



ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

ANNUAL REPORT of activities & developments OCTOBER 1983 – SEPTEMBER 1984



ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Annual Report

October 1983 – September 1984

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FOREWORD

Our Silver Jubilee year has certainly been a year to remember! For me it began with a visit to five of the front line states and I was accompanied by Abdul Minty, our indefatigable honorary secretary. We met the leaders of government in Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania, and were given a most generous welcome. Our purpose was to hear at first hand their views on South African external policy and the impact upon their countries if its massive aggression and continuing efforts at destabilisation.

This was of the utmost value to me in the months that followed, with the heavy programme of future meetings, conferences and demonstrations. The record of all these events is chronicled here in the annual report.

Clearly the visit of Prime Minister (President) Botha hard on the heels of the Nkomati 'accord' and then the implementation of the new constitutional arrangements, followed by the farcical elections and the inevitable protests were the events that hit the headlines. And — more recently still — the occupation of the British consulate in Durban and its consequences.

All of this — and so much more — is an indication of these things: first, that the situation inside South Africa is one of ever-increasing turbulence; secondly, that the attempt to deprive of their citizenship four-fifths of the population is not only doomed to failure but is the determining cause of the massive support for the United Democratic Front and of the great upsurge of resistance to apartheid at every level; and thirdly, that our support in Great Britain and wherever in the world the anti-apartheid movement exists, has to be far stronger, far more vigorously expressed and far more persistently organised for action than ever before.

We know that we have the duty and the privilege of expressing the true meaning of solidarity with the African people at this crucial moment in the struggle.

We also know that another and vital task for us here in Great Britain is to keep the conscience of the public alight in the face of government apathy and double-talk.

Now, if ever, is our chance to make sacrifices of time, of energy and of money on behalf of the Movement. *PLEASE GIVE ALL YOU CAN IN WHATEVER WAY YOU CAN!* We must not fail!

† Trevor Huddleston CR
President



INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the political report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting of 8 September 1984

This year, 1984, the Anti-Apartheid Movement marked a quarter of a century of sustained campaigning for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and for freedom in Southern Africa. It was on South Africa Freedom Day, 26 June 1959, that the AAM was launched at a public meeting in London addressed by Julius Nyerere and Trevor Huddleston. It was to be the forerunner of a powerful international movement of solidarity which now embraces all five continents.

Significant as this anniversary must be in the cause of anti-racism and national liberation, it cannot be an occasion of celebration and self-congratulation. As the president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, observed in a message to the AAM, 'it will only be able to congratulate itself the day its existence is no longer necessary'.

Whilst the courage, bravery and resistance of the South African and Namibian people have been demonstrated by the growing success of the liberation struggle in the face of great odds, there has also been a serious counter-offensive to end South Africa's international isolation, and the tour of P W Botha to several western European countries demonstrated this.

1984 has seen some of the most effective campaigning activities by the AAM, emphasising as never before the extent of public support for the Movement and its policies. Developments in Southern Africa and internationally have underlined the importance of the contribution the Anti-Apartheid Movement can and must make in support of the liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa. This was stressed by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere in a message to the AAM to mark the 25th anniversary:

There have recently been setbacks in the struggle against apartheid which have made the work of the liberation movements even more difficult. Also, a change of tactics by the leaders of apartheid has confused some of its opponents and provided an excuse for continued cooperation by those whose short-term economic interests lie in support for it. Verbal rejection of apartheid continues, but resistance to the demand for the isolation of South Africa has been reinforced. The work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, as a rear echelon of the struggle, has therefore become more difficult at a time when its support to the front-line opponents of apartheid has become even more important.

Visit of P W Botha

On 2 June 1984 the prime minister of apartheid South Africa, P W Botha, visited Britain at the invitation of Mrs Thatcher and spent hours in talks with her and other British ministers at the prime minister's country residence Chequers. At the same time the widely representative and largest-ever Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstration filled the streets of London to protest at the visit. As president of SWAPO Sam Nujoma commented in a message to the AAM for the demonstration:

By inviting racist Botha, the British government and its western partners are embarking on a well-cultivated move to bail apartheid South Africa out of isolation and rejection and to give the regime credence and acceptability in the eyes of the world.

The tour confronted the AAM with one of its most important challenges. No South African prime minister had visited Britain since South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth in 1961. Moreover, it became clear following the visit that a significant shift in British policy over Namibia had taken place. The assertion by the prime minister that Namibian independence 'will not occur until there is, in parallel, also the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola' represented, as the AAM warned at

the time, 'the most explicit endorsement of "linkage" by the British government'. The tour was also designed to promote the credibility of P W Botha's 'reforms' policy and the new apartheid constitution, which has received an increasingly sympathetic understanding in Whitehall. Just prior to the visit foreign office minister Malcolm Rifkind said: 'What we want to see is a political system which meets South Africa's peculiar needs.' Following the visit Mrs Thatcher declared in parliament that South Africa 'has enormous strategic importance to this country (Britain)'.

Condemnation of Mrs Thatcher's invitation to P W Botha was overwhelming despite repeated attempts by her and her ministers to justify the visit. On the eve of the visit Mrs Thatcher received at Downing Street the AAM's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. Such was the extent of public opposition that plans for the meeting with Botha to take place at Downing Street were abandoned and his delegation had to be 'smuggled' into Chequers by helicopter. 'P W Botha will be aware, if he had any doubts before,' the AAM stated, 'that the great majority of the people of Britain detest the evil system that he heads.'

In its 1983 political report the AAM had warned:

Behind the rhetoric of 'peaceful change' and the claim of 'constructive engagement' with apartheid lies a concerted policy to which major NATO countries now subscribe of creating a protective framework within which South Africa and the apartheid system can flourish.

The report, having identified certain features of this framework, then stated:

These policies and actions also seek to destroy the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa, and force the independent states of Southern Africa into a position of subservience and dependence on the apartheid regime. In their broader context these policies indubitably reflect a deeper concern on the part of the major western powers to reverse the tide of national liberation and independent development in the African continent and provide the basis for South Africa's regional hegemony in Southern Africa.

South Africa in Southern Africa

The visit to Britain and, indeed, the tour of western Europe as a whole had only become possible because of events in Southern Africa, which in turn were the result of the increasingly dangerous policy being pursued by the major western powers, especially since the election of the Reagan administration.

1984 has seen important developments in the relations between South Africa and a number of states in the region, of which the most significant was the signing of the Nkomati accord on 16 March by President Machel of Mozambique and P W Botha. It was subsequently disclosed that two years previously, in 1982, Swaziland had signed a 'security pact' with South Africa. On 16 February 1984, at a meeting in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, involving representatives of Angola, South Africa and the United States, it was announced that South Africa was to start a phased withdrawal of its forces from Angola, to be completed by the end of March 1984.

These developments were taking place against the background of the Pretoria regime's escalating pattern of aggression and destabilisation in neighbouring African states, which it has been pursuing with increasing violence since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Every independent African state in the region has been the target of South African aggression, especially Angola, areas of which have been occupied by South African forces since August 1981, and which in December 1983/January 1984 was subjected to a concerted attempt by the apartheid regime to extend that occupied area.

The main objective of the Pretoria regime's war against Africa has been, and continues to be, to reverse the gains of the liberation struggle which had seen three African states — Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe — achieve independence following successful guerrilla wars. Pretoria believed it could either overthrow these and other governments committed to the liberation of Southern Africa, or subordinate them through a combination of armed aggression, economic destabilisation and by financing, arming and training of anti-government bandit forces.

These policies had inflicted enormous burdens onto the governments and peoples of the front line states and in addition had exploited to the maximum the natural disasters of drought and flood which have compounded the problems of several of the states. In some cases their very survival was at stake.

However, the Pretoria regime has also been confronted by an escalating crisis, resulting from its aggressive policies and the burdens of the country's militarisation. The ever-escalating economic cost, growing casualty figures and the failure of its renewed offensive in southern Angola in December/January, together with the growth of resistance within Namibia and South Africa, all contributed to a deep policy crisis for the military-political hierarchy in South Africa.

This was the context in which the United States' intervention in the affairs of the region became even more active.

Twelve months before, in February 1983, US assistant secretary of state Chester Crocker, addressing the US Congress Africa sub-committee, had stated: 'We have made it our purpose to work with the nations of the region to see if a framework of restraint and broad rules of conduct could be developed which could contain conflicts.' He explained later: 'We began with a series of intensive discussions with all the major actors in the region in order to identify their concerns, see how these fit in with our objectives and determine how best we might proceed to advance American and western interests.' But, he explained, 'One of the major barriers — if not the principal stumbling block — was the inability of the parties on either side of South Africa's borders to speak to each other.'

Four months later, in an equally significant address, the then under-secretary of state, L S Eagleburger, on 23 June 1983 explained how the US was seeking regional security for Southern Africa based on the recognition of South Africa as a sovereign state and that 'the US categorically reaffirms the principle that all states have a duty to refrain from tolerating or acquiescing in organised activities within their territory by guerrillas or dissidents planning acts of violence in the territory of another state'. The objective of the Reagan administration was being made clear — to achieve a 'cordon sanitaire' surrounding South Africa that would be designed to isolate the ANC and SWAPO and enhance South Africa's regional hegemony.

Already it is becoming clear that these developments have not had the impact that either the apartheid regime or the Reagan administration intended. In particular there has been no decline in the momentum of the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa — in fact the armed struggle has intensified. Moreover, despite the Lusaka undertaking by Pretoria that its forces would be withdrawn from Angola, the apartheid regime has not honoured this undertaking. South African troops are still in Angola five months after the agreed date for the end of the phased withdrawal. Their refusal to implement the troop withdrawal has been accompanied by greatly increased logistical and other support for Unita. South Africa has intensified its destabilising activities against other states in the region, in particular Lesotho. The small kingdom has been the target of a sustained campaign of destabilisation, yet, together with Botswana and Zimbabwe, has resisted pressure to enter into agreements with South Africa. In an ominous warning P W Botha stated on 31 August 1984:

I sincerely hope that those states in the region who still refuse to normalise their relations with South Africa will soon realise that they have chosen an impossible path and that if they continue to give preference to a hostile and conflictual relationship their peoples are the ones who stand to suffer most in the end.

Resistance to South Africa's aggression and destabilisation

was strengthened at the summit of the front line states — also attended by the presidents of SWAPO and the ANC — that convened in Arusha, Tanzania, on 29 April 1984. It provided the first opportunity for the leaders of the front line states and the liberation movements together to consider the recent developments. In the summit communiqué 'the heads of state and governments and the leaders of the liberation movements reaffirmed their total and unqualified commitment to the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia against colonialism and of the people of South Africa against apartheid'. In addition, whilst they recognised 'the political and armed struggles being waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa led by SWAPO and the ANC respectively are taking place inside those two countries, they also reaffirmed their recognition of the external operations of the liberation movements and reasserted their intention to give shelter to them.' The collective view of the front line states was again expressed at a meeting in Stockholm in June at foreign minister level between the Nordic countries and the front line states. On that occasion the chairman, in an agreed summary, said, 'contacts (between South Africa and the neighbouring states) cannot be used to justify attempts to break the international isolation of the apartheid regime'.

Namibia

The future of Namibia continues to be at the centre of the political arena in Southern Africa. Western policy claims that internationally-recognised independence for Namibia is acceptable to South Africa. Yet all the events of the past 12 months have served to confirm that South Africa is not willing to implement UN Security Council resolution 435, given its recognition that this will lead to a SWAPO administration.

Since 1982 the apartheid regime's stated objection to the implementation of UNSCR 435 has been its insistence that Namibian independence should be 'linked' to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. It adopted this prevaricating stance with the active support and encouragement of the US — indeed 'linkage' is a joint United States/South African policy. For a time there appeared some prospect that this obstacle could be overcome: Britain, the western power which is most closely associated with the US policy on 'linkage', had expressed its opposition to 'linkage', first when the UN Security Council adopted resolution 539 on 28 October 1983, and then at the Commonwealth summit in November. The US itself chose to abstain when UNSCR 539 was adopted instead of vetoing it. The Security Council expressed in the resolution its indignation at 'South Africa's insistence on an irrelevant and extraneous issue of "linkage"'. Similar hopes were raised following the Lusaka meeting of 16 February 1984. In the press statement announcing South Africa's phased troop withdrawal it was stated: 'the Lusaka meeting constitutes an important and constructive step towards the peaceful solution to the problems of the region, including the question of the implementation of UNSCR 435'. However, at the abortive Lusaka meeting on Namibia from 10-13 May 1983, and again at the direct talks between South Africa and SWAPO in the Cape Verde Islands on 25 July 1984, South Africa's insistence on 'linkage' once again sabotaged the negotiations.

Whilst these various talks and meetings have been taking place there has been a concerted effort to prepare for initiatives outside the UN framework prejudicial to the interests of the Namibian people. Linked to these developments has been the determination of South Africa to secure international credibility for its Multi-Party Conference (MPC) which, in revamped form, was based on the discredited Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. The MPC's participation at the Lusaka meeting in May and its subsequent tour of a number of West African states is evidence of these efforts.

It is one hundred years since Namibia was first colonised, by Germany; it is 18 years since the UN terminated South Africa's mandate to rule the territory; and six years since all the parties concerned, including SWAPO and the South Africans, agreed to the UN plan for the decolonisation of Namibia — UNSCR 435. Yet, in 1984, the prospect of the implementation of the UN plan appears more distant than ever. The commentary in the 1983 political report is as appropriate now as it was then:

The whole history of the negotiations is a long record of compromises made in good faith, even if some of them were secured through western strong-arm diplomatic tactics. Each time a particular matter was resolved to the satisfaction of the apartheid regime and everyone expected the announcement of a ceasefire and the implementation of the UN plan, a new issue would be raised. These manoeuvres were intended to give the impression that a settlement was at hand if only SWAPO and independent Africa would yield.'

The latest proposal of the South Africans is that SWAPO should agree to a ceasefire but without any agreement on the implementation of UNSCR 435. Yet it is the Namibian people's resistance which represents the real challenge to South African rule and it is the ever-growing capacity of SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), to strike deeper and deeper into the territory that will ultimately determine the course of events.

Despite persistent propaganda statements by the South African military that they have destroyed PLAN, it has proved to be remarkably resilient and increasingly effective. Moreover, the momentum of the armed struggle does not appear to have been in any way affected by SWAPO's undertaking not to take advantage of the phased withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. This is further evidence that SWAPO freedom fighters are deeply embedded amongst the Namibian people and operating from Namibian soil.

In what was clearly a calculated move to promote disunity within SWAPO, the veteran Namibian nationalist, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, was transferred from Robben Island, where he was serving a 20-year sentence, and released on 1 March 1984. In a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign every effort was made to convey the impression that the release of ja Toivo, one of SWAPO's founders, was the result of the representations of the Multi-Party Conference in the forlorn hope that he would break his links with SWAPO or challenge the SWAPO leadership. In fact, the whole manoeuvre backfired disastrously for Pretoria. He refused to be met by MPC representatives at the prison gates; his release gave renewed confidence to SWAPO activists within Namibia; and at a central committee meeting in August he was elected secretary-general of SWAPO.

Life for the Namibian people continues to deteriorate as the South Africans become ever more desperate to maintain their rule. Atrocities and brutalities by the army, especially in the north of the country, have become commonplace. Torture and secret detention without trial is the norm. In addition, Namibians are being conscripted into the South African military where they will be forced to participate in the oppression of their own people.

All this is the consequence of the obstructive policies of the US, Britain and other western countries. Prospects for effective international action have been paralysed both because of the insistence on 'linkage' and their determination to protect South Africa. Faced with this impasse, it is probable that P W Botha had high on the agenda during his western European tour a new initiative by which the UN plan would either be torn up or so substantially rewritten to so limit Namibia's independence as to make it meaningless.

Inside South Africa

The oppressed people of South Africa are in open revolt. In the townships and in the rural areas; in the mines and in the factories; in the schools and on the streets; young and old, women and men, are defying apartheid rule. Mounting tension within the communities throughout the year finally erupted with the detention of UDF leaders on the very eve of the first 'elections' under the new apartheid constitution. Despite arbitrary police brutality, draconian bans and systematic efforts to terrorise the black population into submission, this revolt has spread like wildfire throughout South Africa. The rapidly developing movement of resistance within South Africa is characterised by both unity and diversity. Civic organisations campaigning on rents, fares and other local demands; women's organisations highlighting the oppression of women under apartheid; community newspapers focusing on local issues; militant student organisations protesting against

apartheid education: these and many others are all uniting together in the common struggle against apartheid.

Throughout the year the P W Botha administration has been engaged in increasingly desperate efforts to impose onto the people of South Africa its new constitution, which involves the creation of a so-called tricameral parliament with three racially segregated chambers for whites, Indians and Coloureds. The Constitution Act, which enshrines the entire racial system of South Africa, excludes the African majority from any form of political rights and further consolidates power in the hands of the political-military hierarchy of the Nationalist Party. It was enacted on 22 September 1983.

Only the white population was permitted to express its view of the new constitution through a referendum. Fifty per cent of the white population endorsed the constitution on 2 November 1983, a significant vote given the opposition of the Progressive Reform Party and both ultra-extremist break-aways from the Nationalist Party: the Conservative Party and the Herstigte National Party.

The real opposition to the new constitution, however, was spearheaded by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the umbrella body for over 650 anti-apartheid organisations launched on 20 August 1983. Despite systematic state harassment, including the banning of meetings, arrests and detentions, which culminated in nationwide security police raids and the detention of almost the entire leadership in August 1984, the UDF mobilised for a countrywide rejection of the new constitution. The UDF's campaigns were complemented by the activities of other organisations which called for a boycott, including trade unions like FOSATU, the National Forum Committee and a range of different religious bodies. The success of the campaign was reflected in the decisive rejection of the new constitution by both the Coloured and Indian communities when they overwhelmingly boycotted the polls for the new 'parliamentary' chambers on 22 and 28 August 1984 respectively. On the eve of the poll the UN Security Council declared the new constitution to be 'null and void'. Despite international condemnation and the failure of the apartheid regime to secure any genuine support for the new constitution, it appears determined to proceed with this new 'modernised' system of apartheid, and is now devising schemes to try and incorporate urban Africans into the structures of the apartheid system.

In the past 12 months the growth in strength and influence of the UDF has brought about a profound change in political life within South Africa and created a new dimension to the liberation struggle.

The UDF has mobilised throughout the country on a range of different issues whilst at the same time building up its regional and local structures. A special target has been the Black Local Authorities Act which came into effect on 1 August 1983 with the aim of creating a facade of local government for urban Africans. Successful boycotts were organised of the council elections, the first of which under this Act took place in November and December 1983. In Soweto some 60,000 people voted out of an estimated population of two million.

There has been systematic defiance of apartheid in the bantustans, especially in the Ciskei where the authorities unleashed a reign of intimidation and terror in the autumn of 1983. In response to a successful bus boycott, the Ciskei authorities killed, tortured and brutalised the people, but failed to make them submit. A fifth bantustan, KwaNdebele, is due to be deemed 'independent' in December 1984.

Within the bantustans there has been a systematic repression of the independent trade union movement. The South African Allied Workers Union was and still is banned by the Ciskei authorities, and in Bophuthatswana legislation was introduced to make illegal any South African-based union, although special exception was granted for the all-white miners union. Throughout South Africa the trade union movement has gone from strength to strength, with significant progress being made to secure the basis for a national federation for all the emergent black and non-racial trade unions. It is estimated that over 300,000 black workers are now unionised. Of particular significance has been the development of organisation in the mines.

An important arena for nationwide resistance has been opposition to forced removals. A research project published in 1983 concluded that 3,500,000 people had been removed since 1960 and a further 1,500,000 removals are due to take place. In three cases, Driefontein — where the community leader Saul Mkhize was shot dead by a policeman during a protest meeting on 2 April, KwaNgema — where the community appealed to the British queen to intervene, and at Magopa — where church leaders from all over South Africa gathered when the removals were scheduled to take place, there has been publicity and some international response. These cases represent only the tip of the iceberg. In a further move, the authorities announced plans for the 'relocation' of 200,000-300,000 people from the three African townships in Cape Town to an area some 40km away.

This period has also been characterised by even more open defiance of the apartheid regime by numerous demonstrations of support for the African National Congress. The influence of the ANC continues to grow within South Africa and it is seen as the only genuine alternative to the Nationalist Party. Its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has successfully carried out numerous acts of sabotage throughout the country — speculation that the Nkomati accord would result in a decline in such activity has proved to be incorrect. The ANC, in a statement issued on 16 March, declared that its 'principal task at the moment therefore is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa'.

Most British commentators underestimate the impact of the remarkable and growing resistance, both inside South Africa and in Namibia, on the apartheid system and its economy. The 'reform schemes' which have been planned over several years have now culminated in an enormous disaster, with the regime apparently unable to take any other major initiative. Similarly, it faces an unprecedented economic crisis. In 1983, for the second consecutive year, the economy recorded a real decline in the gross domestic product (GDP). At the same time the combined effects of inflation, the decline in the gold price, and the continuous expansion of the military and security budgets seem to make it inevitable that South Africa will plunge into an even more profound economic crisis. This, in turn, will make the apartheid regime even more dependent on western loans and other forms of financial backing.

Conclusion

The situation in Southern Africa today creates tremendous opportunities for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the campaign to bring about a fundamental change in British policy. The so-called 'reform' policy of P W Botha in which Britain and other western powers have invested so much effort has proved to be a catastrophe. Likewise, the negotiations over Namibia are deadlocked. In this situation Britain and other western countries will inevitably be drawn into even more overt support for apartheid South Africa. As British collaboration becomes more explicit, the opportunities to expose, challenge and halt such collaboration will equally increase. However, developments indicate that the apartheid regime and the major western powers, including Britain, are engaged in complex and intricate manoeuvres designed to:

- a) further postpone the liberation of Namibia
- b) defuse the aggravating crisis resulting from black resistance within South Africa
- c) enhance South Africa's hegemonic ambitions in Southern Africa
- d) relieve the economic crisis arising in particular from the apartheid regime's militaristic policies

- e) weaken and reverse the arms embargo and enable South Africa to break out of its international isolation.

In this context the apartheid regime and its British allies have unleashed a concerted campaign to overcome South Africa's international isolation and to shift British policy and public opinion in favour of apartheid South Africa. This has been most evident in sport, culture and the media. But even more significant is the massive propaganda effort to secure British and international acceptance of South Africa's so-called constitutional 'reforms'.

Central to this strategy is the South Africans' calculation that a decisive shift in the policies of the right-wing governments of the US, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany has been secured, facilitating more open and direct intervention by these western powers to protect the apartheid regime from the forces of liberation and enable it to dominate the region as a whole.

In these circumstances the tasks and challenges facing the Anti-Apartheid Movement and indeed the international movement of solidarity with the Namibian and South African liberation struggles have at once become both much more urgent and even more onerous. We must therefore build on the wide-ranging anti-apartheid consensus achieved amongst organisations, individuals and the British public at large during the campaign against the P W Botha visit to Britain. We must secure an even firmer and deeper base for our movement amongst the people of Britain and ensure that the popular support for our policies is reflected effectively in parliament. This means above all that we must secure amongst the membership of the Movement a unity of purpose and objective; we must concentrate and focus all our efforts on the fight against apartheid; and we must sustain a united stand for a policy of sanctions and support for the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa. Our Movement is therefore now required to:

1. redouble its campaigning efforts to underline that the isolation of apartheid South Africa and the application of economic sanctions are now, as they were 25 years ago, the most appropriate and relevant strategy for the international community to undermine the apartheid regime
2. work to strengthen and ensure the strict application of the mandatory arms embargo and to secure a total ban on all nuclear collaboration with South Africa
3. seek the immediate implementation of the UN plan for Namibia
4. expose the reality of South Africa's 'reform' strategy
5. reaffirm the AAM's traditional support for the struggling people of Namibia and South Africa and to secure ever wider support for the liberation struggle led by SWAPO and the ANC and for the campaigns to secure the release of all political prisoners and detainees
6. mount a sustained boycott of sports, cultural and other exchanges with South Africa, and in particular to give all possible support to the newly relaunched campaign to boycott all products of apartheid
7. demonstrate effective solidarity with the front line states and their struggles to sustain their independence and thwart South Africa's efforts to establish its hegemony over the entire Southern African region
8. strengthen the Movement's relations with anti-apartheid and solidarity movements in all countries as well as with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, other UN bodies, the non-aligned movement, the OAU, the Commonwealth, and the front line states in order to intensify the international campaign against apartheid South Africa and for freedom in Southern Africa.

NAMIBIA

Throughout the past 12 months there has again been intense diplomatic activity concerning the independence of Namibia and repeated speculation in the western press that South Africa's illegal occupation of the territory would soon be ended. However, the prospects for the early implementation of the UN decolonisation plan appear even more distant.

The campaigning activities of the Anti-Apartheid Movement have been designed to challenge British government policies over Namibia; to expose Britain's role in sustaining South Africa's illegal occupation; and to mobilise solidarity for SWAPO.

The major focus for campaigning was the Namibia Week of Action from 27 October to 3 November. This included a march through London on 29 October during which 'summons' were served at the offices of British companies collaborating with South Africa's illegal administration, including RTZ, BP, Shell and Barclays Bank. The march culminated in a rally at Jubilee Gardens. Other activities during the week included a speaking tour by the SWAPO deputy representative, Jacob Hannai, the production and distribution of a special leaflet on Barclays and Namibia, and a range of local meetings organised by anti-apartheid groups.

Particular consideration has been given to British policy on 'linkage'. Following repeated representations, details of which were reported in the 1982-83 annual report, the British delegation voted in favour of UN Security Council resolution 539 which was adopted on 28 October 1983. The resolution was culmination of an extensive international campaign of rejection of 'linkage'. Only the United States abstained during the voting on the resolution. A few days later, at the New Delhi Commonwealth summit, Mrs Thatcher signed the communiqué which stated 'Heads of Government... rejected any attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops'. However, subsequent events have shown that British policy remains based on the acceptance of 'linkage' as a political reality. Indeed Mrs Thatcher went further when in the House of Commons, following the visit of P W Botha, she stated that Namibian independence 'will not occur until there is, in parallel, also the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola'.

Numerous representations have been made to the British government by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other organisations concerning British policy on 'linkage' and other issues concerning Namibia. It was a major theme of the national parliamentary lobby on 21 March which was addressed by Shapua Kaukungua, the chief representative of SWAPO, and again on 30 May when the AAM president, Archbishop Huddleston, met the prime minister at Downing Street.

Following the visit of P W Botha, the AAM issued a considered statement which expressed its fears of 'further concessions to South Africa over Namibia' and continued, 'we are alarmed by reports that the discussions on Namibia may prove to be a prelude to initiatives outside the UN framework which could only be prejudicial to the interests of the Namibian people'. In an article in *Anti-Apartheid News*, further consideration was given to these issues. The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Namibia Support Committee met to consider these

developments and decided jointly to launch the 'Namibia: Independence Now!' campaign, which includes as a major feature a Namibia Declaration for which endorsement is being sought by both organisations and individuals. The campaign is planned to continue until 10 December, Namibia Women's Day.

An important area of progress has been campaigning on Namibian political prisoners. The release of the SWAPO leader, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, on 1 March, together with a small group of other SWAPO political prisoners, was followed a few weeks later by the release of over 50 of the Namibians who had been abducted from Angola during the Kassinga massacre in May 1978. In early June, almost the entire SWAPO leadership then present in Namibia were detained at a barbecue organised for the 'Kassinga detainees'. Such was the international outcry — the AAM supported a protest demonstration called by the Namibia Support Committee — that all of those detained were released, and subsequently the authorities announced that they would not proceed with any charges. The SATIS section of this report provides further information on campaigning activities on behalf of Namibian political prisoners and detainees.

The AAM has continued to work closely with SWAPO of Namibia. The AAM president and other officers met President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO when he was on a short visit to London in February 1984. In May the AAM was invited to address a rally organised by SWAPO for Andimba Toivo ja Toivo when he paid a short visit to London after his release from Robben Island; and ja Toivo was again in London as the guest of honour at the AAM's national convention on 23-24 June to mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the AAM.

The importing and processing of Namibian uranium continues to be an important campaigning priority. During the Namibia Week of Action a protest was organised outside the CEBG offices in London. The previous month's *Anti-Apartheid News* had included a full centre-spread on Namibian uranium. Local activities have been organised focusing in particular on the mounting evidence that Namibian uranium will be used for powering the Trident submarines. In March, a British researcher, Alun Roberts, on a visit to Namibia, was detained by the South African security police. His interrogation revealed disturbing evidence of the level of security collaboration between RTZ and the South African authorities. After widespread international protests, he was deported from Namibia.

The Namibia Support Committee has continued to coordinate campaigning activities on Namibia and organised two extremely valuable events: a seminar on health and Namibia and the conference on 100 years of colonial occupation of Namibia. The president of the UN Council for Namibia, HE Paul Lusaka, visited London in January with the Commissioner for Namibia for the ceremony to launch the GLC's declaration on Southern Africa. Whilst in London he visited the AAM headquarters at Mandela Street, and Camden Council, and had a series of meetings with campaigning organisations arranged by the AAM. AAM chairperson Bob Hughes attended a UN Council conference in Montreal where he served as rapporteur.



FRONT LINE STATES

The past 12 months have seen further determined efforts by the Pretoria regime to impose its domination on the entire southern region of the African continent. It has relentlessly pursued programmes of military aggression, political and economic destabilisation, and crude diplomacy to secure this objective.

The main task of the AAM has been to secure wider public understanding of apartheid's war against Africa. This has involved an extensive programme of activities, most of which have been under the theme 'Stop the Apartheid War'.

The highlight of the campaign was the visit of the AAM's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, accompanied by the AAM's honorary secretary Abdul S Minty, to the front line states in January 1984. The visit provided a unique opportunity for an exchange of views about the dangerous situation in the region. In Zambia, the delegation was the guest of President Kenneth Kaunda and, in addition to extensive discussions with President Kaunda, they met the Zambian foreign minister and an ANC delegation led by President Oliver Tambo.

Archbishop Huddleston then visited Botswana, where he met the foreign minister, before returning north to Zimbabwe for meetings with President Banana and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. In Harare there was extensive media coverage and a special meeting of the Britain Zimbabwe Society was arranged which Archbishop Huddleston addressed. From Zimbabwe, the delegation visited Mozambique, where they were fully acquainted with the extremely difficult situation in the country arising from a series of natural disasters, before flying to Tanzania to meet President Nyerere for an extremely useful exchange of views in the light of the serious developments which were taking place in the region at this time.

On their return to Britain, Trevor Huddleston and Abdul Minty addressed a very well attended meeting jointly organised with the Royal Commonwealth Society. The visit itself not only attracted publicity in the countries visited but was also covered in the British media.

This visit was followed up by a most successful seminar jointly organised with the United Nations Association on 29 February at the Catholic Cathedral conference centre. The seminar was opened by the Tanzanian High Commissioner, HE A B Nyaki; the keynote address was delivered by Ambassador Sahnoun of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid; and contributors included E S Reddy, assistant secretary-general of the UN, Ambassador van Dunem of Angola, Victoria Brittain of the *Guardian*, Paul Spray of the Catholic Institute for International Relations, and Christabel Gurney and Abdul Minty from the AAM. Again it was well attended and the background documentation was particularly valuable.

This seminar was followed in turn by the publication of a photo exhibition on the theme 'Apartheid's War against Africa', which was produced in cooperation with the Holland Committee on Southern Africa with the assistance of the UN Centre Against Apartheid. It has already been widely displayed.

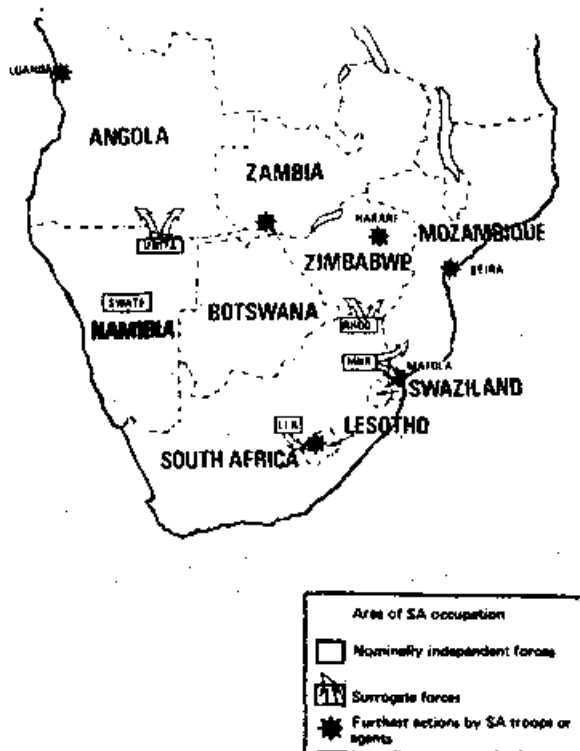
The character of campaigning activities has had to take into consideration developments in the region. Throughout the autumn and winter of 1983 the AAM sought to respond to increased military aggression by South Africa. In October the South Africans boasted that their agents had bombed the Maputo offices of the ANC and then in December/January the South Africans launched a major new military offensive in southern Angola. It was also necessary to respond to the distortions and bias of much of the media coverage of these events. One such protest led to the admission by the BBC that 'the dependence upon South African spokesmen may well have justified a more detailed explanation of the absence of corroborating evidence'. Concern in particular about media coverage led to the convening by AAM of a very useful consultation with the liberation movements and other solidarity organisations concerned specifically with this issue. The Mozambique Angola Committee published a pamphlet entitled *South Africa's Undeclared War against Mozambique* to ensure a more informed public. This, and a pamphlet containing the text of a statement by the Lesotho prime minister on South African destabilisation, have been widely distributed by the AAM.

Following the signing of the Nkomati accord, the AAM published a statement entitled *Recent Developments in Southern Africa*. This recognised that South African aggression, and efforts at destabilisation could have been effectively halted if the western powers had employed their considerable influence and had taken effective measures against the Pretoria regime. Not only have they refused to do so, but they have provided encouragement and support to South Africa and protected it from UN action; they have failed along with the international community as a whole to provide meaningful material assistance to the independent states of Southern Africa which could have counteracted the effects of South Africa's aggression. The statement therefore called for the 'redoubling of our campaigns for effective solidarity with the front line states and Lesotho'.

Since March, AAM's activities have been largely concerned with monitoring events in the region and responding to specific appeals for action. Of particular concern has been South Africa's efforts to destabilise Lesotho. The president and other officers of the AAM had very useful discussions with a ministerial delegation from Lesotho which visited Britain in May, and an interview with Lesotho's minister of information was published in *AA News*.

Initial steps have been taken to consider how the AAM can be more effectively involved in promoting the work of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). An article by Steve Godfrey of War on Want was published in *AA News* and this was one of the matters considered at the AAM/UNA seminar.

During this period the AAM has maintained close liaison with the high commissions of the front line states based in London and the information offices of Angola and Mozambique. During the visit of President Machel to Britain, he met representatives of the AAM, including Trevor Huddleston, and there have been extensive contacts with the governments of the front line states at ministerial level.



SOUTH AFRICA

An interesting development in the Anti-Apartheid Movement's work has been a great increase in activities directly related to events taking place within South Africa. The new dimension to the liberation struggle arising from the creation of the United Democratic Front and the general upsurge in campaigns of resistance to apartheid rule within South Africa has created an additional challenge for the AAM as it has sought to respond to such events.

United Democratic Front

The AAM has followed closely the development of the UDF since its foundation in August 1983. The UDF's message to the Movement's 1983 AGM read:

Your record of performance in the struggle against apartheid has earned you a special place in millions of households in our vast country, at a time when the eradication of racism, discrimination and exploitation has become the most urgent task before humanity. Your conference deserves the support of all human beings on our globe. The UDF therefore sends you its fullest support and wishes you well in your deliberations. Forward to a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The AAM has itself sent messages to a series of meetings and events organised by the UDF. In May, the Transvaal regional secretary of the UDF visited Britain and a number of other countries on behalf of the UDF National Secretariat. He addressed the AGM of the Wales AAM and the AAM's National Committee meeting on 26 May, as well as a meeting at the Africa Centre. He also met various organisations.



Ciskei

Following the 1983 AGM, the Movement was immediately involved in a major campaign in response to the reign of terror unleashed by the apartheid regime in the Ciskei bantustan. Although this had begun in August, massive restrictions on reporting, including the barring of journalists, meant that it was not until October that the full extent of the repression going on in the bantustan was realised. A report, *Ruling with the Whip*, prepared by the University of Witwatersrand Department of Applied Legal Studies and containing lengthy affidavits and eye witness accounts, catalogued a trail of police brutality and repression on a massive scale. Conflict had arisen over the imposition of an increase in bus fares, in response to which the people of Ciskei's main city, Mdantsane, organised a bus boycott. At least 90 people were killed in police shootings at the rail station, and police and vigilante groups in the pay of Ciskei 'president' Lennox Sebe attempted to force people on

to buses with whips. Hundreds were detained, many held in the Sisa Dukasa football stadium because the jails were full. Torture, rape and inhuman treatment were meted out to detainees. An emergency campaign was launched, distributing copies of *Ruling with the Whip* widely to the media and urging supporters to protest to the South African authorities and to urge the British government to intervene. Initial responses from the government were tautological: since Britain did not recognise the bantustans, the government said it could not intervene with the Ciskei authorities; and since South Africa regarded the bantustan as independent, it would achieve nothing to make representations to South Africa. However, following a concerted campaign, including a meeting at the Foreign Office between Archbishop Huddleston and minister Malcolm Rifkind, Britain eventually expressed its concern directly to the South African foreign minister.

An important focus of campaigning was the case of Father Smangaliso Mkandhwa, secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. A day-long vigil for his release, and the release of all the detainees, was organised at Westminster Cathedral on the anniversary of Ciskei's 'independence', 4 December, which was followed by a public meeting addressed by Trevor Huddleston and Dr Ron Press of SACTU. Hundreds of letters of protest were endorsed during the vigil. Interventions for the release of the detainees were made by trade union and church bodies in particular.

Media coverage of the campaign was initially very difficult to secure; however, a major breakthrough was achieved when BBC TV interviewed Father Mkandhwa whilst he was in detention, and he was released shortly afterwards. *Ad News* produced a centre spread of photos in the November 1983 issue.

Bophuthatswana

There has continued to be a growing de facto recognition of the bantustans. Bophuthatswana House in London continues to function as a 'diplomatic mission', and a public relations company still operates a well-funded PR exercise for the bantustan. The so-called 'president' of Bophuthatswana paid another visit to Britain and was reported to have met government officials. The BBC confirmed that it was supplying films to Bophuthatswana TV.

Removals

The growing resistance to forced removals inside South Africa has encouraged a greater response internationally. The AAM Women's Committee and the ANG Women's Section jointly organised a meeting in November 1983 to focus attention on the issue. The same month, in a more demonstrative manner, a group of students from University College London set up a shanty town on the steps of St Martin in the Fields immediately opposite South Africa House to arouse public concern.

The South African Council of Churches and the Catholic church made a concerted effort to stimulate international concern by the publication of a detailed report on removals and the sending of a delegation to the UN, Washington, London and other western cities. In London a special conference was organised by the British Council of Churches (BCC) and the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) on 23 March 1984.

The most publicised action was that of the KwaNgema community, whose land had been granted to them on behalf of King Edward VII. They appealed to Queen Elizabeth and Mrs Thatcher to intervene on their behalf on the eve of P W Botha's visit. In London a group of women wearing black sashes, including Glenys Kinnock, presented a facsimile of the original land deed to 10 Downing Street just 24 hours before Botha's arrival - a protest which was reported in nearly every British newspaper and extensively publicised on television and radio. Despite this response, and the action of Mrs Thatcher in reading the appeal to Botha, the South African authorities have announced that they intend to proceed with the removals.



Glenys Kinnock (third from right) and former South African political prisoner Shanthie Naidoo (on her right) join other prominent women in protest against forced removals. The delegation presented Mrs Thatcher with a copy of the original Ngema trust deed.

New apartheid constitution

The first 'elections' under South Africa's new constitution took place on 22 and 28 August 1984. In the period leading up to these elections, the AAM sought to follow developments closely. It issued a statement following the all-white referendum in November 1983 and carried a number of articles in *AA News*. It was a subject that many AA speakers addressed themselves to at public meetings.

During this period the AAM expressed growing concern at the position of the British government. This was a major item of discussion when the AAM president met Mrs Thatcher on 30 May. The AAM criticised both the refusal of Mrs Thatcher to associate herself with the Commonwealth's condemnation of the new constitution and the decision of the British delegation not to support the UN Security Council resolution, adopted on 17 August, declaring the elections null and void.

On the eve of the elections the AAM received news of the arrest and detention of nearly the entire leadership of the UDF. It called immediately for a massive international protest. A demonstration was held the following day outside South Africa House and a letter delivered to the foreign office by the AAM president.

People the world over watched on television screens, both on 22 and 28 August, how the South African police unleashed a wave of indiscriminate violence against opponents of the new apartheid constitution who were calling for a boycott. Despite this and the tremendous success of the boycott campaign, the British government persisted with its view that it was necessary to wait and see if the new apartheid constitution would 'facilitate the process of peaceful change'. The Movement's opposition to this approach was presented forcefully by Trevor Huddleston to foreign office minister Malcolm Rifkind at a meeting on 13 September. On 3 September the AAM had issued a statement assessing both the new constitution and the British government's response which received considerable publicity. Plans were also made for a protest march in London on 14 September, the day P W Botha was inaugurated as 'president'.

South African embassy

Following the representations made to the government reported in the last annual report concerning South African intelligence activities in Britain, a reply was received on 28 October from the home secretary. This confirmed that the government was not prepared to respond positively to any of the proposals put

forward by the AAM in a series of memoranda presented to the government.

A further opportunity to raise this entire issue arose in May 1984 when the foreign secretary announced new procedures for responding to the abuse of diplomatic privilege. At the same time the foreign affairs select committee announced that it intended to investigate the abuse of diplomatic privilege. The AAM wrote to the foreign secretary and the chairman of the foreign affairs select committee. The former's response was unhelpful but the select committee asked the AAM to prepare a document for its consideration, and this was presented in June 1984.

Also in May 1984 the Central TV production, 'The British Desk', was screened on television. This hour-long documentary examined South African intelligence activities in Britain and confirmed many of the AAM's allegations. The publicity arising from the programme, as well as the programme itself, ensured that there was much greater public concern and understanding of the activities of South African agents in Britain.

At the end of May the police announced that, in future, demonstrations immediately in front of South Africa House would be banned. The AAM made a series of representations to the metropolitan police, culminating in a meeting with the assistant commissioner responsible. A significant number of people defied the ban and were arrested, although the AAM Executive Committee advised against this approach. When the first case came to court the defendant was acquitted. The metropolitan police then withdrew the ban and advised the AAM to this effect in writing.

When it was announced that the summit of western leaders which met in London in early June was to discuss 'state-sponsored international terrorism', the AAM prepared a memorandum on 'South African sponsored terrorism' which was presented to all delegations at the summit and distributed to the media.

CAMPAIGNS

No to Botha! No to Apartheid!

Late on the afternoon of 4 May 1984, the beginning of a bank holiday weekend, it was announced simultaneously in London and Cape Town that Mrs Thatcher had invited P W Botha to visit Britain on 2 June. The visit was to be part of a tour of western Europe which finally included Portugal, Switzerland, Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Austria, Italy and the Vatican.

Mrs Thatcher's invitation was immediately condemned by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Later the same day, David Steel, the Liberal Party leader, was the first national figure to attack the invitation, to be followed by Neil Kinnock on the Saturday.

The AAM was faced with the immediate task of how to mobilise the widest possible opposition to the visit and in particular to succeed with its pledge to organise the largest ever Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstration on the streets of London. The Executive Committee met at the first possible opportunity after the announcement and decided on provisional plans for the campaign and the demonstration on the theme 'No to Botha: No to Apartheid'. It was agreed to call an emergency mobilising meeting, open to all organisations opposed to the visit, and this took place the following Saturday, 12 May, at Camden town hall and was attended by approximately 100 organisations.

At this stage the venue of the visit was not known. Initial reports had assumed it would be at 10 Downing Street but, as the extent of opposition became obvious, there began to be reports that it would take place at Chequers. The emergency mobilising meeting endorsed plans for the demonstration to take place in central London - irrespective of the final venue for the meeting. It was proposed that the demonstration should be followed by a rally and festival. The emergency mobilising meeting also discussed a range of proposals for campaigning over the three weeks up to the demonstration.

A further emergency mobilising meeting was held a fortnight later to provide an opportunity to discuss the final mobilisation during the week of the demonstration.

Publicity was a mammoth task. In three weeks some 850,000 leaflets were distributed by the AAM, including texts in Bengali and Greek. Fifteen thousand posters were produced, together with thousands of different stickers, badges and flyers. Complementing the AAM's material, individual organisations produced and distributed their own publicity. A London-wide coordinated leafletting of British Rail and underground stations was held on 30 May when all but a handful of stations were covered. There were few areas of London where posters were not on display. Similar mobilisation took place throughout Britain, resulting in over 100 coaches being sent to the demonstration.

In London, at the initiative of black councillors and the black community press, the 2 June mobilising committee was convened on 15 May. As a result there was excellent publicity in London's black press. Many black organisations actively mobilised against the visit, including the Race Today Collective, the Africa Liberation Committee, the West Indian Standing Conference, the Black Standing Conference against Apartheid, as well as many local black and anti-racist organisations.

The GLC made a unique contribution to the campaign. It displayed a banner against apartheid at County Hall, placed a series of advertisements in the national press, and sponsored the festival following the demonstration. On 30 May it organised with the AAM a press conference at County Hall which was addressed by Ken Livingstone and Paul Boateng of the GLC and Archbishop Huddleston and Bob Hughes MP of the AAM. The GLC also sponsored an exhibition, 'Signs of Apartheid' at the Royal Festival Hall which was opened by

the Commonwealth secretary general on the evening of 1 June.

Sponsorship and support for the demonstration came from such a variety of organisations, both national and local, that it is impossible to record this fully. The Labour Party's National Executive Committee agreed to sponsor the demonstration on 9 May and the Liberal Party Council on 19 May. The Ecology Party, the Communist Party, Plaid Cymru, the SWP and SPGB all declared their support. Although SDP leader David Owen did not endorse the opposition to the visit, the SDP Youth Organisation and many members participated in the demonstration. Many local authorities, in London in particular, opposed the visit, including the Conservative-led Brent Council whose leader spoke out personally against Mrs Thatcher's invitation. The National Union of Students and the British Youth Council were amongst the many youth and student organisations which mobilised for the demonstration, as did a large number of women's organisations.

As the campaign gathered momentum, the trade union movement increasingly threw its weight behind the demonstration. Over 20 major unions officially sponsored the demonstration, with many of them sending out circulars to their members. At nearly all the trade union conferences which took place during the campaign period emergency resolutions were adopted. The TUC General Council wrote to the prime minister demanding that the visit be cancelled. Similar concern was expressed by the British Council of Churches and many different religious organisations supported the demonstration and distributed publicity material. Many other organisations, such as the United Nations Association and Liberation, gave it their full support.

Within parliament, opposition to the visit was intensifying, prompted in particular by the disclosure in the *Sunday Times* that the South African authorities had had discussions with British Aerospace concerning the possible purchase of the naval 'spy plane', the Coastguard, to replace the South African air force's old Shackleton fleet.

Such was the extent of public opposition to the visit that Mrs Thatcher and her ministers were finding it increasingly difficult to justify the invitation. This process was facilitated by the interest aroused by the visit in the media. The AAM and its policies had never had such exposure. In the course of four weeks, representatives of the AAM took part in *The World This Weekend*, *Breakfast TV*, *TV-AM*, *Roller Coaster*, the *Brian Hayes Show*, *Ebony*, *Black Londoners*, *FM*, *Capital Radio*, whilst Channel Four news did a special feature on the preparations for the demonstration. *Black on Black* and *Weekend World* both produced substantial programmes on the visit.



and *Granada's World in Action* followed up the visit with a 30-minute programme on 'South Africa's Other Leader' — a profile of Nelson Mandela. The press responded in a similar manner, and the *Guardian* and the *Observer* both produced full-page features on British collaboration with South Africa; the *Morning Star* prepared a special 'No to Boths' issue.

As 2 June approached, preparations became increasingly frantic, with demonstrations at the FRG embassy (24 May), the Portuguese embassy (29 May), and the Swiss embassy (31 May). On 22 May Simon Hughes MP and a group of Young Liberals presented a 'whites only' sign at Downing Street; on 29 May former Namibian and South African political prisoners held a vigil at Downing Street; and on 1 June a group of women wearing black sashes held a vigil at Downing Street and delivered a copy of the trust deed for the land of the Kwa-Ngema community to Mrs Thatcher. SWAPO leader Andimba Toivo ja Toivo appealed to people to mobilise against the visit at a rally he addressed on 23 May, and he also visited the foreign office to protest. A UDF representative at both a press conference and meeting at the Africa Centre on 24 May expressed the UDF's opposition, which was echoed in a letter from UDF officials in South Africa which appeared in the *Guardian*. ANC President Oliver Tambo sent a message to the AAM president, Archbishop Huddleston, expressing the ANC's opposition, and a press conference was organised on 1 June for the head of the international department of the ANC, Johnny Makatini, which resulted in further publicity of the ANC's position.

A variety of other pickets and protests led up to the demonstration. The West Indian Standing Conference held an all-night vigil on 1-2 June; Christians against Racism and Fascism organised a vigil at St Martin in the Fields; the City AA group organised a non-stop picket of South Africa House; and a group of Kent miners delivered a sack of South African coal to South Africa House. The Namibia Support Committee placed an impressive advertisement in *The Times*.

Despite statements to the contrary by government ministers there was widespread condemnation of the visit in Africa and the Commonwealth. The chairman of the OAU and of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid both issued statements, as did representatives of the governments of Angola and Mozambique. The Nigerian government formally protested to Britain.

All these developments must have influenced Mrs Thatcher in making her decision to receive a delegation from the Anti-Apartheid Movement at Downing Street, the first time this has happened in the AAM's 25-year history. Archbishop Huddleston and Abdul Minty met Mrs Thatcher on the afternoon of 30 May. It provided an opportunity to express directly

to the prime minister the AAM's opposition to the visit and our attitude on major issues such as Namibia, the new South African constitution, etc. The following day the Conservative Party chairman, John Selwyn Gummer MP, tried to answer criticism of the visit in a public speech, but simply succeeded in stirring up the controversy even more by claiming that the demonstration against P W Botha was being funded by the Tories.

Saturday 2 June saw an estimated 50,000 people gather on the streets of London to protest against the visit. The march assembled in Hyde Park, where there was an hour-long rally before moving off along Piccadilly to Trafalgar Square, down Whitehall, where a letter was handed in at Downing Street, and on to Jubilee Gardens on the south bank for another rally and a festival.

Speakers at the two rallies included Johnny Makatini of the ANC and Jacob Hannai of SWAPO, who delivered a message from SWAPO President Sam Nujoma. The Labour deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, and Simon Hughes MP for the Liberal Party were amongst those leading the march and speaking at Jubilee Gardens. Other speakers there were Ken Livingstone, Paul Boateng and Darcus Howe. Gavin Laird, general secretary of the AUEW Engineering was among the speakers at Hyde Park. Many demonstrators stayed on in Jubilee Gardens to enjoy the music and the atmosphere of the festival which followed the rally.

Meanwhile, a symbolic contingent of demonstrators had journeyed to Chequers where the meeting between Mrs Thatcher and P W Botha took place. They assembled at the entrance displaying placards which featured different atrocities committed by the apartheid regime over the past 25 years. Botha and his delegation landed at Heathrow and their plane taxied to a security area from where they were taken by helicopter to Chequers for lunch and a few hours of talks. They were then transported back to Heathrow, again by helicopter, and flown out without even giving a press conference. Press briefings by Downing Street and the foreign office indicated that Mrs Thatcher had echoed many of the issues on which the AAM had been campaigning, including the release of Nelson Mandela, opposition to forced removals, etc. However, in the statement and subsequent questioning in parliament on 5 June it became clear that the visit did in fact symbolise a shift to an increasingly pro-South African position by the British government. The AAM issued a statement following the weekend in which it placed on record its appreciation for the tremendous effort which had been put into the campaign against the visit, while drawing attention to the important areas of policy on which there was a need for even greater campaigning.



Deputy Labour Party Leader Roy Hattersley (right) and Liberal MP Simon Hughes (left) were among the many speakers on 2 June. They joined AAM chairperson Bob Hughes MP (centre) and other protesters on the march itself.

25th Anniversary



The Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded on 26 June 1959 at a small public meeting in London addressed by Father Trevor Huddleston and Julius Nyerere.

It was widely recognised that the 25th anniversary of the founding of the AAM, and indeed of the original boycott appeal by Chief Luthuli, provided an opportunity for the AAM to assess developments over the past 25 years and consider the way ahead. The National Committee, meeting on 25 February 1984, therefore agreed on a series of plans for this anniversary. They included the production of a special supplement of *Anti-Apartheid News* to profile the past 25 years. This appeared with the June issue and its 16 pages were packed with articles and accounts of developments throughout the AAM's history. The National Committee also agreed to convene a national convention over the weekend of 23-24 June which would provide an opportunity to draw up a programme of action for the future. Guest speakers at the convention were the Tanzanian foreign minister, Benjamin Mkapa, who, in addition to addressing the meeting, delivered a message from President Nyerere; Andimba Toivo ja Toivo of SWAPO; Major General Garba, chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid; Neil Kinnock MP, leader of the Labour Party; David Kitson, who had arrived that week from South Africa following his release from prison; and Janice Turner, president of the Young Liberals, who brought a message from Liberal leader David Steel. Messages were also received from Oliver Tambo and Ken Livingstone. And amongst others was a message from the chairman of the UN Decolonisation Committee, Ambassador Koroma, who had intended to participate but was unable to at the last moment because of a family bereavement. On the Saturday afternoon of the convention there was a festival at which a range of stalls, exhibitions, etc, featuring different aspects of anti-apartheid campaigning, were displayed. The bulk of the work of the convention was carried on in commissions, workshops and discussion groups, which

met throughout the weekend. On the Sunday afternoon a declaration was unanimously adopted and arrangements were agreed for the finalising of the programme of action. The convention was chaired by Bob Hughes MP and other speakers included Trevor Huddleston, E S Reddy, UN assistant secretary general, Seretse Choabi of the ANC, and Abdul Minty.

On 25-26 June the AAM hosted a consultation of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, details of which are given in the International section of this report. On 26 June the AAM relaunched the boycott campaign with a press conference at the House of Commons addressed by vice presidents David Steel and Joan Lester; a press conference in Cardiff given by Major General Garba and E S Reddy; and other activities throughout the country. The AAM published a boycott kit containing a range of campaigning material on the boycott campaign.

Finally, to mark the anniversary Major General Garba visited a number of cities at the initiative of the AAM. On 25 June he met GLC leaders at County Hall, on 26 June he was the guest of South Glamorgan County Council, and then visited Sheffield and Leeds, where he was received at civic functions. In Leeds he visited the Nelson Mandela Gardens.

Arrangements for these activities were affected by the campaign against the visit of P W Botha, which assumed complete priority throughout May and early June. Inevitably preparations were not as comprehensive as would have been wished but, despite this, it proved possible to organise a series of interesting and varied events which have strengthened the Movement both nationally and locally.

SOUTHERN AFRICA THE TIME TO ACT

This was the theme of the campaigning paper presented to the 1983 AGM and of the 1984 March month of action. It was recognised that South Africa was involved in a major offensive to reverse the gains of the African liberation struggle - an offensive which had three major prongs: its undeclared war against the front line states; its efforts to impose its own internal solution on to the people of Namibia; and its plans to modernise and restructure the apartheid system. Subsequent events were to show that there was a fourth prong: its determination to end the international isolation of South Africa.

In this offensive, Britain was playing a major role, as underlined by Britain's voting record at the UN General Assembly in 1983 when only the United States opposed or abstained against more resolutions condemning apartheid.

The AGM agreed that to challenge this offensive there should be a coordinated month of action in March on the theme 'Southern Africa - The Time to Act'. The main national focus would be a national parliamentary lobby on 21 March.

Regional planning meetings were held during January and February, and members of the Executive and staff visited many local groups to discuss and coordinate arrangements. Every local AA group organised some kind of activity during the month. In Edinburgh, for example, there was a torchlight demonstration on 16 March; Nottingham AA group arranged for a bus to tour the county; Sheffield had the most ambitious programme of activities, with the full support of the council.

The national parliamentary lobby proved to be a much greater success than expected. Representatives from towns and cities throughout Britain came to London to lobby their MPs, and the Grand Committee Room at the House of Commons was full all afternoon and early evening. At least 800 people

took part in the lobby and some idea of its impact can be gleaned from reports of activists which appeared in the May edition of *AA News*. All the major parliamentary parties were invited to address the Grand Committee Room meeting, and speakers included Denis Healey and David Owen. Shapua Kaukungua of SWAPO, Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, and Ambassador Sahnoun also spoke, as did veteran campaigners such as Fenner Brockway and Trevor Huddleston. Many of the sponsoring organisations provided speakers who gave details of their own policy on Southern Africa. The Commonwealth secretary general sent a message.

The lobby itself was coordinated by the AAM and sponsored by over 20 different organisations, all of which assisted in mobilising support for it. Six themes were chosen and short briefing documents prepared. These were: Namibia; the front line states; sport; political prisoners; military and nuclear collaboration; and sanctions. A background document for organisers was also produced giving advice on preparing for the lobby. The AAM took the opportunity to issue a major statement on recent developments in Southern Africa.

The same day, 21 March, was the GLC's Anti-Racist Day, and as well as sponsoring the lobby the GLC organised a series of activities related to Southern Africa, including an invitation to President Oliver Tambo of the ANC to visit London as the GLC's guest. He addressed a press conference in the morning and the anti-racist rally at Friends Meeting House in the evening.

During the March month of action there was a range of national events organised by the AAM or with which the AAM was involved. These included the UNA/AAM seminar on the front line states to launch the month (29 February); a press conference given by Ambassador Sahnoun and E S Reddy at

which details for the month were announced; visits by Messrs Sahinoun and Reddy to a number of organisations, including the newly-formed Maritime Union against Apartheid; the religious colloquium convened by Archbishop Huddleston; a consultation of local authority trade unions; an abortive meeting with the president of the Rugby Football Union; a workshop on the front line states; the first meeting of the local authorities steering committee, etc.

Military and nuclear collaboration

During the period covered by this report there has been a sustained effort by the AAM to ensure the strict application of the UN mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and to secure a total ban on all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with the apartheid regime.

The November and December issues of *AA News* contained centre spreads covering the apartheid bomb and the arms embargo respectively. Two campaigning papers on the subject were prepared — for the UNA/AAM seminar on the front line states and for the national convention. In addition, a final text has been prepared of the memorandum on the arms embargo which examines comprehensively how Britain continues to arm South Africa.

Further evidence of continued British military collaboration with South Africa has been exposed during this period. In March 1983 the South Africans themselves admitted that they were supplying naval intelligence to Britain, despite repeated assurances from the British government that there is no military collaboration with South Africa. The government refused to comment on this admission. The AAM revealed further cooperation in the intelligence field when it produced photographic evidence that the third most senior officer in British defence intelligence, Major General Swindells, the assistant chief, had attended a South Africa House reception to 'celebrate' South Africa Defence Force Day in 1983. The AAM also exposed the presence of a Mr Reed, the managing director of National Dynamics of South Africa, which produces the Eyrle remotely-piloted vehicle (RPV), at the fourth international conference on RPVs at Bristol University. The Bristol AA group protested vigorously. Apparently a delegation from Kenton, the guided missile section of Armscor, were also due to attend but did not show up. The Aberdeen AA group organised a successful campaign against the participation of a South African delegation at the International Police Association conference.

In another development eight men have been charged with offences connected with the arms embargo. Four of the men were South Africans and they were eventually granted bail conditions which allowed them to return to South Africa. The matter was still sub judice when this report was being prepared.

There was renewed controversy over the application of the arms embargo when it was disclosed in May 1983 that the South Africans were engaged in discussions with British Aerospace over the supply of Coastguard aircraft to South Africa — the 'naval spy plane' based on the HS748. The AAM had already sought assurances from the government that this aircraft would not be supplied to South Africa to replace its ageing Shackleton fleet, but the government's response had been that it was a 'hypothetical issue'. Despite repeated representations including direct questions to the prime minister and other senior government ministers, there has been no categorical assurance that an export licence will not be granted.

This particular case highlights the need for international coordination as there are other potential replacement aircraft which the South Africans are also seeking. This was the reason why the AAM launched the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa in 1979, with AAM hon secretary Abdul Minty as director.

World Campaign

As there are more and more cases involving possible breaches of the arms embargo, the World Campaign has had to do increased research and investigation, and follow up specific cases with concerned governments and the UN Security Council's Arms Embargo Committee (421). Considerable diffi-

The month was one of the most energetic periods of campaigning which the AAM has experienced, especially since it coincided with dramatic developments in Southern Africa, including the Nkomati 'accord'. It provided a basis for resisting any moves to weaken or undermine South Africa's international isolation. At the same time it created a firm base for the campaign against P.W. Botha which was soon to come.

culties have been experienced to get governments to cooperate in following up specific cases and the 421 committee has also not been able to obtain a wider mandate for a stronger role from the Security Council, which itself has still neither debated nor taken any action on the 16 proposals submitted to it over four years ago by the 421 committee for strengthening the terms of the arms embargo.

Inevitably, the World Campaign's responsibility has increased manifold. It has paid special attention to try and get the UN embargo strengthened and enforced more strictly. Extensive consultations have taken place with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, the OAU, the Commonwealth, several non-aligned and African governments, the liberation movements and anti-apartheid organisations in order to promote action on this aspect. As a result, there has been some limited progress.

The Commonwealth meeting in New Delhi gave specific consideration to the operation of the arms embargo and in its final communiqué called for the existing 'loopholes' in the UN arms embargo to be covered. Discussions are continuing with the Commonwealth to see how best to give effect to this policy. During the visit to the front line states in January/February 1984, this aspect was also discussed in detail with the heads of state and government, some of whom are patrons of the World Campaign. The matter had also already been raised with the Nordic governments and the September 1983 meeting of Nordic foreign ministers emphasised the importance of making the arms embargo more effective. There have been subsequent consultations to see what concrete steps need to be taken at the UN to do so.

Action has also taken place at national level, organised by anti-apartheid movements, parliamentarians and other groups. Representations made to the Austrian government brought forth a positive reply from the foreign minister, who informed the World Campaign in September 1983 that they were reviewing existing legislation with a view to strengthening it. During November 1983, following consultations with the Swedish government, the regulations were strengthened in order to make the importation of war materials from South Africa illegal. This is the first western government to take such action. The mandatory arms embargo resolution 418 does not prohibit the importation of arms from South Africa, although



General Assembly resolutions have called for it. The World Campaign has therefore been concentrating to secure support for the prohibition of arms imports from South Africa and has urged the UN to give greater importance to this aspect. This is particularly important since the Pretoria regime has embarked on a major arms export programme. Consultations with the Netherlands government have also been fruitful and the World Campaign was informed that it was in support of such a prohibition. Though it has not taken any legislative measures so far, a public statement to this effect has been made and since it is a member of the Security Council this commitment is important.

During the visit to the United Nations in September, the director gave detailed evidence about cases which needed investigation to the 421 committee and made specific proposals for strengthening the arms embargo. In April the Special Committee against Apartheid had a hearing on the arms embargo to which evidence was given on behalf of the AAM and World Campaign. During the same visit a special hearing was granted by the 421 committee which was given a progress report on several cases and some new information was presented to it. The chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Major General Garba, also made a statement urging a stronger role for the 421 committee. During this visit to the UN detailed discussions were also held with representatives of a large number of non-aligned and other governments. The central problem is that the major western powers have effectively blocked all initiatives to strengthen and reinforce the arms embargo and greater pressure has therefore to be put on the western permanent members of the Security Council in order to obtain action.

In the nuclear field, South Africa continues to receive extensive support from abroad. However, the World Campaign's long efforts to exclude it from the benefits of IAEA membership resulted in some action being taken last year.

With the support of the African and non-aligned countries it was possible to get a resolution adopted by the IAEA general conference in October 1983, calling for the exclusion of South Africa from the uranium and other working groups and urging the Pretoria regime to submit its nuclear installations to international inspection and control. The apartheid regime has failed to do so and the World Campaign has asked the IAEA to exclude South Africa from the Agency. The major western governments continue to oppose such action on the grounds that the 'universality' of international bodies should be preserved by keeping apartheid South Africa as a full member.

Following the World Campaign's Leiden consultation, several anti-apartheid organisations have held special conferences and hearings, and organised campaigns to draw attention to South Africa's aggression against African states. A special hearing was held in the Netherlands and the AAB-Nederland has made a video documentary based on the hearing for wider national and international distribution. They have also published special reports and booklets. In March 1984 the Norwegian anti-apartheid organisation, FSA, organised a Nordic hearing on the same theme with similar high-level representatives from the liberation movements and African governments. Bishop Trevor Huddleston was one of the main speakers and the report of this hearing is also available. The World Campaign cooperated with the AAB-Nederland to print a special poster, 'A well-known soldier in an unknown war', to coincide with the Dutch hearing. This was then translated by FSA for its Norwegian hearing. The English version has been distributed to overseas anti-apartheid and other solidarity groups.

In Denmark a series of arms smuggling cases involving one company led to a trial and conviction of one of the offenders. The head of the company, however, had absconded earlier to South Africa after being charged. The process of investigation and trial took several years and showed how extensive the smuggling operations are, involving several European countries.

Economic collaboration

The AAM's efforts to break all economic links between Britain and South Africa are at the heart of its work. Numerous campaigns have been organised at both local and national levels. Broadly speaking, there are three main issues: the boycott of products from South Africa and Namibia; opposition to exports to South Africa and Namibia; and campaigns against investment and loans. A further and increasingly important issue is the growth of South African investment in Britain.

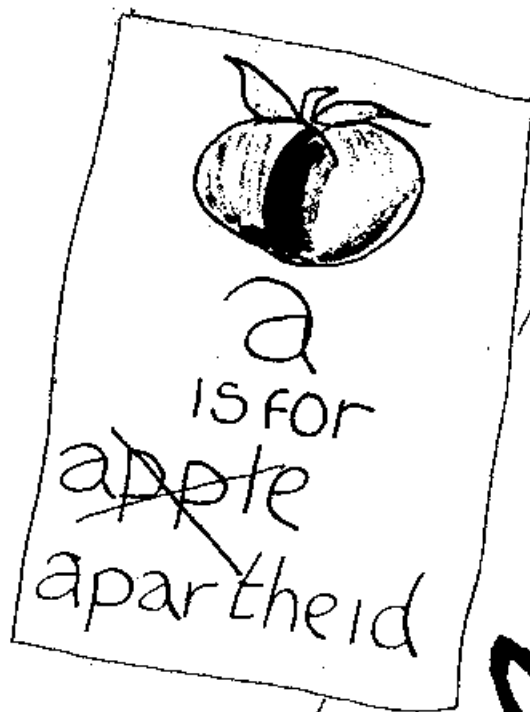
The boycott

The AAM decided to mark its 25th anniversary with the relaunching of its boycott campaign. New material, including a boycott kit, was produced. An important emphasis of this campaign was to highlight the changing nature of South African products on sale in Britain. For example, on 26 June the Women's Committee picketed a central London branch of the fashion store Next, which distributes large quantities of South African textiles.



The 'Next' women's fashion chain, which stocks South African-made clothing, was one of the first targets of the AAM's consumer boycott campaign, launched in 26 June as part of 25th anniversary action.

WARNING! Look at the labels
DON'T BUY SOUTH AFRICAN



Exports to South Africa

There has been action both nationally and locally to stop exports to South Africa. For example, many local AA groups, Sheffield and Dundee in particular, have organised campaigns against planned visits to South Africa of local chambers of commerce. At a national level, campaigning has focused on oil exports. The AAM president moved a resolution at the Shell AGM and in June the AAM assisted in publicising the latest Shipping Research Bureau report on oil deliveries to South Africa. Another campaign focused on exports of leg irons and shackles to South Africa.

Investment and loans

The importance of this area of campaigning is underlined by South Africa's own economic statistics. The apartheid economy requires major loans and investment in view of the serious economic difficulties it is experiencing. In November Barclays was a special target because of its role in Namibia, while End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSAs) has continued to coordinate action against other banks. The Movement's protests against the 1982 IMF loan to South Africa continued with the new chancellor of the exchequer finally responding to representations made several months previously. Within the US there were important developments in Congress and there are now serious constraints on the assistance the IMF can give to South Africa.

An important area to be developed is the need to provide practical advice to pension fund trustees. Christian Concern for Southern Africa organised a seminar on the subject in November at which the AAM was represented. This confirmed the need for the AAM to provide guidelines in this important area for the benefit of trustees sympathetic to the AAM.

South African investment in Britain

The AAM has taken up again with the government the growing penetration by South African interests of the British economy. This followed revelations in the *Guardian* of the takeover of a Scottish-based trade and forwarding company by South African interests linked to Freight Services Ltd, which had been responsible for sanctions-busting for the illegal Smith regime. This is an area which the AAM needs to pursue with greater vigour in the future.

MATERIAL AID

Material aid campaigning has become a regular feature of many local AA groups and has been taken up by a number of other organisations. On 15 October 1983, local groups held collections for urgently needed toiletries, such as soap, toothpaste, sanitary towels and nappies, in high streets in many towns and cities. The AAM office received over 5,000 bars of soap, 2,000 packs of sanitary towels and thousands of other items, which were divided between ANC and SWAPO for despatch to refugee settlements in Tanzania and Angola. Many groups sent material directly to the offices of the liberation movements.

This activity, as well as providing vitally needed materials for the liberation movements, has provided a useful channel of communication with members of the public, and most groups have reported very good responses from shoppers. As an activity which involves the participation of many members of groups, it has proved popular with local groups and provides an important continuity to other activities. Women's groups, students, black organisations and third world groups have organised collections.

AAM, jointly with NSC, wrote to over 40 national trade unions in October seeking support for the Namibia Support Committee's 'Medical Kits' campaign, as a contribution from the unions to the international week of action on Namibia. This campaign was also taken up by several anti-apartheid groups, which have been organising fund-raising events to raise the £120 each needed to purchase one kit.

Substantial funds were again raised by the Soweto Walks organised by many AA groups. AAM also publicised initiatives of the Mozambique Angola Committee in raising material aid for projects in these countries.

Sports boycott

This year has seen a determined effort by the apartheid regime to break out of its international isolation in the sports arena. Following the 'pirate tours' of previous years, greater effort is now being made to arrange officially sponsored sporting exchanges. Much of this has been concentrated in the rugby world.

The first initiative was the invitation to a 'representative' South African youth side to tour Wales at the end of December and beginning of January culminating in an 'international' between the Welsh and South African rugby XV's. The AAM immediately alerted Commonwealth leaders who were gathering in New Delhi for the Commonwealth summit and a memorandum was prepared giving details of this tour and the scheduled 1984 RFU tour of South Africa. Welsh office ministers half-heartedly condemned the tour but no effective pressure was applied by the government. Four county councils and most district councils refused facilities, the Ebbw Vale grounds were refused, and the match at Monmouth was played with reduced time because anti-apartheid supporters had occupied the pitch for over an hour.

The main demonstration, on 7 January 1984, was at Llanelli when 300 people took part including contingents from London and Leicester. The tour as a whole provoked strong and vocal opposition and because of this the Welsh Rugby Union was forced to admit its difficulties in finding venues and keeping them secret.

However, the main challenge to the boycott was the scheduled Rugby Football Union tour of South Africa in May and June 1984. A sustained campaign was mounted both up to the meeting when it was decided to proceed with the tour and then until the touring party left for South Africa. As early as November 1983 the AAM alerted Commonwealth leaders of the probability that the tour would proceed. Representations were made to sports minister Neil MacFarlane, Sports Council chairman Dickie Jeeps and the RFU itself. Signatures were collected for an emergency petition and local groups were actively involved lobbying local rugby clubs and potential members of the English squad.

The government expressed opposition to the tour but the prime minister refused to make a similar intervention to the one she had made prior to the debate over the proposed MCC tour to South Africa in 1985.

One member of the English squad, Ralph Knibbs, at an early stage indicated that he would not be available because of his opposition to apartheid, and many others did so for what were described as 'personal reasons'. During March, when the RFU was meeting to take its final decision, pressure mounted. On 12 March the RFU president was due to meet Archbishop Huddleston but the meeting was cancelled at a few hours' notice by the RFU. They objected to the AAM's advising the press that the meeting was taking place, although no indication had ever been expressed by the RFU that they wanted a private meeting. Copies of a memorandum setting out the case against the tour which had been prepared for the meeting were

provided to the RFU for distribution to all the members of its committee and copies were also sent to all affiliates of the English Commonwealth Games Association.

On 30 March the RFU voted overwhelmingly to send a team to South Africa; the decision was immediately condemned by the AAM and Trevor Huddleston wrote to the prime minister urging her to intervene personally - which she declined to do. He also wrote personally to all members of the touring party, although only one player had the courtesy to reply. Further representations were made to individual players and clubs. For example, the Students Union at Loughborough University protested at the inclusion of one of their members in the party and Leicester city council pursued their efforts to persuade Leicester Rugby Club to come out publicly against the tour. The club's refusal to do so and the inclusion of Leicester players in the party eventually led the council to ban the club from using a practice ground owned by the council.

Two demonstrations were organised before the touring party left for South Africa, the first on the day of the John Player cup final at Twickenham and the second by student activists at Heathrow on the day of departure.

Wales provided a further focus of campaigning firstly in April when apartheid rugby boss Danie Craven was due to be guest of honour and three Springboks were chosen to play for the President's XV at a match against Wales at Cardiff Arms Park. A 1,000-strong demonstration on 7 April protested at this latest example of collaboration with apartheid rugby. The warm-up had to be moved from Swansea because of the opposition of the council. On the day itself a 'Charter '84 against Apartheid' appeared in the local press signed by 350 prominent Welshmen and women. This controversy led the WRU to convene a special meeting to discuss its future relations with South Africa. Despite initial optimism, as the meeting on 2 June coincided with the Thatcher/Boths meeting this clearly strengthened the position of those in the WRU who wished to maintain relations with South Africa and the final vote was substantially against breaking links with apartheid.

Controversy over the sports boycott was further fuelled by the decision of the home secretary to grant British citizenship to South African runner Zola Budd in record time. This provoked an angry response from anti-apartheid activists, anti-racist organisations and many British athletes who regarded it as providing Zola Budd with a passport of convenience. Ms Budd, who was sponsored by the *Daily Mail*, also managed to gain acceptance in the British team with extreme ease. In liaison with the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants the AAM further investigated her nationality status and because of protests when she competed in Oslo she formally renounced her South African citizenship. However, this did not prevent her from being deemed an honorary ambassador for Bloemfontein or receiving numerous South African awards, especially when she returned to South Africa after the Olympics.



Cultural and academic boycott

The cultural boycott has, in the past year, received both a greater priority in the Movement's work and greater press and public interest. This was in a large part due to the publication in October 1983 by the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid of its *Register of Actors, Entertainers and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa*, and the decisions of a number of local authorities to incorporate measures to enforce the cultural boycott into broad anti-apartheid declarations or policies. Following the publication of the register, forces within Equity, the actors' union, announced that they regarded the list as 'discriminatory' and would campaign against it. In response the Equity council decided to hold a referendum of its membership on the issue, proposing a policy which would strengthen the union's previous position on the cultural boycott. The policy which was proposed to the members, and which was endorsed in the referendum in April, now states that members are advised not to accept work in South Africa, including its dependent homelands, and members are informed that if they choose to do so no effective protection can be offered against the consequence of their action.

However, in what appears to be a concerted and organised attempt to undermine the boycott, the newly elected president of Equity, former star of 'No Sex Please - We're British' Derek Bond, announced in July that he had accepted an offer to perform in a state-subsidised production in South Africa. This brought an angry response from many Equity members, especially since, although in his press release Mr Bond had said 'he will not in any way be representing the union whilst in South Africa, but will simply be there as a working performer', many believed that it was impossible for the president of their union to act in a purely individual capacity on such an issue and that the decision was motivated by the desire to undermine the boycott. Mewa Ramgobin, national treasurer of the UDF, who was later detained by the security police, said of the visit: 'We can understand why Mr Bond is coming to this country, with the explicit intention of readmitting South Africa into the world culture and thereby making it possible for people like himself to exploit the situation in the country for personal pecuniary gain. We view his impending visit with disdain and we also call on the British people to rethink their stand on the pernicious system of apartheid.' Similar statements were made by other leading opponents of apartheid inside South Africa.

There have been many calls for Mr Bond's resignation, including an attempt to persuade the Equity council to call a special general meeting of members to discuss the issue. AAM president Archbishop Huddleston wrote to Mr Bond urging him to cancel his visit, but without success.

In the course of the campaign for a yes vote in the Equity referendum, the AAM made contact with a number of groups and organisations in the arts, and it was decided to form a coordinating body, 'Performers against Apartheid'. A declaration of support for the cultural boycott was produced and has received endorsement from a number of well-known performers, although much work needs to be undertaken to secure wider support.

The UN register has been widely circulated, especially to local authorities, and several of these are now committed to implementing it.

The Musicians' Union has remained strongly committed to the cultural boycott and has continued to support AAM activities. The Theatre Writers' Union and Writers' Guild of Great Britain discussed the issue in October 1983, inviting AAM and ANC speakers to their AGM, and adopted a policy which affirmed their 'total opposition to apartheid and support for the freedom struggle'. The resolution adopted concluded: 'In solidarity with that struggle and in response to the call by the ANC(SA) and the United Nations General Assembly (resolution 35/206 adopted on 16 December 1980), we refuse to allow our work to be performed in apartheid South Africa.' Amongst prominent playwrights now refusing to allow their works to be performed in South Africa is Alan Ayckbourn. A spokesperson for the state-subsidised Performing Arts Council of Transvaal was quoted in the South African press as saying,

'It seems a number of playwrights - particularly those in the UK - have recently decided to join the boycott against South Africa.'

Local AA groups, local authorities, and other supporting organisations have been active in seeking to implement the cultural boycott. The Wales AAM has been particularly active, and has achieved a number of successes. One which received press publicity, both in Britain and in South Africa, was the commitment of Welsh singer and entertainer Tom Jones not to return to South Africa. WAAM sought a meeting with the singer on his much-publicised return to Wales, after which a statement was issued in which it was made clear that although 'huge offers' had been made to induce Tom Jones to work in Sun City, these had been turned down and he would not return to South Africa.

Also in Wales, a campaign against a visit to the Welsh Arts Council by representatives of the regime resulted in success. Dr Jan Schutte, a former director of the apartheid regime's mouthpiece, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and Professor Merwe Scoltz were on a mission to Britain to have discussions about the establishment of a state-sponsored South African Arts Council, and a meeting was scheduled to take place with the Welsh Arts Council. WAAM organised an immediate response to the discovery of the planned meeting, winning broad-based support, including the Wales TUC, Welsh Labour Party, Plaid Cymru, the Writers Union of Wales, the Association of Artists and Designers in Wales, Cymdeithas Yr Iaith, the Welsh Communist Party and IJafur, in objecting to the visit. The South African embassy cancelled the visit in a last minute move to save embarrassment, and a similar visit to Scotland was also abandoned.

The continuing campaign against participation by South Africa in the Llangollen International Eisteddfod resulted in a decision by Gwent County Council to withdraw its grant. Czech participants withdrew from the 1984 Eisteddfod in protest at the South African presence, and the WAAM organised a Carnival against Apartheid as part of its campaigning.

Amongst the local authorities seeking to implement the boycott is Camden Council, which refused to allow pianist Malcolm Binns, who had three times toured South Africa, to perform at the 1984 Camden Festival. In Sheffield a major campaign developed over the engagement of Sheffield-born Marti Caine to perform in a production of 'Funny Girl' at the Crucible Theatre. Ms Caine's outspoken defence of South Africa outraged anti-apartheid supporters in Sheffield. She had appeared in a Sun City 'extravaganza', 'Voila', for a period of 14 months and on leaving South Africa in October 1983 said: 'I want South Africans to know that when I get back (to Britain) I'll defend South Africa and her people.' Several hundred people attended a picket organised by Sheffield AA on the opening night of the production, and the issue became a major item in the local media. Equity members working at the Crucible signed a petition deploring the management's decision to engage an artist listed in the UN register. The management of the Crucible, which is subsidised by the city council, has now reached an understanding with the council that it will not employ performers appearing on the register.

Merseyside, Liverpool, St Helens and Knowlesley councils withdrew their support for the Stockport Flower Show in 1983 after it was discovered that the South African department of information had a display there. Local anti-apartheid groups organised demonstrations at performances by artists appearing on the UN register, including David Essex, Millie Jackson and Leo Sayer. The AAM wrote to the pop group Queen appealing to them not to undertake an extended engagement at Sun City in October 1984.

Welsh playwright Gwenlyn Parry refused to allow distribution of his successful TV play 'Grand Slam' in South Africa, and Myatt Woodwind Instruments Ltd have refused to supply eager South African customers. Sheba publishers turned down distribution offers in South Africa. The Rough Trade record company, after a meeting with AAM representatives, decided to refuse licences for any of their catalogue to be distributed in South Africa or Namibia. In all of these cases, financial

sacrifices have been made, in many cases by small firms or individuals. Their principled stand further highlights the greed of many of the fabulously rich 'stars' who are lured to South Africa for enormous fees.

In another development, the AAM protested to the BBC at their decision to allow the newly launched 'Bop TV' in Bophuthatwana to buy BBC programmes.

The campaign for the cultural boycott of South Africa has won increased international support, with most anti-apartheid and solidarity movements making this a feature of their work. In February 1984 the AAM was represented at a UN Special Committee against Apartheid hearing on the cultural boycott, which proved a useful opportunity of discussing ways of campaigning on this issue and learning from other groups represented. Pressure for the boycott has been particularly strong in the US, with the establishment there of 'Artists and Athletes against Apartheid', co-sponsored by Harry Belafonte and Arthur Ashe.

A significant part of the campaign has been the attempt not only to persuade artists not to perform in South Africa, but also to persuade them to use their talents to inform and educate their audiences about apartheid. The past year has seen a number of remarkable developments in this area, the most significant of which was the release of the record 'Nelson Mandela' by the Special AKA. An LP record of the African Sounds for Mandela festival was released by Tsafrika early in 1984, and AAM assisted with its distribution.

The theatre has continued to provide opportunities for informing more people about apartheid. Albert Finney's production of 'The Biko Inquest' at the Riverside Studios received critical acclaim and was sold out. The AAM was able to distribute leaflets and sell *AA News* to a very receptive public at the theatre. The Young Vic's production of 'The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs', Elaine Loudon's 'Songs from the Front', Peter Dawson's 'The White Game' and Theatre Foundry's 'Scenes from Soweto' were among others which presented issues of apartheid to their audiences. The AAM Women's Committee joined with Women in Entertainment to produce a series of dramatic sketches on the lives of women under apartheid, and the group has performed at events for AA groups.

In the Festival Hall the GLC mounted a 'Signs of Apartheid' exhibition, opened by the Commonwealth secretary-general on the eve of Botha's visit to Britain. The exhibition was a dramatic presentation including photos, text and genuine apartheid signs from South Africa. A number of other local authorities have now expressed interest in using the exhibition, especially for schools and colleges. A photographic exhibition of scenes from South Africa's bantustans, held at the National Theatre, was seen by hundreds of people. Thousands saw artist Hans Haacke's exhibition at the Tate Gallery in the spring, which included his series of works on the role of multinationals in South Africa. Artist Martin Weiner invited the AAM to assist in the staging of an exhibition of his works entitled 'Landscape of Violence' at the Fentonville Gallery in July/August 1984, and donated part of the proceeds to AAM. The exhibition was the target of an attack by the National Front.

The cultural boycott has been attacked vociferously in some quarters. In particular an issue which has continued to provoke controversy has been the matter of visits to Britain by South African artists, especially theatre groups. A number of such visits have taken place over the past year. The AAM's policy, adopted in 1982, has recognised that some such groups

produce genuinely anti-apartheid material, often to critical acclaim, but has repeatedly warned that they may unwittingly be used to try to undermine the boycott. This concern has been justified by the visit to the Old Vic of the Johannesburg Market Theatre Company with 'Saturday Night at the Palace'. Whilst the company has a long history of producing anti-apartheid material, the programme for the play gave thanks to the state-owned South African Airways for transporting the company, ran a lengthy 'introduction' attacking the entire cultural boycott, and contained two full-page advertisements for tourism to South Africa. This seems likely to be an area where South Africa will increase its propaganda efforts, and AAM supporters must be prepared to confront these.

The arguments for the cultural boycott remain as powerful now as they were when it was first called for. Playwright David Evans, writing in *AA News*, said: 'As a writer unable to publish (or even speak) in the country of my birth, I am saddened by the kind of morality which resists the cultural boycott when so many artists are denied freedom of expression in South Africa.' And during the Equity referendum, the AAM received copies of an appeal from UDF leaders in South Africa (many of whom were detained in August 1984) which said: 'The isolation of apartheid South Africa by the entire world, on different levels, highlights to the international community the iniquities of apartheid. We are aware that cultural activities and cultural interchanges ennoble and widen human experience and life, but we are prepared to use the isolation by Equity to heighten the world's repugnance against apartheid.'

Campaigning on the academic boycott has suffered from pressure of work in other areas, although local initiatives have led to some successes. In Walsall the Community Relations Council, which had successfully campaigned against a visit by a school choir from South Africa in the previous year, was alerted to a planned visit by Lebowa bantustan educationists, and once again was successful in stopping the visit. A feature of many local authority declarations has been support for a boycott of just such visits, coupled with increased educational emphasis on apartheid in schools.

AA News exposed in June the massive collaboration between British astronomy and the South African Astronomical Observatory and Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, with a constant stream of British scientists visiting the observatory which was opened in 1975 by Mrs Thatcher. British astronomers give lectures and run joint scientific projects with their South African counterparts and provide South Africa with access to new developments. AAM urged members and supporters to protest at this academic collaboration. The AAM Health Committee has actively campaigned against academic collaboration with South Africa in the medical field.

There has been growing concern about the role of the British Council in organising academic exchanges between Britain and South Africa. The British Council was responsible for bringing the Lebowa educationists to Britain, and this prompted the NUT to issue a circular with guidelines on such visits. Increased vigilance by members working in education, and effective actions such as that organised by Walsall CRC, will do much to end South Africa's attempts to win backdoor entry to Britain's schools, colleges and universities. There is also a need for AAM student activists to challenge more effectively academics who visit South Africa.





SOUTHERN AFRICA THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY



Free Nelson Mandela Campaign

The AAM received a very special message of greetings to its Annual General Meeting in October 1983. It was from the Release Mandela Committee inside South Africa, and said:

Nelson Mandela is this year finishing 20 years of his life imprisonment sentence. In the struggle for liberation in South Africa he is regarded by many South Africans and indeed the whole world as the traditional and historical leader. He is a symbol and encompasses all those who have been incarcerated. He is thus a pivotal factor in the struggle for liberation. We believe that no sound alternative to apartheid can be worked out without including him. That is why we are waging this campaign calling upon all men and women of good will, both inside and outside our country, to bring pressure to bear upon the illegal Pretoria regime to release Mandela and his fellow prisoners, as the authentic leaders of the oppressed masses, so as to avert the cataclysm that will follow as a result of their continued incarceration.

The message concluded: 'We unconditionally pledge our support to your organisation in the campaign for the attainment of our altruistic objective, namely the creation and the realisation of a true democracy in South Africa.'

The courage of the leaders of the Release Mandela Campaign inside South Africa has been an example and lesson to all outside who support their efforts. The Committee has seen meetings banned and members detained in the course of the past year. So fearful has the apartheid regime become of Mandela that even a T-shirt bearing his name and a mug bearing the message 'Release Mandela' earns their owners a prison sentence.

The main focus of the campaign has been the international petition. This was originally planned to have been presented to the UN secretary general on 11 June 1984, the 20th anniversary of the sentencing in the Rivonia Trial. However, as the petition had been launched only recently in some countries, it was decided to postpone its presentation until 11 October 1984, the United Nations Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. Petition campaigns have been launched in countries throughout the world. In several, special 'Free Mandela' committees have been set up, such as in Guyana and Venezuela. Signatures have been sent to AAM's London headquarters from Portugal, Iceland, India, Barbados, Nigeria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Angola and other countries. Many others have arranged for delivery of the completed petition forms direct to the UN in New York. The AAM's local groups continued to promote and circulate the petition, and it was further taken up by some trade unions.

The campaign received a real boost when the Special AKA released in March 1984 their single 'Nelson Mandela'. The AAM was consulted by the group and was able to provide information for use on the record sleeve, which included AAM's address. The record reached number nine in the UK charts, and for many AAM activists the sight of the group singing 'Free Nelson Mandela' on the BBC's Top of the Pops

was a real joy. The AAM received hundreds of letters from (mainly) young people who, having bought the record because they liked the group, were deeply moved to learn of Nelson Mandela's case, and wanted to find out how they could help in the campaign for his release. Some of the letters, such as this from a Glasgow teenager, were published in *Ad News*. 'I had never heard of Nelson Mandela until my brother bought the record. I had to call all my friends in to listen to it also. How can people like myself hate a man because of his colour so much that they will try and destroy him completely? I cannot understand this so therefore would it be possible to learn more about this great man and follow the path to his freedom?' AAM prepared a pack of material for despatch to all those enquiring, which has resulted in many new people joining the Movement.

Both the ANC and the UN Centre Against Apartheid wrote to the Special AKA congratulating them on the production of the record, and the writer of the song, Jerry Dammers, attended the AAM lobby of parliament on 21 March, when he presented a copy of the record to ANC's director of information, Thabo Mbeki. The record was released in many other countries and AAM has received requests for further information about Nelson Mandela from Australia, the Netherlands, the USA, Canada, France, Norway and other countries.

Isafrika Productions released an LP record, 'African Sounds from Mandela', from the festival held to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday. AAM assisted in its distribution, but limited resources have prevented it from being as widely available as we would have wished. Copies of the record were also distributed to other anti-apartheid movements by the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

Once again we are able to report many actions taken by trade unions, universities, local authorities and others to honour Mandela and publicise the campaign for his release. These are now becoming so numerous that a complete list is not possible, but they include the award of an honorary law degree by Lancaster University, to be conferred in December 1984, and the renaming of their union building the Mandela Building by Manchester Polytechnic Students Union. The City of Aberdeen conferred its freedom on both Winnie and Nelson Mandela, and the London boroughs of Hackney and Haringey both named buildings in his honour. NALGO made both Nelson and Winnie Mandela honorary life members, their national conference giving standing ovations to ANC representatives who received the honour on the Mandelas' behalf. In Camden the AAM's new address became formally Mandela Street, with the council presenting a copy of the street sign to a delegation from the UN bodies concerned with Southern Africa. In Leeds, hundreds turned out in miserable weather on UN Human Rights Day, 10 December, for the official city council ceremony to rename the civic gardens the Mandela Gardens. The ceremony was attended by Archbishop Huddleston and Ruth Mompati, the then chief representative of the ANC, and messages of support were received from many Leeds organisations. An orchestral work, 'Macham', by composer William Sweeney, commissioned by the BBC and performed for the first time in March 1984, was dedicated to Mandela. At the People's Gallery in London a studio named after Mandela was opened by GLC leader Ken Livingstone and ANC chief representative Solly Smith in November 1983. A room in Glasgow's museum and art gallery was named in honour of Mandela at a ceremony attended by the ANC, the lord provost of Glasgow, Glasgow district councillors and trades council members. Lancaster Trades Club decided to name its garden extension after Mandela, and a housing cooperative in Reading entered into a dispute with the local authority over the wishes of its members to name part of it Mandela Court. A number of organisations have taken initiatives in honouring other leaders of the South African liberation struggle, such as Stoke city council which decided to name a street after Walter Sisulu, and a Liverpool housing association which named a building after Steve Biko.



The AAM organised a sponsored 'Cycle for Mandela' to help raise funds for the campaign, in October 1983, and in May 1984 war resister Paul Annegarn ran in the London marathon with a 'Free Mandela' T-shirt, also to raise funds.

In March 1984 unconfirmed reports appeared in the South African press, later picked up in Britain, that an offer was made for Nelson Mandela's release. The offer, made by Chief Matanzima of the Transkei and believed to have had Pretoria's approval, was conditional upon Mandela accepting citizenship of the Transkei bantustan. The offer was refused by Mandela, and similar offers to Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki were also rejected. The courage of these leaders, and their refusal to accept Pretoria's bribes even after 20 years in prison, is a source of inspiration to all those struggling against apartheid.

Two days after P W Botha's visit to Britain, a World in Action film, entitled 'South Africa's Other Leader', received peak time broadcasting. AAM provided information to the makers and the film again brought Mandela's struggle to the notice of huge numbers of people, and tackled some of the issues often glossed over, such as the reasons for the ANC's adoption of the armed struggle, in a sympathetic manner. AAM received a large number of enquiries as a result.

Pressure on the British government, which has built up considerably over the past few years, to intervene with South Africa for Mandela's release, resulted in the prime minister raising the matter with Botha during their meeting. She refused in parliament, however, to divulge Botha's response, and no further initiatives have apparently been taken by the government.

Other SATIS activities

The year also saw the release of a number of long-term political prisoners. In South Africa both Billy Nair and Dorothy Nyembe, released in February and March 1984 respectively, demonstrated the courage that had sustained them in their long years in prison. Billy Nair was amongst those detained in August 1984 during the apartheid regime's nationwide crackdown.

Three long-term prisoners who were released during the year came to Britain. Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, the SWAPO leader sentenced to 20 years in 1968, was, together with five other Namibians, transferred from Robben Island to Windhoek in February, and suddenly released in March 1984, four years before his sentence was due to end. It now seems clear that the motive of the regime in releasing ja Toivo was the hope that he would either turn his back on SWAPO or create division within it. They were proved entirely wrong in their estimation of what 16 years in their prisons had done for ja Toivo, for, as he said on his release, 'As far as I am concerned my mission is to liberate Namibia, but even if Namibia is free of the oppression of the South African government, and free of apartheid, we will not be free as long as our brothers and sisters are living in oppression in South Africa.' Andimba Toivo ja Toivo travelled to Britain shortly after his release, and addressed a rally organised by the Namibia Support Committee. He also travelled to Hull to address a meeting of students in the building they had named Toivo House ten years ago; the meeting was packed, with many standing in corridors outside. He also provided one of the keynote addresses for SWAPO at the AAM's national convention in June. In August he was elected secretary general of SWAPO.

In May the apartheid regime released David Kitson, who had completed all but seven months of his 20-year sentence. He arrived in Britain in June, to a hero's welcome from his family and friends at the airport. SATIS organised a lively press conference for him, in cooperation with the ANC, and he was invited to speak at the AAM's national convention. His trade union, AUEW-TASS, which had campaigned consistently on his behalf throughout his imprisonment, organised a speaking tour for him in September 1984.

David Rabkin also came to Britain shortly before Christmas following his early release from a 10-year sentence. SATIS organised a press conference for him, and he spoke at the ANC's meeting on 8 January to mark the anniversary of its founding.

All of these released prisoners stressed that their commitment to the liberation struggle had increased during their periods in apartheid's jails.

Albertina Sisulu, elected a patron of the UDF, was detained during August 1983. SATIS joined the AAM Women's Committee to campaign for her release, and a picket was held at South Africa House on the day her trial was due to start. The trial was postponed, however, and SATIS coordinated a further campaign seeking government intervention. She was charged with having attended the funeral of Rose Mbele, a former ANC activist, in January 1982, at which ANC colours were displayed, freedom songs sung, and bits of paper with ANC colours were distributed. The prosecution's evidence consisted of a video recording in which a woman was portrayed with the coloured paper. Apartheid 'justice', however, convicted Albertina Sisulu and her co-defendant, Thami Mali, of furthering the aims of the ANC, sentencing them to two years and five years respectively. Further protests were organised by SATIS, including a vigil. On 27 February both Mrs Sisulu and Mr Mali were suddenly released on bail of R1,000 and R2,000, pending appeal against conviction and sentence. No date has yet been given for the hearing of the appeal. Mrs Sisulu had spent over six months in detention.

SATIS organised further activity on the campaign to release the Kassinga detainees, although not on the scale that had originally been planned due to over-stretched resources. However, a set of postcards protesting at the continued detention of the Namibians kidnapped from Angola in 1978 was produced and, on the anniversary of the Kassinga attack, 4 May, a large protest was held at the South African embassy. A significant development came when the Namibian bishops filed an appeal for habeas corpus on behalf of a group of the detainees for whom sufficient details were known to make the appeal possible. Pretoria decided that such an appeal was impossible, and the apartheid courts ruled that the case should not be heard. However, 54 of the detainees were suddenly released at the beginning of June. The reasons for their release, and for the continued detention of over 60 Kassinga detainees still held, remain unclear. Further and more concerted campaigning by SATIS, and all AAM supporters, is an urgent necessity to secure their release.

At a barbecue held in the grounds of a Catholic college in Windhoek to celebrate the release of the detainees, an armed police swoop resulted in the detention of virtually the entire internal leadership of SWAPO. The 37 SWAPO members held were charged with offences under the 'Prohibition and Notification of Meetings Act'. Following an international protest, the charges were withdrawn and all the detainees released. SATIS cooperated with the Namibia Support Committee in coordinating protests at the detentions, including a picket of the South African embassy and representations to the government to intervene. Parliamentary questions were raised and the government expressed concern.

Another issue on which the NSC and COSAWR have campaigned, with the support of SATIS, has been the case of Eric Binga, a SWAPO member, who challenged the right of the South African regime to conscript Namibians into the SWATF — part of the apartheid army in Namibia. Eric Binga applied in 1983 for a court order declaring his call-up invalid. In spite of the campaigning, the courts ruled against him and even awarded massive legal costs against him. It is understood that he plans to appeal to the supreme court in South Africa against the ruling.

SATIS continued to seek British intervention in the case of Benjamin Moloise, the young South African sentenced to death in June 1983 on a framed charge of murdering a security policeman. As in many South African trials, Moloise was convicted on the basis of a 'confession' made under the threat of torture; the ANC issued a statement categorically denying that Moloise had been involved in the killing and stating that it had been carried out by the ANC. Moloise's lawyers applied for leave to appeal against the sentence, which was turned down, and then petitioned the chief justice for leave to appeal. This was also turned down, in November 1983.

SATIS carried out a series of circulations of letters requesting individuals and organisations to press the government to make representations to the South African state president for clemency, and many organisations, including national trade unions and student and youth bodies, responded. Amnesty International also took up the case. The British government

has so far refused to make any intervention on the case, and clearly much further pressure must be brought to bear if Moloise's life is to be saved.

Following the executions on 9 June 1983 of Marcus Motaung, Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Mosololi, which brought widespread international condemnation of the Pretoria regime, Pretoria announced that in future there would be no public notice of executions, a manoeuvre clearly designed to avoid the last-minute appeals for clemency that flooded in in the case of the Moroka Three.

SATIS held a vigil at the South African embassy on 6 April, the fifth anniversary of the execution of Solomon Mahlangu, to draw attention to Benjamin Moloise.

There have been no new developments in the case of Oscar Mpepha, the veteran trade union and community leader who, in 1983, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on charges under the notorious Terrorism Act. He was bailed for R1 pending appeal but no date has been set for a hearing. Oscar Mpepha, who was elected one of the co-presidents of the UDF and is suffering from diabetes, had to have both legs amputated during the year. AAM supporters will remember that this man was dragged to and from the court during his two-year trial wearing manacles. *AA News* exposed the vile trade in leg-irons and manacles between the Birmingham company Hiatts and the South African regime. Many other organisations, including Amnesty International and the British Council of Churches, took up the issue of this trade, which is not only with South Africa but also with other repressive regimes. Following further exposure on BBC's 'Sixty Minutes', in which former detainee Siphon Pityana demonstrated the use to which the South African security police put the shackles, trade secretary Norman Tebbit eventually announced that in future such 'equipment' would require export licences. Further pressure resulted in the announcement that such licences would only be granted for 'theatrical' purposes but, since such licences are secret, it is impossible to establish whether this 'trade' is genuinely ended.

In December 1983 three South Africans — Roland Hunter, and Trish and Derek Hanekom, were detained amidst rumours of 'spy' charges. Roland Hunter was a conscripted national serviceman who had asked to be placed in a noncombatant position. He was used as a driver for military intelligence. In the course of his service he was confronted with evidence of South African arming and training of its surrogate forces carrying out attacks in neighbouring states. It is alleged that he shared this knowledge with his friends, Trish and Derek Hanekom. The charges eventually brought against all three remained clothed in secrecy; the defence were denied access to documents and it was announced that the trial was to be held in camera. A committee of 'Friends of Hunter and Hanekoms' was set up and liaised with SATIS, producing a leaflet and background information on the case, and has been campaigning for the trial to be held in open court and for the release of the three. Trish Hanekom was active in Catholic organisations, especially the YCS, and there has been support for the campaign from the CIRR.

Issues of political repression were amongst those that AAM asked its supporters to raise in its parliamentary lobby on 21 March. In particular, lobbyists were requested to raise with their MPs the cases of Nelson Mandela and the Kassinga detainees.

SATIS also coordinated a protest by 30 former South African and Namibian political prisoners and detainees in the week before P W Botha's visit to Britain. The Downing Street vigil received quite a lot of media coverage, and letters were handed in appealing to Mrs Thatcher not to proceed with the meeting with the head of a regime which imprisoned, detained and murdered its opponents.

The UN Human Rights Commission ad hoc working group of experts on Southern Africa visited London in August 1984 to receive evidence of human rights abuses in Namibia and South Africa. Amongst those who gave evidence were David Kitson and Marius Schoon, whose wife, Jeanette, and six-year-old daughter, Katryn, were murdered by a South African parcel bomb at their home in Angola in July. Marius Schoon had served a 12-year prison sentence in South Africa, and both he and Jeanette had been banned. Former detainee Cedric Mayssoon gave evidence about treatment of detainees, and

evidence was also given on the Eric Binga, Hunter/Hanekoms and Kassinga detainees cases.

SATIS organised sessions at both the AAM's activists' conference in September 1983 and the national convention in June 1984. A one-day conference is to be organised on 8 December.

On 11 October 1983, Des Stars, chairperson of SATIS, was invited to attend the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid at the United Nations in New York to mark the UN Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, and to give an address on the work of the SATIS committee. Des Stars retired as chairperson in the course of the year, after many years of committed work for the campaign. His retirement is a great loss to the committee, which extended its sincere thanks to him for his energetic support.

INTERNATIONAL WORK

The growing role being played by the United States, Britain and other major western powers in developments in Southern Africa has brought about a greater recognition of the necessity for increased cooperation and coordination between anti-apartheid and solidarity movements.

Much of this coordination takes place on an ad hoc basis in response to specific issues as they arise. However, every opportunity has been used in the various forums which exist to extend the links between the AAM and other campaigning organisations. The AAM has also sought to strengthen its relations with governments and inter-governmental organisations committed to international action against apartheid. The highlight of this process was the visit to the front line states by the AAM's president, Trevor Huddleston, accompanied by Abdul Minty, which is reported elsewhere in this report.

Consultation of Anti-Apartheid Movements

The AAM, to mark its 25th anniversary, hosted, with the assistance of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, a consultation of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements in London on 25 and 26 June. Eighteen organisations were represented with participants coming from North America, Australia, Scandinavia and western Europe. The consultation was addressed by the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Major General Joseph Garba, and the UN assistant secretary general E S Reddy. It provided a valuable opportunity to exchange ideas and information about a range of campaigning issues facing anti-apartheid movements. It was recognised that further such consultations were required and that there should be better preparation for such gatherings and improved follow-up.

United Nations

The AAM has welcomed to Britain representatives of the three UN bodies specifically concerned with Southern Africa: the Special Committee against Apartheid; the Council for Namibia; and the Decolonisation Committee. Representatives of all three, together with the assistant secretary general for the Centre against Apartheid and the UN commissioner for Namibia, visited London for the launching of the GLC's declaration on Southern Africa. They took the opportunity to visit the AAM headquarters at Mandela Street. During a short visit to Camden town hall, the mayor presented a facsimile of the Mandela Street sign to the UN delegation. The AAM also arranged a series of meetings for the delegation with other organisations concerned with Southern Africa.

Ambassador Sahnoun of the Special Committee against Apartheid visited Britain on two different occasions. At the end of February he addressed the AAM/UNA seminar on the front line states and in March he addressed the meeting at the House of Commons during the national parliamentary lobby.

The UN Special Committee against Apartheid elected a new chairman in April — HE Major General Joseph Garba, the

permanent representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and formerly Nigeria's minister for external affairs. Major General Garba visited Britain at the end of April 1984 for consultations with the AAM president, Trevor Huddleston, and other representatives of the AAM. He accepted an invitation to participate in the AAM's activities to mark its 25th anniversary. He addressed the national convention; took part in the consultation of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements; was invited to County Hall to meet GLC leaders; visited Cardiff where he gave a press conference, attended a civic luncheon and then addressed a meeting; he then visited Sheffield and Leeds.

Both Abdul Minty and Cate Clarke visited UN headquarters in New York during this period, Ms Clarke to attend a consultation on the cultural boycott and Mr Minty to address the Special Committee in April and June.

Abdul S Minty was invited to Vienna from 21-23 February for a consultation of the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation to discuss the distribution of information and publicity. This opportunity was also taken to have discussions with IAEA officials and diplomatic representatives in Vienna regarding South Africa's membership of the IAEA.

On 6 August a conference on Arab solidarity with the liberation struggle opened in Tunis, organised by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the League of Arab States. Abdul S Minty was invited to attend and drew attention to the various economic, oil and other relations which needed the attention of Arab governments and the UN. After the Tunis conference he was invited to the Lagos seminar on the legal aspects of the apartheid regime which was organised by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. The participants included a large number of international lawyers and

academics who presented special papers on various themes. Their attention was drawn to the fact that a great deal of legal assistance was required by anti-apartheid organisations, including detailed studies about various international agreements which involved South Africa as well as the arms embargo legislation of particular countries. During the visit he was also able to meet the foreign minister and other government officials, and at the end had a meeting with the head of state who also kindly agreed to be a patron of the World Campaign.

Commonwealth

The AAM has continued to liaise with the Commonwealth Secretariat over a range of issues concerned with Southern Africa. The secretary general sent a message to the national parliamentary lobby on 21 March. The previous November Abdul S Minty represented AAM and the World Campaign at the New Delhi Commonwealth summit meeting - special representations were made for the strict implementation of the Gleneagles agreement on sport, South Africa's aggression against African states and the need to strengthen the arms embargo. Attention was also drawn to the proposed tricameral constitution which was condemned by the Commonwealth meeting.

EEC

The AAM was invited to participate at an EEC youth forum on the EEC's links with South Africa. The forum produced a poster exposing collaboration between the EEC and South Africa and sought to promote the issue amongst youth organisations in the EEC countries.

Areas of work

LOCAL GROUPS

Local groups and local activity continue to remain the basis and heart of the Movement's work - and this year has seen a tremendous growth, not only in the number of local groups from 54 to 69, together with national committees in Scotland and Wales, and the London committee, but also in the quality and quantity of campaigning work these groups have carried out. There is still a need to further local group activity and service them more efficiently, and for these reasons the local groups are the major responsibility of one full-time member of the Movement's staff.

New groups have been established in Battersea, Derby, Dudley, Hackney & Tower Hamlets, Hull, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham, North Devon, North Staffordshire, Penzance, Southwark, Telford, Thames Valley, Waltham Forest, and Wandsworth; and there is considerable interest in setting up groups in Nuneaton, Gloucester, Hereford and Southend on Sea.

During the past year local AA groups have been under incredible pressure but have responded excellently to two nationally-coordinated events. The first was the national parliamentary lobby held on 21 March as a highlight of the March month of action of the theme 'Southern Africa: The Time to Act', when over 600 people from local groups lobbied their MPs on the urgency and importance of British governmental action on South Africa and Namibia. The second event was the mobilisation for the 'No to Botha' demonstration on 2 June, when an estimated 50,000 people, many of them from outside London, marched through the streets of London to protest at the visit of P W Botha. Over 100 coaches were organised by local AA groups.

In addition to these two major activities, local groups have continued to campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, have held Barclays pickets and boycott pickets, organised public meetings, particularly on the 'ANC Year of the Women' and Namibia, and campaigned on specific issues in their areas.

Local groups have also collected an overwhelming amount of material aid for South African and Namibian refugees, and held many other fund-raising events. Many have continued to work in close cooperation with their local authorities and

indeed some have received grants from the local authorities to further their aims.

It is impossible to mention all the events and activities organised throughout the year but the following gives an idea of the scope of work covered by our local groups.

The Wales AAM has been heavily involved, for most of the year, in campaigning against the Welsh Rugby Union's links with South Africa and visits of South African rugby teams to Wales. It organised a demonstration in Llanelli against one such team and succeeded in persuading the local authorities in Wales to refuse the team sporting facilities, as well as ensuring that the team played at obscure venues with small crowds and large numbers of demonstrators.

On 7 April Wales AAM organised a national demonstration, in Cardiff, to protest at the inclusion of three South Africans in the President's XV team and the invitation by the WRU to Danie Cravan, president of the South African Rugby Board. Wales AAM was joined by demonstrators from England.

As a result of its campaigning, the WRU was forced to hold a debate on whether to continue links with South African rugby. Unfortunately, despite fierce opposition, it voted to continue such links.

The Wales AAM intensified its campaigning against cultural collaboration by protesting against the participation of two South African choirs at the Llangollen International Eisteddfod.

Mohammed Valli of the United Democratic Front attended the Wales AAM annual general meeting, where motions were passed committing Wales to intensify the campaign against Welsh companies with South African ties and condemning collaboration of any kind with South Africa or Namibia. On 26 June the Wales AAM hosted a visit by Major-General Garba, chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, to mark the AAM's 25th anniversary and to relaunch the boycott campaign.

The Scottish committee of the AAM and its local groups have continued to campaign within the community, the labour movement, the student movement and in cooperation with Scottish local authorities.

On 16 March, 200 people marched in a torchlight procession in Edinburgh calling for an end to South African aggression - and invited speakers from the ANC and Angola Information.

The committee also organised a conference in June on the theme 'Isolate Apartheid - Boycott South Africa', which included a successful workshop on local authority action, providing a sound basis for continued local authority action in Scotland.

Other specific activity in Scotland includes the successful campaign in Aberdeen against South Africa's participation in the International Police Association conference, which should have taken place from 25 August to 2 September but which, as a result of support from all sections of the community, was cancelled. Activists in Edinburgh occupied the premises of Standard Chartered Bank and the manager was approached about the bank's South African connections. In Dundee, in October, a vigil was organised to try to force the Dundee Chamber of Commerce to cancel a proposed trade mission to South Africa. And in Glasgow, Barclays Bank was picketed on 2 November and activists there raised money for the SWAPO medical kits campaign. Motherwell was the scene of a protest, outside the Garrison Hotel, when a film show about South Africa was being presented by South African Airways and British Airways.

The London committee of the AAM has coordinated several events involving all the London AA groups - including meetings on 'Stop the Apartheid War' and on the theme of the anti-apartheid declaration adopted by the Greater London Council. It has continued to work with the GLC and has participated fully in its Anti-Racist Year and in the events organised by the GLC to launch and promote its anti-apartheid declaration.

Barnet AA has been very active this year organising several events, including pickets outside Barclays and a local supermarket to mark the anniversary of the first recorded boycott picket held at Tally Ho Corner, Finchley, in June 1959, 25 years ago.

Birmingham AA organised a public meeting during the Namibia week of action, mobilised five coaches to the 'No to Botha' demonstration, launched a campaign against 'Next' shops, and held a very successful international cultural evening to mark the AAM's 25th anniversary.

Bradford AA held a public meeting on Namibia and, during the March month of action, held a regular picket of Barclays and organised a demonstration through Bradford on the theme 'End British Collaboration with Apartheid'. In July, the group protested at a South African youth cricket team in Halifax and, as a result, the match was cancelled.

Brent AA had a resurgence of activity this year with a public meeting in May on the theme 'Southern Africa: The Time to Act'. In addition, the group organised a Soweto walk through Brent and various fund-raising activities, including the production of 'Free Nelson Mandela' tea mugs which have proved very popular.

Bristol AA has continued to campaign actively in the area, in particular against the visit to Bristol University of a managing director of a company in South Africa specialising in spy planes. It also organised a successful meeting at Bristol Cathedral in April, where Archbishop Huddleston was the guest speaker, so strengthening its work with local religious organisations.

Cambridge AA hosted the regional activists' conference and is campaigning to persuade the local authority to adopt an anti-apartheid declaration. Together with the students at Cambridge University, the local group held a successful demonstration at the university when the South African ambassador was invited by the Cambridge Union Society.

Camden AA once again raised substantial amounts of money for the liberation movements and for AAM, and also held an extremely successful picket outside a local church after a very distasteful letter on South Africa, written by the vicar, appeared in the church magazine.

City AA continued to hold weekly pickets outside South Africa House demanding the release of all Southern African political prisoners, as well as many other activities including a successful picket outside the *Guardian* offices in protest at its acceptance of full-page advertisements from the South African

embassy.

Croydon AA has become active again this year, with public meetings and material aid collections taking place regularly.

Exeter AA, in conjunction with the students at the university, has had an incredibly busy year which included a programme of activities in March to commemorate the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, with poetry readings and music; and a meeting with the mayor of Exeter as part of its activities for the AAM's 25th anniversary.

Hackney & Tower Hamlets AA is a new group formed on the basis of the old Hackney group which launched its activity at a well-attended public meeting and is conducting a survey of local shopkeepers to find out their attitude to buying South African goods and to the consumer boycott.

Haringey AA has continued with an intense year of activity including shoppers collections for Namibian refugees, an afternoon workshop for teachers to look at the books and resources available for children on apartheid and Southern Africa, and working with the local authority to adopt an anti-apartheid declaration.

Leeds AA has organised a wide variety of events, including mobilising for the ceremony to rename the gardens outside the civic hall the Nelson Mandela Gardens, the planning of a civic reception for SACTU with Leeds City Council, and arranging photo-displays on 'Leeds vs Apartheid'.

Leicester AA hosted regular events throughout the year including a public meeting during the Namibia week of action, and campaigned vigorously with Leicester City Council to try to persuade players from Leicester not to take part in the English rugby tour to South Africa.

Manchester AA has successfully raised money towards medical kits for Namibian refugees and helped the university group organise a week of action during March. It has also campaigned on raising the issue of Namibian uranium at many local peace/CND events.

Merseyside AA has continued producing excellent educational material and working with trade unions. It recently staged a successful picket outside Liverpool's Holiday Inn where an event to promote tourism in South Africa was due to be held. The picket was so successful that the event had to be cancelled.

North Devon AA, is a new group which, although small, has held numerous Barclays pickets and generated local support. It has also managed to campaign for the theme of its next May Day rally to be 'Southern Africa'.

Nottingham AA has worked in close liaison with the council which in fact made it a grant of £1,000 to promote its activities. It has also campaigned successfully in conjunction with the Hosiery and Knitwear Union about the labelling of Tesco tights RSA - which does not clearly state that they are of South African origin.

Richmond AA rejuvenated its activity this year with a successful AGM, a meeting where Archbishop Huddleston spoke, and in mobilising in Twickenham for the demonstration against the English rugby tour.

Sheffield AA has organised a wide range of activities over the year, including large successful pickets to protest at Marti Caine's appearance at the Crucible theatre in 'Funny Girl', over her performances in Sun City. Over 500 people attended a two-hour protest rally on the opening night. Sheffield also had a busy March month of action, with a cathedral service, 21 showings of three films, a multi-media presentation, two exhibitions and the launch of the South Africa Resources Project pack. It has also worked in close liaison with, and received tremendous support from, Sheffield City Council.

Southampton AA hosted regular successful events and campaigns throughout the year, among them: raising money towards the university scholarship fund, sending many representatives to the national parliamentary lobby in March, inviting Marga Holness from Angola Information to discuss the apartheid threat to world peace, and organising a storm of protest at Southampton docks when the mayor invited the South African ambassador to her civic day lunch in April on

board a South African ship.

South London AA's activity has increased this year with attempts to establish contacts and groups in all areas of south London. It has held successful public meetings and material aid collections, and obtained 1,000 signatures on a birthday card to Nelson Mandela at the Lambeth country show.

South West Herts AA has continued its excellent work on examining how racism and apartheid bias infect educational media by convening a conference together with Watford Community Relations Council, SW Herts branch of NAME, Watford library service, Herts County Council education committee, Herts Socialist Education Association, and Watford Sikh Association.

Teesside AA, amongst various other events, has successfully campaigned to persuade Middlesbrough Council to ban from its premises artistes listed on the UN cultural register.

Tyneside AA has organised many original and imaginative events this year, including cycling round shopping centres asking people not to buy South Africa goods, collecting signatures for the Free Nelson Mandela campaign outside record shops that played the Special AKA single, and dressing up to look like South African products and picketing 'Next' shops.

Waltham Forest AA, a new group, has persuaded a local church to withdraw its account from Barclays and has worked with Waltham Forest Council to produce an anti-apartheid declaration.

West London AA, despite the sad loss of its secretary, Betty Northedge, has organised public meetings on Namibia and the apartheid war, as well as many successful fund-raising activities.

YOUTH AND STUDENTS

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's work within the student movement got off to a good start with a large number of students attending the national activists conference held at Goldsmith's College on 24-25 September. This resulted in a big demand for literature during the freshers' weeks in the universities, polytechnics and colleges - and a number of Barclays pickets. New groups and/or a resurgence of anti-apartheid activity occurred at Goldsmith's College, Durham University, Milton Keynes College, NE London Polytechnic, Polytechnic of Central London, Imperial College, Middlesex Polytechnic, and the colleges in Roehampton Institute - and speakers have been sent to over 40 colleges this year.

The AAM continued its tradition of having a stall at both National Union of Students (NUS) conferences at Christmas and Easter - and indeed such was the student commitment that at Easter a workshop was organised prior to the beginning of the conference on 'anti-recruitment', 'scholarships' and 'disinvestment', attended by over 200 students who listened to speakers from AAM and ANC. This was followed by a fringe meeting organised by the National Organisation of Labour Students at which a speaker from the Movement attended to complete an 'international' platform of women speakers. The NUS conference then prioritised and passed overwhelmingly a motion condemning the tour of South Africa by the Rugby Football Union and urging student members of the team to withdraw; followed by the ANC being prioritised as a guest speaker, at which Lynne Maseko received a standing ovation and a cheque for £1,000 towards the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

Since that conference students throughout the country mobilised extensively for the 'No to Botha' demonstration and represented a very large contingent on the march. NUS also sponsored the Movement's national lobby of parliament and sent speakers both to the lobby and to the demonstration. Students, mainly from London, also organised a mass protest at Heathrow airport to ensure that the departure of the English rugby tour to South Africa was a memorable one.

The AAM also maintained regular contact with the British Youth Council, who sponsored the 'No to Botha' demonstration, a further indication of the increased commitment to anti-apartheid campaigning. In December the BYC invited the AAM to participate in the launch of a poster campaign against EEC

links with South Africa.

There is much to look forward to in campaigning within the student movement and it is hoped that the AAM's servicing of student groups will be more extensive throughout the coming year.

The AAM has available a list of many of the activities youth and students have organised in the past year.

TRADE UNIONS

The work of the AAM in the trade union movement has been recognised to be of special significance. However, in the absence of a trade union secretary it has not been possible to achieve the progress desired. Despite this there is much to report.

In the autumn of 1983 the main campaigning focus was the situation in the Ciskei and in particular the banning of SAAWU and the detention of several trade union leaders. A concerted campaign was organised to encourage trade unions to publish information about the Ciskei in their trade union journals and to urge unions to appeal to the British government to intervene with the South African authorities. The very positive response from the trade union movement must have been an important factor in convincing the British government to revise its original policy of refusing to intervene. As there was more and more publicity and the campaign gathered momentum, the authorities responded by releasing most of the imprisoned trade union leaders.

The AAM also pursued within the trade union movement its campaign against the use of South Africa as a staging post for the construction of a military air base on the Falklands. The TGWU in particular responded positively, both at a national level and in Region 3 where the travel company responsible for transporting the workforce was based. The TUC took up the case directly with the government and the companies involved. A memorandum on the entire issue was prepared and widely distributed.

There have been a number of important developments aimed at isolating South Africa. Two British unions, the National Union of Seamen and the TGWU, were amongst the founding members of Maritime Unions against Apartheid. The TUC has initiated campaigns against emigration and, for example, the NUT and the NUJ have both urged their members not to take up employment in South Africa.

A number of affiliated unions made direct representations to the government concerning its policy over Namibia, including the issue of 'linkage', and the TUC made similar representations.

The trade union committee convened a consultation of local authority unions to discuss the trade union contribution to local authority action against apartheid. Following this, the local authorities steering committee decided to invite two observers from the AAM trade union committee to its meetings.

Meetings on Southern Africa were organised at a number of trade union conferences, including SCPS, AUEW-TASS, NALGO and CPSA. At the NALGO conference, honorary membership of the union was received on behalf of Winnie and Nelson Mandela by Adelaide Tambo and the ANC representative, both of whom received standing ovations. The CPSA conference was addressed by the AAM president, Trevor Huddleston, and over 200 people attended the fringe meeting. As reported under the 'No to Botha' section, nearly every conference meeting during the campaign against the visit adopted emergency resolutions condemning the invitation to P W Botha.

The 1984 TUC congress saw the adoption of a resolution on Southern Africa. A social event was organised by the AAM and the Musicians' Union to provide an opportunity for delegates to meet representatives of SACTU, ANC and SWAPO.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Since the local authorities conference held in March 1983, the number of local authorities taking action against apartheid increases almost from day to day – indeed this is the fastest growing area of work within the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Preliminary results from a survey of local authority action being conducted by the United Nations shows that 13 out of the 34 London boroughs, 15 out of the 45 Welsh authorities, 17 of the 65 Scottish authorities, 27 of the 42 English metropolitan and 33 of the 336 English non-metropolitan authorities have taken action against apartheid (since 1974), and there is now an impressive number of 17 'anti-apartheid authorities' – Brent, Camden, Gateshead, Greater London, Greater Manchester, Greenwich, Harlow, Islington, Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Rochdale, Sheffield, Tyne & Wear, Waltham Forest, Wrekin and Wrexham Maelor.

Special reference should be made to the activities of the Greater London Council, which, despite the government's abolition plans, has actively promoted anti-apartheid activity in the capital. Its declaration was launched at a special ceremony on 9 January attended by the president of the United Nations Centre for Namibia, the chairman of the UN Special Committee on Destabilisation, the UN Commission for Namibia and the UN assistant secretary general for the Centre Against Apartheid. The president of SWAPO and ANC sent messages.

The AAM is especially appreciative of the contribution made by the staff of the GLC's Ethnic Minority Unit, who have ensured that the GLC's action against apartheid has been particularly effective.

The local authorities steering committee set up from the conference in March 1983 has now met twice and has adopted a 'model' anti-apartheid declaration for local authorities; papers on issues such as purchasing policies, disinvestment, advertising, education, sporting and cultural boycott, etc, to serve as guidelines for councils on how to adopt and implement such policies, are being prepared. In addition, the steering committee is organising a recall conference for all local authorities on 8 February 1985. This is to be preceded by press conferences in as many council areas as possible to launch and publicise the UN survey on local authority action against apartheid – and will be followed by a week of local authority action in March.

The AAM has available a list of the many activities local authorities have organised in the past year.

EDUCATION

This vital area of work on Southern Africa, involving both teachers and school students, has received increased attention because issues relating to Southern Africa are appearing more and more on the curriculum, because of the commitment of a growing number of local education authorities to ensure positive teaching of African liberation struggles, and because of the interest of many teachers and students.

The initiative of the South West Herts AA group's books campaign has made progress in exposing pro-South African propaganda in school textbooks, but this still needs greater attention by the AAM as a whole.

Teachers' groups and local education authorities are themselves taking more initiatives. In Sheffield teachers produced a teaching kit and the British Defence and Aid Fund has organised a number of conferences with the ILEA at which the AAM has been represented.

The decision of the 1983 AGM to ensure that the AAM itself provides a much greater range of educational material resulted in the National Committee setting up a resources group which has been preparing a pack of educational material which should be available by the new year.

HEALTH

The AAM Health Committee has continued to strengthen its links with the health service community in this country, informing interested people in this area of work about apartheid

and its effects on the health of the people in Southern Africa, and campaigning against any collaboration with apartheid South Africa in the health field.

The committee has undertaken a number of campaigns this year in an effort to isolate South Africa further in the international medical field.

There have been important developments in the campaign to expel South Africa from the World Psychiatric Association. In May the Health Committee's paper on *The Case for the Expulsion of South Africa from International Psychiatry* was published by the UN Centre Against Apartheid. A delegate from the Health Committee, Rachel Jewkes, participated in the World Psychiatric Association regional symposium in Helsinki in June, at a seminar on 'Apartheid and Mental Health'. Here the document was presented and widely circulated. The seminar concluded with the adoption of a declaration calling for the expulsion of South Africa from international psychiatry, especially the World Psychiatric Association, and the formation of an international committee of psychiatrists to work towards fulfilling the declaration. The Health Committee document has since been sent to all WPA member associations.

The Health Committee has worked closely with the AAM Women's Committee on the campaign to expel South Africa from the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). A joint document was produced and widely circulated internationally. In November, South Africa was suspended for 90 days, during which time they were to provide evidence to justify their reinstatement. This did not happen, and so they have now had their suspension period extended until the next members' meeting of the IPPF in 1988.

As this annual report goes to press, a delegation from the General Medical Council (GMC) is planning to make a visit to the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA). The Health Committee has written to members of the GMC asking them to reconsider this visit.

An elective leaflet has been produced jointly by the Health Committee and the National Union of Students as part of the electives campaign, which has been relaunched and intensified this year, aimed at medical students who are planning to spend their practical elective periods in South Africa.

Health and Liberation, the quarterly bulletin of the Health Committee, has continued to be produced regularly this year. It is now in a new improved format and distribution continues to increase. Issues have included special topics on health in the front line states, and occupational health, as well as an update on the health situation in Southern Africa and current Health Committee campaigns.

There have also been exciting new developments in our ongoing, long-running campaigns. In January the British Medical Association resigned from the World Medical Association in protest, amongst other things, against the readmission of South Africa in 1981. The Health Committee is currently campaigning against the next WMA conference which will be held in South Africa in 1985. The Paraplegic Olympics were held in Stoke Mandeville this year and, for the first time in the history of international games at Stoke Mandeville, South Africa was excluded.

WOMEN

Nineteen eighty four, Year of the Women, has seen massive resistance by the people of South Africa and Namibia. Women and their organisations in South Africa have been in the forefront of current struggles, organising against rent increases, forced removals and the new apartheid constitution. In Namibia, women are increasingly active within SWAPO and in the national liberation struggle as a whole.

The past year has also witnessed increased activity from women in Britain in support of the campaign to isolate South Africa. Their response to the visit on 2 June by P W Botha represented the largest ever women's contingent on an anti-apartheid demonstration. This was followed by a packed and enthusiastic ANC meeting at Hackney town hall to mark South Africa Women's Day on 9 August which, again, was the biggest turn-out ever in this country for this particular occasion.

The Women's Committee has continued to make contact with women's organisations; we were encouraged by the affiliation to the AAM by the Uhuru Women's Group, and by the

emergency resolution passed at the Labour Party Women's annual conference condemning Botha's visit. The GLC Anti-Racist Year women's working group invited the ANC to address their conference 'Women Challenge Racism', and our literature was distributed at the conference organised by 'Housewives in Dialogue'. The Women's Committee received many requests from individual women and women's groups for information and speakers, and was asked to participate in events organised for One World Week and by Women and the Third World, National Assembly of Women, Confederation of African Women, NUS Women's Aggregate, Labour Party Women's Briefing, and International Contraception, Abortion and Sterilisation (ICAS) campaign.

The Year of the Women has resulted in several local AA groups and other organisations requesting speakers and exhibitions on the subject of women in South Africa and Namibia. The ANC Women's Section organised a launch meeting where the AAM Women's Committee was invited to speak. The Women's Committee was honoured to host a delegation from the ANC Women's Secretariat who visited London as part of their speaking tour of Europe to mark the Year of the Women. The delegation spoke at a briefing for women in the media, together with a delegation from SWAPO Women's Council. The event was held at the Africa Centre and was jointly organised by the AAM Women's Committee and SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign to mark the Year of the Women and Namibia's 100 Years of Struggle. It was attended by 100 people and resulted in interviews and articles.

Activities over the year have included campaigning on women political prisoners. A picket jointly organised by SATIS and the Women's Committee protested at the sentence passed on Albertina Sisulu, and messages of support were sent to welcome Dorothy Nyembe on her release from prison. Albertina's case now rests on appeal. The Women's Committee also promoted the petition campaign for Ida Jimmy.

Efforts were made to raise the issue of forced removals in South Africa. A joint public meeting with the ANC Women's Section was organised at the end of 1983 to publicise the issue and information has been provided in the Women's Committee newsletter and through the circulation of a briefing paper.

The Women's Committee continues to campaign for the expulsion of the South African Family Planning Association from the international body because of its racist family planning practices, and was encouraged by the decision at the Members Assembly to suspend membership until it meets in 1986 to review the situation.

A joint picket was organised with SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign during the Namibia Week of Action outside CEGB to protest at the illegal import of Namibian uranium to this country. Passers-by were asked to sign letters of protest, which were handed in to Mrs Thatcher. The Women's Committee is circulating the Namibia: Independence Now declaration among women and women's organisations in the lead up to this year's Namibia Week of Action.

To mark the relaunch of the AAM consumer boycott campaign, the Women's Committee organised a picket outside one of the 'Next' shops. Leaflets were handed out asking women not to buy South African clothes stocked by 'Next' and to protest to the management. The Women's Committee has also produced a briefing paper on the South African textile industry and the import of South African textiles and clothing to Britain.

Other activities have included a social to celebrate South Africa Women's Day and a workshop for women at the AAM's 25th anniversary national convention. It was well-attended and topics discussed were women political prisoners, women and health, women and work, Namibian uranium and the peace movement, and the boycott campaign with specific reference to South African clothes and textiles.

The Women's Committee hopes to widen support amongst women's organisations and will be holding quarterly meetings for women with speakers from the liberation movements. In this way we intend that support for and from women will extend beyond 1984, and that the Year of the Women will prove to be the base upon which to build more support for the liberation movements and for the AAM in its work to isolate the apartheid regime in all its spheres.

POLITICAL PARTIES PARLIAMENT

The AAM has continued to seek the support of political parties both inside and outside parliament. The main effort involving parliament was the national parliamentary lobby, details of which are to be found under the 'Southern Africa: The Time to Act' section.

A concerted effort was made in parliament over the Prevention of Terrorism Bill. The new bill proposed to define international terrorism in such a manner as to include both the Southern African liberation movements and their supporters. In both the House of Commons and House of Lords efforts were made to amend the bill, but without success. The AAM also made direct representations to the Home Secretary, which resulted in an assurance that the powers of arrest and detention (the section of the bill covering 'international terrorists') would only be used if there was a prospect of a charge being brought.

The leaders of the Labour, Liberal and Social Democratic parties all participated in AAM activities over the past year and the spokespersons of these parties, as well as Plaid Cymru and the SNP, took up a variety of issues for the AAM. There has also been a significant increase in the number of MPs who are members of the AAM.

Support has been forthcoming during the year from political parties for a variety of campaigns, not least the 'No to Botha' demonstration. These campaigns have, of course, also involved parties outside parliament such as the Ecology Party and the Communist Party.

The Conservative Party chairman made an interesting speech outlining his party's opposition to apartheid on 31 May in which he declared that apartheid 'is particularly abhorrent to Conservatives'.

Religious Organisations

There has been a most encouraging increase in cooperation and support from different religious organisations and it has by no means been limited to the Christian denominations. This has led to an important initiative: agreement in principle to establish a religious committee of the AAM.

This development followed the colloquium hosted by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston in cooperation with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in March. The opening session was at Church House, with the main proceedings at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor. Participants from the major faiths came together for intense discussion and debate about the situation in Southern Africa from which they drew up a declaration as a response of the world's religions. The declaration has already been widely distributed throughout the world.

The AAM is grateful for the cooperation extended by the British Council of Churches in response to various activities of the AAM. The BCC's Africa secretary, for example, participated in the national parliamentary lobby and a number of denominational organisations sponsored the lobby and mobilised support for it. The AAM has also attended a number of conferences and meetings organised by Christian Concern for Southern Africa, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, etc.

This interest has been reflected at a local level. For example, Bristol AA group organised a meeting for people of all faiths at Bristol Cathedral; Sheffield AA, as part of their week of action, arranged for a service in the Cathedral, and the Bishop of Sheffield has agreed to serve as the group's president.

AA News reported on these and other matters in much greater detail, including an extremely interesting article by the Revd Ian White of the Church of Scotland on the background to the ABRECSA conference in South Africa, to which he had been invited, which appeared in the March issue.

BLACK COMMUNITY

Black community organisations have continued to be actively engaged in solidarity campaigns with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. This was particularly the case during the campaign against the visit of P W Botha when, as reported in that section, a whole series of initiatives resulted in a massive turnout from the black community in Britain.

The AAM was invited to serve on the GLC's Anti-Racist Year subcommittee and has been involved in a range of anti-racist activities in London which in turn secured wider support

for the Movement's campaigns and policies.

The black press has continued to provide extensive coverage of the AAM's activities, as have Black Londoners and Rice and Peas. Links with a number of organisations have been strengthened over the year. The AAM worked closely with the Black British Standing Conference against Apartheid Sport, the West Indian Standing Conference, the Africa Liberation Committee, the Indian Workers Association (Southall) on a number of different issues.

INFORMATION

ANTI APARTHEID NEWS

The steady rise in *Anti-Apartheid News* circulation, reported in the 1982/83 annual report, has continued during 1984. The usual print run has increased from 9,000 copies (October 1983) to 11,000 (September 1984), while 25,000 copies were printed of the June 1984 issue, incorporating a 16-page supplement on the history of the AAM to mark its 25th anniversary.

Efforts put into increasing sales, subscriptions and advertising revenue mean that *AA News* is well on the way to financial self-sufficiency. The editorial board is determined to maintain and improve this position so that the newspaper makes a significant contribution to AAM's funds.

The board's advertising drive, launched in September 1983, had raised a total of over £6,750 by the close of the 1983/84 financial year (covering a full year's publication of 10 issues up to and including the July/August issue), with just under £4,000 being raised through the 25th anniversary issue.

The average advertising revenue for each month was over £300 per issue. A number of exchange advertisements with other magazines and journals were arranged during the year which helped to publicise and increase subscriptions to *AA News*.

Anti-Apartheid News Special Supplement

The 16-page special supplement was *AA News*' main contribution to campaigning activities for the AAM's 25th anniversary. Activists and supporters from the earliest days of the Movement's history up to the present contributed articles and features. The supplement incorporated solidarity advertising from a broad spectrum of the Movement's supporters, notably the trade union movement, and was widely distributed both in Britain and internationally.

The 25th anniversary masthead used on *AA News* throughout 1984 was also produced as a letterhead. Other promotional activities by the newspaper for the anniversary year included a series of guest articles from anti-apartheid movements and groups in various parts of the world.

New features introduced during the year included a regular letters column (a proposal put to the 1983 AGM by the York AA Group); a regular "This is Apartheid" box on the back page, in response to the need expressed by many activists for simple, factual information; and features on 1984 Year of the Women.

The list of contributors to *AA News* has now become too lengthy and diverse to record in full. As well as attracting a growing number of regular correspondents, the paper has welcomed contributions from graphic artists and cartoonists, including Ken Sprague, Francis Boyle and Steve Bell.

Liberation movement leaders who have given interviews or sent messages to the newspaper include Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO; Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, SWAPO vice-president; Eleanor Khanyile, ANC Women's Section; and Magdaleena Nhatange, UK representative of SWAPO Women's Council. The visit to Britain by Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, during which he attended the AAM's national parliamentary lobby and spoke at the GLC's Anti-Racist Day rally, was given prominent coverage in *AA News*.



Guest writers during the year have included Mgr Bruce Kent, general secretary of CND; David Evans, playwright and author; Ingeborg Wick, West German AAM; Fiona MacTaggart, Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants; Akira Kusuhara, Japan AA Committee; Heather Garner; Quentin Given, Chile Solidarity Campaign; Carol Olson, Irish AAM; David Blunkett, leader of Sheffield City Council; Steve Godfrey, War on Want; Ken Traynor, SACTU Solidarity Committee, Toronto; Tony Alexander, One World Week; Gill Walt; Dr Vanda Playford; Earl Bousquet, anti-apartheid activist in St Lucia; National Union of Seamen; Paul Goodison and Barry Munslow; Richard Helmore, Angola Information.

Interviews have been published with Councillor Michael Lynch, Newcastle City Council; Herman Ouseley, GLC Ethnic Minorities Unit; Sisa Njikelana, South African Allied Workers Union; David Rabkin, former South African political prisoner; Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, AAM president; Helen Joseph; Jerry Dammers of Special AKA; Lord Fenner Brockway; Ken Sprague; Desmond Sixishe, Lesotho minister of information; Tichaulepi Masaya, ZANU(PF); Merita Mita, director of *Patu!*.

Regular contributors have included Mark Hollingsworth, Patrick Cunningham, Paul Fauvet, Jan Marsh, Keith Somerville, Elaine Unterhalter, Sonia Bunting, Hanif Bhamjee, Marga Holness, Ann Harries, Barbara König, Alan Brooks, Brian Bunting and Vella Pillay.

Photograph service

Anti-Apartheid News has recently begun its own photography service with its photographs being sold and distributed to newspapers, magazines and television throughout Britain and overseas. This has brought in additional income to the Movement which has paid for photographs used throughout the year in our regular publications and *AA News*.

Regular photographic contributors to *AA News* have been Cameron Brisbane, IDAF, Paul Mattson, *Morning Star*, and the Report/IFL agency. Thanks also to Tim Sandford for developing and printing help.

Anti-Apartheid News is typeset by Nancy White and printed by East End Offset Ltd. The production coordinators are Margaret Ling (editorial) and Bernadette Vallely (distribution and advertising).

AA News has continued to rely on regular volunteers who assist with paste-up, layout and design, distribution and promotion. Thanks are also due to a number of designers and other specialists who have made contributions to the paper during the year.

SERVICES

The role of the AAM headquarters in providing a range of services has never been fully appreciated. The demand for advice, information and resources seems endless. In addition to local and student groups, requests are received from a wide range of different bodies, including local authorities, schools, trade union branches, community groups, etc. This year it has had to cope with a staggering 170 speaker requests – averaging over three per week – from all over the country. This figure in itself underestimates grossly the total number of anti-apartheid speakers, since many meetings are serviced by local groups directly.

This vital area of work has not received sufficient attention. There are too few individuals willing to make the effort to speak at meetings and there is also a need for better servicing of speakers themselves. It has been proposed that a meeting for speakers be convened and the resources pack under preparation should be of particular use to AAM speakers.

Groups requiring films or videos are referred to the International Defence and Aid Fund, which has further extended the range of material it has available.

PUBLICATIONS

The photo-exhibition, 'Apartheid's War against Africa', has been the main venture in the publications field. Consisting of 14 posters, it provides an excellent visual exposition of the nature and effect of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation.



The AAM published a consumer boycott kit to mark the relaunching of the boycott campaign. It has also been engaged in preparation of a resources kit which will include a range of fact sheets on the main areas of interest to anti-apartheid campaigners.

Background documents have been prepared for a number of conferences and meetings held over the past 12 months and, as demand for such documentation is increasing, consideration is being given to the establishment of a documentation service so that, for a reasonable subscription, individuals and organisations can receive automatically all such items.

Many new leaflets and other campaigning material has been produced over this period, including a set of SATIS postcards and the 'Free the Kassinga Detainees' campaign cards. Two members of the AAM, Chris Child and Rachel Jewkes, prepared papers for the UN notes and documents series.

A large number of publications of the UN, ILO, the liberation movements, IDAF, etc, are distributed from the AAM headquarters, both in Britain and internationally.

finance and fund-raising

The accounts of the Movement, which will be presented to the annual general meeting, will show that expenditure is substantially over £100,000 per annum. There has been an encouraging increase in income but rising expenditure means that there has still been no substantial reduction in the accumulated deficit. However, much of the expenditure during both this financial year and 1982/83 has been on capital items and it is intended that the financial situation should improve over the next financial year if levels of income can be maintained.

The advantages arising from the introduction of an annual budget and more effective mechanisms for financial control have not been fully realised but the finance committee has been meeting on a much more regular basis to review the financial affairs of the AAM. The Executive Committee appointed Mr A Prior as the auditor for the AAM and wishes to place on record its appreciation for the assistance and advice he has provided. A number of recommendations he made arising from the 1983/84 accounts are already being implemented.

As reported in the Organisation section of the report, the Executive Committee agreed to expand the staff by two full-time posts. It is intended that this will result in a substantial increase in income from membership and *AI News* sales and subscriptions. It has also been decided that a member of staff will be specifically responsible for the campaigns fund which was launched at the 1983 AGM. Other pressures have meant that this has not been properly established.

Fund-raising activities have been organised during the period of this report to complement other forms of income. Much of the responsibility for this has been borne by the fund-raising committee.

Examples of activities include:

The AAM's 25th anniversary raffle, raised several thousand pounds for the AAM. All the raffle prizes were donated: the AAM is especially grateful to Progressive Tours who gave the first prize, a holiday for two in Bulgaria.

The Cycle for Mandela has now become a regular feature of the AAM's fund-raising efforts and through the rain in October 1983 cyclists took part in raising several hundred pounds for the Movement.

The fund-raising week of action, 21-27 March, encouraged local groups to hold fund-raising events. The results were patchy but most groups did manage some sort of event.

The Soweto Walks proved a popular event with local groups organising walks in their area.

The American artist Martin Weiner gave both time and work to arrange an exhibition of his paintings at the Pentonsville Gallery: 30% of the proceeds went to the AAM. Two cabaret evenings were organised in the gallery during the period of the exhibition.

The fund-raising committee also produced a new booklet entitled *Fundraising for Local Groups* which set out practical ideas and methods for groups organising any kind of fund-raising event.

Greetings cards, prismatic jewellery, postcard sets, rewards, carrier bags, badges and posters have continued to bring in revenue to the national HQ, and are regularly used on book-stalls all over the country. The fund-raising committee is seeking new ideas for goods and ways to promote these to offer a wider range of goods to members and supporters in the future.

ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's membership has increased steadily over the past year to give an encouraging start to the 1984/85 membership drive, when we hope to increase individual membership by 1,000. The total membership of individuals and organisations now stands at approximately 3,500. Organisation membership has increased in the past year to include a more varied representation of local organisations.

Groups like the Uhuru Women's Collective, the Rock Youth Club in Earlsfield, the Notting Hill Methodist Church, the Caribbean Pastoral Service, and Japan Buddha Sanga are all member organisations of the AAM; anti-racist committees and organisations in Lancashire, Blackpool, Camden, Sandwell, Hackney, Greenwich, Nottingham, Sheffield and Southampton, and community relations councils throughout the country are affiliated.

Some 232 trade union branches and 156 political party branches are also affiliated.

Computerisation of the AAM's membership records in the past year has enabled greater efficiency in accounting for and renewing membership subscriptions, but there is still too large a percentage of members who join for one year only and do not rejoin. Grassroots supporters and activists who oppose the apartheid regime are not always ready to become paid-up members of the AAM, and this year we hope to ensure that as many as possible of these people become full members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

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 newsletters 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 1983 AGM, 21 resolutions were adopted covering most of the major areas of the AAM's campaigns. Activities concerned with the implementation of these resolutions are described under the relevant section of this report. One resolution concerned with the organisation of the AAM recommended that the Executive Committee present a report to the 1984 AGM based on the work of its development sub-committee. It is regretted that, due to the exceptional level of campaigning and the strain this placed on some members of the subcommittee, it has not been possible to finalise this report.

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, 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 observers are also invited from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to 10 individuals may be co-opted.

The National Committee met on five 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 3 December, when plans were drawn up for the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the AGM. The meeting was addressed by Shapua Kaugungua, the chief representative of SWAPO, who introduced a discussion on developments relating to Namibia. The meeting on 25 February reviewed preparations for the national parliamentary lobby on 21 March and endorsed proposals for a series of activities to mark the AAM's 25th anniversary in June. This meeting also provided an opportunity for an exchange of views about recent developments in Southern Africa. The National Committee next met on 26 May, exactly one week prior to the visit of P.W. Botha. In addition to finalising plans for the demonstration, the meeting was addressed by Mohammed Valli, a member of the National Secretariat of the UDF.

The National Committee met again on 8 September when the major item was the consideration and adoption of the political report which serves as the introduction to this report. The meeting also endorsed plans for an emergency protest march in London on 14 September in response to recent events in South Africa.

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, student, health, women's, finance and fund-raising committees, as well as the editorial board of *AA News*. A committee has recently been formed to plan campaign work on sanctions, and there is also 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

During the period of this report the Movement has been able to benefit fully from the greatly improved facilities available at Mandela Street. In addition, as a result of the decision to purchase a computer, not only have AAM membership and *AA News* subscriptions been computerised, but so have other AAM records. However, despite, or possibly because of, these improvements, the staff have been unable to sustain the high level of activities required arising both from developments in Southern Africa and the greatly increased interest in our work in Britain. The Executive therefore agreed to increase the number of full-time staff from six to eight. A new membership secretary, Mamta Singh, has been appointed to enable Bernadette Vallely to concentrate on promoting membership and *AA News* readership. A further additional post of administrative assistant has been created. Applicants for this post and the vacant post of campaign organiser were being considered when this report was being prepared.

The staff at Mandela Street would be unable to undertake the work they are able to without the dedicated support of so many volunteers who give up their spare time, and often more, to help. This was especially the case during the 'No to Botha' campaign. During the year Michael Pertz was employed temporarily in a full-time capacity to assist with some of the major campaigns, and his work was much appreciated.

OBITUARIES

YUSUF DADOO

The untimely death of Dr Yusuf Dadoo on 19 September 1983, at the age of 74, is a particularly grievous loss to the South African people, to the liberation and international peace movements, and to all who have been and are involved in the anti-apartheid struggle.

His death robs the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party of one of their most experienced and dedicated leaders. The Anti-Apartheid Movement loses a close friend and supporter who, over the years since 1960, contributed to the Movement's activities through speaking tours and his ever-ready willingness to assist. He gave valuable advice on the Movement's campaigns and activities and contributed to *Anti-Apartheid News* and other publications.

Despite his illness during the past year, Yusuf Dadoo maintained a close interest in the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. He joined in the ceremony of the opening of the Movement's new headquarters in Mandela Street and spoke at the commemoration meeting earlier in 1983 on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the Movement's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Yusuf Dadoo joins an illustrious band of men and women — those who have nobly served and died in the cause of South Africa's liberation struggle and others who remain incarcerated in South Africa's prisons — Chief Albert Luthuli, Moses Kotane, J B Marks, Bram Fischer, Michael Harmel, Ruth First, and Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and others. They opened and now have closed the era of preparation of the South African people for the destruction of the system of apartheid. The new and rising generation of freedom fighters inherit the awesome but no less historic task of winning liberation and a free and democratic South Africa.

MICHAEL SCOTT

Michael Scott died in London on 14 September 1983. He was 76. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston who, like Scott, arrived in Johannesburg in 1943, once said: 'Michael Scott was ten years ahead in vision and in achievement. For this he had to pay the heavy price of loneliness and misunderstanding. . . But this has been the lot of all prophets.'

During the late 1940s Michael Scott was at the heart of the struggle in Southern Africa, living among Africans in the disease- and crime-ridden shanty town of Tobruk; joining Indian passive resisters in Durban and with them going to jail; exposing slave labour conditions in Bethal after visiting that notorious place with Ruth First and Gert Sibande.

When Smuts threatened to incorporate South West Africa, and Tshekedi Khama and Chief Frederick Maherero appealed to Scott to go there urgently, he met leaders of the Herero, Nama and Berg-Damara peoples and at their request took their case to the United Nations. It was a historic moment when he gained a hearing at the UN, an unprecedented event. But for his tireless lobbying — despite severe ill-health — South Africa would surely have incorporated what was to become Namibia. Scott was never allowed back to Southern Africa.

President's Kaunda and Nyerere are among African leaders who honoured him and, as I found on returning to South Africa during the 1950s, people like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu held him in high regard. In Bechuanaland (now Botswana) he was known as 'the One who Listens'.

Mary Benson

IOAN EVANS

Ioan Evans died suddenly on 10 February 1984. He had been MP for Birmingham Yardley between 1964 and 1970, from 1970 until 1974 he was Director of the International Defence and Aid Fund, and returned to parliament in 1974 as MP for Aberdare.

Ioan always had a deep concern for liberty in Southern Africa. He was one of a number of MPs who became known as the 'Africa Corps'. During the long years of UDI in Southern Rhodesia, it was extremely unpopular to support ZAPU and ZANU. Ioan never flinched in the face of attacks by the Tory pro-Smith lobby, who constantly used the theme that our 'kith and kin' were under threat. It was typical of him that his last parliamentary activity, the day before he died, should have been to draft an early day motion which condemned sporting links with South Africa.

His constituents will miss him. His colleagues and friends in the Anti-Apartheid Movement will miss him. Those of us who are engaged in the work of the AAM can best serve his memory by redoubling our efforts in the cause of liberation which he cherished so dearly.

BETTY NORTHEGE

Betty Northedge died suddenly on 22 February 1984. She was one of those rare and invaluable people who work tirelessly behind the scenes without ever seeking the political limelight or expecting any public recognition of their role.

She joined the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the mid-1960s and became a regular volunteer in the AAM office. For four years from 1973 to 1977 she was responsible for the AAM membership records and mailings and for part of that period was full-time Membership Secretary. Afterwards she continued as a volunteer helper, keeping the membership records up-to-date and helping with whatever most needed to be done in the AA office.

At the same time she was the person who more than anyone else kept the West London AA group together, serving first as its treasurer and then as secretary right up to her death. She was especially involved in the campaign for the release of Southern African political prisoners and served on the SATIS committee.

Betty was a tireless worker — she thought only of what needed to be done and took it for granted that she should do it. We miss her very much.



RUNNING BRAVE

THE SPECIAL AFRICA
NELSON MANDELA
THE GREAT MAN OF THE YEAR

RACISM TRADES
ON FEAR.
IS THIS OUR
NATIONAL CURRENCY?

FEAR

ANGER BAND

BOTH

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RESISTER
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