the House of Commons. Students and a number of trade unions participated in this campaign. As a shop steward convenor and a member of the T&GWU, John Hosey Sr was particularly active in generating support within the trade unions together with the AAM. An appeal is at present under way for his son.

Joel Carlson, a South African lawyer who had defended many political accused, visited this country at the end of May for the publication of his book - "No Neutral Ground" - on his experience in South Africa. A number of Anti-Apartheid Committees were contacted and meetings were arranged for him in Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham and Oxford, and a public meeting took place in London on 31 May. Michael Foot MP, Abdul Minty and John Ennals also spoke at the meeting, at which Joel Carlson gave a most moving account of a number of political trials in which he was involved. He brought home to those present the day-to-day repression experienced by the black people of South Africa and the courage of the political accused, many of whom are now serving long prison sentences in South African jails.

In April a remarkable document, which had been smuggled out of Robben Island - the centre for all male black political prisoners, was publicised in the Guardian, revealing that the conditions of these men had deteriorated even further. Presented to the authorities by 50 prisoners, it showed how their minimal rights and privileges had been eroded. The Officer Commanding the Island took this as an act of defiance and stripped these prisoners of their rights to read, write, smoke or study. Two of the prisoners' wives then presented the case to the Supreme Court, seeking a restitution of these rights, and won their case, although this is probably only a temporary victory. This was the first time that political prisoners had managed to bring their grievances to open court.

The death sentences passed on African freedom fighters by the illegal Rhodesian regime in May this year provoked little reaction in Britain. The Movement alerted MPs and though an early day

motion was tabled it received little public attention. A press statement was issued and Bishop Reeves, in a telegram to the Foreign Secretary, urged the British Government "immediately to relieve the three Africans under sentence of death". The Foreign Office replied that "in the light of our experience in similar circumstances in 1968.. ..the action you suggest would not help to achieve the objective of saving the lives of the people concerned". On 21 May, these three freedom fighters were hanged. In June another three were hanged. And at this time death sentences have been passed on at least four more. The criminal savagery of the illegal Smith regime was further revealed in early September with the introduction of the death sentence for all those people found to be helping guerrilla fighters. On 15 September it was reported that two more freedom fighters had been hanged. It is time that the British Government made public that it will bring to justice the members of the illegal regime who have for so long committed crimes in defiance of all law in the territory for which HMG claims responsibility.

Ten years after the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution, with one dissenting vote - that of South Africa itself - calling for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, international action is urgently needed to press for the release of all political detainees and prisoners, many of whom have been held for ten years and more. A letter was sent to the UN Secretary

General in July calling for the initiation of a world-wide campaign and copies, together with a covering letter urging similar action, were sent out internationally. Committees in Ghana, New Zealand, Belgium and Canada are among those who have responded to date, and a further letter is being sent urging public action on this issue between 11 October, declared by the UN Committee on Apartheid as a day of solidarity with political prisoners in South Africa, and 10 December, Human Rights Day.

A Conference on political prisoners will take place on 8 December in London, organised by a preparatory committee on which the AUEW (TASS) Kitson Committee, the Ruskin College Kitson Committee, the International Defence & Aid Fund, National Union of Students, Liberation and the AAM are represented. Titled "South Africa - The Imprisoned Society", the Conference has a wide sponsorship from the churches, trade unions, parliament, academics and the arts, and from some 40 ex-political prisoners from South Africa.

The individual plight of Namibian, Zimbabwean and South African political prisoners is constantly brought to public attention via the media. These men and women, the genuine representatives of the great majority of people in these countries engaged in a struggle against racist oppression which has been internationally recognised as legitimate, demand the constant attention and the moral and material support of the international community.

# The Boycott

Scientific and other professional bodies in the United Kingdom and internationally continue to work with their counterparts in Southern Africa, frequently via a formal interlinked structure. This despite the fact that in South Africa membership of these bodies is largely confined to "whites only", and throughout Southern Africa the black population, by virtue of their economic position and laws governing educational and job opportunities, are deprived of the possibility of obtaining the necessary professional qualifications. Rejection of apartheid, and a refusal to collaborate with it, has resulted in South Africa's exclusion or resignation from some international organisations, such as the Food & Agriculture Organisation (FAO) 1963, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) 1963, International Labour Organisation (ILO) 1964, UNESCO 1955, and the Commonwealth Medical Association in 1970.

Collaboration between South Africa and specialist bodies in the United Kingdom has been the target of at least two organised campaigns which in the past year have broken new ground and made some gains within the fields of architecture and medicine.

## Architects Against Apartheid

A brief report on work in this area was given in last year's Annual Report. At that point the campaign was in its infancy and concentrated on the links between the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA). A committee of architects, together with a representative from the Movement, has since met regularly and, while continuing to work for the severance of links between the RIBA and the ISAA, has in fact extended this campaign over a far wider area.

In November last year the RIBA Policy Committee issued a memorandum which was sent to all RIBA members and circulated to the press, and which concluded with a recommendation that the RIBA "should make no change in its policy towards alliance with the Institute of South African Architects and the recognition of South African Schools should continue to rest on professional and educational and not political criteria". The case was made that involvement in South Africa is inevitably a political

one in support of the apartheid system, and the document provided some startling evidence - amongst the approximately 2,000 architects in South Africa there is not a single African architect and only six from the Coloured and Indian communities, which, together with the African majority, comprise 82% of the population. The Movement issued a document, which was sent to all RIBA Council members, commenting on this memorandum, and followed it with a basic fact sheet on the background to RIBA/ISAA links and the position of would-be black architects in South Africa. This document was also sent out with the resolution for signature to be presented to the February Council meeting of the RIBA. The resolution called for the severance of links and the withdrawal of "RIBA recognition from the five listed universities since entry is governed by considerations of race...". Signatures were obtained by the architect members of the committee, and it was agreed that at least one hundred signatures were needed. The resolution in fact obtained well over 300 signatures, many of them among the most distinguished names in British architecture, and though the resolution was defeated at this first attempt, the debate was started and continued throughout the year, notably in the columns of Building Design and in the Architects Journal, the RIBA Journal, Building, and Architectural Design.

In January, the Council of the Architectural Association (AA) passed a resolution calling on the RIBA to sever all links with South Africa and in future to debar from membership architects who obtained work in South Africa. The AA also resolved "that in future architects practising in South Africa will not be accepted for membership of the AA". In conveying the text of this resolution to the President of the RIBA, the President of the AA wrote: "...the case for the severance of formal ties with South Africa is now both unanswerable and urgent." This resolution was also passed by the AA Students Union, who had sent letters urging similar action to all Architect Student Unions. Liverpool students were particularly enthusiastic in their response and a number signed the resolution and sent it to the RIBA.

Following the RIBA Council meeting and the debate, which was widely publicised in both the national and the architectural and building press, the group circulated candidates for the RIBA Council elections, which took place in

May. The issue has been debated at local councils and among architectural students, who have also been circulated on this by the National Union of Students. In October/November, meetings are planned to take place at the RIBA and the AA. And currently in preparation is a list of all architects and architectural firms who have accepted work in South Africa, and the list of building firms with subsidiaries or associates in South Africa is being brought up to date for distribution to architectural firms and local councils.

Members of the committee have been extremely active and have maintained a regular correspondence with the press. A similar campaign has been initiated within the Royal Town Planning Institute. Overall, the campaign has attracted a quite exceptional amount of attention in the specialist press and brought a number of new supporters to the Movement.

## Medicine in South Africa

The medical group, whose first meeting took place in March this year, set themselves a number of objectives, including: (a) publicising the facts about health care and medical practice in South Africa; (b) working for South Africa's exclusion from international and national bodies whose basic principles in accordance with the Declaration of Geneva and the International Code of Medical Ethics demand that all people be treated in response to their need irrespective of race, colour or creed; (c) discouraging institutional exchanges with South Africa; and (d) dissuading medical journals from carrying all advertisements for posts in South Africa since these are exclusively for white applicants.

In July, a document giving the basic facts was prepared and mailed to all the national constituents of the World Medical Association, of which the South African Medical Association is a member and which is due to meet in Munich in October. The Embassies and High Commissions of these countries were also sent this material and the covering letter urged that consideration be given to the expulsion of South Africa from the WMA in view of the situation as regards medical practice within South Africa. The constitution of the WMA requires that notice of such a move be given many months in advance and those Medical

Associations who have written to say that they would support a motion of this nature and some who are prepared to initiate it, may find it difficult to achieve their objective at the October meeting. We are confident, however, that the issue of the SAMA's membership will be raised.

The Medical Association for the Prevention of War produced a factual leaflet on Medicine in South Africa early in September, which was widely distributed in the UK, internationally and in South Africa itself. The Movement assisted in publicising this document, which received coverage in the national press and in medical journals. On 4 September, the Daily Mirror carried a story on the information contained in this leaflet and the announcement that the British Medical Journal would no longer carry advertisements for jobs in South Africa. This issue had been raised earlier at a meeting of the British Medical Association.

Even for the apartheid society the health statistics in South Africa are startling: the infant mortality rates per 1,000 live births for 1971 are - Whites 19.4, Coloureds 121.0; Asians 38.3. The infant mortality rate for Africans is not publicised by the South African Government but estimates vary from between 250-500 per 1,000 live births. The figures for the last notifiable year, 1967, for Kwashiorkor, a disease arising from malnutrition, are: Africans 9,675, Whites 7, Coloureds 1,046, and Asians 12.

The need for intensive work in this field is clear and this campaign, which has made some impact in a comparatively short time, has a considerable potential.

## Academic Boycott

The academic and cultural boycotts consistently provoke a debate even within the ranks of the AAM. A number of people are uncertain of their precise position on this issue, feeling that within the framework of education and culture there should be free and regular contact while advocating the isolation of the racist regimes in all other spheres. It is an issue that can be argued but, in the final analysis, faced with the fact of apartheid in education and culture, the unequal amounts spent on black as opposed to white education (in South Africa - £10.54 for Africans, £174.84 for Whites; in Rhodesia - £10.10 for Africans, £101.50 for Whites), the courses and standard of education available to Whites, both at school and

university level, which are not available to Blacks, leads one to conclude that all institutional contacts are a form of collaboration with apartheid and must be rejected. South African academic posts advertised in this country are for Whites and the posts are at universities segregated on the basis of colour. The frequently repeated argument that the "seeds of liberalism" are planted (by implication, only by people from abroad) through contact, ignores the expression of liberal thought by black and white South Africans within the country, consistently cut off by the apartheid government which, if anything, has become even more harshly repressive.

The Movement, after lengthy discussion and in response to the appeal by the liberation movement, has worked to ensure that the academic and cultural boycotts are maintained, and this year decided on a campaign both to reactivate the academic boycott and to ensure its extension to institutions and to many more individuals. Academics, including those who signed the original declaration in 1965, pledging that they would not apply for nor accept academic posts in universities practising racial discrimination, are being circulated, and support for the campaign is being sought from the relevant unions.

The Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) has played a major role in assisting the segregated universities of South Africa, despite apartheid education and South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961. It has hitherto ignored the call for an academic boycott and continued to advertise posts in South Africa and provide opportunities for the South African English-speaking universities to strengthen their links with universities abroad. When it became known that invitations were to be extended to the University of Rhodesia to participate in the ACU Congress - held in Edinburgh in August - and that certain South African universities were to be invited as observers, the students and Rector of Edinburgh University initiated a campaign for the withdrawal of these invitations. The campaign was backed by the AAM and the National Union of Students, particularly its Scottish Region. This request was put to Sir Hugh Springer, Secretary-General of the ACU, at a meeting held in the initial stages of the campaign, which started in March.

Letters were written to the Ministers of Education in ACU member countries and

to their High Commissions in Britain. All British Vice Chancellors and Principals were contacted. The NUS Conference in April called for the withdrawal of the invitations to Rhodesia and South Africa, and this call was echoed by a meeting of student activists from 14 Scottish colleges on 2 May. A mass meeting of students took place on the following evening, and on 28 May, the day of the Edinburgh University Court meeting, student representatives from colleges throughout Britain picketed the meeting. This demonstration gained wide publicity. As student pressure mounted, it became clear that a number of countries - mainly African - would not participate in the Congress if South African and Rhodesian representatives were present. These included Nigeria, Mauritius, Zambia, Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, Tanzania and Sierra Leone. In Britain, Warwick University decided it would not attend the Congress if the invitations to South Africa and Rhodesia were upheld. In early July, it was announced that both the Rhodesian and South Africans had withdrawn from the Congress.

In early August, the AAM sent a letter to all participants at the ACU Congress urging the exclusion of South Africa and Rhodesia and an end to recruiting academic staff in the UK for these universities, which practise racial discrimination and white domination. At an ACU Council meeting following the Congress, a decision was taken to stop advertising posts in South Africa and to bar South African participation in the ACU. The question of Rhodesia was deferred.

This campaign was supported by students and academics, trade union branches, the Scottish TUC, political parties, many MPs and leading members of the Church. It is the forerunner of similar campaigns which are planned for the coming year.

## Cultural Boycott

The cultural boycott was implemented in reverse when the group, Barclay James Harvest, after touring South Africa, found that students at the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool, Portsmouth and Hull consequently protested against their performing at these universities. Students consulted with the Movement and discussions took place with a representative of the group. The group were not at that time members of the Musicians

Union - which since the early sixties has refused to allow any of its members to go to South Africa - and after discussion with officials of the union decided to join. They also issued a press statement to the effect that they would make no further visits to South Africa "while present South African laws prevail".

While in South Africa they had played before segregated audiences. If they had wished to play before multi-racial audiences, permits would have been needed. Eartha Kitt, during her tour of South Africa last year, performed separately before White, Indian and Coloured audiences. Africans were not permitted to see her.

In the Institute of Race Relations Yearbook for 1972 it is reported that the International Arts Festival planned for 1974 in Johannesburg was cancelled when permission to make it a multi-racial festival was refused. Cultural apartheid continues to be strictly applied, though the laws governing its application are often confusing and there have been a few examples of its relaxation following the granting of a permit by the Government.

Playwrights who have banned the performance of their work before segregated audiences in South Africa continue to uphold the boycott, though there have again been initiatives from South Africa to undermine their stand.

In anticipation of the opening of television in South Africa in 1974, the Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians (ACTT) General Council last year passed a resolution declaring "a black on South Africa as a place of employment", and this policy, which does not apply to news and current affairs, has been strictly enforced.

For those who are uncertain of the value of the cultural boycott, we quote a letter from a black South African which appeared in the Melody Maker of 20.1.73:

"The expression 'Keep politics out of rock' leaves a sour taste in my mouth, considering that politics dictates every single minute of my life where I am able to sleep, eat, work, study; who I am allowed to love and marry; where I can urinate; whether I can sit upstairs or downstairs in a bus; the list is endless.

"Even as I write this letter, American jazz-rock group, Chase show their approval of White racism by performing to a whites-only crowd of 20,000 in a country which outnumbers whites 6 to 1

in relation to the Blacks.

"So keep up the good work, MU and NUS."

## Sports Boycott

Such changes as have taken place in apartheid sport within South Africa can be claimed as successes for the international campaign which has to a large extent achieved South Africa's isolation in this field, while the demands of non-racial sports bodies and individual black sportsmen have, through this policy, been strengthened. White reaction within the country has been varied: rarely has it led to a demand for truly non-racial sport, often for token or face-saving black participation.

Generally, the "separate development" policy has been extended to sport, and "multi-national" games have been staged with participation of black sportsmen as members of separate African, Coloured or Indian "national" teams. This form of black participation has been used to lure international athletes and teams to specially organised international events.

The "mini-Olympics" held in Pretoria from 23 March to 7 April were the second such contest held in South Africa. Invitations were extended to sportsmen and women in Britain, France, Holland, a number of other European countries, Australia and Japan. The Movement wrote to the different sports bodies in these countries urging their members to refuse the invitation, and individuals in Britain who were known to have been invited were approached in a similar vein - in a few cases with some success. The Brazilian, West German and British football teams which had been invited to take part in the Games obtained the agreement of the international football federation (FIFA), which on 26 January announced that this would be allowed. They claimed, however, that this in no sense cancelled South Africa's suspension from FIFA, which took place at their Congress in Tokyo in 1964. This move was condemned by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, by SAN-ROC and other bodies, pointing out that football in South Africa continued to be played by teams chosen on the basis of race. Member countries of FIFA were also contacted and a few weeks later FIFA reversed the decision and the three countries withdrew. This was a severe setback for white South Africa, which had been jubilant about the earlier decision. The Games took place under strict security precautions.

The international boycott has forced the South African Government, now under some domestic pressure, into an increasingly bizarre series of policy shifts for international consumption that few can claim to understand completely, but in essentials the policy of apartheid sport remains unchanged. In May, the Times correspondent reported an announcement by Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Sport, in which he reiterated that there would be "no mixed domestic sport...at club or provincial level or at a national level in the same team or league. The broad outline of the sports policy...was that no mixing of the races would be allowed". Despite this and the comparative achievements of the international boycott, sports exchanges continue to take place at certain levels. In January, the Derrick Robins XI, an all-white British cricket team, undertook a tour of South Africa, and in August, the Women's Cricket Council announced that the second Women's World Cup would take place in South Africa in 1977-78. The South Africans, however, are unlikely to allow the West Indian team members of the WCC to take part so it is doubtful that this will happen. The Newport rugby team toured South Africa in May and the manager, Alf Pawling, assured the South African public that an all-white Springbok rugby tour of Britain would now be acceptable.

But the drive for the severance of all links with racist sport continues to meet with successes and those few apartheid teams which do manage to tour Britain find that they have to play with few spectators or none at all. This was the case with the squash tour which started in December last year. Prior to the arrival of the team, representatives of the Movement met the Secretary of the Squash Rackets Association and urged the withdrawal of the invitation to the South Africans, and all the clubs at which the team was known to be playing were approached and requested to refuse the use of their courts. Clubs in Cardiff, London, Birmingham, Sheffield and Scotland did accede to this request and, following representations from the Irish AAM, the match in Dublin was cancelled. The tour became quite farcical, since the AAM and anti-apartheid committees throughout the country, despite the desperate attempts at secrecy, managed in many instances to find out to which courts matches had been transferred, whereupon they were again transferred, on one

occasion at a half-hour's notice.

On 9 December 1972, Mr Gough Whitlam, the new Australian Prime Minister, announced that racially selected sporting teams would in future be excluded from Australia. And the all-white Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand was finally cancelled by the newly-elected New Zealand Government on 10 April. In a letter to the NZ Rugby Union, the Prime Minister, Mr Norman Kirk, noted that the team would not be chosen on merit, and added: "Nor is there any indication that...the South African Government is at present prepared to permit the selection of a team on this basis." This decision followed a sustained campaign in New Zealand and internationally. In Britain, approaches were made to the NZ High Commissioner on the issue, and during their tour of this country, players in the New Zealand rugby team were lobbied and requested to state that they would not play against the Springboks if selected. Two players - Sandy McNicol and Bob Burgess - did publicly announce that they opposed apartheid and would not play against the South Africans. It was clear that this tour would seriously affect the Commonwealth Games, due to take place in New Zealand in 1974. African and Caribbean countries had made known their decision to withdraw if the Springbok tour took place.

Following an investigation of sport in South Africa and Rhodesia by the International Swimming Federation (FINA), both countries were expelled from the Federation at a meeting held in Belgrade on 30 August. The President of the South African Non-Racial Swimming Federation commented: "As a result of the evidence we put before the FINA Commission the world body could arrive at no other decision." And on 11 September the Cricket Council confirmed that the 1975 tour of England by South Africa would not take place. The Movement wrote to the ICC applauding the decision, which is consistent with the statement issued at the time of the cancellation of the Springbok cricket tour in 1970.

Apartheid South Africa's isolation from international sporting contests is now almost total, with a few exceptions - notably Rugby, a sport especially close to the heart of white South Africans. A committee has been formed - Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART) - with representatives from SAN-ROC, AAM, NUS, Young Liberals, Young Communists and Labour Party Young Socialists, and chaired by

Ron Taylor of the LCS Political Committee, to stop the British Lions tour of South Africa scheduled for May next year. A press conference was held, leaflets are being printed and a major campaign throughout the UK and Ireland is being planned. In an article in the Evening Standard on 6 August, J.L. Manning wrote: "I do not want to believe that rugby's leadership has become morally unhinged but throwing the British Lions into the arena of apartheid is not correct, it is not dignified, it is not compassionate and it is not sport." The campaign is as yet in its early stages. At present the anti-apartheid groups in New Zealand are attempting to approach the British Lions currently touring there to raise the issues that are at stake in a tour of South Africa.

The Movement has also worked to stop all sport links with Rhodesia, whether it be by working for the exclusion of Rhodesia from the Olympics or by making it known to Rhodesian teams, as the Movement did towards the end of last year, that their presence in the UK was unacceptable.

A series of fixtures shrouded in secrecy and careful security precautions did not prevent anti-apartheid protests at the hockey matches of the Rhodesian Shumbas. An all-white team with one token Indian member played in Britain in defiance of UN mandatory sanctions, and successful protests were carried out by Lambeth & Southwark AA group and in Cambridge by a combination of students,

local political parties and individual AAM supporters. The campaign conducted by the Welsh AA groups managed to get the match scheduled for Port Talbot moved to Cardiff, and it was in fact finally played in Surrey.

In all the work connected with the above record, the AAM has worked with many organisations but special mention must be made of the South African Non-Racial Open Committee (SAN-ROC), whose unremitting efforts on the issue of apartheid sport have assisted in keeping it constantly in the focus of public attention.

Finally, we quote Mr Owen Williams, a South African Coloured cricketer, who in referring to the proposed cricket tour of Australia in 1973 said: "If this tour... goes on it will put back our cause many years. For God's sake ban them... Perhaps then we will get some changes in this country." (Guardian, 1.1.73)

In this section on the boycott campaign, a report on the consumer boycott has been omitted. This is due to the fact that work on this boycott, which was initiated when the Movement was formed in 1959, is campaigned for as part of the day-to-day work, particularly of local committees. Stickers and a background document on Outspan oranges have been produced and circulated, and the list of some of the South African brand names was used by many individuals and local groups. A new leaflet is currently in preparation.



# General Activities

The energies of the Movement are frequently engaged in extensive research and a large range of activities which do not fit precisely under the headings given in this report. Two examples of this were the activities undertaken prior to and on the arrival in the UK of Carel de Wet, South Africa's ambassador, and the demonstrations organised and and research done on the Springbok Association and its related organisations.

Information about Dr de Wet's particularly high record of intolerant and bombastic utterances was given to political parties and a number of MPs, and protests were made at his appointment. To illustrate Dr de Wet's "line": following Mr Macmillan's "wind of change" speech made in South Africa in 1959, Dr de Wet accused the British premier of "stabbing the white man in the back"; and the Johannesburg Sunday Times (7.2.71) quotes him as saying: "Contact across the colour line is welcome so long as the motive for the contact is the greater separation of the races." Despite widespread protest, Dr de Wet arrived in Southampton in October and was met by a contingent of vociferous placard-carrying demonstrators from the local AA group. This protest was well covered by local TV and radio, and in the local press. The feeling against the appointment was strong and on the follow-

ing evening, when Dr de Wet attended a private reception in London a number of demonstrators - far in excess, as it transpired, of the number of guests - were there to meet him. The Movement also produced a leaflet which was distributed to passers-by. Several MPs put questions in Parliament relating to this appointment.

The massive propaganda effort in Britain and throughout the world on behalf of apartheid South Africa takes many forms. SAFLOR - the South African Family League of Reunion, the Britain-South Africa Forum, the South Africa Friends of England and the Springbok Association offer cheap flights to South Africa, discounts in South African hotels, car hire and other services. In the journals put out by some of these organisations, South Africa is glowingly depicted and no mention is made of apartheid nor of the appalling situation of the majority black population. The Springbok Association claims a membership of 27,000 and 117 branches in Britain. Meetings are regularly organised throughout the country and AAM members in different centres have attended these meetings to ask questions, distribute leaflets and counteract the misleading propaganda put out on these occasions. Information about these associations and others with similar objectives is being compiled.

## International Work

During the past year, developments at the international level have been of the most far-reaching nature in building world-wide support for the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa. In the principal collaborating countries various groups have begun to take a new interest whilst others have been active in expanding their national campaigns. This growth in activity within particular countries has been reflected in an increasing number of requests to the AAM for information, for material and other assistance, as well as by the many more overseas visitors to the AAM offices. At the level of international organisations we have seen a significant shift in policy whereby liberation movements are now accorded a more appropriate status in terms of formal representation and recognition both within the OAU and the United Nations system.

## Oslo Conference

The joint OAU/UN International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held in Oslo from 9-14 April 1973, marked a major turning point in that its objective was to work out ways of assisting those engaged in the liberation of their countries. The Final Report of the Conference, which the UN Secretary General will submit to the current session of the General Assembly, establishes an overall policy framework within which particular campaigns and activities need to be organised. The report lists the policy objectives both in terms of the region as a whole as well as in particular territories. The fact that all the liberation movements were represented by senior leaders who played a prominent role in the working of the Conference, contributed in a large measure to making it a great success. Participants agreed unanimously on the Final Report, which should be read by all concerned about Southern Africa. Copies of the Oslo Report are available from the AAM.

The three permanent members of the Security Council who consistently defend and protect the white regimes at the UN - Britain, France and the United States of America - boycotted the Conference. Other governments appointed individual experts to attend rather than official delegates. The AAM's Hon. Secretary was among a dozen individual experts invited to the Conference.

## United Nations

The Chairman of the Movement addressed the Special Political Commission of the General Assembly in New York in October 1972. He also attended two meetings of the "NGO (Non-governmental organisations) sub-committee on decolonisation and against racism", held in Geneva on 13 March and 19 May, and was elected Vice-Chairman of the sub-committee and a member of the working group which is preparing for an international NGO Conference on Racism and Racial Discrimination, which will be held in Geneva in September 1974.

The Hon. Secretary went to the UN in August for consultation with the chairmen of the three committees concerned with Southern Africa. He was invited to appear before the Council on Namibia. In a brief statement he urged the Council to ensure that international obligations regarding Namibia are discharged, and placed before it the Commonwealth Conference Communiqué which reaffirmed international responsibility for that territory.

## Organisation of African Unity

The Assembly of Heads of State and Governments on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the OAU in May 1973 marked an historic session of the OAU. Major decisions on Southern Africa were adopted, and in a resolution the Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Oslo Conference and invited all States to implement the Oslo programme of action. On Namibia, the Assembly called upon the UN Security Council "to terminate the contacts of the UN Secretary General with the South African racist authorities as such an exercise has proved ultimately to be detrimental to the interests of the people of Namibia and prejudicial to an early attainment of independence by this territory". On South Africa, it specifically "Rejects the contention of the vested interests that economic, financial and cultural links with South Africa will lead to a change of the apartheid regime". The resolution on Rhodesia condemns the British Government "for its continued refusal to bring to an end the illegal minority regime", and calls upon the Security Council to tighten sanctions by all "measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and by the imposition of a blockade against South Africa and Portugal for their deliberate violations of these sanctions and their massive military and financial support to the illegal regime of Rhodesia". In a lengthy Declaration on

Territories under Portuguese Domination, the liberation struggle is reviewed followed by a decision by the African States "to reinforce their moral and material support to the struggle for national liberation, either through the OAU or by stimulating bilateral aid, so that the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies will be better able to deal with the gigantic tasks of armed struggle and national reconstruction".

In all the resolutions on Southern Africa, the OAU reaffirmed its total and unconditional support for the people in their legitimate struggle for national liberation.

The AAM was invited (through its Hon. Secretary) to attend the Tenth Anniversary celebrations in Addis Ababa but, due to lack of funds, was unable to do so. A message saluting the OAU and reaffirming support for all international action aimed at bringing about an end to apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa, signed by Anthony Wedgwood Benn MP, Lord Brockway, Lord Caradon, Barbara Castle MP, Lord Collison, Basil Davidson, Michael Foot MP, Thomas Hodgkin, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Glenda Jackson, Jack Jones, Frank Judd MP, Joan Lester MP, Reg Prentice MP, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, David Steel MP, Jeremy Thorpe MP and Angus Wilson, was sent to the OAU.

## ILO Conference

Two representatives of the Movement attended the International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid organised by the Workers' Section of the ILO in collaboration with the UN Committee on Apartheid, held in Geneva from 15-16 June. Details of this historic conference, which brought together trade union organisations representing over 250 million workers, appears later in this report (see Trade Union Movement).

## Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference

The Ottawa Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government took place in August 1973, and once again Southern Africa was the item on the agenda which took up more time than any other subject. With the new governments of Australia and New Zealand adopting a more progressive policy on Southern Africa, Britain was under strong pressure from the rest of the Commonwealth to adopt a more realistic policy on a subject of deep concern to all Commonwealth members. The Final Communiqué adopted by the 32 Governments recognised the legitimacy of the struggle

in Southern Africa and agreed on the need to give support to all those engaged in the struggle to win self-determination and independence - HMG entered a reservation in circumstances where such assistance can be converted to military purposes.

This Conference reviewed developments in all the territories under colonial and race rule in Southern Africa and decided upon a Southern African policy which can be interpreted as a major advance. A great deal still depends on the British Government, but the Final Communiqué represents an official declaration which would permit some Member Governments to provide assistance to the liberation movements. It also means that groups and organisations in Britain can be stimulated to give support to these movements in accordance with UN and Commonwealth policy.

The AAM was represented at the Ottawa Conference by its Hon. Secretary.

## Canada

During the Commonwealth Conference a number of Canadian groups concerned with Southern Africa organised a three-day teach-in called "The People's Forum". It discussed the Southern African question with a view to supporting the liberation struggle, and heard speeches from representatives of some of the liberation movements, the Foreign Minister of Tanzania, and other individual speakers, including the AAM's Hon. Secretary. The Conference adopted a resolution in support of the liberation struggle and commended the Oslo Programme as a basis for solidarity action.

## WFUNA

In August 1973, the Chairman represented the AAM at the 24th Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, which after full debate unanimously adopted a resolution condemning apartheid and in all points supporting the UN on Southern Africa.

## Germany

The entry of the Federal Republic of Germany to the UN provides an opportunity to examine German links with Southern Africa. In August, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid sent a mission to Bonn to discuss German policy on South Africa and Namibia. Ambassador Ogbu of Nigeria, who led the UN mission, was authorised by the Council on Namibia to

represent its views to the Federal Government. The mission met the Foreign Minister and other Government Ministers and officials, and raised a number of issues. The Foreign Minister undertook to send replies to all the points raised and informed the mission that a contribution would be made to the UN Trust Fund on the Federal Republic's entry to the UN. The two major issues taken up with the Minister were the presence of the German consulate in Windhoek, the only diplomatic representation in Namibia, and the cultural agreement between the Federal Republic and South Africa which permits cooperation on apartheid terms. There are also issues

of investment and other forms of economic cooperation between the Federal Republic and Southern Africa, which have increased considerably in the past few years and which will no doubt be discussed within the UN in the future.

Also during the past year the Hon. Secretary spoke at national conferences called by solidarity organisations in Germany and Holland, and visited France where he had talks with the Anti-Apartheid Committee and, together with the Chairman, had a meeting with an official in the Foreign Office on the issue of arms sales to South Africa.

# Organisational Work

## Political Parties

Over the year work within political parties has expanded. As a non-party political organisation, the Movement's effort is concentrated on winning support for the Southern African struggle from a wide spread of political parties, organisations, trade unions and individuals.

Meetings are arranged every year at both the Liberal and Labour Party Conferences, and the three meetings covered by this report - at the 1972 and 1973 Liberal Assembly and the 1972 Labour Party Conference - were crowded, and interest in the issues discussed was high. The campaign on investment and support for the liberation movements were the major focus of interest at the 1973 meeting at the Liberal Assembly. Questions from the people present provided an invaluable guide in directing the information and emphasis that needs to be included in published material. A number of Liberal Party delegates became AAM members, and it is hoped that they will assist in extending AAM work within the Liberal Party.

The main emphasis of our work, however, has been made within the Labour Movement - and the Labour Party and its constituents is a crucial area of support for the peoples of Southern Africa. Connections made with a number of Constituency and Local Labour Parties at last year's Conference have been maintained and Labour Party affiliations to the Movement have increased. This year, a mailing was sent to every Constituency Labour Party in the UK covering the situation in Southern Africa and suggesting points for resolutions to be submitted to Conference; it also contained an offer to provide further information and speakers. AAM local groups usually include representatives of political parties and work closely with the local Labour Parties on all campaigns.

Representatives of the Movement prepared a document for the Labour Party sub-committee formed to work out a policy on Southern Africa and took part in the meetings of this committee. The final policy recommendations have now been published and represent a considerable advance on earlier positions.

Contact with the central offices of the Labour and Liberal Parties is a

regular feature of our day-to-day work and meetings are frequently arranged with representatives of the Southern African liberation movements visiting this country.

In an effort to expand its work within the Labour Movement still further, a Conference for delegates from Labour parties, trade unions, Co-operative parties and other sections of the Labour Movement is being organised to take place in February 1974. The International Committee of the Labour Party is officially supporting the Conference and it is hoped that support will be forthcoming from other sections of the Labour Movement.

Aspects of AAM work in this field are to some extent detailed earlier in this report and it is perhaps only necessary to stress that the work within political parties is considered vital to the ongoing activity of the Movement.

## Parliament

Members of Parliament from all parties are regularly sent briefings on Southern African issues. Examples of these include the briefings sent out on Rhodesia before the 1972 sanctions debate, on the trial of the Pretoria Six, on individual companies and on the investment debate. Some of these mailings are sent only to members who have shown a particular interest in the subject and are willing to raise questions in the House arising from the particular issue.

The Movement is frequently called upon to supply background information, and this is done whenever possible. Questions are suggested and more often than not taken up. Another example of this work is the early day motion condemning the hanging of the freedom fighters in Rhodesia.

Participation by MPs in the Movement's public demonstrations is generally confined to the same small number, and this number needs to be enlarged to reflect support by MPs of the work of the AAM.

MPs are brought into every area of the Movement's work, whether it be by signing the Movement's cable to the OAU, taking up issues with the Government, speaking at public meetings, participating in demonstrations and also their response to requests from the AAM to make public their stand on certain issues. On a recent estimate, the Movement is in regular contact with some fifty Members

of Parliament, who have worked hard and consistently on Southern African issues - frequently in an unfavourable climate. This number needs to be increased and the frequent contact maintained with approximately a dozen MPs needs to be extended.

## Trade Union Movement

The debate on Southern Africa within the trade union movement has sharpened. Provoked by the widespread African strikes in February and the controversy over the role played by British firms in South Africa, the TUC has taken up the question with more force. This has not always been completely positive and traditional ties with TUCSA have coloured some of the TUC's actions.

This debate within the trade union movement is to be welcomed, for the apparent unanimity of previous decisions hid the differences that existed. Opportunities on a wider scale are now available and the growth of the Movement's trade union work in the last twelve months provides us with a solid base from which to launch future activities.

### Sharpeville Commemoration

The 2nd Trade Union Conference on Southern Africa, held at Plaw Hatch Trade Union Club, East Grinstead, from 23-25 March, marked the 13th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. Attended by some 60 trade unionists, mainly delegates, it represented an important advance on the last conference and resulted in a series of thoroughly discussed recommendations. These emerged from four main discussion groups on investment, emigration, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, with the recommendation from each group endorsed in the plenary session. Speakers at the conference were Abdul Minty, Zola Zembe (SACTU), Ruth First, Fred Carneson, Daniel Banze (Mozambique Institute - FRELIMO), John Hosey Sr and Ken Gill, Deputy General Secretary AUEW (TASS). The Conference was also addressed by Ambassador Ogbu, Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid. A report of the Conference was circulated to national unions and trade union contacts, and was also distributed in bulk within several unions. The implementation of the recommendations arising from the Conference have been discussed by the AAM trade union committee. Reports of the Conference were carried in the Guardian and Morning Star, and in a

number of trade union journals.

Following the massive strikes by black workers in South Africa, which reached their peak in early February, the Movement organised a picket of solidarity outside South Africa House on 15 February. A letter signed by the General Secretaries of 12 unions, including Jack Jones of the T&GWU, was handed into the Embassy by the General Secretaries of ACTT and AUEW (Construction Section), a representative of USDAW, and John Gaetsewe of SACTU. The letter expressed solidarity with the strikers; called on British firms to withdraw from South Africa; and urged British workers not to emigrate to South Africa. The Scottish Trades Union Congress made representations to South Africa House regarding police brutality against the strikers, and many unions and their branches followed suit. Some 60 trade unionists were among those who took part, including representatives from the T&GWU, ASTMS, TASS, SLADE&PW and Hammer-smith Trades Council.

The Movement's continued work on investment paid dividends during the year. A major initiative was taken on 18 January when the AAM, in conjunction with SACTU, held a press conference to announce a campaign against 27 major companies investing in South Africa. The press conference was chaired by Bob Wright, Executive Council member of the AUEW (Engineering Section), and addressed by John Gaetsewe of SACTU. Also present at the press conference was Alan Sapper, General Secretary of the ACTT. Research was undertaken on these 27 companies, showing the record of their redundancies in Britain and the rate of their expansion in South Africa, and SACTU wrote to the chairman of each company asking that his company's investment in South Africa be withdrawn. Steps have since been taken to contact union combines in some of these firms to discuss action proposals.

During 1973 many unions have discussed their investment portfolios, and several unions have taken decisions to sell their shares in firms with South African interests (see Investment and Companies).

As a result of press reports in March on the wages of black workers, the TUC wrote to the Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) for further information, and subsequently received an invitation from TUCSA to visit South Africa. At its meeting in March, the TUC General Council announced that it was considering sending a delegation to South Africa after the ILO Trade Union Conference on Apartheid planned for June.

Discussions were held with leading trade unionists on this question, and the general view expressed was that the TUC should await the outcome of the ILO Conference. Discussions were also held with SACTU about its position. A Movement representative met Cyril Plant, leader of the TUC delegation to the ILO in Geneva, immediately before the ILO Conference, and expressed the Movement's reservations about the visit. In July, the TUC announced that it would go ahead with the visit and named its delegation. The Movement asked for a meeting with the Chairman of the TUC International Committee and explained its reservations in a memorandum sent to members of the proposed delegation. In mid-August, SACTU announced that it was opposed to the visit. Discussions were held with many delegates at the TUC and the matter was fully debated at the AAM public meeting held during Congress, at which speakers were John Gaetsewe (SACTU), Cyril Plant (a member of the proposed delegation) and John Hosey Sr. The meeting was chaired by John Ennals. After the shootings at Western Deep Level Mines, trade unionists made further objections to the visit, and the AAM National Committee called on the TUC to cancel it.

The AAM trade union committee has been strengthened and its activities expanded. The committee was responsible for the organisation of the 2nd Trade Union Conference and for arranging fringe meetings at the Scottish Trades Union Congress, the TUC, and the annual conferences of TASS and ASTMS. Leaflets were distributed at other annual conferences. Many more articles than in previous years have appeared in union journals. In September, the committee produced a pamphlet, "Apartheid and the British Worker - a Handbook for Trade Unionists", and several leaflets have been prepared for particular occasions.

Another three national unions have affiliated to the Movement: AUEW (Construction Section), the Society of Post Office Executives, and the National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades, bringing the total to nineteen. And with the affiliation of an additional ten Trades Councils, the total affiliated is now 32. Regular orders for Anti-Apartheid News have increased substantially. Many unions placed advertisements to commemorate Sharpeville in the March issue.

Two Movement representatives attended as observers the ILO Workers Section International Trade Union Conference Against

Apartheid, held in Geneva from 15-16 June. This was an historic meeting, bringing world trade unions together for the first time since the second world war. Representatives of 250 million trade unionists attended. Unanimous agreement was reached on a long resolution which called for a stop to emigration and foreign investment; for action to demand the release of political prisoners; and for a boycott of South African trade, including consideration of the blacking of South African and Namibian cargoes. A week of action was called for 10 December, and national union confederations were urged to set up specialist committees to plan action on South Africa and Namibia. During the Conference the Movement made contact with a large number of national union officials and with representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Action against the 600th anniversary celebrations of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was discussed by the trade union committee and at the 2nd Trade Union Conference. The TUC opposed the visit of Prime Minister Caetano to Britain, as did many unions individually, in particular the T&GWU at its Biennial Delegate Conference, the NUM and CPSA Executives. CPSA workers at the British Museum took token industrial action in protest at an exhibition mounted there and joined a demonstration when Caetano visited the Museum.

In concluding this section, mention must be made of the continuing cooperation with SACTU, which has greatly strengthened our work in this field.

## Students

The Movement's work among students is now on a sounder and more permanent footing. Cooperation with the National Union of Students has continued to be an important feature of the Movement's work in this field and activity has reflected both local and national initiatives.

Much of the session's activity stemmed from the First NUS/AAM Student Conference on Southern Africa held at Plaw Hatch in July 1972. This laid down three priority areas for action - investment, fund-raising for the liberation movements, and educational work on Namibia (see Annual Report, 1971/72). Preparations were made jointly with the NUS and included the production of posters, a Briefing Manual and a range of leaflets. The effectiveness of these campaigns was reviewed at a meeting of

student activists in January 1973, when the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance Campaign and Rhodesia were added to this list.

The campaign against university investments in firms with South African subsidiaries commenced in the first term on a large scale and over 50% of the universities in Britain ran some sort of investment campaign. Research was undertaken centrally on university investments and supplied to local unions. This was necessarily selective and in due course many university unions obtained copies of the university's investment portfolio. Motions were submitted to union meetings in November calling for the university to withdraw and setting a deadline for this. This meant in most cases that the peak of the campaign came in the second term. Conditions vary enormously from one university to another and it was not anticipated that there would be a parallel development in each university. Two particular universities - Manchester and Leeds - should be mentioned. At the University of Manchester a massive campaign involved all sections of the university and many town groups. The campaign was run with imagination and commitment and serves as a useful lesson for future campaigns. The Leeds University campaign did not involve a mass base but, through negotiations with the university authorities, the sale of some of the university's investments in firms with South African subsidiaries was achieved. An important feature was that the Leeds University authorities sold the shares because of the companies' involvement in South Africa, the first university to do so publicly (see also Investment and Companies). Colleges in the public sector also became more involved in the campaign, e.g. ULIESA Council adopted a strongly-worded resolution on investments held by local authorities in London.

For the first time since the 1970 NUS Conference adopted a resolution in support of the liberation movements, material support for the liberation movements became a reality. Over £2,000 was raised, most of it during the fund-raising fortnight in November - £1,000 by Sussex students and £100 by Southampton. It is hoped that this activity will become a normal part of local activists' programmes in future.

The Plaw Hatch conference considered that insufficient activity had been undertaken on Namibia and a small committee called the Namibia Action Group (NAG) was set up. Educational material was prepared, including leaflets and posters,

and an extensive speaking tour was arranged for Peter Katjavivi, the SWAPO representative in London. Hull University Union adopted Herman Toivo ja Toivo, the imprisoned SWAPO leader, as an Honorary Vice President, and a permanent exhibition on Namibia was prepared by the AAM group at Salford University.

Students were alerted to the possibility of a British Government sell-out on Rhodesia and work on this issue was undertaken throughout the year. Jason Moyo, Treasurer of ZAPU, addressed a student network meeting during his visit to Britain.

The news of the 5-year banning orders imposed on NUSAS and SASO leaders in January prompted widespread student protests. Many telegrams of support and solidarity were sent and a picket was held outside South Africa House. SASO leaders have continued to come under attack and in July the newly-elected SASO President was banned.

Students were heavily involved in support of the campaign against the 600th anniversary celebrations of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. In March, meetings were arranged for speakers from FRELIMO and PAIGC; these meetings also covered the other territories in Southern Africa with additional speakers from the relevant liberation movements. A representative from PAIGC gave the fraternal address at the NUS Spring Conference in Exeter, which raised £90 for the Cabral Memorial Fund. In early June, a PAIGC representative came to Britain on a visit arranged by the International Union of Students (IUS) and spoke at several student meetings. Later in the month, the NUS arranged a meeting in solidarity with Portuguese students, and students were prominent in every demonstration organised during this campaign.

Developments in Scotland were particularly encouraging. In the Spring of 1973, the NUS Scottish regional committee passed a strong resolution on Southern Africa, paying particular attention to the Association of Commonwealth Universities Congress held in Edinburgh in August. Details of this campaign are included in the section of the report on the Academic Boycott. The important role played by students in this successful campaign has created a firm base for future activities by students in Scotland.

Warwick University students played a full part in setting up the Coventry Defence Committee (see Political Prisoners) and representatives from the Defence Committee spoke at the May student network meeting where contributions



were collected for the defence fund. Petition forms calling for the release of the Pretoria Six were widely distributed.

Students also played an active part in the protests which followed the murder of Amilcar Gabral, and in Manchester students occupied the Portuguese consulate.

This strength of feeling on Southern Africa showed itself when the 1,500 strong NUS Easter Conference decided to give priority to a comprehensive emergency motion on Southern Africa which dealt with the AGU Congress, the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, the Pretoria Six trial, the banning of SASO and NUSAS leaders, and the investment campaign. Successful meetings on Southern Africa were held at both the NUS Conferences which took place during the year.

In July, nearly 80 delegates took part in the 2nd NUS/AAM Student Conference on Southern Africa, held at Aston University Students Union, which proved a great success with a high level of participation and debate. Speakers from SWAPO, ANC (South Africa), CFMAG, NUS and AAM took part, and in addition Ruth First, John Hosey Sr and Barry Munslow (Manchester University) addressed the delegates. Specific attention was paid to organisational questions and to campaigns on investments, material aid, boycott and political prisoners.

## Schools Kit

Work has continued throughout the year on the Education Kit about Southern Africa. A full assessment was compiled of the pilot scheme conducted during the first year's use of the Kit in schools and colleges in Britain, and a revised version of the material was compiled for publication. This was sent to UNESCO, who have taken the copyright and are now investigating publication, which we hope will take place within the next year. In Britain enquiries about the Kit are constantly being received and we are endeavouring to meet the continuing demand.

## Local Activity

The building of a large network of local committees capable of sustained activities will be a major part in the AAM's work in the coming year. Though a number of local groups have worked on an extensive programme, others have been

dormant or active only when some event or campaign demands it. It is vital that the AAM local committee structure be strengthened in order that our response to the rapidly developing Southern African crisis may be more effective.

Despite this general problem, local committees in several major centres - notably Birmingham and Manchester - have made real progress in working with anti-racist groups, church groups, trade union and student organisations, and the political parties, to create a broad front of active opposition to apartheid and for the liberation of Southern Africa. Local groups have worked on a wider range of issues than ever before - including investment and trade with Southern Africa, sporting links, the academic boycott, political prisoners, Rhodesia, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies.

Birmingham has continued to be one of the most active of AAM local groups. Working closely with the Birmingham Campaign for Justice in Zimbabwe and the coordinating committee set up to oppose the celebrations of the anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, it took part in a workshop on the alliance in March and organised a one-day conference on Zimbabwe and the alliance on 9 June. It also made information on companies investing in Southern Africa available to workers in the firms' local factories and liaised with members of the Labour Group on Birmingham City Council about the Council's Superannuation Fund's holdings.

The Manchester Group held a one-day school for trade unionists on Southern Africa on 4 February and organised a joint conference with Manchester & Salford Trades Council and the Norwest Co-op to take place on 13 October. The Group played a very active part in the student campaign to persuade Manchester University to sell its holdings in companies with South African investments, and was instrumental in the passing of resolutions by local Co-op Societies urging the Management Committee of Norwest Co-op not to promote South African goods and in the putting up of a resolution by Norwest Co-op to the Co-op Congress. Manchester AA also held a memorial service for Amilcar Gabral on 28 February.

In Scotland, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen AA Committees were all active in the campaign against the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. Edinburgh AA Committee also played a part in the campaign against the participation of the English-speaking South African universities and UCR in the AGU Confer-

ence, held in Edinburgh in August. Aberdeen AA scored a victory in persuading the Careers Service at Aberdeen University to circulate a statement setting out the arguments against working in South Africa.

Surrey and Mid-Sussex AA Committees continued their campaigns to persuade their local Co-op Societies - South Suburban and Brighton respectively - to ban South African goods from their shops. Brighton Co-op reversed last year's resolution supporting a boycott and South Suburban Co-op's Management Committee has persistently refused to implement a resolution calling for a boycott. Surrey has also recently undertaken a campaign on the investment issue. South London AA Group held a series of pickets of local supermarkets appealing to shoppers not to buy South African goods, and Southampton also launched a boycott campaign.

Monmouthshire AA Group were successful in persuading first Newport Education Committee to refuse paid leave to three Newport Rugby Club team members for the Club's tour of South Africa and then Monmouthshire Education Committee to decide that it would refuse paid leave to any teacher picked to play against a South African team.

Barnet AA Committee continued to work on several fronts, holding public meetings on the Portuguese colonies and on the issue of British investment in Southern Africa, and asking Barnet Council to sell its shares in companies investing in South Africa.

Bristol has campaigned against emigration, the sale of South African goods and on investment. A resolution condemning the shooting of the 11 African miners was passed by the Trades Council and a massive leafletting on the issue was undertaken.

The highlight of the West London Committee's activities was a Sharpeville Day march to the home of South African Ambassador Carel de Wet, where representatives handed in a petition demanding the release of Ahmed Kathrada and all South African political prisoners. The group also held meetings on political prisoners, Rhodesia, and the Bantustan policy during the year, and a successful meeting to demand the release of the Pretoria Six in July. It made a further impact when Kensington & Chelsea Borough Council sold shares in Consolidated Gold Fields and Bowater Paper Corporation.

Eastbourne, Mid-Herts, Sheffield and Exeter Committees all continued to be active. Mid-Herts Anti-Racialism

Committee made a considerable contribution in collecting and sending parcels of clothing to thirteen Rhodesian detainees. The Committee plans to continue this work.

New groups were formed in Teesside, where AA members joined with the local AUEW (TASS) Council to campaign against South Africa's participation in a chess festival; Coventry, where a Defence Committee set up for the Pretoria Six extended its activities to other campaigns; and Leicester Anti-Racial Solidarity Campaign held a series of pickets and a public meeting on the boycott of South African goods. In Oxford, a new co-ordinating committee was set up, the Southern Africa Co-ordinating Committee Oxford, and an Anti-Apartheid Committee was also formed.

The above record is a brief resumé of the work of local groups and is by no means comprehensive. It serves rather to indicate the range of campaigns undertaken in different parts of the country.

## Anti-Apartheid News

Anti-Apartheid News, the newspaper of the AAM, was founded in January 1965 and has been issued ten times yearly since then without a break.

Its main role has always been to campaign against British and international support for the white minority regimes in Southern Africa and to publicise anti-apartheid activities undertaken not only by the Anti-Apartheid Movement but also by other groups opposed to white minority rule. In the past year it has reported on the growing activity within the British trade union movement against apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa, and on campaigns within the Co-operative Movement, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), the Town Planners Institute, and the Association of Commonwealth Universities to break off economic and professional links with white South Africa and Rhodesia. It has reported on the growing support within the Labour and Liberal Parties for a boycott of white Southern Africa: in July/August it carried a full analysis of the Labour Party's draft foreign policy document and in September a preview by Ian Milkardo MP of the Party Conference. It has continued to campaign for the ending of sporting links with South Africa and Rhodesia, in particular for the calling off of the South African Squash tour in December/January and the cancellation

of next year's proposed British Lions tour of South Africa.

It has carried detailed reports on the strike wave which began in December 1972 in South Africa and on the new growth of above-ground political activity there, represented by the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention, the Coloured Labour Party and the Natal Indian Congress. It also reported on the growing circulation of underground political literature, including political strip cartoons, Searchlight and Inkululeko.

The campaign for the release of political prisoners has always been one of Anti-Apartheid News' main concerns and in the past year it carried exposés of conditions on Robben Island in its October and May issues, a call for world-wide support for the campaign by Canon Collins, President of the International Defence & Aid Fund, on the anniversary of the Rivonia Trial, and news of the trial of the Pretoria Six which ended in June with the sentencing of all six trialists to long terms of imprisonment.

On Zimbabwe, AA News has campaigned against any settlement which falls short of NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule), and has publicised the steadfast rejection of the Smith-Home settlement proposals by the African people. It also carried three major exposés of sanctions-busting in its November 1972 and February and July/August 1973 issues. Since a new wave of guerrilla activity began in October 1972, AA News has reported on the fighting and the reprisals taken by Rhodesian troops and their white South African allies.

AA News has played a part in rescuing Namibia from international neglect. In a series of articles on the UN Security Council's attempt to hold a "dialogue" with South Africa on the future of the territory, it exposed the futility of trying to talk to Vorster. It has carried two first-hand accounts - one of them by Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO's West European representative - of guerrilla fighting in northern Namibia. In September it reported on the almost complete boycott of elections for a stooge legislative assembly in the Ovambo Bantustan.

In its February and May 1973 issues, AA News carried articles exposing the real nature of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, and it gave full coverage to the campaign to end the Alliance and the protests against the exchange visits of the Duke of Edinburgh to Portugal and Portuguese

Prime Minister Caetano to Britain. It carried articles exposing the nature of Portuguese colonialism and a series of reports on aspects of life in the liberated areas of Mozambique by CFMAG members who visited Mozambique in the summer of 1972, as well as interviews with Jose Condessa, former commander of MPLA's Third Region, and Marcelino dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO. In February it carried a tribute to Amilcar Cabral.

It gave full coverage to the UN/OAU International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid, held in Oslo in April 1973, the ILO Workers Section conference on apartheid in June 1973, and the Commonwealth Conference of August 1973.

On at least two occasions - in its exposure of Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique, and of the abysmal wage rates paid by British subsidiaries in South Africa - AA News was far ahead of the national media. In articles by Antonio de Figueiredo in the October 1972, December/January 1973 and June 1973 issues, it reported stories of massacres in Angola and Mozambique. And in the November 1972 issue, a two-page spread analysed the role played by British companies in South Africa.

AA News' circulation has remained steady at between 7,000 and 8,000 copies. An encouraging feature is the growth of readership overseas, especially in Australasia, Canada and Africa.

## Publicity and Information

The Movement has been instrumental in achieving a large measure of publicity for developments in Southern Africa. It has seen its function more as highlighting the issues themselves, though publicity has also been sought - in many instances successfully - for the work of the Movement.

As part of our day-to-day work, close contact is maintained with journalists on most of the national daily and weekly newspapers, on special interest journals - trade unions, architectural, etc. - and on the current affairs programmes on television and radio. Requests for suggestions for programmes, for people to represent a viewpoint, and for information are regularly received, and the Movement's concern to convey accurate information and to put forward relevant suggestions has enlarged both our range of contacts and the number of such requests. Examples of these include the coverage on the trial of the Pretoria Six, on ICL and the general debate on investment, on sport, on

Namibia - notably the Karakul sales, on Rhodesia - particularly interviews with liberation movement leaders, and on the Portuguese colonies.

An important aspect of the Movement's work in publicising the issues and alerting people to campaigns is the speakers service. Requests for speakers on Southern Africa are received from students, churches, all political parties, schools, trades council and union branches, UNA and other groups. At all of these meetings AAM literature is distributed, and in some cases such meetings serve as the basis for the establishment of a local group.

In addition to Anti-Apartheid News, the Movement published a number of leaflets and stickers, and a mass of duplicated material giving information on different subjects. These include: the lists of British firms with investments in South Africa and Rhodesia; foreign investment in Namibia; Emigration to South Africa; the investment debate; developments in Rhodesia; an assessment of current developments in Namibia and the UN; Barclays Bank and other individual companies. Due to limited financial resources, the Movement has not published any new posters - a successful series was produced last year and these continue to be in great demand. The Movement continues to be a major source of material on Southern Africa published by the AAM, the International Defence & Aid Fund, the United Nations, the Africa Bureau and other bodies.

## Finance

The accounts of the Movement for the year ending 30 September 1973 are in the course of preparation and will be presented separately to the Annual General Meeting. Though the income from members and supporters has remained steady and the Movement has, in addition, received a most welcome donation from the World Council of Churches and a contribution from the Organisation of African Unity in furtherance of the Oslo programme, nonetheless the overall income has dropped in comparison with last year's. This is due to the fact that the grant received for 1971/72 from the Rowntree Social Service Trust was not repeated. Increased expenditure - notably on office rent and postage - makes this lower income a matter of some concern.

It has been possible to balance our books only by keeping office salaries

at an excessively low level, by making some undesirable cuts in expenditure on the production of leaflets, posters and other material, and by incurring debts. The task of bringing our income up to a level which will allow both for the effects of inflation and for the expansion which ought to take place in several aspects of our work, will have to be given a high priority by the incoming National and Executive Committees.

## National and Executive Committees

The AAM National Committee, in addition to the officers listed at the front of this report, includes representation from organisations with full voting rights (these are limited to 20), local committees, 30 individual members elected at the Annual General Meeting, plus an unlimited number of organisations with Observer status. Representatives of Southern African liberation movements are on the Committee, also with Observer status, and there are ten individual coopted members. The Committee meets four times annually and is the policy-making body of the Movement.

At the first meeting of the newly-constituted Committee on 3 December 1972, a motion was passed condemning "the racially inspired expulsion of Asian residents from Uganda..." It further stated that "the AAM supports every effort to welcome British citizens and others expelled from Uganda and to assist them in settling in Britain". At the February meeting, during the strikes in South Africa, the Committee expressed support for "the courageous stand of the black workers in South Africa" and called on "the whole British Labour Movement to express its solidarity...with the black South African working class".

A number of speakers have addressed the National Committee on issues of topical importance: these included Judy Todd, Jonathan Steele, Ruth First and Basil Davidson.

Every campaign undertaken by the Movement has been fully discussed by the National Committee and policy guidelines for future action have been laid down. The organisation of the Annual General Meeting has also been thoroughly discussed by the Committee, and plans for its more effective conduct have been decided upon.

At the last meeting prior to the Annual General Meeting, a resolution was

passed calling for the cancellation of the proposed TUC visit to South Africa. This was conveyed to all General Council members of the TUC

### Obituary

The Movement was deeply shocked by the death during the year of Jack Halpern, a valued member of the National Committee and a long-standing fighter against apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa. Before his expulsion from Rhodesia in 1963, he worked as a journalist and was editor of the Central African Examiner. Subsequently he served as Secretary-General of Amnesty International, and wrote widely on the situation in Southern Africa. His special knowledge on Rhodesia was highly valued, and his death is a sad loss to the Movement and its work.

The valued work of the many voluntary helpers and those who speak for the Movement at meetings throughout the country is a contribution to the ongoing campaigns that cannot be measured. Without their help the pressure would be difficult for the office to sustain, if not impossible.

The Executive Committee, elected from the individual members of the National Committee, consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, Executive Secretary and 8 ordinary members, and it can co-opt up to 6 individuals. It meets as a general rule monthly, though the pressures of events frequently dictate that meetings take place more often. The response to developments and the initiation of campaigns are agreed by the Executive Committee within the policy framework laid down by the National Committee.

Every individual and organisation member of the Movement has a vote and thus it is through this structure, described earlier, and the attendance of members at the AGM that the participation of the Movement's membership in the running of the Movement is ensured.

Finally, it must again be stressed that our work overall needs to be expanded both in range and depth. In respect of organisation, the membership of the Movement must be increased and the local committee network strengthened. Campaigns in support of the Southern African struggle demand the commitment and dedication of all those opposed to apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa.

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