



# ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

## Annual Report on Activities and Developments

### 500 years as colony end for Mozambique

**SAMORA MACHEL**, 42-year-old guerilla leader, was yesterday sworn in as the first president of Mozambique and assumed complete political power on behalf of the people of the former Portuguese colony.

Nearly five centuries of Portuguese rule ended early today when Mozambique claimed independent people's republic.

Watched by Portuguese Minister Vasco Goncalves, chairman of the Oryza African Units, Somali Siad Barre and representatives of more than 50 friends, Mr Machel took the name of freedom and peasants of Mozambique.

We are marching in a new battle is starting today a rally of tens of thousands.

### Multi-racial talks planned for SW Africa

From Michael Knipe  
Cape Town, Nov 21

South Africa's ruling National Party has taken steps to organize an interracial convention in South-West Africa to resolve the territory's future. In the republic, itself, however the Government has banned black political leaders from attending the annual congress of the opposition Progressive Party.

These paradoxical developments occurred as Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister, told supporters that his Government was as yet undecided on

### Vorster arrests student leaders

JOHANNESBURG, Thursday.

THREE STUDENT LEADERS, a university lecturer and a woman have been arrested in a series of raids by security police throughout South Africa, officials said today.

No reasons have been given for the arrests, but it was noted they followed an increasing pattern of action against the academic world, which is said to be wholly opposed to South Africa's apartheid policies.

Geldenhuys, chief of the city police, confirmed that Karel Tip, president of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), and Mr. Glen, a past president of the student representative council of the University of the Witwatersrand were arrested last night.

#### SEIZED ON CAMPUS

Pietermaritzburg. Mr. Gerry, an executive member of NUSAS and a masters student at the University of Natal, was taken by plain clothes police and into custody.

in Capetown lecturer Polley, and his friend, Miss Reilly, were arrested on campus of the university of Natal.

Polley, who holds two African university degrees in theology, was a Methodist minister before joining the staff of Capetown University.

Mr. Reilly is a member of the Council Institute for Race Relations.

### CALL BY NUS

THE National Union of Students has called on all its members to build a massive

camp regime yesterday and execute of under

and South. All Terror accuse prove to cas

Con Mike, just other express the legisla tions. Mr of the said

### Vorster 'aims at settlement in Rhodesia'

CAPE TOWN, October 29

objective of the Kaunda-Vorster settlement of the Rhodesian to Government circles here.

Newspapers point out that South Africa

Rhodesia financing defend er made ordered a, they South Africa and Zambia have raised fears in Rhodesian right-wing circles that the country will become a pawn in southern African power politics.

The Rhodesian Government has not so far reacted publicly to the statements by Mr Vorster and President Kaunda which indicated a joint attempt to resolve problems in the sub-continent.

But right-wing factions are

### OVERSEAS

### Christian Institute accused of subversion in South Africa

From Michael Knipe  
Cape Town, May 28

South Africa's anti-apartheid Christian Institute has been accused of supporting 'violent change' in the Republic and of constituting a danger to the state. The accusation is made by a parliamentary group organized known as the Schabas Commission, which was appointed to investigate anti-apartheid organizations in the

territory of revolutionary socialist technique.

Among its conclusions, the commission said that the institute's Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society had as its objective to substitute the present order with a 'black dominated social system through racial conflict'. The project's planners, according to the report, supported black power as a means of bringing about the change they



# the Anti-Apartheid Movement

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## ANNUAL REPORT

October 1974 – September 1975

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### Editor, *Anti-Apartheid News*:

CHRISTABEL GURNEY

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The early 1960s heralded a process of European withdrawal from Africa, brought about through determined struggle on the part of the African people for national independence. Most of Africa is now decolonised. With the collapse of Portuguese fascism, the long and arduous struggle of the African liberation movements has been transformed into one which requires newly won independence to be consolidated and genuine peace established. However, the situation in Angola reveals the serious dangers faced by the Angolan people from high level external intervention, with its internal collaborators further intensifying dissension within the country. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands seems to be assured but independent Mozambique faces special problems arising from its geographical proximity to South Africa.

With the virtual ending of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, the South African regime remains as the main bastion of white supremacy; it has been forced to make fresh calculations with regard to its future survival - the balance of power in Southern Africa has been fundamentally altered and the Vorster regime is determined to turn the situation to its advantage with a major diplomatic initiative aimed at 'settling' the Rhodesian problem.

Events since the end of 1974 have been well-publicised and the western press has made a special point of casting Vorster as Africa's Peace-Maker. Never before have we seen such a major and concerted offensive to cast South Africa in a favourable light. The Pretoria regime has taken every opportunity to exploit what it considers to be a more favourable climate of opinion to establish fresh political, diplomatic and economic links with several independent African States. Vorster has assured his white voters that even if the initiative to settle Rhodesia fails the effort will have been worthwhile because it has enabled South Africa to break through the OAU boycott and establish valuable links with some of its members. But this 'peace with Africa' policy rests squarely on South Africa's massive economic and military power; when the defence budget was increased to an all-time record figure of 948million Rand in April 1975, the Economics Minister warned that if 'detente' failed South Africa had to be militarily prepared. There can, of course, be no

true peace between Africa and Apartheid, but the Vorster regime calculates that its actions with regard to Rhodesia and promises in relation to Namibia will help to buy time for South Africa by helping to reduce, if not end, international pressure against the Republic. The Anti-Apartheid Movement believes that this is precisely the time when the maximum pressure has to be mounted against the apartheid regime rather than any relaxation of international action.

## REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

The policies of the South African regime emanate essentially as a response to the forces of liberation within the country - a fact readily overlooked by the western press and politicians who do not wish to engage in any support of the internal struggle in South Africa because that would bring them into confrontation with the apartheid regime and its allies.

Resistance to the apartheid system is constantly growing. Strikes by African workers, which in most cases are illegal, are becoming a regular feature and the scale of the repressive measures taken against them are of increasing severity. Indeed, even a cursory examination of the repressive measures adopted by the regime over the past year gives some indication of the strength of the spirit of resistance within South Africa. The increasing repression of the white regime is in response to the appreciable upsurge of popular resistance, and the collapse of Portuguese colonialism has helped to transform the prospects for the liberation struggle in South Africa itself.

Towards the end of 1974, 46 leaders of the black consciousness movement were detained and some of them have since been charged. These measures are part of the overall policy to split the black alliance of African, Indian and Coloured people and thus undermine the growing resistance of the oppressed people of that country. Sections of the white community, especially students and church leaders, have also been subjected to special attack. On the other hand, the increased importance being placed on the Bantustans is aimed at pacifying world opinion and making South Africa more acceptable to the international community. Internally,

Bantustan leaders are still utilised to encourage Africans to join in the counter-insurgency effort and it is significant that the new army announced for the Transkei (due to become independent in October 1976) is designed almost exclusively for this purpose. The Pretoria regime has made a special effort actively to involve several western countries in taking a substantial stake in the tribal homelands.

Despite an atmosphere of apparent calm and confidence, there is considerable anxiety and fear among the white apartheid leaders and Vorster has mentioned the 'catastrophe' which Southern Africa faces as a result of the growing conflict in that region. The even greater importance being placed on the domestic role of the military reveals the essentially low 'security-ceiling' which South Africa has to contend with.

## ZIMBABWE

The Smith regime has had to face growing African resistance as well as pressure from South Africa to reach some settlement with the African National Council. The initiatives taken by Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and FRELIMO last year led to the release of several political detainees but many still remain in Smith's prisons and camps. The policy of establishing strategic hamlets has continued and more and more Africans are being executed for their involvement in the armed struggle. One of the most shameful features of these acts of murder is the failure of the British Government, despite repeated requests from the AAM to declare that all executions of political opponents are illegal and amount to murder, and that those responsible would be held liable for their criminal acts. South Africa continues to violate United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia and provides other forms of direct support to the illegal regime. Reports about South African troop withdrawals do not reveal the substantial military assistance provided by South Africa to the Smith regime by way of military equipment, etc., as well as recruits for the Rhodesian forces.

Despite the recent talks, there is no real prospect of the illegal regime voluntarily surrendering power to the majority population, and the armed struggle will therefore have to be intensified in order to ensure the transfer of power to the African people of Zimbabwe.

## NAMIBIA

South Africa remains determined to pursue the Bantustan policy in Namibia and present it to the world as a valid form of self-determination. If the Vorster regime is genuine in wishing to change its policies with regard to Southern Africa, the test of that good faith is what is done about Namibia. In May-June 1976, the UN Security Council once again debated Namibia and South Africa's refusal to withdraw from the international territory. The three western permanent members once again used the Triple Veto, this time to prevent the arms embargo against South Africa being made mandatory. There is obviously very little more that can be achieved by diplomatic action alone and the major factor now is the armed struggle within Namibia.

South Africa is responding by calling special 'talks' to consider the future of Namibia under Pretoria's rule. The South West African Peoples Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO) has condemned these sham talks and in August announced dramatic successes about South African military personnel and weapons being captured by its fighting force. South Africa has increased its military presence in Namibia throughout the past two years and expects a major engagement in that territory in the near future.

### A THREAT TO PEACE

South African strategy in the new situation in Southern Africa is clear: it wants Africa and the world to come to

terms with apartheid and in return it gives the impression of making concessions internally, of being ready to persuade Smith to negotiate with the African National Council, and of being ready to 'negotiate' with the UN and the OAU over Namibia. At the same time it has initiated a major offensive to expand its economic penetration of independent African States and simultaneously expanded its defence budget in order to maintain an essentially aggressive posture towards the rest of Africa. The Pretoria regime has resolved relentlessly to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies in the confidence that the major western powers are in full support of this policy. It is in this context that the Vorster regime is prepared to work for a settlement in Rhodesia because the perpetuation of that dispute presents a major obstacle to its wider strategy in relation to Africa. It is also promoting various schemes in Namibia in the hope that they will help to reduce international pressure against South Africa and at the same time consolidate South Africa's control of that territory. For the apartheid regime the stakes are high and it is determined to expand its economic and political power to neighbouring African States as well as those farther afield. This, taken together with increasing western reliance on South Africa as a military ally in the region, poses very serious dangers to the security and independence of all the African States.

Britain announced the termination of the Simonstown Agreement soon after the AAM released documents

which revealed that South Africa was given the NATO codification system for military weapons and spares. The USA is placing new weight on the so-called strategic importance of South Africa to the West, and there is growing evidence of a firm alliance being forged between Washington and Pretoria. West Germany is heavily involved in helping to boost South Africa's nuclear ambitions and has surpassed Britain as South Africa's major trading partner. France remains South Africa's major arms supplier and close potential ally. There is now a much higher level of Western European integration into the apartheid system than ever before and this will only make it more difficult for the governments of those countries to pursue genuinely anti-apartheid policies. We have already witnessed during the past year two occasions on which the western powers have used the Triple Veto in order to protect South Africa at the United Nations: the first to defend its exclusion from the UN; the second in blocking an effort to make the international arms embargo mandatory.

The growing links between the western countries and South Africa make it more likely that when the Pretoria regime itself is under threat from internal resistance the major western powers will support it even more strongly. It therefore becomes the central task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement to ensure that public opinion in Britain and the world is made aware that the apartheid system constitutes a real danger to Africa and the world. There can be no peace in Africa and the world until apartheid is finally destroyed.

# CAMPAIGNS

## Military Collaboration

On 21 October 1974, 11 Royal Navy ships sailed from Cape Town to begin joint sea and air exercises with the South African forces. These joint exercises were the second held in the course of three months, each set of exercises being larger than the previous one held with the South African navy.

The AAM launched a major initiative against these exercises, thus intensifying the campaign to end British military collaboration with the apartheid regime which has been the major focus of the Movement's work over the past year.

On 22 October, some twenty organisations called together by the Movement met to discuss plans for the campaign. They included representatives from political parties, youth and student organisations, the Southern Africa liberation movements, and various peace groups and other national organisations.

Two slogans proposed by the Movement were agreed upon: **END MILITARY COLLABORATION** and **END SIMONSTOWN**.

The immediate action undertaken was a picket outside the Ministry of Defence on 31 October, from which a letter signed by twenty MPs was handed in to the Secretary of State for Defence by the MPs, calling for 'an end to all military collaboration with apartheid South Africa and to the Simonstown "agreements"'. The letter was widely circulated to a number of organisations who also made representations to the Defence Secretary.

The National Union of Students supported the campaign with a protest demonstration and march from South Africa House to the Ministry of Defence on 26 October, which they linked with the recent arrests of students in South Africa.

On 7 November a public meeting was held at Friends House to draw attention to the issue. Speakers included Neil Kinnock MP, David Steel MP and Ray Buckton (ASLEF).

On 26 October, Foreign Secretary Callaghan responded to the growing protests by indicating that the Simonstown Agreement should be ended or allowed to 'wither on the vine' if it was only of marginal military importance and caused Britain political embarrassment.

This development was significant and the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Labour Party, at its meeting on 30 October, welcomed the statement in a motion which went on to state that the NEC 'deplores the Government action in holding the recent combined naval exercises with South Africa, which is directly con-

trary both to party policy and to clear assurances given by the Government itself; and calls upon the Government to ensure that the Ministries concerned do not repeat this gross error."

A leaflet on military collaboration was distributed at the Labour Party Conference and AAM held a special meeting for delegates on 28 November in the House of Commons. The chairman was Neil Kinnock MP, and Joan Lester MP, Tony Gifford (CFMAG) and Abdul S Minty (AAM) spoke. Postcards calling for an end to all British military collaboration with South Africa and an end to the Simonstown 'agreements', signed by 120 MPs and 47 Constituency Labour Parties, were handed to Joan Lester in her capacity as a Minister at the Foreign Office and a member of the NEC of the Labour Party.

On 4 December the Government officially announced its intention "to enter into negotiations with the South African Government with a view to terminating the Simonstown 'agreements'". It was pointed out that Britain would continue to use the base on a customer basis and there was no clear undertaking to end all military collaboration with the apartheid regime.

The Movement immediately planned a march and rally in Trafalgar Square for March to intensify the end military collaboration campaign and mark the 15th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. On 21 January, a special Mobilisation Committee was formed with the support of 33 national organisations as well as trade union, church and political leaders. The two slogans decided on were **END LABOUR GOVTS MILITARY COLLABORATION WITH APARTHEID** and **SUPPORT THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA & SOUTH AFRICA**, and the demonstration was planned for 23 March. Thousands of leaflets, stickers, posters, and badges were specially prepared for the campaign and distributed very widely through many organisations.

In March, the Pretoria regime announced an all-time record defence budget of R948 million which was virtually double that of two years ago.

On 23 March over 4,000 people marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square for a rally chaired by Stan Newens MP, Ambassador Ogbu, Chairman of the UN Committee Against

Apartheid, flew over especially to address the Rally, and the other speakers were John Otto (SWAPO), Bill Ronksley (ASLEF), Nick Bradley (LPYS) and Abdul Minty (AAM). A resolution adopted at the rally was delivered to 10 Downing Street.

The issue of western military collaboration with South Africa was also raised in several international organisations. The special Extra-ordinary session of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Council of Ministers held in Dar-es-Salaam from 7-10 April to discuss South Africa condemned "the imperialist countries for their continued military collaboration and alliance with the South African regime aimed at increasing its aggressive potential against the African continent". It undertook to ensure that the question of the arms embargo against South Africa being made mandatory would be raised at the Security Council.

The Paris seminar of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid (28 April - 2 May) called for an end to all military collaboration with South Africa, endorsed the proposal for the arms embargo being made mandatory and sent a message to this effect to the Commonwealth Conference in Kingston.

The Commonwealth Heads of State, meeting in Kingston, Jamaica (28 April - 7 May), adopted a communique which "condemned the violation of the arms embargo by those countries which continue to supply arms to South Africa or enable them to be manufactured in that country".

It became clear that Britain, the USA and France might use their veto power in the Security Council when the question of the arms embargo being made mandatory was to be raised there during the debate of the Council of Namibia from 30 May to 6 June. The Movement alerted many organisations about this possibility with the result that several trade unions and other bodies made early representations to the British Government to support the proposed mandatory arms embargo.

When the Security Council met to discuss Namibia a resolution was tabled calling for, amongst other measures, a mandatory arms embargo to be instituted against South Africa because its continued illegal occupation of Namibia constituted

a threat to the peace under the terms of the UN Charter. Abdul S Minty, Honorary Secretary of the AAM, was invited to appear before the Council and presented detailed evidence of South Africa's military presence in Namibia and the use of French weapons supplied for "external" defence being used to repress the Namibian people.

He also disclosed documents which revealed that the NATO codification system for defence equipment and spares had been made available to South Africa and that it had been used to construct a sophisticated military communications system known as Project Advokaat, at Silvermine near Simonstown.

After the UN debate the material was given to the British press and on 10 June the Guardian carried a front page story with details about NATO-South Africa links. A press conference was held in the House of Commons on the same day and copies of the documents submitted to the UN were also sent to the British Government, political parties, trade unions and other organisations. In response to these disclosures the International Committee of the Labour Party, which met on 10 June, sought an immediate interview with the Foreign Secretary and that took place on 18 June.

Due to the growing political pressure the Foreign Secretary, by the

unexpected means of a written answer, announced the termination of the Simonstown 'agreements'. No assurances were given about ending future military collaboration with South Africa, and subsequently when an AAM delegation saw the Minister of State at the Foreign Office on 8 September it was told that special joint exercises with the South African navy would be ended. However, there is no policy to prevent South African military personnel coming to Britain for training or brief information-gathering visits; there is no ban on investments in the South African armaments industry; there is no restriction on South Africa buying military patents; and ships of the Royal Navy will continue to make routine calls at Simonstown and other South African ports.

It was useful that a representative of the Movement was able to be present at the OAU meeting, the Paris seminar, the Commonwealth Conference and the Security Council meeting in order to further the campaign against military collaboration and for an arms embargo. Some may consider the termination of the Simonstown Agreement as a qualified success for the long and consistent campaigns of AAM. However, whilst the British Government has responded to pressure it has not liquidated military collaboration with South Africa - indeed Britain

and other western powers are relying much more upon South Africa's security role in Africa and the Southern Oceans and this partly explains the use of the Triple Veto to prevent the arms embargo being made mandatory.

For some years France has been promoting the Cactus/Crotale ground-to-air missile system which was initially developed for South Africa which provided most of the finance for it. The United States and Norway had tested the system and a decision was due during the last year. Intensive lobbying and pressure was organised over a long period and the USA has decided on an alternative system. Norway has decided against the Crotale system because of its South African connection. This is a significant success, but there are reports about several Arab countries being persuaded by France to buy the Crotale system.

Early in 1975 the Movement learned of a proposed deal between Venezuela and agents of the Smith regime for the sale of aircraft to the illegal regime. It was taken up immediately with the Venezuelan Government, and the Chairman of the UN Sanctions Committee was also alerted. As a result, the Venezuelan Government gave assurances that no aircraft were to be sold to the Smith regime.

## Southern Africa - The Imprisoned Society

The past year has seen a dramatic increase in the level of political persecution in Southern Africa belying the 'detente' exercise and the so-called 'reasonable' face of apartheid. The wide powers of the Terrorism Act and other legislation are used freely in South Africa and Namibia. Arbitrary arrest and detention for long periods, with no reason given and no charge or trial, are a common feature of life.

It is estimated that at least 60 people are now in detention, some of whom have been held incommunicado for a year. The malice of the security police is illustrated by their bringing Winnie Mandela and Peter Magubane to trial on a technicality in relation to their banning orders. In October 1974 they lost their final appeal, though their sentences were reduced from 12 to 8 months imprisonment. For Winnie Mandela this is another example of the continuing persecution and harassment she suffers at the hands of the authorities.

At the same time, many of the leaders of the African people remain in prison, serving sentences of 10, 15, 20 years and life. There is no remission for political prisoners in South Africa.

Bram Fischer was serving the ninth year of his sentence of life imprisonment in 1975. For several years he

had suffered from cancer, which by the winter of 1974 reached a terminal stage. An international campaign for his release was mounted when this became known, and the South African administration was flooded with demands for his unconditional and immediate release so that his last few weeks could be spent in freedom with his family. The issue was also raised in the South African Parliament. In Britain, a demonstration of over 200 people was held outside South Africa House; an Early Day Motion was tabled in the House of Commons by Neil Kinnock MP and Jeremy Thorpe MP; and a letter was sent to the South African Prime Minister stating that 120 British MPs were appealing to his Government for the release of Bram Fischer. A deputation of British MPs also visited the South African Embassy to demand his release. Hundreds of letters and cards were sent by individual members of the AAM as an expression of their concern for this remarkable man.

In March 1975, the apartheid regime released Fischer, though under strict conditions. Six weeks later he died. The regime pursued him even after death, with the demand that his ashes be returned to the prison authorities. A protest and silent vigil was

held outside South Africa House on 12 May to coincide with the funeral, and again the turn-out reflected the respect with which his memory is held by so many people. A further tribute was organised by the International Defence & Aid Fund on 18 June at the Friends Meeting House.

In September 1975, the Movement learnt that Govan Mbeki, prominent leader of the African National Congress serving a life sentence on Robben Island is seriously ill.

The work of the SATIS Committee since its establishment in December 1973 has increased substantially and its impact continues to grow. The major large-scale event organised during the past year was the three-day visit to Britain by Angela Davis from 10-13 December at the invitation of the AAM. Numerous meetings and press interviews were arranged, and her support for the campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa alerted many people and gave a new impetus to the campaign. Over 1,500 people filled the main hall of Friends House and an overflow hall, linked by closed circuit television, to hear Angela Davis speak on 12 December, and many thousands more learnt of her support for the campaign through television, radio and press inter-

views. The meeting was chaired by Abdul Minty, and the other speakers were John Forrester from AUEW (TASS) and Albert Dromo, a former political prisoner from Robben Island.

Angela Davis took back with her to New York a declaration to the United Nations Secretary-General signed by 62 MPs, trade unionists, churchmen, academics, artists, playwrights and others. The declaration called on the United Nations to launch a full-scale campaign at an international level for the release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa. In her speech, Angela Davis mentioned the activities taking place in the United States in support of the struggle in Southern Africa: in particular a campaign which had been launched with the aim of getting one million signatures to a petition in support of the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

An 11-day sponsored walk from London to Manchester was undertaken in support of the SATIS campaign following the Annual General Meeting on 27 October. Several ex-political prisoners from Southern Africa took part and they were joined by other members and supporters of the Movement en route. £700 was raised for the campaign, considerable local publicity was given to the walk, and the public meetings held at each overnight stop were on the whole very successful, resulting in new contacts and two new anti-apartheid groups at Banbury and Reading.

Following the establishment in September 1974 of an interim government in Mozambique led by FRELIMO, support rallies were organised in South Africa by members of the South African Student Organisation (SASO), the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) and other black groups. Although these rallies were banned by the authorities, they did in fact take place. Numerous arrests were made both before and after the rallies which were brutally disrupted by the South African police. After some six months of detention under the Terrorism Act during which many of the detainees were subjected to brutal torture, 13 were brought to trial to face charges under the Terrorism Act, whilst another 15 were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Following several postponements, the trial of the 13 was discontinued on 23 June when the judge threw out the charges. Only two were released; eleven remained in detention and were later charged in three separate indictments. Nine are being tried at the present time; and separate trials of the remaining two are to take place shortly.

Between October and June several demonstrations were organised to publicise the arrests and trial, and the plight of political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. On 12 March protest demonstrations were held in 13 towns and cities

throughout Britain, and on 19 April a sponsored walk left Brighton for London, where a picket of South Africa House was held on 21 April. The walk raised much-needed funds for the campaign as well as gaining publicity for the trial in the towns en route.

Hundreds of telegrams and cards of protest were sent to the South African authorities, and telegrams of support were sent by many organisations and individuals to the people on trial. An Early Day Motion tabled in the House of Commons expressed deep concern at the trial of 13 black leaders, and the SATIS Committee publicised the arrests, detentions and trial as widely as possible. Mailings were sent out to international contacts, to local AA groups and other British organisations.

Between June and September 1975 in a series of swoops by the security police, some 20 people are known to have been arrested and detained under the Terrorism Act, bringing the number of those known to be detained or awaiting trial to 60. These arrests included members of the Black Peoples Convention, the National Youth Organisations, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), as well as a number of university staff and Breyten Breytenbach, the Afrikaans poet and painter who normally lives in France. On 26 August a demonstration was held outside South Africa House in protest against these arrests. Many of those arrested since June have not been charged, but a number of current trials involve people who have been detained over the past year. An international campaign for the release of Breyten Breytenbach and of all political prisoners in Southern Africa has been initiated by artists and writers in France among whom Breytenbach has lived in exile.

In Namibia, leaders and supporters of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) have been subjected to constant persecution and harassment. David Meroro, National Chairman, Axel Johannes, National Organiser, and others have been detained by the security police without charge for long periods. Meroro, having been held for six months and subjected to torture, was charged in October 1974 with possessing banned literature and eventually - in April 1975 - given a suspended sentence of 2 months imprisonment.

In Rhodesia, in spite of the promises made by the Smith regime at the Lusaka Talks in December 1974, there are still some 400 political prisoners and detainees being held. In April 1975, it was announced that death sentences and executions would not in future be made public. It was also stated that it must be presumed that all death sentences would in fact be carried out. Since most political trials are held in secret, it is impossible

to maintain a complete record of all those executed for political resistance to the illegal regime.

For over three years the AAM has made urgent representations to the British Government to declare that executions of African political opponents carried out by the Smith regime are illegal and in fact constitute acts of murder, and that those involved in committing these crimes would be liable for their actions in the future. The response has always been that private representations to the Smith regime are more effective on these matters. The AAM has again made repeated representations to the Government on this question over the past year, only to be told that a settlement of the constitutional dispute will also solve this problem.

There have been a number of trials in recent months, particularly on charges of assisting people to cross the Mozambique border. This charge carries a mandatory death sentence. One of these cases, that of Maurice Nyagumbo, John Mutasa and Moven Mahachi, has received considerable public attention in Britain, due in part to the work of Didymus Mutasa (John's brother) and the Birmingham AA Group (see *Zimbabwe*).

On 13 October 1974, Ethan Dube, an official of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), was kidnapped at gunpoint from a house in Botswana. He was smuggled across the border by Rhodesian agents and is presumed still to be detained.

Last Christmas, the Anti-Apartheid Movement again prepared a list of names and addresses of wives and families of political prisoners, of detainees and banned people in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. This annual list is always in great demand and often leads to relationships being built up between individual families and personal support for those directly suffering the effects of the repressive 'security' measures.

Much work has been done throughout the year by local AA groups, by student and church groups, trade unions, political and other organisations, and many individuals. Largely due to the unceasing efforts of his family, the case of Sean Hosey, serving 5 years in Pretoria on charges under the Terrorism Act, has been brought constantly before the public attention (see *Local Activity*).

The SATIS Committee is fortunate to have on it people representing several organisations apart from the AAM - the AUEW (TASS) Kitson Committee, the International Defence & Aid Fund, Liberation, the National Union of Students, the Ruskin Kitson Committee, and the Namibia Support Committee - as well as a number of individuals deeply committed to this campaign.

## Investment and Trade

The Movement has worked on the campaign for a freeze on all foreign investment and for a total boycott of South Africa. The debate as to the effects of foreign trade and investment on the apartheid state continues, but despite the campaign for increased wages and improved conditions for the African employees of British companies in South Africa, there has been no significant alteration in their status or material condition.

Increased industrial militancy by African workers has been met by brutality on the part of the security forces. During the second half of 1974, 135 strikes involving African workers took place, 125 of them being for wage increases. An example of the reaction of the authorities to strike action is given by the arbitrary arrest of 139 bakery workers striking for an increase of R5 per week, on 16 September 1975, in the Transvaal.

The British Government has increased the number of sponsored trade missions; has sent an observer from the Department of Trade to a 'seminar' held in London to encourage foreign investment in South Africa, and has openly refused to implement the Labour Party policy of placing a freeze on British investment in South Africa. The Government also sanctioned the British Steel Corporation's plan to invest £3 million in a chrome plant in the Transvaal in July. The Movement urged a reversal of this decision and distributed a background paper on the subject which was made available to MPs and interested organisations and individuals. There was also strong reaction to the news in December 1974 that British Leyland was increasing its own investment in South Africa. The AAM had lengthy correspondence with the Secretary of State for Industry, with the Chairman of British Leyland, and with Sir Don Ryder of the National Enterprise Board. A paper drawing attention to British Leyland's appalling labour record in South Africa and urging the Government to ensure that taxpayers' money should not be used to bail out the company or enable it to channel funds indirectly into South Africa was widely distributed, particularly among the relevant trade unions.

A number of supporters attended British Leyland's annual meeting to protest at the increased investment in South Africa when new investment was needed in the UK. Questioners were told that this investment was needed to ensure 'greater flexibility'.

In line with the resolution adopted at the 1974 AAM Annual General Meeting calling for a freeze on the flow of British capital to South Africa, the Movement has sought to pursue the anti-investment campaign with a particular view to linking the question

of such investment outflows with the gathering unemployment crisis in Britain and to win the support of the trade union and labour movement for the Movement's demand. The AAM held a seminar on 14 June, attended by 40 economists, trade unionists and activists on the campaign for the ending of British investment links with South Africa. Discussion centred around the possibility of drawing a link between the crisis in the British economy and the export of capital from Britain, particularly to Southern Africa. Papers had been prepared on the policy of the AAM and its experience in the investment debate, on the possible linkages between the British economic situation and our economic links with South Africa, and case studies on British Leyland, and the textile industry had been prepared. The seminar discussion was felt by all the participants to have been extremely useful. It supported the Movement's policy for an official freeze on the further export of capital to South Africa and raised a number of new aspects to the investment question, which merit further study and elucidation, for the Movement's plans to seek trade union support, and participation in a national conference to be convened early in 1976 on this question. A leaflet is being prepared for general distribution covering the reasons why foreign investment in South Africa should end and suggestions for taking up the campaign.

Contrary to official British claims that the flow of British capital to South Africa has become relatively insignificant, the facts suggest that South Africa continues to depend heavily on foreign investment funds which in the past year has reached record amounts, and that British banks and financial institutions are playing a major role in mobilising their funds for South Africa from British and other foreign sources.

Members and supporters of the Movement who have shares in companies with interests in South Africa have attended the AGMs of major companies in order to raise the question of their role in reinforcing the apartheid system.

In July, a South African sponsored seminar was organised at a London hotel to encourage British businessmen to increase their investment in South Africa, and in particular to encourage investment in the 'Bantustans'. A number of people were specially brought from South Africa, including the leader of the Transkei 'homeland', Chief Matanzima. Despite the AAM's strong representations, the Department of Trade sent an observer to the seminar and several British and European industrialists and bankers also attended. A letter of protest was sent to the manager of the hotel which

hosted the seminar, and the AAM organised a picket outside the hotel. Subsequently, similar seminars took place in other parts of Europe.

The intensified efforts on the part of the apartheid regime to attract foreign investment capital to the 'Bantustans' and to lend credibility to their Bantustan policy, has met considerable opposition in Britain. Much more will need to be done by the Movement in the future to counteract South African propaganda, as the Bantustan policy is more widely publicised by apologists for apartheid.

Campaigns have been organised by the Movement in various institutions for the withdrawal of their investments in firms with South African connections. A major success was achieved when Lancaster University decided to withdraw all its holdings in any company with Southern African interests, and major campaigns were also conducted at Manchester, Bath and Durham Universities (see *Students*).

The Movement has continued to be actively involved in the ~~Boycott of South Africa~~ (Boycott of South Africa) campaign, coordinated by David Haslam. This campaign has concentrated on the Midland Bank's loans to the Pretoria regime and has been geared mainly to the churches, particularly the Methodist Church which has strong links with the Midland. It has also been in contact with a number of universities and trade unions which hold shares in the Midland Bank. ELTSA attended the Midland AGM and forced a discussion on their South African operations. Work is going ahead now to get a resolution tabled for next year's AGM, which is a new tactic and requires the involvement of a number of institutional shareholders.

The ELTSA campaign is part of an international campaign aimed at those banks in various European countries and the USA which, with the Midland Bank, form a consortium which has made a substantial secret loan to South Africa. The World Council of Churches has contacted all the participating banks and will shortly be deciding on further action.

The consumer boycott of South African products has continued in many areas, with the AAM office providing information, leaflets and stickers. In some instances, local organisations have arranged pickets and leafleting in their High Streets. Strathclyde Regional Council has agreed, following an initiative from the Glasgow AA Group, to boycott South African goods and to investigate the situation as regards their investments.

Following the resolution adopted at the 1974 AGM, a group of members



and supporters of the Movement interested in working for a boycott of South African goods by the Co-op met in January to discuss the possibilities of campaigning work. It was generally agreed that boycott campaigns should not be directed exclusively at the Co-op but that work within the Co-op Movement could be particularly productive in view of that organisation's democratic structure. A number of campaigning ideas were discussed

publicity through Co-op News, the lobbying of Co-op sponsored MPs, and so on - and it is hoped that during the next year this campaign will be widely taken up at a local level.

On receiving news that the International Spar Organisation of independent traders was to hold its 1975 annual conference in Johannesburg, thus reversing a boycott decision maintained for 10 years, the Movement protested to Spar (UK) Ltd, asking

that they refuse to participate in the conference. In his reply, the Managing Director claimed that 'only by seeing apartheid actually working does one realise how bad a situation it is'.

The boycott is also maintained overseas: one example is the Cooperative Society of Stockholm, which decided in May to boycott all South African goods. 'This is the way we declare our solidarity with the people of South Africa.'

## Emigration and Tourism

The year has seen a stepping up on a number of levels of the campaign against emigration to Southern Africa. The Trade Union Committee was responsible for the production of a leaflet which has been widely distributed within the British trade union movement; most of the major unions and trades councils have distributed it to their branches. A number of trade union journals has also carried articles opposing emigration. The leaflet is to be adapted for distribution in universities, colleges and schools by the addition of a text relating to students, and a different text is planned for general distribution.

The Movement has, in addition, produced several fact papers on the issue of white migration and distributed them widely among members and supporters. We collaborated with Anti-Apartheid Movements throughout Europe on the production of a book detailing the patterns of migration from European countries to South Africa and Rhodesia. The Movement took part in a press conference to launch the book and has helped with its distribution. At the press conference, chaired by Neil Kinnock MP, Edwin Ogbu, Chairman of the UN Committee Against Apartheid, announced that Thomas Cook's, the travel agents, had agreed not to promote tours to South Africa following a UN threat to withdraw their business from Cooks. The AAM also outlined details of its own campaign in Britain to stop the flow of white migration to Southern Africa.

The Movement has since written to the editors of all major daily and weekly newspapers asking that they refuse to take advertisements for jobs in South Africa. In the main, the response of editors is unfavourable, though a few journals - *New Society*, *Time Out* - do not take any ads for jobs in, travel to, or any other commercial relations with South Africa. *New Scientist* takes only advertisements which include a statement that the posts advertised are open to people of all races, and this has in effect stopped all South African advertisements.

With the help of members and supporters, newspapers and journals are being monitored for advertisements, so as to examine the number of ads, who is placing them, and which papers publish them most consistently, etc. The Irish and British Anti-Apartheid Movements have protested at advertisements by the Nurses Association which have appeared in the *Irish Times* and in the *Nursing Times* and *Nursing Mirror* in this country, which state that nurses will work with 'white patients only'. The AAM referred this to the Race Relations Board, which agreed to take up the case. They contacted the Nurses Association, which has refused to give an assurance that similar ads will not appear in the future. The legal position is therefore being investigated by the Board, which intends to take further action if possible. After this initial work, it is intended to intensify the campaign against white migration to Southern Africa.

The issue of misleading and untruthful advertisements has also been raised with the Advertising Standards Authority and the Race Relations Board. The coincidence of television advertisements for tourism to South Africa with statements on ITV that the advertisements they broadcast are truthful, was blatantly misleading and was taken up with the IBA by the Movement and several individual supporters. Their response was that 'We have a categorical assurance from the South African Tourist Corporation that non-White tourists are welcome to stay in any hotel of their choice...'. This statement is clearly untrue and the question has to be followed up with increased action against tourism to South Africa.

The questions of 'non-white' British citizens requiring visas for South Africa whereas 'whites' do not, and of a possible amendment to the Race Relations Act to prohibit the advertisement of discriminatory jobs outside Britain, have been raised with the Labour Party Working Group on Race Relations, the Foreign Office and the Home Office.

Local Anti-Apartheid Groups have been active on the issue of emigration. South African immigration offices in Glasgow, Newcastle, Manchester and elsewhere are constant targets for local demonstrations, and local meetings of South African friendship organisations, such as the Friends of the Springbok, have been picketed and disrupted. The Aberdeen AA Group has been particularly active on this (see *Local Activity*).

## Zimbabwe / Rhodesia

Events in Rhodesia over the past year have clearly demonstrated the vulnerability of the white minority regime to the growing strength of African resistance and the struggle for a free Zimbabwe.

Inside Rhodesia, the Smith regime has responded to this situation with increased repression, despite misleading reports to the contrary, and by stepping up the process of preparation for full-scale war, both psychologically and

materially.

A public relations firm has been hired by the regime to attempt to create public confidence in the ability of the regime's forces to contain guerrilla action. Recruitment for the armed forces has been stepped up. The privileged status of university candidates has been ended and the exemption of new immigrants from military service has been reduced to two years.

The Movement has kept abreast of the developing situation in Rhodesia and supports the demands of the African majority for independence on the basis of majority rule.

Repeated representations have been made by the AAM to the British Government on the issues of continued repression in Rhodesia, the hanging of opponents of the regime, for the withdrawal of South African paramilitary forces from Rhodesia, and for the

need for HMG to declare publicly its commitment to No Independence Before Majority African Rule (NIBMAR).

In November under pressure from South Africa, Smith temporarily released African leaders Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole from detention to attend talks in Lusaka. Following this, they were re-detained, and released again at the beginning of December for further talks in Lusaka which also involved other Zimbabwean leaders, the Presidents of Tanzania, Botswana and Zambia, and representatives of the Smith regime. On 9 December, ZANU, ZAPU and FROLIZI agreed to dissolve their existing movements and to unite under one organisation, the African National Council (ANC).

During the talks, undertakings were given which created the conditions for an informal ceasefire in the guerrilla war. A formal ceasefire, it was decided, would come into operation after the announcement of the date for a constitutional conference and the start of meaningful discussions.

The Smith regime gave an eight-point undertaking which stated that free political activity in Rhodesia would be permitted, political prisoners, detainees and restrictees would be released, the death sentences imposed on political prisoners would be revoked, and political trials would be stopped.

The Smith regime has not fulfilled any of these commitments, and a special briefing paper on this subject prepared by the International Defence & Aid Fund was distributed widely and also publicised in *AA News*.

A press statement on the continued prevention of free political activity was released on 5 January, together with the text of a cable sent to the British Foreign Secretary, then in Zambia, which called on HMG to declare its full support for the demand of the African people for majority rule, and to reaffirm publicly its commitment to NIBMAR. The AAM also called on the Government to protest about South Africa's military presence in Rhodesia.

The Movement has continued to draw public attention to the murder by hanging of liberation fighters in Rhodesia. Since the Lusaka talks in December, at least five freedom fighters have been hanged by the regime: Mahobo Kaboudo, Eriya Kamire, Alfred Changara, Kachera Chirimo and John Matauro. On 22 April, the regime announced that the previous practice of announcing the dates of executions would be discontinued because executions were 'emotive'. At that time seven freedom fighters were awaiting execution. A further two are known to have been sentenced to death, and many others are awaiting trial on charges which carry a mandatory death sentence.

This issue was raised in Parliament and the Movement also raised the matter through delegations which visited the Foreign Office on 13 January and 8 September. The question of the hangings was also raised when a delegation from the Movement met members of the Labour Party NEC on 23 April. The Movement emphasised its anxiety about the Government's refusal to declare the hangings as an act of murder by the illegal regime.

Statements were issued by the Movement publicly denouncing the Smith regime's decision announced on 9 January to stop the release of political detainees which they had started after the Lusaka talks, and the re-detention of the Revd Ndabaningi Sithole which took place on 4 March. The assassination of Herbert Chitepo in March (see *Obituary*) was strongly condemned by the Movement and his loss severely felt by those supporting the struggle for a free Zimbabwe.

On 1 June, the Rhodesian police shot and killed 13 Zimbabweans peacefully demonstrating outside a meeting of the ANC. Bishop Ambrose Reeves, President of the Movement, sent a telegram to the Foreign Secretary urging HMG to condemn the killings and to support ANC demands for talks on the basis of 'majority rule now'. The Movement issued a statement condemning the killings and again exposing the suppression of political activity within Rhodesia. A statement was issued by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office on 2 June deploring the shootings.

In April, the first meeting was held of an informal working group on Zimbabwe, established by the Movement in order to increase activity on this question. A special campaigning leaflet was issued and widely circulated, particularly in the labour movement. Points covered include the need to provide direct assistance for the newly-constituted African National Council, to take action against sanctions-breakers, in particular South Africa, to provide aid to African states affected by the implementation of sanctions, and to secure the withdrawal of South African troops illegally present in a British colony.

A general briefing sheet was also prepared, covering the political repression in Rhodesia - 'protected villages', detentions and trials - and distributed to local AA groups and others.

Publicity was given in particular to the arrest of John Mutasa, Moven Mahachi and Maurice Nyagumbo on charges of aiding Africans to cross the border to join the guerrillas. These charges carry a mandatory death sentence, and it is possible that their lives will be taken without even their families being informed. Hundreds of postcards addressed to the Foreign Office, calling for immediate action to secure the release of these three men

and all political prisoners and detainees in Zimbabwe and for the revocation of all death sentences imposed by the Smith regime, were printed and distributed to members to sign and send in. Didymus Mutasa, brother of one of those charged, sent a letter to the Prime Minister asking for urgent action, and considerable publicity was given to the trial.

On 7 August an all-night vigil was organised outside Rhodesia House, culminating in a picket from 12 noon to 2 pm on the following day. The picket was well-supported, and a letter addressed to the Foreign Secretary and signed by 38 eminent people including churchmen, MPs, trade unionists, actors, writers and others, was taken by a delegation from the picket to the Foreign Office. The letter called for 'decisive action by Her Majesty's Government... to secure both the revocation of all death sentences imposed by the illegal regime and the release of all political detainees and prisoners'. In response to similar representations, the Government has stated that it felt that a constitutional settlement would be the best solution, and that it was working towards this end.

On 25 August, at Victoria Falls, a meeting took place between delegations from the ANC and from the rebel regime. President Kaunda of Zambia and Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa were also at the talks, which broke down after only 2 days following the regime's refusal to grant immunity from detention to ANC representatives so that detailed discussions on majority rule could be held inside Rhodesia.

## Future work

Future plans for the Movement's work on Zimbabwe include a national conference to be held in Birmingham on 18-19 October. This is being organised by the Movement in conjunction with the Birmingham Anti-Apartheid Committee, and plans are well under way.

11 November 1975 marks the tenth anniversary of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia and this is therefore a focus for action to highlight the British Government's continuing responsibility for its colony and its obligation to secure independence under majority rule. Preliminary plans have been made for a public rally around that date.

The responsibility of the Movement to draw attention to political repression in Rhodesia and to ensure that the British Government takes an active and positive stand in support of the African people remains, and our campaigning work is being geared to this end.

# Namibia

Following the announcement in October 1974 by the South African Government of their plans to further fragment Namibia, the Movement issued a statement condemning this 'solution' for Namibia as a 'delaying tactic by South Africa in its attempts to retain its illegal hold on Namibia and to confuse the international community which demands an end to this illegal occupation'. An emergency resolution on this issue was passed unanimously at the 1974 AAM Annual General Meeting held at the end of October.

On 30 October, Britain, together with France and the USA, used its veto in the Security Council to defeat a resolution calling for South Africa's expulsion from the UN, partly on the grounds that it had refused to abide by UN demands to withdraw from its illegal occupation of Namibia.

In November, a meeting was sought with the Foreign Secretary to discuss this and other issues relating to Namibia. This meeting did not take place but subsequently an AAM delegation met Joan Lestor at the Foreign Office on 13 January. Amongst other issues, the status of Walvis Bay and the Caprivi Strip was discussed. The British Government accepts that the Caprivi Strip is part of Namibia but agrees with the Pretoria regime that Walvis Bay is part of the Republic since it was not included in the Mandate but considered an enclave under the jurisdiction of the Cape parliament. The AAM produced a paper on the subject and sent it to the Foreign Office, to the UN Commissioner for Namibia, SWAPO and Western European AAMs.

In December 1974, it was learnt that Hawker Siddeley had been awarded a contract by ESCOM, the state-owned electricity supply commission, to build a power station at Walvis Bay to supply electricity to South Africa. Following closely on the coup in Portugal, the implications of this move were that the South Africans were cutting down their dependence on the Cunene river power scheme in Northern Namibia and Angola, and transferring their main source of power to Walvis Bay. Shop stewards at the Mirlees Blackstone plant in Stockport, the company to whom this contract was given, were contacted, a public meeting was held in Stockport on 21 February which was addressed by Peter Katjavivi from SWAPO and Joan Lestor MP, and representations were made to the Trade Secretary, Peter Shore. This activity was largely initiated and coordinated by Stockport United Nations Association branch.

Trade with and investment in Namibia, in defiance of UN Security Council resolutions, were the focus of a continuing campaign throughout the

year.

Sales of Namibian Karakul fur by Hudsons Bay & Annings in the City were picketed in November, February and May. These pickets were organised jointly by the Namibia Action Group, the United Nations Youth & Student Association (UNYSA), the Namibia Support Committee and the AAM.

Following pressure from the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa, four American oil companies - Conoco, Getty Oil, Phillips Petroleum and Texaco - withdrew from off-shore oil prospecting ventures in Namibia between October 1974 and March 1975.

Members of the AAM, the Haslemere Group and others attended the Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) annual meeting on 21 May to protest at that company's continued involvement at Rossing in Namibia. The Rossing mine produces uranium and RTZ has a contract with the UK Atomic Energy Authority to provide uranium for its projects. The company's chairman, Sir Val Duncan, informed the meeting that he was 'not prepared to take any notice of what the United Nations says' about Namibia.

Despite widespread opposition in Namibia the South African administration continued its attempts to enforce its bantustan programme in the country. Further elections for an Ovamboland legislative assembly were held in January 1975, with a 55% poll recorded as opposed to the 2.5% poll at the first election in 1974. By legal action through the courts, SWAPO, with support from the Suffragen Bishop of Damaraland, exposed the use of intimidation to force people to vote in this election, and in spite of violence against them people came forward to testify that such intimidation was used.

A plan to hold an 'interracial convention' was announced in November 1974 by the all-white administration and talks finally began at the beginning of September 1975. SWAPO condemned these talks as a sham.

At the same time as these efforts to appease international opinion were being made, the South African administration was furthering its repression in Namibia of opponents of its illegal and racist rule. On 23 April, during a pass raid on a Katutura contract workers' hostel, at least 5 workers were shot dead, 13 wounded and about 300 arrested. A cable signed by 16 prominent trade unionists and other labour movement representatives was sent to SWAPO on May Day. It read: 'Deeply mourn death of comrades killed 23 April 1975. On 1 May, International Labour Day, we support your struggle against South African occupation and for full trade union rights.'

The response by the apartheid regime to the continuing involvement of the Church in the struggle for a free

Namibia was the expulsion on 17 June 1975 of Bishop Richard Wood, Suffragen Bishop of Damaraland, his wife, and Rolf Friede, Director of the Christian Centre in Windhoek, from Namibia. Bishop Wood is the third Anglican Bishop to be expelled from Namibia (Bishop Robert Mize was expelled in 1968, followed by his successor, Bishop Colin Winter, in 1972). Protests at these latest expulsions were made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lutheran Federation.

Bishop Wood and Bishop Auala of the Lutheran Church, together with Thomas Komati of SWAPO, were instrumental in ending the floggings by the Ovamboland 'authorities' of political opponents. They had asked a Windhoek court for an injunction against these floggings, and in February, following a protracted legal battle, the South African court ruled that they must end.

At the beginning of 1975, John Otto, a SWAPO leader who had escaped from Namibia visited Britain and spoke at the Trafalgar Square rally on 23 March calling for the end of military collaboration with apartheid (see *Military Collaboration*).

At the end of May 1975, the UN Security Council again debated the Namibian situation and a resolution to make the arms embargo against South Africa mandatory under Chapter VII of the Charter and calling for free elections in Namibia was vetoed by the three western permanent members of the Security Council - Britain, France and the USA.

In August it was announced at a press conference that the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of SWAPO, had captured a quantity of South African military hardware and had taken six South African soldiers prisoner. This had occurred as a result of a number of engagements between PLAN and the South African security forces.

In August and September, following the assassination of Chief Fitemon Elifas, Chief Minister of the Ovamboland Bantustan, and coinciding with the sham constitutional talks being held in Windhoek, the South African forces drastically stepped up their reign of terror against SWAPO and its supporters. The entire internal SWAPO leadership, in Windhoek and in the north, has been arrested. None has yet been charged; they are being held under the Terrorism Act and the General Law Amendment Act.

The Movement's work on Namibia has been carried out during the year in close support with the Namibia Support Committee (formerly the Friends of Namibia Committee), with UNYSA, the Namibia Action Group, and with SWAPO itself.

# Sports Boycott

Apartheid South Africa's response to the effectiveness of the international sports boycott has been an increase in misleading and inaccurate advertisements about the situation of sport in South Africa placed in the western press; personal invitations to leading sportsmen and women (particularly blacks) to visit South Africa; the organisation of a number of so-called 'multinational' events in South Africa itself; and token black participation in non-test international matches. By these means, the South Africans are attempting to convince the world that strict segregation is in fact 'multi-racialism'.

While the international boycott is virtually complete, in terms of major team sports, there are many instances of the boycott being breached, largely by lesser known teams and in the area of individual sports such as tennis, golf and snooker, and a great deal of work has still to be done.

The Stop All Racist Tours (SART) Committee has been active in drawing public attention to these issues, and in alerting members and supporters to the presence of South African teams playing in their areas. The Committee is composed of representatives from the AAM, the South African Non-Racial Open Committee (SAN-ROC), the National Union of Students (NUS), the London Co-operative Society Political Committee, various local anti-apartheid groups and a number of individuals.

At a press conference in May 1975, on the fifth anniversary of the cancellation of the planned 1970 South African cricket tour to Britain, SART outlined a new emphasis in its work. This would concentrate on individual sportsmen and women who slip through the net of isolation. A deputation to Dennis Howell, Minister of Sport, in June resulted in a promise from the Government to look into the possibility of refusing work permits to South Africans who play for a fee in the UK, and to encourage new links with South African non-racial sporting organisations.

Complaints have been made to newspapers and to the Advertising Standards Authority about the false statements and inaccuracies in advertisements placed in the national press with the caption 'Why Shouldn't the Next Olympics be held in Pretoria?', but the ASA have refused to take action and newspapers continue to print these ads.

Action has been taken against the Steenboks cricket team's tour of Sussex and the West Country. Two of their matches were disrupted by the Sussex Against Apartheid Group. A demonstration was held at Twickenham on 3 May in protest at the tour of the Middlesex Rugby Football Union to South Africa in May. This demonstration was organised by the Ealing AA

Group, which also sent protest letters to the organisers and players.

These breaks in the boycott have, however, to be seen in a wider context. In October 1974, the Trinidad and Tobago cricket team refused to play against the Derrick Robins team during their Caribbean tour because of their continued links with apartheid. In December the boxer John Conteh was invited to South Africa and, in refusing, he stated that it would be 'against my principles and an affront to my integrity'. Efforts to get Muhammed Ali to go to South Africa also failed. Also in December, due to public and official opposition in Italy, the planned visit by the Springboks rugby team was cancelled.

The Springboks did, however, visit France in November and December, despite opposition, and demonstrations were held at every one of their matches. The Vice-Chairman of SART, Peter Hain, visited France during their tour to support the French campaign. In June 1975, the French rugby team went to South Africa, despite the refusal of the non-racial South African Rugby Union to play against them.

In the UK, the Government's Southern Africa Review (see *Parliament*) stated that sporting contacts with South Africa, so long as teams were selected on the basis of race or colour, would receive no official support or approval. In July, a government grant of £15,000 was withdrawn from the World Youth Sailing Championships to be held in Scotland, because of South Africa's participation. However, the event took place and the Glasgow AA Group leafleted spectators and a number of competitors, including the South Africans. Another government grant of £15,000, to be paid through the Sports Council, was withdrawn from the World Water Skiing Championships to be held in Surrey in September 1975, and the sponsor of the event, Ready Mixed Concrete, also decided to withdraw its grant of £60,000 unless apartheid South Africa withdrew, stating that it was not prepared 'to go against the Government's wishes'. The organisers eventually banned South Africa from taking part, saying that the decision was 'forced upon us' and that it was better to hold a championship 'with one country missing than not to hold a championship at all'.

One of the major sports in which South Africans participate internationally on both an individual and team basis is tennis. Efforts have been made over many years to expel South Africa and Rhodesia from the Davis Cup and the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF), as yet without success. The 1974 Davis Cup was won by default by South Africa when the

other semi-finalist, India, refused to play against them. And following the refusal of many Davis Cup nations to play against South Africa in the 1975 competition including Mexico which refused to play them in the Zone semi-final, it seemed possible that they would again be the winners by default. However, this did not happen.

The July meeting of the Davis Cup Nations in London decided that South Africa should remain in both the 1975 and 1976 competitions. This followed the threat by the US delegate that his country would withdraw if any country was excluded from the competition 'on political grounds'. Because of this, Rhodesia also remained in the competition in the European Zone matches and was drawn to play against Ireland.

The ILTF also met in July, in Barcelona, and decided not to discuss a motion to expel South Africa from the Federation.

Following these two meetings, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) called on African tennis players to boycott the Davis Cup competition and all other international matches in which South Africa participated. And at a press conference on 31 July, SAN-ROC launched a world-wide campaign to get South Africa expelled from the ILTF.

The AAM and SART pledged support for this campaign, as did the National Union of Students, the Communist Party, International Socialists, Liberation, Labour Party, Young Socialists, Young Liberals, UNYSA and other British and international organisations. It was also announced that SAN-ROC had asked African countries to ban Arthur Ashe from competing in Africa because of his continued visits to South Africa.

A statement issued by the Irish AAM condemned the Irish Lawn Tennis Association (ILTA) decision to play its Davis Cup match against Rhodesia at a venue outside the country, and pledged itself to do everything in its power to ensure that the match did not take place. The Irish AAM had also campaigned successfully to get South Africa excluded from the world amateur snooker championships in Dublin in October 1974.

In May 1975, Rhodesia was banned from the Federation Cup - the women's international tennis competition - held in France.

In February 1975, the New Zealand Government confirmed its ban on sporting ties with South Africa while teams are selected on a racial basis. Also in February, the 1975/76 proposed Australian cricket tour of South Africa was cancelled. A major campaign is currently being conducted in New Zealand to stop the exchange of tours

between the Springboks and the All Blacks planned for 1976.

Following a report that Australian cricket captain Ian Chappell was planning to take a team of Australian cricketers to South Africa in 1976, SART wrote to Chappell and other players in the Australian team while they were in Britain for the World Cup series in 1975. A letter was also sent to the captain of the West Indian team,

Clive Lloyd, urging him to make representations to Ian Chappell and the other players; and the West Indian anti-apartheid cricket campaign took similar action. It was later reported that this tour would not go ahead.

On 11 September, the MCC announced the cancellation of the scheduled 1976/7 tour of South Africa. In a statement, the Council said that it regretted that the 'requirements of Test cricket with South

Africa have not yet been fully met'.

The effectiveness of the boycott of South Africa in international sports, and the resulting concessions, token gestures and surface changes which white South Africa makes in an attempt to win its way back into the international arena without introducing non-racialism, indicates dramatically the impact of the international boycott.

The apartheid regime has continued its strenuous efforts to break the Cultural Boycott.

Thus in March 1975 Peter Shaffer, who has hitherto been a strong supporter of the boycott and an original signatory to the playwrights' declaration, agreed to allow his play *Equus* to be staged in South Africa. Earlier a South African impresario had persuaded him to allow his play *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* to go to South Africa provided that the cast could include blacks and whites. In fact, this condition was not met and Shaffer sent an 'angry telegram' to the impresario.

The Johannesburg *Star* of 30 May reported that John Dankworth had written the music for a South African film, *Diamond Hunters*, and that he hoped to return to South Africa again 'for performances, or to write more movie music'. It gave the impression that Dankworth would have no objection to performing in South Africa. The Movement wrote to him and he replied that he only hoped to return to South Africa 'when satisfied that the segregation of audiences had been discontinued'.

Late in 1974, the publication *Index on Censorship* circulated a questionnaire on the Cultural Boycott to 59 'artists and intellectuals' and received 23 replies firmly in favour, 19 against, and 14 waverers. A 'student sampling' of 27 brought in 25 replies in favour of the boycott. Though in the main encouraging, some of the negative respondents were

## Cultural Boycott

previous supporters of the boycott and the reasons they gave for changing their minds were unclear and ambiguous. The nature of the questionnaire, which contained a number of subsidiary questions, confused the issue for many of the respondents.

The annual conference of the Association of Cinematograph, Television & allied Technicians (ACTT) again reaffirmed its ban on members working in South Africa. The advent of television in South Africa highlights the importance of this ban. The Movement learnt that Thames Television, which is a subsidiary of EMI, were sending out administrators to South Africa to advise the television industry there, and representations have been made to the company.

The Movement also wrote to the BBC and to the Independent Television Companies Association regarding the sale of television films to South Africa. No reply was received from the latter, but the BBC replied that by adopting a policy of non-sales to South Africa, they would be 'taking up a political position - something we go to great pains to avoid'. The Movement also wrote to the Writers Guild of Great Britain urging them to appeal to their members to insert a clause in their contracts forbidding the sale of their material to the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Future work will concentrate on securing a comprehensive policy on this issue.

Taking part in the International Festival of Youth Orchestras in Aberdeen and London in August 1975

were two groups from South Africa - the South African Youth Orchestra and the Eoan Opera Company, the former all white, the latter Coloured. The festival administrator told AAM representatives that the orchestra had been chosen on a non-racial basis, i.e. that auditions had been open to musicians from all racial groups. This was not the case, and performances by the orchestra were therefore leafleted, etc (see *Local Activity*). As a result of AAM action, the Greater London Council, which administers the Crystal Palace Bowl where the South African Youth Orchestra played on 17 August, has given an assurance that in future all orchestras or groups selected on racial grounds will be excluded from activities with which the GLC is associated.

It is important to counter the effect of the 'cosmetic' changes being made in South Africa which permit occasional mixed audiences or special performances for different racial groups, to woo artistes and productions to that country. In all essentials, the situation within South Africa remains unchanged - segregation of black from white is the law and this is fully applied in the theatres. Thus the change of heart on the part of some playwrights and other artists is difficult to justify. The Executive and National Committees have discussed recent developments and agreed that a new initiative to ensure the maintenance and strengthening of this boycott, which has made a considerable impact within South Africa, must now be taken.

## Architects Against Apartheid

The Architects Against Apartheid Group has met at intervals throughout the year to formulate further plans for the campaign to end links between the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA).

Last year's annual report mentioned attempts by the RIBA Council to respond to pressure by setting up an ad hoc committee to discuss ways in which the RIBA could provide a scholarship fund for black pupils in South Africa. In

February 1975 the RIBA Council received a report from its ad hoc committee which recommended that funds be made available to individuals already committed to architecture: two candidates had been found - one from Lesotho! Having 'black South African architects or members of the institute practising side by side with whites' was suggested as 'the best way of challenging the South African system'. The anti-apartheid position was strongly argued. The

ad hoc committee had clearly not taken into account the realities of the situation in South Africa. Blacks require government permission to enter white universities, where architecture courses are available, and the scheme could be used by the white regime for its own purposes. The Council voted by 27 to 10 to approve the recommendations in the report.

The Architects Against Apartheid Group has continued to raise the issue as widely as possible amongst members of the RIBA, with a view to the

matter being reconsidered at a future Council meeting. The Group prepared a leaflet explaining the special relationship between the RIBA and the ISAA and why it should be terminated. This was

widely distributed in architectural circles including many schools of architecture.

A resolution calling for the breaking of links with the ISAA, already signed by more than 300 members of the

RIBA, will again be presented to the Council, with additional signatures, at the December meeting. Letters urging members to support the resolution have appeared in the *RIBA Journal*.

## Education

At the 1974 AGM, a resolution was passed calling for the formation of an Education Committee within the Movement to promote education in schools about Southern Africa and to mobilise teachers at all levels in the fight against apartheid.

At the request of the AAM Executive the Haringey Anti-Apartheid Group, which had proposed the motion, convened an informal group of people concerned with education. This has met at approximately six-weekly intervals over the year, and has initiated action in a number of areas. The main effort has been directed at developing a grass-roots campaign among teachers in schools and universities, with the emphasis on local

action rather than national initiatives. A network of university and teaching contacts is being built up, to monitor academic links with South Africa and to take appropriate action to maintain the academic boycott. The conference of the International Council for Correspondence Education, held in Brighton in May and attended by delegates from the University of South Africa, was leafleted by AAM members.

The Group has also worked in an advisory capacity on the planning of the Southern Africa Education Kit to be published by the International Defence & Aid Fund. A campaign to monitor the use being made in schools

of pro-apartheid materials, notably those produced by South Africa House, has been initiated, and considerable information has been collected on distributors.

In June, the Haringey AA Group organised a one-day conference on *Teaching and Southern Africa*, attended by some 40 teachers from all over London. The conference provoked lively discussion on ways and means of introducing Southern Africa into the school curriculum. The background papers included a film, bibliography and an annotated list of teaching resources on Southern Africa, which are now being revised and expanded for general use by teachers.

## INTERNATIONAL

On 15 November, the Hon Secretary was invited to Germany for a conference of the newly-formed German AAM which worked out plans for its future activities including a campaign against the establishment of a major nuclear enrichment plant in South Africa by Steag of Essen.

The Dutch AAM organised a special seminar on Sanctions against Rhodesia on 29 November, to which Abdul S. Minty and Mike Terry were invited. Representatives of liberation movements, anti-apartheid groups, and Dutch organisations took part in the seminar which agreed on the importance of increased work to be done on sanctions and made a number of proposals for future action.

On 15 February the German AAM and the Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee organised a Tribunal against colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, in the Town Hall in Bonn, to which the Hon Secretary was invited. Representatives of the liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other organisations, including the World Council of Churches, took part in the Tribunal, which emphasised the central role of South Africa in relation to Zimbabwe and Namibia. For many German participants, it was their first opportunity to listen to representatives of various organi-

sations and to be informed about Germany's role in South Africa. The Tribunal fulfilled a useful educational and campaigning function.

From 16-23 February, Nancy White and Abdul S. Minty visited the Soviet Union in response to a long-standing invitation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. They visited Moscow and Leningrad and had meetings with several organisations which all showed considerable interest in the work of the AAM. The visit also enabled the AAM to get a better impression of the solidarity work done in the Soviet Union in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

On 6 April, the Hon Secretary went to Dar es Salaam to attend the special extraordinary session of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), called to discuss South Africa. The Conference met until 11 April, often having long sessions into the night in order to discuss the many problems arising out of the new situation in Southern Africa. It adopted the Dar es Salaam Declaration, which reaffirmed the OAU's policy of supporting the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, and outlined a comprehensive policy of boycotting South Africa. The OAU conference presented a useful opportunity for meeting leaders from African States and the liberation movements.

On 28 April, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid held a seminar on South Africa. Abdul S. Minty was invited to open the discussion on the arms embargo on the first day, and the AAM Chairman, John Ennals, represented the Movement for the rest of the week. Some of the seminar documents and its conclusions were published in detail in the June issue of *AA News*. The seminar, which was attended by members of Anti-Apartheid Movements and Committees from many countries, provided a useful opportunity for an exchange of views and a discussion on future cooperation.

On 29 April, the Hon Secretary went to the Commonwealth Conference in Kingston, Jamaica. Prime Minister Manley, as Chairman of the Conference, invited the African National Council of Zimbabwe to attend and a delegation headed by Bishop Muzorewa went to Jamaica. Whilst the Rhodesian issue took up a considerable time of the Conference, SWAPO, which was represented by Peter Katjavivi, was able to ensure that Namibia was also discussed. The Commonwealth Conference agreed to extend educational and training assistance to Namibians via SWAPO; declared that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was *illegal* (whereas the British position up to

then had been that it was *unlawful*); welcomed Britain's announcement that the Simonstown Agreement was to be terminated and pointed to the growing threat presented by South Africa's increased militarisation. It was an important Conference in respect of Southern Africa - for the first time in its history, Commonwealth Heads of Government heard representatives of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe and with this precedent it becomes possible for future Conferences to do the same in respect of the other territories in Southern Africa. The outgoing Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, Arnold Smith, was succeeded by the Foreign Minister of Guyana, Shridath Ramphal.

From 30 May to 6 June, the UN Security Council met once again to consider the question of Namibia. The Pretoria regime claimed that it did not wish to keep 'an inch' of the territory yet showed no sign of withdrawing its illegal occupation. The African States, in consultation with SWAPO, urged the Council to declare that South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia amounted to a threat to peace within the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter, and accordingly called for a mandatory arms embargo against the Pretoria regime. The major western powers expressed their opposition to the

arms embargo being made mandatory when a resolution calling for it was tabled with the support of the non-aligned countries, including Sweden. Four African Foreign Ministers went to New York especially to participate in the debate, as did Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO. The AAM Hon Secretary was invited to address the Security Council and presented evidence about western military collaboration with the Pretoria regime which helped to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia. He also presented documentary evidence that the NATO codification system for equipment and spares had been made available to the South African regime. At the end of the debate, Britain, France and the USA once again used their Triple Veto in order to block the resolution, thus protecting South Africa from having a mandatory arms embargo implemented against it. Britain and the USA both claim to operate an arms embargo but explained that they did not agree that the situation regarding Namibia amounted to a threat to peace.

On 25 June, the AAM Chairman, John Ennals, represented the Movement at the independence celebrations for Mozambique in Lourenco Marques and had the opportunity of meeting the President, Prime Minister and other officials of the newly-independent state. He also spent a few days in Kenya and participated in the week

of activities on Southern Africa organised by the Southern Africa Committee of the National Christian Council of Kenya.

On 9 August, during a visit to Zaire, President Giscard d'Estaing announced a ban on the sale of French military equipment 'having a continental use' to South Africa. This is interpreted to govern only 'offensive' arms and since all recent French arms sales are ostensibly considered to be within this category it is a misleading statement which is unlikely to make any difference to the substantial flow of French weapons to South Africa. However, it does point to the need for intensified campaigns against France on this issue.

Detailed reports of these events are published in the relevant issues of *AA News*.

The Movement has been fortunate in that it has not had to meet the costs of any of the abovementioned overseas visits, which have been met either by the inviting organisations or by sympathetic supporters.

In April, the Movement was saddened to learn of the death of Mr Kanjiro Noma, President of the Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee, on 5 February. Mr Noma founded the Japanese Committee in 1963 and has contributed greatly to the understanding among Japanese people of the situation in Southern Africa and of the struggle for freedom in the sub-continent.

## ORGANISATION

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

At the Annual General Meeting, the major forum of the Movement, members take part in formulating the policy which provides the focus of the AAM's work for the coming year. At the 1974 meeting, resolutions were passed which included those calling for campaigns to end investment in South Africa, for the release of all Southern African political prisoners, to end British military collaboration with apartheid, for support for the freedom struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and for further work within the labour movement as a whole. This Report details the work that has been done in these and other fields over the past year.

The AGM debated the issue of the two joint British/South African naval exercises and, in a statement issued after the AGM, Bishop Reeves called these exercises 'a shameful shot in the arm for apartheid'. The meeting also sent a telegram to the Foreign Secretary calling on the Government to support

the General Assembly resolution to expel South Africa from the United Nations.

The AGM also elected the 30 individual members to the National Committee from nominations submitted by the Movement's membership.

### NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and meets not less than four times a year. Apart from the 30 individual members elected by the AGM, it is composed of the President, Vice-Presidents and Sponsors, 20 organisations with voting rights, observer organisations, representatives from the Southern African liberation movements, local anti-apartheid groups, and nine coopted individuals.

At the first full meeting of the National Committee, detailed discussion took place on the implementation of the resolutions passed by the AGM, and early meetings of the Committee concentrated on action to

end military collaboration with apartheid. Following discussion, the 23 March Mobilising Committee was set up to work for a mass demonstration coinciding with the 15th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre (see *Military Collaboration*).

The Committee also discussed at length developments in Southern Africa with a view to countering the false impression being given by the media of the 'detente' moves.

Efforts were made throughout the year to arrange a deputation from the National Committee to meet the Foreign Secretary. This did not prove possible, but on 8 September a deputation met David Ennals, Minister of State at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (see *Parliament*).

During the year, the Committee was saddened to learn of the death of one of its most valued members, Mr Terry Trench, who represented the Association of Cinematograph, Television & allied Technicians (ACTT) on the Committee. Mr Trench was a regular attendee and

contributor to National Committee meetings, and he is sorely missed.

The National Committee met six times during the past year.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At the National Committee immediately following the AGM, the Executive Committee was elected. The Executive Committee is composed of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Honorary Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Secretary, 8 individual members and up to 6 coopted members. It meets at least once a month and occasionally more frequently when the situation demands it.

Several special meetings of the Executive have been held over the past year for in depth discussions in the light of the rapidly-changing situation in Southern Africa following the

collapse of Portuguese fascism and colonialism.

## AAM OFFICE

The AAM Office has again been called upon to carry a heavy burden of work throughout the year. Basil Manning, who took over as Executive Secretary on 1 November, found it necessary to leave at the beginning of July due to personal reasons. This left the office short of an important staff member for three months and the work of the Executive Secretary was ably handled by the rest of the staff. A new Executive Secretary was appointed following consideration of several applicants by the Executive Committee, and Mike Terry, Vice-Chairman of the Movement for the past two years and an active member

for several years, will take up the post on 1 October. Jen McClelland, who had earlier indicated her wish to leave, extended her stay in the office in order to help during the interim period until a new Executive Secretary was appointed.

The office was fortunate in that it had several volunteers working full-time for varying periods, one of whom gave her services for three consecutive months. The many volunteers who come into the office regularly - to help despatch the newspaper and newsletter monthly, to deal with press cuttings and filing, with correspondence and other typing, and to do some vital research - must also be mentioned. This is an important part of the life of the AAM Office and it is hoped that more and more AAM members and supporters will contribute in this way.

# AREAS OF WORK

## Trade Union Movement

### 1975 Trades Union Congress, Blackpool

*Congress reaffirms its opposition to Apartheid and pledges its support for policies designed to produce majority rule in South Africa and Rhodesia and which will end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.*

*In particular Congress recognises that the British trade union movement can best assist these objectives by working closely with the South African Congress of Trade Unions and pressing the British Government to take all possible steps to withdraw investment by British companies in South Africa.*

Above is the text of the resolution successfully moved by the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) at the 1975 TUC Congress. The resolution received overwhelming support and was the culmination of a year's activity in which the Anti-Apartheid Trade Union Committee endeavoured in particular to stimulate debate in the trade unions on the issues that were not adequately covered in the report of the 1973 TUC delegation to South Africa. Of necessity, this has meant that the main thrust of the Committee's work has been in campaigns on Emigration, Investment and support for SACTU.

### The Worker & Apartheid Conference

In January, a one-day conference for trade unionists - *The Worker and Apartheid* - was held in Coventry. More than 60 delegates representing 11 trade unions, 6 trades councils and 27 trade union divisions and branches attended. The conference speakers were John Sprack (ATTI), Ron Press (SACTU) and Mzwei Piliso (ANC-SA), and the proceedings were chaired by Audrey Wise MP, Eddie McCluskey (T&GWU EC), Don Groves (ASTMS) and Tony Ayland (NALGO), who all took part in a lively forum, exchanging views on a wide range of issues with the delegates. The conference determined that the Government should withhold financial assistance from companies operating in South Africa, in particular British Leyland. It called for an intensification of the campaign against emigration and for the release of political prisoners. Unions were also urged not only to disinvest any of their own funds from companies operating in South Africa but also to monitor the investment of pension funds to which their members contributed.

In June, the National & Local Government Officers Association (NALGO), at their annual conference, took an important decision in line with this policy, when a resolution was passed calling on branches of the union to press local councils and other public bodies not to invest in firms with South African connections.

### Emigration

The trade unions have played a major part in the stepping up of the campaign against emigration to Southern Africa (see *Emigration & Tourism*). The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) (Foundry Section), the National Union of Agricultural & Allied Workers (NUAAW), AUEW (TASS) and the Scottish Miners have all carried articles in their journals urging their members not to emigrate and to campaign actively against emigration in their trades councils and regional TUCs. A leaflet produced by the Trade Union Committee depicting an anti-emigration cartoon drawn by a member of the Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers (SLADE PW), and a text particularly aimed at campaign work in the labour movement, has been widely circulated. A number of unions including the Transport & General Workers Union (T&GWU), the Association of Scientific, Technical & Managerial Staffs (ASTMS), the Post Office Engineering Union (POEU), the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW) have circulated the leaflet to their members and many trades councils and trade union branches have also taken supplies. A total of some 17,000 of these leaflets have been circulated to date.

The NUM in Scotland, Wales and Yorkshire in particular responded to



an attempt by the South African Chamber of Mines to recruit British mineworkers for jobs in South Africa by reporting the facts about apartheid to their members.

The TUC has continued its long-standing opposition to emigration and during the year the General Council wrote to the Department of Employment drawing its attention to the activities of South African recruiting centres in London and throughout the country.

The Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in June determined to launch a campaign against emigration as a matter of urgency. Subsequently, they have written to all their affiliates, representing more than 50 million trade unionists, calling on them to mount full-scale campaigns in their own countries.

### Military Collaboration Campaign

Following both the joint exercises of the South African and British navies, and the Movement's exposure of South Africa's use of the NATO codification system, a number of trade unions, including T&GWU, ASTMS, AUEW(TASS), AUEW (Construction Section), POEU, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), and the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians made strong protests to the Government.

The major public event of the End Military Collaboration Campaign, the March 23rd Rally (see *Military Collaboration*), received strong support from the trade unions both in the pre-publicity for the Rally, with most of the major unions circulating publicity and urging their members to attend, and on the day itself. The regional labour movement conferences held in Wales and Scotland in which again the trade unions played a leading part, both in sponsorship and in sending delegates, fulfilled an important function in building up to the Rally, 'End Military Collaboration' being the major theme at both Conferences.

The March issue of *Anti-Apartheid News* displayed the

concern of the British trade union movement at continuing military collaboration through the insertion of 12 union advertisements.

### Institute of Industrial Education, Durban

In January, the TUC, as part of its policy to promote African trade unions in South Africa, decided to grant the Institute of Industrial Education in Durban some £11,348 for trade union education. This followed an on-the-spot assessment of the Institute by Bill Hughes, the Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford. The TUC's decision was regarded as a controversial one in some quarters, particularly as SACTU and the liberation movements had not been consulted. Following representations from the trade union students at Ruskin, who were concerned at the links between the college and the IIE, the Trade Union Committee wrote in March to the General Secretaries of the 33 unions represented on the Ruskin Governing Council. The letter pointed out that the resolution of the 1973 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conference Against Apartheid had called for support for the people of South Africa through their authentic political and trade union organisations, and that consultation with SACTU and the liberation movements was essential in matters of union development inside South Africa. Through their representatives on the Governing Council, AUEW(TASS) and the Association of Broadcasting Staffs (ABS) now oppose the links between the college and the IIE, and a number of other unions are actively considering their positions.

### SWAPO Education Project

In June, Mr Solomon Mufima, the SWAPO Secretary for Labour, paid a visit to this country during which he addressed the Trade Union Committee, providing members with a valuable insight into the organisational problems facing SWAPO. The Committee agreed to raise with the British trade union movement the possibilities of providing material aid to SWAPO, notably in the development of a school for refugee Namibian children in Lusaka.

### Hawker Siddeley

In May, a delegation from the Trade Union Committee attended a Hawker Siddeley National Shop Stewards' Committee Meeting to express concern at press reports that Hawker Siddeley workers had visited the South African Embassy to seek orders for Buccaneer strike aircraft. The Stewards gave the delegation a sympathetic hearing and said that those who had visited the South African Embassy were not necessarily representative of Hawker Siddeley workers as a whole.

During the year, successful anti-apartheid meetings were held at the national conferences of ASTMS and the Society of Civil Servants, the latter with the specific aim of seeking support for a motion on the conference agenda calling for affiliation to the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Unfortunately, the motion was not reached, but a number of SOCS branches have subsequently pursued the question of affiliation with their executives. In October the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff (APEX) issued a circular to its branches urging them to give financial support to SACTU.

With the affiliation in December of the AUEW (Foundry Section), the number of national unions affiliated to the Movement rose to 19. In addition, 8 trade union branches and 5 trades councils affiliated during the year. The Trade Union Committee was considerably strengthened by the addition of ten new members, six of whom were official delegates from their unions. Valuable assistance has also been given by an observer from the Namibia Support Committee. This expansion and strengthening of the Committee has greatly contributed to the effectiveness of its work and it is very much hoped that the forthcoming year will see a corresponding growth.

The Trade Union Committee has continued to benefit from the advice of John Gaetsewe, SACTU General Secretary, and his membership of the Committee has made a major contribution to the Movement's work.

## Students

Some 300 students from over 100 colleges and universities receive the NUS/AAM network mailings on Southern Africa, and the majority of these are active in campaigning work. In conjunction with the National Union of Students, Committee for Freedom in Mozambique Angola & Guine, and

the Namibia Support Committee, the network structure has facilitated our campaigning and educative work among students. The work of the AAM among students has thus been greatly strengthened over the past year.

The annual conference of network members, regular meetings of the net-

work each term, and frequent mailings of the network newsletter, have become part of the regular pattern, and the result has been nationally coordinated campaigns which provide an impetus for the local student groups and enable effective dissemination of information on Southern Africa.

The network also provides a forum for debate, nationally, on the nature of the situation in Southern Africa, and the response needed from British students.

At the third summer conference of the network, held at Keele University in July 1974, it was agreed that the two major campaigning priorities for the year 1974/5 should be: (a) material aid and support for the liberation movements; and (b) 'disinvestment' by universities and colleges from shareholdings in companies with interests in Southern Africa. In addition, a campaign to boycott Barclays Bank would take place in the first few weeks of the academic year, when students are opening bank accounts for the first time.

A target of £10,000 was set for the fund-raising campaign, a substantial part of which was reached. The NUS has a Liberation Fund through which students are asked to channel the money raised so that a central count can be maintained. This is not always done, and it is therefore difficult to assess the precise amount. However, this is estimated to be in the region of £5,000. A large number of unions participated in fund-raising activities, through a 'Southern Africa Week' or via a one-off disco, dance, film show, sale, sponsored activity, among other such activity. Particular mention should be made of Newcastle, Southampton and Leeds Universities, the School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS) and Westfield College of London University, Birmingham and Oxford Polytechnics, St Johns College of Education in York, and Rachel Macmillan College in London.

Two major successes were achieved in the disinvestment campaign and the groundwork laid for further progress during the coming year. In February, the Council of Lancaster University decided to support a motion, proposed by the Vice-Chancellor, that they should completely divest themselves of shares in companies with any investment links with South Africa. A week before this decision, a major demonstration in support of the campaign was held at Durham University. Over 1,200 students from as far away as Aberdeen and Exeter attended the demonstration. Speakers included John Hosey, whose son is in prison in Pretoria and who himself is an active trade unionist, Abdul Bham from the African National Congress, Hugh Bayley from the NUS, Alan Brooks from the AAM, and Robert Good from the Durham AA Group. The anti-apartheid group at Durham had been working for two years to get their university to disinvest and a referendum held in the colleges supported this move. The disinvestment campaign has been met by a refusal to consider the proposal seriously: a sub-committee was set up, investigations held, and similar evasive action taken. This is a typical response, met by students in

numerous universities, which can be overcome only by mass sustained campaigns over a period of years.

At Manchester University, this campaign has had massive support from the student body and has been maintained for the past three years. The campaign at Manchester is complicated by the fact that the University Council's sub-committee on investments is composed almost entirely of directors of the offending firms. This year, activities included a human carpet in front of the University Council Chamber: students told University Council members that they were treading on them in the same way as they were treading on African workers. The following Council meeting was disrupted by students. 1,500 students and staff had bought crosses and planted them in front of the university building, and maintained a 24 hour vigil over them. Funds from the sale of the crosses were donated to the liberation movements and to the AAM.

Other universities which have had sustained disinvestment campaigns include Bath, Oxford, Exeter and London.

Campaigns on investment by local authorities in companies involved in Southern Africa have been undertaken by public sector colleges, notably Southgate Tech (Enfield Council) and the London colleges of education. In recent years, it has been difficult to get colleges of education and other public sector colleges to take up this campaign, as it involves getting the local council to disinvest. However, London colleges now have plans to take up this issue in a major way and are working with London AA groups on a campaign. We have the support of some GLC councillors, and at their last annual meeting NALGO passed a resolution calling for borough and town councils to sell all shares in companies with South African connections. It is hoped that similar action can be taken outside London.

Following a rally held in Durban, South Africa, in September 1974, a large number of South African students, black and white, were arrested and since then many others have also been detained. Some are at present standing trial on charges under the Terrorism Act (see SATIS). British students have protested in a number of ways. Nelson Mandela was reaffirmed as an honorary Vice-President of the NUS at their annual conference in December. A demonstration was organised by the NUS in conjunction with the AAM on 26 October outside South Africa House in protest at the arrest of members of the South African Student Organisation (SASO), to which students representing colleges from all over the country came. Again, on 12 March, students responded well to a series of pickets and demonstrations against these arrests and detentions

called by the AAM: at the London demonstration over 100 people, including many students, attended; and the protests organised in Newcastle, Cheltenham, Manchester, Glasgow, Exeter, Southampton, Edinburgh and elsewhere were largely as a result of the work done by students. Many students also sent postcards and telegrams to South Africa in support of the stand taken by students there, and several student unions have 'adopted' a particular detainee, publicised his/her case and made contact with the family. Student participation in the public meeting in December at which Angela Davis spoke indicated the deep concern among students about the situation of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

Student participation in nationally organised activity has, as always, been at a high level. As part of the 'end military collaboration' campaign, leaflets and material were distributed to student contacts and a large contingent of students, including a number of members of the NUS Executive, attended the march and rally on 23 March.

The fourth conference of the network was held at the beginning of July 1975 at Salford University. As a result of the high level of activity throughout the year, participation at the conference was nearly double that of previous years, with over 100 students from 60 colleges attending. We were fortunate to have a high level of guest speakers, including members of the Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Vice-President of SWAPO, a representative from the African National Council of Zimbabwe, and a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. After a number of interesting plenary sessions and discussion groups, it was agreed that campaigns in the coming year should concentrate on a two-pronged attack: there would therefore be campaigns to end British collaboration with the racist regimes - these to include the areas of investment, emigration and boycott; and campaigns in support of the liberation struggle - to include fund-raising support for the liberation movements and campaigning for the release of political prisoners. Publicity and briefing material has been prepared, and a network meeting is planned before the new term starts. Other plans include a tour by the cultural unit of the African National Congress, local activity on 11 November (the 10th anniversary of UDI in Rhodesia), and a fund-raising week in the second academic term.

The AAM was represented at both major NUS national conferences - at Margate and Llanudno - and useful contacts were made and literature distributed. Meetings of activists were held at both conferences.

50 college and university student

unions are affiliated to the AAM and about 30 take regular bulk orders of *AA News*. A large part of the AAM's student work is in encouraging students to take up the Southern

African campaigns and providing services such as *AA News*, literature, speakers, advice, information and research facilities, and local contacts.

Liaison between student groups and local AA groups is important, and there are plans to expand and strengthen these links in the coming year.

## Local Activities

There are thirty-eight local AAM groups. The past year has seen the development of several new ones - some of them, like Blackpool, Gosport, East London and Hemel Hempstead, very active; and others that had been dormant have stepped up their activity. A few have ceased to operate, and it is hoped that individual members in areas where this is the case will try to rebuild them. The Movement depends considerably on well-organised local groups for its nationwide campaigns.

The range of activities of local groups is wide, and includes public meetings and conferences, letter-writing, pickets and demonstrations, bookstalls, selling *AA News* and leafleting, and constant contact with local press and local organisations. Frequently they make an impact nationally, as in the case of the work of the Birmingham Group on Zimbabwean political prisoners, or the Surrey Group on the loopholes in the Race Relations Act which allow advertisements for jobs in South Africa to appear in the British press.

Local group support for the Movement's national campaigns is crucial, and was particularly evident in the campaign to end military collaboration with South Africa and in the sponsored walks to publicise the plight of political prisoners in Southern Africa (see *SAT/S*). The first, from 27 October to 6 November, was in stages from London to Manchester. This would not have been possible without the excellent work done by the local groups en route. At West London, Slough, Reading, Oxford, Banbury, Coventry, Birmingham, Stafford, Macclesfield and Manchester, evening meetings were organised, walkers were put up overnight, new walkers joined the march, the local press were contacted, and reception and send-off committees of local people arranged. Over 100 walkers, including 20 ex-political prisoners, took part on the different stages, and £800 was raised through sponsorship. Collaboration of this form between the local groups and the office proved extremely beneficial for the groups as well as for the national Movement. A further walk was organised from Brighton to London from 19-21 April; the Mid-Sussex Group was particularly helpful with the organisation of this event. Local groups also campaigned intensively in support of the 23 March rally, following a meeting to plan the campaign held in London on 11 January, and several groups sent coach-loads to the demonstration.

The London office tries to maintain the strongest possible links with local groups, though lack of staff resources hinders it from providing the kind and extent of attention and servicing that the situation demands. The Movement depends on local groups to send representatives to National Committee meetings, which they are entitled to do, but only a small number actually attend. During the past year, six newsletters to all the groups, plus two to London groups only, improved contacts, but it is essentially personal meetings, discussions and contacts which are invaluable for the sharing of ideas and information so that there is more intensive work carried out at the local level.

Many local groups initiate action quite independently of the London office, and publicising such action through *AA News* often means that it is picked up elsewhere and repeated, or that the idea is translated into another local context.

In Scotland, a committee has been set up to coordinate the work of AA Groups, and the Glasgow branch has been particularly active. They have persuaded the Strathclyde Regional Council to boycott South African and Namibian goods, and the Council is now investigating its investment position. The Group organised protests at the arrests in South Africa of SASO and BPC members, and held demonstrations at a meeting of the Springbok Association, at the annual meeting of Coats-Patons (a Glasgow-based company with large South African interests), at the World Youth Sailing Championships in which a South African team was participating, and at interviews held by an advertising agency for jobs in South Africa. The Glasgow Group organised, in conjunction with the London office, a one-day conference for the Labour Movement on 8 March in Glasgow. They have arranged a regular bookstall and members regularly address meetings of other local organisations.

The Aberdeen Group has distributed a leaflet about emigration to South Africa through the University Careers Service; sells *AA News* regularly; and organised protests at the involvement of the South African Youth Orchestra in the International Festival of Youth Orchestras. This issue was taken up by local groups in the London area when the youth orchestra gave performances there (see *Cultural Boycott*).

Coordination among London groups has been extended. A campaign to get

the Greater London Council to sell its investments in companies with South African involvements should increase this cooperation in the coming year, as will joint fund-raising.

Two relatively new groups which have been working consistently are Haringey and East London. Haringey has taken a particular interest in education in Southern Africa and, following the adoption of its resolution at the 1974 AGM, the Group organised an open meeting in February and a one-day conference in June to promote teaching about Southern Africa. Though the Haringey Group has not limited itself to the issue of education, its concentration on it has made for special effectiveness and has helped to build permanent links with other people and groups in the local community. Haringey has undertaken a number of fund-raising activities and has donated a total of £100 to the Movement.

The East London Group, formed in September 1974, has functioned consistently throughout the year, with five public meetings, street-speaking in conjunction with the Hackney Committee Against Racism, picketing the Springbok Association's meeting, leafletting outside cinemas showing *The Wilby Conspiracy* (a thriller set in South Africa), fund-raising and publicity activities, and through all this consolidating contacts in the East End community.

The West London Group, now in its seventh year, has held two public meetings, written to several Government Ministers, and held a fund-raising party in February. For three weeks, while *Last Grave at Dimbaza* was showing at a local cinema, a nightly bookstall was arranged; and leaflets were distributed and *AA News* sold regularly outside cinemas showing *The Wilby Conspiracy*. Since May, the Group has run a stall in the Portobello Road, selling literature and bric-a-brac, on the first Saturday of each month.

The new Portsmouth and Gosport Group also has plans to distribute leaflets at showings of *The Wilby Conspiracy*, and has been meeting regularly. The Southampton Group has been working specifically on reports that Southampton's port is to become the major South African trading port in Britain when it is containerised in 1977. This Group maintains close links with the University and several joint activities have been organised.

The new Blackpool Group provides assistance with AAM meetings and other activities at the TUC Congress

and Labour Party Conference. They are also monitoring the local press for ads for jobs in South Africa, and organised a public meeting on Namibia in June and one on Labour

Party policy and practice regarding Southern Africa in August.

The Movement's support for local groups is most important as they are being set up, and local contacts can

usually be provided to a member who is interested in forming a group. The office can also help with advice for suitable campaigns to start with, and on the mechanics of setting up a group

## Political Parties

Following the Conference, *The Southern African Struggle and the British Labour Movement*, held in June 1974, the Movement has continued to maintain and build up contacts among Constituency Labour Parties. Several mailings were sent to CLPs during the year, including one in October on the joint British/South African naval exercises (see *Military Collaboration*), pointing out that these exercises were a violation of Labour's Programme and of Conference resolutions, calling on CLPs to convey to the Prime Minister their opposition to this collaboration, and enclosing a postcard for signature and return. This received wide support and was followed by a circular to selected CLPs asking for their support for an emergency resolution on this issue which had been tabled by ASLEF for the 1974 Labour Party Conference held in London at the end of November. The AAM meeting at Conference, held in the House of Commons on 29 November, was extremely well-attended by delegates, in spite of the fact that the emergency resolution had already been debated and overwhelmingly passed by Conference.

CLPs were also circulated in June 1975 with suggested points for resolutions for the 1975 Conference, which

will be held at the end of September, and this mailing also included information on the situation in Rhodesia.

In February, three Labour MPs visited South Africa at the invitation of the South African Government, and representations were made to their respective Parties pointing out that such visits at the expense of the apartheid state were in contradiction of Labour Party policy and designed as public relations exercises for apartheid.

Two regional Labour Movement Conferences were held during the year in Wales and Scotland, both of which were well-attended by delegates from local Labour Parties as well as from trade unions and trades councils.

Interest in Southern African issues continues to grow among Labour Parties and LPYS branches, and the number of constituency and ward Parties affiliated to the Movement is increasing.

The Liberal Party at national level, the Parliamentary Party and the Young Liberals have been regularly circulated with information on AAM campaigns and on issues relating to Southern Africa. Although it was not possible to arrange a meeting at the 1975 Liberal Assembly, a literature stall was organised and manned by AAM supporters in the Party and by the

Young Liberals. The latter have continued to be active on Southern African issues and their Southern Africa Commission has been revived. They have been particularly active on the sports boycott as well as other aspects of solidarity work.

The Movement has received the support and participation of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in all its various campaigns. They were particularly active in the campaign to end military collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

The International Socialists, the International Marxist Group and other political organisations participated in the 23 March Mobilising Committee which organised the march and rally against military collaboration with apartheid. These organisations have committed themselves to support the campaign to expel South Africa from the International Lawn Tennis Federation initiated by the South African Non-Racial Open Committee (see *Sport*).

The political party newspapers - *Labour Weekly*, *Socialist Worker*, *Red Weekly*, as well as the *Morning Star* - have given excellent coverage to Southern African issues and anti-apartheid activities.

## Parliament

During the General Election in October 1974, there was intensive lobbying of candidates on Southern African issues. As in the February 1974 election, a list of questions to candidates was widely circulated. With the Labour Government returned to power, letters were sent to new Members of Parliament requesting their support for the Labour Party's policies on Southern Africa as laid down in the Manifesto and in the 1973 Programme.

During October, four days after the election, it was reported that the Labour Government had authorised further joint exercises between the British and South African navies. MPs were contacted and urged to make every effort to ensure that these exercises were cancelled and all military collaboration with apartheid South Africa ended. This issue was the subject of many questions raised in the House, for which the Movement supplied background information.

An Early Day Motion was signed by over 85 MPs and as a result of protests inside and outside Parliament the Foreign Secretary finally announced on 16 June 1975 that the Simonstown Agreements had been terminated (for details, see *Military Collaboration*).

The long-awaited Defence Review and Southern Africa Review were announced in December. Both were disappointing on all important issues, although the latter concluded that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was 'unlawful' and confirmed that the arms embargo would be implemented.

The Government's policy with regard to apartheid sport was confirmed in the Southern Africa Review (see *Sport*).

An AAM delegation met Joan Lester at the Foreign Office on 13 January for a general discussion on Southern African issues. An attempt to arrange a joint meeting at the Foreign Office with officials from the Departments of Trade and Industry to discuss the

general question of a freeze on future investment in South Africa was unsuccessful. Investment has been the subject of a number of representations directly to the Secretary of State for Industry (see *Trade & Investment*).

On 21 January, a meeting to which Members of Parliament and a number of organisations were invited, was called by Bishop Ambrose Reeves, AAM President, to discuss the problems arising out of the new situation in Southern Africa. The meeting also discussed the visit of the Foreign Secretary to Southern Africa and concern was expressed at his discussions with South African Prime Minister Vorster over the Simonstown base. The meeting was held in the House of Commons and chaired by John Ennals, and the discussion was introduced by Bishop Reeves and Abdul Minty.

Members of Parliament actively supported the campaign for the

release of political prisoners and in particular of Bram Fischer, who was dying of cancer in a Pretoria prison hospital. They wrote letters to the South African authorities, over 120 MPs signed a motion calling on HMG to make representations for his release, and many participated in demonstrations outside South Africa House (see SATIS).

The illegal hangings in Rhodesia and the new repressive measures promulgated by the illegal regime were brought to the attention of MPs and background information supplied. The issue was pressed on several occasions. Questions on this were asked in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. MPs took part in a picket of Rhodesia House on 8 August to draw attention to the plight of political detainees and

prisoners, and signed a letter to the Foreign Secretary calling for urgent government action (see *Zimbabwe/Rhodesia*).

The decision to allow the British Steel Corporation to invest capital in a major ferro-chrome project in South Africa was the subject of strenuous protest inside and outside Parliament, and the Movement supplied background information to assist in formulating questions (see *Trade & Investment*). Unfortunately, this issue became public at the end of the parliamentary session, which prevented a possible emergency debate.

Several Labour MPs have written articles in *AA News* over the past year calling for government action on Southern Africa in line with Party

policy (see *Anti-Apartheid News*).

AAM representatives met David Ennals at the Foreign Office on 8 September 1975 and discussed the constitutional talks on Rhodesia, the illegal executions by the Smith regime, British policy on Namibia, the use of the veto at the United Nations, military collaboration, and a freeze on investment in South Africa. The Minister undertook to consider some of the points raised and promised to look again at the question of the illegal executions in Rhodesia. The Minister also requested further documentation on aspects of military collaboration, including the sale of patents for armaments manufacture in South Africa and the provision of the NATO codification system for equipment and spares to South Africa.

## INFORMATION

### Anti-Apartheid News

*Anti-Apartheid News* plays a unique role as the only regular publication devoted exclusively to coverage of the liberation struggle over the whole of Southern Africa and to news of the international campaign for the isolation of the white minority regimes there.

In the past year it has mobilised support for Anti-Apartheid Movement campaigns and made a special attempt to build up pressure on the Labour Government to implement Labour policies for an economic boycott of South Africa and an end to military collaboration.

It has also made a priority of rallying support for the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa and has given full coverage to activities organised by SATIS (Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society), a high point of which was the visit by Angela Davis to Britain last December.

It paid tribute to South African hero, Bram Fischer, when he died in May 1975, and recorded the respect and sorrow felt by people all over the world.

The main feature of the March 1975 issue was a call for support for the 23 March demonstration organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement against British military collaboration with South Africa.

The paper has also reported the activities of local anti-apartheid groups and other organisations campaigning on Southern Africa. Since February 1975 it has carried a regular special feature on student activity on the issue.

In the international field the news-

paper has carried reports of many major international conferences at which Southern Africa was an issue. These included reports of the Commonwealth Conference and the Paris Seminar held by the UN Special Committee on Apartheid in April/May 1975, and of the special meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on South Africa in April and the UN Committee of 24's session in Lisbon in May. It has also carried news of anti-apartheid activities in other countries, including France, West Germany, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Ghana, Nigeria and the USA.

Among contributors to the paper were Labour MPs Frank Ailton, Ian Evans, Frank Hooley, Bob Hughes, Roy Hughes and Jo Richardson; seamen's union leader Jim Slater, Bill Ronksley of ASLEF, Clive Bush, Vice-President of the CPSA, and SLADE Executive member John Foster. Other writers have included Basil Davidson, Ruth First, Abdul Minty, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, Adrian Mitchell and Professor Ronald Frankenburg. The paper has featured speeches and interviews with liberation movement leaders including FRELIMO President Samora Machel, the Acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Oliver Tambo, the Administrative Secretary of the South West African Peoples Organisation of Namibia, Moses Garoeb, and SWAPO leaders John Otto and Magdalena Shamana.

It has given prominent coverage to the continuing industrial unrest inside South Africa, to the trial of SASO and BPC militants on charges

under the Terrorism Act, and to other detentions under the Act.

On Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), it has reported on Smith's continued intransigence on talks aimed at achieving majority rule and on the guerrilla fighting inside the country. A special feature in the July/August 1975 issue covered the expose of atrocities against African men, women and children by the Rhodesian security forces which was compiled by the Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia.

The newspaper exposed the fraud of the Ovambo Bantustan 'elections' in Namibia and of the 'constitutional conference' called by the South African authorities in September 1975. The September issue carried an exceptional article by David de Beer who had recently visited the Angolan side of the Namibian border.

Appeals for advertisements expressing solidarity with South African political prisoners to mark 10 December, Human Rights Day, in the December/January issue and to mark the anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings on 21 March in the March issue met with an excellent response.

In February 1975, the price of *AA News* was increased from 5p to 8p to cover spiralling printing and postage costs. Circulation remains steady at 7,000 - approximately 3,000 to AAM members, 500 to individual subscribers, and the balance being sold by local anti-apartheid groups, student groups and other organisations and individuals. It has a growing list of overseas subscribers but much more needs to be done to build up a larger circulation.

# Publicity

Due to the rapidly-changing situation in Southern Africa the national press has carried a large number of reports and articles over the past year, notably on the 'detente' initiative as it is described by the apartheid rulers. The bulk of this reporting has tended to give a highly misleading impression of the situation and the Movement has endeavoured to correct this and to convey the true perspectives of the situation, through contact with individual reporters, through letters and numerous press statements.

Television, too, has had more coverage of Southern African issues during this period. Many programmes have exposed the repressive nature of the white minority regimes, and in some of these Movement representatives took part in the discussion period of the programme. One exception from this generally good approach was the BBC's handling of the highly-acclaimed film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. In order to satisfy their sense of 'balance', the BBC offered South Africa House equal time on the air, and the eventual programme which was screened consisted of a severely cut version of *Last Grave* and a specially made propaganda film sent from South Africa. The makers of *Last Grave* were horrified that our film was able to be used by the South African government as a means to persuade

the BBC to screen half an hour of apartheid propaganda'.

Extensive use has been made of the radio, in particular local radio programmes which provide a valuable outlet for local as well as national news.

*Anti-Apartheid News* has been the major focus through which Southern African issues and AAM campaigns have been publicised (see *Anti-Apartheid News*), as well as the publication of leaflets, posters, stickers and background documents. Efforts have been made to up-date the Literature List more frequently and to circulate it more widely. The List includes pamphlets and booklets produced by the International Defence & Aid Fund, the UN Unit on Apartheid, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique Angola & Guinea, the Africa Bureau and others, which the Movement distributes widely in the UK and overseas.

Background information papers have been produced over the past year for the campaigns on Zimbabwe, Emigration, Political Prisoners, Bantustans, on the British Leyland and British Steel Corporation proposed investment in South Africa.

Publicity is also sought through information mailings to organisations, many of which cover the Southern African situation and the work of the

Movement in their bulletins and magazines. Local press coverage has on the whole been good and has embraced letter-writing campaigns by local groups.

The Movement has provided speakers for 123 meetings during the year. The majority of these requests have come from universities, colleges and schools, but speakers have also been provided for political parties, trades councils and anti-apartheid groups. Several local groups have provided speakers for meetings in their immediate area. In general, meetings addressed by AAM speakers have continued to play an important part in the work of the Movement, particularly for the enrolment of new members and the sales of *Anti-Apartheid News* and other literature.

Of the national daily and weekly newspapers covering Southern African issues in depth, special mention must be made of the *Morning Star*, which also unfailingly reported AAM activities, *The Guardian*, *Tribune* and *West Indian World*. *The Sunday Times*, *Observer* and *The Times* have also covered the issue though to a lesser extent. The Movement's connection with individual journalists in the press is maintained but a greater effort is needed in this field to ensure that the realities of the Southern African situation are reflected with greater accuracy.

## FINANCE AND FUNDRAISING

Rising costs in every aspect of the Movement's work continue to give serious problems. The rates on the AAM offices have more than doubled over the last few years and are now approaching £1,000 per annum, and staff salaries have also had to be increased. With the new postal charges and present printing costs, *AA News* now costs approximately 13p for each copy posted to an individual subscriber. In the coming financial year, postage alone on material sent out to members can be expected to absorb more than half of the existing full annual subscription and more than double the

existing student subscription. Further consideration of subscription rates has therefore become inevitable.

Collections taken at the Angela Davis meeting and the 23 March rally assisted our financial situation, as did the two sponsored walks on behalf of the campaign for the release of all Southern African political prisoners. A special effort to obtain solidarity advertisements for the Sharpeville issue of *AA News* (March) also brought in much-needed cash. Several local groups have contributed to the Movement's funds both through general fund-raising

activities and through special events organised for this purpose.

We have received another generous donation from the World Council of Churches, for which we are very grateful. We cannot, however, assume that donations like this will be repeated in the future and we must work on the basis that we have to meet increased expenditure out of our own resources. Several projects for large fund-raising functions are being considered. There remains an urgent need for members to make a special effort to help with fund-raising work and to take some of the burden off the office.

# CONCLUSION

The new situation in Southern Africa has produced a major offensive campaign by the Pretoria regime to end its international isolation and win wider support. It claims to have succeeded in establishing 'detente' with independent Africa and is utilising the atmosphere created by the negotiations over Rhodesia to make fresh overtures to several African states. These initiatives have secured some favourable results for the apartheid regime but it is also the first to recognise that the greatest threat to its survival comes from the millions of Africans and

other oppressed people *inside* that country. Thus the massive defence budget for the current year; the increased economic and other links with the outside world; the concentration on penetrating independent African states so that they may come to accept the apartheid state; the recent visit of Prime Minister Vorster to Paraguay and Uruguay; and the increasing terrorism of the apartheid state internally are all linked to survival *and* expansion.

Never before has white South

Africa presented a greater threat to world peace and security and yet the response of Britain and the other major western powers is to move even closer to the Pretoria regime and block all meaningful action to help counteract the apartheid system. In the coming year the AAM and its supporters will have to work with increased determination and flexibility in a more complex and difficult atmosphere which has itself come about, in the main, as a result of the new victories won by the African liberation struggle.

# OBITUARIES

## HERBERT CHITEPO

Herbert Chitepo, National Chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and a leading official of the reconstituted African National Council, was assassinated on 18 March 1975. His car was blown up by a land-mine near his home in Lusaka.

Chitepo, Zimbabwe's first African barrister, joined the National Democratic Party in June 1960 and was one of the leaders of the march of 25,000 Zimbabweans called to protest against attempts to suppress the NDP in July 1960. During the 1960/61 Constitutional Conference in London, he acted as a leading adviser to the NDP delegation of Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole. Chitepo was active in the formation of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union in December 1961 just eight days after the banning of the NDP, but in 1962 he left for Tanganyika becoming the country's first African Director of Public Prosecutions.

With the foundation of ZANU in the summer of 1963, Chitepo was elected National Chairman, the position he held until his death. In 1966 he moved to Lusaka where he played a major role in forwarding the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, particularly in relation to the escalation of the operations by the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) since the autumn of 1972 in the north and north-east of Zimbabwe.

Herbert Chitepo worked closely with the AAM both during his period of legal training in London and later as a leader of the liberation movement. With his death the Zimbabwean people have lost a dedicated fighter for freedom.

## BRAM FISCHER

Bram Fischer, before his incarceration in Pretoria Local Prison, had a distinguished career at the Johannesburg Bar and was a perennial member of the Witwatersrand Bar Council, usually with the top vote. His prominent role in left and radical politics included the Chairmanship of the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Peace Council, and membership of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

The record itself is a remarkable one but it in no way does justice to the greatness of Bram Fischer. An Afrikaner, who could so easily have accepted the privileged position accorded to whites of his class by the apartheid regime, he instead chose the difficult and dangerous course of opposition. As the lawyer for the accused in the Rivonia Trial in 1963-4, he placed himself firmly on the side of the South African liberation struggle, and a year later he was himself arrested and charged with furthering the aims of communism. Granted bail before his trial to plead an appeal in a commercial case before the Privy Council in London, he made the decision to return and subsequently went underground. For almost a year he lived disguised, in Johannesburg, working to help sustain the revolutionary opposition. In November 1965 he was caught, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment. His statement to the court on 28 March 1966 has become an inspiration for freedom lovers everywhere.

Bram Fischer was indeed a man of principle who will long be remembered. His death of cancer in May 1975 is a tragic loss to the people of South Africa.

# Vorster rejects UN demand for Namibia withdrawal

From STANLEY UYS: Cape Town, May 20

Vorster indicated to the United Nations tonight that he was rejecting its "illegal administration" from the Security Council.

# South Africa detains 'exiled' writers

Cape Town, August 26

## Student detainees 'beaten by police'

February 7  
 17 for 12  
 rges under  
 and today  
 severely  
 bring the  
 been in  
 means, in condition some  
 for violent reaction, and  
 create and foster treachery  
 racial hatred by blacks toward  
 whites. The accused were  
 asked to plead  
 The men entered and left the  
 court sipping a pre-Frelimo  
 beer. Black Power clenched fist  
 and 150 applauding blacks crowded  
 into the public gallery, which  
 sitting normally seats 30. — Router.  
 In Cape Town a white man  
 has urged the Government  
 to give

# Black rallies broken up

From STANLEY UYS: Cape Town, September 25

Police today baton-charged crowds of blacks after two pro-Frelimo rallies had been held, one in Durban and the other at the black University of Turfloop outside Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal. In Durban a number of people received head injuries and others were taken in for questioning. Stones were

A SASO spokesman had said at the weekend that four Frelimo members were being "smuggled" into the country and would speak at today's Durban rally, but the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said tonight that no Frelimo members were in South Africa and that the Government would not hesitate to arrest anyone who entered the country illegally.

dents left the hall but went to the university's sports field, where according to the police they began throwing stones at the police and at cars on the campus. A senior police officer ordered a baton charge after gas pistols had been fired at the students, and scatter guns fired over the students' heads. One student was treated in hospital for a gash in his head. Durban the editor of the News Mr Patrick

# Callaghan and Vorster meet

By CHRISTOPHER MUNNION in Port Elizabeth

**S**PEAKING after a meeting yesterday with Mr. Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Callaghan said the talks had centred on the Rhodesian constitutional problem and had been "worthwhile."

"I have a clearer picture now of South Africa's attitude on the question of Rhodesia," the Foreign Secretary said. "We went fully over the events in the past few weeks and the possible developments."

An R.A.F. Comet took the Foreign Secretary and his party on to Port Elizabeth in the Cape Province, for the meeting at a five star hotel with Mr. Vorster, who had travelled 80 miles from his holiday home on the coast. It was reported yesterday that a second South African police

# Vorster says thank you to Britain

Nigel (South Africa), November 5

Mr John Vorster, the South African Prime Minister tonight publicly thanked Britain, France, and the United States for keeping his country in the United Nations.