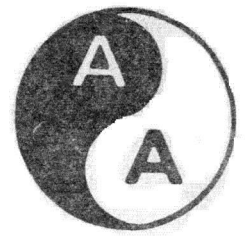


AntiApartheid Movement



Annual Report of Activities and Developments



October 1977—September 1978

25p

AntiApartheid Movement

ANNUAL REPORT October 1977 – September 1978

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FOREWORD

Although we may have achieved a great deal in the last year, for which we are most grateful to both our members and our staff, still those that read this Annual Report cannot fail to realise that the task before us is greater than anything that we have yet accomplished.

This has been underlined by the gravity of recent events. A turning point seems to have been reached in Southern Africa. The dangers ahead must be obvious to us all.

For this reason it becomes imperative that we reach more and more people with the facts about Southern Africa and Britain's involvement. This I am convinced can best be done by endeavouring to make our work in each locality more effective. Our newspaper, *Anti-Apartheid News*, gives us a unique opportunity to do this – but it needs to be much more widely read and distributed.

Our responsibilities are great and our resources limited. Each one of us needs to be specially vigilant at this time to ensure that our Movement lives up to the expectations of our brethren in Southern Africa whom we exist to serve. Please play your part.

† Ambrose Reeves
Hon President

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Cover pix:

Front: *SWAPO Information Department (Kassinga)*
Peter Magubane (Soweto)

Back: *The Times*

INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the Political Report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously accepted by the National Committee at its meeting on 11 September 1978.

The speed of developments in Southern Africa in the past year, generated fundamentally by the advances of the liberation forces and the revolt of the African people against their racist and colonial rulers, now reveals clear perspectives for political transformation in the area. They make the realisation of *freedom in our lifetime* the dominant prospect for the peoples of Southern Africa. The Anti-Apartheid Movement reaffirms its solidarity with their struggles. It dedicates itself to an intensified effort to alert the support of the British people and to work for an international environment which will assist the achievement of their aspirations.

Western policies

The white power system has suffered serious reversals during the past year in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The formidable challenge posed by the African liberation movements in Zimbabwe and in Namibia resulted in the western powers advocating settlement proposals which gave the appearance of a transfer to genuine majority rule. However, these proposals more often than not represented manoeuvres aimed at undermining the liberation movements and so inevitably resulted in failure.

The current discussions about Namibia, on the basis of proposals put forward by the five western powers, have generated high hopes that self-determination and independence will be achieved by negotiation. The failure of the Rhodesian 'internal settlement' of March 1978 has brought to the fore new initiatives involving various parties and aimed at reaching a settlement with the Patriotic Front. These developments have occurred largely because of the successes of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front — but it would be a gross misjudgment to assume that the racist rulers in Pretoria and Salisbury have agreed to accept genuine African freedom and independence. It would be equally erroneous to conclude that the principal western powers, South Africa's staunchest supporters and allies, have resolved to end colonialism and racism in Africa, beginning with Zimbabwe and Namibia and ending with South Africa itself. As the AAM has always maintained, the major western powers are in fact keen to preserve the status quo — the 'stability and security' of South Africa.

Thus, if the 'international problem' of Namibia and the 'international dispute' of Rhodesia were 'settled' and the two territories decolonised so that both presented a minimum threat to the apartheid system, then western interests in the region could be protected through South Africa's domination of the area as a whole. Economic links would be expanded *through* South Africa and even closer relations established with South Africa itself: these would include expanded military and strategic links. However, if these two international issues remain unresolved, there would be an intensification of the liberation struggles. The impact of this development could result in the western powers taking political, economic and other measures against South Africa — the effective colonial power in both

territories.

After many years South Africa, with some qualification, appears to have been persuaded of the wisdom of western strategy for the region. Pretoria, together with western governments, now recognises the futility of pursuing a costly war in Rhodesia and Namibia which is inherently bound to favour the African liberation movements and which might have disastrous consequences for the future of apartheid South Africa. Western strategy is based on the primary consideration that the interests of the South African apartheid state must be preserved.

The major western powers do not conceal the fact that their policy is *not* directed to the destruction of the apartheid state. Indeed, the spurious argument they put forward is that South Africa is legally a sovereign and independent state with the right to 'sovereign existence' and that *despite* its institutional racism and white domination it is essentially different from Rhodesia and Namibia. Thus they maintain that international response to the apartheid state can only be meaningfully applied through contacts and dialogue which 'encourage' internal reforms of certain apartheid practices. Even the mandatory United Nations arms embargo imposed in November 1977, to which they are formally committed — and which undoubtedly represents an historic milestone in the evolution of international policy on the South African question — has only been allowed because of overwhelming pressure of world and domestic public opinion. However, the terms of the UN Security Council resolution are weak — this was necessary in order to secure the votes of the western powers — and its application half-hearted. The western powers urge a conciliatory form of pressure, such as the Code of Conduct. This gives the impression that much is being done to change the situation but in fact relies entirely on the official consent and collaboration of apartheid South Africa. Meanwhile economic and other links with South Africa are to be strengthened so that it becomes even more integrated into the overall western economic and political system.

The West persists with this conciliatory policy towards South Africa which does not and will not promote the peaceful resolution of the Southern African crisis in favour of African liberation. The recent exposures of the deception employed by successive governments in cooperation with Shell and BP to enable oil to continue to flow to the Smith regime despite UN sanctions reflect great discredit on Britain and demonstrate how opponents of African liberation will conspire to frustrate international action. They also demonstrate the distance between the gesture and the reality. Despite heightened resistance within South Africa, and the acknowledgement by the British Foreign Secretary after the 19 October bannings that the prospect of peaceful change in South Africa seems very remote, the British government continues to pursue a policy based on close collaboration with the Pretoria regime and is committed to maintaining its 'stability and security'.

This commitment on the part of the major western powers assumes even greater significance when one considers South Africa's extensive preparations for a major war in the area, its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring African states and its development of nuclear capability involving advance preparations for a nuclear explosion which were only postponed as a result of joint approaches by western leaders in August 1977. Instead of countering these activities both Britain and the USA claim to be concentrating on securing South Africa's signature to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Even if Pretoria signs the NPT it will make no difference to its nuclear threat but will in practice give it added confidence in the belief that it has become a senior member of the nuclear club. It is of crucial importance that all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa be exposed and terminated, and that South Africa be prevented from developing nuclear weaponry. The fact that there is no cessation of western nuclear collaboration with South Africa, despite the threat of an apartheid nuclear bomb, supports the view that greater importance is placed on developing South Africa's role as the major power in the region.

Western policy regarding Southern Africa is therefore essentially one of undermining the liberation struggle. In developing close collaboration with Pretoria, the western powers are in effect working for the continued preservation of the apartheid state and thus present a threat to the entire region. In this context the aim of Pretoria's rulers and that of the major western powers is the same: to destroy the South African liberation movement.

But the genuine aspirations of the oppressed South African people will not be destroyed and the apartheid system will ultimately be ended by the victory of their struggle. The cost of the confrontation is heavy because of the intransigence of the racist rulers, but it will be catastrophic if the western powers pursue their policy of collaboration with Pretoria and their commitment to this 'stability and security'.

Namibia

During the past year there has been overwhelming and growing evidence of widespread support for SWAPO. The success of the liberation struggle and the increased international pressure forced Pretoria to postpone its plans for an 'internal settlement'. In what was seen as a conciliatory move, Justice Steyn was appointed as Administrator General. However, he soon began to impose new repressive measures and resorted to the detention and deportation of SWAPO leaders and supporters. The military forces of the occupying power were expanded to counter the growing military success of SWAPO and also to intimidate the front line states and SWAPO's supporters. The apartheid regime increased its aggressive acts against Angola and launched a brutal attack on the SWAPO refugee camp at Kassinga. Organised assistance was stepped up for UNITA in order to destabilise Angola. Justice Steyn started the registration of voters for a December 1978 'election' — ignoring the protests of both the UN and the five western powers — and a massive election campaign for the South African-controlled 'Democratic Turnhalle Alliance' (DTA) was launched.

In April the western powers' plan was tentatively accepted by South Africa — but only after South Africa had annexed Walvis Bay, which contains the fast-expanding South African defence force military base at Rooikop. SWAPO later accepted the western plan as a basis for negotiation and, following Security Council authorisation, the UN Special Representative and a team of UN experts visited Namibia

to prepare a plan for self-determination and independence. The issue of Walvis Bay remains unresolved and there are fresh South African objections to the proposed United Nations plan. At this stage it is difficult to see South Africa voluntarily complying with any plan that is intended to bring genuine freedom and independence to Namibia. SWAPO has always maintained that it will participate in free elections under full UN supervision and control as laid down in the UN Security Council resolution No 385.

Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe the single outstanding factor is the decisive role of the Patriotic Front: its growing success in controlling most of the countryside and winning the allegiance of the Zimbabwe people. This provoked Smith's desperate effort to initiate an internal settlement which was signed in March 1978 and which served only to enlist certain African personalities on the side of the illegal regime. Far from leading to any weakening of the liberation struggle, the 'internal settlement' resulted in the intensification of the armed struggle and created a further crisis for the Smith regime, which then increased its attacks against the neighbouring states of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Another feature of the regime's desperation is the use of its armed forces to commit barbarous atrocities against the African people and to attribute these to the Patriotic Front by means of a massive propaganda campaign geared to win domestic and international support. These campaigns are also used in regard to the killing of missionaries and others, and the western press and other media, with remarkable consistency, echoed the regime's claims as if they were matters of fact.

Rhodesia's 'internal settlement' is now a total failure and the Smith regime concedes that no solution is possible without the Patriotic Front. The western powers continue to promote a ceasefire and early all-party negotiations — the latter without regard to the substance of any agreement and without concern for the vital requirement of a fundamental transfer of power. Their major preoccupation remains, and that is to arrest the process whereby the continuing success of the armed struggle will lead to a handing over of total power to the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front remains prepared to negotiate, but only within a framework which will lead towards majority rule and the creation of a free and democratic Zimbabwe. At the same time there are pressures to promote disunity within the Patriotic Front and among the front line states in order to strengthen the possibility of a compromise solution acceptable to the West.

South Africa

Throughout the past year South Africa has continued to experience the impact of the 1976 Soweto protests and subsequent national uprising. Premier Vorster called a white general election and the Nationalist Party emerged with a record number of seats, turning the white parliament into virtually a one-party institution: the election was called to provide Vorster with added authority and a 'blank cheque' to take whatever measures he saw fit to 'ensure South Africa's survival'. The growing insecurity of the regime has resulted in a severe escalation of repression and military expansion. This has been accompanied by a series of manoeuvres designed to obtain the collaboration of sections of the black community and to coopt them into the apartheid system, including constitutional reforms for the Indian and Coloured people, urban community councils for Africans,

new labour regulations and further implementation of the Bantustan system.

At the same time South Africa's search for international capital remains problematic, despite the substantial IMF loan and a considerable increase of loans from countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany. The flow of white migration out of the Republic continues to deplete the white labour force, despite the inflow of other whites from Rhodesia. Defence and nuclear expansion continues unabated.

The banning of virtually every legal anti-apartheid organisation last October, together with the detention of many leaders, marks a new phase in the liberation struggle. More and more South Africans and independent outside observers can no longer avoid the conclusion that meaningful change can only be brought about by popular resistance and armed struggle. And this judgment was confirmed by the much publicised events surrounding the killing of Steve Biko. Indeed, there was so much international outcry at these developments that it became impossible for the western powers merely to veto mandatory resolutions tabled in the UN Security Council by African members — as shown by the resolution for a mandatory arms embargo.

The past year has also been one of widespread internal resistance in the face of brutal retaliation and repression. The wide range of mass campaigns, including opposition to the Bantustans, workers' strikes and continuing student protest, reflect the growing militancy of the oppressed people of South Africa. There are a large number of political trials all over the country which are little known in the rest of the world, which together with sabotage and other actions show the new level of resistance within the country.

Conclusion

While the prospect for an early independence for both Namibia and Zimbabwe seems at times to be both favourable and imminent, it is important to recognise that South Africa and its allies will continue to engage in manoeuvres whilst the racist regimes themselves threaten and commit acts of aggression to frustrate genuine African freedom and independence.

□ It is vital that national and international campaigns are organised in the major western countries to provide accurate information about the developing situation in Southern Africa and the role of the African liberation movements. Increased support must be mobilised for the liberation struggle.

□ As the racist regimes become even more desperate they will resort to even more threats and attacks against neighbouring African states. It is of primary importance to stand by these countries and ensure that their territorial integrity and sovereignty be respected; they must be provided with all political and material support to protect and consolidate their independence.

□ The international arms embargo needs to be strengthened and strictly applied — it will only be achieved by consistent campaigns and exposures about the nature and extent of external military collaboration with Pretoria and Salisbury.

□ International economic sanctions against South Africa, including oil sanctions, have to be made mandatory through the United Nations and all collaboration with the Pretoria regime ended.

□ International campaigns against repression in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia need to be intensified with the aim of exposing the brutal realities of apartheid and colonial rule in Southern Africa. Major efforts are required to prevent the execution of captured freedom fighters and to secure the release of political prisoners and detainees.

It is vital for all those who are concerned to support freedom in Southern Africa to recognise the nature and extent of racist sentiment which prevails in the western countries. This finds growing expression not only on African questions but also on everyday domestic matters and thus presents a serious problem in gaining public support for the cause of African freedom. It is a major challenge to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and its supporters. Intensified and more effective campaigning is thus required to secure support for the policies of the AAM. At the same time developments in Southern Africa are at a turning point: whilst there are new prospects for African freedom in Namibia and Zimbabwe, there are also enormous dangers to the peace of Africa and the world which will require constant vigilance. This is why it is crucial that the people of Britain act with a new sense of urgency to challenge the massive collaboration with the racist regimes in Southern Africa and in solidarity with the liberation struggle.

Obituary

DUMA NOKWE

Duma Nokwe, former Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa, died in Lusaka on 12 January 1978. His death is a heavy loss to the African National Congress and to the liberation struggle in South Africa.

South Africa's first African advocate, he abandoned his career to serve his people in their struggle for freedom. A close comrade of Nelson Mandela and O R Tambo, he joined the ANC Youth League and in 1953 became its Secretary General. An active participant in the Defiance Campaign and a Treason Trialist, he escaped from South Africa in 1962 whilst awaiting trial on charges connected with Umkhonto we Sizwe. From Zambia he played a major role in creating the External Mission of the ANC and from 1975 he served as Director of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Secretary General.

Duma Nokwe was known and admired by many in the AAM — in 1977 he visited Britain and addressed mass rallies in Glasgow and London. His energy and dedication were a constant source of inspiration to all supporters of freedom in South Africa.

CAMPAIGNS

International AntiApartheid Year

The decision of the United Nations General Assembly to designate the year beginning 21 March 1978 as International Anti-Apartheid Year has provided the possibility for the AAM greatly to extend the range and scope of its activities.

Preparations to mark the Year began with the convening of a special meeting in the House of Commons on 16 January which was attended by Members of Parliament and representatives of a wide range of organisations. The main guest speaker was E S Reddy, Director of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, who described the plans of the United Nations for the Year. Amongst those who also addressed the meeting were Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Canon L John Collins and M D Naidoo of the African National Congress, who had recently escaped from South Africa.

On Saturday 11 February the AAM convened an Emergency Action Conference, with Liberation, the SE Region of the TUC and the National Union of Students as sponsors, with the aim of mobilising support for the Year. The Conference was attended by 590 delegates who listened to reports from the British representatives of the ANC, SWAPO and Patriotic Front (ZAPU), as well as invited speakers including Ambassador Leslie Harriman, Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, and Joan Lester MP, Chairman of the Labour Party.

March was declared a Month of Action by the AAM in order to publicise the Year and to complement the week of international trade union action from 13-21 March. A range of publicity material was prepared, including a special broadsheet, 50,000 copies of which were distributed. Details of the response to the trade union week of action are reported under the *Trade Union* section of this report.

A number of events were planned to mark the beginning of the Year. The AAM held a press conference on 20 March at which it detailed its priorities for the Year, which would be:

- the effective implementation of the mandatory arms embargo
- a freeze on the flow of investment and bank loans to South Africa
- winning support for mandatory economic sanctions against South

Africa to be accompanied by intensifying the consumer boycott

- campaigns to secure a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa
- focusing on the escalating political repression in South Africa

A march planned by the AAM to take place in London on 18 March fell under a banning imposed by the Home Secretary. However, Amnesty International held a rally in Trafalgar Square, the culmination of a two-month campaign on South Africa, which was addressed by Simon Hebditch, AAM joint vice chairman. On 21 March an ecumenical service was held in Westminster Abbey under the auspices of the British Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Peace and Justice Commission, and the SE Region of the TUC picketed South Africa House. A press conference was also held on 21 March by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (see *International*), which was meeting in London.

On 20 March, at the initiative of the AAM and the United Nations Association, an International Anti-Apartheid Year Coordinating Committee was established with the aim of promoting support for the Year and coordinating activities. The Committee elected Frank Hoolley MP as chairman, with the AAM and UNA as joint secretaries. Over 40 national and regional organisations agreed to become participating organisations in the work of the Committee. Material about the Year has been circulated to the different organisations and plans for more extensive activities were drawn up for the autumn and spring periods. The officers of the Committee met Lord Goronwy Roberts, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, in August to discuss government action to promote the Year and means by which the government could support the work of the Committee.

The anniversary of the Soweto massacre provided a special opportunity to mark the Year. The Coordinating Committee held a 24-hour vigil of South Africa House on 16 June and in the evening the AAM held a large rally at Central Hall Westminster, with Andrew Mkhize of the African National Congress as the main speaker. The event was a great success, with cultural contributions from Jabula, Peggy Seeger and Ewan MacColl, and Mayibuye, and with speeches from Trevor Phillips, President of NUS; Ron Hayward,

General Secretary of the Labour Party; and Daniel Madzimbamuto of the Patriotic Front. Following the rally there was a torchlight march to South Africa House to join the final hour of the 24-hour vigil. The AAM also supported a march before the rally organised by the Soweto Commemoration Committee. The following weekend a series of 'Walks for Soweto' were organised by local anti-apartheid groups to raise funds for the ANC school in Tanzania and for the AAM.

18 July 1978 was the 60th birthday of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and a series of activities were planned to mark the occasion and as an opportunity of focusing international attention on the plight of prisoners on Robben Island during International Anti-Apartheid Year. Special cards were distributed in Britain and internationally, and the South African press estimated that thousands were sent to Robben Island. The AAM also produced a blown-up card which was signed by many prominent figures in Britain, including several Cabinet members, David Steel, Leader of the Liberal Party, and trade union leaders. On 18 July a delegation consisting of former AAM president Barbara Castle MP, Bob Hughes MP, AAM chairman, and Joan Lester MP, AAM vice president, were refused permission to deliver the card at South Africa House. In Parliament the Prime Minister sent greetings to Nelson Mandela on behalf of the government. At a special meeting in the House of Commons on the same evening over 300 people listened to speeches from Ambassador Harriman, Canon Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, Mary Benson, author and close friend of Nelson Mandela, and Francis Meli of the African National Congress. A special leaflet was produced in cooperation with the UN Centre Against Apartheid to mark Nelson Mandela's birthday, of which 50,000 were distributed.

To mark International Anti-Apartheid Year the AAM decided to call a major national demonstration on 21 October and is working with other anti-apartheid movements to promote international action on this day. Other events associated with the Year are included under the relevant sections of this report.

Repression in South Africa

In the wake of the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the subsequent rebellion which spread throughout South Africa, the Pretoria regime desperately sought to crush this massive resistance to the apartheid system. By the summer of 1977 the regime was prepared to embark on even more repressive policies. Much of the efforts of the AAM has focused on this repression in South Africa — with the aim of providing solidarity to those fighting the apartheid system.

International Campaign against Repression

The World Conference for Action against Apartheid in Lagos in August 1977 provided an opportunity for coordinating action by anti-apartheid movements. A proposal for an international petition campaign against repression in South Africa was welcomed by the various groups present in Lagos and the petition was launched in London on 11 October, UN South African Political Prisoners Day, with a demonstration outside South Africa House. The petition was circulated throughout Britain and by other groups in Ireland, West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, France, New Zealand, Tanzania, Canada and Norway. It focused on the 'Pretoria 12' trial but also called for international action to halt all political trials, to stop deaths in detention and for the release of all political prisoners and detainees. The bulk of the petitions were presented to the Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid on 4 April, the eve of the judgment day in the Pretoria 12 trial. Almost 100,000 signatures were collected — with the largest contribution from Britain.

The petition campaign was supported especially by students and trade unionists and, with the material prepared for the campaign, played a role in informing people of the extent of repression in South Africa and the need for international action.

Pretoria 12

The trial of the Pretoria 12 continued to be a major focus of the AAM. A special committee was established, with the African National Congress of South Africa to coordinate activities. Two posters were produced and a short pamphlet. A torchlight procession was held on 9 December in Trafalgar Square to gain publicity for the campaign, and a mass picket of South Africa House took place on 16 January, the start of the retrial following the death of the presiding judge at the original trial. On

5 April six of the accused were acquitted and the six found guilty, although given heavy sentences, did not receive the death penalty as had been widely feared. This campaign also served to draw attention to the numerous other trials of members of the liberation movement in South Africa.

The Death of Steve Biko

On 12 September 1977 Steve Biko, a founder of the South African Students Organisation and leader of the black consciousness movement, died in detention. He was the 46th political detainee known to have died in detention in South Africa. His death became the focus of an international outcry against the torture and brutality employed by the South African police. The AAM responded quickly to his death: a letter of protest, calling for an international enquiry into the circumstances of his death and signed by prominent public figures including Liberal Party leader David Steel MP and Ron Hayward, General Secretary of the Labour Party, was delivered to South Africa House whilst AAM supporters picketed the Embassy. A crowded memorial service, organised by the International Defence and Aid Fund at St Paul's Cathedral, was attended by the Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen.

The subsequent inquest was closely followed by the world press and the findings of the presiding magistrate — that 'The available evidence does not prove that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person' — shocked the world even more than Biko's death itself. On 3 December, following the announcement of the results of the inquest, over 500 people joined an AAM demonstration outside South Africa House. This outcry appears to have had an effect on the South African police. In the year since Biko's death the number of deaths in detention fell to five compared with the 19 deaths during the previous 12 months.

On the first anniversary of Biko's death a special service was held at St Martin's-in-the-Fields in Trafalgar Square and a massive banner listing all those who have died in detention was hung between the columns of the church.

19 October Bannings

In the early hours of 19 October the South African authorities detained a number of leading political activists, imposed banning orders on other opponents of apartheid and, most significantly, banned 19 anti-apartheid and black organisations including SASO, SASM, BPC, NAYO and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. In addition, the *World*, *Weekend World* and *Pro Veritate* news-

papers were banned. This action, which was denounced throughout the world, was widely regarded as blocking all remaining paths for legal and non-violent opposition to apartheid. Many of those detained were still being held in detention and the banning orders were still in force when this report was written.

At lunchtime on 19 October, in a widely reported protest, AAM supporters demonstrated outside South Africa House. The following week, on 25 October, a public meeting was held to protest against the bannings. Speakers from the BPC, SASO and the ANC joined British speakers including Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Mgr Bruce Kent and Dennis McShane of the NUJ. Before the meeting a delegation from the AAM met Foreign Secretary David Owen urging him to support international action against the apartheid regime. International condemnation led to action in the UN Security Council which, at its meeting on 31 October, adopted a resolution condemning South Africa's repressive policies. Of much greater significance was the triple veto by Britain, France and the US of three resolutions proposed by the Africa Group at the UN. These vetoes were roundly condemned by the AAM at a press conference on 1 November, as well as by Liberal Party leader David Steel MP and numerous Labour MPs. These condemnations were an important factor in forcing the West to lift their vetoes on the arms embargo and four days later the UN Security Council adopted a resolution imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The student movement was especially active in responding to the bannings and the NUS in cooperation with AAM called a major campaign in universities and colleges. Tebello Motopanyane of the ANC and former Secretary-General of SASM was invited to tour British colleges and received an enthusiastic reception during his visit. A quarter of a million leaflets were printed and distributed, especially on 11 November which was called as a special day of student action. A national student rally was held, with Motopanyane of SASM and Mac Maharaj, a former prisoner with Nelson Mandela on Robben Island, as main speakers.

The British churches also spoke out against the bannings. The BCC described the banning of the Christian Institute as a 'tyrannical action' and the Archbishop of Canterbury telegraphed Vorster expressing his 'deep shock and

distress' over the bannings.

Winnie and Nelson Mandela

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has been a constant victim of harassment by the apartheid regime. During the year covered by this report she has been banished to the remote town of Brandfort and twice prosecuted for breaking her banning orders. On 9 February, the day judgment was due in the first trial, a widely publicised demonstration was held outside South Africa House, with women members of the ANC leading the singing of South African freedom songs.

A wide range of activities were organised to mark Mandela's 60th birthday, which are reported under the *International Anti-Apartheid Year* section of this report.

Solomon Mahlangu

On 2 March 1978 Solomon Mahlangu, who had fled South Africa following the 1976 Soweto uprisings and returned as a trained member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was sentenced to death in Pretoria. The immediate response to this sentence was a picket by over 100 people of South Africa House. At the same time a more sustained campaign was prepared with the aim of getting the major western governments to intervene on Mahlangu's behalf. Posters, leaflets and special postcards addressed to Prime Minister Vorster were prepared and distributed in their thousands. When it became clear that the British government was not prepared to intervene, most emphasis was placed on convincing the government to change its policy. This became even more urgent following the refusal of Mahlangu's appeal in June.

On 19 July an international campaign was launched with speakers from the ANC, SATIS, Amnesty International and the WCC at a press conference in the House of Commons chaired by Bob Hughes MP, to which Ambassador Harriman sent a special message. Weekly pickets were organised every Wednesday outside South Africa House, with different organisations taking responsibility for different Wednesdays. These were continuing as this report went to press. A petition to Dr Owen was launched and over 4,000 signatures collected by the end of August, when the petition was presented at 10 Downing Street following a march round Trafalgar Square by supporters of Mahlangu. On 28 August over 30 former political prisoners and detainees held a 24-hour fast on the steps of St Martin's-in-the-Fields in Trafalgar Square.

The campaign was also coordinated

at an international level with activities taking place in the US, Netherlands, France and West Germany in particular. In France during August, MRAP succeeded in persuading President Giscard d'Estaing to intervene. And on 20 September, when an AAM delegation met Dr Owen, they were informed that the British government was supporting a joint Commonwealth appeal for clemency. The governments of the Netherlands and Sweden also appealed for clemency.

Political Prisoners

A major issue during the year has been the new regulations which have been introduced for political prisoners, in particular the denial of the right to study beyond matriculation level. A press conference was called in London in May at which former prisoners Hugh Lewin and M D Naidoo urged support for the efforts of prisoners being held in Pretoria who were appealing against the South African court's refusal to enforce the South African's own regulations. The prominent psychologist, Anthony Storr, described the effects of conditions under which political prisoners are held in South Africa.

British trade unionist Sean Hosey was released from Pretoria in June and returned to a warm welcome at Heathrow from his family, local MP Audrey Wise, prominent members of the Communist Party and YCL, as well as AAM and ANC members. Sean Hosey has subsequently spoken at numerous meetings throughout Britain and played a valuable role in highlighting the plight of political prisoners in South Africa.

A further case which has been taken up is the trial of Stephen Lee and Tim Jenkin. A special defence committee was established and organised a variety of activities to focus attention on their trial.

Squatters

A new focus of action has been international solidarity with the squatter camps in South Africa, especially near Cape

Town, which have become a target of apartheid policy. After the brutal destruction of two camps earlier in the year, the authorities were in the process of destroying the Crossroads camp at the time of preparing this report.

In July a special day of solidarity was called with action in South Africa and internationally. In London a number of church groups held a protest and service on the steps of St Martin's-in-the-Fields. Amongst those participating were prominent church leaders from South Africa, including the Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu. *AA News* prepared a special inside spread on the issue and other groups produced material highlighting it.

The greater part of the activities referred to above have been organised by Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society, a committee which brings together several organisations to campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa. Special efforts have been made to encourage or assist other groups to campaign on prisoners with whom they have a special link. Mention should be made of the United Reform Church, which worked hard to secure the release of Revd Ben Ngidi, and of the Young Christian Workers who organised a major campaign on behalf of detained YCW activists in South Africa.

As usual a list of the families of Southern African political prisoners was prepared with the aim of encouraging people to send Christmas cards — a conservative estimate was that 80,000 cards were sent around the 1977 Christmas period.

As this report was prepared there were indications that even more political trials were taking place or due to be held. This will obviously be an important issue in the period ahead.

Military Collaboration

The AAM has continued, during the period covered by this report, to sustain its campaigns to prevent the apartheid regime from obtaining any military and police equipment and against other forms of military collaboration. This activity has centred on exposing the violations of the arms embargo against South Africa and urging the government to take all necessary measures to stop the export of all military and police equipment to South Africa.

UN Mandatory Arms Embargo

On 4 November 1977 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 418. This was a turning point in international action against South Africa, for the western powers accepted for the first time that the situation was a 'threat to peace' and therefore measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter could be applied. Resolution 418 made mandatory the previous voluntary arms embargo against South Africa. It was

the result of years of campaigning by the AAM and others. Indeed, as reported in the section on *Repression in South Africa*, on 31 October 1977 the three permanent western members of the Security Council vetoed three different resolutions on South Africa proposed by the African states. Resolution 418, however, had serious defects and, at the invitation of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Abdul Minty addressed a special meeting on 16 December when he detailed 14 areas of continuing military collaboration with South Africa which were not effectively prevented by Resolution 418. This evidence was reproduced by the UN and has been widely distributed by the AAM and the UN.

The AAM made representations to the British government concerning the measures it should take strictly to enforce the arms embargo. A delegation met Ted Rowlands, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, on 2 March 1978 to discuss the embargo. The government's only action to date has been the introduction of two Orders-in-Council covering some aspects of police equipment and the issuing of licences to South Africa. On the evening of 3 March, the day these Orders were announced, a press briefing was held at which the AAM outlined its criticisms of the measures taken by the British government.

British companies arming apartheid

Following the adoption of the UN mandatory arms embargo the AAM's National Committee reviewed the situation. There was a recognition that many British companies, especially those with subsidiaries in South Africa, would conspire to undermine the embargo. It was decided that the AAM should attempt to obtain a parliamentary investigation into the activities of these companies, but this proved unsuccessful.

AAM chairman, Bob Hughes MP, raised the matter in Parliament but, in reply to a parliamentary question, the government admitted that it had no powers to obtain information from British companies with subsidiaries in South Africa on any contracts which they had with the South African military and police.

Marconi Tropospheric Scatter Equipment

The AAM again raised with the Foreign Office the supply of tropospheric scatter equipment to Namibia (see *1976/77 Annual Report*) following reports that such equipment was being installed there. The government, however, denied any knowledge of such installations.

Military Attache

In conflict with the spirit of the arms embargo the British government took no steps to withdraw their military attache from South Africa, and this was confirmed in Parliament. The issue was again raised with the government following reports that during a major South African military exercise — Operation Quicksilver — the British military attache was an official observer. His participation was confirmed in a reply to a letter of protest by the AAM to the Foreign Office.

ICL

The *Sunday Times* carried a series of articles in August about the action of ICL in supplying computers to South African military and police establishments. This included information supplied by the AAM concerning a computer supplied to the Atlas Aircraft Corporation by ICL. The AAM wrote to the government urging the extension of the arms embargo to include computers.

British Leyland

An important focus of campaigning activities has been on British Leyland and its role in supplying Land Rovers and other vehicles to the South African military and police. A small change in policy was secured when Leyland ceased

supplying militarily-adapted Land Rovers to South Africa (see also *Economic Collaboration*)

Nuclear collaboration

South Africa has continued to develop its nuclear industry with the active collaboration of a number of western countries — in particular France, West Germany and the US. The AAM has cooperated closely with other anti-apartheid organisations at an international level to promote joint action against those countries and companies which collaborate in the nuclear field. In January the AAM was invited to address a major Peace Assembly in London on the subject of the apartheid bomb and has sought to promote interest in this issue in Britain. The British government persists with a policy which seeks only to terminate nuclear collaboration which is explicitly military and argues that the main priority is to persuade South Africa to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

At the initiative of the AAM and with the support of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, a new World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration is to be launched with the aim of exposing the extent and nature of the assistance which South Africa is still receiving from its allies.

Economic Collaboration

Campaigns against economic collaboration with South Africa have been central to the AAM's work since its foundation. The primary objectives of these campaigns are to secure a commitment by the British government to a policy of economic disengagement from South Africa and the implementation of mandatory UN economic sanctions. To achieve these objectives a wide variety of campaigns have been organised during the period covered by this report. There have been a number of important developments in Britain and internationally. The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution in December 1977, without a single vote against, calling for a cessation of new investment in South Africa. During the year Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Nordic states have taken measures to curtail or restrict their economic relations with South Africa, while Nigeria and Tanzania took retaliatory action against British companies operating in South Africa. However, the three western vetoing powers have continued to frustrate any moves towards effective international action by blocking measures in the UN Security Council.

In Britain there has been constant speculation in the press that the government was considering possible forms of economic action against South Africa. In a major speech in mid-March 1978 Dr Owen warned that 'the very closeness of our economic relationship with South Africa makes us dangerously vulnerable. Our huge economic involvement in a republic whose future is uncertain and where the risk of social disruption is high is not only bad politics: it has now become economically risky too . . . At the moment we are in a position of depending on South Africa far more than is healthy if we are to pursue consistent and viable foreign and economic policies . . . We must reduce our overdependence on that country economically. We stand to lose more than most if things go wrong. Prudent businessmen and prudent investors, no less than the British government, should be taking a hard look at their South African connections.'

Other government ministers warned about the imprudence of continued close economic ties with South Africa: the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated in the House of

Commons in November that it was the policy of the British government to discourage investment in South Africa.

A month earlier the leader of the Liberal Party, David Steel MP, had called for a freeze on British investment in South Africa and said that he would press for a ban by the government on investment projects by government-controlled corporations like the British Steel Corporation and British Leyland. He asked the British government to review its use of the veto at the UN so that Britain would no longer be seen as a defender of apartheid. Other voices were also added to the call for an end to new investment, including those of the TUC and Britain's largest trade union, the Transport and General Workers Union.

However, the major initiative of the government was its support for a new EEC Code of Conduct for companies operating in South Africa. The Code was formally adopted at a meeting of the Council of Ministers in September 1977: anti-apartheid movements in most EEC countries issued a joint statement to coincide with this meeting, criticising the Code of Conduct approach and urging the EEC to take action in support of economic sanctions against South Africa. The AAM issued a further statement attacking the EEC Code of Conduct on 25 May, the day of publication of the British White Paper which detailed guidelines for implementing the Code. This statement described the guidelines as 'worse than we feared' since the new Code was to be unenforceable and specifically designed to operate within the apartheid legal system.

Investment

The AAM's estimates of the level of British investment in South Africa were confirmed by Dr David Owen when he stated in March that it was generally understood that 'the total stock of UK investment, including portfolio investment, in South Africa, measured in market values, is of the order of £5,000 million', probably double that of the United States and Germany and greatly exceeding that of France or any other western country.

Recently it appears that while existing investment programmes, often quite substantial, were being continued, few British companies were prepared to contemplate new large scale long term programmes. Associated British Foods, British Oxygen and a number of other concerns did announce new capital investment programmes by their subsidiaries, but there has been no announcement indicating that any massive programme has been agreed. Indeed, a number of companies have taken action to lower their profile in South Africa and a small number have withdrawn altogether. Racial Electronics decided to sell its local subsidiary to a South African concern, Grinaker Holdings, in a £6½ million deal. Reed International sold its Nampak subsidiary to Barlow Rand, and a midlands engineering firm, Barton & Son, sold its subsidiaries. Early in the year Drake and Scull, the engineering group in which the government has a stake, decided to pull out of South Africa because of 'political and economic factors', selling their 75 per cent interest in their South African subsidiary for £1.16 million. The two most publicised decisions, however, involved British Leyland and GEC. BL, in a long-rumoured deal, merged its South African operations with the Anglo-American offshoot, Sigma, and now has a 49 per cent stake in South Africa's biggest motor corporation, Sigma Leyland. GEC, in a £15.6 million deal with Barlow Rand, sold 50 per cent of GEC South Africa, relinquishing board control but retaining a still substantial 50 per cent stake and contracts. The new company will retain the GEC trade mark and access to research and development done by GEC in the UK. The move was the first by a major British company and follows a trend established by leading US corporations. Such an arrangement was seen as a means of deflecting criticism of its involvement in South Africa while at the same time protecting markets in the state sector where

corporations tend to prefer to do business with local companies.

The AAM has sought to capitalise on the economic crisis in South Africa by escalating its campaigns against investment there. The Executive Committee has been advised by a special Investment Unit, which has done valuable work in this area. In October 1977 a meeting was convened to discuss Britain's economic relations with South Africa and to consider priorities of action on investment.

A new publication, *Changing Patterns of International Investment in South Africa and the Disinvestment Campaign*, the third in a series of papers on investment released in September 1978, was prepared by Simon Clarke of Warwick University and should stimulate discussion and action on the investment campaign.

The main focus has been to secure support for an Investment Appeal, launched at the beginning of Anti-Apartheid Year, which has been widely circulated and supported in the labour movement and which calls for a policy of economic disengagement from South Africa and an immediate halt to all new investment. In addition some campaigns have concentrated on special sections of the community (see the *Student Work*, *Trade Unions* and *Churches* sections of this report), whilst others have concentrated on particular companies or industries.

Companies which have been special targets have been GEC, ICI, BP/Shell, BL, Barclays and British Steel. Fact sheets and other material on each of these companies have been prepared during the year. Special meetings on Leyland (in Birmingham) and the electronics industry (Cambridge) have also been organised.

Banking

Campaigns against banking collaboration with South Africa and in particular against bank loans have assumed a greater significance with the growing dependence of the South African economy on indirect investment. The major target has continued to be Barclays as the major British bank operating in South Africa. Special campaigning material was produced to stimulate the campaign and two days of action organised. The first, on 1 March, involved the distribution of 45,000 appeals to account holders and the picketing of 250 branches of Barclays.

A small victory was the decision of Barclays National to sell R10 million worth of South African Defence Bonds. This was clearly in response to the protests made in Britain when the Bonds were bought in December 1976. The money, however, was reinvested in government bonds.

As usual Barclays' AGM was attended by opponents of the bank's involvement in South Africa and the management challenged to justify its policies.

A much more important success was the announcement by Lord Armstrong, chairman of Midland Bank, in his annual statement that future loans for South Africa would be restricted to the financing of identifiable trade. This decision followed the consistent efforts of End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA) whose campaigns to stop Midland providing loans to the South African government and parastatal agencies had been its main priority. The Midland action followed a similar decision by the European American Banking Corporation through which Midland had been operating, which was one of a number of international banks which decided not to provide loans to the South African government.

Trade

Britain continues to be one of South Africa's most important trading partners, perhaps the most important. Certainly, in 1976 UK-South Africa trade has been valued at £1,258 million — greater than that between South Africa and any other country. Figures for that year showed that UK-bound exports formed 23 per cent of South Africa's total exports, making Britain South Africa's biggest export

market, the principal exports falling into two categories: metals and minerals (61 per cent); and fruit and vegetables (14 per cent). Meanwhile, South Africa bought almost 17 per cent of its imports from the UK, mainly machinery and electrical equipment (40 per cent), transport equipment (15 per cent) and chemicals and industrial raw materials (13 per cent). The Department of Trade announced in November 1977 that trade between South Africa and the UK for the nine months up to September amounted to £1,094.2 million.

Still, British exports to South Africa now account for only 18 per cent of the South African export market. Since 1975 UK exports to South Africa have been falling, even in cash terms, and both the Republic of Germany and the United States now export more to South Africa than Britain. South African imports substitution policies and the recession both bear some responsibility for this. However, British exports have also suffered from the increasing competition and in an effort to boost the British share of the market various government agencies have continued to provide assistance in various ways.

Trade missions

The British Overseas Trade Board, for instance, has spent almost half a million pounds since 1970 in aid to trade missions and in 1977/8 it has been estimated that the BOTB will spend £228,000 on promotion of exports to South Africa by way of support for participation in trade fairs, export marketing research, etc, as well as the trade mission support. Of the 118 such officially-supported missions that have gone to South Africa from Britain since 1970, 19 were due to take place in 1977. An estimated further 15 are planned for 1978 involving the Glasgow, Leeds, Birmingham, Northern Ireland, North Staffs and other Chambers of Commerce and the industrial associations for the engineering and lighting industries. In the 12 months to July 1978, the BOTB has contributed £62,005 under its outward mission scheme towards the cost of 14 trade missions.

Another principal form of government assistance to those wishing to export to South Africa takes the form of facilities provided by the Export Credit Guarantee Department which, according to the Department of Trade, have been 'widely used' by exporters. The government refused to make available details of the number of export credit guarantees arranged for South Africa when asked in Parliament.

A number of local protests have taken place against trade missions. In Leeds, for instance, AUEW-TASS announced that official support will be given to members who take industrial action to stop one visit and the Regional Council of the TUC has objected at the use of government money to promote the visit.

Consumer boycott

More activity and concern has been generated over the import of goods from South Africa to the UK, especially against consumer goods. The Birmingham and London Co-operative Societies withdrew all South African goods from their shops during the trade union week of action in March. The LCS already has a policy of not promoting South African produce and is committed to phasing it out altogether as soon as possible.

The Co-operative Party annual conference meeting at Easter called on

Co-op shops to stop stocking South African goods and this was endorsed by the Co-operative Union.

The national conference of the shopworkers union, USDAW, also called on members not to sell or handle South African goods as part of the union's contribution to International Anti-Apartheid Year.

The AAM produced a new poster, 'Look Before You Buy', and a number of Anti-Apartheid groups have been particularly active in promoting boycotts of South African goods.

Emigration & Tourism

The transformed situation in Southern Africa has been dramatically reflected in recent years in figures for those emigrating to and leaving South Africa. In the 1976/77 Annual Report we were able to report that the net increase for 1976 was just over half the 1975 figure of 3,264. Latest figures, made available in May 1978, show that in 1977 South Africa suffered a net emigration loss of 1,178. Each month around 600 emigrants from Rhodesia swell the immigration figure, so that on a realistic assessment emigration from Europe and the US can be seen to have diminished considerably since the high point of the early seventies. Indeed, only 2,200 people emigrated from Britain to South Africa in the last quarter of 1977 compared with 8,000 for the same period in 1975, a year in which the net immigration gain was 40,209.

At the same time literally thousands of white South Africans have been fleeing the Republic, many of them to the UK. Between October and December 1977, for instance, a record number of 3,400 South Africans, mostly white, entered Britain with the declared intention of staying for over 12 months, well outstripping the number from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh combined. With Australia, West Germany, Israel and the US, Britain remains one of the main destinations for emigrants from South Africa.

However, Britain also remains, together with Portugal and West Germany, one of the main sources of white immigration into South Africa. Accordingly the AAM has sustained its campaigning work in this area. The two AAM leaflets against emigration have continued to be popular with supporters, and during the year pickets and leafletting sessions have been organised in Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Brighton and, in London, at the offices of South African Airways, with additional activities by student and trade union bodies.

One of the most disturbing developments this year has been the reappearance on a large scale, after a respite last year, of South African government advertisements in the national mass circulation press encouraging emigration to South Africa. One of these, clearly in response to the drain of talent from South Africa mentioned above, listed the skills that are particularly required in South Africa now and promised a 'life in the sun'. NATSOPA, the print union, reacted by calling on the TUC to declare a ban on such advertisements. Such a ban has not been imposed, but the union has declared its intention to black such ads if support is forthcoming from other unions.

Another development which has caused considerable concern is the intensified activity of South African diplomats in attempting to revive the flow of emigrants. A number of reports have been received of officials visiting schools with this purpose and British firms have continued to promote recruitment efforts for their South African subsidiaries. Notable amongst these in the past year have been Tate & Lyle and GEC.

Difficulties in prosecuting the campaign continue to be caused by the wording of the Race Relations Act in this area and the refusal of the Advertising Standards Authority to consider complaints brought by supporters of AAM concerning recruitment and emigration advertisements for South Africa, which they deem to be political and therefore outside their scope.

The fall in emigration has been mirrored by a slump in the number of British and all other tourists visiting South Africa. Britain is still South Africa's best customer — with 95,905 tourists in 1977 (123,268 in 1976). During the year the AAM protested to the British government at the appearance of full-page advertisements in government publications for South African Airways.

Bantustans

The South African government has continued to implement its Bantustan policy with characteristic brutality. In December 1977 the second Bantustan to be granted so-called 'independence' was Bophuthatswana. The British government continues to pursue a policy of non-recognition of the Bantustans but there have been a number of disturbing developments which have required the AAM to protest.

At the end of November the AAM discovered that the so-called Foreign Minister of the Transkei has been invited to Britain for talks with the Conservative Party. The AAM revealed that special travel documents were issued to the Transkei representative to allow him to enter the UK and called upon the government to cease this practice. Following representations to the Conservative Party, an assurance was obtained that if returned to power they would not recognise the Transkei. A number of representations have been made to the government about the use of Transkei travel documents and the recognition of Transkei stamps by the GPO.

Chief Minister Mangope of Bophuthatswana visited Britain in October in an effort to win support for his Bantustan's 'independence'. On his arrival at a press conference he was greeted by a hostile crowd of AAM supporters. The AAM also protested to the government for having received Mangope.

The forced removals of thousands of Africans into the 'homelands' has become a major issue for concern to many in Britain. For details of action in Britain see *Repression in South Africa*.

Zimbabwe

The freedom struggle in Zimbabwe entered its final and most crucial stage during the period covered by this report. The complex and constantly changing situation has posed a challenge to the AAM and to all supporters of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

The 1977 AGM provided an opportunity for the AAM's membership to resolve the basis for campaigning and the resolution adopted has guided the Executive and National Committees in their efforts to stimulate more effective solidarity.

A commentary on the Anglo-American proposals, which were published in September 1977, was

prepared for the AGM and subsequently printed for more general distribution. Local Anti-Apartheid groups were encouraged to organise meetings and other activities to gain support for the AAM's policies. At a national level a special event was organised - 'Zimbabwe in Struggle' - which was held at the Africa Centre on 11 December. The large number of people who attended were able to listen to discussion, watch films and hear talks by representatives of the Patriotic Front. An evening cultural event involving Zimbabwean, Chilean and South African groups was especially successful. Thanks should go to the International Defence and Aid Fund which prepared a special photographic exhibition on Zimbabwe for the occasion.

A new feature of the Zimbabwe campaign was the production of a series of Zimbabwe Briefings on different aspects of the liberation struggle. Five titles were published during the year; in addition the AAM published a list of British companies operating in Rhodesia.

The most significant development during the period of this report was the signing of the so-called 'internal settlement' between the Smith regime and Chief Chirau, Revd Sithole and Bishop Muzorewa. The National Committee meeting the weekend before the final adoption of this 'internal settlement' had resolved to mount as a top priority a campaign against any such 'internal settlement' and in support of the Patriotic Front. A number of steps were taken immediately to implement this decision. A major statement was released on 2 March which was widely reported in the press and other media. *Guardians of White Power*, Zimbabwe Briefing No 6, was rushed from the printers and provided valuable evidence to demonstrate that there could be no just settlement unless the nature of the security forces was resolved. Copies of this document were sent to all representatives on the UN Security Council and to several African states. Bob Hughes MP arranged a private briefing of MPs by representatives of the Patriotic Front, which enabled them to set out their opposition to the 'internal settlement'. The AAM also prepared a leaflet on the 'internal settlement' which was distributed by local groups during May. A public meeting was organised in London on 24 May which was addressed by representatives of ZANU, ZAPU and SWAPO. The growing opposition to the 'internal settlement' was shown by the enthusiastic response given to Patriotic Front co-leader Joshua Nkomo when he visited London in April to address a conference on Southern Africa sponsored by Liberation.

During this period the Labour government came under great pressure from the Conservative opposition to afford some form of encouragement or recognition of the 'internal settlement'. Although the government refused to respond to this pressure it equally failed to condemn the 'internal settlement' as the fraud it subsequently became generally accepted to be. The press and other media, with few exceptions, gave its full backing to the 'internal settlement' and complemented this political position with sensational and racially-inspired reporting of alleged brutalities by Patriotic Front forces against missionaries and other members of the white community. During the summer the British and US administrations persisted with their efforts to secure 'all party talks' against the background of growing military successes by the Patriotic Front.

Together with the major campaigning on Zimbabwe, the AAM has also acted on a number of specific issues as follows:

Hangings: Efforts were continued to focus attention on the illegal execution of Zimbabwe freedom fighters. Following the publication of the Anglo-American proposals, which pledged an amnesty, Bob Hughes MP wrote to the Foreign Secretary pointing out that the Smith regime could take advantage of the prospect of such an amnesty to increase the number of executions. He drew attention, in particular, to the case of Luta Dlamini. Zimbabwe Briefing No 1 dealt specifically with illegal executions. There were some indications that following the 'internal settlement' political executions had ceased, but subsequent statements by the Rhodesian Council of Churches cast doubt on this.

Aggression against the front-line states: The Rhodesian security forces have intensified their acts of aggression against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. The Chimoio massacre, coinciding with the opening of the 'internal settlement' talks, resulted in the death of many refugees, including women and children. In response to this massacre the Patriotic Front (ZANU) held a protest meeting in London at which AAM was invited to speak. A special appeal from ZIMA (Zimbabwe Medical Aid) was distributed with *AA News* and raised several hundred pounds. Further acts of aggression have taken place against Botswana and Zambia as well as Mozambique. These attacks are increasingly being accepted as a natural feature of the war in Zimbabwe, reflecting a dangerous complacency on the part of supporters of the liberation struggle in Britain. On 25 May, Africa Day, a demonstration was held outside South Africa House protesting against the aggression of the South African and Rhodesian racist regimes.

Sanctions: The AAM continues to raise with the government breaches of the sanctions regulations. These have included advertisements for tenders in trading

magazines, British Airways offices in Salisbury and the right of supporters of the regime to enter Britain. Unfortunately these representations have not achieved any more determined implementation of the sanctions policy.

Oil Sanctions: The most significant breakthrough in the field of sanctions has been the confirmation that Shell and BP, with the blessing of the British government, defied oil sanctions to Rhodesia. The press reports during the summer of 1978 and the subsequent publication of the Bingham report confirmed the allegations which the AAM made immediately following UDI in 1965. The AAM sought an urgent meeting with the Foreign Secretary and met him on 20 September, the day following publication of the Bingham report, and submitted a detailed memorandum setting out proposals for government action.

During the year the AAM has sought to keep the issue of oil sanctions in the public eye. A special poster was prepared and a new edition of the Shell and BP joint AAM/Haslemere pamphlet, which had originally sparked off the row about oil sanctions busting, was produced. A sticker calling for oil sanctions against South Africa was produced for the 1978 TUC Congress.

The propaganda war: An important feature of campaigning work has been the countering of distorted reporting of the war in the British press. AAM members have been urged to protest about such reports and the AAM has also taken up individual cases. A useful document, *The Propaganda War*, published by CIHR received good coverage when first issued but brought no change in the basic acceptance of the authenticity of statements by representatives of the illegal regime despite the widespread censorship which the regime has introduced of foreign correspondents' reports.

The South African connection: The AAM publicised as widely as possible press reports in April that South African military forces were again actively involved in the fighting in Rhodesia. These reports have been subsequently confirmed by the Patriotic Front.

The Patriotic Front: The AAM has continued to develop its relations with the London representatives of the Patriotic Front, and representatives of ZAPU and ZANU spoke at numerous meetings organised by AAM. Meetings have also been held with Patriotic Front leaders whilst they have been passing through London. The two journals of ZANU and ZAPU are available from the AAM office and, in addition to addressing the ZANU meeting on 10 December, the AAM addressed a Zimbabwe Day meeting organised by ZAPU on 18 March.

The work of the AAM on Zimbabwe has been greatly assisted by the Zimbabwe Working Group, members of which have helped in the production of the Zimbabwe Briefings and other activities in this area. The Group met regularly each month during the year except during the summer period.

Namibia

This report covers a period in which there have been dramatic and significant developments affecting the future of the Namibian people and the success of their liberation struggle. Throughout, however, South Africa has demonstrated that it will frustrate all attempts at a peaceful transition to independence and has maintained an intransigent stand in the face of UN and other efforts to bring peace and freedom to the territory, while pursuing a consistent policy of attempting to destroy SWAPO and undermine its support inside Namibia.

As this report is being finalised the South African regime has rejected UN proposals for a transition to majority rule and declared its intention to proceed with its own phoney elections in a long-feared 'internal settlement' attempt.

This is the logical conclusion to South Africa's policy, which has led the AAM to devote a considerable amount of space in *AA News* to ensure that the British people are kept informed of the nature of these developments and their implications, and that there is the strongest possible campaign in support of SWAPO and genuine independence in Namibia and against all British and other collaboration with the South African occupation. This coverage has included interviews with SWAPO delegations and its Western European representative, and background articles on the efforts of the five western members of the Security Council to secure the implementation of their plan. Such articles are sure to be even more important in the future.

The AAM has campaigned for the full implementation of UN resolutions on Namibia and has liaised closely with the UN Council for Namibia. It welcomed the decision to convene a Special Session of the General Assembly on Namibia in May and publicly declared its support for the Namibia Declaration adopted in Lusaka at a special meeting of the Council.

The AAM has continued to press the British government to take effective action to end all forms of support for the occupying regime. An AAM delegation led by Frank Hooley MP met Foreign Office Minister of State Ted Rowlands in June after AAM chairman Bob Hughes MP had written to Dr Owen seeking an urgent meeting to discuss British policy on Namibia following the Kassinga massacre. In particular the AAM raised the need for the British government to terminate the RTZ-British Nuclear Fuels contract, to intervene over the repression in Namibia and to state that Walvis Bay should be seen as an integral part of Namibia.

Rossing uranium: The central feature of our campaign against British economic collaboration is the CANUC campaign (Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract), which has continued to seek the termination of the contract between British Nuclear Fuels and the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation for the supply of £120 million worth of uranium from the Rossing mine in Namibia. During the year the campaign has organised pickets outside the Department of Energy, RTZ headquarters and regional electricity offices. It has had some success in encouraging Labour parties to urge the government to end the contract, and the trade unions have continued to provide important support with approaches to the TUC and International Transport Workers Federation in an attempt to generate more pressure on the government. Supporters of the campaign also participated in the RTZ AGM, where the company's chairman was confronted by angry shareholders demanding its withdrawal from Namibia. The campaign sent a delegation to meet the government during the year.

But already uranium from the mine has been imported into the UK, it was revealed in February, when 700 lbs of uranium oxide was routed through Paris and on to Britain by RTZ for processing by BNF and re-export to an overseas customer. The government admitted in a letter to CANUC chairman Alex Lyon MP that the uranium had entered the UK and was being processed by BNF. Similarly, uranium from Namibia is reported to have been sent to other European locations, and one of the ways in which AAM was able to assist the campaign was by alerting anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations in Europe, who have since been in touch with trade unions and other supporters and approached governments.

This area of campaigning remains of great concern, especially as it has not received as much support as the situation demands, and it is hoped that during 1978/9 even more effort will be

put behind this campaign. Plans are in preparation for a major renewal of effort in winter 1978/9 with a campaign meeting in London in October to alert supporters to the urgent need to press the government to end the contract. First supplies from the mine under the contract are due to be delivered to BNF at the end of 1978.

Repression in Namibia: We were able to report in last year's Annual Report that international campaigning against repression in Namibia had helped to ensure the release of Aaron Muchimba and Hendrik Shikongo. Since then there has been a dramatic intensification of repression. All but one member of the entire leadership of SWAPO within Namibia were detained during the negotiations between South Africa and the five western members of the Security Council, and the regime, in a follow-up to the Muchimba/Shikongo trial, put Victor Nkandi and Axel Johannes on trial. Johannes had been detained for two years at the time of the trial and the twice-arrested Nkandi, whose trial was postponed on three occasions, was held in solitary confinement for over seven months. He was charged with conspiracy to murder Chief Filemon Elifas or alternatively with actively aiding the transportation of the Chief's killer from Angola to the site of the assassination.

Nkandi and Johannes were released after the disintegration of the case against them. The Namibia Support Committee campaign to secure their release was actively supported by AAM with circulation of leaflets and stickers and other activities. During the course of the trial the scale and character of torture inflicted on those detained and imprisoned by the regime became clearer than ever before. Affidavits and statements notwithstanding, however, the Windhoek Supreme Court judges refused to restrain the police from the use of torture. The nature and scale of this repression was documented in a publication of the British Council of Churches and the Catholic Institute for International Relations entitled *Torture: A Cancer in our Society*.

The AAM has continued to publicise the many forms of repression in Namibia, including the breaking up of meetings, attacks on individuals and SWAPO and church property, and the deportation of those such as leading Namibian churchmen Ed Morrow and Hans Hunke who have opposed the regime.

Kassinga: The most urgent material aid campaign of the year was occasioned by the brutal South African attack on the SWAPO refugee camp at Kassinga in Angola. On 4 May South African bombers and troops attacked the camp for a whole day. Around 1,000 people, many of them children, were killed in the raid on the 3,000-person camp. Over 300 children were kidnapped and gas was used extensively by the South African troops.

The Kassinga Relief Appeal was immediately launched in an attempt to help replace some of the vital material lost in the raid and to care for the many injured. Over £6,000 worth of aid was sent by NSC within weeks of the attack. The Appeal is still open and AAM supporters are urged to secure an even higher level of support for it as there remain considerable and urgent material requirements. On Africa Day, 25 May, the AAM and NSC organised a joint picket outside South Africa House in protest at the massacre.

Medical aid campaigns organised by NSC have received considerable support from AAM members and local groups. Over 50 medical kits each costing £100 have now been sent to SWAPO by NSC.

AAM members and supporters also helped NSC collect over 150 watches for use by SWAPO nurses and other personnel.

The Methodist Church, which has given important support to the CANUC campaign, has made Namibia one of its central concerns for the coming year and donated £2,000 to the Kassinga Appeal and Medical Kits campaign.

At a local level there has been considerable activity and many AAM members gave support to the successful SWAPO Namibia Day Rally in September, organised with the help of the London Co-op Political Committee. The AAM also arranged a

briefing meeting for activists in May in London at which a representative of SWAPO gave an up-to-date assessment on the situation in Namibia and the needs of the liberation movement. Throughout the year the AAM has attempted to generate support for and understanding of the stand which SWAPO has taken in demanding the removal of South Africa's occupying force from Namibia, and to explain the importance of SWAPO's struggle. A special SWAPO leaflet, *Pretoria's Smear Campaign against SWAPO*, the CANUC leaflet and literature in support of the NSC campaigns have been widely circulated. The publication by SWAPO of three new pamphlets on the history of SWAPO, the resistance inside Namibia and the armed struggle, and the continued imprisonment by South Africa of SWAPO members, has enabled the AAM to provide more detailed information than was possible previously. The documents of the UN Council for Namibia and SWAPO's *Namibia Today* have been actively promoted. SWAPO posters and other material including badges have been popular, especially among student supporters of the AAM. Two new films — *Namibia! The Liberated Zones and Beyond* and *The Liberation Struggle* — by Swedish film-maker Per Sanden, who visited Namibia in February and March, became available during the year. They have been of great use in portraying the work of SWAPO and the extent of their ever-growing support in Namibia. Other new material includes a Women's campaign leaflet from NSC.

The current situation in Namibia requires a significant increase of activity. The importance of SWAPO's liberation struggle and support for it from British people has never been greater, while daily the need to ensure that the British government ends the considerable British links with the occupation of Namibia and the regime grows ever more urgent. This is an area in which the AAM hopes that it will be possible for more work to be done in 1978/9.

Mercenaries

The 1977 AGM adopted a resolution calling for government action to halt the recruitment of mercenaries in Britain. The Home Office, in reply to representations, indicated that it was government policy to introduce legislation on the basis of the recommendations of the Diplock Report. No action has been forthcoming by the government.

It is to be regretted that campaigning against mercenarism has been limited during the past year. The AAM supported a press conference called by MAGIC on 2 February — in response to press reports that new efforts were being made in Britain to recruit mercenaries for Angola — when a memorandum prepared by the British members of the Luanda International Commission on Mercenarism was published setting out the action that the government should undertake.

The Haldane Society held a conference on the subject of mercenaries at which a number of legal experts examined the measures required to enforce effective legislation on mercenaries. A paper was presented to this conference by Kader Asmal, chairman of the Irish AAM.

Recruitment of mercenaries for the Smith regime's armed forces has apparently continued unabated, despite the Sanctions Order making such recruitment illegal. The AAM cooperated with a number of journalists who were investigating possible links between the British and Rhodesian armies but nothing conclusive was ever proved.

The ineffectiveness of British legislation was revealed when a mercenary recruiter in Portsmouth was found guilty but fined only a minimal sum. The AAM drew the attention of the Foreign Office to the distribution of the magazine *Soldier of Fortune* in Britain but no action was taken. The film *The Wild Geese* provided a useful opportunity to cam-

paign against mercenaries. A large demonstration was organised at the premiere in London and other actions have taken place locally.

Sports Boycott

War Resisters

The AAM has continued to assist a small but significant number of war resisters who have fled South Africa and Rhodesia to avoid military service. A number of useful precedents have been set by the Home Office Immigration Department which would seem to indicate that bona fide war resisters should be able to gain entry to the UK without the problems which have been reported in the past.

This area of work may well increase in significance in the period ahead because of the developing situation in South Africa in particular. The AAM Executive has therefore held a number of discussions with war resisters associated with the Movement and with concerned organisations, as well as with the liberation movements, in order to be able to establish the best means by which the issue of war resisters can be tackled.

The 'Gleneagles Agreement' has guided British government policy during this period and the level of sporting relations with South Africa has therefore continued to decline. The 1977 AGM asked the EC to prepare a campaign against a possible Springbok Rugby tour but this was cancelled shortly after the AGM, as was a planned Scottish Rugby tour to South Africa.

The main area of concern is the participation of individual South Africans in sporting events and visits from private club and school teams. The AAM has taken up a number of such cases but the government refuses to consider the possibility of refusing entry to the UK of individuals who intend to participate in sporting events. Vigilance in this area appears to be a crucial factor. Two minor successes were achieved because of local action. In one college, teaching staff discovered that South African badminton players were using the college's facilities to train. Representations from the AAM secured an undertaking from the college that such facilities would not be provided in future. Following a widely-publicised campaign, a planned rugby match between the Diocesan College of Cape Town and Dulwich College, London, was cancelled. Several of the College team members refused to play against the South Africans. In a number of other cases students have campaigned within their schools against such fixtures.

A disturbing development was the decision of the International Cricket Conference to send a delegation to South Africa. It is clear that there are powerful forces at work in the cricket world seeking to end the isolation of South African cricket. This has been in part influenced by developments in the sporting world in South Africa, and the AAM needs to remain vigilant if the achievements in this area are to be sustained.

Cultural Boycott

The cultural boycott campaign has failed to regain the ground lost in the last two years and the AAM continues to experience problems in seeking the comprehensive implementation of the policy of 'no cultural links' with South Africa. The decision of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians to scrap its boycott policy was maintained at its 1978 Conference, with resultant difficulties for

those who want to stop members working in or handling material from South Africa.

Meanwhile at least one prominent playwright allowed his work to be performed in South Africa during the year and a \$12 million film made partly in South Africa with British and South African actors and British technicians (*The Wild Geese* - see *Mercenaries*) opened in London's West End where, in the first four weeks of showing it brought in a near record £100,000. The AAM has alerted its members to the film and joined a picket of the British premiere.

At the same time leading playwrights such as David Edgar, who wrote in the July/August issue of *AA News* in support of the boycott, and others in

the cultural field have begun to organise resistance to the growth of South African links in their profession. Their efforts have been assisted by the maintenance by the Musicians Union of their very strong policy against visits to South Africa, and Equity, which still bans the sale of TV programmes to South Africa and asks members to sign a declaration if they decide to go to South Africa that they will not perform to segregated audiences. The Association of Broadcasting Staff, soon to merge with ACTT, has also resolved to support the AAM's campaigns and fight racialism, and, in an important move, the Theatre Writers Union has agreed to continue with its policy of opposing the performance of members' plays in South Africa.

Obituary

JACK HODGSON

Jack Hodgson died in London on 3 December 1977. A close friend of many AAM members, he dedicated his whole life to the struggle for freedom and socialism in Southern Africa. His first political activity was at the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, in the white miners' strike of 1938. It was whilst in the Desert Rats, fighting the Nazis in North Africa, that he joined the South African Communist Party.

After the war Jack, with other whites, helped form the Congress of Democrats and responded to the call of the ANC to support the Defiance Campaign. In 1956 he was charged with high treason with 155 other men and women of all races in what became known as the Treason Trial. In 1961 he played a special role in the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, because of the experience gained during his war service. In 1963, after both he and his wife Rica had been house arrested, they left South Africa illegally. In Britain, despite his failing health, he continued his valuable contribution to the liberation struggle. His dedication and commitment were an inspiration to all who knew him.

INTERNATIONAL WORK

The intensification of the liberation struggle has resulted in greater interest internationally in the situation in Southern Africa and a corresponding growth in international action. There have also been increased efforts to coordinate the work of the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, particularly on specific campaigns.

The AAM has been invited to attend a number of international conferences during this period and hosted two such meetings in London.

United Nations

Cooperation with the United Nations has been an important feature of the AAM's activities this year and has assumed especial importance because of the declaration by the UN General Assembly of 1978 as International Anti-Apartheid Year.

In January the Director of the Centre against Apartheid, E S Reddy, was invited to London to discuss preparations for International Year. During his visit he addressed a meeting in the House of Commons of Members of Parliament and representatives of national organisations. The following month the AAM invited the UN Special Committee against Apartheid's Chairman, Ambassador Harriman, to London with the purpose of promoting greater interest in the Year. During his short visit he met Ted Rowlands, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Jack Jones, Chairman of the TUC International Committee, and Joan Lester MP, and addressed a press conference. He was also the principal speaker at the Emergency Action Conference held on 11 February (see *International Anti-Apartheid Year*). Ambassador Harriman also paid a further visit to London in July when he addressed a meeting called by the AAM and IDAF in cooperation with the UN Special Committee to mark Nelson Mandela's 60th birthday. A representative of the UN Special Committee visited Britain to attend the annual NUS/AAM student conference.

During the period covered by this report the AAM has been invited twice to the United Nations. On 16 December the hon secretary, Abdul S Minty, gave evidence to a meeting of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, convened to consider the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. His evidence was reproduced as a special UN document and reproduced in the UN publication *Objective: Justice*. Abdul Minty paid a further visit to the UN in May where he was a specially invited speaker at a seminar on South Africa's military relations, which took place during the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament.

A number of documents prepared by the AAM have been reproduced by the UN Centre against Apartheid, and in addition certain AAM material has been produced in cooperation with the Centre, eg the Nelson Mandela leaflet. The AAM is most grateful for this assistance and cooperation.

Anti-Apartheid Groups

Liaison with other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements has proved to be a regular feature of much of this year's work. Many examples are given in this report of direct cooperation, such as the International Petition campaign on repression in South Africa, liaison with groups in France and Belgium over uranium imports from Namibia, cooperation over multinationals, etc. In order to improve such liaison, the AAM invited a number of groups to a meeting in London to coincide with Ambassador Harriman's visit in February. The groups had an opportunity to meet Ambassador

Harriman and on 12 February met all day to discuss forms of cooperation. Countries represented were USA, USSR, Netherlands, Sweden, France, West Germany, New Zealand, Ireland, Portugal, Belgium and the UK.

Lisbon Conference Continuation Committee

Following the World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held in Lisbon in June 1977, the AAM was approached by the liberation movements and asked if it would host the first meeting of the World Conference Continuation Committee. This meeting took place in London from 22-23 March at the opening of International Anti-Apartheid Year. The liberation movements were represented by the Secretary General and Director of Foreign Affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa, Central Committee members of the Patriotic Front (ZAPU and ZANU), and the Chief Representative in Western Europe of SWAPO. Members of the Presidium of the World Conference and Officers of the Commission attended, together with the OAU Liberation Committee, FRELIMO and a large number of international organisations and solidarity groups. The conference was presided over by AAM chairman Bob Hughes MP, and Dr Vassos Lyssarides, Secretary General of the World Conference. A conclusion of the meeting was that the Committee should be established on a permanent basis with an office in London, to be manned by representatives of the liberation movements.

International NGO Conference

The UN Non-Government Organisation subcommittee on Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism convened an International Conference for Action against Apartheid, in cooperation with the UN Special Committee, in Geneva from 28-31 August. Attended by over 200 delegates, including representatives of most of the major anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, the conference provided a useful opportunity to discuss and coordinate activities. The AAM was responsible for one of the four conference commissions - on mandatory economic sanctions - for which it prepared the background paper and chaired the proceedings. In addition AAM hon secretary Abdul S Minty was asked to prepare one of two specialised papers for the conference. The AAM was represented by Abdul Minty, Chris Child and Mike Terry.

It is impossible to report fully on all aspects of the AAM's work internationally. Much is carried out informally through meetings in the AAM offices with visitors from all over the world. Close contact is maintained with a wide variety of international organisations, including the World Council of Churches, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation, etc.

During the year events have been organised in different countries to promote interest in Southern Africa in which the AAM has been involved. In Norway a Tribunal on Southern Africa was held: the organisers visited Britain to discuss the preparations and make use of AAM material, and Abdul Minty was one of the main speakers. A similar symposium was held in Denmark in March at which Abdul Minty also spoke. In addition Abdul Minty accompanied a delegation of the UN Special Committee on a visit to Scandinavia and addressed an important Church conference in West Germany and a seminar in Canada on Scandinavian/Canadian cooperation on Southern Africa.

AREAS OF WORK

Trade Union Movement

The AAM has, since its foundation, been active in encouraging trade unionists to support its general campaigns as well as stimulating specific action on trade union issues. During the past year the AAM has devoted an increasing proportion of its resources to this work in the trade union movement. It is difficult to assess or even identify the results of this concentrated effort. However, it is hoped that, together with the systematic work in this area over a number of years, this commitment of time, energy and money has resulted in a deeper understanding in the trade union movement of the nature of apartheid and the necessity for effective solidarity action.

At the same time there is considerable scope for further work. In view of the crisis in Southern Africa, the response of the trade union movement has in some ways been disappointing. The Trade Union Week of Action in March revealed some of the problems and missed opportunities. Many trade union bodies, reflecting the concern and commitment of their members, cooperated and worked in close liaison with the AAM, especially at a local level. But the achievements were, taken as a whole, modest and it was clear that many trade unionists do not accept all aspects of AAM policy, especially the need to isolate South Africa economically.

One marked feature of trade union work this year has been the continued growth of formal and other links with the trade union movement. Nine national unions have affiliated to AAM during the year: the Society of Civil and Public Servants, the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, the Fountry and Construction sections of the AUEW, the Transport and General Workers Union, the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers, the National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades, the Confederation of Health Service Employees and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education. These affiliations bring the number of national trade unions affiliated to AAM to 33. The number of affiliated trades councils and trade union branches has also shown substantial growth, as the report on *Membership* indicates. However, it is still of great concern that the AAM has so few affiliates at this level.

This question has been amongst the issues which have exercised the Trade Union Committee of the AAM during the year. This Committee, which is responsible for advising the Executive on our work in the trade union movement as well as assisting in its implementation, now includes official representatives of 17 national unions and the AAM's work continues to benefit greatly from the advice and help of Committee members, both individually and collectively.

The AAM has been represented at a number of national union conferences this year, including those of the AUEW-TASS, UPW, APEX, USDAW, NUT, NALGO and TGWU (at each of which fringe meetings were held); at weekend schools organised by AUEW-TASS, FBU and SCPS; and at the TUC Congress. Southern Africa was formally discussed at a number of them: An important development was the decision of the TGWU national conference to call for a freeze on new investment in South Africa. At the same conference, General Secretary Jack Jones made a special plea to the US and British governments to save the lives of those being executed by the Smith regime. USDAW, the shop and distributive workers' union, at its conference adopted overwhelmingly a resolution recognising the ANC as the authentic representative of the people of South Africa which instructed its Executive to call upon members not to handle or sell South African

goods. At the TUC Congress held in Blackpool in September 1977, 25 General Secretaries and General Council members signed a letter to Dr Owen urging British government intervention in the case of the Pretoria 12, and a detailed resolution was adopted. This gave unanimous support to the call by the Second International Conference of Trade Unions Against Apartheid, held in Geneva earlier in the year, for 'active participation in an International week of solidarity with the people of Southern Africa'. The TUC also reaffirmed past policy (which, among other things, called for support for the national liberation movement in South Africa, an end to all forms of military collaboration and a freeze on new investment) and urged the General Council to work closely with SACTU. It also called for pressure to be applied on British parent companies to persuade them to insist that their South African subsidiaries give full union rights to all their workers. Earlier a composite motion on racialism had recognised that racist organisations in Britain gave support to the racist regimes in Southern Africa and stressed the need for a world-wide fight against racialism. It demanded that the British government impose a freeze on all new investment in South Africa. Over 70 delegates attended a fringe meeting organised jointly by the AAM, the Labour Party Southern Africa Solidarity Fund and the British Trade Union-SACTU Liaison Committee.

At the Second International Conference of Trade Unions Against Apartheid, referred to above, trade union leaders from 120 countries called on workers throughout the world to boycott South Africa. In particular they asked international trade union organisations to mount a second week of solidarity with the people of South Africa. The trade unionists called on governments to stop public and private investment by withdrawal of credit guarantees and licences; to stop emigration and tourism to South Africa; to increase support to neighbouring African countries and to the Southern African liberation movements. They also condemned the role of multinational corporations which cooperate with the Vorster regime. The conference protested against the executions, arrests and torture of working people in South Africa and demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners. It called on workers to use industrial action to put maximum pressure on companies investing in South Africa which do not recognise African trade unions.

The week of action for which the conference called was held, with the support of the ICFTU and the TUC, from 19-21 March 1978. The TUC's contribution was a campaign to 'uncover the facts' about British firms' treatment of black workers in South Africa. 400,000 leaflets were distributed to union branches all over the country asking union members to find out if their company employed workers in South Africa. If so, they urged them to put questions to the management. 13-21 March was the week to 'make a start on getting the facts to aid the action', stated the TUC. Sixteen companies were singled out for special attention - among them British Electric Traction, British Leyland, British Steel Corporation, ICI, GEC, Courtaulds, Associated British Foods, Glynwed, BICC and British Petroleum. The General and Municipal Workers Union made its own appeal to its branches to collect information on firms' links with South Africa. The Hosiery Workers Union sent letters to 17 major British firms asking for information on how they treat their black African workers. The local government workers' union NALGO asked its branches to press local authorities to break all links with companies operating in South Africa. The union's national

office also suggested that branches buy the AAM's list of companies with South African subsidiaries. When it became clear that the TUC would be calling for action during March the Leyland Limited Trade Union Committee called for a campaign at all Leyland plants to block exports to and imports from South Africa, and industrial action was taken at plant level at Cowley, Oxford and Solihull, where parts for South Africa were blocked for the week. At Cowley workers in the CKD (completely knocked down) Section refused to work on kits for export to South Africa — estimated at 25 per cent of total output. Other action included the refusal by CPISA British Library London branch members to handle requests for material to be sent to South Africa; the decision by the management of Thorn Electrical Industries to stop UK training of white employees of the group's South African subsidiary after protests from shop stewards at its North London factory; pressure from Pye shop stewards Joint Representative Council to end the firm's involvement in South Africa; and the distribution at four GEC plants at Rugby, Sheffield, Preston and Lincoln of leaflets attacking the company's substantial South African links. Meetings were held by trades councils and trade union branches throughout the UK. In London TUC staff members picketed the South African Embassy.

The AAM had begun preparing for the week of action some months in advance, and local groups were particularly active. A public meeting was held in London on 25 November which was addressed by SACTU General Secretary John Gaetsewe, and on the following day a conference of local groups was held to plan and coordinate action. A briefing document for the week was produced and a trade union bulletin for local groups circulated every eight weeks by the AAM office to help groups in preparing for the week and making contact with trade unions in their area. Over 50,000 leaflets were distributed during the week and a four-page broadsheet, produced by the AAM for use in the month of action in March 1978 (see *International Anti-Apartheid Year*) was widely distributed by trade unions.

Several trade union conferences were held in the weeks preceding the week of action, including a regional conference in Southampton, and another in Birmingham in January which brought together Leyland trade unionists to discuss the campaign against Leyland. In Cambridge in February a further conference discussed the campaign against the involvement of British electronics companies in South Africa. Later that month some 300 trade unionists attended an Emergency Action Conference called to mobilise support for the week of action and International Anti-Apartheid Year, which began as the week ended.

On 5 March 1977 the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) issued a special international appeal to mark the 15th anniversary of its foundation. A meeting was held in London to mark the occasion. SACTU called for 'concrete action' by workers to bring to an end all financial, trade and investment ties with South Africa. The AAM has continued to work closely with SACTU, whose representative on the AAM Trade Union Committee, Solly Smith, and General Secretary, John Gaetsewe, have provided valuable assistance and advice. SACTU published two pamphlets during the year which, together with the IDAF publication *African Workers and Apartheid*, were especially useful in the week itself and the important follow-up work. SACTU speakers have continued to address AAM meetings and AAM arranged a tour of northern England and Scotland for SACTU representatives during the year.

Events in South Africa itself continued to motivate trade unionists to renewed action to help workers there. ASTMS, USDAW, GMWU, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, and others pressed British parent company Smith and Nephew not to allow its South African subsidiary to end its recognition of the National Union of Textile Workers there. Leeds trade unionists threatened industrial action if the city's proposed trade mission went ahead, and in the same city 100 workers downed tools at a crane-making firm because the company was flying the South African flag. Work

to convince British trade unionists of the need to take this and still stronger action was greatly assisted by the launching of a specially written play by the Broadside Mobile Workers Theatre. The play, *Apartheid: The British Connection*, was performed at a number of trade union and local group meetings.

The AAM has greatly expanded its material for use by trade unionists. Besides the week of action leaflet, reports were produced on 'Workers under Apartheid', the Pilkington strike, British Leyland, BSC, GEC, Metal Box, BP/Shell and ICI, and on the wages and conditions of five groups of African workers. A new trade union poster was printed in cooperation with the UN Centre against Apartheid, and a badge urging 'No to Apartheid—Solidarity with Black Workers' was issued. Plans to expand this material over the coming 12 months have been made possible by the generous response by a number of unions to the AAM South African Trade Union Educational Appeal. This has raised £1,600 to date, including a £500 contribution by the GMWU. Altogether trade unions contributed almost £7,000 to the finances of the AAM during the year.

Trade unionists have been involved in many other aspects of solidarity work in 1977/8. They are represented on the new Anti-Apartheid Health Committee and on the International Anti-Apartheid Year Committee.

Shortly before the end of the period covered by this report, the AAM began circulating copies of the Halt Investment Appeal in the Labour Movement in an attempt to stimulate discussion on investment and support for the policy of economic disengagement (see *Economic Collaboration*). It is so far too early to gauge the success of this appeal but already 20,000 copies have been distributed.

One highlight of the year was the release from prison in South Africa of former ASTMS member Sean Hosey after a five-year prison sentence. But the year also saw the gaoling of a number of SACTU activists in the Pietermaritzburg trial and the conviction of charges under the Terrorism Act of Tim Jenkin, a former member of the TGWU Region One. Trade unionists were prominent in their support for the campaign to stop the execution of Solomon Mahlangu, with several TUC General Council members and General Secretaries joining the weekly AAM pickets outside South Africa House.

Finally, special mention must be made of the efforts of local AA groups to make links with trade union bodies at a local level. Virtually all local groups approached trades councils and trade union branches in connection with the week of action and in many cases their efforts have had a continuing effect (see *Local Activities*). The Scottish Committee of the AAM has formed a Trade Union Committee and maintains regular contact with the Scottish TUC; it produced its own broadsheet for the TUC week of action.

There have been many other features of the AAM's work in this field and it is hoped that the coming year will provide even more to report in 1978/9. There is no question that, as the week of action showed, there is great potential in this area and a great deal can be achieved if action is properly planned and coordinated.

Students

The AAM has continued to receive active support from students in the course of the year and to maintain close working links with all major student organisations and campaigning groups. In addition a major priority has been to stimulate the formation of local AA groups at universities and colleges and to work to strengthen existing groups.

The NUS/AAM network, established in 1971 as a basis for coordinating a national student campaign, meets regularly to provide a forum for the development of an awareness among student activists of the situation in Southern Africa, especially

for providing an opportunity for talks from the liberation movements and for stimulating debate and discussion on the campaigns and policies of student anti-apartheid activities. In addition the network provides an invaluable mailing service which is received by over 400 groups, individuals and student unions and includes material on the situation in Southern Africa, campaigning information and publicity material.

A new feature of the NUS/AAM network has been the convening of regional activists' meetings which have facilitated increased participation of students throughout the UK and served as a base for the formation of regionally-based student activity. Regional conferences were held at Norwich (UEA), Hull, Exeter, London, Loughborough and Scotland.

The **disinvestment campaign** remains the most significant area of work in the University sector in the student movement and has been taken up at most UK universities with varying degrees of success. A briefing document circulated through the NUS/AAM network included new information on strategies following the successful campaigns at Warwick and Loughborough. The AAM, in conjunction with NUS, has supplied detailed information on specific companies included in individual university portfolios. Important campaigns were run at many universities, but those at Aberdeen and Hull are particularly worthy of mention:

Students at Aberdeen occupied the university administration buildings after a long and unsuccessful campaign for disinvestment by the university. The students, in occupation for two weeks, eventually won concessions from the authorities, including the withdrawal of university funds from eight companies. The authorities have announced their intention to maintain shares in companies with involvement in South Africa only where this investment was small and where pressure could be applied on companies to consider total withdrawal. They also stated their commitment to persuading other universities to adopt similar policies.

Students at Hull University, faced with an intransigent attitude from the authorities, also occupied their administration buildings following a long and difficult campaign which included a ballot of all students and staff, who voted overwhelmingly in favour of disinvestment.

In July the Court of the University of Wales issued a recommendation that all college administrations should investigate the possibility of total disinvestment from companies with interests in South Africa. Though a positive response from the eight colleges involved is not obligatory, the statement carries extremely strong pressure to do so.

A successful delegates' lobby of the meeting of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals in London was organised by the LSO in May, with participation of student delegates from colleges throughout the UK. Regional based disinvestment campaigns continue to be strengthened and the coordinated campaign run by London students for London University disinvestment has been particularly strong. An additional factor has been the initiation of a campaign to investigate the South African connections of companies involved in supply and maintenance of university facilities — an example is the campaign at Hull University against the brewers, Scottish and Newcastle; and at Warwick University a similar campaign resulted in a major service company giving a guarantee that they were not banking with Barclays.

The campaign against banks dealing with South Africa, particularly Barclays, was sustained by students throughout the year. In addition to activity at the beginning of the academic year to dissuade new students from banking with Barclays, 'days of action' were held at different dates throughout the year. Barclays Bank's concern at the effectiveness of the campaign in the student movement has been manifested in increased advertisements, parties for new account holders and the dissemination of a glossy leaflet on Barclays' operations in South Africa.

Student campaigning on political prisoners centred mainly on the campaign of adoption of political prisoners, in particular the SASO 9, and wide participation in national campaigns organised by SATIS and AAM. A campaign to rename

buildings and halls after prominent political prisoners resulted in Exeter University renaming their major conference room the Nelson Mandela Room.

The **material aid campaign**, which seeks to raise money and material in the form of books, clothes and sporting equipment for the liberation movements, also serves to educate students about the freedom struggle in Southern Africa. A national 'Flag Day' was held through the NUS/AAM network and money collected throughout the country.

In addition to these specific areas of activity, students were involved in many other areas of AAM work. In response to the 19 October bannings a major campaign was organised (see *Repression in South Africa*). A campaign initiated by students and the local AA Group in Aberdeen to exclude South African participation in the International Festival of Youth Orchestras resulted in Aberdeen University authorities withdrawing the use of their premises if the South Africans were invited — which effectively excluded the South African delegation.

The annual NUS/AAM conference, held from 14-16 July at Manchester Poly, was attended by 60 delegates from 30 colleges. Although this represented a decrease on previous years, the level of participation in the discussions and workshops was extremely high and it was generally felt that the concrete proposals and enthusiasm for the forthcoming year's campaigns were of a high standard.

The cultural programme for the conference included the showing of *Six days in Soweto*, followed by a discussion with its producer, Antony Thomas; and a performance by the cultural unit of the ANC, Mayibuye. Guest speakers included Sean Hosey, recently released from Pretoria Gaol, and Gunter Schunter of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. Talks on the current situation in Southern Africa were given by representatives of the liberation movements. Working groups discussed disinvestment, cultural, military and other collaboration, and political prisoners, whilst discussion groups covered Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In passing a programme for the forthcoming year, the conference decided that particular attention should be paid to the disinvestment campaign, that material on Zimbabwe and Namibia should be more widely distributed in the face of increasingly distorted reports of the struggle in those territories, and that immediate priority be given to the campaign to stop the execution of Solomon Mahlangu. On an organisational level it was agreed that the convening of regional-based activists' meetings had been positive and should be built on in future, and that special attention should be paid to the formation and strengthening of AA societies, efforts to increase AAM membership and the circulation of *AA News*.

In the past year there have been many students throughout the country who have helped the AAM in many different ways and given much of their time to the various campaigns. The AAM's thanks are extended to these activists and in particular to the NUS International Department and EC members with responsibility for Southern Africa. A special word of thanks should go to Bob Bruce, who has recently left the NUS International Department after four years.

Youth

The main development in this area has been increased cooperation with the British Youth Council following the adoption of a policy on South Africa and apartheid at their annual conference. The BYC have been particularly active in supporting the International Anti-Apartheid Year Coordinating Committee.

The AAM has continued to rely on the youth organisations of political parties in many of its campaign — especially the Young Liberals, Young Communist League and LPYS. The preparations for the World Youth Festival also provided an opportunity for closer liaison with other youth organisa-

tions. It is hoped that reorganisation of the United Nations Association's youth activities will lead to increased cooperation and activity. A further area where the AAM needs to place more resources is work with the youth organisations of the churches and the British Council of Churches Youth Unit.

In comparison with the AAM's work amongst students, this is a badly neglected area as a whole and it is hoped that new developments will be possible in the future.

Local Groups

The AAM can only sustain itself as a truly national movement through the work of its local groups. They are the backbone of the AAM's campaigning activities, the core of our active support and the key element in developing nationwide activity. Despite lack of funds, the pressure of events and a constant need for further active members, local group activity has continued to expand in the past year and there has been a corresponding increase in activity of other sorts.

In September 1978 there were 58 local groups — 11 new groups having been formed during the year in Old Trafford (Manchester), West Lothian, Colchester, Leicester, Islington, Penarth, Cambridge, Stoke on Trent, Skelmersdale, Huddersfield and Cranbrook (Kent). Two groups have closed down in the same period. Attempts at establishing new groups are continuing in Scotland, Newcastle, Rye, Poole, Plymouth, Swansea, York and Hull. Amongst new developments this year has been the formation of a women's anti-apartheid group, East London Women Against Apartheid (which has organised leafleting and film shows) and the development of a cultural group by the Exeter AA: entitled 'Amandla' their production toured the country in September. The Scottish Committee has been particularly active in the past year, with the formation of a Scottish Trade Union Committee and the revival of the Edinburgh group.

Local groups have supported many national campaigns, especially the consumer boycott where a number of groups have produced their own material in addition to using that produced nationally, and campaigns for the release of political prisoners and in support of the campaign to stop the execution of Solomon Mahlangu. The weeks and days of action on Zimbabwe have also been well supported. This has proved to be a more difficult area, though one whose importance AA Groups have readily recognised.

The year has been marked, however, by the development of many specifically local campaigns and by many AA groups becoming recognised as an enduring part of the local political and social community. There have been numerous pickets and other protests against invitations to apologists for the South African regime such as embassy spokesmen; and the meetings of the Friends of the Springbok Association and local sporting links have come under particular fire. The most impressive 'local' mobilisation took place in Scotland against the visit to Glasgow of the South African ambassador and his reception by the Provost. Over 1,500 people attended a demonstration outside the town hall in protest at the visit, and the campaign received national coverage.

Local group activities in relation to particular campaigns are reported at greater length in the relevant sections of this report. Of particular importance, however, has been the role played by local groups in two crucial areas — fundraising (both for the AAM and for liberation movements) and the development of links with local trade union bodies.

Over £3,000 was raised by 30 local groups in June by means of Walks for Soweto, for the AAM and for the ANC school in Tanzania. Some groups have raised as much as £400 for medical aid for the liberation movements and one has raised £600 for the AAM nationally over the last 12 months. Groups have helped to draw up ambitious plans for 1978/9 for a still greater fundraising effort at a local level.

Much local activity was focused on the March Month of Action and, as part of that, the International Trade Union Week of Action. 26 groups held meetings themselves or jointly with their trades council during the Week and there were four trade union conferences organised by local groups. The Scottish Committee printed its own trade union broadsheet, and other groups distributed the bulk of the AAM's Month of Action broadsheets and Week of Action leaflets. Perhaps the most impressive result of the prolonged period of preparation for the Week was the industrial action taken by workers at two Leyland plants — in Birmingham and Oxford. Elsewhere local groups organised speaker tours for SACTU (for example in Wales, Leeds and the Midlands) and generated pressure which resulted in numerous links with South Africa being broken: two successes achieved by one London group were the refusal of workers to allow the training in their factories of South Africans and their insistence that exports to South Africa should be brought to an end. (For a fuller report of the Week of Action, see *Trade Unions*.)

Since March there has been a useful follow-up by a number of groups and a significant increase in affiliations and other links, especially in the trade union movement. Several trade union bodies have organised conferences for the coming year and given considerable support to the campaign against economic links with South Africa as a result of the contact established in March.

The AAM office has produced fuller and more regular local group mailings (on a monthly basis), supplementing these for much of the year with a local groups trade union bulletin. Local group meetings have taken place in London and regional centres at three-monthly intervals, culminating in a new innovation, a local group weekend workshop, held in Leicester in September 1978 and followed by seven regional activists' meetings in London, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Exeter, Norwich and Cardiff. These latter meetings are designed to provide a means of assisting the development of regional campaigning and mobilisation for the activities of the new campaigning season. Despite the perennial problems caused by the location of local group national meetings, these have provided a valuable means of debating political and practical questions and an opportunity for an exchange of views on the problems and possibilities for local work.

One of the continuing problems identified by local groups themselves has been the need for a much greater commitment of resources to the generation of local support for the AAM. The Movement has attempted to remedy this with a system of regional responsibilities for Executive members and greater use of office staff to assist local groups, but this remains an area where much more could be achieved if sufficient resources could be directed specifically towards the stimulation of local activity.

Parliament

The major importance of Southern African developments has meant that these events, particularly Rhodesia, have dominated Foreign Affairs debates in both Houses of Parliament. The AAM has been active in briefing members of all parties about the AAM's policies and encouraging action by MPs in and out of Parliament. Much of this is covered in the relevant sections of this report.

A number of successful meetings have been held at the Houses of Parliament and special briefings for MPs and Lords have been prepared for the important debates on Rhodesia which have taken place since the signing of the 'internal settlement'. Individual supporters of the AAM have tabled a wide range of questions, thus securing important information about military and economic relations with South Africa.

A special financial appeal to Labour MPs raised almost £500 during the last week of the summer session. MPs have

attended many AAM activities both at a national and local level and have taken up a wide range of issues following representations by individual AAM members and local groups. This is an area of work which needs to be sustained and developed so that there is maximum pressure on the government.

A particular debt of gratitude is owed to MPs who are AAM officers and National Committee members, especially AAM chairman, Bob Hughes MP, whose assistance has been invaluable.

POLITICAL PARTIES

An important responsibility of the AAM is to encourage the major political parties which support its policies to implement these policies more vigorously. This year there have been some encouraging developments.

The 1977 Labour Party Conference met against the background of the publication of the Anglo-American proposals and the death of Steve Biko. A joint AAM/Labour Party Liberation Fund meeting was packed to overflowing and the Conference itself adopted a resolution urging the government to give material aid to the Zimbabwe freedom fighters — despite opposition from the Foreign Secretary and National Executive Committee.

On 3 December the AAM held a joint conference with the Labour Party. The Conference Hall at Transport House was filled to capacity; delegates heard opening speeches by Ruth First, Dr David Owen and Bob Hughes MP; and commissions on South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe were introduced by speakers from the ANC of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front. The Conference promoted much discussion both about government policy and the task of the Labour Party, and provided an opportunity for the AAM to consolidate its support at constituency level.

The Labour Party International Committee and NEC have both responded positively to requests for support. The chairman of the Party, Joan Lester MP, addressed the Emergency Action Conference on 11 February, and General Secretary Ron Hayward spoke at the Central Hall rally on 16 June. We are particularly grateful to Joan Lester who, despite her heavy responsibilities as chairman of the Labour Party, has constantly supported the AAM during the year.

The Liberal Party Assembly in Brighton in September 1977 adopted a highly significant resolution proposed by the Young Liberals which rejected the 'Code of Conduct' approach and called for the withdrawal of investment in South Africa. A successful

fringe meeting was held which was chaired by the Vice-chairman of the Young Liberals and included AAM chairman Bob Hughes MP among the speakers. The impact of AAM policies and activities at the Assembly was due to a large extent to the hard work of the Young Liberals.

Many Liberal Party organisations and individuals at all levels of the Party have supported AAM activities. A special word of thanks should be expressed to Liberal Party leader David Steel MP, who appeared in the AAM's *Open Door* programme and supported a number of other AAM campaigns. Liberal Party President, Lord Evans, has also been active, especially as a sponsor of the International Anti-Apartheid Year Coordinating Committee.

Plaid Cymru, at its annual conference in October 1977, adopted a resolution calling for the breaking of diplomatic relations with South Africa and for the imposition of a trade embargo. The conference also attacked Welsh rugby players who had visited South Africa. Members of Plaid Cymru continue actively to participate in AAM campaigning in Wales. The Scottish National Party has also backed a number of activities of the Scottish AAM Committee.

Cooperation with the Conservative

Party has not been as extensive as with the other political parties. After representations, the Foreign Affairs spokesman John Davies committed the Party not to recognise the Transkei. However, a suggestion to Party leader Mrs Thatcher that she should condemn the death of Steve Biko was simply 'noted'. In contrast, relations with the Tory Reform Group and Conservative Students have developed significantly, especially in connection with International Anti-Apartheid Year. In view of openly racist sentiments which have been expressed by some Conservative MPs and the open support for the Smith regime, it is hoped that relations can be consolidated with opponents of the racist regimes within the Conservative Party.

The Communist Party continues actively to support AAM campaigns and a resolution calling for total economic sanctions against South Africa was adopted at its Congress in November 1977.

The International Marxist Group has continued to participate actively in the AAM, and *Socialist Challenge*, *Socialist Worker* and *Newstline* have all reported on the AAM's activities.

Schools

The extent of interest from schools on the subject of apartheid has continued unabated over the year. Requests for information from school students are increasing and AAM speakers have spoken at many schools and colleges.

The publication of *Children of Soweto* by SARAT and *This is Apartheid* by IDAF has filled a large gap in basic information on apartheid, and the IDAF exhibitions are widely used at schools and colleges. The distribution of South African embassy material to schools and colleges is meeting increased opposition amongst teachers.

The AAM has continued to maintain close links with the NUSS. Following the distribution of material on the sponsored Walks, school students all over the country took part in the Walks. Efforts are being made to extend the participation of school students in this type of activity. School students have actively campaigned on certain issues — the most significant being opposition to touring rugby and other sports teams from South Africa.

It is hoped that it will be possible during the coming year to establish a teachers' network to coordinate work in schools more effectively.

Churches

The banning of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa on 19 October and the imposition of banning orders on prominent members of the Institute, including Beyers Naude, provoked a profound reaction in the Church community in Britain. Other events have also contributed to making Southern Africa a major matter of concern to Christians. (See, particularly, *Repression in South Africa* for the response of the Churches to the bannings and other events in South Africa.)

An indication of the concern felt by the Churches was an ecumenical service on 21 March, the first day of International Anti-Apartheid Year, jointly organised by the British Council of Churches and the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice. Various Church groups were also active in organising solidarity for the Crossroads squatters, especially the International Day of Prayer in July.

The complex problems of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe posed a different kind of challenge to British Churches. Powerful voices called for support for the 'internal settlement' and this approach was endorsed by the Anglican Church. However, other church leaders spoke out against it, especially the Catholic Institute for International Relations and leading Methodists. The World Council of Churches' action in making a grant to the Patriotic Front created further tension

in this area. In this context the AAM has sought to convince Church groups with which it has contact of the character of the liberation struggle and the need to oppose the 'internal settlement'. The ability of forces opposed to African liberation to mobilise 'grass roots' opposition is a worrying development. One organisation which has been active in this area is the Christian League of Southern Africa — a body which campaigns on behalf of white supremacy in the name of 'Christianity'.

The AAM has continued to work with the British Council of Churches and is grateful for invitations to participate in a number of consultations on Southern African issues. The BCC has also played an active part in the International Anti-Apartheid Year Coordinating Committee, its Africa Secretary, Revd Jim Wilkie, serving as one of its Vice-Chairmen.

The AAM has been especially grateful for the support of the Methodist Church — the Overseas Division has prepared a special edition on apartheid of its journal *Now*, and the Division for Social Responsibility made a much-appreciated grant to the Movement's work.

At an international level the AAM has maintained close relations with the World Council of Churches, especially its Programme to Combat Racism, and the All African Council of Churches, as well as with Church groups in Holland and the United States.

Women

The major aspect of AAM work amongst women's organisations in the UK this year has been to involve as many of these as possible in promoting and supporting activities to mark International Anti-Apartheid Year. As part of this work the Report of the UN Secretary General on the Status of Women in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia has been widely circulated and a number of articles, on the work of the AAM and the situation in Southern Africa, specially written for women's journals.

The publication of Joyce Sikakane's *Window on Soweto* has achieved a great deal in conveying the nature of the oppression suffered by women in South Africa's townships as a result of apartheid. Equally, the role of women in the national liberation struggle has been highlighted, especially in AAM work in the student movement: the activities organised by the women's section of the African National Congress of South Africa have been of major assistance in this regard.

The year was marked by a novel development: the establishment of a women's anti-apartheid group, East London Women Against Apartheid. The group organised a number of meetings and other activities during the early part of the year.

Health

The past year has seen renewed activity in the organisation of supporters working or studying in the health services. The first event was a meeting organised in London, during the trade union Week of Action, on Health and Southern Africa. As a result of the interest shown a follow-up meeting decided that a special committee should be formed. This informal group organised a small conference on 17 June which was addressed by Nkosazana Dlamini, former Secretary of the SRC at the black medical school at Natal, and Hugh Bayley: at this meeting the Anti-Apartheid Health Committee was established. This Committee has a number of plans, including the convening of a conference in February 1979.

Architects

Previous annual reports have detailed actions undertaken by AAM supporters in the architectural profession. This work is no longer coordinated directly by the AAM office but liaison has continued with interested architects who, during this year, have succeeded in two important areas. Firstly, both the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the Architects' Registration Council (ARCUK) decided to sell their holdings in Consolidated Goldfields because of its involvement in South Africa. The ARCUK decision was a reversal of an earlier decision to retain the shares and followed widespread protests by architects.

Subsequently RIBA's Council discussed its recognition of South African schools of architecture. Although a proposal that recognition be terminated immediately was not accepted a compromise resolution was carried by 20 votes to 7 that recognition would be withdrawn if they had not adopted a policy of 'open to all students' by 1980. This was regarded as a major step forward by those who have campaigned over a long period for a severance of relations with South Africa.

The British Institute of Town Planners also decided to sever its links with the South African Institute of Town Planners.

Black Community

The AAM is still faced with the difficult task of mobilising in the black community in Britain. Some developments have taken place but there is much more to be done in this area. In the Caribbean community, *West Indian World* and other newspapers have supported AAM campaigns and reported on events in Southern Africa. The Pretoria 12 petition was reproduced in *West Indian World* and readers asked to collect signatures. However, liaison with organisations of the Caribbean-derived community has not been as great as in previous years.

Amongst the Asian community there have been several useful developments, especially outside London where a number of Asian organisations are playing an active role in local AA groups.

The AAM, both nationally and locally, has strengthened its relations with Community Relations Councils. A number of London CRCs have supported national activities (eg the Solomon Mahlangu pickets); others have taken up local issues: Southampton CRC, for instance, protested about trainee police being sent to South Africa for training.

The most important development in this area, however, is the effect of the rise in anti-racist and anti-fascist activity. Local AA groups have succeeded in making a major impact at anti-racist marches, rallies and other events, with AA groups often being members of or having close liaison with the local organisations. At a national level, the AAM National Committee agreed that contact should be made with the Anti-Nazi League and other national organisations so that the common struggle against racism in Britain and Southern Africa could be brought out in activities being organised.

INFORMATION

AntiApartheid News

Anti-Apartheid News acts as a forum for information about the Movement's campaigns, as well as reporting events in Southern Africa which are often ignored or distorted by the national media. During the year the increased amount of space given to reports of campaign activities reflected the growth in AAM activity, especially at a local level.

The first five issues of the year contained a special page on trade union activities and a series on the position of African workers in different industries in South Africa. The March and April issues featured activities undertaken during the international trade union Week of Action against apartheid. March *AA News* was a special issue to launch UN Year Against Apartheid beginning 21 March 1978: each page featured one of the issues to be highlighted during the year — political prisoners, investment in South Africa, banking links and oil supplies to the apartheid regime, and military collaboration. Among contributors on campaigning issues were AUEW (TASS) delegate Ian Benson on the Labour Party Conference; the Vice-Chairman of the National League of Young Liberals, Paul Hannon, on the Liberal Assembly; Jim Chrystie of the Labour Party International Department on the joint AAM-Labour Party conference on Southern Africa; and *Labour Weekly* journalist Don Brind on Tory MPs' Southern African connections.

Special articles on South Africa included features on the election, the apartheid economy, the Wiehahn Commission and a photo spread on the Crossroads squatter settlement. *AA News* also carried an interview with an African National Congress representative about the October 1977 bannings.

On Zimbabwe *AA News* carried analysis by Reg Austin of the Anglo-American settlement proposals, special features on the plight of refugees, eyewitness accounts of atrocities by the regime's security forces and a summary of a report by the Commission for Justice and Peace, as well as a full account of secret Rhodesia Front meetings which was censored by *The Times*. The April issue included four special pages of news, analysis and reviews of material on Zimbabwe; the centre spread of the December issue carried pictures from a photographic exhibition prepared by IDAF. Other issues carried interviews with Zimbabwean trade unionist Jefret Khumalo, former prime minister Garfield Todd, and ZAPU Deputy General Secretary Ariston Chambati.

On Namibia *AA News* carried features on repression inside the country, the western settlement proposals, Walvis Bay and western press reaction to the Kassinga massacre. The June issue carried a centre spread on the territory and in September two pages of report and analysis. Other issues included interviews with SWAPO Vice President Misheke Muyongo, SWAPO's Western European representative Shapua Kaukungua, and Youth leader Tuli Hivelaah.

The October issues carried a four-page feature on the World Conference against Apartheid held in Lagos in August 1977. *AA News* has also reviewed books, pamphlets, films and exhibitions on Southern Africa and published poems by Chris Searle and Dennis Brutus. Circulation has risen to a steady 7,500 copies, reflecting the increase in AAM membership: there has been a large increase in street sales, especially in London, by local AA groups.

Publications

The range and scope of AAM publications has increased considerably during the last year. A wider variety of campaigning material has also been prepared.

Much of the material has concerned economic collaboration with South Africa. The third in the series of pamphlets on investment, *Changing Patterns of International Investment in South Africa and the Disinvestment Campaign* by Simon Clarke, was published in September 1978. A new edition of *Shell and BP in South Africa*, the joint AAM/Haslemere pamphlet which sparked off the row about oil sanctions busting, was published in April 1978, and a new insert was prepared to update *Barclays and South Africa*, also published jointly with the Haslemere Group. A new list of British companies operating in South Africa was prepared and duplicated, together, subsequently, with an equivalent list for Rhodesia. Duplicated fact papers were also prepared on a number of companies. In addition the paper prepared by AAM for the World Conference for Action against Apartheid was published in the UN Centre against Apartheid Notes & Documents series and widely distributed.

A series of duplicated *Zimbabwe Briefings* were published, covering Hangings, Statements of the Patriotic Front, the liberation war, and White Rule and the African Worker. The fifth in the series, *Guardians of White Power*, was published in printed form. In addition a commentary on the Anglo-American proposals and a leaflet attacking the 'internal settlement' were published.

Additions to the poster range included 'Shell and BP Fuel Apartheid', 'A Call to Action' (designed for trade unionists) and 'Look Before You Buy'. Two posters were produced for the Free the Pretoria 12 campaign and an ANC poster, 'Stop the Execution of Solomon Mahlangu' was widely distributed.

The main weakness of AAM material is the lack of an adequate variety of stickers and badges and the need to produce more fact sheet style material in certain subjects. However, the general demand for material on Southern Africa is amply satisfied by the excellent publications of the UN Centre against Apartheid and the International Defence and Aid Fund, which are extensively distributed from the AAM office.

Speakers/Films

In the course of the year the AAM sent speakers to 145 meetings. This figure does not include conferences and rallies organised by other organisations which were addressed by AAM speakers. The AAM has worked closely with the liberation movements to provide a comprehensive speaker service to the public both on the developing situation in Southern Africa and on accompanying activity in the UK.

The demand for the film *There is No Crisis* tended to diminish over the year as it became dated, though a certain demand still exists. The AAM was fortunate to acquire copies of the IDAF slide show *Soweto and the Uprising in South Africa*, which has been shown approximately 50 times. In addition the IDAF pictorial exhibition, *South Africa—The Imprisoned Society*, and the poster exhibition on Zimbabwe have been widely used. The AAM has continued to facilitate the hire of other films on Southern Africa distributed by the film agencies.

The Media

The central role of Southern Africa in international affairs has meant that the media have constantly reported on developments there and, to a lesser extent, on the implications for Britain. The AAM's task is primarily two-fold: to try and secure coverage sympathetic to the liberation struggle and to seek publicity for the Movement's own campaigns.

Regular press releases are sent out on a wide scale. The

AAM has organised 10 press conferences or briefings and two further press conferences were organised by the AAM on the occasion of the Inaugural Meeting of the Continuation Committee of the Lisbon Conference (see *International*). Subjects covered included Rhodesian oil sanctions, Solomon Mahlangu, treatment of political prisoners, visit of Ambassador Harri-man and the UN arms embargo. *The Times*, *Guardian*, *Financial Times*, *Observer* and *Sunday Times* have frequently reported AAM campaigns and statements, as have LBC and BBC radio. BBC-TV and ITN have on occasion covered our activities. International coverage of AAM activities has also grown.

We are especially grateful to the many journalists who have helped the AAM during this period. A special word of thanks should go to the main labour movement papers — *Labour Weekly*, *Tribune* and *Morning Star* — which have backed many AAM campaigns and given extensive publicity to our activities.

The AAM was fortunate in having the opportunity of producing an *Open Door* programme. This was screened twice in mid-February and received a favourable response. The programme, entitled 'The Rifle, the Saracen and the Gallows', included interviews with Joshua Nkomo, Mac Maharaj, Nkosazana Dlamini, Donald Woods, David Steel MP, Tim Smith MP, Tom Jackson, Revd Colin Morris, Bob

Hughes MP, with commentary by Neil Kinnock MP. We are very grateful to all those who participated and helped in the production of the programme: a special word of thanks must go to the staff of the BBC Open Door series and to Jon Blair, without whom the task would have been impossible. Plans for the film to be made available for hire were being arranged as this report was being prepared.

The independent television companies produced a number of programmes on Southern Africa. *The South African Experience* received the most public attention when Tate & Lyle succeeded in obtaining a court order to postpone the showing of one of the series entitled 'Working for Britain'. In protest against Tate & Lyle's action the AAM picketed their headquarters in the city. Antony Thomas, the producer, was widely acclaimed for these excellent productions. Three other programmes by World in Action on Steve Biko's funeral and two on Shell and BP, together with Thames This Week re-enactment of the Steve Biko inquest, all played a valuable role in getting across the issues at stake.

Three plays have also helped in playing an educational role: two produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company — on the Steve Biko inquest and *The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs* — and *Apartheid: The British Connection*, by the Broadside Mobile Workers' Theatre group, which was specifically designed for performing to trade union audiences.

ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP

Membership has increased this year to 2,806, of which 2,453 are individual members and 353 affiliated organisations; this is a net increase during the year of 289 individuals and 31 organisations, making a total increase of 320.

The turnover in membership is still higher than it should be: 641 people joined the Movement for the first time but unfortunately 434 allowed their membership to lapse. Of last year's 438 unhonoured banker's orders, we have so far received only 81 new orders; the majority of those that have not been renewed appear to be from students who, in the early 1970s, signed orders under a Third World First scheme which lapsed when they came down from university.

Once again the biggest increase in affiliated organisations is in the trade union section, a further 24 affiliations making a total of 97; in 1976 there were only 53 affiliated trade unions and branches, so that they have almost doubled in the past two years. There are now 32 national unions contributing to the Movement, triple the number in the early 1970s, and the Northern and West Midlands Regional Councils of the TUC have also affiliated during the past year. In addition there are 33 trades councils, four new ones having joined.

The other big increase — 22 — is in the miscellaneous organisations such as AA Groups, Community Relations Councils, etc, but colleges and political groups are slightly down on last year. In several cases political groups have said that they did not have the money to reaffiliate, and this may well apply to many of the other organisations as well.

Welcome as the increase in membership is, there is still much ground to be covered amongst our thousands of supporters.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

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

The 1977 AGM adopted resolutions on a number of issues.

A lengthy debate took place on a resolution dealing with Zimbabwe, which was eventually adopted by an overwhelming majority. Other resolutions covered investment, military collaboration, mercenaries and Namibia. The AGM was addressed by Thabo Mbeki of the African National Congress of South Africa and Peter Katjavivi of the Central Committee of SWAPO.

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

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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

During the past year the National Committee has met on six occasions. The first meeting, following immediately after the AGM, elected the new Executive and other Officers of the AAM. At the first full meeting on 5 December the resolutions adopted by the AGM were reviewed and proposals for their implementation agreed. The 25 February meeting discussed the 'internal settlement' in Rhodesia and agreed on a series of activities for International Anti-Apartheid Year. The meeting on 10 May took place immediately following the Kassinga massacre and discussed proposals for AAM action on Namibia together with an assessment of the trade union Week of Action in March. The 1 July meeting discussed the major AAM campaigns and means by which they could be made more effective. At this meeting the Executive was asked to consider its relations with anti-racist and anti-fascist organisations with a view to increasing coordination and learning from their experiences. The 11 September meeting discussed the political report which forms the Introduction to this Annual Report for presentation to the

AGM.

Attendance at National Committee meetings remains less than desired, particularly from local AA Groups, and ways of increasing this need to be considered.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee, which advises the National Committee and sees to the execution of policy decided on, is the working committee of the Movement. It is elected by and from the National Committee and consists of six officers of the Movement — the Chairman, two Vice Chairmen, 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 discussion on particular aspects of the situation in Southern Africa.

AAM OFFICE

The AAM has experienced a number of changes in staff over the past year which have affected the ability of the office to provide the service expected of it. The vacancy of a student organiser was only filled in December, when Garth Strachan,

formerly Publications Officer of IDAF, joined the staff. We are grateful to Neelim Zabit who had been working in the office during the summer of 1977 doing research work supported by the Mike Goss Fund and who stayed with us during the autumn and thus helped us through a critical period. Betty Northedge, the membership secretary, decided to take extended leave for personal reasons in the autumn of 1977 and her place was taken first by Dulcie September and then by Ilva Mackay. Betty, who has returned on a part-time basis, and Ilva now share responsibility for membership work. Linda Arden joined the staff on a part-time basis but it soon became clear that a full-time worker was needed and so Linda left and was succeeded by Debbie Gibberd who started full-time in September 1978. It is hoped that with a full complement of staff some of the organisational problems which have beset the AAM in recent months can be overcome and a better service provided to the membership, local groups, etc.

Particularly during this period the office has been indebted to the large number of volunteers who regularly give their time and without whom the AAM would be able to do only a fraction of what it does now. The despatch of *AA News* is especially vital and is dependent almost entirely on voluntary helpers. We hope that we can continue to count on ever more volunteers, both in the AAM office and in the work of local AA Groups, because they form the backbone of AAM and provide the strength to carry forward its work.

Finance and Fundraising

The general level of activities sustained by the AAM and as recorded in this annual report has again led to a considerable rise in expenditure. Wages and printing costs in particular have increased. In addition, a new lease had to be negotiated for the Charlotte Street office, resulting in the rent being almost doubled.

As reported in the *Membership* section, a large number of members failed to renew their subscriptions and therefore the extra income which we had hoped to receive from the increase in membership subscription last year has not materialised. However, the new members who have joined the AAM during this period have resulted in an overall increase in membership income.

A major burden on the finances of the AAM is the production of *AA News*, particularly the printing costs, which have risen drastically over the past two years. It is clear that the 1978/9 National Committee will have to make the AAM's financial situation a major priority in the coming year.

A number of measures have been taken to increase the income of the AAM during this year. An appeal to the trade union movement to contribute funds for education work amongst British trade unionists raised £1,650; a raffle of two gold sovereigns £300; an appeal to Labour MPs £505; and the sponsored walks £2,900. In addition several major grants have been made to the Movement, in particular from the World Council of Churches and the Methodist Church Division of Social Responsibility. The annual President's Appeal raised almost £1,000 from the AAM membership.

The AAM would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have contributed financially to its work during this period.

Obituary

JOHN FORRESTER

John Forrester, who died suddenly in September 1978, was one of the leaders of the British labour movement who was totally dedicated to the liberation of Southern Africa. In particular, as Deputy General Secretary of AUEW (TASS) and National Executive member of the Labour Party, he has played an invaluable role in developing understanding and support for the Southern African liberation struggle in the labour movement.

John Forrester was a regular participant in AAM events: he was AUEW (TASS) representative on the National Committee and spoke at many public meetings. He will be especially remembered for his address to the trade union conference organised by the Movement in 1976, where he clearly presented his understanding of the relationship between the struggles of the labour movement in Britain and the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

CHILDREN OF SOWETO

Written by Rosalynde Ainslie

Illustrated with woodcuts by Lisa Kopper

The story of an African family from Soweto and how their lives are disrupted by the apartheid system. Plus the facts behind the story. A valuable booklet for schools, church groups, youth organisations and others who wish to know what it feels like to be an African in South Africa today.

Published by the South Africa Racial Amity Trust (SARAT), 89 Charlotte Street, London W1. Price 40p

(SARAT is the educational trust of the Anti-Apartheid Movement)



TEVE BIKO DIED
 IN DETENTION ON
 1977 IN APARTHEID
 SOUTH AFRICA
 OTHERS KNOWN
 HAVE DIED IN
 DETENTION ARE
 1978 B MAMPE
 1978 L MOOLE
 1984 S SALOOJEE
 1985 N RAGA
 1985 P HOYE
 1985 J HAKWAYO
 1986 HSHONYEKA
 1986 YUN PIN
 1986 AH YAN
 1987 / MALIBA
 1988 / TUBAKWE
 UNIDENTIFIED MAN
 1989 N KOOATHE
 1989 MODIPANE
 1989 J LENKOE
 1989 C MAYEKISO
 1989 M SHIVUTE
 1990 MINAKGOTLA
 1990 I HARDON
 1990 K CUTHSELA
 1971 A. TIMOL
 1978 J ADLILI
 1970W. TSHWANE
 1971 M. MOHAPI
 1970L. MAZWEIRE
 1998 D. MBATHA
 1998 F. MOGATSHI
 1998 J. MASHABANE
 1976 E. MZOLO
 1976 E. MAMASILA
 1976 T. MOSALA
 1976 TSHAZIBANE
 1976 G. BOTHA
 1976 E. MASELE

PLEASE POLITICAL
 PRISONERS & STOP
 TORTURE & DEATHS
 IN DETENTION IN
 SOUTH AFRICA
 AND PAROLEMENT