



# ANNUAL REPORT

of activities  
& developments  
OCTOBER 1981 —  
SEPTEMBER 1982

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT



## ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Annual Report

October 1981 — September 1982

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# INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the Political Report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting on 11 September 1982

The past year has witnessed further and dangerous aggravations in the protracted Southern African crisis. The entire region has been converted into a zone of persistent armed conflict, subjecting the African people and the independent African states to the continuous murderous attacks of the armed forces of the apartheid regime. Peace has been repeatedly breached and the African continent is being drawn into a violent conflict, joining with the other international conflicts to exacerbate sharply international tension and threaten global peace. If the past year provides any lesson for the world community it is this: the overthrow of the apartheid regime through active support for the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, and the isolation of South Africa through comprehensive sanctions, is now an urgent imperative for the preservation of peace and safeguarding the independence and freedom of the African continent. This indeed is fully acknowledged by the front line states, whose presidents and those of SWAPO and the ANC declared in a communique following their historic summit of 6-7 March 1982 that:

**The invasions and military aggressions, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, and massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa.**

They explained that:

**These manoeuvres are aimed at increasing our dependence on South Africa, forestalling the harmonious application of our development plans and delaying at all costs the independence of Namibia and preventing the liberation of the South African people.**

The Anti-Apartheid Movement greets the heroic freedom fighters of SWAPO and ANC. Within South Africa the liberation struggle has reached new heights, producing a veritable crisis for the white power system. And in Namibia the apartheid authorities engage in ever more desperate manoeuvres, aided by the western powers, to delay the transfer of power to the African people.

These developments pose an immense challenge to the Anti-Apartheid Movement, for Britain continues to be a principal ally of the apartheid regime, and the British government is in direct collusion with Pretoria in its efforts to destabilise the front line states, to frustrate Namibian independence and to defend white supremacy in South Africa.

## INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

During the last year the growing internal resistance inside South Africa has recorded major advances which have created an acute crisis for the white power system. The underground activities of the ANC and SACTU, coupled with nationwide open defiance, including the development and consolidation of black trade unions and the growth of women's and community organisations, have led the Nationalist Party regime of P W Botha to speed up the implementation of its plans and take certain new measures in order to try and ensure the survival of the apartheid system.

The process of creating bantustans and depriving millions of Africans of their South African citizenship is being intensified: the Ciskei was declared 'independent' in December 1981. Now there are even plans to grant South African territory to Swaziland, thus furthering the bantustan policy and improving the geostrategic position of South Africa, not only in relation to Mozambique but also in respect of western naval schemes in the southern oceans.

The formal announcement of the 'President's Council' has been described as a bid to win over large sections of the Indian and Coloured people and presented as a major 'reform', although its full significance lies in the fact that the white power system itself is to be transformed so that a future regime and its ministers will not be directly dependent on the whites-only elected parliament. This marks a big step in the process of creating what amounts to a dictatorship over the white population itself because of the new security needs of the apartheid system.

Once again there has been a major increase in defence expenditure and nuclear research is to be expanded by over 50 per cent. Conscription into the military has been extended so that there is now provision for all white males between the ages of 18 and 55 to be called upon for service: all this reflects the ever-growing crisis faced by the apartheid regime.

However, the crisis for white supremacy is by no means limited purely to its security needs. There has been a rapid deterioration in the South African economy, in part caused by world factors and by the massive burden of the military and security budgets, but increasingly it is accentuated by the refusal of black workers to tolerate the poverty wages and super-exploitation which characterise the apartheid system. The growing strength of the black workers is manifested in increased membership of non-racial trade unions, in bitter struggles against victimisation and redundancies, and for union recognition and better wages and conditions. These developments have been largely limited to the industrial sector of the economy, and in the mines and farms black workers still have to resort to underground, illegal forms of organisation. Workers' resistance has been brutally repressed, as evidenced by the shooting of black miners in June 1982.

Indeed, the entire non-racial trade union movement has been the target of systematic and intensified repression. Workers' leaders have been detained, tortured and tried under South Africa's notorious security laws. In February a white trade union organiser, Neil Aggett, died in detention.

This pattern of repression is not limited to black workers. Physical torture and other brutal forms of interrogation have become even more widespread, and have led to some detainees being transferred from the police cells to psychiatric hospitals. The captured freedom fighters, instead of being treated as prisoners of war, have been subjected to systematic torture before being tried for high treason. Six ANC freedom fighters face imminent execution.

During this period there has been a major overhaul of the security laws and a range of new repressive legislation introduced.

However, some of the measures which have been taken in an attempt to safeguard the white power system have themselves led to defections from the Nationalist Party, and these have been used by South Africa's allies abroad to argue that Premier Botha should be given more time and encouraged to initiate further 'reforms' because he cannot move too fast in the current situation.

## NAMIBIA

Developments in South Africa and Namibia are increasingly interlinked. In Namibia SWAPO has continued to score new victories, especially in the military field where the forces of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) are now actively involved in combat throughout large areas of the territory. At the same time SWAPO's political campaigns continue to confirm the unity of the people against South Africa's illegal occupation and have so successfully undermined and divided the small groups of tribalists and puppets who collaborate with the apartheid regime.

Currently the South African-imposed 'Ministerial Council' under the leadership of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) is in deep crisis as it continues in its failure to secure any semblance of credibility, and there is speculation that Pretoria is now contemplating withdrawing its support from the DTA in favour of either the local Nationalist Party or tribal leaders such as Kalangula who have broken with the DTA.

Yet, as we have seen so often in the past, the western Contact Group and the Pretoria regime have encouraged the world once again to believe that a Namibian settlement is imminent - there were even suggestions of a possible ceasefire in August

1982 whilst at the same time Pretoria has increased its military presence in Namibia and unleashed a new wave of terror against the Namibian people. Reports of widespread torture and murder have been testified to by delegations from the British Council of Churches and the South African Conference of Catholic Bishops. At the same time South Africa has turned its occupation of vast areas of southern Angola into a virtually permanent settlement where new South African military bases are being established.

During the past 12 months the United States, with the active support of the Conservative government, have colluded with the South Africans in an effort to transform the UN decolonisation plan for Namibia in order to deny the Namibian people genuine independence. These manoeuvres were frustrated by the firm and united position of SWAPO and the front line states, and so now a new obstacle has been introduced - namely the demand that the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola should be 'linked' to a Namibia settlement. There are even reports that Angola must agree to bring Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the South African-backed Unita, into its government before any settlement over Namibia can be reached. There is growing evidence, in fact, that important circles in the West are now arguing that western policy should no longer be directed at securing independence for Namibia but at the overthrow of the Angolan government.

In reality this is nothing new. South Africa's western allies have always supported its ambitions to dominate and exploit the Southern African region so that it gains recognition as the major economic, political and military power on the continent. These aims are being pursued with greater urgency because of the support now emanating from Washington.

## AFRICA UNDER ATTACK

The front line states and other independent African states continue to be targets of South African aggression and destabilisation which aim to create the conditions for the so-called 'constellation of states', whereby all the states in the region would be dominated militarily and economically, if not politically, by the apartheid regime.

South African military aggression has been focused in particular on Angola but there have been military interventions against most other countries in the region, the latest being the admitted 'unauthorised' incursion into Zimbabwe by South African troops who were formerly members of the Smith regime's forces. Together with direct attacks, comprehensive destabilisation policies are aimed in particular at Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In addition, African refugee settlements in the neighbouring states are attacked and assassination teams are given responsibility to murder official representatives of SWAPO, the ANC and SACTU abroad, as well as prominent activists such as Ruth First.

The front line states have responded vigorously to these challenges. Their heads of state and government have met frequently during the period of this report in order to draw up common strategies and approaches to developments in the region. They have met in particular, together with the President of SWAPO, to review the struggle for independence in Namibia. They have taken concrete measures to reinforce and coordinate their defence capabilities. At the same time, within the framework of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which includes other independent states in the region, they are actively working to reduce their economic relations with South Africa.

The terrorism of Pretoria is not limited to the Southern African region. At the conclusion of the Movement's major conference in London in March 1982, the London office of the ANC was bombed - and to date the British authorities maintain that they have no clues about that crime which would enable them to apprehend any suspects. Also, the

attempted coup in the Seychelles, originating from South Africa, is a reminder that the aggressive tentacles of the apartheid regime extend well beyond its own borders and that no African states within South Africa's military and naval range are immune from attacks as long as the apartheid regime survives.

## UNITED STATES / SOUTH AFRICA ALLIANCE

The single most dangerous factor in the situation is the policy of the Reagan administration which has this year relaxed the arms embargo against South Africa and expanded military collaboration with the regime. The Reagan administration authorised the supply of nuclear equipment and technology which had previously been forbidden, and openly allied itself with South Africa's attacks and destabilisation policies against Angola, and blocked even more condemnation of Pretoria's aggressive attacks by the abuse of its veto power in the UN Security Council.

The Botha regime is enormously encouraged and sustained by the open and often enthusiastic support which is now forthcoming from Washington, which has provided it with the confidence to expand the war and inflict brutal violence and destruction on the neighbouring states considered 'suitable' targets.

The Pretoria regime today is in the closest ever de facto political and military alliance with Washington — reinforced with the support and equipped with the most modern arms and nuclear weapons capability, it poses an enormous danger to all the peoples in Africa and the southern oceans. US-South African economic collaboration has continued to expand and the US is now South Africa's main trading partner. Washington has been only too willing to come to the assistance of the Pretoria regime as it faces a growing economic crisis. Assistance from the IMF has already been forthcoming and there is speculation that South Africa is seeking further IMF loans to overcome its current massive deficit. The increasingly pro-South African policies of the US administration demonstrate a complete contempt for the policies of Africa and the international community, especially since the OAU and the UN declared 1982 International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa.

## BRITISH POLICY

In response to this new Pretoria-Washington axis, it is vital that we are able to influence British and Western European policy. However, in this context we should recognise that, whilst the policy of the European community members is not as openly committed as that of Washington, it is in effect one of continued and growing collaboration with Pretoria. In the face of extreme US support for apartheid, it is sometimes easy to mistake certain Western European policies as being 'moderate' and therefore better. Differences in degree must not be interpreted as representing differences of nature. However, whilst the differences are often important, it is crucial to recognise that the overall collaboration between West European countries and South Africa is in fact expanding daily. This is particularly the case in respect of British policy. The Conservative government has been only too willing to retreat from the few anti-apartheid positions adopted by British governments over the past two decades. Only resolute campaigning and effective international action can ensure that Britain does not itself come out openly with the Reagan administration to create a triple alliance of Pretoria-Washington-London.

Britain carries a major responsibility for the situation in Southern Africa. It ceded power to the white minority in South Africa in 1910. British trade and investment have played a critical role in the build-up of the apartheid economy and Britain remains today the principal investor in apartheid. British migration, tourism and a host of cultural and sporting relations continue to sustain the apartheid regime. In this crucial sense British policy towards Southern Africa is of special significance; even more so today in the light of the overtly pro-

apartheid policies of the US administration. This explains why there is such an urgent need for a fundamental change in British policy towards Southern Africa. In particular Britain should:

- abandon its collusion with South Africa and the US over Namibia and pursue policies which will lead to genuine independence

- take effective measures to strengthen and strictly enforce the UN mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and to ban all forms of nuclear collaboration

- immediately take unilateral measures to end British economic collaboration with South Africa and support UN mandatory comprehensive sanctions

- sever diplomatic relations with South Africa and halt the activities of South African operatives in Britain

- provide effective support for the front line states and other targets of South African aggression and destabilisation, and for the Southern African liberation movements.

## CONCLUSION

The front line states and the liberation movements have recognised the greater danger posed by the apartheid regime as a result of increased western collaboration and, at their Maputo summit meeting in March 1982, they decided, amongst other measures, to intensify their support for SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa. Peace cannot be achieved for Africa and the world as long as the aggressive system of apartheid is permitted to survive. As the Commonwealth summit declared in Melbourne, the apartheid system has to be eradicated. This requires that full support be given to the African liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa, and that we stand in full solidarity with the front line states. But it is also our responsibility to help end all forms of collaboration with apartheid in order to reduce and end the massive external assistance which is being provided to the Pretoria regime.

The Southern Africa — The Time to Choose conference in March and the national demonstration the following Sunday were manifestations of growing support for the policies of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. There have been encouraging developments, not least from the trade union movement and the Christian churches, during the last 12 months. The action taken by a number of local authorities in declaring themselves 'apartheid-free zones' is evidence that words and resolutions can be transformed into action. It is vital that the message that *now is the time to choose* is brought home to the people of Britain as never before, and that they are persuaded to choose the side of African freedom.

The tasks facing the Anti-Apartheid Movement are clearly:

- the dissemination of accurate information about and the development of effective solidarity with the brave struggles of the workers, the youth and students, the women, and all the people of Namibia and South Africa, led by the liberation movements, and the need to win understanding and support for their cause

- an immediate mobilisation for measures to compel South Africa to implement the UN Programme for Namibia

- the intensification of the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions, the strict application of the arms embargo, a ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration, and the end of sporting and cultural links

- the development of effective solidarity with the front line states and independent Africa in their support for the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa

- increased efforts to secure the release of Nelson Mandela, Herman Toivo ja Toivo, and all South African and Namibian political prisoners

- campaigning to stop the execution of captured members of the liberation movements and to ensure that they are granted Prisoner-of-War status.

# NAMIBIA

INTERNATIONAL attention continues to be focused on the struggle of the Namibian people for an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of their country and for genuine independence.

As reported in the 1980/81 annual report, South Africa sabotaged the United Nations Pre-Implementation Meeting in Geneva in January 1981. This was followed by the triple veto by the western permanent members of the Security Council of a range of sanctions measures against South Africa on 30 April 1981.

This was the background to new proposals from the Contact Group involving a three-phase process of negotiations which were presented to SWAPO and the front line states in October 1981. The first phase would be negotiations over 'Principles concerning the Constituent Assembly and the constitution for an Independent Namibia'. SWAPO responded positively to this document. However, the Contact Group reacted to SWAPO's constructive approach by proposing a 'one person, two votes' electoral system. This was firmly rejected by SWAPO and so, in April, the Contact Group amended its proposal by advocating a 'one person one vote, one vote two counts' electoral system. Again this was firmly rejected by SWAPO and the front line states at a foreign ministers meeting in May 1982. Finally, in June it was reported that the Contact Group had abandoned its efforts to secure a voting system which would maximise electoral opposition to SWAPO and placate both the white minority in Namibia and the various tribal elements which collaborate with South Africa.

During this period *Anti-Apartheid News* carried several articles aimed at explaining developments and informing its readership, whilst the Movement as a whole sought to mobilise opposition to Britain's role in seeking to transform the UN Plan against the interests of the Namibian people.

In January the Labour front bench spokesman on African affairs, Stanley Clinton Davis, used the opportunity of the joint AAM/Labour Party conference to express the Labour Party's opposition to the dual voting system. The Movement's National Committee decided in February to publicise widely SWAPO's opposition to these proposals.

In June prospects of securing the implementation of the UN Plan were effectively sabotaged when the Contact Group apparently agreed to the linkage of a Namibian settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. The AAM's response to this development is reported in detail under the section *Front Line States*.

During the period of this report the Movement has continued to liaise closely with the SWAPO representatives in Britain. A deputy representative, Jacob Hannai, was appointed in March. A former Robben Island prisoner, he gave a lengthy interview to *AA News* on his activities as a youth leader in Namibia. Meetings have also been held with senior officials of SWAPO during visits to London. SWAPO's Chairman, David Meroro, addressed the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference, and Hidipo Hamutenya, Secretary for Publicity and Information, spoke at the Trafalgar Square rally following the conference on 14 March. Hidipo Hamutenya also addressed a well-publicised press conference in London in July on his return from New York after the suspension of talks with the Contact Group. The Political Commissar of SWAPO also visited London in June and addressed the South Africa Freedom Day rally.

SWAPO's Chief Representative, Shapua Kaukungua, has addressed many meetings organised by the AAM to publicise the struggle in Namibia, and gave a substantial interview to *AA News*, whilst many SWAPO members studying in Britain have been actively involved in AAM campaigns.

The Movement's 1981 AGM adopted two resolutions on Namibia which provided a framework for campaigning over the year. Details of campaigning activities related to these resolutions, in particular on sanctions, are reported elsewhere in this report. A delegation from the Movement met Minister of State Cranley Onslow in July to discuss developments over Namibia and to press the case for sanctions against South Africa. The Movement also raised with the Labour Party and the SDP their MPs' participation in an all-party delegation to Namibia under the auspices of the 'Ministerial Council'. The two Labour MPs withdrew and the SDP member, Eric Ogden, went in defiance of his party.

The Movement has continued to support the Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract (CANUC). The aim of this campaign is to secure the cancellation of the contract between Rio Tinto Zinc and the Central Electricity Generating Board under which over 50 per cent of Britain's uranium now comes from Namibia's Rossing mine in defiance of international law and the wishes of the Namibian people as expressed by SWAPO.

On 12 December 1981, demonstrations were held throughout Britain outside electricity board offices or showrooms, and passers-by were handed leaflets asking 'Do you know how much of Britain's electricity is produced by nuclear reactors fuelled by uranium stolen from the people of Namibia?'. In London CANUC and the newly-formed London Committee of AAM, supported by Students against Nuclear Energy, CND, London Students Organisation and others, demonstrated outside the CEBG headquarters. In the North West CANUC supporters picketed Edmundsons in Morecambe, the firm which transports the yellowcake uranium. Other protests took place in 40 towns and cities including Newcastle, Glasgow, Southampton, Norwich, Leeds, Bath, Canterbury, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, Cardiff, Peterborough, Bristol, York, Huddersfield, Bradford, Cambridge, Hull and Plymouth.

A few days earlier Alan Sapper, Chairman of the TUC, and Frank Dobson MP handed in 10,000 CANUC petitions to 10 Downing Street, in a bid to get the government to cancel the contract.

CANUC followed up these initiatives with a postcard campaign. The cards were to be sent to MPs, the Foreign Secretary, the CEBG and to CANUC itself by supporters of the campaign. Other initiatives were discussed at two campaign meetings, in Birmingham and Leeds, attended by AAM, student, anti-nuclear and other supporters of this campaign. One of these was a drive to get local authorities to withdraw shares from RTZ in protest at their contract and involvement in Namibia. A number of local authorities have, as a result, decided to review their holdings, and Avon County Council has already decided to sell all but one of its RTZ shares.

Meanwhile, campaigning continued among trade unionists to secure their support for action to stop the imports of Namibian uranium. On 2 April 1982, the TGWU South-West Region held a seminar in Bristol attended by virtually all the unions involved in transport in the UK, as well as a number of others. Representatives of the workers at the British Nuclear Fuels plant at Springfields, where the uranium is processed, were also present. It was reported during the seminar that BNFL had been circulating material to its employees rejecting CANUC's campaign points. The seminar adopted a resolution stating that blockading actions are both 'feasible and necessary to do what the UK government has failed to do, give effect to Decree Number One'. Among other decisions taken were to invite SWAPO speakers to sites through which the uranium passes, isolate the Edmundsons transport firm and campaign more widely on the issue in the labour movement.

With the support of the Namibia Support Committee, the AAM is now planning a major Week of Action to take place in November 1982, which will spotlight the role of British companies in the illegal occupation of Namibia and demand their withdrawal.

During the year major impact was made by a report on Namibia prepared by a British Council of Churches delegation which visited Namibia in November 1981. The report concluded that the South African security forces were maintaining 'a

reign of arbitrary terror against which the local people have no redress'. The delegation reported that everywhere they went they found that SWAPO guerrillas were liked and respected, and were described as the 'children of the people'.

The AAM has continued to publicise and promote the material aid campaigns for SWAPO organised by the Namibia Support Committee. There has been particularly encouraging support for the SWAPO Medical Kits from the health unions.

## FRONT LINE STATES

DEVELOPMENTS in Southern Africa during the past year have re-emphasised the necessity for much more effective campaigning in solidarity with the front line states. *Anti-Apartheid News* has regularly reported on the consequences of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation. These have not only affected all the states of the region but have now reached out into the Indian Ocean with the South African-based attempted coup d'état in the Seychelles.

The task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been to publicise the nature and extent of South African aggression and destabilisation, including the financing and training of anti-government armed groups such as Unita and MNR, to mobilise support for the front line states and to expose the role of Britain and other countries in contributing to South Africa's military and nuclear build-up.

The front line states have continued to intensify their support for the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa, and at their Maputo summit in March 1982 the heads of state and government of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe decided 'to intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements, SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of national independence for their peoples'. They also decided 'to undertake actions at the level of international organisations and other fora with a view to mobilising support for the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples, as well as denouncing condemning and isolating the South African apartheid regime in all spheres'.

One of the AAM's main contributions towards providing a forum for the front line states was the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference convened in London the same week as the Maputo summit. The conference, reported under the *Campaigns* section of this report, was the most representative gathering ever held in Britain on Southern Africa. Representatives of the front line states participated actively in the conference and the special session on 'Africa under Attack' proved to be a unique opportunity to provide information about South Africa's aggression against Angola, with the first showing outside Angola of the film *Cahuma* and a briefing by Lt Col Ngongo of the General Staff of the Angolan armed forces, who had come straight from the war zone in Angola. The Seychelles Foreign Minister provided the conference with a vivid description of the attempted coup d'état in his country.

The 1981 ACM resolution on Angola provided a framework for the AAM's campaigning on South Africa's aggression against Angola. *AA News* has regularly reported on South African military operations and the Movement has worked closely with the Mozambique Angola and Guine Information Centre (MAGIC) in distributing communiques from the Angolan government. Representatives of the Angolan government have visited Britain on several occasions, in particular Angola's Ambassador to France, Hé Luis de Almeida, who addressed the joint Labour Party/AAM conference in January 1982; the national demonstration on 14 March and the SWAM rally on 2 June.

Speakers from SWAM, MAGIC and AAM have addressed meetings in many parts of the country on the theme of South African aggression. On 17 March AAM and SWAM jointly organised a well-attended meeting addressed by John Stockwell, former head of CIA operations in Angola.

The encouraging response in Britain to South Africa's invasion of Angola in August 1981, however, was not sustained during the year. The initial extensive and favourable publicity following the invasion rapidly turned into indifference to South Africa's continuing occupation and even pure South African propaganda. Appeals for aid for Angola by the big charities, in particular War on Want and Christian Aid, received a limited response from the public, although generous grants were made to Angola. The government's initial firm stand against the invasion, which included the supply of air transport for emergency supplies from the aid organisations, has changed significantly during the year. This is reflected primarily over the efforts of the United States and South Africa to link Namibian independence to Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

In June 1982 the Contact Group arrogantly sought to introduce 'other regional issues' into the negotiations over Namibia which in practice referred to Cuban withdrawal from Angola. The Movement reacted urgently to this development. Its President and other leading supporters wrote to the Foreign Secretary expressing alarm at reports that the government supported linkage. In July an AAM delegation met Foreign Office Minister of State Cranley Onslow, and secured an undertaking that the British government did not accept that Cuban withdrawal was a 'formal pre-condition for a Namibian settlement', but stated that it 'would greatly facilitate a Namibian settlement and contribute to a wider resolution of the conflict in the region'.

To mark a year of South African occupation of southern Angola and following reports of a major new South African offensive, the AAM, jointly with MAGIC, NSC and SWAM, organised a day of protest on 23 August with demonstrations outside the Foreign Office and the missions of the four other members of the Contact Group. An open letter from the four organisations was delivered to the governments of the five, in particular protesting against linkage. The British government's response stated that 'if the Americans and the South Africans need to see progress on Cuban withdrawal before being able to subscribe to a settlement, then we must recognise an interrelationship between Cuban withdrawal and a Namibian settlement. This is not a matter of linkage, but a fact of political life which we must acknowledge.' The front line states met a few days later, explicitly rejected any linkage and expressed their solidarity with Angola.

These developments over linkage coincided with persistent reports concerning plots to overthrow the Angolan government. In August the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso* revealed details of a series of meetings in London and Lisbon between South African intelligence, FNLA, Unita and Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis to launch a mercenary army against Angola. The AAM protested to the government at reports of the presence of South African intelligence operatives in London.

South African aggression is, however, by no means limited to Angola. There have been attacks against Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique during this period. South African agents have perpetrated acts of terrorism in most of these countries, in particular the assassination by car bomb of two young SACTU activists, Petrus and Jabu Nzima in Swaziland on 4 June 1982. Petrus Nzima had recently been appointed Deputy Representative of the ANC in Swaziland.

There was an unprecedented international outcry following the brutal and cowardly assassination of Ruth First by parcel bomb in Maputo on 17 August. Ruth First, a leading activist of the ANC and member of the Executive and National Committees of the AAM for most of the time she lived in Britain, had inspired and encouraged numerous anti-apartheid activists as well as making a profound impact on a wider academic and political community. This manifested itself in a mass protest outside South Africa House on 19 August, when over 300 people participated in an impromptu memorial meeting outside the entrance of the embassy. In early September, 200 people had to be turned away from a packed meeting at Hampstead Town Hall, where tributes were paid by Hilda Bernstein, Ethel de Keyser, Ronald Segal, Gavin Williams and Peter Manning. Archbishop Huddleston sent messages of condolence on behalf of the AAM to Ruth's family, the ANC and President Machel of Mozambique immediately following her assassination.

The Movement's Hon Secretary wrote to the Prime Minister following Ruth First's murder urging the government to protest formally to the South African authorities. A junior Foreign Office official replied that the government was working for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. Bob Hughes wrote back in protest to the Prime Minister, who replied that she could not meet a Movement delegation but arranged instead a meeting with Foreign Office Minister of State Cranley Gaslow. He apologised for the initial response and undertook to arrange for the British Ambassador to contact the Mozambican government concerning progress over the investigation into the assassination. He also agreed to give serious consideration to a memorandum the Movement would prepare on the enforcement of the arms embargo against South Africa.

Mozambique has not only been a target of South African aggression and a victim of South African terrorism, but increasingly it has been subjected to systematic attacks by the South African-backed MNR (Mozambique Resistance Movement).

The AAM has continued to liaise closely with Mozambique through MAGIC and participated in an international conference in London from 12-14 February of Mozambique solidarity organisations which were addressed by Armando Panguene of the Central Committee of Frelimo. Two weeks earlier, on 29 January, the eve of the first anniversary of the Matola massacre, several hundred people joined a torchlight march to a vigil outside South Africa House.

A very serious development affecting the unity of the independent states of the region has been the plans for South Africa to transfer to Swaziland various areas of bantustan land. The ANC prepared a comprehensive memorandum on the issue setting out its opposition to the plan, which was extensively reported in *AA News*.

The Movement's Executive Committee was giving serious consideration to new initiatives in solidarity with the front line states at the time of preparing this report. This coincided with various new initiatives on campaigning on Angola and Mozambique being considered by SWAM and MAGIC.

# SOUTH AFRICA

8 JANUARY 1982 marked the seventieth anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress of South Africa and, in response to appeals from the UN Special Committee against Apartheid as well as the ANC, the Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a series of events and supported those organised by the ANC.

On 8 January the AAM hosted a press conference at the House of Commons for Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC, and the same evening Frank Dobson MP, on behalf of the AAM, delivered a message of greetings at a public rally at Westminster Central Hall organised by the ANC. The anniversary was widely publicised, even prompting an editorial in *The Times*.

*Anti-Apartheid News* published a centre-spread in its January/February issue to mark the anniversary, and many local AA groups organised activities. Plans were also made for a nationwide speaking tour by the Chief Representative, Ruth Mompoti, in the autumn.

As a contribution to the events being organised during the year, the AAM, in cooperation with the ANC, organised a rally at Conway Hall on South Africa Freedom Day, which also served to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the launching of the Defiance Campaign. This also secured widespread publicity. The rally, which was chaired by Bob Hughes MP, was addressed by the High Commissioners of Tanzania and Lesotho, the Ethiopian Ambassador, the Political Commissioner of SWAPO, the Deputy Mayor of Brent, the General Secretary of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, and Francis Melli of the ANC. During the afternoon a series of films was shown, followed by discussion groups. The day's events culminated in a cultural event with Jabula and Jazz Africa performing.

The Movement has continued to respond actively to events inside South Africa. Developments such as the massive boycott of the Indian Council election, the forced removals, resistance both armed and mass, as well as crises among the white supremacists have been reported extensively in *Anti-Apartheid News*. Protests, reported under the section *Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society*, have been organised against acts of repression.

The apartheid regime has persisted in implementing its bantustan policies: on 4 December it declared the Ciskei 'independent' and, in response, demonstrations were organised outside the South African embassy in London and in York. A statement by the AAM condemning Ciskei's 'independence' was widely publicised. Two events resulted in the bantustan policy becoming a special focus for campaigning. The first was in January when Thames Television screened a \$1 million golf tournament at Sun City; and this was followed in September with the opening of 'Bophuthatswana House' in London. On both occasions the Movement responded by calling demonstrations and by protesting to the relevant authorities. These developments, and in particular the granting of visas to a party led by Lucas Mangope, the so-called 'president' of Bophuthatswana, to participate in the 'official opening' of 'Bophuthatswana House', reflect the growing de facto recognition of the bantustans in Britain.

The activities of South African intelligence operatives in Britain continue to be a matter of grave concern. On 14 March the ANC office was extensively damaged by a 10lb bomb, and there were subsequently break-ins at both the SWAPO and ANC offices. The British government refused to provide protection for visiting liberation movement leaders attending the *Southern Africa—The Time to Choose* conference, despite direct representations to the then Minister of State, Richard Luce.

CAMPAIGNS



## SOUTHERN AFRICA-THE TIME TO CHOOSE

*SOUTHERN AFRICA - The Time to Choose* was the theme of the most ambitious initiative of the Movement throughout its history. It took the form of a three-day conference, culminating in a national demonstration on Sunday 14 March.

The conference itself was the most representative gathering ever held in Britain on Southern Africa. The keynote address was delivered by the Vice President of Nigeria, and other distinguished international speakers were the Foreign Minister of the Seychelles, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, the Ambassadors of Angola to France and of Mozambique to the UN and Zimbabwe, and the High Commissioners of Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

British speakers included the leader of the Labour Party, Michael Foot, the leader of the Liberal Party, David Steel, as well as the Chairman of the TUC's International Committee, Tom Jackson.

The co-presidents of the conference were Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Allhaji Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

The conference benefited greatly from the specialist contributions of Lt Col Roberto Ngongo of the General Staff Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola; Dr Frank Barnaby, former Director of SIPRI; Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney General; John Stockwell, author of *In Search of Enemies* and former head of CIA operations in Angola.

The liberation movements were represented at the highest level, with delegations from SWAPO headed by its Chairman David Meeroo and the ANC headed by Alfred Nzo, General Secretary.

The conference was structured to provide opportunities for the exchange of information and discussion. Commissions considered South Africa's military and nuclear build-up, South Africa's war against independent Africa, and British, European and western policy. There was a high level of representation from overseas solidarity movements and international non-

governmental organisations, but most important of all was the representative nature of British participation. All the major parliamentary parties, most Christian denominations, senior officials of the main trade unions, local authority leaders, including the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and national and local representatives of a wide range of youth, student and women's organisations were all represented and participated actively in the work of the conference.

The Nigerian Vice President was accompanied by a delegation including the Minister of State for External Affairs, senior members of the Nigerian Senate and House of Representatives, as well as officials of the Nigerian Anti-Apartheid Committee.

The conference Declaration was adopted by acclaim and has been widely distributed in a popular form. It was presented to the Foreign Secretary on 15 March by Archbishop Huddleston and Abdul S Minty. The report of the conference was published by the UN and plans are in hand for the publication of extracts from the major addresses to the conference.

The conference culminated in the national demonstration on Sunday 14 March, which attracted an estimated attendance of 15,000. The seriousness of the issue was brought home by the bomb attack on the ANC office on the morning of the demonstration. The platform again reflected the growing support for the policies of the Movement: it included the Liberal Party President Viv Bingham, the Chairman of the Labour Party's International Committee, Joan Lester MP, Tony Benn, TUC Representative Glyn Lloyd, Paul Stephenson, the only black member of the Sports Council until his resignation over government policy on South Africa, and Anwar Ditta. The rally was chaired by Bob Hughes MP, and Trevor Huddleston spoke for the AAM.

The National Committee meeting in May assessed the impact of these activities and at its subsequent meeting adopted a Campaigning Framework which envisages a campaign on the same theme, culminating in a week of action from 14-21 March 1983.



# INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF MOBILISATION FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA



THE United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly in December 1981 to declare 1982 the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. Only eight countries voted against the resolution, including the United Kingdom. This declaration reflected growing concern in the UN and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) about the situation in Southern Africa and the persistent refusal of the major western powers to take effective measures against South Africa.

The first three months of the International Year coincided with the final months of the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa: Sanctions Now* campaign, which was launched by the AAM at a national mobilising conference in March 1981.

The campaigns to isolate apartheid South Africa have thus been at the heart of the AAM's work throughout the period of this report. The International Year was launched in London with a series of lectures at the Africa Centre: Ambassador James Gbeho of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid gave the first lecture on 13 January 1982 on the theme 'Africa's call for sanctions'. The lecture was chaired by the Kenyan High Commissioner to the UK and was attended by high level representatives of the diplomatic corps. The lectures considered all aspects of sanctions against South Africa with various specialists and experts contributing. The final lecture was addressed by the Nigerian High Commissioner, HE Alhaji Shehu Awak, and Bob Hughes MP of the AAM. Attendances rarely fell below 100 throughout the eight lectures of the series.

The main contributions of the AAM to the International Year were the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference and the national demonstration on Sunday 14 March on the theme 'Forward to Freedom in Namibia and South Africa: Isolate Apartheid South Africa Now'. The declaration of the conference, which was adopted by acclaim, appealed for the 'mobilisation of peoples and governments, during this International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa and for the total isolation of the racist regime of South Africa'. At the 14 March demonstration an estimated 15,000 people marched behind banners calling for the total isolation of South Africa.

A further manifestation of support for the sanctions policy was the 70,000 signatures collected for the sanctions petition during the AAM's *Isolate Apartheid South Africa: Sanctions Now* campaign.

The AAM sought a meeting with the government to discuss its refusal to support the International Year. A delegation led by Bob Hughes MP met the Minister of State Richard Luce on 8 March when a comprehensive memorandum was presented to the government on the International Year, proposing a number of measures the government could implement to enforce existing policies designed to isolate South Africa (eg sports boycott, arms embargo, etc), as well as setting out the case for extending the government's policy to embrace comprehensive economic sanctions. The Minister replied expressing the government's opposition to sanctions and its refusal to participate in any activities associated with the International Year.

The following week, on 15 March, AAM's President Trevor Huddleston and Abdul S Minty met the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, when they presented the declaration of the conference and argued again the case for government measures against South Africa. However, these representations, and those of many other organisations, have failed to secure any change of policy and, if anything, the government is more dismissive of such arguments now.

In contrast to this refusal by the Conservative government even to consider sanctions, there have been important and imaginative changes in policy by a wide range of organisations, reflecting ever growing public support for sanctions. These developments are reported in detail in the relevant sections of this report but, considered in totality, they reflect a very marked shift in thinking away from 'constructive engagement' towards an appreciation that the AAM's policy of seeking the isolation of South Africa is the only meaningful response to the growing crisis in Southern Africa.

The AAM intends to sustain these developments with a week of action against British collaboration with South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia from 27 October to 3 November, together with a nationwide campaign on the theme *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* which will culminate in a week of action from 14-21 March 1983.

During the period of this report much of the AAM's resources have been directed to producing material to convince people of the case for sanctions. This has included pamphlets, centrespreads in *AA News*, leaflets, badges, campaign briefings, etc. However, there is a clear need for even more material in this area, in particular dealing with areas of collaboration, together with campaign briefing material.

## Military and nuclear collaboration

IN 1977 the United Nations imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. However, this has failed to prevent the apartheid regime from continuing with its massive military and nuclear build-up.

In Britain, the Movement continues to be vigilant in seeking to expose any breaches in the embargo and to campaign for effective measures to strengthen the embargo and ensure its enforcement. Both the Labour and Liberal Parties have made explicit commitments that, if elected to government, they would implement such measures.

At an international level, the AAM works through the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with

South Africa to coordinate effective action. Considerable attention has been focused on the supply of enriched uranium to South Africa. The World Campaign made intensive efforts to try and stop the new French administration from supplying the Koeberg reactors with fuel, as well as cooperating with US groups to stop the Reagan administration from lifting its ban on the export of enriched uranium to South Africa. The World Campaign's pamphlet, *South Africa's Nuclear Capability* by Dan Smith, is now available in English, French, Dutch, Finnish and Japanese.

In Britain the AAM organised a conference sponsored by CND on the theme 'South Africa, Apartheid and the Bomb' on

31 October 1981, in London, with the aim of stimulating greater interest and activity in this area. A considerable victory was secured at Imperial College who, after a long history of collaboration in the training of nuclear fuel technologists, turned down a South African proposal for a special course and apparently no longer has any South African-sponsored students on such courses.

The AAM also participated in two major CND demonstrations, on 29 October 1981 and 6 June 1982, to focus attention on the 'apartheid bomb', and special leaflets on the issue have been produced.

In September 1982, following representations to the government over South Africa's aggression against the front line states, the government undertook to give serious consideration to proposals from the AAM for strengthening and strictly enforcing the arms embargo.

## Economic collaboration

COMPLEMENTING the general campaign for sanctions, many activities have been organised to expose and seek to halt specific examples of economic collaboration with South Africa. As the following examples reveal, this continues to be at the heart of British/South African relations. Developments during the period of this report include:

The General Electric Co (GEC) announced that it would be supplying the South African state electricity supply commission (ESCOM) with a further £250 millions worth of turbine generators. The six 600 megawatt generators are for a new Transvaal power station and brings to 25 per cent the proportion of GEC Turbine Generators' current business with South Africa. GEC has supplied half of the turbines ordered by ESCOM since 1975, and is spending R40 million on expansion in South Africa.

British Leyland announced a fresh round of investment and major expansion at its Elsie's River plant in South Africa, where Leyland South Africa will now produce the Renault 1500 together with the Mini, Rover and Range Rover. The workforce will more than double, and production will increase to more than 45,000 vehicles a year. Some £9 million will be spent altogether on the expansion.

In June 1982 Ford UK began selling the first of 10,000 P-100 Cortina-based pick-up trucks manufactured in South Africa at its Port Elizabeth plant, the first time a major South African-manufactured item has been imported into Britain in quantity. This marks a significant new stage in the pattern of British economic collaboration with South Africa. Importing the trucks to Britain will be worth an estimated R60 million plus for Ford South Africa, in what it describes as a 'logical' economic move.

AAM revealed in May 1982 that British Overseas Trade Board-sponsored trade missions to South Africa, planned for or already completed during 1982, comprised nearly 60 per cent of all British trade missions to the whole of Africa over the same period (some 13 missions) and that the proportion is increasing and is considerably higher than to any other market of equivalent size, even outside Africa. These trade missions, organised by local chambers of commerce and national industry associations, were from the Engineering Industries Association (which has visited South Africa nine times in the last two years), Coventry Chamber of Commerce, Thames Export Club, Association of British Manufacturers of Photographic, Cine and Audio-Visual Equipment, British Jewellery and Giftware Federation, Worcester Chamber of Commerce, Scottish Council of Development and Industry, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Engineering Building Centre, Derby and Derbyshire Chamber of Commerce, and Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It is estimated that each mission will bring in orders of up to £1 million and

potential orders of up to £3 million, plus many new investment opportunities. While only two per cent of British exports overall go to South Africa, as much as 15 per cent of the support provided by the BOTB is for trade missions to boost exports to apartheid.

In October 1981 the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and the UK-South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA) organised a conference to boost British trade with South Africa. The conference was attended by dozens of top industrialists and a delegation of senior officials from the Foreign Office.

The National Westminster Bank, together with West German, Swiss and South African banks, agreed to make a R160 million loan to the apartheid regime, to be channelled to the Soweto Community Council. Loans are on the upturn again, especially because of the fall in the gold price.

Ten South African companies took part in a London conference to boost international coal trade and make bulk coal transport more efficient. South Africa became the third largest coal exporter in the world this year, and 35 per cent of Britain's anthracite imports now come from there, mostly under the auspices of Shell. In May 1982 the government refused to ban these imports, saying that this would be inconsistent with 'our international obligations'.

Britain's largest manufacturer of aluminium diesel engines, Pettlers Diesels, announced that it would begin production in South Africa shortly, joining another British diesel concern, Perkins, as two of the three main companies in this field in South Africa.

It was revealed that South African textile imports to Britain have increased more than ten-fold since 1975, to a value of £10 million.

It is impossible to itemise all the campaigning activities organised in relation to these and other cases of economic collaboration. A most important development has been the declaration by local authorities of 'apartheid-free zones'. This was initiated by Sheffield, and has been followed by Brent, and Newcastle council is considering a similar proposal. Other local authorities, such as Norwich and Crawley, have taken specific action by withdrawing their accounts from Barclays Bank.

The ELTSA Shadow Board, on which two members of the Movement's Executive Committee serve, has published a second Shadow Report which presents the true face of Barclays in Southern Africa. Local activities have been organised on Barclays, in particular a nationwide day of action on 15 October 1981.

A very serious development has been the move by the IMF to provide loans to South Africa, and the AAM plans to coordinate with other anti-apartheid groups on this issue.

## Sports boycott

THE SPORTS boycott continues to generate more controversy and greater press interest than any other aspect of the AAM's work. The AAM has continued to work in close cooperation with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC).

During the year the government has demonstrated its capacity to enforce the Glencagles agreement and to persuade sporting organisations to take measures against players who breach it. A number of competitions were cancelled, including a tour by the Durban Collegians Rugby Club and a British/South African motorcycle competition, and the Welsh Rugby Union decided to call off their planned tour of South Africa.

The two South African Breweries-funded private tours, of cricketers in March and footballers in July, had a powerful impact on the public and the latter collapsed in chaos as black

soccer teams refused to compete against the touring party.

These positive developments, however, should not produce complacency. Local vigilance is still required to expose visits to and from South Africa; there are still many low level tours of Britain. Indeed Britain continues to be the major violator of the international sports boycott. Rugby tours to South Africa during this period included Cardiff, Gloucester and an international XV largely composed of British players. A South African team again competed at the International Stoke Mandeville Games in July, despite a well-organised campaign by Disabled People Against Apartheid and the AAM.

In July a delegation from the Movement met the Minister of Sports, Neil MacFarlane, and presented a memorandum which proposed detailed measures for ensuring the effective implementation of the Gleneagles agreement. Future government policy will be considerably influenced by developments in the Commonwealth Games Federation. Afro-Asian proposals to enable the Federation to suspend member countries which commit a serious breach of the Gleneagles agreement could open the way to British exclusion from the Commonwealth Games unless the government enforces the agreement more vigorously.

The AAM has also protested to both the BBC and ITV companies over the screening of sports events organised in breach of the Gleneagles agreement. In January, Thames TV studios were picketed by AAM and ACTT members over the screening of golf from Sun City.

## Cultural and academic boycott

DEVELOPMENTS in this campaign have attracted considerable publicity in the last year and there have been some notable successes.

In order to popularise the arguments for the cultural boycott, the AAM produced a centre-spread in *Anti-Apartheid News* in December 1981. This included a list of those British artists who had visited South Africa in the preceding six months. This included internationally-known singers, film stars and musicians, including Cliff Richard, Shirley Bassey, Rick Wakeman, Kim Wilde and Barbara Woodhouse. A further list identified some of those who were expected to perform in South Africa in 1982, including Rod Stewart, Elton John and Leo Sayer. This list attracted considerable publicity and, with the subsequent campaign, secured publicity in the *News of the World*, *Sunday People* (two front page stories), *Daily Star* and *Daily Mirror*, as well as the music and entertainments press.

Subsequently Elton John announced that he would not be visiting South Africa, and Kim Wilde's manager stated that she would not be returning to South Africa. Later Rod Stewart's plans to perform at Sun City were also cancelled. However, Shirley Bassey, claiming that she was 'an entertainer, not a politician', refused to boycott South Africa despite significant opposition to her South African visits in her home town of Cardiff - again widely reported in the mass circulation press. The black newspaper *Caribbean Times*, commenting on her October 1981 performances at Sun City, asked in an open letter, 'Have you forgotten your own multi-social background, have you forgotten those truths your daddy taught you - that you must not sell your soul for a few pounds?' Singer/comedienne Marti Caine also decided to go ahead with her summer extended session at Sun City.

Still more publicity surrounded the Wales AAM's campaign (see *Local Groups*) to stop the visits of a number of Welsh male voice choirs to South Africa. After the Rhos Orpheus and Cwmbach choirs eventually refused to go to South Africa, despite financial inducements from the Weaving International Friendship Foundation, an organisation established by apart-

heid apologist Stuart Weaving, advertisements appeared in the Welsh press inviting individual Welsh choristers to join the 'Stuart Weaving Welsh Male Voice Choir'. Weaving put up £600 per singer and a choir of 69 flew to South Africa in October 1981 to take part in the Roodepoort Eisteddfod there. The choristers sang under the blanket pseudonym of 'Jones'. However, the identities of 32 of the choristers were discovered by AAM and these names were submitted to the United Nations in October, when Ambassador James Gbeho of the Special Committee against Apartheid addressed an AAM press conference on the issue. Six members of the 'Jones choir' were reported to have decided to stay in South Africa. Those who returned to Britain claimed that blacks were quite happy under apartheid! The Wales AAM has also been campaigning to break links between the Roodepoort Eisteddfod and the Welsh International Eisteddfod, and considerable publicity has been attracted by the role of Lord Chalfont, president of the International Eisteddfod, who was in South Africa to welcome the 'Jones choir'.

Stuart Weaving again figured prominently in efforts to stage a British tour for the Natal Youth Choir. Brent AA (see *Local Groups*) succeeded in securing the cancellation of a planned London concert by the choir, which was invited to Britain by the Weaving organisation 'Friendship', but the choir performed in Liverpool and Jersey.

Meanwhile, in November the Queen's personal piper, Captain Andrew Pitkeathly, and the Shotts and Dykehead Caledonian Pipe Band from Scotland visited South Africa. The Labour Party in Scotland condemned the tour.

The growing support for the academic boycott of South Africa, reported in last year's annual report, has clearly caused considerable concern to the South African apartheid regime. At the end of 1981, a new cultural attache was appointed to the London embassy - Dr John Michael Leighton, a former censor of English language book imports to South Africa. In May 1982 it was revealed that Dr Leighton had written to universities and other further and higher educational establishments asking to meet vice chancellors, principals and selected staff 'with a view to discussing possible ways and means of fruitful exchange to the mutual benefit of both countries'. At least one vice chancellor has refused to have anything to do with Dr Leighton's approach, but it is understood that he has visited one Scottish university. In May the Association of University Teachers (AUT) circulated its branches warning them of the South African effort to undermine AUT policy, which is to support 'a total boycott on any form of contact with South African universities and South African academics'. The AAM held a fringe meeting at the AUT Council in London in 1982 to secure further support for this policy, and has now drawn up a university teachers contact list for use in future campaigning, especially to counteract the activities of Dr Leighton. The National Union of Students has also warned student unions about the embassy's activities, and the campaign to secure a total academic boycott was a major feature of the annual NUS/AAM student conference in June (see *Youth and Students*).

In September 1982 the South African Institute for International Affairs hosted a conference on 'Foreign Powers in Africa', held at the CSIR headquarters, to which a number of international guests were invited, including Dr Kissinger, Shirley Williams MP and Professor Michael Howard of Oxford University. The Movement made representations to all the international speakers, following which Shirley Williams withdrew.

The AAM is now drawing up a booklet summarising the arguments for the academic boycott in order to secure more support amongst university and further education teachers. A great deal of work has yet to be done to secure wholehearted support for this policy. Among artists and entertainers, too, there needs to be a stepping up of the educational work of the

AAM, although current indications are that the boycott campaign is holding its ground. The policy of the three main entertainment unions remains strong (and the decision of the Associated Actors and Artists of America, to support the boycott, will help to make the British boycott more effective). The great majority of individual artists are committed to the boycott of South Africa.

The National Committee twice considered issues arising from the visits to Britain of genuine anti-apartheid theatre groups. A statement outlining AAM policy is currently being considered by local AA groups.



## SOUTHERN AFRICA THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY



1981/82 has witnessed a number of very disturbing developments in the increased use of repressive measures intended to intimidate and crush opposition to apartheid. Mass detentions, particularly of trade unionists, increasing evidence of systematic torture of detainees, and deaths in detention have led SATIS to warn of a new wave of terror against the people of South Africa and Namibia. Political trials have been characterised by long periods of detention, both for those accused and for state witnesses, increased use of 'treason' charges and the imposition of death sentences. The detention and harassment of SWAPO supporters and, most seriously, 'disappearances' have shown the reality of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The past year has also shown more clearly than ever not only the apartheid regime's contempt for independent African states in the region, with bombings and assassinations of ANC and SACTU representatives and leading opponents of apartheid, including Ruth First, but also its ability and willingness to perpetrate such outrages as far afield as London, with the bombing of the ANC offices in March.

The Anti - Apartheid Movement continues to give active support to the work of the SATIS Committee, which is administered from the AAM office. The National Committee considered a detailed plan of action prepared by SATIS, aimed at securing the implementation of the resolution on political prisoners adopted at the 1981 AGM.

### Prisoner-of-war status

SATIS has made a special priority of trying to secure wider public support for the granting of prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters in Namibia and South Africa. This has assumed a special significance because of the refusal of the South African authorities to endorse the new Protocol of the Geneva Conventions which grants such a status to combatants struggling against racist regimes. In trials of captured SWAPO and ANC freedom fighters the defence has presented evidence from international legal experts on this specific matter.

The British government, however, refuses to make representations to the South African authorities urging them to accede to these Protocols and therefore SATIS has concentrated on securing wider public support for this campaign.

### Death sentences

The major campaigns organised by SATIS over the year have been against the imposition of death sentences on captured ANC freedom fighters. The Pretoria Three - Petrus Mashigo, Naphthali Manana and Ncimbithi Lubisi - were sentenced to death in November 1980. In the intervening period before their appeal was heard, SATIS disseminated information to a wide range to individuals and organisations, and organised a number of activities to draw attention to their case, including a picket in February to mark their 15 months on death row. Many letters and telegrams were sent by SATIS supporters to the Foreign Office, urging HMG intervention.

SATIS launched an emergency campaign in April 1982 following the decision of the appeal court to confirm the

death sentences. At an international level, an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council was convened and a resolution unanimously adopted calling on the South African authorities to commute the sentences. In Britain, actions included a march from Parliament Square to South Africa House. Protests were sent to the South African State President and numerous appeals made to the government to intervene. Special leaflets, stickers, etc. were produced. A delegation, led by the Chairperson of the AAM with representatives of SATIS and the United Nations Association, met Minister of State Cranley Onslow on 3 June. Later that same day news was received that the sentences were to be commuted.

The Treason Trial Three Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise - sentenced to death in August 1981, had their appeal heard on 3 September 1982. At the time of writing, no announcement of the outcome has been made. SATIS organised a 12-hour vigil outside South Africa House on the first anniversary of the sentencing. It also produced a pamphlet on the case, which was widely distributed to the press and organisations, and, should the appeal be unsuccessful, is prepared to undertake an urgent letter and telegram campaign to stop the executions being carried out.

A further three ANC members, the Moroka Three - Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mugnerane and Marcus Motaung - were sentenced to death on 6 August 1982. At the beginning of September SATIS received the news that the three were not appealing against sentence but had lodged a petition for clemency with the State President. SATIS immediately prepared a pamphlet on their case and, at the time of writing, is organising a letter/telegram campaign to secure direct government intervention and is planning weekly pickets of the South African embassy in London.

All of these cases were characterised by particularly brutal torture of the accused, prompting SATIS to describe the situation as one where 'trial by law in the courtroom has been replaced by trial by torture in the detention cell'. It is increasingly obvious that the South African judicial system is a mockery of justice and that convictions are based on 'confessions' extracted under torture in solitary confinement.

In all these cases a major feature of SATIS's publicity material has been the demand for prisoner-of-war status for captured freedom fighters.

### South African terrorism

Murders, bombings and other terrorist tactics have become a prominent feature in the apartheid regime's war against its opponents. In December a prominent Durban lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, was brutally murdered. Mxenge was a member of the ANC and had served a prison sentence on Robben Island. SATIS organised a well-supported torchlight vigil to coincide with a memorial meeting for Mxenge in South Africa, and raised this issue with lawyers' organisations in Britain.

SATIS also publicised other acts of South African terrorism, such as the murder of relatives of SAAWU leader Thozamile Gqweta and the murder by car bomb of Petrus and Jabu Nzima

in June 1982. The murder of Ruth First, by parcel bomb, in Mozambique shocked and saddened her many friends in Britain, and SATIS helped to publicise the memorial meeting held by the ANC.

### Deaths in detention

After an apparent cessation of deaths in detention following the international outcry over the Biko case, the past year has witnessed three more murders of detainees. The first of these, Tshifwe Muofohe, died two days after being detained by the Venda security police in November 1981. SATIS and a number of other organisations protested to the government and a vigil was held. The second, Dr Neil Aggett, a trade unionist who had been detained in November, was 'found hanging' in his cell on 5 February 1982. The first white to die in detention, Dr Aggett's death created a storm of protest inside South Africa as well as internationally. Again, SATIS urged the government to protest, and a mass protest was held outside South Africa House on 8 February. Students from Kings College, angered by his death, occupied South African Airways at Oxford Circus for several hours. In August 1982 a third death in detention, of 20-year-old Ernest Dipale, was reported.

The inquests into the deaths of both Tshifwe Muofohe and Dr Aggett have, like that of Steve Biko, revealed the extent of systematic torture which the South African security police inflict on detainees. International press coverage of the murder of Tshifwe Muofohe was minimal, and the refusal of the British government to intervene following his death and that of Dr Aggett has obviously helped to convince the South African authorities that they can act with impunity.

### Detentions

There were mass detentions of trade unionists and anti-apartheid activists in November, and SATIS, together with the AAM Trade Union Committee, organised protests to the South African regime. Evidence of increasingly brutal treatment of detainees soon came to light, and a number of detainees were transferred to psychiatric hospitals as a result of the treatment they received. In January the British engineer, Steven Kitson, was detained whilst in South Africa to visit his father, David Kitson, who is serving a 20-year sentence. This attracted considerable media interest and SATIS successfully urged the British government to intervene. As a result of these protests, Steven Kitson was released.

In response to the increased interest following Steven Kitson's detention, SATIS held a public meeting on 29 January on the theme 'Terror and Torture in South Africa', which was addressed by Ken Gill, General Secretary of AUEW-TASS, and Fred Carneson of the ANC. Dr Antony Storr, the well-known psychiatrist and writer, spoke about the effects of solitary confinement and maltreatment of detainees. At the meeting the AUEW-TASS announced details of new campaigning initiatives to secure remission of sentence for David Kitson, for whom they have been campaigning for the past 18 years. This led to 100 MPs backing the campaign for remission and the subsequent intervention of the British government. On David Kitson's 63rd birthday the Kitson family started a non-stop picket of South Africa House to publicise his case.

Within South Africa there has been a very significant development with the growth of Detainees Support Committees established by the families of detainees in order to mobilise publicity for their cases. This has resulted in much greater concern within South Africa about the conditions of detainees, in particular issues such as the right of access to lawyers, doctors, family and friends. SATIS sought to publicise and support these developments.

### Trade union repression

There has been a marked escalation in repression against the struggles of black workers. This has taken the form of naked

violence such as the shooting of striking black miners; but it has also taken the form of harassment, victimisation and detention of leaders of the non-racial trade union movement.

To highlight SATIS's concern at these developments, the UN Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners was marked by a vigil between 3 and 4 pm on the steps of St Martin in the Fields to protest in particular at the repression of the trade union movement and the case of Oscar Mpeha. SATIS has worked closely with the AAM Trade Union Committee to promote campaigns in this area.

In November there was a mass crackdown on trade union leaders, many of whom were held for long periods in detention. One of those detained was Neil Aggett, who died in detention three months later. Other trade unionists were detained in subsequent weeks.

In May British trade unionists reacted angrily to the news that the President, Vice President and General Secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) were to be tried on charges of terrorism. Emergency motions condemning this frame-up were adopted at many trade union conferences and an emergency demonstration was held outside South Africa House on 12 May. In a development without precedent, all three were subsequently released on bail pending trial. The SAAWU President, Thozamile Gqweta, was particularly viciously tortured and had to be transferred into psychiatric care before being released from detention, only to be rearrested and charged. A leaflet on the case of the SAAWU leaders was produced.

### Nelson Mandela

The campaign to release Nelson Mandela continues to be at the centre of SATIS's work on political prisoners. Exhibitions, pamphlets, posters, badges, stickers and leaflets produced by SATIS, the UN and IDAF continue to be widely distributed. Building on the successful campaigns during 1980/81, there have been a number of significant developments.

On 11 October 1981 the Lord Provost of Glasgow announced his intention to launch a Mayors' Declaration calling for Mandela's release, following the granting of the freedom of the City of Glasgow to Nelson Mandela. This initiative secured the endorsement of well over 2,000 mayors from all over the world.

Later the same month, at the initiative of the socialist group, the European Parliament held an exhibition on Nelson Mandela in Strasbourg prepared by the International Defence and Aid Fund. The exhibition was opened by the President of the European Parliament, Mme Simone Weil, and Barbara Castle officiated at the ceremony which was attended by MEPs and members of the European Commission. The opening of the exhibition coincided with a visit to the Parliament by the President of the ANC Oliver Tambo. The AAM, which had been actively involved in the organisation of the exhibition, was represented by its Executive Secretary, Mike Terry.

In October Sheffield City Council presented its declaration of solidarity with Nelson Mandela and the ANC to Ruth Mompoti at a special ceremony in the council chamber. The ANC itself presented an attractively framed photograph of Nelson Mandela to the Lord Mayor as an expression of its appreciation of the action taken by Sheffield.

The thirtieth anniversary of the launching of the Defiance Campaign provided a further opportunity to focus attention on Nelson Mandela, who had been national volunteer-in-chief. Appeals for the release of Nelson Mandela were made by Labour leader Michael Foot and Liberal leader David Steel.

There have been several other initiatives in this campaign, involving the naming of rooms, buildings, etc, after Nelson Mandela. Two trade unions, the SPCS and NUM, honoured Nelson Mandela by inviting ANC speakers to address their conferences.

The twentieth anniversary of the capture of Nelson Mandela, 5 August, was marked by AAM and SATIS, on

behalf of the ANC, with a call for an intensified campaign for Mandela's release by ANC President Oliver Tambo. This call was the focus of widespread publicity. SATIS, AAM and the ANC responded by preparing to launch a major new campaign including an international petition, on 11 October.

### Kassinga

A vigil was held at the beginning of May to mark the fourth anniversary of the Kassinga massacre and to draw attention to the fact that at least 119 people abducted during the Kassinga massacre are still held in a concentration camp in Namibia. SATIS again urged British government intervention to secure the release of the detainees.

### Other activities

In the course of the year a number of organisations initiated activity which was supported by SATIS. For example, Oxfam organised a 12-hour vigil for two Oxfam workers, Alex and Khosi Mbatha, who were detained, and church organisations held a vigil for those people forcibly removed from Nyanga. A formal liaison with Amnesty was established, and Amnesty responded to appeals for urgent action on death sentences. The SATIS-ACTION scheme got off to a slow start, but it is hoped to increase support for this over the next few months. The Christmas list of families of prisoners was widely circulated, and many SATIS and AAM supporters have reported that they have received letters or cards from the families thanking them for their solidarity. In addition to the two pamphlets published on the Treason Trial Three and the Moroka Three, SATIS was able to publish a pamphlet on Walter Sisulu, with the aid of a grant from the UN Centre against Apartheid, to coincide with his seventieth birthday.

The AAM cooperated with the ANC and Penguin Books in organising a meeting at the Africa Centre addressed by Indres Naidoo to coincide with the publication of his book, *Island in Chains*, which secured widespread publicity about conditions on Robben Island. SATIS has expressed concern at developments following the removal of a number of prisoners from Robben Island to other prisons. A small and largely insignificant move was announced in July when a number of political prisoners, both Namibian and South African, were released before completion of their sentences. However, the periods of remission were a few days or at most a few weeks, and it has not resulted in remission of sentence for any political prisoners serving long terms or life sentences.

SATIS is drawing up plans for a major conference to be held in February 1983 which is aimed at increasing understanding of the nature of repression in South Africa and Namibia and at strengthening its campaigning activities.

## MATERIAL AID

THERE has been increasing interest expressed by supporters of the Movement in material aid campaigns. The AAM continues to publicise and mobilise support for the SWAPO material aid campaigns organised by the Namibia Support Committee, and there has been an impressive response to these appeals.

The Movement again encouraged its local groups to organise Walks for Soweto, to mark the anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, and half of the funds raised from these walks goes to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College run by the ANC in Tanzania. The Women's Committee has begun to organise fund-raising, in particular for the ANC creche at Mazimbu in Tanzania; the Health Committee is considering similar initiatives. A special appeal by Archbishop Huddleston, Michael Foot, David Steel and Jack Jones was made following the bombing of the ANC office in London to raise money for the rebuilding and re-equipping of the office.

A new development in material aid has been the initiative of SWAM in seeking to raise funds for projects in Mozambique and Angola.

Special efforts continue to be made to secure financial solidarity for the struggle of black workers in South Africa from the trade union movement both in the form of assistance to SACTU and its strike fund, as well as to the non-racial unions operating legally in South Africa.



# INTERNATIONAL WORK

THE AAM has continued to strengthen its relations with other anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations, as well as international organisations concerned with Southern Africa.

## United States policy

The 1981 AGM adopted a resolution condemning in particular US policy towards Southern Africa and called for strengthening of relations with organisations in the US.

In June 1982 the AAM joined other solidarity and peace organisations to organise a Festival of Peace and Freedom to coincide with the visit to Britain of President Reagan. The Chief Representatives of SWAPO and ANC addressed a workshop on Southern Africa and in the evening Shapua Kaukungua of SWAPO spoke again at the mass rally on behalf of the liberation movements. The event proved to be a great success in alerting participants to the dangers of US policy towards Southern Africa.

Direct contact with different US campaigning organisations has been strengthened during the year when Abdul S Minty and Mike Terry met representatives during visits to the US. It is hoped that these links will continue to grow, particularly in the area of nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

## UN arms embargo

The UN Security Council has still not given serious consideration to the report on the arms embargo prepared by its Committee on the Arms Embargo in September 1980. It has also not considered the report on the UN seminar on the arms embargo held in London in April 1981. This is largely due to the negative attitude of the western permanent members of the Security Council.

In order to focus attention on these issues, the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, at the suggestion of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held a special hearing in June during the special UN session on disarmament.

Earlier in June Abdul S Minty had attended a UN Council for Namibia seminar in Vienna on South Africa's military occupation of Namibia. This meeting coincided with a meeting in Vienna of the International Atomic Energy Authority, at which it was decided to admit the UN Council for Namibia into membership. This has been followed up by renewed efforts by the World Campaign to secure the expulsion of South Africa from the IAEA. In September 1982, prior to its annual conference, the World Campaign wrote formally to the Chairman of the IAEA demanding its expulsion. The UN Special Committee undertook to place the matter before the UN General Assembly should the IAEA decide not to expel South Africa.

## UN Special Committee against Apartheid

The Special Committee elected a new Chairman in 1981. HE Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and a longstanding fighter

for freedom and justice on the African continent. Bob Hughes on behalf of the AAM sent a message of congratulations to the new Chairman, pledging the Movement's full cooperation in the common struggle for freedom in Southern Africa. Alhaji Maitama-Sule visited Britain in December to consult AAM officials and as the guest of the Lord Provost of Glasgow. A visit to Sheffield had to be cancelled because of weather conditions.

The UN Special Committee co-sponsored the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference in March, and the Chairman, on the eve of the conference, issued a special appeal to the British people which was widely distributed throughout the country.

The AAM's Executive Secretary was invited to New York in April 1982 to address the UN Special Committee and for consultation with the UN Centre against Apartheid and other UN organs. Representatives of the AAM participated in two major UN conferences, one in Brussels on Women and Children, where Judy Kimble and Abdul S Minty were present, and an Asian regional conference attended by Abdul S Minty, which provided a unique opportunity to meet Asian and Australasian solidarity organisations.

## Commonwealth

The Commonwealth Conference in Melbourne in September/October 1981 considered developments in detail in Southern Africa, and the communique was the strongest statement ever made by the Commonwealth. Abdul S Minty was present in Melbourne, where he met Commonwealth leaders.

## European Economic Community

The AAM has worked increasingly at the level of EEC institutions because of the critical role of the EEC in relation to economic collaboration with South Africa. Mike Terry attended the opening session of the Mandela Exhibition at the European Parliament in Strasbourg in October 1981, and used the opportunity to meet many MEPs of various parties.

In January 1982 Abdul S Minty was invited to a meeting with the Socialist Group to discuss the situation in Southern Africa and, following this visit, it appointed a group to investigate and report on violations of the arms embargo.

Representations have been made to individual MEPs concerning reports relating to Southern Africa under consideration by the European Assembly, and questions have been submitted in response to suggestions from the AAM.

## International Committee on Southern Africa (ICSA)

The AAM had to decline an invitation to participate in an ICSA Material Aid Workshop in September 1981. However, various suggestions were discussed to ensure follow-up of this meeting in Britain with British participants. Chris Child attended an extended meeting of the ICSA Secretariat in East Berlin on behalf of the AAM.

## LOCAL GROUPS

LOCAL activity is central to the AAM's campaigning and its local groups are at the heart of the Movement's efforts to mobilise the people of Britain in support of the cause of freedom in Southern Africa. In recent years—partly because the AAM has put more and more resources into this area—there has been a marked upturn in local activity, both in its extent and its geographical spread. However a great deal remains to be done to strengthen this area of work and to secure an effective presence in each and every major town and city in Britain. The National Committee has discussed this matter in detail and it will clearly be a major issue to be tackled in 1982/83.

In 1980 the AAM decided to make a greater effort to establish new groups and although they have been formed in many areas Birmingham and Walsall, for example, remain the only AA groups in the whole of the densely populated and highly industrialised West Midlands; and in London there is only one group south of the River Thames. The establishment of new groups in these areas in particular remains of primary importance.

There are now some 50 local groups in Britain (plus the Wales, Scottish and London committees—see below). New groups have been set up in Bath, Braintree, Brent, the City of London, Highgate, Nottingham, Walsall, Scarborough and Wrexham. Groups in Tyneside have been revived but groups have ceased to exist in Greenwich and Stoke-on-Trent, while the Southwark and Lambeth groups have been replaced by a single South London group. New groups are in the process of being set up in Crawley (Sussex), Aberdare and Chesterfield.

During the past year local groups took part in the many nationally coordinated days and weeks of action: against Barclays Bank; against the Namibian uranium contract; the Trade Union Week of Action; and the Rowntree-Mackintosh Week of Action (see relevant sections). Groups also mobilised for the three regional labour movement conferences (see *Trade Unions*) held in late 1981 and three regional AAM activists conferences held in early 1982; and the AA Groups' Fund-Raising Week from 16-26 June (see *Finance and Fund-Raising*). As part of the fund-raising activities, a number of groups again held sponsored Walks for Soweto to raise funds for the AAM's educational work and the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Mazimbu, Tanzania. At least 10 such walks were organised in June, and it is estimated that they will raise more than £4,000. Several groups, notably Bristol and Merseyside, organised activities to mark the ANC's *Year of Unity in Action*, and at the time of writing some 11 groups were involved in planning a speaking tour by the ANC's Chief Representative, Ruth Mompati, for October 1982.

The principal preoccupation of AAM local groups, however, and the Movement as a whole, was with the activities organised as part of the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa—Sanctions Now* campaign and AAM's contribution to the UN International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. Chief among these were the petition and the national demonstration held in London on Sunday 14 March. The response to the petition—only 70,000 signatures in 12 months of campaigning—indicates in particular the differing levels of local organisation. On the other hand there was a tremendous response to the 14 March demonstration: 24 coaches were organised, and this alone represents a significant degree of local mobilisation throughout Britain which helped to make the demonstration one of the biggest ever organised by AAM and certainly the biggest in recent years.

Local group meetings have been held in London on three occasions during the year, but they have been poorly attended. A *Local Groups Mailing* is produced every eight weeks, providing samples of new material, background information on campaigns, details of progress with particular campaigns, etc. Two members of the London office staff have been allocated to assist local groups, coordinate campaigning and promote further local activity.

The Wales Committee of the AAM, whose formation was reported in the 1980/81 annual report, has had great success in regenerating anti-apartheid activity in Wales and in developing a specifically Welsh identity for AAM activities there. The Committee has been particularly concerned with the sports and cultural boycott campaigns, but it has also now begun to produce a number of its own publications (in Welsh and English editions), and its campaigning has resulted in the formation of two new AA groups in Wrexham and Aberdare. There is the possibility of more being formed soon. Affiliations to WAAM from trade unions, trades councils, Labour Party branches and individuals continue to flow in steadily, and when WAAM held its first annual conference in Pentypridd on 27 March to plan future work it was attended by 100 people. The Wales TUC, Labour and Liberal Parties, Plaid Cymru, the Communist Party's Welsh District and the Republican Socialist Party, plus 15 trades councils, sent delegates.

One of WAAM's major campaigns is to end collaboration between the Llangollen International Eisteddfod and South Africa, and this year Eisteddfod Vice President, Allan Rodgers MEP, called on local authorities throughout Wales to withhold financial support from the festival. Wrexham took up this lead and in July, when the Eisteddfod got underway, Wrexham AA held a protest meeting, a demonstration and a leaflet distribution in support of the need for a cultural boycott. Last year the Eisteddfod Chairman and Executive Secretary went to South Africa to help set up a similar festival in Rodepoort.

Earlier in the year WAAM had been active in opposing the planned visit to South Africa by the Cwmbach and Rhos Orpheus choirs and, when these were cancelled, the Stuart Weaving sponsored 'Jones Choir' (see *Academic and Cultural Boycott*). WAAM have also campaigned against the visit to South Africa by Cardiff Rugby Club and other sporting links (see *Sports Boycott*): they wrote to each player and main official urging them to call off their planned five-match rugby tour in May. WAAM produced a broadsheet on Sport in South Africa (complementing others on women, the car industry in South Africa, and coal), and are also researching into the apartheid connections of Welsh companies for a further booklet. The most important development in Wales, however, and the most glowing tribute to WAAM's work, was the decision in December 1981 by the Wales Rugby Union to cancel its tour of South Africa planned for May. The cancellation of the tour contrasted sharply with the failure to stop the Lions and the Irish rugby union tour of South Africa in 1980/81. A sustained campaign had been organised throughout Wales to convince players and non-players alike that the tour should be cancelled. It was backed by the Wales TUC and the Welsh Council of Churches. Plaid Cymru and the Labour Party took up the issue in both Wales and Westminster.

The Scottish Committee of the AAM continues to build on its strong labour movement base. The Scottish Committee now coordinates the work of nine local and student groups. A new group has been launched in Dundee, but Glasgow and Edinburgh continue to be the focal points for Scottish AA activity.

During the year the Scottish Committee has held a further trade union conference (on 28 November), organised a week-long tour for Andrew Molotsané of SACTU, and campaigned against the Standard Chartered takeover of the Royal Bank of Scotland, as part of which it joined with Scottish War on



Want, ELTSA and Scottish Education and Action for Development, in late 1981, in preparing a submission to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission, arguing that the proposed takeover would not be in the public interest because of Standard's massive support for apartheid. A number of other organisations, including the Scottish Labour Party and the Church of Scotland, also raised Standard's apartheid links in submissions to the Commission.

The Committee also made progress with its campaign on behalf of Namibian political prisoners, its continuing fund-raising activities (including for the ANC Office Appeal), and its campaigning against educational links with South Africa. The Committee organised a 300-strong demonstration when the South African ambassador visited St Andrews University in 1982, and secured the support of the WEA staff in Scotland for the campaign when they refused to cooperate with a tour of Scotland by four teachers from the Ciskei. In the Borders, Scottish AA was able to take satisfaction from the refusal of Hawick Rugby Club to visit South Africa for an all-expenses-paid tournament. They said that they had turned down the offer 'on entirely political grounds'.

The Scottish Committee worked hard to secure support for the 14 March national demonstration in London, and organised demonstrations of its own outside the South African consulate in Glasgow over the death sentences against the Pretoria Three. The Committee was encouraged when Strathclyde local authority decided not to extend invitations to the consulate for any of its social functions. Glasgow District Council has banned all South African propaganda from the city's libraries.

Other specifically local events and campaigns have been organised throughout other parts of Britain.

In London, Camden AA persuaded a local travel agent to refuse to promote holidays in South Africa, held a demonstration against the invasion of Angola, and continued to be involved in a wide range of spectacularly successful fund-raising activities, material aid collections and AA News sales.

Cambridge AA held a teach-in on apartheid attended by 40 people, staged a week of pickets outside Barclays city centre branch, and produced special postcards for the campaign - converting Barclays slogan to 'Anything to do with apartheid - ask Barclays first'. Merseyside AA held a weekend of celebrations and fund-raising in January to mark the seventieth anniversary of the foundation of the ANC, in cooperation with a local film society, black organisations and other local groups, and produced a broadsheet on Dunlops and South Africa shortly after the Dunlop strike in South Africa.

Southampton AA took a quarter-page advert in the *Southern Evening Echo* in October to argue the case for sanctions, picketed a P&O/South African Airways promotional film show to introduce the 'South African Reunion Club', organised several public meetings, including one to mark the designation of 1982 as International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa.

In Watford, the South West Herts AA group forced the South African embassy to pull out of an exhibition it had been planning at the central library, following AA pressure on the county council to require that the embassy must restrict its material to that dealing with apartheid. South West Herts AA itself held an exhibition in the library. There are now three groups in the area - Watford, Hemel Hempstead and St Albans - currently directing their efforts against pro-apartheid propaganda in local schools.

Norwich AA raised £1,000 for SWAPO's maternity and child care clinic; many groups, especially Bristol, Exeter and Surrey, held joint meetings with CND on the apartheid bomb; while Oxford AA held a South Africa Day in May with films workshops as part of its campaign against emigration to South Africa.

The newly-formed City AA picketed Barclays HQ and

organised a public meeting with Labour Party spokesman Stanley Clinton Davis MP. It is also giving full support to the Kitson family's non-stop vigil outside South Africa House (see SATYS).

Manchester AA helped to organise a protest against cricket mercenary Geoff Boycott when he spoke in Uppermill civic hall in April, while the regenerated Tyneside AA organised a week of events around the theme *Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique and Isolate Apartheid*.

Bristol AA has campaigned against local promotions of South African wine, continued to run street stalls, organised public meetings to mark the Year of Unity in Action and to alert local people to the threat of South Africa's bomb, and campaign against a local trade mission to South Africa.

Highgate AA in London launched a group called *Artists Against Apartheid*, which has already staged a number of anti-apartheid cultural events and raised funds, while the group itself has organised a series of Southern Africa Workshops. Brent AA succeeded in stopping the Natal Youth Choir from performing in a Kilburn church when it persuaded the vicar to cancel their booking.

Exeter AA persuaded Devon County Council to sell its shares in companies with South African subsidiaries. Norwich AA had a similar success in persuading the city council to withdraw its account from Barclays Bank, ending a 100-year association. Leeds AA has succeeded in getting the city council to ban South African goods.

In May the London Borough of Brent adopted a Declaration committing the area under its jurisdiction to be an 'apartheid-free zone'. It has pledged that it will 'campaign to end any links' between Brent and South Africa, 'utilising all social, political and economic measures'.

Sheffield AA continues to work closely with Sheffield Metropolitan District Council in implementing its pathfinding 'Sheffield Declaration', adopted by the Council in September 1981. This was publicly launched at a civic ceremony on 7 October, designated by Sheffield as a 'Day of Solidarity with the People of Southern Africa'. Sheffield AA has also scored a major success in persuading the university careers advisory service to withdraw its facilities from firms which recruit people to work in South Africa and Namibia: from now on it will refuse to advertise these vacancies and it will not allow South African firms to distribute publicity material.

York AA initiated a variety of activities as part of its campaign on Rowntree-Mackintosh (see *Trade Unions*).

It should be noted that there have been important developments in Gloucester and the Channel Islands, places where AAM does not have local groups at present. In Jersey 200 people demonstrated in February against a performance by the Stuart Weaving Welsh Male Voice Choir. Later in 1982 another demonstration was held when the Natal Youth Choir arrived at St Heller town church with Stuart Weaving. At the end of 1981 local outrage was provoked when the Durban Collegians rugby club played at the St Peter's rugby club after campaigning in Devon and London had led to the cancellation of games planned for Torquay and Richmond.

In Gloucester it was again rugby which provoked a local campaign - to stop a planned tour by Gloucester Rugby Club to South Africa. A petition was organised and a public meeting held in April with Sam Ramsamy of SANROC. Despite this protest, the tour went ahead.

It is hoped that local AA groups can be formed in both Gloucester and Jersey.

The 1980/81 annual report announced the formation of a London Committee to coordinate and strengthen the work of London's organisations and AA groups. Despite initial problems, the committee is now more effective and has begun a campaign against the advertising of South African products on London's buses and tubes with a delegation to GLC Transport

Committee Chairman Dave Wetzel. The Committee now includes representatives of the London Student Organisation, TGWU Region One, Greater London Association of Trades Councils, CRS London Political and Education Committees, and London AA groups. It is hoped that the establishment of the Committee will enable the office to give more attention to the formation and sustaining of new groups outside London.

## TRADE UNIONS

The 1980/81 annual report announced the adoption by the 1981 Trades Union Congress of a policy expressing support for the 'total isolation of the apartheid regime, including the imposition of mandatory United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa', and much of the AAM's work in this key area during the past year has been aimed at translating this policy into action, particularly at a local level.

### Trade Union Week of Action

This was the particular objective of the AAM's Trade Union Week of Action, 24-31 October. Large quantities of a leaflet for the Week were ordered by trade union bodies throughout the country, together with a broadsheet containing the facts about apartheid. Twenty-two trade union journals and a wide range of local and regional press and other media gave extensive coverage to the Week, whose theme was 'Isolate Apartheid'. A number of national trade unions participated in protest demonstrations or took other anti-apartheid initiatives. The National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers (NAAAW) and the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) launched the Week with a picket of South Africa House and the announcement of a campaign to boycott South African fruit, including working with fruit packers at points of entry to Britain, approaches to importers and a general appeal to British trade unionists to boycott South African goods. The National Union of Journalists (NUJ), the Inland Revenue Staff Federation (IRSF) and the Tobacco Workers Union (TWU) all organised protests outside South Africa House, and the NUJ took similar action in Glasgow and Birmingham. Over 70 trade unionists, including seven members of the TUC General Council, joined an AAM picket outside the headquarters of the Confederation of British Industry following a joint CBI/UKSATA conference to promote trade with South Africa. Both the engineering union AUEW-TASS and scientific and technical union ASTMS launched campaigns in Yorkshire against job recruitment, reinforcing the action taken by Coventry and Birmingham Trades Councils against a recruitment drive by the Sigma Motor Corporation.

The highlight of the Week was a speaking tour by South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) organiser Andrew Molotsane, who met a large number of British trade unionists, including Alex Kitson, Deputy General Secretary of the TGWU, shop stewards at the Ford Halewood plant, dockworkers and members of the trades council in Liverpool, civil servants and seamen in Cardiff, TGWU officials in Birmingham, Leeds and Merseyside, workers at the Robb Caledon shipyards in Dundee, shop stewards at Perkins Diesel in Peterborough, Scottish miners, the Scottish TUC General Council, the Scottish Labour Party and many others. He addressed public meetings in many of the abovementioned centres and was warmly received by Leeds City Council, which arranged a luncheon in his honour, and by the Lord Provost of Dundee. He had earlier toured Ireland, where a parallel Week of Trade Union Action was organised by the Irish AAM and Congress of Trade Unions.

The Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Alhaji Maitama-Sule, commended the British and Irish

AAMs for organising the Week of Action, which was sponsored by 24 national trade unions in Britain.

### Sanctions campaign

The Week of Action prompted renewed efforts by British trade unions to combat collaboration with apartheid South Africa. The teachers' union NUT circulated all its branches warning of the regime's drive to recruit teachers to work in South Africa. The NUJ urged the Newspaper Publishers Association to ban South African advertising, a demand which featured during the Week of Anti-Apartheid Action organised by the International Federation of Journalists from 9-15 November. In 1982 the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) acted to freeze the joint union/management-controlled pension fund for the industry until the fund refused to invest in firms with South African interests. USDAW, the shopworkers union, threw its support behind the consumer boycott. BIFU, the banking employees union, decided to prepare a report on the South African activities of British banks and financial institutions, while the white-collar union APEX decided to shed its investments in 17 companies with South African subsidiaries. All 14 unions organising in Ford UK plants expressed their opposition to the company's plan to import 10,000 light pickup trucks from South Africa. AUEW (Engineering) put up strong resistance to an attempt by a South African mining concern to take over British company Andersons of Strathclyde, while several unions opposed trade missions planned by employers' associations in their industry.

The 1981 AGM decided that the Executive and National Committees should draw up plans for a national trade union delegate conference to consider ways and means of imposing sanctions aimed at isolating South Africa. Following consideration by the Trade Union Committee and discussion with the TUC, this conference has been planned for 27 November in London. It is intended to follow it by a series of 'sector conferences' of workers from particular industries.

### Trade union campaigns

During the past year three regional trade union conferences were held, in association with the relevant regional councils of the TUC, in the South-West of England, East Anglia and the West Midlands, and the Scottish Committee of the AAM held a further national conference for Scottish trade unionists. AAM also organised fringe meetings at the conferences of NGA, COHSE, USDAW, GMWU, NUPE and CPSA, and bookstalls were organised at the NUM, UCATT, ASLEF, AUEW-TASS, SCPS, IRSF and CPSA conferences. Two annual conferences this year heard ANC UK Representative Ruth Mompati: the NUM and SCPS. Both unions had invited Nelson Mandela to attend. Ms Mompati received from the NUM a miner's lantern on behalf of Nelson Mandela, while SCPS was the first of a number of unions to make contributions to the ANC Office Appeal Fund. Further expressions of trade union support for the ANC came from the annual conferences of UCATT, USDAW and NATFHE.

A major theme in resolutions adopted by annual conferences this year was support for the apartheid regime's victims, with ASTMS and TWU Executives and the annual conferences of the FBU, CPSA and IRSF all expressing support for detained SAAWU leaders Thozamile Gqweta, Sam Kikine and Sisa Njikelana and others, including AUEW-TASS and FBU calling for the commuting of the Pretoria Three death sentences. In addition, it should be noted that these and other unions have given valuable support to the campaigns of SATIS and AAM throughout the year to secure the release of a growing number of detained and imprisoned trade unionists. At least 300 South African trade unionists were detained in the period covered by this annual report. AAM circulated details of these detentions widely in the trade union movement and especially sought

pressure for the release of the SAAWU leaders and of Oscar Mpetha, whose plight was the main feature of a vigil and petition campaign organised by the Bakers Union in London on 11 October. A picket outside South Africa House was held on 5 May on the announcement that the three SAAWU leaders were to face trial under the Terrorism Act. AUEW-TASS has intensified its campaign for the release of David Kitson.

### TUC action against apartheid

The TUC has reaffirmed its opposition to the promotion of trade with South Africa by the British Overseas Trade Board (BOTB) and the activities of the Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD) in covering exports to South Africa. The TUC General Council described building economic links with South Africa as 'morally indefensible' and sought meetings to discuss the matter with BOTB Chairman Lord Limerick and Foreign Secretary Francis Pym.

Concrete support for the AAM's work was given by the TUC in particular for the national demonstration on 14 March and the conference *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* held over the preceding three days. For the first time a TUC speaker addressed an AAM national demonstration when Glyn Lloyd addressed the Trafalgar Square rally on 14 March. The Thursday before the TUC International Committee Chairman had spoken at the opening plenary session of the conference - held at TUC headquarters. TUC Deputy General Secretary Norman Willis welcomed the guest speakers to Congress House and made presentations on behalf of the TUC to the Vice President of Nigeria, the Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, the Chairman of SWAPO and the General Secretary of the ANC. The June issue of *AA News* carried an article by TUC General Secretary Len Murray, setting out TUC opposition to apartheid, and during the same month Bob Hughes MP led a delegation from the AAM to meet Mr Murray and other TUC officials at Congress House to discuss cooperation between the TUC and AAM.

The 1982 TUC Congress again adopted a resolution strengthening its policy, as follows:

Congress reaffirms its support for the 1981 Congress resolution on Southern Africa and, in particular, its support for both the independent black trade unions there and the process of national liberation of which their development is a part.

Congress expresses great concern at the increasing detention, banning and all round repression of trade unionists in South Africa; records its horror at the death in police detention of Neil Aggett, Transvaal Regional Organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union; and condemns the increasing regime repression of opponents of apartheid. Congress, in particular, condemns the increasing use of death sentences against opponents of apartheid.

Congress calls on the General Council to do all in their power to stop the execution of opponents of the apartheid regime and to support the worldwide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and of those detained or imprisoned by the apartheid regime.

### Rowntree-Mackintosh

The struggle of the striking workers at the Wilson-Rowntree factory in East London has been a major priority for work in the trade union movement. The 1981 AGM agreed to launch a national campaign and to 'undertake such a campaign primarily through the organisations of the labour movement and most importantly by working with the unions representing the workers in the British parent company Rowntree-Mackintosh'. The Executive Committee has been in constant contact with the three national unions primarily involved - the GMWU, TGWU and USDAW - at a national and local level, both directly and in cooperation with the local AA groups involved,

as well as with the TUC. The aim of the campaign has been to secure the reinstatement of 470 workers sacked in February 1981 and the recognition of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). However, the arrest, detention, torture and subsequent trial of the leadership of SAAWU, became an important feature of the campaign.

Immediately following the AGM, the AAM again discussed with the unions involved the need for renewed action. Demonstrations were organised in London and York on 4 December, 'Ciskei independence day', to focus attention on the role of the Ciskei in seeking to break SAAWU and to protest at the detention of trade union leaders, including the General Secretary of SAAWU. This was followed by a march in York on 23 January which culminated in a meeting addressed by the Secretary of the York Trades Council and the AAM Executive Secretary.

On 6 February the AAM convened a meeting of activists and interested organisations to discuss the escalation of the campaign since it had become clear that much wider interest had to be stimulated in the labour movement as a whole. A number of concrete proposals were made and these were endorsed by the AAM National Committee meeting the same day. As a result a leaflet on the campaign was distributed at the 14 March demonstration; a broadsheet was produced jointly with the GMWU, TGWU and USDAW; international trade union organisations were approached, in particular the International Union of Foodworkers (IUF), and an appeal was made to British unions to try and halt the supply of lecithin to South Africa. The meeting also discussed a proposal from Leicester AUEW for a TUC conference on the campaign. The TUC responded positively to the idea of a meeting but felt at that stage that the initiative should continue with the unions organising at Rowntree-Mackintosh (R-M); and Len Murray agreed to make a statement for the broadsheet setting out TUC support for the campaign.

A further meeting was convened on 24 April to consider further action. It was decided to call a Week of Action from 16-23 June when thousands of leaflets were distributed on the theme 'Think before you eat'. The campaign received particular support from the black community whose newspapers, *West Indian World* and *Caribbean Times*, called on them to boycott Rowntree-Mackintosh products. Leaflets were distributed in 50 town centres and 15,000 copies of the broadsheet were distributed in particular by the trade union movement. The President-elect of the NUS, Neil Stewart, called on students to boycott R-M products during the week, R-M products were removed from shops in a number of student unions, and Camden Council banned them from council premises. The Week of Action stimulated considerable publicity, including a BBC-TV programme. It was followed by a national demonstration in York on 3 July, which was sponsored by the three unions involved, and the rally at the end of the march was addressed by senior officials of USDAW and the TUC, and by the Chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at the York factory, who also spoke for the GMWU. Len Murray sent a message of support, as did the General Secretary of the IUF and SAAWU itself. Participation at the demonstration was some 500, which by no means reflected the extent of support for the campaign and at the same time compared very well with demonstrations organised outside London on Southern African issues.

A delegation from the AAM met the Chairman of Rowntree Mackintosh in a final effort to persuade the company to meet the demands of SAAWU. It emerged clearly from the meeting that the Wilson-Rowntree management had decided to confront SAAWU and that it was not going to abandon this policy.

At the TUC Congress Moss Evans of the TGWU spoke forcibly on the campaign and announced that the three general secretaries of the unions involved were to meet the R-M management. The result of this meeting will clearly

determine the future direction of the campaign.

Within South Africa the boycott of Wilson-Rowntree products has continued and in August 1982 the boycott committees called for the boycott to be intensified. Both SAAWU and SACTU have urged that the boycott should be extended internationally. A boycott committee has been established in Lesotho as a result, but in Britain there has been no united appeal for a boycott.



#### Other trade union work

Although the AAM has concentrated its work on the above struggle, during the past 12 months in South Africa there has been a dramatic escalation in strike action by black workers. British-linked companies involved in disputes include Tube Investments, Dunlop Flooring, Norcross, Unilever and Ford. British miners responded immediately to the cold-blooded shooting of striking black miners by passing unanimously an emergency resolution at the conference.

The Movement continued to extend support to the non-racial trade union movement in South Africa by publicising its activities in *AA News* and other publications. Arrangements have been made for AAM, ANC and SACTU speakers to address trade union meetings on the struggle of black workers in South Africa. A memorandum was prepared by the AAM following reports that a delegation from the British Section of the International Metalworkers Federation was to visit South Africa. This memorandum urged in particular that the white racist unions affiliated to the IMF should be expelled. Copies were circulated to all IMF affiliates in Britain. Although some criticism was made of its contents in June 1982 two all-white unions were expelled.

British trade unions have also continued to press for freedom for the people of Namibia and to oppose South Africa's

undeclared war against the front line states. In September 1981 senior British trade unionists, including 19 members of the TUC General Council, asked to meet Mrs Thatcher in view 'of the seriousness of the situation in Southern Africa and our conviction that a dramatic change in government policy is urgently required'. They requested in particular assistance for reconstruction in Angola following the South African invasion, strong British support for sanctions to ensure South Africa's withdrawal. Correspondence has continued and a delegation met the Minister of State at the Foreign Office in July.

The AAM continues to benefit from the advice and support of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), one of whose representatives sits on the AAM Trade Union Committee, a body composed of individual trade unionists and 29 representatives of the national trade unions affiliated to the AAM. The Committee has expanded in the past year and now has three more members. Thirty-five national trade unions are now affiliated to the AAM. However, the Movement continues to draw much of its active trade union support largely from the non-manual unions and in the coming year it is hoped that special attention can be given to securing more support from the big general workers and industrial unions at a local level. It is planned that the AAM will produce a leaflet for trade unionists arguing the case against emigration to South Africa.



## YOUTH AND STUDENTS

THE AAM Student Campaign got off to a good start this year, with a number of new groups (especially in Scotland) being set up and good support for a day of student solidarity on 19 October. Mailings to groups have been more regular, although some groups still do not respond to requests for information about their activities. General activities have included mounting exhibitions, running bookstalls, leafleting, collecting signatures for the sanctions petition. Support varied – for example, Leicester University AA obtained over 1,500 signatures and over 150 people on the national demonstration, by organising door-to-door canvassing on the campus. Students mobilised effectively for the 14 March demonstration, and many groups held meetings with AAM and liberation movement speakers. It was possible to organise a number of meetings in colleges where there are no AA groups, through local student unions.

A well-attended mobilising meeting, held on 23 January at the South Bank Polytechnic student union, gave representatives of groups an opportunity to meet and discuss campaigning ideas. National meetings for England, Scotland and Wales will be held during autumn term this year.

The AAM organised bookstalls and meetings at both NUS conferences held during the year, and liaison with NUS has improved considerably, with plans for joint publications now well-advanced.

A major breakthrough came in the spring with the decision of Sheffield University to ban recruitment of prospective graduates for work in South Africa. As a result of this decision Sheffield has come under attack from the Standing Conference of Employers of Graduates, which has threatened to boycott the university, so it is vital that student AA groups make a priority of this campaign over the coming months and secure commitments from their colleges that they will ban recruitment to South Africa and Namibia.

The CANUC Day of Action received considerable support

from students, with AA groups, Third World First and Students Against Nuclear Energy taking up the campaign. Bristol University AA group succeeded in getting the university to sell its shares in RTZ.

A number of groups have initiated material aid campaigns (either for SWAPO – eg Leicester raised £600 for medical kits or for the ANC Freedom School). Bristol University AA have set up a scholarship scheme for which they are raising money. NUS have agreed to coordinate fund-raising for the liberation movements at a national level.

Student supporters of the AAM continue to play an important role in the academic boycott campaign. Bath University students provided an angry reception in February for Dr Roy McNab, a former information attache at the South African embassy in Paris and currently the London Director of the South Africa Foundation. The University Senate expressed concern over Dr McNab's visit and an alternative lecture was arranged to present the real facts about apartheid. Later in the year there were further protests at Bath when Professor Jan Coetzee of the University of Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State visited the university as a guest of the Centre for Development Studies. A petition against the visit drew support from the former Mayor of Bath and there was a picket of the Centre. There were also protests when the South African ambassador visited St Andrews University in Scotland in early 1982.

Although the Rowntree-Mackintosh Week of Action fell at the very end of term, it was possible for several student AA groups to persuade their unions to withdraw R-M products from their outlets – these included the University of London Union, the University of East Anglia and Leicester University, the last two having Rowntree-Mackintosh plants in their towns. The new President of NUS, Neil Stewart, issued a press statement calling on all students to boycott R-M products.

The AAM/NUS conference in June was not as well attended as in past years, partly due to organisational problems and partly because of transport problems at the time. However, over 50 delegates did attend, and speakers from SWAPO, ANC and AAM pressed the urgency of mobilising greater support in the student community for the liberation struggle.



## WOMEN

THE WOMEN'S Committee has made further progress in establishing contact with women's organisations in Britain, and several of these supported the 14 March demonstration, including the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW), the National Abortion Campaign (NAC), Spare Rib Collective, WONT and the National Association of Women (NAW). The committee commenced publication of a newsletter which, after some difficulties with production, is now making a valuable contribution in informing women in Britain about the struggle of women in South Africa and Namibia, and about solidarity campaigns. A number of requests for speakers were dealt with and a speakers' workshop was held to help more women on the committee to gain confidence in this field.

The committee succeeded in placing articles in a range of publications, including *Honey* magazine, *Spare Rib* and the *Sunday Times*. A lengthy article is being prepared for *Feminist Review*. The leaflet *Women Under Apartheid* has been widely distributed and has been reprinted twice.

A delegate from the committee, Judy Kimble, attended the UN conference on Women and Apartheid held in Brussels in May. A full report of the conference is available from the Women's Committee.

Several meetings took place with the ANC Women's Section and the SWAPO Women's Solidarity Committee (SWSC), and it was decided to make a special effort to mobilise support for material aid campaigns. Street collections of goods for the Charlotte Maxeke creche have proved very successful, and a number of local groups have now taken this up. Other activities organised by the committee have included a fund-raising film show.

In order to broaden support for its work, the committee is arranging a workshop for members and supporters of the AAM on 2 October.

## HEALTH

THE AAM HEALTH Committee is composed of AAM supporters studying or working in the health field, which aims to stimulate support for the AAM in the health services, informing others about apartheid and its effects on the health and provision of health care for the people of Southern Africa, and campaigning to sever links between Britain and South Africa in the health field.

There have been a number of encouraging developments in relation to the campaigns organised by the committee in the course of the past year.

### Stoke Mandeville campaign

Following the demonstration last year, Disabled People Against Apartheid (DPAA) was formed to inform and mobilise disabled people in particular on the issue. AAM has cooperated closely with DPAA since its formation.

The Minister of Sport, Neil Macfarlane, declared the government's opposition to the involvement of South Africa in the International Mendeville Games in contrast to the attitude of his predecessor, who was reluctant to admit that the Glen Eagles Agreement applied to disabled sport: a blatantly discriminatory attitude.

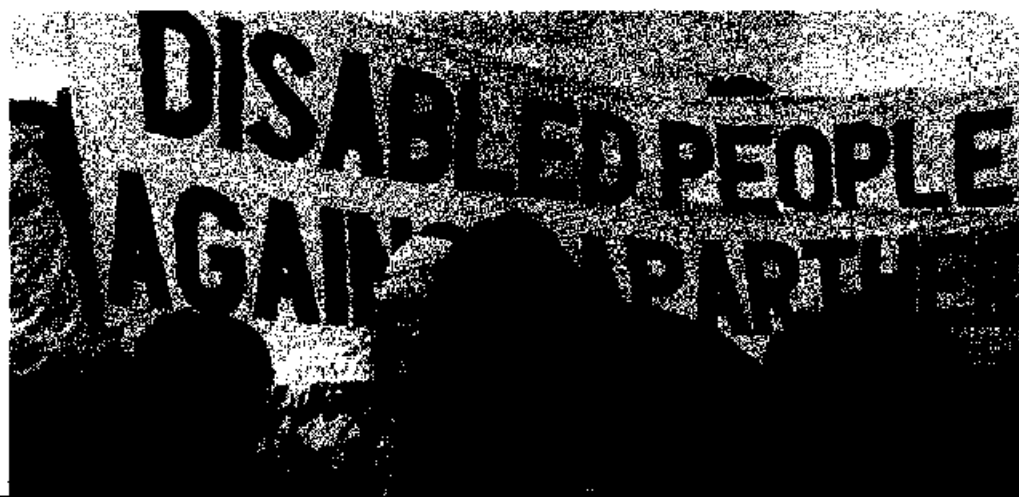
Despite this, a South African team did participate. The

AAM, in conjunction with DPAA, organised a successful demonstration which was marked by higher involvement on the part of local people and disabled people themselves.

### Medical Association of South Africa (MASA)

Despite many appeals from the international community, and in the face of opposition from, amongst others, the British Medical Association, the World Medical Association (WMA) admitted to membership both MASA and the Transkei. As a result, the WMA lost its consultative status with the World Health Organisation; and in April 1982 the remaining African members of the WMA declared their intention to withdraw from the organisation and establish a new federation of African medical associations. More recently, the MASA broke off relations with the BMA after it was not invited to the BMA's annual representative meeting in London in July.

The committee has worked to implement the resolution on health passed at the last AGM. Preparatory work for a material aid campaign has been done; the intention is to launch a campaign for clinic equipment and/or first aid and medical textbooks for the ANC in the next few months. The committee has produced a number of publications, including a leaflet on the recruitment of nurses to South Africa which was distributed to nursing homes in London and elsewhere and through the health trade unions. *Health and Liberation* was relaunched in a more attractive format.



## BLACK COMMUNITY

MEMBERS of the black community in Britain are increasingly involved in the campaigns of the AAM as well as taking their own initiatives in solidarity with the liberation struggles in Southern Africa.

One such development was the decision of the Mohamed Ali Sports Development Association to plan a programme of activities for the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa, aimed particularly at involving young black sportsmen and women in the sports boycott campaign. The AAM was invited to participate at the launch of the campaign on 1 February in Brixton.

The black press in Britain has continued not only to publicise AAM campaigns but also to mobilise support for them. *West Indian World* and the *Caribbean Times*, in particular, have carried extensive reports on numerous aspects of the campaigning work of the Movement during the past year. Of particular significance was the appeal to boycott Rowntree-Mackintosh products launched by the two papers to coincide with the AAM's week of action.

Special mention should be made of *Black Londoners*, the Radio London programme, which has frequently carried interviews by representatives of the liberation movements as well as anti-apartheid spokespersons.

Councillors from the black community have been particularly active in pressing for local authority action against apartheid in many areas of the country.

However, this continues to be an area of work where much greater resources should be concentrated in order to secure wider support from the community as a whole.

## EDUCATION

FOLLOWING the 1981 resolution calling for a campaign on books, information has been collected over the year on non-fiction books featuring South Africa, in schools, colleges and junior libraries. A number of books examined have been explicitly racist, while many others promote a status quo, implicitly racist, view of the society, with authors making sole acknowledgment to the South African Department of Information. Evidence has also been found of South African regime publications in a schools' library service for loan to schools, in teacher training and further education colleges, and in a teachers' centre. A request has been made through *AA News* for members to initiate enquiries in their area and send in their findings. In one area at least such enquiries have led to certain books being withdrawn from library shelves. Information is also being collected on reasonable alternatives.

Contacts have been made with various individuals and organisations involved in exposing racism in children's books. Some of the books have been independently reviewed and work is now beginning on compiling a list of criteria for assessing books on South Africa which could be distributed among librarians, teachers, etc.

An exhibition was mounted at a conference on multicultural education on the theme of 'What should we do with books that censor reality?', using pictures relating something of the reality alongside extracts from the books.

The work carried out so far has laid the foundation for the campaign. Much remains to be done both nationally and locally, with members taking up the issues in their own junior libraries, teacher training and FE colleges, and schools.

## CHURCHES

CLOSER contact and cooperation have developed over the past year through a number of channels, particularly the British Council of Churches, mainly as a result of the high level of interest in all sections of the church community in the conference *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose*.

There were several important policy developments following this conference. The Council for World Mission terminated its investments in companies with South African connections. The Methodist Church Assembly passed a resolution expressing support for anti-apartheid activities in the UK, advocated close contact with the 'external leaders of South African liberation movements'. It called on the government to publicise 'its intention to disengage progressively with South Africa', ban further investment, and support UN trade sanctions. It asked the Church Commissioners to 'reconsider their portfolio with a view to cutting to a minimum investment in any firms that have dealings with South Africa'.

Different denominations have also expressed a high level of concern about the situation in Namibia. A delegation from the British Council of Churches visited the territory in November 1981. The report of a further deputation to Namibia, organised by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, stressed the 'powerful popular support for SWAPO' and unequivocal support for the urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 435.

AAM has continued to liaise with Christian Concern for Southern Africa, which during the course of the year published a report on *Oil and Apartheid*.

Taken together these developments represent a significant shift of opinion at national level. The extent to which these views are disseminated downwards within the churches, however, must remain a matter of concern. In this regard it is vital that local groups follow up these developments with constructive contact, especially with the week of action planned for March 1983 (see *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose*).

The churches have been increasingly generous in their financial support for the Movement's work.

## PARLIAMENT

DURING the past year there have been fewer major debates in parliament on Southern African affairs, mainly as a consequence of Zimbabwe's independence. However, backbenchers in both houses have repeatedly raised questions and sought to intervene in debates.

The AAM has greatly strengthened its relations with the Labour Party front bench: the leader of the Labour Party, Michael Foot, addressed the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference and has responded readily to other requests for support. There has been frequent contact with Labour's spokesman on Southern Africa, Stanley Clinton-Davis, who has responded positively to many requests from the AAM, as has the foreign affairs spokesman, Denis Healey, who, for example, sent a message of support to the rally in York on Rowntree-Mackintosh.

The AAM continues to be in touch with MPs of all parties in parliament. There is, however, a significant group of MPs, particularly in the Conservative Party, who are hostile to the Movement's policies and who, moreover, in some cases effectively act as spokesmen for the apartheid regime in parliament.

A major initiative in parliament was an all-party early day motion calling for remission of sentence for Nelson Mandela, which was signed by 205 MPs.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

THE Anti-Apartheid Movement seeks the active support of political parties and other political groups for its policies and campaigns. There have been a number of significant developments in relation to the Labour Party. At its 1981 conference, a resolution was unanimously adopted calling upon a future Labour government to work for the imposition of UN comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa and to introduce a number of unilateral measures, including the tightening of the arms embargo, no new investments, etc. These policies were reflected in *Labour's Programme 1982* and were given the personal backing of the Labour leader Michael Foot addressing the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference.

The now-retired General Secretary of the Labour Party, Ron Hayward, wrote to all Labour groups in local authorities urging their support for action against South Africa. On 30 January the Labour Party and AAM jointly organised a conference on Southern Africa with the aim of securing wider support, in particular among constituency parties and affiliated unions, for the policies of the Labour Party and the AAM on Southern Africa. Individual CLPs continue to take initiatives locally: Aylesbury CLP organised a public meeting as a build-up to the Stoke Mandeville Games; Dundee CLP helped set up a local group, etc.

The Liberal Party has continued actively to support the Movement's work. The leader of the Party, David Steel, and the Party's President both participated in our March activities. Liberal Party MPs and activists have readily supported many of the Movement's campaigns.

The newly-formed Social Democratic Party participated at the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference and, following representations from the AAM, Shirley Williams withdrew from a conference she was planning to speak at in South Africa in September 1982. The SDP dissociated itself from a visit to Namibia by its MP Eric Ogden as a member of a delegation hosted by the 'Ministerial Council'.

The Conservative Party was also represented at the March conference. However, most contact has been with the Tory Reform Group, with which a number of discussions have been held, as well as with the Young European Democrats. The TRG published a pamphlet, *Namibia - The Hope of Southern Africa*, which expressed the view that UN Security Council Resolution 435 was 'the basic minimum for any widely acceptable solution'.

The Welsh AAM has received the active support of Plaid Cymru, as well as other Welsh political groupings, and assistance has been received in particular in the distribution of bilingual material. The Scottish National Party continues to support the work of the Scottish Committee of the AAM.

Non-parliamentary parties and political groups, including the Communist Party and the Ecology Party, have regularly supported the various campaigns of the Movement, as has the labour movement press.



## ANTI APARTHEID NEWS

THE NEED to increase the circulation of *Anti-Apartheid News* beyond its present figure of 7,000 copies (a level sustained for a number of years) is becoming more and more urgent as costs rise and the Movement itself continues to extend the scope of its activities. It is hoped that the staff changes and reorganisation which have taken place in the office over the year will make it possible to devote much more concerted attention to this aspect than in the past, and that local AA groups and activists will also be able to step up their sales efforts.

In February 1982 the National Committee discussed and adopted a report prepared by the editorial board arising from the resolution adopted at the 1981 AGM.

The editorial board has made particular efforts this year to increase the range of contributors to the paper, with some encouraging results. Guest articles, features and reviews have been published from, among others, Len Murray (TUC General Secretary), Jim Mortimer (former Chairman of ACAS and now General Secretary of the Labour Party, who wrote in a personal capacity on his return from advising the Zimbabwean trade union movement), the Rt Revd Stanley Booth-Clibborn (Bishop of Manchester and leader of a British Council of Churches delegation to Namibia), Joan Lester MP (Chairman of the Labour Party's International Committee and Vice President of AAM), James Wilkie (British Council of Churches), Jill Tweedie (journalist and correspondent with the *Guardian*), Bob Hughes MP, Cosmas Desmond, Wiseman Khuzwayo, Jan Marsh, Paul Fauvet, Reg Austin, David Haslam, Brian Bolton, and Hilary Rabkin of the ANC Prisoners' Committee.

Interviews, too, have been more varied than previously, featuring Andrew Molotsane of SACTU, Shapua Kaukungua and Jacob Hannai, Chief and Deputy Chief Representative respectively of SWAPO in Britain, SWAPO National Chairman David Meroro, M B Yengwa, a veteran of the African National Congress, the Leader of Sheffield City Council David Blunkett, Sam Ramsamy of SANROC, Julian Bahula of Jazz Afrika and, following

their return from a tour of Zimbabwe, the British reggae band UB40.

Many of the Movement's local groups, affiliated organisations and individual members continued to support the paper over the year with news items and feature contributions. Their help, together with the assistance of individual volunteers at the layout and design stages, made it possible to continue to publish *AA News* on a minimal budget and in the face of the serious financial difficulties facing the Movement as a whole. Particular thanks are due to Margaret Ling for her contribution towards producing the paper.

In this year of anniversaries — the seventieth anniversary of the ANC, the twentieth anniversary of the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 30 years of the Defiance Campaign, and the various anniversaries connected with political prisoners Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — a number of special features on the history of the ANC and the South African resistance were produced.

Arts, music and the cultural boycott of apartheid also featured more prominently in the paper than in the past. A centre page spread on the cultural boycott, produced as part of a series of posters for the *Isolate South Africa Now* campaign, was reprinted by the UN Centre against Apartheid as part of its *Notes and Documents* series. A statement from British band UB40 expressing their support for the cultural boycott was combined with material from the important gathering of artists and musicians against apartheid, *Culture and Resistance*, held in Gaborone, Botswana, in July 1982.

Other centre spread posters on the sanctions theme focused on sport, trade and investment, while other topics given special coverage included the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions, Angola's sixth anniversary of independence, forced removals and resistance to evictions, the Rowntree-Mackintosh campaign, and destabilisation.

Special mention should be made of the contributions to the paper from cartoonists John Minnion and Colin Wheeler, whose work is well known in the *New Statesman* and other publica-

## PUBLICATIONS

DURING the past year financial constraints have meant that it has not been possible to produce any major new publications. Instead, production has been concentrated on campaign material. This has included new badges, pamphlets, etc. on sanctions; leaflets, stickers and postcards on the Pretoria Three and other political prisoner campaigns; leaflets and background papers on a wide range of other issues.

SATIS has published three pamphlets: *Walter Sisulu* (jointly with the UN Centre against Apartheid); and two on death sentences.

Special reference should be made to the special supplement of *City Limits* on South Africa which was produced jointly with the AAM to coincide with the March conference and demonstration.

An extremely popular publication has been the broadsheet on the Rowntree-Mackintosh campaign, the format of which was attractive and easy-to-read.

The production of this material depends largely on volunteer support, and special mention should be made of designers who have given their services generously, in particular Judy Groves, David King and Ian Denning.

## SERVICES

OVER the year AAM sent speakers to a wide variety of organisations, including trade unions, schools, colleges, local groups, church groups, political parties and others. At times, the office has found it difficult to meet all the requests received, and a relatively small number of people make this important contribution to AAM's work. The office has sought to expand the numbers involved by circulating a letter to members of the National Committee inviting them to undertake such work and by establishing a speakers' list. The shortage of suitable speakers is particularly a problem when more specialised topics are required.

The AAM is frequently asked to provide films and other audio-visual material. It has proved impractical to provide such a service directly and enquiries are referred to the International Defence and Aid Fund and to other distribution agencies. Concord Films, in cooperation with the AAM, has produced a special catalogue of films on Southern Africa which has been widely distributed.

The AAM continues to promote and distribute publications of the liberation movements; IDAF and the United Nations, an extensive list of all material is available from the office and is sent to all new members.

## THE MEDIA

MANY of the AAM's activities are aimed at securing publicity in order to secure wider and more sympathetic coverage of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and of the range of campaigns being organised by the Movement.

Press conferences have been arranged on a number of issues, including the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference; the sports campaign; the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa; and the political prisoners campaigns.

Many press statements have been released and contacts have been maintained with all the major media. Representatives of the Movement have been interviewed on television, BBC radio and world service, Radio London, Capitol, LBC, as well as overseas radio and television stations. Local AA groups are being increasingly successful in obtaining publicity for their work.

Coverage of the situation in Southern Africa continues to be uneven. Editorials hostile to the liberation movements and anti-apartheid policy appear in many major newspapers, often conflicting with their own news reports.

The AAM participated in a UN seminar on the media in the struggle against apartheid, and the paper which the AAM prepared for this has been widely distributed.



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# finance and fund-raising

OVER the last year the AAM has sought to put its fund-raising activities on a sounder footing - with only partial success.

The Fund-Raising Committee, established during the period of the previous annual report, now meets monthly to plan fund-raising schemes. It comprises Executive members, office staff and student and local group activists, and it has this year overseen a successful raffle (which raised some £2,000), an appeal to affiliated trade unions (which raised £3,000) and a week of local fund-raising in June 1982, which comprised the annual Walks for Soweto organised by local anti-apartheid groups. These walks are expected to raise around £4,000, to be divided between the AAM for educational work and the ANC for the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. Plans for a more ambitious period of

fund-raising action unfortunately had to be postponed, and will now take place in March 1983. It is hoped that the fund-raising activities will be organised by supporting bodies other than AAM local groups.

Local AA groups continue to raise substantial amounts for the AAM, although there is a great variation in the frequency with which groups organise fund-raising activities and the amounts they raise. The 1981 AGM decided that groups should be asked to raise not less than £100 for the AAM in the course of the year, and while some groups raise considerably more than this, a number fall short of this target.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement continues to receive generous support from numerous individuals and organisations throughout Britain and without this financial backing it would be impossible

to sustain the current level of work. The Movement would like to place on record its appreciation for the contributions it received for the *Southern Africa - The Time to Choose* conference from, in particular, the UN Special Committee against Apartheid as well as the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Church Board of Social Responsibility and the Church of England Board of Social Responsibility.

The UN Centre against Apartheid again made financial contributions to a number of AAM and SATIS projects, and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa again generously made a grant towards our work.

The National Committee decided that the financial year 1981/82 should be from 1 October to 30 June, so that in future fully audited accounts could be presented to the AGM.

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# ORGANISATION

## MEMBERSHIP

A key issue continues to be securing levels of individual and organisational membership to ensure a sound financial basis for the AAM.

New membership subscriptions in the past year have reflected the public's interest in Southern African issues, although there still remains the vast problem of lapsed membership subscriptions. A total of 437 new individual members joined this year, with 117 new affiliations from branch trade unions, trades councils, peace groups and university student unions. We now have over 100 non-national political party affiliations to the movement and 214 national trade unions, trade union branches and trades councils.

A much greater emphasis on membership subscriptions and reaffiliations must be taken by local groups in order to maintain and stabilise continuing work within local areas and the Movement as a whole.

Membership figures have never accurately shown the real level of support for the Movement and although local groups have indicated increased support for activities, many supporters do not, unfortunately, join the AAM nationally.

New membership subscriptions for local organisations, trade unions and the unwaged were approved by the National Committee at its meeting in July 1982.

## 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. Resolutions adopted form the framework of policy for the AAM, and constitutional changes adopted by the National Committee have to be ratified by the AGM.

Every year, the July newsletter invites members and affiliates to submit resolutions to the AGM 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 resolutions and elect 30 members to serve on the National Committee from those nominated. A three-person Standing Orders Committee, elected by the AGM, is responsible for the conduct of business.

At the 1981 AGM discussion focused on trade union work with five different resolutions adopted and a further two being remitted to the National Committee. Ruth Mompoti, the newly appointed ANC Chief Representative, addressed the meeting. The AGM also adopted resolutions on US policy on Southern Africa, Namibia, South African aggression against Angola, political prisoners, sanctions, the sports boycott, health, education, *Anti-Apartheid News*, finance and facilities for the disabled.

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and carries out its work within the framework of AGM resolutions. Its members comprise the President, Vice Presidents and Sponsors, 30 individual members elected at the AGM, representatives of all affiliated Local Anti-Apartheid Groups and representatives of 25 national or regional member organisations elected annually from among such member organisations.

The Southern African liberation movements attend the National Committee in a special category of observer status,

and the National Committee also invites observers from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to 10 individuals may be coopted.

The National Committee met on six occasions during the year and carried out a heavy workload. Its first meeting, immediately following the AGM, elected the new Executive and other officers of the AAM. The first full meeting was held on 21 November, when plans were drawn up for the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the AGM. Proposals for the *Southern Africa The Time to Choose* conference from 11-13 March and the national demonstration on 14 March were approved, and the ANC Deputy Representative, Solly Smith, spoke of plans for the ANC's seventieth anniversary.

The National Committee next met on 6 February. Reports on *AA News*, from SATIS on political prisoner campaigns, and from the Health Committee on the AGM resolution were received and adopted. A report was received from an activists meeting held the same day on the Rowntree campaign, and the proposals for action were endorsed. The Trade Union Committee presented a framework of campaigning to implement the AGM resolutions, incorporating relevant points from the resolutions remitted to the National Committee. With some amendments this was adopted. The National Committee was advised of recent developments over Namibia and decided to publicise widely SWAPO's opposition to the voting system being advocated by the Contact Group.

On 8 May the National Committee reviewed the activities of the past year, in particular the March conference and demonstration. It also agreed a number of minor changes in subscription rates. At its next meeting on 10 July, it received and endorsed a 'Campaigning Framework' for 1982/83 prepared by the Executive following the discussion at the previous NC meeting. New Standing Orders for the AGM were approved. Marga Holness of MAGIC addressed the meeting on recent developments over 'linkage' and the meeting endorsed a series of proposals from the Executive for action on this matter over the summer. Also at this meeting, Nobel Prize winner Professor Dorothy Hodgkin OM was elected as a Sponsor of the Movement following the death of her husband Thomas Hodgkin.

The NC meeting on 11 September was opened by Bob Hughes who paid tribute to Ruth First, a member of the NC for many years, who had been assassinated in Maputo on 17 August. The meeting approved the Political Report which serves as the Introduction to this Annual Report, and a discussion was initiated on the cultural boycott. Plans for campaigning for 1982/83 were approved.

## 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 Chairperson, up to two Vice Chairpersons, Hon Secretary, Hon Treasurer and Executive Secretary - and eight elected members. It can coopt up to six individuals to assist in its work. It can also appoint subcommittees and these currently are the Trade Union Committee, the Student Committee, the Health Committee, the Women's Committee, the Finance Committee, the Fund-raising Committee, as well as the Editorial Board of *AA News*. There is also a new committee being formed to plan campaign work on sanctions, and an International Liaison Group which coordinates the international work of the AAM.

The Executive Committee meets at least monthly but can be called upon to meet more often if the necessity arises.

## AAM HQ

The future of the current headquarters of the AAM has been under review during the past 12 months because the scope and level of the work of the AAM makes the current premises totally unsuitable.

In August the Executive Committee agreed to lease new premises at 13 Selous Street, London NW1, and arrangements for the move are currently being finalised. An estimated £20,000 will be required to modernise and equip these new headquarters in order to provide suitable conditions for our staff and volunteers. An emergency appeal is to be launched. This move will place severe strain on the work of the Movement; it is intended that the new premises will be operative from January 1983.

There have been some changes in the office staff: in January

1982 Neil Faulkner left and Sue Longbottom was appointed to replace him as Administrative Organiser. Sue's post as Membership Secretary was filled by Bernadette Vallely.

Chris Child, the Movement's Deputy Secretary, has advised the Executive that after six and a half years working for the AAM he wishes to leave the staff at the end of 1982. His departure will be a serious loss for the AAM, especially in relation to our work in the trade union movement which has expanded dramatically under his enthusiastic leadership. The Executive Committee will be advertising for a new Campaign Organiser to replace him.

The small staff would be unable to keep the AAM running without the dedicated work of so many volunteers who give up their spare time, and often more, to help in the office and on different committees. Without their contribution the AAM could never make the impact it does.

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## Obituaries

### RUTH FIRST

It was a brutal and cowardly act – the assassination of Ruth First by a letter bomb at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, the capital city of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on 17 August 1982.

Ruth was admired, respected and loved by opponents of apartheid inside and outside South Africa – not least in the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Ruth was actively engaged in our work throughout the period she lived in Britain, and during most of this time served on the Executive and National Committees. She made a deep impression on all who came into contact with her. Whether it was listening to an impassioned speech in Trafalgar Square, grappling with her ideas as expressed in print, or working together in meetings or conferences, Ruth possessed a marvellous capacity to use her oratory, her pen, her intellect and, above all, her humanity in the service of the liberation struggle.

She made a unique contribution to the AAM. Through her book *117 Days* and her active participation in campaigns, she invigorated our campaigning work on political prisoners; *The South African Connection* served as a textbook for activists in the 1970s and played an invaluable role in deepening people's understanding of Britain's stake in apartheid; she served on the editorial board of *AA News* when the paper first started in 1965 and wrote frequently for it – her book reviews being especially incisive; she spoke at numerous conferences, rallies and meetings throughout the country; but it was her participation in the political leadership of the AAM which was her greatest contribution.

Ruth left Britain to work as Director of Research at the Centre for African Studies in Maputo following Mozambique's independence. Here she was able to combine her commitment to the liberation struggle in South Africa with an active participation in the struggle to create a socialist Mozambique.

Ruth's assassination is only one act in the growing pattern of international terrorism practised by the apartheid regime. She joins a long list of South African martyrs murdered outside its borders. It is a special blow to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and demonstrates once again the vulnerability of the apartheid regime if it has no alternative but to rob the world of people of the calibre of Ruth First.

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THOMAS HODGKIN, a long-standing sponsor of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, died on 25 March 1982 at the age of 71. A teacher and scholar of Africa and Islam, his support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples in Southern Africa was a natural part of his commitment to the whole anti-colonial struggle. He made a very special contribution through his studies of African nationalism to both academic and political thinking. Although, through ill health, he was unable to play as active a role as he would have wished in the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in recent years, he was a constant source of encouragement in our work.

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BISHOP COLIN WINTER died in London on 17 November 1981. His death, at the age of 54, was a tragic blow to the people of Namibia, whose struggle he had so effectively championed. Colin Winter, as Bishop of Damaraland, was expelled from Namibia in 1972 at the height of the massive Namibian workers' strike which had brought the country to a halt. However, this failed to silence him. Within Namibia his influence on the Christian community and the people as a whole thrives, whilst he committed his life abroad to mobilising support for the struggle of the Namibian and other oppressed people. In a moving tribute to him in *Anti-Apartheid News*, the Bishop of Manchester described Colin Winter as 'a man of great energy and creative love... Colin brought us the authentic note of prophecy. He said hard things about my own church and about British society, but they were things which had to be said, and he gave many people hopes for a better world.'

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A number of other activists and supporters died during the past year. A special mention should be made of ALBERT TOMLINSON who for many years served as Chairman of Barnet AA. A Labour Councillor who once stood as parliamentary candidate against Mrs Thatcher, he worked as General Secretary of the National Peace Council until his retirement. He dedicated his life to the struggle for peace and freedom.

*Pictures on page 8 and back cover by  
Ray Williams*

