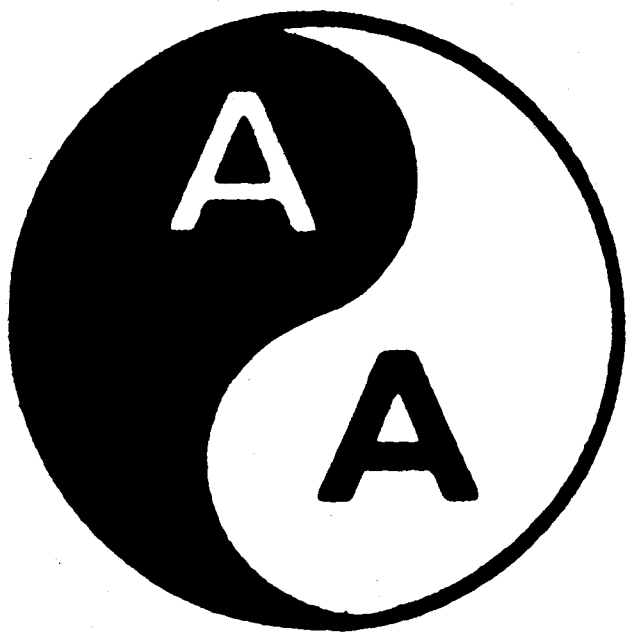
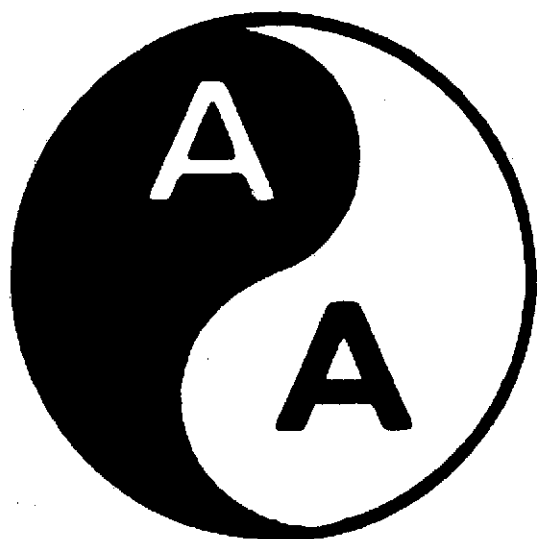


# **Anti-Apartheid Movement**



**Annual Report  
of Activities  
and Developments  
October 1975-  
September 1976**

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# Foreword

The Annual Report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement describes the activities in which we have been engaged during the last twelve months and says something of our hopes for the future. Behind this record lies the devoted services of the members of the staff without which our continuing resolute opposition to apartheid would have been impossible. Even so, much less would have been achieved had this not been reinforced constantly by the time so freely given by many members of the Movement as well as their continuing financial help. All this, together with the work of our various committees, has been responsible for the achievements described in the following report.

As all our readers will know, quite unexpectedly we have had to deal as a Movement with the grim happenings at Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa. Our immediate and large-scale response to these critical events was only possible because of the untiring efforts of those who have worked for the Movement over many years. May I therefore plead with each and every member to do all in his or her power to strengthen our resolute opposition to apartheid by devoting time and money to our work in the future.

† Ambrose Reeves  
President

## Anti- Apartheid Movement

ANNUAL REPORT  
October 1975 – September 1976

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## Contents

	Page
Introduction	3
Campaigns:	
Soweto	4
Military Collaboration	5
BOSS	6
Angola: South Africa's aggression	7
Bantustans	7
Investment and Trade	8
Emigration and Tourism	9
Women Under Apartheid	10
Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society	10
Namibia	12
Zimbabwe/Rhodesia	12
Sports Boycott	13
Cultural Boycott	14
International Work	15
Organisation:	
Membership	16
Annual General Meeting	16
National Committee	16
Executive Committee	17
AAM Office	17
Areas of Work:	
Trade Union Movement	17
Student Work	18
Local Activity	20
Political Parties	21
Parliament	21
Schools	22
Information:	
Anti-Apartheid News	22
Media	23
Speakers	23
Publications	23
Finance and Fund raising	23

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# Introduction

The initiative in Southern Africa—in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa—has clearly passed to the forces of African liberation, and the centre of the exploitative-racist machinery in Southern Africa, that is the Pretoria regime, is facing its most serious crisis ever. Internally, following the initial slaughter of school children on 16 June in Soweto, opposition to apartheid has taken an unprecedented expression of defiance and resistance throughout the country which has been impossible to quench, even by the most brutal police shootings at unarmed crowds. In Namibia, the successes of the SWAPO liberation forces have resulted in a massive militarisation of the entire territory and the establishment of powerful striking bases aimed for action against neighbouring African States such as Angola and Zambia. The Smith regime in Zimbabwe cannot possibly survive for very long in the light of the growing strength of the African liberation forces.

During the last year, the consolidation of the independence of Angola under MPLA and the final defeat of South African aggression has marked a new stage in the changing strategic situation in Southern Africa. Despite the support and complicity of certain powerful Western interests in South Africa's invasion and the provision of mercenaries to destroy the influence and authority of MPLA, the victory of the Angolan people has transformed the balance of power in Southern Africa.

The new crisis faced by South Africa also constitutes a severe crisis for Western policy. The defeat of the South African forces in Angola, signifying the utter failure of that invasion, and the success of MPLA in consolidating the independence of Angola has produced a severe reaction in certain Western capitals and particularly in Washington. Realising that South Africa's own survival is now threatened, the United States has embarked on a major diplomatic and political offensive to control change in Southern Africa so that the African revolution does not sweep away the structure of economic and political power in Southern Africa.

The Kissinger policy of attempting to bring about change in Rhodesia by relying on South African help and of persuading the Vorster regime to make concessions with regard to Namibia in return for full support for the "legitimate" right of the apartheid state to exist in Africa, presents a new and grave threat to the African liberation struggles and to the people of the entire continent. It is a policy bound to fail but it can create considerable havoc in Southern Africa: the oppressed people of South Africa will never accept their oppression.

## Namibia

The war in Namibia is escalating rapidly and despite heavy military and police pressure in the territory South Africa is unable to maintain control over the area. Following its defeat in Angola, the border from the Atlantic to the Caprivi has been transformed into a free fire zone with the forced removal of Namibians living in the area and the clearing of the terrain. The military bases have been expanded and strike aircraft stationed for aggressive missions northwards. The so-called constitutional talks for the future of Namibia and now the proposed "independence" for the territory to be conferred by South Africa at the end of 1978 are aimed at misleading world opinion and gaining time for the Pretoria regime.

SWAPO has refused to be drawn into these manoeuvres and stated clearly that it will only take part in negotiations once certain basic conditions are met, including the release of its leaders, the withdrawal of South African occupying forces and the acceptance of free elections under UN supervision in a unitary state.

Meanwhile, SWAPO is conducting the liberation struggle with new determination. As the Pretoria regime feels more and more insecure, it is likely to resort to further attacks against neighbouring African States under the guise of a "hot pursuit" policy.

## Zimbabwe

The illegal Smith regime has found it impossible to contain the new offensive mounted by the African liberation forces and has increased its retaliation measures both against the African population within its borders and by attacking Mozambique. Its persistent provocation against Mozambique is likely to lead to a widening of the war and there is the danger of increased South African military involvement on the side of the Salisbury regime in order to prevent Rhodesia being ruled by an African administration hostile to South Africa. Large numbers of Africans continue to be detained, tried in secret and executed illegally, and the British Government persists in its refusal to declare these killings as constituting murder for which those perpetrating the crime would be held legally responsible.

The increasing number of young white Rhodesians leaving the country to avoid military call-up has led to special counter measures being taken by the illegal regime, including attempts to draft African youth—these measures reflect the growing panic of the Smith regime faced by the successful armed struggle.

## South Africa

The very basis of the apartheid policy, relying on the separation and division of peoples, is in total ruin: it has been exploded by the united challenge of the oppressed people, initiated by the African, Coloured and Indian youth. The 16 June slaughter in Soweto was followed by a national revolt by the black people which has marked a new stage in the South African liberation struggle. The growth of black consciousness and the role of SASO, SASM and the BPC has played a significant part in intensifying the internal resistance to the apartheid system.

The indiscriminate use of police violence and brutality, arrests and torture, and the ready use of bullets to kill peaceful demonstrators has only increased the determination of the people to fight. The oppressed people have, unarmed, faced bullets aimed at killing them—each time a wave of shootings was unleashed the crowds dispersed temporarily, only to reform defiantly within minutes, and this pattern has been followed throughout the country. It is significant that within days of the Soweto slaughter, leaflets issued by the liberation movement were being distributed within the country.

The significance of the strikes by the black labour force can only be understood when one appreciates the scale and nature of retaliation employed by the apartheid regime to break strikes. This heroic defiance of the oppressed people and their growing unity in struggle has left the white regime in considerable disarray—police methods of crowd control failing hopelessly and the spirit of the people remaining undaunted despite the severe brutality of the police. But the massive slaughter of innocently protesting black people is likely to continue unless there is decisive international action in support of the internal resistance struggle and specifically of the armed struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime.

Meanwhile, the Pretoria regime is persisting with its attempt to enter into "dialogue" with independent African States, despite the fact that its detente policy is now in shambles. The long-planned "independence" of the Transkei Bantustan for October 1976, in an effort to win international recognition of the Bantustan policy of "self-determination", has already failed: the OAU summit in Mauritius has decided not to recognise these apartheid institutions, as have the Nordic Foreign Ministers. It is very unlikely that South Africa's major trading partners, some of whom might otherwise have wished to recognise the Bantustans, will now find it politically possible to do so.

The Pretoria regime is also facing serious economic problems due to the steep fall in the price of gold, and the rate of inflation has been rapidly escalated by increasing military expenditure. It needs further international capital investment and loans, and various high-level attempts have been made to

secure substantial loans on the international market.

The Vorster regime, facing its most severe crisis, is keen to enlist the support of the US and other Western powers to maintain the stability and security of South Africa, and Kissinger's so-called peaceful change policy based on working for those changes acceptable to Pretoria in Southern Africa needs to be exposed. Any changes which are agreed will be based on the need to preserve the apartheid State, but such manoeuvres are bound to fail because of the determination of the South African people to win their freedom.

Whilst the situation in Southern Africa is now much more favourable, since the initiative has passed decisively to the African liberation forces, it is bound to produce increased reaction from the white regimes and their allies. South Africa is now on a complete war footing and its attacks against Angola and Zambia, and that of Rhodesia against Mozambique, have set precedents for future attacks. But the real war situation is not adequately covered by the media in the Western countries and the people of these countries are therefore unable to understand the nature of the developing escalation of confrontation in Southern Africa.

### Britain

Despite the growing crisis in Southern Africa, the British Government continues to encourage economic and other links with the Pretoria regime. It refuses to consider the policies of apartheid as constituting a threat to world peace and thus helps to block any meaningful action being taken by the UN Security Council to counteract apartheid. Its policy in relation to Rhodesia and Namibia is governed essentially by considerations of what is in the interest of South Africa.

Thus it has virtually abdicated all its responsibility to the Zimbabwe people and is looking to the US to help produce change in Rhodesia with the help of South Africa.

Meanwhile it continues with the shameful policy of supplying military and police equipment to South Africa, despite a public pledge to implement an effective arms

embargo. Revelations by the Anti-Apartheid Movement during the past year about the supply of military equipment and information to South Africa have exposed serious loopholes in the embargo. Despite public protests these loopholes remain and much has still to be done to end all military and police cooperation between Britain and South Africa.

The Labour Party's policy statement on South Africa, issued in August 1976, advocates a clear anti-apartheid policy for Britain and represents a call for Britain to change sides in the growing conflict in Southern Africa. The Labour Government so far shows no signs of implementing the major proposals of the Party, and it will need widespread public pressure to ensure that HMG adopts a policy of disengagement from apartheid South Africa.

### Conclusion

There is now the most urgent need for a mandatory arms embargo to be implemented by the UN Security Council which will cover all forms of military collaboration with the Pretoria regime. Secondly, South Africa is still the major sanctions buster over Rhodesia and the UN has the clear duty to enforce sanctions decisions of the Security Council. Thirdly, since it is unlikely that the Pretoria regime will withdraw from Namibia voluntarily, the *minimum* action required by the UN is to suspend South Africa from the international organisation.

South Africa presents a grave danger to the peace and security of Africa and the world, and its nuclear programme further testifies to its aggressive intentions. It requires firm international action to counteract this threat, but the prospects for such action are remote as long as the principal Western powers act in solidarity with the Pretoria regime. Time is running out and it is therefore of crucial importance that the people of the world, and especially those in the major collaborating countries, are mobilised more effectively in support of the African liberation struggle.

# Campaigns

## Soweto

Public opinion throughout the world was shocked by the brutal massacre of black school students at Soweto on 16 June. Police opened fire on a demonstration of tens of thousands of students protesting against the hated Bantu Education system and the introduction of Afrikaans as a teaching medium. International condemnation was expressed at the United Nations, where the Security Council, at a special meeting on 19 June, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the massacre. In Britain, statements were issued by the Government, Trade Union Congress, British Council of Churches, the Labour and Liberal parties, and many other organisations and individuals.

The response to the Soweto massacre revealed the growing strength and organisation of resistance to the apartheid system. Demonstrations and protests rapidly spread to other townships in the Transvaal, whilst

police repression mounted with widespread detentions and further police attacks on demonstrators. Within a week the South African authorities admitted a total of 176 killed, whilst sources in the townships put the figure very much higher.

In Soweto, two new organisations were established—the Soweto Students Representative Council and the Black Parents Association—which immediately became targets for the police. On 14 August the police cracked down on the Black Parents Association and detained most of its Executive together with leading members of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black Peoples Convention (BPC).

A new sense of solidarity and resistance has manifested itself throughout South Africa since 16 June. Protests have occurred in most African townships, in all the "tribal" universities, in the Coloured townships in the Cape, and against Bantustan institutions, par-

ticularly in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. And despite the mounting toll of people shot, many of them school children, and the numbers detained the protests continue.

The AAM responded immediately to these events. On 17 June, the day after the first killings in Soweto, over 300 people took part in a protest outside South Africa House. Lunch-time pickets were held each week day during the following 10 days, with an average attendance of 100 people each day.

On 27 June a national march and rally in protest at the Soweto massacre was organised. Over 6,000 people marched from Charing Cross embankment to Hyde Park where a rally was held chaired by Bob Hughes MP. Speakers included John Ennals, AAM Chairman, Joan Lester MP, for the NEC of the Labour Party, Simon Hebditch, Vice President of the Young Liberals, for the Liberal Party, Dave Patterson, President of the National

Union of School Students, and John Gaëtsewe, General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). The march, which was well covered by the press and other media, was led by South Africans carrying a coffin in memory of the dead of Soweto, followed by a Land Rover to signify the use of these vehicles by the South African police and the continuing collaboration between Britain and South Africa. The march was supported by over 40 national organisations including 11 trade unions. Six Members of Parliament participated in the march including Junior Minister Frank Judd.

Following immediately on the Soweto massacre, Prime Minister Vorster left South Africa to meet US Secretary of State Dr Kissinger in Bavaria, West Germany. Vorster's visit provoked widespread protest throughout West Germany and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Bonn organised a number of demonstrations. In Britain protests were mounted out-

side the West German and United States Embassies, and the AAM issued a statement calling on Dr Kissinger to cancel his visit.

The opportunity to focus public attention on France's role in arming the apartheid regime was taken also during the week that followed when French President Giscard d'Estaing came to Britain on a State Visit. Demonstrations greeted him on his arrival in London at Victoria Station and again in Edinburgh.

The AAM called on local anti-apartheid groups to organise activity in solidarity with the people of South Africa and to protest at the Soweto massacre. Public meetings and other events took place in Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Bristol, Exeter, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Norwich and Cardiff.

On 12 July the AAM held a rally—"Freedom for South Africa: Where does Britain Stand?"—in Westminster Central Hall, at which leading public

figures spoke of the action now required in view of these developments in South Africa. The platform included Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Ambassador Leslie Harriman, Chairman of the UN Committee Against Apartheid, TUC General Council member Ken Gill, Frank Allaun MP, of the Labour Party's National Executive, Charles Clarke, President of the NUS, M P Naicker of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Abdul S Minty, Hon Secretary of the AAM. The meeting was chaired by Bob Hughes MP.

National and local activities continued during July and August, including pickets of South Africa House on 6 August, following renewed outbreaks of resistance in Soweto and Cape Town, and on 17 August in protest at the detention of leading members of the Black Parents Association, SASO and BPC. On 21—22 August, a 24-hour vigil was mounted in solidarity with the people of South Africa.

## Military Collaboration

The AAM's campaign to end all military collaboration between the apartheid regime and Britain, as well as with other Western countries, has remained the major priority. The campaign operated within three categories.

First, to expose loopholes in the arms embargo and to secure its strict implementation. The following breaches were detailed in a special *AA News* supplement (June 1978): **Marconi:** In December 1975 it was revealed that Marconi has been awarded a contract for the supply of Tropospheric Scatter Communications equipment to the South African Armaments Board for installation in South Africa and Namibia. Jock Hall, an employee on the project, refused to undertake the work on grounds of conscience and subsequently resigned from the company. From information supplied by him and other specialists, the AAM was able to prepare a special document, *Marconi Arms Apartheid*, which was widely circulated to MPs, the press and the trade unions involved.

On 29 April, in response to all-party pressure on the Government, the Foreign Secretary announced that the Export Control Regulations were to be amended to bring tropospheric scatter equipment into the categories of equipment requiring export licences to South Africa.

Marconi subsequently applied for a licence and in July, apparently at the request of the South African Arma-

ments Board, amended the application, stating that the equipment was now only destined for South Africa.

In September the AAM again wrote to the Government restating its opposition to the equipment going to South Africa and warning that Marconi might attempt to manufacture the equipment for Namibia under licence in South Africa or at their Italian subsidiary.

During the course of these developments, the AAM maintained contact with the trade unions involved, and on 19 July a meeting was held with the trade union side of the GEC-Marconi Joint Consultative Council. Trade union representatives at the factory are understandably concerned about the implications for their members' employment if this contract is cancelled. The AAM has sought to convince them of the importance of maintaining the arms embargo against South Africa. The issue was also raised at the GEC AGM in September.

**Jersey Aviation:** In March television reporters revealed that a Jersey-based company, Jersey Aviation, was re-exporting to South Africa from Jersey military equipment valued at over £1 million purchased from the Ministry of Defence Ordnance Factories, including parts for centurion tanks. Following investigations, the company was prosecuted and fined £1,500.

**Hasler:** The AAM had reason to believe that Hasler had negotiated

with their South African subsidiary for the supply of a switching communications system possibly for use in Rhodesia. Following representations to the Prime Minister by Bob Hughes MP, the Movement was informed that the Government has received assurances that the equipment was not destined for Rhodesia but the Government has no objections to its being supplied to South Africa despite its use of the military communications procedures known as ACP.

**Military catalogues:** In April the AAM asked HMG to investigate how British military catalogues had been provided to the South African Embassy in London. A reliable source had seen these catalogues in South Africa House in the process of being forwarded to South Africa. The Government admitted that it had supplied the catalogues but stated that they were not classified.

**Military visits:** Also in April the AAM protested to the Government about a visit to British defence establishments by a senior South African defence research official during 1974. This story was given front-page coverage in *The Observer*.

The AAM made representations about these and other apparent breaches of the arms embargo in a Memorandum submitted to the Government on 29 April, and called for an urgent review of British Government policy on the implementation of the South African arms

embargo. A further call was made on 23 June when a letter was presented to the Foreign Office by AAM Vice President Bishop Trevor Huddleston. On 8 July the AAM sent a delegation to meet Ministers from the Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence. The delegation, led by Bishop Huddleston, sought to convince the Government of the need to impose a strict embargo and suggested a number of measures that could be taken. The Government agreed to reply in detail to the points raised but no reply has yet been received.

The second category of this campaign has been pressure on the British Government to support a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Despite numerous representations and questions in Parliament, the Government insists that it does not regard the situation either in Namibia or in South Africa itself as a threat to peace, and therefore cannot support action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

## BOSS

The activities of South Africa's Bureau of State Security (BOSS) in the United Kingdom have again featured prominently in the British press. In February, *The Guardian* published details of raids which had taken place at the homes of active members of the African National Congress. Subsequently, the hotel room of a leading member of SWAPO was broken into during a visit to London. Press speculation also centred around accusations that BOSS or agents working for the Anglo American Corporation were involved

## Mercenaries

A new and highly disturbing development over the past year has been the recruitment of mercenaries to fight in Southern Africa.

The departure of mercenaries recruited in Britain to fight against the MPLA in Angola was first reported widely in January, and immediate protests were made in Parliament by AAM supporters. At the 31 January meeting of the National Committee, a resolution was adopted urging the Government to implement an immediate ban on this recruitment.

As the role of mercenaries in Angola became more widely publicised, and in particular following reports of the cold blooded murder of a group of mercenaries by their "officers", public pressure on the Government mounted. It refused to respond to the many demands for a halt to mercenary recruitment, but instead established the Diplock Commission, which

Pressure for such an embargo has increased during the year, with calls coming from the Organisation of African Unity's Summit Conference in Mauritius, the Non-Aligned Heads of State Conference in Colombo, and the Nordic Foreign Ministers Council meeting in Copenhagen.

The third area of representations has centred on the role of NATO and its relations to South Africa. Following the revelations in the summer of 1975 that South Africa had possession of the NATO Codification System, the AAM wrote to all NATO members raising this matter and asking what the attitude of their Governments was to NATO's relations with South Africa (see *International*).

Public attention has been focused on the continuing military collaboration between Britain and South Africa via extensive press coverage of the campaign. *The Observer* and *The Guardian* in particular have given it in depth coverage. Two press conferences were held by the AAM—the first

in a coordinated attempt to smear anti-apartheid supporters in the Liberal Party. The then Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in reply to a Parliamentary question, said that he had evidence of South African interests being involved in undemocratic activities in Britain.

In a letter to the Prime Minister on 16 March, the AAM urged the Government to give urgent consideration to:

- 1) establishing an enquiry into South African intelligence activity within the United Kingdom;
- 2) the immediate deportation of all

known BOSS agents;

3) the termination of all liaison between British and South African intelligence.

In their reply, the Government stated that they had nothing further to add to previous statements.

Also in March, *World in Action* produced a comprehensive television programme detailing the range of alleged BOSS activities in Britain during the period since its establishment and including earlier incidents of apparent South African intelligence operations in Britain.

votes cast in its favour indicate the strength of feeling on the issue.

The AAM has been equally concerned about the recruitment of mercenaries for the Rhodesian army and generally for Southern Africa. The numerous ways in which the Rhodesian army is actively involved in recruiting was well-publicised in a *Panorama* programme screened on 19 July. In this programme publicity was given to a number of aspects of recruitment, some of which the AAM has helped to expose. For example, in October 1975 advertisements had appeared in the *News of the World* and the *People* allegedly on behalf of Southern Placement Services. Investigations by *Tribune* journalists showed in fact that they were recruiting ads for the Rhodesian army. Representations by Bob Hughes MP resulted in the matter being referred to the Director of Public Prosecutions, who

decided that there was insufficient evidence to prosecute the newspaper publishers. The Foreign Office did, however, write to the Newspaper Publishers Association. Further evidence of recruitment was exposed by Tom McCarthy, a deserter from

the Rhodesian army, who admitted that he was recruited via South Africa House in London.

At present recruitment for the Rhodesian army is illegal under sanctions legislation. However, the AAM is investigating ways in which

these sanctions can be strengthened. The AAM is also liaising with other concerned groups as to the best way of responding to any proposed legislation to be introduced as a result of the recommendations of the Diplock Commission.

## Angola: South Africa's aggression

In the autumn of 1975 the apartheid regime, using as its base the international territory of Namibia, undertook an unprecedented military adventure into Angola in an attempt to prevent the coming to power of a Government in Angola committed to the ongoing struggle for freedom in Southern Africa. The AAM embarked on a campaign to mobilise public opinion in Britain in opposition to South Africa's aggression.

South African troops originally occupied the area around the Cunene Dam in the summer of 1975, but on 23 October an armed column advanced north in an attempt to undermine MPLA influence in Angola—at that time MPLA controlled 12 out of the 16 provincial capitals. The invasion soon developed into a massive military operation with South African units operating throughout the country.

In an immediate response to the invasion, the Angola Solidarity Committee organised a picket outside South Africa House on 27 October to demand "Hands off Angola". A subsequent protest was held at Chatham House on 18 November when South Africa's Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller was speaking.

At the AAM National Committee meeting on 24 November it was agreed to write to the Foreign Secretary condemning South Africa's invasion and urging that action be taken at the UN Security Council. The AAM had already written to MPs on the issue and on 5 November, in a Parliamentary reply, the Government admitted that they had made no representations to the South African Government. A further move in Parliament was an early day motion, jointly sponsored by Labour and Liberal MPs, which con-

demned South Africa's intervention and called on the Government to raise the matter at the UN Security Council. The motion was supported by over 100 MPs.

On 3 December a special AAM report was published, giving a factual account of South Africa's presence in Angola (see *Publications*). This was distributed to the press, MPs, the diplomatic corps, affiliated trade unions and national organisations. A special appeal was sent to both national organisations and affiliated trade unions urging them to protest against South Africa's invasion, and a large number responded to this request.

A special request was also made to local AA groups to organise meetings on Angola, and posters, stickers and leaflets were produced for the campaign.

In a special statement issued on 30 January the AAM expressed its support for the actions of the Peoples Republic of Angola and for the people of Angola in their efforts to defeat the South African invasion, and issued a call to all those opposed to apartheid and who desired peace to urge the British Government to secure the complete withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. This statement was endorsed at the AAM National Committee on 31 January, which in addition decided to urge the British Government to recognise the Peoples Republic of Angola.

On 4 February, MPLA Day, many local AAM activists assisted the Angola Solidarity Committee in a mass distribution of over 110,000 leaflets on the theme "What's going on in Angola".

The AAM was represented by its Vice Chairman, Bob Hughes MP, at an international solidarity conference

convened by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation in Luanda, Angola, from 2-4 February, during which he met President Neto and other MPLA leaders. On his return to London he addressed a press conference in the House of Commons chaired by the Labour Party's International Committee chairman, Ian Mikardo MP. Bob Hughes called upon the Government to recognise the Peoples Republic of Angola.

On 11 February a torchlight vigil was held outside South Africa House to protest against South Africa's continued occupation of southern Angola and the failure of the British Government to take any measures to stop the recruitment of mercenaries.

The UN Security Council adopted a resolution condemning South Africa's aggression in Angola at a meeting on 31 March.

The British Government, partially in response to pressure within Britain but primarily because of developments in Angola itself, decided on 18 February to recognise the Peoples Republic.

On 27 March the South African troops withdrew from southern Angola. However, there have been repeated violations of Angolan territory and air space by South African forces.

The successful defeat of South African aggression in Angola had a profound effect throughout Southern Africa. Its impact has not only had a direct effect in assisting SWAPO to sustain the armed struggle, but has also had a qualitative influence within South Africa. All reports indicate that there was massive support for the MPLA within South Africa itself from all sections of the oppressed people.

## Bantustans

The campaign to demonstrate the fraudulent nature of the South African Government's Bantustan policy assumed a major significance for the Movement following the apartheid regime's decision to speed up the implementation of the policy and grant "independence" to the

Transkei on 26 October 1976.

In order to counteract South African propaganda, the AAM prepared a special document in October entitled *The South African Bantustan Programme: Its Domestic and International Implications*, which was subsequently reproduced

by the United Nations. *AA News* has produced two centre-spreads giving factual information about the Bantustans (November 1975 and September 1976) and assistance has been given in promoting publications by the International Defence & Aid Fund and the World Council of



Churches which were prepared specially on the Bantustans.

The attitude that the British Government will take regarding recognition of the Transkei has been a matter of particular concern. We welcomed the statement in February by David Ennals (then Minister of State at the Foreign Office) that recognition of the Transkei was "very unlikely". Similarly, we were pleased that the Minister of Overseas Development stated in Parliament on 22 March that British Government "aid to the Transkei is a very improbable development".

However, there remains a wide range of matters relating to Britain's future relations with the Transkei which have not been clarified, and the AAM is in the process of presenting a detailed memorandum to the Government on these points.

The Government has continued its practice of receiving delegations

of Bantustan "leaders". In January this year, three so-called Bantustan "leaders" were official guests of the Government for a three-week visit to Britain, and despite strong representations, the Foreign Office refused to cancel the visit.

Numerous protests were made whilst they were in Britain: opposition was particularly vigorous in Wales, where staff and students forced the cancellation of a reception at Aberystwyth University and strong representations were made in Cardiff by trade union leaders and city councillors when the visitors were received at the Welsh Office.

An important area of the AAM's educational work on Bantustans has been in relation to the development agencies, some of which finance projects in the Bantustans. The decision of the Council of War on Want to cease providing funds for schemes sponsored by Bantustan authorities

was particularly welcome. Alan Brooks, author of the abovementioned AAM document, participated in a consultation arranged by Christian Concern for Southern Africa involving representatives of the churches and development agencies.

Further initiatives are being planned prior to Transkei's "independence" day, including a meeting in the House of Commons on 13 October to which the AAM is inviting organisations and individuals in any way concerned with the Bantustan policy.

The AAM responded positively to an invitation from the Dutch AAM to attend a meeting in February to discuss coordination at a West European level of anti-Bantustan activities. The discussions provided a useful basis for cooperation and in June contacts established were used to lobby successfully the EEC Commission against a planned visit by a Transkei delegation.

## Investment and Trade

The AAM has continued to develop its campaign to secure the economic isolation of the apartheid regime and to contribute to the ongoing debate on the role of foreign investment.

Previous annual reports have referred to the House of Commons Trade and Industry Sub-Committee's investigation of British companies operating in South Africa, established following *The Guardian's* exposures in 1973. In December 1975, the British Government decided to revise the guidelines on disclosure of information which had been drawn up following the Select Committee's report. The effect of the revision was to place over one half of black employees in British companies outside even the operation of these guidelines.

In March Christian Concern for Southern Africa published a "review of the effectiveness of self-regulation and voluntary disclosure" of poverty wages in South Africa which concluded that the Government's reliance on voluntary disclosures "is not working but also makes the case for 'constructive engagement' much more difficult to sustain". This report's conclusions reflected a growing recognition that British companies operating in South Africa were unwilling to make more than minimal concessions to domestic and international criticism.

A joint statement issued in South Africa by Bantustan Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr Beyers Naude of the Christian Institute in March described foreign investment as being "devoid of

all morality".

With the growing recognition in Britain that the so-called "constructive engagement" approach to foreign investment is ineffective, the AAM has redoubled its campaigning initiatives. There have been three major areas of activity: the campaign to secure a freeze on the flow of investment to South Africa; the campaign to end bank loans to South Africa; and individual campaigns against particular companies.

The campaign to freeze all further investment has been a central issue for our work in the labour movement. In August 1976 support for this demand was included in the policy statement issued by the National Executive of the Labour Party. In September the TUC adopted an emergency resolution requesting its General Council to demand such a freeze by the Government as a matter of urgency.

In a major initiative to secure more extensive support for this policy, the AAM is organising a Conference for delegates from the trade union and labour movement which will take place in London on 6 November. As a contribution to the debate on the role of foreign investment, the AAM commissioned a series of papers dealing with different aspects of foreign investment, the first two of which were published in September.

Opposition in Britain to bank loans to South Africa has been organised by ELTSA (End Loans to Southern Africa), with whom the AAM has con-

tinued to be actively involved.

ELTSA and AAM published a general information leaflet on banking for wide distribution, which contained advice on alternative methods of banking.

The main priority of the campaign has been to change the policy of the Midland Bank. This reached a climax in April when almost 3 million votes were cast in support of a resolution at the Midland's AGM, instructing the Bank to terminate its loans to South Africa. Support for the resolution came from many institutional investors, including the Church Commissioners, the Methodist Church, the United Reform Church, the GLC and several universities. Although the resolution was defeated (47 million votes being cast against) the result was regarded as a significant victory for what was the first attempt at this particular form of shareholders action in Britain.

Pressure was sustained during the year against many companies operating in South Africa. At a national and local level, particular campaigns have been waged against the following companies.

**Barclays Bank:** In December the AAM jointly published with the Haslemere Group a special pamphlet on Barclays and South Africa, which was released at a widely reported press conference. Large numbers of the pamphlet have been sold. This campaign, which has always received widespread support from students, is due to be intensified this autumn when

the new academic year commences. Special posters and publicity material are being prepared.

Members of the AAM again attended the Barclays AGM when attention was drawn to the numerous ways in which Barclays is assisting in the sustaining of white minority rule in Southern Africa.

**British Steel Corporation:** Efforts were sustained during the year to secure a reversal of the Government's decision to allow BSC to invest £1.6 million in a ferro-chrome plant in the Transvaal—but without success.

A special petition was presented to the International Committee of the Labour Party on 11 November which had been signed by 50 Labour MPs, 328 CLP delegates and 209 trade union delegates to the Labour Party Conference. The International Committee accepted the conclusions put forward in a special paper prepared by the AAM and also accepted an emergency resolution which had been tabled at the Labour Party Conference but which had not been discussed. Despite this extensive opposition to the investment, BSC has refused to reconsider its plans.

**British Leyland:** The role of British Leyland in South Africa has become an important issue in the labour movement. Despite having come under Government control, it is still increasing substantially its investment in South Africa, and at the same time it has refused to make changes in its treatment of black workers in South Africa.

In February the AAM prepared a

special memorandum entitled *British Leyland and the Metal & Allied Workers Union of South Africa* which, as well as being widely sold at Leyland plants throughout the country, was also sent to national officials of trade unions organising Leyland workers and to MPs in constituencies which contain Leyland plants.

Representations have been made to the Government by the AAM and in March a totally unsatisfactory reply was received from Gerald Kaufman, Minister of State. Representations to the Government and to Leyland management have been made by the TUC and the Leyland Shop Stewards Combine.

At a national conference of the Leyland Shop Stewards Combine on 11 August which was addressed by a representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, a decision was taken to black the supply of kits and spares to South Africa until Leyland South Africa management recognised the Metal & Allied Workers Union.

Trade unionists at the Rover plant in Birmingham have discussed the supply of Land Rovers to the South African police with a view to taking action to prevent this blatant form of collaboration with the South African police.

**GEC/Marconi:** Members of the AAM attended the AGM of GEC in September at which the major issue raised was the supply of troposcatter equipment to the South African army, details of which are covered in the *Military Collaboration* section of this report. To coincide with the GEC annual meeting, a useful report was

published by Christian Concern for Southern Africa which provides extensive information on GEC's operations in South Africa. **British Petroleum:** A detailed memorandum on BP's activities in South Africa is in the course of preparation following reports that BP is planning to increase its investments in South Africa by R350 million.

The consumer boycott has continued to be an important feature of the work of many local AA groups and considerable campaigning material has been distributed by the Office. AAM members have also continued to be active in the Co-operative movement and protests were made to *Co-operative News* following its publication of a full-page advertisement promoting Outspan oranges and a holiday competition in the summer of 1976.

The importance of economic collaboration for the maintenance of the apartheid system was widely recognised in the wake of the Soweto massacre. The *Financial Mail*, a South African weekly journal widely regarded as reflecting most accurately the views of the South African business community, stated on 2 July that "The economic implications of the recent riots are going to depend chiefly on the reaction of overseas investors. Without substantial foreign money—at least R1000 million a year—South Africa cannot finance its traditional current account deficits."

The AAM therefore has the urgent task of developing its campaign on trade and investment.

## Emigration and Tourism

The AAM has continued its wide distribution of leaflets stating the case against emigration to South Africa. Two leaflets—one aimed specifically at trade unionists, the other at students—have been produced, and a third is in preparation for more general use. A poster on this issue is also available.

A further leaflet opposing emigration to South Africa has been produced in the past year by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and is available from the TUC in Britain. It stresses the evils of the policies of job reservation, African unemployment and the apartheid policy as a whole, and calls upon trade unionists to oppose emigration amongst their colleagues and also to pressurise firms to recruit African workers rather than workers in this country or the rest of Europe.

During the year, those members and supporters who have been

monitoring the press for advertisements concerning emigration to and tourism in South Africa have provided data which has enabled the Movement to take up a number of cases with the appropriate authority.

Following a Movement complaint concerning an advertisement by the Nurses Association, which included the phrase "all white patients only" in the job description for a nursing post in South Africa, the Race Relations Board began proceedings. The advertisement appeared in the *Nursing Times*, *Nursing Mirror*, *Irish Times* and *Daily Mail*. No date for a hearing had been fixed at the time of writing.

The AAM and local AA groups have also had correspondence with the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in reference to the screening by Southern Television of a recruiting documentary produced by the Chamber of Mines and a South African Tourist Corporation film "The Sights

and Sounds of South Africa". The Movement asked the IBA to place a ban on the screening of all material produced by the South African Government and "parastatal" organisations such as the South African Tourist Corporation (SATC). The IBA's Chairman felt unable to do this but reaffirmed the IBA's commitment under the IBA Act not to screen propaganda of any sort. Complaints from local groups relating to SATC commercials led to the Corporation having to make new commercials that adhered to the IBA guidelines on these matters.

Further complaints were made to the Press Council (relating to the carrying in BBC publications of advertisements for holidays in South Africa) and approaches have been made to the British Travel Association. AAM complaints to the Advertising Standards Authority that South African Tourist Corporation advertise-

ments did not reveal "racial requirements" led to the SATC having to produce a new brochure which was in line with the Authority's guidelines on the honesty, truthfulness and legality of all advertisements.

In addition to the abovementioned complaints, the Movement unsuccessfully attempted to secure an undertaking from the World Expeditionary Association that they would cease to promote holidays in South Africa and Rhodesia—the WEA claiming that they promoted only flights and the concept

of independent travel.

In the field of education, the Movement has established an Education Group one of whose purposes is to coordinate the activities of teachers who wish to carry the anti-emigration campaign further in their professional bodies and trade unions. In December the World University Service refused to sponsor professors emigrating to South Africa to teach in segregated universities.

During the year efforts have been

made by the Springbok Association and similar organisations to promote tourism to South Africa and Rhodesia. Local AA groups have picketed meetings of the Springbok Association in various centres, and have also protested outside the offices from which emigration to South Africa is promoted.

See *Parliament* section for details of work done regarding the inclusion in the Race Relations Bill of a clause preventing the publication of racially discriminatory advertisements.

## Women under Apartheid

The position of oppressed women in South Africa received special attention during 1975, International Women's Year. A considerable increase in interest in the AAM's work was expressed by women's organisations, particularly in response to the International Defence & Aid Fund's publication of *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears* by Hilda Bernstein.

During the autumn of 1975 the AAM was informed that a Women's Convention was to be held in Grahamstown, South Africa, and that a special effort was being made to secure the participation of internationally prominent women. The Convention was clearly a propaganda exercise for the apartheid regime and

efforts were made to dissuade international guests from participating. The publicity material for the Convention sought to give the impression that it had the support of a number of women and countries whom the AAM felt would not wish to be associated with such a venture. As a result of approaches, a number of the countries and several of the prominent women dissociated themselves from the Convention and sent telegrams to the organisers. Publicity for this action was sought and during the Convention a picket jointly organised by the AAM and the NUS women's group was held outside South Africa House in solidarity with the black women of South Africa.

As a result of the interest expressed

in this campaign, the AAM decided to organise a special conference on *Women Under Apartheid*, which was held in London on 24 April. It was attended by delegates from a wide variety of different organisations. The conference was chaired by Pauline Webb of the Overseas Division of the Methodist Missionary Society, and the two principal speakers were Joyce Sikakane, the first black woman journalist on the *Rand Daily Mail* and a former detainee, and Dulcie September, a former political prisoner. In the afternoon, a panel of women, including Margaret Jackson MP, Judith Hunt of AUEW (TASS), Penny Cooper of NUS and Ethel de Keyser from the AAM, discussed ways in which the work in this area could be furthered.

## Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society

The growing resistance to white minority rule throughout Southern Africa has met with an unprecedented escalation of repressive measures. In South Africa during the past year there have been a large number of political trials, and these continue. There have also been widespread detentions which reached a peak at the time of Soweto and during the subsequent build-up of countrywide protest demonstrations against apartheid. The South African authorities have at the same time enacted two major pieces of legislation—the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act and the Internal Security Act—taking upon themselves even greater powers to detain and imprison opponents of apartheid. In Namibia, there have been a series of political trials primarily designed to hit at SWAPO. And emergency powers have been extended throughout northern Namibia. In Rhodesia political and military repression have been intensified following the growth of the liberation

struggle (see *Zimbabwe/Rhodesia*).

The AAM's activities in relation to political prisoners and detainees have been organised largely through the framework of *Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society (SATIS)*, the campaign which brings together a number of British organisations especially concerned with political prisoners.

On 14 December, to mark Human Rights Day, SATIS organised *The Voice of Freedom*, a mixed programme of speeches and entertainment, at the Collegiate Theatre in London. David Merero, National Chairman of SWAPO, and John Forrester, Deputy General Secretary of AUEW (TASS), provided the campaigning content of the evening; Ian McKellen, Eleanor Bron, Morag Hood, Andrew Salkey, Melody Mancube, John Matshikiza and Lewis Nkosi read from the poetry and writings of Southern African political prisoners; and the South African jazz group Molombo played their distinctive music. On the same evening an Exhibition of photographs—depicting

*Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society*—was opened at a special ceremony. The Exhibition remained open for four weeks and was subsequently reproduced in kit form by the International Defence & Aid Fund and widely sold in Britain and abroad.

### Emergency Campaign

On 18 March Joseph Mdluli, an ANC activist, was arrested in Durban. Less than 24 hours later he was dead. A protest was held on 9 April outside South Africa House and a letter handed in to the Embassy, calling for an independent inquiry into Mdluli's death.

In response to this—the 24th known death in detention (now increased to 26—see below)—and the continuing wave of detentions and torture, SATIS decided to launch an Emergency Campaign, calling for an end to police brutality, torture and murder in South Africa and Namibia, and for the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

The campaign was launched on 17 May with the first of six weeks of daily pickets outside South Africa House. A petition with the above demands was published and widely circulated for signatures. Signatures were also collected at the daily pickets, in which many organisations including the Catholic Institute for International Relations, the African National Congress, Fellowship of Reconciliation, West Indian Standing Conference, Tory Reform Group, National Union of Students, and trade unions AUEW (TASS), CPSA, ASTMS, NATFHE, NALGO, APEX, took part. Over 16,000 people signed the petition. The final picket was held on Friday 25 June and this was followed by a public meeting that evening. The following day (26 June—South Africa Freedom Day), eight former political prisoners handed in the petition to the Prime Minister.

### Save SWAPO Leaders

On 12 May two leading SWAPO members, Aaron Mushingba and Hendrik Shikongo, were sentenced to death under the Terrorism Act by an illegal South African court sitting in Namibia. Their trial, which involved four others, two of whom were acquitted and the other two—Anna Ngaihondjwa and Rauna Nambinga—received prison sentences, became a trial of SWAPO itself. The state attempted to link the accused with the death of the puppet chief Elifas in August 1975 and despite the total absence of evidence Mushingba and Shikongo were sentenced to death.

In response to the sentences an international campaign was launched at a SATIS press conference on 18 May, attended by the High Commissioner for Botswana, Labour Party General Secretary Ron Hayward, Jack Jones, General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union, Liberal MP Richard Wainwright, together with representatives of SWAPO, Amnesty International and AAM. SATIS prepared special campaigning material, including posters, postcards and leaflets, and a protest was held outside South Africa House on 19 May. Condemnation of the sentences came from national and international organisations, including the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the World Council of Churches, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and international trade union organisations.

Permission to appeal against the sentences was sought and this was granted when evidence came to light that documents had been stolen from the offices of the defence lawyers and handed over to the security police, and that the police were kept informed of developments in the defence case by

two employees in the defence lawyers' office. An International Commission of Jurists observer at the trial described it as "an oppressive and highly unsatisfactory judicial process" and the prosecution evidence as "selective and incomplete". At the time of writing the appeal has not been heard, and the two men are at present in the death cells in Pretoria prison.

### Trials

The trial of nine members of SASO (South African Students Organisation) and BPC (Black Peoples Convention), who had been arrested in September 1974 (see last year's report) was again resumed on 17 November after numerous adjournments. At the resumption of the trial a telegram of support, signed by Alan Sapper, General Secretary ACTT, Hugh Scanlon, President AUEW, Ken Gill, General Secretary AUEW (TASS), F J Lewis, Black Peoples Freedom Movement, Len Dyke, Black Peoples Action Committee, Ron Hayward, General Secretary Labour Party, Steve Hart of Liberation and Steve Parry of NUS, was sent to the accused. At the time of writing, the trial has still not reached a conclusion.

On 10 November 1975 the AAM held a press conference at which playwrights Robert Bolt and Edward Bond issued a statement calling for the release of Breyten Breytenbach, whose trial on charges under the Terrorism Act began on that day. The statement was part of an international campaign, initiated by writers and artists in France (where Breytenbach lived in exile), for the release of Breytenbach and other political prisoners. Over 70 leading artists in Britain, among them Alan Bates, Adrian Mitchell, J B Priestley and Paul Scofield, signed the statement. At his trial, Breytenbach pleaded guilty to the charges and was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment.

The trials taking place in South Africa are too numerous to detail in this report and readers are referred to the bi-monthly publication of the International Defence & Aid Fund, *Focus*, for full information. The British press has on the whole ignored these trials and has given coverage only to the case of Susan and David Rabkin, who are British subjects.

### Detentions

Lists of the numerous detainees held in South African prisons have been published by the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the International Defence & Aid Fund and the African National Congress of South Africa. These are of necessity incomplete since the laws governing detention allow for people to be held incommunicado, without charge,

and without access to family or lawyers.

Efforts have been made to publicise these detentions. In January, a letter protesting at the detention of South African trade unionists and calling on fellow British trade unionists to demand the release of all South African political prisoners and detainees, was published in *The Guardian*. It was signed by TUC President Cyril Plant, Hugh Scanlon (President, AUEW), Dave Bowman (President, NUR), General Secretaries Bill Keyes (SOGAT), Alan Sapper (ACTT), Ken Gill (AUEW-TASS), Bill Kendall (CPSA), and John Reidford, Secretary of Glasgow Trades Council and John Hendy, Secretary of Edinburgh Trades Council.

Torture of detainees is widespread and resulted in two further deaths at the hands of the security police: Mapetla Mohapi, an official of the Black Community Programme, was arrested on 16 July and "found hanged" in his cell on 5 August; and Luke Mazwemba, a member of the Western Province Advice Workers Bureau, who was reported to have "hanged himself" within two hours of being detained. In response to this and to the increasing detentions, further action was taken by trade unionists at the TUC Congress in September, where letters of protest were signed by 23 representatives of unions (see *Trade Union Movement*). These letters were handed to the South African Ambassador at an emergency picket on 10 September by Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers.

Much of the work on political prisoners and detainees has been carried out by local groups, student groups, trade unions and church groups. Many more political prisoners have been "adopted" and this has served a valuable purpose. The work of the International Defence & Aid Fund continues to be invaluable and, in addition to local support, several organisations, such as the AUEW (TASS) Kitson Committee, the National Union of Students, Namibia Support Committee, Ruskin Kitson Committee, have consistently raised the issue of political prisoners.

The annual list of political prisoners' families and banned people in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia was published again by AAM last year and the public asked to send Christmas and New Year greetings. This has always been much appreciated by the recipients and has proved a popular activity, and in many cases has led to regular correspondence between people in this country and Southern Africa and to assistance being given to those in need.

# Namibia

South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has become a matter of the utmost urgency to the international community following the unanimous adoption at the Security Council of Resolution 385 on 30 January 1976, which gave a deadline of 31 August for South Africa's withdrawal from the territory.

The so-called "constitutional talks" set up by the South African regime in Windhoek, attended by representatives of the white population and other "tribes" in Namibia, were speeded up in an attempt to present them as a valid alternative to negotiations with SWAPO, the internationally recognised authentic representative of the people of Namibia. The AAM, in close liaison with the Namibia Support Committee, has been active in exposing the fraudulent nature of these talks which, immediately prior to the UN deadline, came out with a proposal for "independence" for Namibia in 1978. The UN Security Council met but decided to adjourn until the full General Assembly meeting in September.

Priority was also given to publicising the growing South African military presence in Namibia and the extensive use of repressive and coercive methods against civilians and opponents of South African rule; these were confirmed by Bill Anderson, a

conscript in the South African army, who gave details of his battalion's operations in Namibia and Angola to *The Guardian* at the end of August.

The main focus of South Africa's repressive policies has been SWAPO. The entire SWAPO internal leadership was detained in August-September 1975, following the assassination of Ovamboland "Chief Minister" Filemon Elifas, and details subsequently emerged of the most brutal use of torture against the detainees. In May, *AA News* published a detailed statement by Reuben Hauwanga which he had originally made to the United Nations. Arising from these detentions the South African regime organised a major political trial, in effect a trial of SWAPO, at which two SWAPO members, Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo, were sentenced to death on 12 May (see *Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society*).

The work of the AAM has been primarily concerned with securing a change in British Government policy so that Britain recognised SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people, accepted the authority of the UN Council for Namibia, and severed Britain's economic relations with South African-occupied Namibia, in particular calling for the cancellation of the contract with RTZ for uranium from

its Rossing mine in Namibia. In a significant development in February, the NEC of the Labour Party published a special statement on Namibia which incorporated all these points.

These issues have been raised repeatedly in Parliament and in other representations to the Government.

Campaigning initiatives have continued to focus on Britain's economic involvement in Namibia. AAM members participated in the Namibia Support Committee pickets of Karakul fur sales in London in February and September. Pressure for the cancellation of the RTZ contract also built up: Christian Concern for Southern Africa published an extensive report in May arguing for its cancellation; and on 19 May AAM members, with members of the Haslemere Group and others attended the AGM of Rio Tinto Zinc. On 22 July a meeting was convened with participants from SWAPO, the Labour Party, the AAM and the relevant trade unions to discuss trade union action to secure the cancellation of the contract.

British involvement in Namibia was further exposed in December when it was revealed in *The Guardian* that Marconi Communications Ltd were to supply a tropospheric scatter communications system for installation in Namibia (see *Military Collaboration*).

# Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

The growing crisis for the white minority regime in Rhodesia has developed even more rapidly than could have been expected only twelve months ago. The possibility of a "negotiated settlement" seems remote (at the time of going to press, the result of the "Kissinger initiative" was still awaited); the economy is in a state of chaos following the closure of the Mozambique border; the white population, particularly the youth, are "voting with their feet" and emigrating, legally or illegally; but, above all, the white regime faces an unprecedented level of armed struggle throughout the country.

However, it is important not to underestimate the strength of the regime and in particular its armed forces, which still benefit from the assistance of South Africa and include a large number of hired mercenaries. In order to sustain its control of the country, a reign of terror has been unleashed: removals into "protected

villages", the Rhodesian version of the Portuguese *aldeamentos*, are now estimated to involve up to a million Africans, and the number of civilians ("curfew breakers" according to the regime's official reports) killed runs into hundreds. This policy of killing unarmed Africans was horrifyingly confirmed in August by an attack on a Zimbabwean refugee camp in Mozambique, in which over 800 men, women and children were massacred and many more injured. No guerrillas were in the camp, although the regime described the attack as a raid on a guerrilla base.

Detentions are widespread, whilst any semblance of the rule of law has been rejected with the introduction of "special courts" to try and sentence guerrillas and anyone "aiding and abetting" them. There has been a dramatic increase in death sentences and the "offences" for which the death sentence is mandatory have been extended to include anyone acting in

any way to assist the liberation struggle.

## Ten Years of UDI

The importance of developments in Rhodesia was recognised by the AAM during the summer of 1975, and it was agreed that the tenth anniversary of UDI should be used as an opportunity to focus public attention on the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for majority rule. The two major events of this campaign were the AAM's conference, organised in conjunction with the Birmingham AA Group, held in Birmingham on the weekend of 18-19 October, and a national march and rally in London on 9 November.

The Birmingham conference, organised on the theme "Rhodesia or Zimbabwe", was successful. It helped to inform delegates about the current situation and decided upon forms of action in Britain. Almost 200 participants heard speeches

from Guy Clutton-Brock, John Sprack, Stephen Macharanga of the ANC (Zimbabwe) and Abdul Minty. The discussion groups benefited particularly from the participation of a large number of Zimbabweans with expert knowledge of the items under discussion. Papers prepared for the conference have also proved to be valuable sources of information, for which there has been considerable demand. The main themes to emerge from the conference were the need for solidarity with the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe; for pressure on the British Government to commit itself unambiguously in support of majority rule; and for action to expose the continuing repression, especially the execution of freedom fighters.

In advance of the march and rally on 9 November, to mark the tenth anniversary of UDI, over 50,000 leaflets, which outlined events since UDI and argued for support for the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for majority rule, were widely distributed. The march, which was supported by a large number of political, trade union, youth and student organisations, culminated in a rally in Trafalgar Square, where speakers included Peter Hain, Roger Lyons of ASTMS, Methodist Minister David Haslam, and AAM Vice Chairman Bob Hughes MP. The rally sent a message to the Prime Minister demanding Government action to stop all hangings in Rhodesia and calling for support for majority rule and for the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

### Hangings in Rhodesia

The AAM has continued to draw public attention to the illegal hangings being carried out by the Smith regime

## Sports Boycott

The isolation of racist sport remained an important priority of anti-apartheid policy during the year and a number of significant developments occurred. Most notable was the decision of the African states, supported by some Caribbean states, to withdraw from the Montreal Olympics because of the participation of New Zealand, which had sent a national Rugby team to South Africa. The action of the African states has already had a direct impact on a number of international sporting organisations, and both the Football Federation (FIFA) and the Athletics Federation (IAAF) have voted to expel South Africa.

The AAM has continued to work

and the failure of the British Government to take any effective action to prevent these executions.

Special attention was focused on this issue during the events organised on the tenth anniversary of UDI: it was one of the three major slogans of the march and rally and details of the extent of these hangings featured prominently in the publicity material produced. On 9 November a large group of Zimbabweans assembled outside Rhodesia House in the Strand and carried placards with the names of all those known to have been executed together with the date of their execution. A mock gallows was specially constructed and displayed. A special document detailing all known executions since UDI, together with a list of those facing execution, was published in December and widely distributed to the press, MPs and the diplomatic corps in London. A mailing was sent to organisations and affiliated trade unions asking them to raise the matter urgently with the Government.

The AAM has constantly urged the Government to declare, as a minimum action, that all those responsible for these executions are guilty of murder. In June, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office replied that "To say that all the executions amount to murder is to express a definite opinion on a question of criminal liability which only the courts could answer for each case."

### Crisis in Rhodesia

Following the rapid developments which occurred during the first three months of 1976, when Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia and the talks between the Smith regime and the ANC delegation led by Joshua Nkomo broke down, the AAM

closely with SANROC and to participate fully in the Stop All Racist Tours (SART) campaign.

Attempts by the apartheid regime to defuse international opposition to racist sport by the promotion of "multi-national" sport and by making certain cosmetic changes have met with less success this year, although the number of individual British sportsmen still willing to compete in South Africa remains an important area of concern.

During the year a number of initiatives have been taken by the AAM and SART. In January, the AAM contacted AA groups in the relevant countries in response to a report in the British magazine *Cycling*

planned a number of initiatives around the theme "Crisis in Rhodesia". A six-page leaflet was prepared and over 50,000 copies circulated by trade unions, Community Relations Councils, local AA Groups, student unions, Constituency Labour Parties, etc. In addition, the Movement helped to publicise and distribute new publications on Rhodesia by the International Defence & Aid Fund, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists. A number of articles were prepared for trade union journals.

On 12 May a packed meeting was held at Friends Meeting House, London, which was addressed by Judith Hart MP, Revd Elliott Kendall of the British Council of Churches, and Abdul Minty.

A special appeal was sent to all Constituency Labour Parties, urging support for the AAM's policies on Zimbabwe. This resulted in 13 resolutions being submitted to the National Executive of the Labour Party.

The work of the AAM has been greatly assisted by the efforts of the **Zimbabwe Working Group**, which has met regularly during the year. At the National Committee meeting in June, a number of proposals for improving the effectiveness of its work were agreed. Items on which the Group has taken action include the recruitment of mercenaries and investigating sanctions breaking. For example, the AAM liaised with the New Zealand AAM in preventing the export of 14 Airtrainer aircraft from New Zealand to Rhodesia, and action was taken when the Rhodesian "Ridgebacks" cricket team arrived in Britain.

that the South African Cycling Federation was encouraging cyclists to compete in South Africa in an attempt to divide the World Amateur Cycling Association and to reverse the decision of FIAC to expel South Africa.

A major success was achieved when the South Africans were forced to withdraw from the World Squash Team championships in Birmingham in May because of the refusal of the British Government to provide financial assistance to the championships if South Africa competed. However, the Squash authorities refused to exclude South Africans from the Individual Championships held in May at Wembley. SANROC and

SART both campaigned for their exclusion, and although the South Africans participated, players from Pakistan, Egypt and India decided to withdraw from the competition.

The AAM also made representations to the Amateur Athletics Association following press reports that South Africans were to participate in the AAAs championships. In reply assurances were given that no South Africans were to take part.

New Zealand's changed policy on sporting relations with South Africa, following the defeat of the Labour Government, became a major focus of international action. On 18 December the SART Committee received a report from the Research Officer of HART (the New Zealand Halt All Racist Tours group) and discussed ways in which activities in Britain could assist the campaign in New Zealand to end all sporting contacts

and in particular to stop the All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa.

SART and AAM both protested against South Africa's participation in the World Softball Tournament in New Zealand in February. The Tournament itself became a farce when, in response to pressure from within New Zealand and from abroad, teams from Mexico, the Philippines, Argentina and Singapore withdrew, leaving only five national teams, two of which were disowned by their Governments.

As the campaign against the All Blacks tour developed in New Zealand, the AAM and the London branch of HART continued to try and gain support in Britain for the campaign. When the New Zealand Prime Minister visited London from 11-15 April, HART members twice protested against the tour by arranging pickets. In a final effort to

secure the withdrawal of the All Blacks team from South Africa before the first Test Match, a delegation to the New Zealand High Commissioner in London was arranged in which representatives of AAM, SANROC and HART participated. At the same time a large picket was held outside New Zealand House demanding the recall of the All Blacks and in support of the stand of the African states at the Olympics.

Two further developments on the sporting front involved schools: in February SART corresponded with school students at the Emmanuel School, Battersea, about a planned visit of a rowing team to South Africa; and school students at Wimbledon College protested against a visit of a white tennis team to their school. In both cases it proved impossible to stop this collaboration, but considerable support was gained for the sports boycott.

## Cultural Boycott

The problems facing the AAM in respect of working to ensure the maintenance of the Cultural Boycott, which were referred to in last year's report, have continued to affect this area of work. Strenuous efforts have been made by the apartheid regime to encourage artists to perform in South Africa and playwrights to allow their works to be shown. Whilst there have been several examples of the Boycott being broken, there have also been some important developments.

In November, a new call for support for the Cultural Boycott was made by playwrights Edward Bond and Robert Bolt, to coincide with the opening of the trial of Afrikaans poet, Breyten Breytenbach, in South Africa. A large number of playwrights, writers and actors had signed a statement demanding the release of Breytenbach (see *Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society*).

A special initiative was taken in February when it was discovered that a new ballet company, Ballet International, was largely being financed by the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State. A press release

was issued to coincide with the launching of the company and exposed its financing and its intended role in breaking the Cultural Boycott. This was widely reported. When auditions were held for the company, AAM members distributed leaflets urging dancers not to join.

The Annual Conference in April of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians (ACTT) reaffirmed its policy of instructing members to refuse to work in South Africa. It voted to black all material emanating from South Africa, especially advertisements for television.

The Council of the Actors Union, Equity, decided to introduce a policy of refusing permission for television programmes featuring its members to be sold to South African television, and this policy was confirmed at its Annual General Meeting on 12 April. In a new development, the AGM also voted to request the Council to issue a standing instruction to members not to work in South Africa and Rhodesia. The Council of Equity, however, when it considered this proposal, decided that it preferred the existing policy, which is that members should be

advised rather than instructed not to work in South Africa. At present a referendum of Equity members is being conducted to determine which policy will be pursued. A number of Equity members have formed a group, Performers Against Racism, which is working to secure a vote in favour of a standing instruction not to work in South Africa or Rhodesia.

Interest in Southern Africa among artistes has produced many requests for information on apartheid. A Fact Paper produced by the International Defence & Aid Fund on *The Black Theatre in South Africa* has been particularly useful in this respect.

Following the approach, reported last year, to the Writers Guild of Great Britain, regarding the sale of their members' material to the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the AAM has continued to liaise with individual members who support the boycott.

The annual conference of Pen International was held in London in August at which the position of the South African affiliate was raised, but moves to expel South Africa proved unsuccessful.

# International Work

The developing struggle for freedom in Southern Africa has resulted in an intensification of collaboration between the major Western powers and South Africa. This makes it even more vital that the work of anti-apartheid movements is intensified in these countries and that cooperation between them and with international organisations becomes more effective. During this period the AAM has been represented at a number of significant international meetings, and bilateral relations with groups in particular countries have also increased. Regular contact has been maintained with anti-apartheid movements in Western Europe, and visitors have been received in the AAM Offices from a large number of countries, notably Canada, United States, France, West Germany, Ghana, Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and New Zealand. In addition, at the invitation of the AAM, representatives of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee attended the Movement's 1975 AGM and spent a week in London, during which they met representatives of various organisations and individuals concerned with Southern Africa.

In November the Hon Secretary visited Sweden, where he had a series of meetings with representatives of political parties, trade unions, churches, Government officials and groups active on Southern Africa. During this visit it was possible to draw attention to South Africa's invasion of Angola and the need for more active Scandinavian policy initiatives. Subsequently a short visit was paid to Norway where there were similar meetings as well as discussions with the Government about NATO's links with South Africa.

## World Council of Churches Assembly

The World Council of Churches held its Assembly for the first time in Africa during November and December—in Nairobi, Kenya. The AAM was represented by John Ennals, its Chairman, and in addition AAM posters and other material were displayed as part of an exhibition mounted by the Southern Africa Committee of the National Christian Council of Kenya.

The Assembly debated at length the situation in Southern Africa and in particular commended the Programme to Combat Racism to its member churches. A full report of the importance of the Assembly for the work of the AAM was included in

the January/February edition of *AA News*.

## North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

On 7 May the Hon Secretary visited the Netherlands and met Foreign Ministry officials to discuss the NATO Codification system being extended to South Africa. Later, prior to the NATO Ministerial meeting in Oslo on 20 May, he visited Oslo and, at a press conference organised by AUF (the Norwegian Labour Youth) on 19 May, announced the response of NATO members to AAM representations and called for the Codification system to be withdrawn from South Africa. AUF also issued on that day the Norwegian translation of the pamphlet *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace*.

The NATO meeting discussed Southern Africa, and Norway, Denmark, Canada and the Netherlands expressed their opposition to any possible NATO links with South Africa. Norway regretted that the NATO Codification system was provided to South Africa. However, the final statement issued by NATO made no mention of Southern Africa and South Africa continues to use the NATO Codification system. Clearly the smaller NATO powers have been unable to influence the policies of the major Western powers, including Britain.

AAM has continued its representations to NATO headquarters, as well as to NATO members, seeking detailed information about relations with South Africa. The response so far has been discouraging, although the Secretary General has given the assurance that the international staff of NATO will have no contact with South Africa. Much still needs to be done to alert public opinion about increasing Western military dependence on South Africa (see *AA News*, June 1976).

On 9 July, the Netherlands AAM organised a press conference for Abdul S Minty in Amsterdam where they launched the Dutch translation of *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace*.

## United Nations

In January, the AAM was honoured to host a visit to London of the then Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, Mme Jeanne Martin Cisse. During her brief stay she was received at the Foreign Office, and met the General Secretary of the Labour Party and the Commonwealth Secretary. On 28 January she addressed a special

meeting called by the AAM in the House of Commons.

The current Chairman of the UN Special Committee, Nigeria's UN Ambassador Leslie Harriman, also briefly visited London in July to address an AAM Rally. Mr Harriman succeeded Mme Cisse as Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid following her appointment to the Guinean Government after many years of service at the United Nations in the cause of African liberation.

## Havana Seminar

On 24 May a week-long seminar on South Africa took place in Havana, Cuba, organised by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid. In addition to representatives from anti-apartheid groups from all over the world, there were participants from international organisations, the OAU, the UN, African Governments, and representatives from South American groups. The seminar adopted a comprehensive policy programme and warned about South Africa's growing danger to world peace. The Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, who spoke on the final day, indicated that his Government and other states will have to consider retaliation against those companies which persist in collaborating with apartheid, particularly the arms firms.

It was a highly successful seminar and the documents have been published by the UN Centre Against Apartheid. The Hon Secretary was invited to participate in the seminar (see *AA News*, July-August 1976). Returning from Havana, he stopped in Montreal for brief discussions about public action during the Olympics, to draw attention to South Africa.

## Organisation of African Unity

At the end of June, the Hon Secretary went to Mauritius for the OAU Summit at the invitation of the OAU and the Prime Minister of Mauritius. It was possible to make detailed information on sport, the Bantustans and external military collaboration with South Africa available to Member States. The OAU decided to call upon African States to reconsider their participation in the Montreal Olympic Games in view of New Zealand's participation, since that country had sent a national rugby team to play in South Africa. The Summit also pointed to the growing danger of South Africa's role in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It decided that no African State should recognise the bogus independence due



to be granted to the Transkei in October 1976. The Summit resolved to intensify support for the African liberation struggle.

## Japan

In August, Abdul S Minty was invited to Tokyo and Hiroshima to take part in the 22nd World Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs organised by GENSUIKYO. He spent just over a week there and participated in a rally of over 5,000 people in Tokyo, followed by working commissions. Thereafter, the Congress moved to Hiroshima, where there was an opening rally of 10,000 delegates from all over Japan, followed by detailed commission meetings

ending in a final rally on 8 August where a final resolution was adopted. It included a paragraph on Southern Africa, pointing to South Africa's threat to world peace, its nuclear programme and Japanese collaboration with South Africa. In speeches at the rallies and before commissions, it was possible to give an account of developments in Southern Africa and Japan's growing economic links with South Africa. The visit provided a valuable opportunity to raise the need for public action in Japan, and valuable initial contacts need to be followed up.

The AAM also responded to a number of international initiatives by

the apartheid regime. Following the visit of Prime Minister Vorster to Israel, the Movement made representations to the Israeli Embassy in London; and, together with the Namibia Support Committee, demonstrated outside the West German Embassy in London during Vorster's meeting with Dr Kissinger in that country.

The National Committee, at its 4 September meeting—whilst Dr Kissinger was again meeting Vorster, this time in Zurich—discussed the visit and decided to issue a statement drawing particular attention to the dangers involved for the African liberation struggle in Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy".

# Organisation

## MEMBERSHIP

The total membership of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, as at September 1976, is 2,797, consisting of 2,530 individual members and 267 affiliated organisations, a net increase of 152 over the year. There has been a welcome increase in the number of colleges and Labour Parties who have joined in recent months. The organisation membership consists of 70 colleges/universities, 53 trade unions and branches, 27 trades councils, 83 political groups and 34 miscellaneous such as Community Relations Councils, AA groups, etc.

Although our individual membership is widely spread over the political spectrum, it is interesting to note that amongst the political organisations affiliated the Labour Party is by far the most active. We now have 71 Labour Parties, mostly CLPs, and two Young Socialist branches. A long way behind come the Communist Parties—2 district and 4 branch CPs. There are no Liberal Party branches affiliated at present and only 4 Young Liberal groups. This is an obvious field where members could recruit, thereby enabling us to involve many more people in the work of the Movement.

Following the Soweto massacres, there was a sharp increase in new members in August—66 as opposed to 40 in August 1975. This momentum could be sustained with a little effort on the part of present members: we should aim to reach the 100-150 new members each month who joined during the period 1969/72.

Two new membership leaflets have been produced during the course of the year: one for general use and the other specifically for students.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

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

At the 1975 AGM, resolutions were submitted covering most aspects of the Movement's work and particular emphasis was laid on the issue of British military collaboration with South Africa, and on South Africa's invasion of

Angola. Resolutions on Namibia and Zimbabwe were discussed at length, and an end to British investment in South Africa was also prominent.

However, attendance at AGMs runs at something less than 10 per cent of the Movement's membership. Whilst appreciating the difficulties involved in putting aside an entire Sunday or, for a large proportion of members, the expense involved in travelling to London, we nevertheless urge all members to make every effort to attend *their* annual general meeting, which is open only to members of the Movement.

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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

Over the past year the Committee has met six times and has discussed in depth the situation relating to South Africa's invasion of Angola and recognition of the MPLA; military collaboration with apartheid South Africa; political prisoners and detainees in Southern Africa; action to stop the hanging of two SWAPO members sentenced to death by an illegal South African court; and Zimbabwe—in particular the hanging of freedom fighters by the illegal regime and the question of recruitment of mercenaries to fight against the forces of liberation. The transformed situation in South Africa following the uprisings in Soweto and other townships and their effect on the Movement's future work formed the greater part of the discussion at the last meeting of the National Committee in September.

The National Committee occasionally invites guest speakers to address its meetings, and this year Peter Katjavivi, European Representative of SWAPO, addressed the January meeting on the current situation in Namibia, and Horst Kleinschmidt, European Representative of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, who left South Africa following his release from detention, attended the June meeting and spoke of his work in South Africa, with particular reference to political prisoners and detainees.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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

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

## AAM OFFICE

The AAM Office has six members of staff and the past year has seen three changes in its staff: as reported last year,

Mike Terry took over as Executive Secretary in October 1975; Yvonne Strachan joined the staff in January 1976 and has particular responsibility for student work, fundraising and speakers; and Chris Child took over responsibility for trade union work and liaison with local Anti-Apartheid groups in July. Rod Pritchard, the AAM's former trade union organiser, left at the end of 1975 and we would like to record here our thanks for his excellent work in this field during his almost two years in the Office. We would also like to take this opportunity to thank Cathy Mason, who held this post temporarily and was also responsible for building up contacts with women's organisations during her time in the Office.

We would like to pay tribute to the numerous voluntary helpers without whom the Office could not function adequately. Their assistance is vital, especially in the monthly distribution of *AA News* and newsletters to members, their regular help with typing, other mailings and all the varied work connected with the Movement's campaigns and demonstrations.

# Areas of Work

## Trade Union Movement

As in 1975 an important development in the AAM's trade union work was the resolution to the TUC Congress, adopted unanimously and moved by the Tobacco Workers Union and AUEW (TASS). It reads as follows:

In view of the recent brutal and repressive measures taken by the South African Government against the black and coloured communities in their fight against apartheid, Congress reaffirms its continued solidarity with the workers of South Africa and calls on the General Council to lodge the strongest protest with the South African Government on their actions against their citizens. Congress further calls on affiliated unions to add their voice to the growing worldwide protest against these measures of oppression and urges the General Council to meet urgently with the British Government to demand:

- i) cessation of all new British investments in South Africa
- ii) a complete embargo on all direct and indirect military help from Britain to the South African Government
- iii) support for the national liberation movement in South Africa.

The resolution was debated after over 100 delegates had attended an AAM meeting on the first day of Congress.

As the terms of the resolution indicate, the challenge now facing British trade unionists is of a different order from that with which they were confronted 12 months ago. In an attempt to help meet this challenge, the AAM is holding a one-day delegate conference on *Southern Africa and the*

*British Trade Union and Labour Movement*. This is due to take place on 6 November 1976 in the Conway Hall, London, and much of the activity of the AAM's Trade Union Committee over the past year has been concerned with its organisation. The conference is intended to promote understanding of Britain's economic links with apartheid South Africa, with a view to greater trade union pressure for an investment ban and an intensification of all other forms of solidarity with African workers. Regional conferences are being arranged as a follow-up to the national conference.

The trade union movement has provided valuable support for AAM campaigns over the past year.

On the political prisoners campaign, Jack Jones, Cyril Plant, Hugh Scanlon and other leading trade unionists have signed statements and letters, attended pickets and meetings during the campaign following the wave of detentions in December and again later in the year.

The daily pickets outside South Africa House (see *Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society*) were manned by a number of trade union executives and branches, and the Greater London Trades Councils Association. These and other unions also distributed SATIS petitions to their members. In addition, a letter signed by representatives of over 23 unions, including six General Secretaries, was handed to the South African ambassador in September during a special picket called to protest at the death in detention of Luke Mazwemba, to demand an end to maltreatment of South African trade unionists, and the release of all detainees. A number of

unions made individual protests to the South African Government.

Unions have been approached with a view to the adoption of a political prisoner. ASTMS have adopted Sean Hosey (one of their members) and circulated a petition calling for his release. AUEW (TASS) are considering the adoption of Dorothy Nyembe, and the NUJ have repeatedly made strong representations to the British and South African Governments over the detention of South African journalists, some of them NUJ members. AUEW (TASS), the Inland Revenue Staffs Federation and the ACTT have all taken up the question of the illegal hangings in Rhodesia.

A leaflet on trade unionists in detention is in preparation.

The call for an end to all military collaboration with the South African regime has been taken up by a number of unions, especially since the Soweto massacre in June. Besides the TUC, many trade unions have protested to the Government at national and local level. The CPSA Customs and Excise Division, for instance, have taken up the issue of preferential treatment for South Africa under the 1970 Export Order.

Individual initiatives to secure UK support for a mandatory arms ban have been taken by the NUM, SLADE and ACTT, and 17 General Council members and a number of other General Secretaries signed a letter to the Prime Minister calling for an immediate cessation of all military collaboration and support for the UN mandatory ban. And shop stewards committees such as that at Rover Solihull have publicly condemned the use of Landrovers in Soweto.

In respect of this issue, much of the attention of the Trade Union Committee has concentrated on the South African order for the Marconi Troposcatter equipment (see *Military Collaboration*).

The Movement has continued its campaign to promote an understanding of the position of African workers and trade unions, and has worked closely with the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). The advice of John Gaetsewe, General Secretary of SACTU, and of the SACTU representative on the Trade Union Committee has been invaluable to the Movement's work.

A major move in this campaign was that taken by the Leyland Limited Trades Union Committee Conference when 200 delegates from all Leyland plants in the UK voted unanimously to black all Leyland exports to South Africa if Leyland South Africa continued to refuse to recognise the Metal & Allied Workers Union, an African union with 95 per cent membership in the Mobeni plant. The Chairman of the TUC International Committee, Jack Jones, agreed to take up this

matter and the Movement has also had some correspondence with the Department of Trade & Industry. The Secretary of State for Industry, Eric Varley, has asked Leyland to clarify their position and at the time of writing Leyland continue to refuse recognition. The TUC, TGWU and GMWU have taken up the issue, and the AAM has distributed a special pamphlet on Leyland and MAWU to many trade unions.

During the year a new committee, whose aim is to strengthen the links between SACTU and British trade unions (the SACTU-British Trade Union Liaison Committee) was launched and with which close cooperation is envisaged.

The TUC has continued its long-standing opposition to emigration to South Africa; and the national conference of AUEW (TASS) instructed its national executive to pursue a vigorous anti-emigration campaign. The TUC has also supported moves to amend the Race Relations Bill so that it makes illegal the recruitment for jobs in any country outside Britain

practising legally enforced racial discrimination. (See also sections on *Emigration & Tourism, Parliament*.)

Various trade union journals have published articles on the current situation in Southern Africa, and twelve national trade unions officially sponsored the 27 June Soweto protest demonstration. Action taken throughout the country over the events of the summer has been supported in a variety of ways by local trade union branches and regions, and the Scottish and Welsh TUCs. Financial support has continued at a high level.

In the last year the Movement has welcomed on to its Trade Union Committee official delegates of the NUM, NALGO and NSC, and is also now represented on the ad hoc International Committee of the Institute of Workers Control. Approaches have been made to local groups with a view to strengthening ties between trade union branches and AA groups, and it is hoped in the coming year that work at both national and local level will continue to develop.

## Student Work

Student work on Southern Africa is an important aspect of the Movement's activity and since its inception the Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought to encourage campaigning activity in universities and colleges throughout the country. This has been done by helping to build AA groups within colleges and by making contact with and working through student organisations, particular political and campaigning groups such as Third World First. In so doing the Movement has achieved a broad base of support among students.

Over the years, AAM has worked closely with the National Union of Students and since the establishment of the NUS/AAM network in 1971 the Southern Africa campaign has been able to develop in a coordinated way. The network meets regularly each term, providing a national forum for debate and discussion on the political developments within Southern Africa and the tactics and progress of the campaign. In addition to network meetings, bulletins and mailings are forwarded to all activists, thus ensuring an effective dissemination of information and publicity material. At the present time mailings are received by over 300 activists in many colleges and universities.

Both Scotland and Wales have their own network structures which, through organising work on a regional basis,

have complemented the work of the national network.

The work done by the Angola Solidarity Committee, Namibia Support Committee and Mozambique & Guine Information Centre has strengthened the Southern Africa campaign further and has meant that the work of the AAM within the student movement has been greatly facilitated.

The 1975 annual student conference on Southern Africa agreed to campaign on two fronts: firstly, in reference to the work of solidarity with the liberation movements and the people of Southern Africa by fundraising initiatives and by campaigning for the release of political prisoners and detainees; and secondly, to campaign against British collaboration with the white minority regimes in Southern Africa through work against emigration, investment and on the boycott.

The necessity to campaign vociferously on the question of political prisoners was recognised in the autumn of 1975 when leading members of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), including its President Karel Tip, were arrested. A picket was held outside South Africa House which was well attended. In addition, student unions were asked to adopt NUSAS, SASO and SWAPO Youth League political

prisoners and detainees. During the week of action on Southern Africa, 9-13 February 1976, one of the three demands on which attention was focused was the release of political prisoners and detainees. A leaflet on NUSAS and SASO was produced by NUS/AAM and widely distributed.

Hull University ran a campaign to have their Union building called Herman Ja Toivo Building, but strong opposition was encountered from the university authorities and their demand was not met.

At the NUS national conference in Scarborough in December, 600 signatures were collected calling for the release of Sean Hoseney who is serving a sentence in South Africa. £389 was also collected for study material for him.

Students participated in the SATIS Emergency campaign and took responsibility for one of the daily pickets. Petitions were circulated to all colleges and universities and substantial numbers of students signed it (see *Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society*).

The SATIS kit of photographs has also been bought by many colleges and AA groups, and during the Scottish International week in January the original exhibition was on display in both Edinburgh and Strathclyde universities.

The campaign to force universities

to disinvest from companies which operate in South Africa was again in the forefront of university activity. The successes of Lancaster and Manchester last year were a great stimulus to other universities. During the Southern Africa week of action, 13 February was designated a national day of action on disinvestment, and moves were made to ensure that university councils had debated the issue and arrived at a decision by that date. Many universities were involved and strong campaigns were mounted in Manchester, Bristol, Cardiff, Bath, Exeter, Loughborough, Hull, Aberdeen and Lampeter. Unfortunately, no universities were successful in achieving their demands, although in some universities the decision was close. What was significant at this stage was that in response to the wide campaign amongst students the Vice Chancellor of Durham circulated a document to all universities with investments in firms operating in South Africa suggesting collective action along the lines that the universities should be prominently involved in ensuring that British influence in South Africa was exerted against apartheid. This was rejected by NUS/AAM and students at Durham and Aberystwyth mounted protests.

A number of prominent universities have large shares in the Midland Bank and throughout the year ELTSA were mobilising for the Midland AGM where a resolution was tabled for the cessation of loans to South Africa. Through concerted work by ELTSA and activists in the universities concerned, pressure was put on universities to support the resolution. Aberdeen, Leicester and York Universities were amongst those who finally agreed to cast their votes behind the resolution (see *Investment and Trade*).

Throughout the year many colleges and universities were active on the boycott campaign, with successful campaigns against Barclays mounted in Southlands College, Manchester University and Bath University. The consumer boycott was launched in University College London, Salford University and Oxford Polytechnic and on 4 February in Dundee students and local sympathisers picketed an office where emigration to South Africa was being promoted. 3,000 leaflets were distributed.

The 1975 NUS/AAM conference set no target for fundraising but it was decided that each union would determine its own. With groups sending money directly to the liberation movements it was difficult to gauge how much money was raised. Some unions raised substantial sums. Oxford Polytechnic donated £500 to a scholarship fund for exiled Namibians, and LSE, during a week of action in November,

raised £150 through fundraising activities. Exeter University also launched a campaign to raise funds to provide scholarships.

Many colleges held international weeks in January and February, and money was raised there for the liberation movements.

The invasion of Angola by South African troops was a main focus of activity. The NUS national conference in Scarborough in December overwhelmingly passed a motion condemning the South African aggression and pledged full support for the MPLA. Students similarly passed resolutions in colleges up and down the country and agreed to support actively the mass leafleting on 4 February. In addition to distributing the Angola leaflet, a broadsheet on Angola was produced and widely circulated.

At the beginning of the spring term it was learnt that a debating team from the University of Cape Town (UCT) was planning to tour Britain from December 1976 to February 1977. NUS/AAM were opposed to this visit and colleges were requested not to host the team. A background document was produced by the Movement on UCT and this was distributed to all universities. Many colleges refused to host the team and it has now been learnt that the tour will not take place.

The fifth annual student conference on Southern Africa was held in Sheffield City College of Education on 9-11 July 1976. The recent events in South Africa and the dramatic changes in the situation within the sub-continent as a whole resulted in the registration of over 130 delegates from almost 80 colleges. The conference undertook to provide an educative and comprehensive agenda and speakers were present from the liberation movements and from the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The conference spent some time assessing the previous year's work and it was felt that much of the impetus of the campaign had been lost because programmes of action had been too diffuse. As a result, the conference decided to emphasise two areas of work—the economic boycott and material aid for the liberation movements: the first to provide a focus of solidarity action which all students could take up, and the second to provide an opportunity to develop direct support for the liberation movements. Using this framework it is hoped that NUS/AAM will be able to respond more rapidly to events as they occur. Within the confines of the former, it was agreed that concerted efforts should be made on the Boycott Barclays campaign and the consumer boycott, and emigration

should be tackled in a more cohesive way. The disinvestment campaign among the university sector is to be mounted more vigorously and work has already begun in preparing for concentrated activity in the first term. Briefing documents, research work and publicity material has been produced on all these areas, and a one-day network meeting, including a disinvestment unit, is to be held on 2 October.

Since the conference Paul Blomfield, NUS Executive member with responsibility for Southern Africa, visited South Africa on a solidarity mission and was able to meet many people, including members of the BPC, BPA, SASO, NUSAS, etc. His findings and impressions have already given momentum to the campaign and it is hoped that he will be able to address many colleges in the forthcoming year. His first report-back was given at the National Teacher Education conference in September and as a result a group of over 70 delegates discussed Southern Africa at length and a resolution reaffirming support for the liberation movements and for the campaign on Southern Africa was overwhelmingly passed. The material aid campaign was initiated here and over £120 was collected for the liberation movements.

The national network met four times during the year and the 27 September meeting was fortunate to be addressed by Ndeshi Uyumba of SWAPO's Youth League who, along with Putuse Appolus, toured Britain and Ireland addressing several meetings in colleges around the country. Meetings were also held of the Scottish and Welsh networks.

The AAM was represented at both NUS national conferences at Scarborough and Llandudno, in addition to the University and Teacher Education sector conferences held in Durham and Liverpool respectively. Meetings of activists were held at all these conferences and the contacts made proved fruitful, particularly in terms of an increase in membership. A new membership leaflet was produced specifically for students and membership has increased, with 70 colleges now affiliated to the Movement. Many of these take bulk orders of *AA News*. However, membership still remains relatively small and every effort will be made this year to increase this.

Students have been involved in all areas of the Movement's work. In the coming year, the need to consolidate the work of the Movement will be great and it is hoped that the office will be able to service many more areas and colleges with information and advice, in particular via personal visits and improved communications.

# Local Activity

Local group activity is an essential part of the Movement's structure, providing the means by which national campaigns may be brought to the public's attention in all corners of the country. There are 40 active local AA groups. The range of activities is wide and includes public meetings, conferences, letter-writing, demonstrations, bookstalls, fundraising activities, etc.

Groups in Surrey ran a successful campaign on the question of advertising for holidays in South Africa (see *Emigration and Tourism*). Two new groups in Surrey organised their first public activities in April with meetings on Angola and Namibia in Guildford and Croydon. The latter called on the Home Office to withdraw the passports of Eric Sykes and Jimmy Edwards who had entertained the Smith regime's armed forces, and also demanded that the Foreign Office stop similar acts of aid and encouragement to the illegal regime in the future.

In Brighton, a South African evening sponsored by the Brighton *Evening Argus* met heavy protest. A picket organised by the Brighton Trades Council was attended by over 100 people and letters of protest were sent. Many trade unionists, students and church people were present and the protest received coverage in the local press and radio. As a result of this impromptu activity by individuals, interest was expressed in setting up a renewed Brighton and Hove AA Group. The first meeting will take place at the end of September.

Many groups were active on Rhodesia and Birmingham in particular did considerable work on this issue during the year. On 11 November, the tenth anniversary of UDI, Birmingham AA held lunchtime and evening vigils in Birmingham City Centre. The local Labour Party was also approached by the group to raise the demand that the Government should not countenance any settlement in Rhodesia which did not guarantee immediate majority rule. At the vigil leaflets were distributed and a letter delivered to the manager of Barclays Bank protesting at the bank's operations in Rhodesia. Birmingham also raised £150 for the families of Zimbabwean political prisoners, and the proceeds from a jumble sale and summer fair, in March and June respectively, went to aid the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

On the consumer boycott, local groups have persisted in campaigning against the provision of South African

produce by local supermarkets. East London AA, in conjunction with Ilford Labour Party, picketed the shopping centre at Ilford in September, urging shoppers not to buy South African goods and at the same time manning a literature stall.

Over 80 people took part in a Southern Africa Day organised by Southampton Anti-Apartheid group on 6 March. Those taking part included Ken Lane (AUEW-TASS), Ron Press, John Sprack, Paul Fauvet and Les Howey. Three films were shown and a literature stall organised. Participation was good and local coverage excellent. This conference provided some useful contacts for the group and provided an impetus for local campaigning work.

East London AA also held a one-day conference on Southern Africa on 30 March. An impressive programme of speakers was arranged, with Peter Katjavivi of SWAPO amongst them. The film *Last Grave at Dimbaza* was shown.

During the year many meetings were held on Namibia, in particular by Barnet, Haringey, West London and Bristol. Local groups played an important role in the "Save the SWAPO leaders" campaign. Postcards addressed to Prime Minister Callaghan, calling for Government intervention on behalf of the two men, were sent, and in some areas petitions on the death sentences were drawn up and distributed for signature.

Local groups were quick to respond to the call from both the liberation movements and solidarity organisations for material support. Many groups like Birmingham, Glasgow and Southampton raised large sums for the liberation movements, but particular mention should go to the London groups in Barnet, Camden, Haringey and West London who, through various public efforts like jumble sales, cultural evenings, curry lunches, collections at public meetings and such-like, raised substantial sums for the Movement.

Luton AA received widespread publicity in local newspapers over its protests against the Luton Chamber of Commerce trade mission to South Africa. The group took the Chamber to task over its attempts to increase trade with South Africa and as a result of this and other local activity interest has revived. Serious thought has been given to expanding the activities of the group, which now sells *AA News*, and plans are in hand for the adoption of a political prisoner.

Two new groups this year have

leapt to the forefront with their extensive activities. Camden AA has, in the short time it has been in existence, organised large public fundraising activities, a local demonstration over the Soweto massacre, and a picket outside Camden Town Hall whilst a resolution was being placed before the Council to pressurise the Midland Bank to withdraw loans to South Africa. Having through its efforts put itself on a sure financial footing, the group has turned to ways in which it can develop the consciousness of local people on Southern Africa. The group has divided into two: one section conducts informative discussion groups where interested people can come along to learn the facts about Southern Africa, and the other sections which deals with campaigning activities.

The other group to make a great deal of headway in a short time is Norwich. At its inaugural meeting it attracted over 80 people and from that meeting a resolution was sent to the Prime Minister on Soweto calling on the Labour Government to end "all political, cultural, economic and military links with South Africa". The group has since arranged for AAM speakers to address the Norwich Trades Council and, in conjunction with the University of East Anglia AA society, activities in Norwich have really taken off.

In Scotland, activity has flourished. In Glasgow the group has been successful in getting the Hamilton and Clydebank District Councils to impose a boycott on all South African and Namibian goods and, as a result of successive representations, the Councils will also look into their investments. Motherwell District Council have also agreed not to promote activities which would support apartheid or to invest money in South Africa or Namibia. The group were also active in picketing performances of *Ipi Tombi* and in infiltrating meetings of the Friends of the Springbok Association. And, again through hard efforts, the Strathclyde Regional Council Education Committee refused an application from a teacher for leave of absence with pay to take part in an international sailing race from Cape Town to Rio de Janeiro.

The Aberdeen group gained much publicity over its protests about South African participation in the International Festival of Youth Orchestras to be held at the end of the year. With the aid of the local Labour Party, the group contested the Council's grant to the Festival on the basis of South

African participation and as a result the grant will be reviewed next year. In addition, an orchestra due to come from the University of Cape Town will not now take part.

In order to stimulate the Southern Africa campaign in Scotland, the Scottish groups decided to hold an activists' meeting on 19 June in Dundee. The meeting, attended by all the Scottish groups, was addressed by Abdul Minty. It reaffirmed its support for the Movement's campaigning work and voted to set up a Scottish Committee. Officers were elected and it is hoped that with this new structure will come renewed vigour in campaigning work. The Committee were instrumental in organising the picket of President Giscard d'Estaing's visit to Edinburgh and this received wide coverage. Plans are now in hand for a conference on Southern Africa to be held in

## Political Parties

The AAM has continued with its efforts to secure support for its policies from the political parties and other political groups. This work takes a variety of forms, including attending and organising public meetings at party conferences, meeting party officials, arranging speakers for branch and constituency meetings, and liaising with the newspapers and journals of the different parties and groups.

Support for the AAM from all levels of the Labour Party has continued to grow. At a national level there have been a number of meetings with the Labour Party's National Executive Committee and with Party officials, and members of the AAM's Executive serve on the Labour Party's policy study group on Southern Africa. The Labour Party's NEC has responded positively to a number of AAM initiatives (see, for instance, *Military Collaboration, Investment & Trade*). At a local level, there has been a significant increase in the number of CLPs affiliated and three mailings have been sent out to all CLPs during the year. A large

## Parliament

A new development in the Parliamentary Labour Party was the establishment of a Southern Africa subcommittee of its Foreign Affairs Committee. Members of the AAM have addressed this subcommittee on important issues facing Southern Africa, including military collaboration and South Africa's Bantustan policy.

Regular briefings on important policy questions have been circulated to a large number of Members of Parliament which, together with

December.

In January of this year the first of several local groups meetings was held in London. To date there have been three meetings, which have been held on the mornings of weekend National Committee meetings, and their purpose has been to provide a forum for debate on the political issues in Southern Africa, to provide an opportunity for discussion on local campaigning, and to provide a means whereby groups could discuss with the Office problems and suggestions about national campaigns. Although all those who have participated in these meetings have found them valuable, the numbers attending have been relatively small and it is hoped that this will improve in the coming year. One of the main suggestions to come from these meetings has been the organisation of regional meetings where

number of constituency parties have responded positively to requests we have made, and interest in the work of the AAM is reflected in the number of resolutions on Southern Africa—a total of seven—submitted to this year's Labour Party Conference. Both *Labour Weekly* and *Tribune* have regularly covered activities of the AAM, as well as providing extensive coverage of events in Southern Africa.

The AAM has continued to receive the active support of the Liberal Party at a national and local level. A successful meeting was held at this year's Liberal Assembly and it is hoped that this will result in increased support for the Movement at constituency level. At a national level support for a variety of AAM initiatives has come both from the Parliamentary Party as well as from the Party itself. The Young Liberals and the Union of Liberal Students have continued to give active support to the major campaigns of the AAM.

The Communist Party has maintained its consistent support for the

direct briefings of individual MPs, has contributed to an informed debate when Southern Africa has been discussed and to the raising of numerous Parliamentary questions. Such questions have been particularly useful in securing information on matters relating to military collaboration and in establishing Government policy on issues such as recognition of the Bantustans.

Early Day Motions have been tabled on a number of issues. In

activists from one region may have the opportunity to meet and discuss work, given that many people find it difficult to travel to London. Again, it is hoped to initiate more of these meetings in the future, and meetings in the north-west and the Midlands are being planned.

The Movement depends very heavily on local groups and it is felt that there should be more communication with them and more help given with local work. Consequently, two moves will be made—to print a manual for local groups in order to facilitate campaigning work and to ensure that every local group is visited by someone from the Office during the course of the year.

The above does not cover all the local activity which has been initiated over the past year and fuller details can be found in the reports in *Anti-Apartheid News*.

Movement and its campaigns both at a local and national level. The *Morning Star* has regularly reported on our activities and has always been prepared to give advance publicity to meetings, demonstrations, etc. Communist Party members active in the trade union movement have been particularly helpful in this area of the AAM's work.

During the year the Tory Reform Group became an Observer Organisation on the National Committee and it has subsequently assisted the AAM by circulating our material and supporting various initiatives.

The International Socialists also joined the National Committee as an Observer Organisation and have supported many activities of the AAM.

*Socialist Worker, Red Weekly, Labour Leader and Newline* have all given coverage to events in Southern Africa and to AAM campaigns.

Activities of the AAM in Wales and Scotland have received the support of Plaid Cymru and the Scottish National Party respectively.

November over 100 Labour and Liberal MPs signed a motion condemning South Africa's invasion of Angola. Other motions have dealt with France's military collaboration with South Africa and with breaches in the arms embargo.

In June AAM Vice Chairman Bob Hughes MP successfully moved the first reading of a Bill under the ten-minute rule calling for measures to ban the recruitment of mercenaries. But attempts to secure the amendment of

the Race Relations Bill to prevent the advertising of employment in South Africa was unsuccessful because of the shortage of Parliamentary time, although a detailed briefing was prepared and the necessary amendment tabled.

Labour backbenchers have been

## Schools

During the year the AAM has received many requests from school students for information about apartheid and racism in Southern Africa. These requests indicate that there are growing opportunities to discuss South Africa within the context both of school curricula in general and under topics set for certificate examinations.

Interest in Southern Africa has resulted in many teachers organising discussion groups, film shows and conferences centring their themes around race and Southern Africa. Since January over 10 schools have hosted anti-apartheid speakers and, as

particularly active in drawing attention to Government action which conflicts with Labour Party policy. Issues raised have included the failure to cancel the RTZ uranium contract, the actions of Leyland South Africa, breaches in the arms embargo against South Africa, the hanging of freedom fighters in Rhodesia, and the recruit-

a result, much interest has been generated. Following the teachers conference held last year, the AAM established a teachers group which has worked to promote education about Southern Africa in schools and generally interest teachers in the work of the AAM. It has also acted as an advisory group to the International Defence & Aid Fund which is publishing a Teaching Kit on Southern Africa. The group also received a good response to a special mailing it sent out to a number of schools in January.

The apartheid regime exerts considerable efforts to distribute its

ment of mercenaries.

Members of Parliament have also supported specific initiatives of the AAM. They have signed letters of protest concerning political prisoners, attended pickets outside South Africa House and demonstrations elsewhere, and addressed AAM meetings.

racist propaganda to schools in Britain. A particular example of this was the publication *Stepping into the Future* which was circulated free of charge to many school libraries throughout the country. AAM supporters campaigned for its withdrawal and local and national press took up the issue, as did MPs and the Community Relations Commission.

The Education Group recently discussed ways in which this area of work could be made more effective in the light of the current developments in South Africa and the extraordinary response of African school children to apartheid.

## Information Anti-Apartheid News

Southern Africa has grabbed more and more headlines in the national press over the last year. But coverage in the mass media is no substitute for the Movement's own newspaper. As the struggle intensifies, *Anti-Apartheid News* is becoming more important as the main propaganda weapon through which the Movement can put forward its distinctive view on the situation and publicise its campaigning initiatives.

During the year the newspaper has given priority to AAM's campaigns to arouse public opinion against South Africa's invasion of Angola, for the effective implementation of the British ban on arms sales to South Africa and for a UN mandatory arms embargo, to expose the fraudulent nature of the Bantustan policy, and to the SATIS campaign for the release of political prisoners and an end to the wave of detentions and the torture of detainees.

On Zimbabwe it has campaigned against the Smith regime's brutal reaction to the increasing success of the freedom fighters and has raised a lone voice in protest against the British Government's failure to act to stop the hanging of Africans convicted of aiding the guerrillas.

On Namibia it has tried to rouse British public opinion to protest against the detention and torture of SWAPO members and especially against the death sentences imposed on Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo. It also campaigned for the rejection by the British Government of the South African Government's plan for sham "independence" for Namibia produced by the Turnhalle talks.

The AAM has constantly to explain why it advocates a boycott of all forms of cooperation with the white minority regimes and to provide its supporters with arguments they can use to convince more people of the rightness of its policies. So, *AA News* has carried articles on the role of foreign investment in South Africa by Martin Legassick and David Henson, on the cultural boycott by Rosalyn Tureck and Brigid Brophy and on race segregation in the arts by John Matshikiza, on the spuriousness of South Africa's introduction of "multi-

national" sports events by SANROC General Secretary Chris de Broglio, and on the need for an arms embargo of South Africa by the AAM's Hon Secretary Abdul S Minty.

Throughout the year *AA News* has carried articles aimed at mobilising pressure from all sections of the labour movement to make the Government implement Labour Party policy on Southern Africa. Among its contributors have been Labour MPs Bob Hughes and Frank Hooley, the Labour Party's International Officer Jim Chrystie, and the General Secretary of the CPSA Bill Kendall.

It has also featured statements and interviews with leaders of the liberation movements, including David Merero and Reuben Hauwanga of SWAPO, the Acting President of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, and a special interview with the ANC's General Secretary Alfred Nzo.

In February a special extended meeting of the *AA News* Editorial Board was held which, among other ideas, suggested that there should be more special features, that the newspaper should seek articles from a wider range of contributors and that there should be more feedback from readers.

It was also decided to hold further extended meetings, as well as meetings of a smaller working group which would determine the content of the paper each month.

As a result, *AA News* commissioned features on the press reporting of South Africa's intervention in Angola and on the operations of BOSS in Britain; the June issue carried a four-page Special Supplement on the arms embargo; the July-August issue ran a three-page report of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid's Seminar in Cuba; and other issues carried an exposé by Per Westberg, editor of Sweden's leading daily newspaper, on forced labour camps for mentally ill blacks in South Africa, and an interview with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Umtali, Donald Lamont. The paper also now has a regular letters column.

Much more work needs to be done on promoting the circulation of *Anti-Apartheid News*: so far it has not been

possible to find a Circulation Manager to work voluntarily on a regular basis. Circulation was discussed at the meetings of local group representatives which took place during the year. The print order for the paper stands at 6,500-7,000 each month: approximately 3,000 copies are sent to AAM

## Media

There has been no shortage of news about Southern Africa during the year and so the task of the AAM in relation to the media has been a complex one in seeking to gain as favourable coverage for the cause of freedom in Southern Africa as possible, and at the same time to secure as much awareness as possible about the work of the AAM.

In addition to sending out regular press releases informing the press of AAM activities and press statements in response to events, the AAM has been frequently contacted by radio and television for background information. Special efforts have been made to secure press coverage for major priorities of the AAM's work, in particular the arms embargo.

Whilst many individual journalists are extremely sympa-

## Speakers

One of the services offered by the AAM is the provision of speakers to meetings, and since January this year some 95 speakers' meetings have been arranged. In addition to these AAM provided speakers for public meetings and conferences and many meetings were arranged privately by speakers themselves. Many more AAM members addressed meetings in their own locality, and speakers were also provided by the Namibia Support Committee, Angola Solidarity Committee,

## Publications

Over the past year the Movement has published several pamphlets and information papers, as well as campaigning posters and leaflets. The major publication has been the pamphlet *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace* by Abdul S Minty, which details South Africa's defence policy and its links with NATO powers. A special pamphlet, *Marconi Arms Apartheid*, was published following the news of the Marconi contract to supply communications equipment to the South African Armaments Board for use in Namibia (see *Military Collaboration*).

Information papers included *South Africa's Invasion of Angola: The Facts*, *The Smith Regime and the Death Sentence*, and *British Leyland and the Metal & Allied Workers Union*—the last-named directed towards the British Labour Movement.

members, 500 to individual subscribers, and the balance is sold via local Anti-Apartheid groups, student groups, trade unions, other organisations, bookshops and individuals.

In February 1976 the price of *AA News* was increased from 8p to 10p.

thetic to the Movement's aims, it still remains difficult to secure appropriate coverage of either AAM's policies and activities or the liberation movements in any of the national dailies, with the exception of *The Guardian* and the *Morning Star*.

Another feature of this aspect of the AAM's work has been the frequent approaches which have been made by foreign journalists for information and assistance.

The correspondence columns of *The Times* constantly ignore letters from the AAM and its supporters. Its bias was examined in detail in the April issue of *AA News*, as was the media's coverage of the war in Angola.

and the liberation movements.

The largest demand for speakers was, as in years past, from the student body; requests from trade unions, and political parties and their youth groups were frequent; and 10 speakers were sent to meetings or lessons held at schools and sixth form colleges.

With recent events in Southern Africa the demand for speaker meetings has already increased and it is hoped that this AAM service will grow in the coming year.

Three new posters were produced, covering *Women Under Apartheid*; *Police Brutality, Torture and Murder in South Africa and Namibia*; and *Save SWAPO Leaders* (Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo). Three leaflets were also produced—two membership leaflets and one on *The Crisis in Rhodesia: The Issues at Stake*, which has been widely circulated, particularly through Constituency Labour Parties and trade unions, and has been twice reprinted.

Apart from the Movement's own publications, those of the International Defence & Aid Fund, the United Nations, the Africa Bureau and other organisations are distributed by the AAM Office—not only to groups and individuals in Britain but also to many countries throughout the world. It is hoped to widen distribution in the future by producing more frequent and comprehensive literature lists and making these more readily available than in the past.

## Finance and fund raising

During the first half of this year, the Movement went through a particularly difficult period financially. Our income was running persistently below expenditure, debts were mounting and our ability to respond adequately to the very important events of those months was restricted by lack of funds. These difficulties were caused largely by the general climate of economic stringency, though it must also be said that the Movement failed to plan its fundraising programme sufficiently in advance and to give fundraising activities sufficient priority.

The position has since improved substantially. We have received generous grants from the World Council of Churches and the Rowatree Social Services Trust. Our members have

also responded well to appeals for funds. Three individual members (all of whom wish to remain anonymous) have given donations totalling over £1,000, and there has been a steady flow of smaller donations. Office staff members with special responsibility for trade union work have put a good deal of effort into approaching trade unions for donations, and this work is gradually producing results.

The accounts which will be laid before the Annual General Meeting will therefore show a healthier situation than seemed possible a few months ago. We nevertheless remain as far as ever from a situation in which our financial needs are met on a regular and assured basis, and this aspect of our work must continue to receive urgent attention.



