



# Annual Report

of activities and developments 1985/86

## Anti-Apartheid Movement



*(Picture by Andrew Ward/Report)*

# ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT Annual Report October 1985 – September 1986

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# Foreword

Picture by Cameron Brisbane



Without any doubt the past year has been the most eventful and the most significant in the history of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and elsewhere. This, of course, has been due to the escalation of the crisis in South Africa and Namibia and the tremendous response from the people of this country to what we in the Anti-Apartheid Movement stand for.

The great rally in June was perhaps the largest ever seen in London since the second world war and was the clearest possible demonstration of the fact that the Tory government is totally out of touch with the mood of the vast majority in this country. It was in fact a demonstration of a determined and vigorous support for the policy for which we have always stood: mandatory economic sanctions as a way by which we can hasten the end of apartheid and support to the full those at the heart of the struggle.

However, it is not only in demonstrations that our activity as a Movement is shown. I have personally led delegations to the Foreign Office during the past year to make clear to the government our position and, as a result of those delegations, I believe I can speak with far better authority. Indeed, it has become clear that the government has no real policy for ending apartheid because basically it has no desire to have one.

The Commonwealth initiative and the report, *Mission to Africa*, of the eminent persons group was of the utmost importance. Just because the authority of the representatives of the Commonwealth was unquestionable, the strength of their recommendations carries immense weight. The Movement once again demonstrated clearly and openly its position to the attitude of the British government at the mini-summit at Marlborough House.

One of the most encouraging developments during the past year has been the response of local authorities throughout the country to our appeal for commitment to the 'apartheid-free zone' concept. This was shown, for example, by the fact that the ANC flag flew over the Southampton city hall during the International Archaeological Congress in September when the boycott of the South African delegation was a clear recognition of the success of the academic boycott.

And so I could go on! However, it will surely be understood that all of this has meant a tremendous increase in the work confronting our staff and volunteers. It has called for an extension of office accommodation in Mandela Street and the need for a direct and strong appeal for more funds for the Movement.

As I said last year, we certainly are at a crisis point in the struggle to end apartheid with all deliberate speed. We simply dare not allow those who are directly involved in the struggle to be left to the non-event of unending dialogue, which is what in fact the governments of Great Britain, the United States and West Germany particularly offer as their solution to apartheid. We are a 'movement', that is to say we live and grow and at the same time move forward to the goal we have set ourselves; but it is you, the individual members of the Movement, who really will achieve that end if you have the will to do so.

I am certain, through all that we have done together, that the coming year will prove even more successful than the last.

Trevor Huddleston CR.

The Rt Revd Trevor Huddleston CR  
President

October 1986

# Introduction

This introduction, which represents the political report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting of 20 September 1986.

The peoples of South Africa and Namibia are striding towards their freedom and independence. They have seized the strategic initiative from the racist regime and are determined on the offensive against it. Their unrelenting drive, indomitable courage and incredible resourcefulness in the face of increasingly savage repression have moved the liberation struggle decisively forward on all fronts during the past year. Under the leadership of the ANC and SWAPO, they have put the Pretoria regime on the defensive and have exposed the utter bankruptcy of its rule. The overwhelming majority of people, both domestically and internationally, now recognise that apartheid is doomed and must make way for a new order based on freedom, democracy and national independence.

These historic struggles of the South African and Namibian peoples have in turn inspired a worldwide movement of solidarity and support for the isolation of the apartheid regime. They have imparted a considerable momentum to the international campaign for sanctions — a campaign that reflects, though not yet matches, the sustained drive by the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia to break asunder the chains of their slavery. The campaign has registered notable advances in the past year and these include the application of specific sanctions measures against apartheid. It has isolated as never before the key traditional allies of apartheid South Africa, notably Britain, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Indeed, it has driven them into a severe crisis of policy from which there can now be no escape, except along a path that leads inexorably to the comprehensive isolation and defeat of apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa.

## South Africa

In South Africa itself, the crisis of ungovernability has perceptibly deepened in the urban black townships and spread to innumerable small rural towns and to the bantustans. The popular rejection and virtually complete destruction of the regime's structures of civil administration in many of those areas has opened the way for the emergence of significant democratic alternative organs of power. Nuclei of people's rule have been established in many townships, often on the basis of street level and reflecting the increasing strength of community networks such as civic associations, tenants organisations, parents' and students' bodies, religious communities and others.

Despite the desperate housing shortage and the perils of forcible eviction, hundreds of thousands of householders in at least 30 townships have sustained rent strikes (some for as long as two years) which are estimated to have cost the regime £62.5 million in income, and show the increasing refusal of the oppressed to acquiesce in the operation of the apartheid system. Unprecedentedly effective consumer boycotts in several regions have forced white commercial interests into the political arena in embarrassing conflict with the regime. And all the while the daily fight-back against the military occupation of the townships has been sustained with the fearlessness of a people who sense that the future belongs to them.

In all this, a key role in coordinating and concerting the many local and regional struggles has fallen to the United Democratic Front (UDF). Within a mere three-year period, the UDF has established itself as a major force of anti-apartheid mobilisation and struggle; it has developed a depth of organisation, flexibility of tactics, and a breadth of support which have defeated the regime's efforts to destroy it.

The UDF's influence has been of decisive importance in defeating and exposing the regime's 'reform' programme. It has nationally coordinated the ongoing struggle in the schools, strengthened the links between the work and community fronts of struggle, and focused the immediate demands of the day-to-day battles of the people whilst firmly holding to a programmatic perspective rooted in the non-racial and democratic ideals of the Freedom Charter.

The formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in December 1985 marked an important advance in the long and complex struggle for unity in the independent trade

union movement: in the words of ANC President Oliver Tambo, it 'added enormously to the strength of the democratic movement as a whole' and 'is a victory which this movement must defend at all costs'. In a further development, COSATU met leaders of the ANC and SACTU in Lusaka in March 1986. They agreed that 'the widest possible unity of trade unions in our country is of utmost importance to our people's struggle against the apartheid regime and the bosses'. COSATU and SACTU further agreed that no contradiction arose from the separate existence of each organisation.

The tremendous mobilising potential of this powerful new force on the labour front was amply shown in the national strike on the 100th anniversary of May Day on 1 May 1986 — the largest political stoppage ever achieved in South Africa — and in the no less remarkable stay-at-home on 16 June, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, carried through in the teeth of the state's ruthless attempt to crush it. In its growing capacity to win concessions from employers, to prosecute strikes to a positive conclusion, and to perform a central role for workers in political struggles, the non-racial labour movement has demonstrated a new maturity and strength of purpose, adding its unique contribution to the national liberation struggle and to the international campaign for sanctions.

The past year has also witnessed the achievement of a historic breakthrough by the ANC in establishing itself as the lynch-pin and unifying force of the liberation struggle, and the focus for all who refuse to entrust the future of South Africa to the manoeuvrings of the Botha regime.

Its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, was recognised by the Commonwealth eminent persons group (EPC) as 'a unifying, commanding and popular leader' and as 'an essential and heroic figure in any political settlement in South Africa'. Its external leadership has attracted a stream of visitors from within the country, defying the condemnation of the regime: representatives of big business interests, of the white parliamentary opposition, of certain bantustan groups, of COSATU, NUSAS, and black businessmen. The openness of the ANC to dialogue with these disparate forces contrasts with the intransigent refusal of the regime to talk to any but those who toe its line. This has accelerated the process of disintegration of the ruling white power bloc in South Africa.

Internationally, the standing of the ANC has never been higher, to the point where even the Thatcher and Reagan administrations have been forced to come to terms with it. Internally, it has succeeded in escalating the armed actions of its military cadres in white areas, both urban and rural, and in the street battles in the townships, thereby developing and transforming the armed struggle into a people's war. The ANC's experience and maturity have won it the respect of other anti-apartheid organisations that disagree with it and yet play their own part in the liberation struggle.

## Namibia

In Namibia, SWAPO has seized the strategic initiative with an unprecedented military offensive. In a statement to mark the twentieth anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle on 28 August 1966, SWAPO was able to state with confidence that 'the first half of 1986 has witnessed the most intensive military activities by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) soldiers since the launching of the armed struggle'. SWAPO's war communiques testified to this statement.

Targets attacked in 1986 have included the South African military headquarters in Oshakati, a military base at Ruacana, and a main petrol depot.

These advances in the armed struggle have been accompanied by the mass mobilisation of the Namibian people against South Africa's illegal occupation, including an unprecedented mass political rally organised by SWAPO in July 1986 and attended by some 25,000 people. A significant feature of this mass mobilisation is the growing participation of sections of the white population of Namibia.

Such has been the all-round development of the liberation

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struggle in Namibia that the central committee of SWAPO was able to declare in August 1986 that 'despite the increased and generalised military repression, atrocities and frenzied political manoeuvres by the South African racist regime in Namibia, the political climate in our country has greatly developed in favour of national liberation'.

However, the struggle in Namibia has been the victim of an unprecedented conspiracy of silence. Whilst the world press and other media have focused on South Africa and even taken some risks to break through the wall of silence, Namibia has been systematically ignored.

This conspiracy of silence is a reflection of wider South African and western policies for Namibia and the region. They appear to be determined to relegate Namibia from the international agenda. For on all fronts Pretoria is on the defensive. The so-called 'transitional government of national unity' inaugurated in June 1985 possesses no support or credibility and there is no prospect for it to secure international recognition. On the military front the South African forces are forced into an increasingly defensive war which they will not be able to win.

The prospect of the joint US/South African policy of 'linkage' achieving its intended goal was made more remote when the Angolan government broke off talks with the USA following the US administration's decision to arm Unita. Shrouded in secrecy and out of the limelight of international attention, Pretoria and Washington are engaged in a counter-offensive to isolate and destroy both SWAPO and the Angolan government. Internally, South African forces are engaged in the most brutal repression of the Namibian people whilst at the same time Namibia is being resurrected as a base for intensified aggression against Angola both by South African forces and by their surrogate Unita, newly fortified by US armaments including Stinger missiles.

However, even this counter-offensive has proved to be largely ineffective. A major attack by South African forces in August 1986 was successfully repelled by the Angolan army, which is proving to be increasingly resilient. As in South Africa itself, Pretoria's policies over Namibia are in deep crisis.

### The regime in crisis

Shaken to its roots by the forces aligned against it, the regime has lost the capacity to dictate the course of events. It has no credible policy over Namibia as it repeatedly shifts from seeking 'internal' to 'international' settlements and then back again. Its tricameral constitution is a fiasco, its reform programme utterly discredited, and its day-to-day control of black areas under increasing challenge. It has even lost much of the authority it had over the white electorate. Neither the imposition of a partial state of emergency in July 1985, nor its piecemeal lifting and eventual abandonment in March 1986, succeeded in restoring the 'law and order' upon which white racist rule has prided itself in past decades.

The declaration of a national state of emergency on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the assumption of more draconian powers than ever before, the unprecedented clampdown on media reporting of 'unrest', the detention of some 10-12,000 persons within the first two months of the emergency, and the saturation occupation of black townships by army units testify to the total failure of the regime's policies, to its inability to hold on to power by any other means, and to its increasing desperation as the tide of liberation rises around its crumbling base. The reliance of the regime on brute force and repression, intended as a demonstration of strength, in reality only reveals the increasing weakness of the apartheid system.

This weakness is confirmed by the loss of confidence in it by the white professional and commercial strata and their growing flight from the country, by the ever bolder refusal of white youth to serve in the armed forces, by the increasing resort of the authorities to both white and black 'vigilante' forces to terrorise their activist opponents, and by the bluster which invites international sanctions and threatens ever more savage repression to a people who manifestly cannot be cowed by threats, or even by torture and death.

Exacerbating its manifold political problems, the regime has suffered the most serious downturn in the South African economy since the great depression. With mounting unemploy-

ment now affecting whites as well as blacks, the value of the rand in headlong fall, inflation rampant, an average of eight businesses collapsing every day in 1985, a net decline in gross production, and the heightened costs of the wars waged against neighbouring states, in maintenance of the illegal occupation of Namibia and against the people of South Africa itself — with all these symptoms of profound crisis multiplying for all to see, the regime has provoked a flight of capital which in turn deepens many of its economic difficulties, and has forfeited for the time being the prospect of foreign capital and bank loans coming to its rescue as they used to in previous phases of crisis.

As the sanctions net begins to tighten around South Africa, the costs of evasion mount for the regime and for state and private capital, whilst the loss of markets reinforces the negative impact of the loss of confidence by both domestic and foreign investors. As pointed out by the NEC of the ANC in its message of 8 January 1986, the regime 'can no longer guarantee a bright future for the white social forces on which it rests'. This in turn compounds the internal crisis of white power, such that 'the white power bloc has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision and fear of the revolution within this bloc has extended to within the ranks of Botha's own cabinet.'

The horrific cruelty of the regime in steadily increasing the death rate in black areas through the indiscriminate slaughter of the people has been matched only by its brutality in detaining and torturing even young children. Its increasing resort to treason trials, to the physical elimination of its opponents, to the banning of funerals and attempted suppression of political activities and symbols, and to the muzzling of the media — undeterred by the legal rebuffs given it by disquieted sections of its own judiciary — give the lie to any pretence Pretoria makes to seek a peaceful solution to the crisis.

Likewise the pretence of the 1984 search for a regional accommodation with its neighbours has been cast aside and a new and more deadly escalation of aggression and destabilisation been unleashed. In September 1985, at the very same time that the Mozambican government was publishing incontrovertible evidence of Pretoria's cynical disregard of the Nkomati accord, Botha's increasingly arrogant military chiefs were carrying out a murderous offensive in the Mavinga area of Angola to save Unita from a military blow which would have put paid to the hopes of the Reagan administration and Pretoria itself to use this surrogate force to drag the People's Republic of Angola back into the West's sphere of influence.

Generalised threats against the front line states were soon followed by a vicious blockade of Lesotho in January 1986, causing immediate hardship and triggering a military coup. The blocking of fuel supplies to Botswana was designed to compel a vulnerable neighbour to bow to Pretoria's demands for regional hegemony.

The readiness of Pretoria to invoke measures of economic sanctions against independent states in the region was once again demonstrated in August 1986 in retaliation against the principled stand adopted by Zimbabwe and Zambia in support of the Commonwealth position (Britain excepted) following the failure of the EPG mission. Indeed, it was the simultaneous attacks on the capitals of three front line states, all Commonwealth members, on 19 May 1986 that drove the EPG to conclude that the Botha regime was 'in truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future'.

What fuels this disastrous intransigence by the Botha regime is not just the racial arrogance, dogmatism and fear of its leaders and supporters. It is also the comforting knowledge that so long as President Reagan sits in the White House and Prime Minister Thatcher in Downing Street, Pretoria will escape the full impact of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Like the EPG, we 'are convinced that the South African government is concerned about the adoption of effective economic measures against it'. The EPG went on to predict that 'if [Pretoria] comes to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from such measures, the process of change in South Africa is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence would be escalated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions.'

On the very day these words were published, the Botha regime declared the state of emergency. Whitehall and Washington bear a heavy responsibility for the terrible consequences. Without their support, Pretoria could not survive for long in its beleaguered laager.

### The international dimension

The transformation of the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia has had a profound impact on the entire international community with serious consequences for South Africa's principal western allies, especially the USA and Britain. The 'apartheid question' is now top of the agenda of every major international forum, in particular the UN, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, and even the EEC. Traditional western policies of collaboration are increasingly untenable.

The unprecedented expansion of nationwide struggle in South Africa and massive retaliation and repression by the Pretoria regime have shocked international public opinion, which in turn has demanded firm action against apartheid South Africa. Public protest in the US resulted in the Reagan administration being forced to adopt certain limited sanctions against South Africa in September 1985 in order to preempt legislation in Congress. However, this only served to buy time as subsequent votes in both the House of Representatives and the Senate have demonstrated. In October, at the Bahamas Commonwealth Summit, Mrs Thatcher came under strong pressure from the rest of the Commonwealth to enforce sanctions but she conceded only token 'tiny bit' measures, hoping that the establishment of the EPG would provide an opportunity for delaying action and creating a new contact group situation involving years of meaningless dialogue with Pretoria. The report of the EPG, published in June, by making it clear that there was no desire on the part of the Botha regime to enter into a genuine dialogue about dismantling the apartheid system, simply fuelled the pressure on Mrs Thatcher.

The British government responded to the EPG report by effectively rejecting its conclusion. Instead, it utilised its forthcoming presidency of the EEC both to block the adoption of any meaningful measures by the EEC and to launch another 'dialogue' mission, this time by Sir Geoffrey Howe on behalf of the EEC. This mission proved to be disastrous; all it confirmed was that Pretoria was not interested in the release of Nelson Mandela, let alone dismantling apartheid.

Despite this, when the seven Commonwealth leaders met in London in August to consider the EPG report, Britain persisted in resisting the sanctions measures listed by the Bahamas summit. Mrs Thatcher's opposition effectively isolated Britain from the rest of the Commonwealth. The decision of the 'six' to proceed with a Commonwealth package meant that, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, it was required to agree measures without a consensus; it decided to place credibility above unity.

### A policy of sanctions

There is no doubt that the question of sanctions is now firmly on the international agenda. It is therefore crucial that the debate surrounding it is well-informed and clear, and cuts through the arguments of those who deliberately attempt to confuse the situation.

The AAM, from its inception in 1959, has called for comprehensive mandatory sanctions in the context of the African liberation struggle. Such action would make a decisive impact by weakening the apartheid system which relies extensively on international economic and other links.

In the present situation this policy is the only relevant one available to the outside world in order to help bring an early end to the apartheid system. Any delay in implementing comprehensive sanctions merely serves to prolong the agony and suffering of the oppressed South African and Namibian people, and encourages the Pretoria regime to persist with its armed attacks on the front line states, thus further breaching international peace and security.

Since comprehensive mandatory sanctions are likely to be

vetoed by both the USA and Britain during the immediate future, it does become imperative to work both for all possible sanctions to be imposed by individual governments and for 'people's sanctions'. This situation has unfortunately given rise to a debate in certain quarters as to whether selective sanctions are more effective than comprehensive ones. But specific sanctions only have limited impact and there is certainly no time for a strategy of escalating sanctions over a period of years. Besides, such an approach only makes it easier for South Africa to circumvent specific sanctions and gives it time to prepare for future ones. Another dangerous debate is the one between so-called punitive and non-punitive sanctions. In essence this is really a disguised description for effective and non-effective measures, since it is only those that hurt the apartheid regime that will produce the best results.

Mrs Thatcher and others opposed to sanctions have also pointed to the suffering that sanctions will create for Africans both within South Africa and Namibia and beyond those borders in the region. Sanctions will have some direct effect on the front line and other states in the region, but more serious is the retaliation that will come from Pretoria. This makes it imperative that the independent African states in the region be given maximum material and political support. In this context, accelerated support to the countries and projects of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) assumes a special urgency and importance. As for the suffering of the South African and Namibian people, their national liberation movements and all acknowledged anti-apartheid leaders have repeatedly made clear their demands for sanctions. The major western powers, however, will keep pointing to Chief Buthelezi and others who conveniently echo the opposition to sanctions expressed by the Pretoria regime.

Probably the greatest impact so far on the South African economy has been 'market-place' action by the western banking community. They have largely realised that South Africa is no longer safe for overseas loans and investment. The regime itself admits that there was a net outflow of R9.5 billion (£2.46 billion on the commercial rand rate) in the year ending July 1985.

Although it won a respite from its debt obligations by the effective rescheduling of repayments, the regime is unlikely to be able to pay its loans, and the economy is deteriorating further.

The political crisis caused by the militant resistance of the Namibian and South African people has thus precipitated an acute economic crisis and, as the critical situation in Southern Africa develops, it is vital to intensify the campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa and ensure that governments adopt the maximum possible measures rather than escape with minimum gestures aimed at giving the impression that action is being taken against apartheid.

### Britain and Southern Africa

The past year witnessed a powerful, indeed a decisive, swing in British politics in favour of comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa. Almost every sector of public opinion — the churches, the trade unions, youth, women and academic organisations, the Labour, Liberal and Social Democratic parties, and even some sections of the Conservative party, sporting bodies, local and regional councils — have actively come out against apartheid and for sanctions. These developments attest to the Movement's success in creating the largest ever front of British solidarity and support for the South African and Namibian freedom struggles and for the isolation of the apartheid regime.

This anti-apartheid front has decidedly become a significant and substantial force in British politics. It has brought into its fold many-sided interest groups and has generated a wave of people's sanctions measures against apartheid. It has led to the adoption and honouring of South African political prisoners and the extension of varying forms of support to the African National Congress and SWAPO. A large number of local authorities have declared their towns and cities as 'anti-apartheid zones' and have encouraged the development of local anti-apartheid organisations. The trade union movement is moving towards policies of direct embargoes on the handling and use of South African and Namibian products, including active campaigning for an end to

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British investment in South Africa and Namibia. A number of pension funds have taken steps to liquidate their investments in companies with such interests. Disinvestment by universities, churches and local authorities has grown significantly in the past year. These pressures, together with the crisis in Southern Africa, have led to a sharp falling-off of British capital flows to South Africa; indeed, many British companies, including two major banks, have sought to reduce their capital stake in the South African economy. The flow of bank loans from Britain has all but ceased. The cultural boycott, especially by actors, musicians, universities and scientific organisations, has grown measurably. There has developed a substantial decline in emigration to South Africa. The apartheid regime has many fewer friends in Britain today, and these are very much on the defensive and isolated.

These many-sided manifestations of anti-apartheid activity stem from the new acute phase in the political crisis in Southern Africa and the accelerated tempo of our Movement's activities. We have rapidly expanded our mass base and now possess a branch network that virtually straddles the whole country. The organisations affiliated to the Movement now number over 800. Our membership, both locally and nationally, has leapt into many thousands. Our influence has grown apace, as is reflected in the giant demonstrations we have held. We have worked with sister movements in other countries and our president has been invited to meet many foreign governments and organisations, reflecting the importance accorded to our Movement in the worldwide growth of the campaign in support of the anti-apartheid cause.

Significant and compelling as these advances have been, we have not as yet succeeded in making a meaningful dent in the Thatcher government's policy of protecting the apartheid regime from the swelling tide of international sanctions and isolation. True enough, British policy on Southern Africa is in crisis. The government is increasingly isolated — inside the country, in the Commonwealth, at the United Nations and in Europe. The prime minister's anti-apartheid rhetoric and moralising over black employment is no longer believed; these protestations are rightly seen by the public as mere window-dressing to mask Britain's continued commitment to white minority rule in South Africa and Namibia. The government's opposition to mandatory sanctions has persisted in the face of unprecedented state-promoted violence against the black population, a more or less permanent state of emergency, and an escalating people's war in South Africa and Namibia, compounded by the Botha regime's ever-widening range of armed attacks on the Southern African countries.

The bizarre fiasco of the Howe mission to South Africa — the public humiliation of the British foreign secretary, who ostensibly had gone to South Africa on a 'mission' on behalf of the European Community (to secure what he called a 'quantum leap' away from apartheid), represents one of the more bizarre episodes in the modern history of British diplomacy — raises a number of sensitive questions about the way Britain's foreign policy is being conducted at the present time. In fact, what the foreign secretary was apparently being asked by Mrs Thatcher to achieve in Pretoria was to extract some gesture from the Botha regime that would enable the British government to postpone further the adoption of sanctions measures. Even this failed — and yet Britain's policy remains broadly unchanged.

This is not the first time that those who determine Britain's policies have tried to hold back the tide of history. In almost every case they have lost out and the cause of liberation in Southern Africa will be no exception. Today, the options facing the government have narrowed to the point where its pro-apartheid policy is beginning to prove a liability to Britain's overall interests.

There is emerging a view of British policy that gives serious attention to the increasing acuteness of the struggle in Southern Africa and to the fact that the South African economy has now slid into its gravest crisis yet — a crisis which is structural by virtue of the fact that the sources of the exceptional profits from apartheid are being eroded by the heavy costs of maintaining white minority power through armed force in both South Africa and Namibia. The much-vaunted strategic role given to the Botha regime by the West is beginning to be seen as potentially counter-productive and liable to end up in disaster as that

regime moves deeper into crisis under the weight of the ever-widening rebellion of the black population and the sharpening of the economic and political crisis in the country.

In this sense, there have emerged factions in government and business who now recognise that the Botha regime is an increasingly problematic ally, and that something more than Botha's reforms are urgently required. From this emerges an apparent shift in policy towards the ANC and the willingness of the Foreign Office to meet ANC President Oliver Tambo. It is also reflected in meetings between businessmen, banks and others with representatives of the ANC. As part of the same process, proposals are advanced by companies with large investments in South Africa to fund educational programmes for blacks aimed at creating what is described as a 'black middle class' able to absorb and defuse the tensions generated by white minority rule. Allies are sought among the black people and notions like 'power sharing' and 'the federal option' are touted about in the hope of calming the situation and defusing the black revolt. Significant as these shifts are, there is no evidence that these groupings are even contemplating either a policy of support for the ANC or comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria.

Moreover, as Britain moves towards another general election, with the apartheid question certain to be a key issue between the political parties, a danger of some magnitude is very much on the agenda. There is the real prospect that those who side with apartheid and wish to continue to protect the Botha regime will whip up a veritable tide of jingoism, racist chauvinism and flag-waving to win electoral support for current policies.

The Movement will hence be required to develop a greater awareness of this danger. That task will crucially depend on a more accelerated tempo in the Movement's campaigns towards consolidating and advancing the wide-ranging anti-apartheid front that has developed in the past year.

### The tasks ahead

The past period has witnessed a tremendous growth in the size and scope of the Movement's activities, together with a growing capacity to influence the majority of British public opinion. It is vital that in the period ahead this position is consolidated and strengthened. The widespread anger at Mrs Thatcher's policies has to be transformed into a powerful and united force capable of achieving a fundamental change in British policy and the total isolation of the apartheid regime. This requires:

- A special focus on campaigning in solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for genuine independence and the immediate implementation without any preconditions of the UN plan for Namibia.
- A major campaign to expose South African aggression and destabilisation and to mobilise solidarity with the front-line states, and to secure the maximum possible aid for the Southern African Development Coordination Conference and its projects.
- The nationwide mobilisation of the people of Britain to impose 'people's sanctions' as a positive contribution to the campaign to secure the total isolation of the apartheid regime in all spheres including military, nuclear, security, strategic, diplomatic, economic, cultural, academic, scientific and sporting fields.
- The exposure of Britain's role in arming apartheid and work to strengthen and ensure the strict application of the UN mandatory arms embargo, and to secure a mandatory UN ban on all nuclear collaboration with South Africa.
- The intensification of the campaign to free all Namibian and South African political prisoners and detainees and to stop all apartheid executions.
- The extension of the all-round campaigning activities in support of the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of SWAPO and the ANC to secure genuine independence and non-racial societies.
- Finally and above all, the critical situation in Southern Africa now requires a major offensive by the Movement to secure the widest possible support for the total isolation of the apartheid regime through the adoption by the United Nations of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

# South Africa

The unprecedented revolt by the people of South Africa described in the AAM's 1984/85 annual report continued unabated despite the existence of states of emergency for most of the past 12 months. The partial state of emergency declared on 20 July 1985 was strengthened on 1 November with a severe ban on news reporting. However, the momentum of resistance was maintained and, due to a combination of internal and international pressure, the apartheid regime was forced to lift the state of emergency on 7 March 1986. During the state of emergency on 31 January, P W Botha made his 'Rubicon II' speech in which he announced various initiatives in his 'reform' policy with the aim of placating international opposition. These moves were in turn linked to a calculated policy designed to convey the impression that the regime was prepared to enter into negotiations with genuine representatives of the black majority. Repeated reports speculated that the release of Nelson Mandela was imminent. These initiatives were mainly linked to the Commonwealth eminent persons group (EPG). Both the South African authorities and the British government would have wished it to play a role similar to the 'contact group' on Namibia which has proved little more than a time-delaying exercise.

When it became clear that this strategy would not achieve its objective of buying time for P W Botha's regime, the most draconian state of emergency in South Africa's history was imposed on 12 June. And official powers under the state of emergency have been repeatedly strengthened since 12 June despite certain resistance by the courts.

The Movement's main response to all these developments was to intensify the campaign for sanctions and to expose British policy of collaboration with Pretoria.

Following the Rubicon II speech, the Movement prepared a detailed analysis of the policy proposals, which was published in *Anti-Apartheid News* and presented in the form of a memorandum to the Commonwealth EPG.

It has also maintained close contact with a range of organisa-

tions campaigning against apartheid within South Africa, including the UDF, COSATU and the National Education Crisis Committee. Briefings have been held whenever leaders of these organisations have visited Britain. In addition, a special briefing was given in the House of Commons by Mkhuseli Jack of the Port Elizabeth boycott campaign, who described the significance of the boycott campaigns inside South Africa.

An important development over this year has been the shift in British government policy towards the ANC. In October 1985, during a visit to London by ANC president Oliver Tambo, he was invited to address the Conservative-controlled House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee. This was followed by a meeting in Lusaka in February 1986 between representatives of the ANC and British government officials. Then in June 1986 the government reversed its policy of refusing to meet the ANC at ministerial level because of its advocacy of the armed struggle, and an ANC delegation led by Oliver Tambo met Linda Chalker, the minister of state at the Foreign Office. A further meeting between Sir Geoffrey Howe and Oliver Tambo took place in September 1986.

*Anti-Apartheid News* has continued to be the main means by which the Movement can publicise the struggle in South Africa. Features and articles have highlighted the all-round resistance to the apartheid regime. For example, a special two-page feature in June 1986 to mark the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre gave an in-depth account of the school students' struggles.

The tremendous growth of local anti-apartheid organisation has meant that the Movement has been able to ensure that activities are organised locally to mark important anniversaries in the South African struggle, such as the Sharpeville/Langa massacre; the Soweto anniversary; and South Africa Freedom Day. Throughout the year, speakers from the AAM, ANC and SACTU have spoken at meetings all over the country to mobilise support for the struggle in South Africa.

# Namibia

The main task of the Movement's campaigning on Namibia has been to ensure that the general sanctions campaign emphasises the need for the application of sanctions to compel South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and that the specific case for sanctions over Namibia is made in its own right. The need for this was underlined when moves to impose a series of selective but mandatory sanctions against South Africa over Namibia were blocked in the UN Security Council on 15 November by the vetoes of the USA and Britain. This action went largely unreported and provoked little controversy, in contrast to the response to similar action by the USA and Britain over sanctions relating to South Africa itself.

The national committee in December 1985 agreed a number of proposals to achieve these objectives on the theme 'Free Namibia: Sanctions Now!'. Every effort was made to highlight the case for sanctions over Namibia. The nationwide demonstrations held on 22 March 1986 were organised with the common slogan 'Free Namibia! Free South Africa! Sanctions Now!', and for the mass lobby for sanctions against South Africa on 17 June 1986, special briefing material was produced on sanctions over Namibia and SWAPO's secretary for information and publicity, Hidipo Hamutenya, addressed the main lobby meeting.

Another SWAPO leader, administrative secretary Moses Garoeb, led the March for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa on 28 June, and made the first address to the Festival on Clapham Common.

The Movement has also been active at the international level in seeking to focus increased attention on the struggle in Namibia. It was a member of the international preparatory conference for the second Brussels International Conference on Namibia from 5-7 May, and the AAM delegation was composed of Bishop Huddleston, Abdul Minty and Mike Terry. Bishop Huddleston addressed the opening session of the conference,

Abdul Minty was the conference rapporteur as well as author of a key paper on recent developments on Namibia.

The Brussels conference was initiated by SWAPO and attracted the participation of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, other campaigning organisations from Europe and North America, as well as governments from many non-aligned countries.

The United Nations took a series of initiatives to promote action on Namibia, including the convening of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, which opened in Vienna on 7 July 1986. Bishop Huddleston was invited to be a member of a group of seven eminent persons who issued a joint appeal at the conference. Other members of the group included Mr Echeverria, the former president of Mexico, Bruno Kreisky, former chancellor of Austria, and Abdul Halim Khaddam, vice-president of Syria. The Vienna conference agreed on a number of proposals to intensify international action to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

The Movement has sought to increase public understanding of the issues at stake; challenge British policy; expose Britain's role in sustaining South Africa's illegal occupation; and mobilise solidarity with SWAPO. In February 1986, the national committee gave further consideration to its work on Namibia. The meeting was addressed by the acting president of the UN Council for Namibia, Ambassador Sinclair, and adopted a special statement, subsequently revised in the light of further developments, identifying the main campaigning priorities of the Movement over Namibia.

The Movement has sought to promote local activity on Namibia by encouraging local AA groups to set up a sub-group or nominate an individual with particular responsibility for Namibia. This has met with an encouraging response and there has already been a considerable increase in local activity. These initiatives have also had an impact on local authority work, with

a number of councils organising activities on Namibia such as the flying of the SWAPO flag on town halls.

The Movement has made less progress with its efforts to secure a change in British policy. In November 1985, the UN secretary general stated that 'all outstanding issues relevant to the UN plan for Namibia have now been resolved'. This announcement followed agreement on the choice of electoral system under the UN plan, the final outstanding matter. Despite this development, and Britain's stated rejection of 'linkage', the British government persisted in arguing that the best prospect for independence lay with the US-led negotiations over 'linkage'. Even when Angola and the front line states rejected the US's role in these negotiations following the US administration's decision to arm Unita, British ministers still insisted that such negotiations provided the best prospect for agreement on the implementation of the UN plan.

At a parliamentary level there has been a number of initiatives to challenge British policy, of which the most important were the efforts of Lord Hatch to secure the adoption of a Bill on Namibia in the House of Lords. On two occasions, first on 22 October 1985 and then on 7 May 1986, he moved Bills seeking to enforce sanctions against South Africa over Namibia. On the first occasion the Bill was defeated on the second reading, and on the second, government peers fearing defeat successfully challenged the quorum.

The Movement has continued to campaign for the closure of the Namibia Office run by Strategy Network International, which took over as the South African government-funded propaganda organisation for the Namibia Information Service in 1985. Foreign Office minister Malcolm Rifkind rejected representations from the Movement and compared it with the ANC mission. This Namibia Office appears to be closely linked with

an intensive campaign to discredit SWAPO which is being promoted in particular in Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and the USA. This campaign is in turn linked to SWAPO's success in exposing South African infiltration of its organisation. SWAPO leaders Hidipo Hamutenya and Ben Theo Guribab held a special briefing on this issue in London for SWAPO supporters and anti-apartheid activists. The campaign to discredit SWAPO has been taken up in Britain by the International Society for Human Rights, which has close links to ultra-right elements in the Conservative Party. The Namibia Support Committee and the AAM held a large demonstration outside a seminar organised by ISHR on 27 March in London.

The International Week of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Namibian People from 27 October to 2 November was largely overshadowed by the final preparations and mobilisation for the 2 November demonstration and the visit of Jesse Jackson and Oliver Tambo. For 1986, therefore, the Movement began preparations at a much earlier stage, including the production of an impressive range of briefing and campaigning material, and it is intended that the 1986 Week of Action will make a much greater impression.

The Movement has continued to liaise closely with SWAPO and the Namibia Support Committee to promote campaigning work on Namibia. The AAM's president, Bishop Huddleston, sent a message of solidarity to SWAPO president Sam Nujoma on 26 August, the twentieth anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle in Namibia, and he addressed a meeting in London organised by SWAPO to mark the anniversary. The Movement has also continued to support SATIS's work on repression in Namibia, details of which are reported elsewhere in this report.

## Front Line States

Recent developments in Southern Africa have underlined the need for much more effective campaigning in support of the front line states. South Africa's renewed aggression against Angola; the US administration's decision to provide military assistance to Unita, including Stinger missiles; South Africa's blockade of Lesotho and the subsequent military coup; South Africa's triple attack on 19 May against the capital cities of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe; the evidence of South African support for the MNR in Mozambique; and the retaliatory action taken and threatened by South Africa against all the states of the region in response to Commonwealth and other sanctions measures indicate the gravity of the crisis. In a report published for a Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) meeting in January 1986 in Harare, the estimated cost of South African aggression and destabilisation since 1980 was calculated to be in excess of \$10 billion.

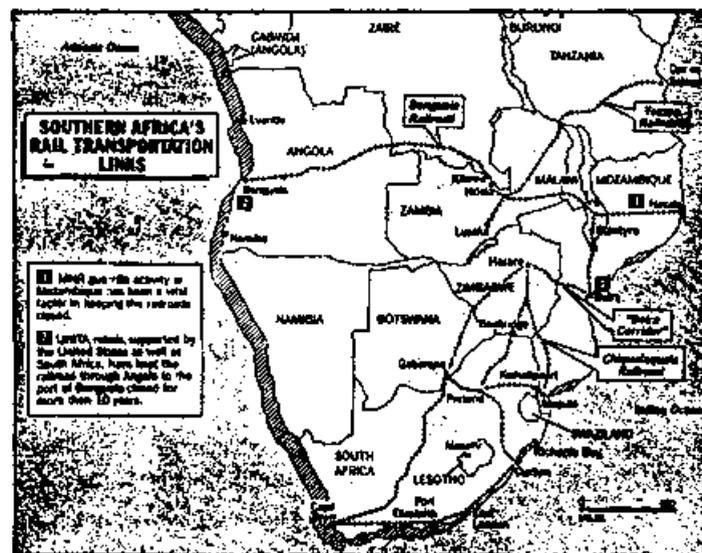
The Movement's main response to these developments has been to intensify the sanctions campaign. The Movement condemned the action of the British government in twice vetoing UN Security Council resolutions aiming to impose selective mandatory sanctions in response to South African aggression. The first veto, on 23 May, was in response to the 19 May attacks; the second veto, on 18 June, followed a South African attack on the Angolan port of Namibe. A briefing document on *Sanctions and the front line states* was published for the mass lobby of parliament on 17 June.

Lesotho was a special target of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation. In November 1985, South Africa conducted a major military exercise on Lesotho's borders. Then, in December, it carried out a commando raid in the Lesotho capital, Maseru, killing nine people (six South African refugees and three Lesotho nationals); and this was followed by a blockade of Lesotho which commenced on 1 January 1986. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan called for assistance from both Britain and the USA to establish an air corridor into Lesotho. However, Mrs Thatcher had not replied when sections of the Lesotho Paramilitary Force overthrew the Lesotho government on 20

January. The Movement liaised closely with the Lesotho government during this period, and Prime Minister Jonathan's appeal was raised in parliament.

The Movement was also active in mobilising opposition to US aid for Unita. Bishop Huddleston wrote to the US ambassador to protest at the visit to the USA in January 1986 by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and his reception at the White House by President Reagan. The Parliamentary Labour Party Anti-Apartheid Group initiated an early day motion in parliament opposing US military aid to Unita.

*Anti-Apartheid News* continued to give extensive coverage to South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation, and the Movement made statements in response to specific events. However, it is clear that this area of work will have to assume a much greater priority in the future if the Movement is to be in a position to respond effectively to the crisis in the region.



# Campaigns



(Picture by Andrew Ward/Report)

## Sanctions Now!

A watershed has been reached in the campaign for economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa. The past 12 months have seen developments without parallel in the history of the sanctions campaign since Chief Luthuli first made the appeal for a boycott in 1959.

In Britain, our Movement has demonstrated a capacity to mobilise as never before with massive demonstrations in London in November 1985 and again in June 1986. These manifestations of popular support for sanctions have proved possible because of the persistent and determined work carried out locally above all by local anti-apartheid groups but now increasingly involving the trade union movement, local authorities, churches, and local community groups.

The Movement's annual report for 1984/85, which described the 'profound change in the entire campaign for economic sanctions' which had taken place during the previous 12 months, was prepared in the period immediately following the 10 September EEC foreign ministers' meeting in Luxembourg. It was at this meeting that Britain not only succeeded in blocking the adoption of an effective programme of EEC sanctions, but even refused to endorse an almost meaningless list of 'restrictive measures' which were agreed. Such action proved to be the pattern of British policy throughout the period covered by this report.

In sharp contrast to previous periods of crisis in Southern Africa, there has developed such a momentum in the campaign for sanctions both in Britain and internationally that even Mrs Thatcher has found herself obliged to shift her ground.

The first move she made was on 25 September 1985, when Britain announced, belatedly and reluctantly, that it had decided to subscribe to the EEC 'restrictive measures'. The next significant development was at the Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas from 16-22 October. Again Mrs Thatcher gave ground. For the first time she conceded the principle of economic sanctions by agreeing to cease government funding to trade missions

to South Africa and by declaring 'a readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of krugers'.<sup>1</sup>

These developments were taking place against the background of a mounting campaign for sanctions within Britain. During the autumn, anti-apartheid activists were at work on the streets collecting some 200,000 signatures to a sanctions petition. They were also on the march, with demonstrations in September and October in Birmingham, Manchester, Edinburgh, Stirling, with the highlight in Sheffield where some 4,000 people participated. Sanctions were a key issue at the TUC and opposition party conferences, especially at the Labour Party conference where ANC President Oliver Tambo issued a direct appeal: 'The masses of the British people can and must impose sanctions. You have the power to stop all trade with apartheid South Africa.'

The strength of organised support for a policy of sanctions was reflected at an eve of Commonwealth conference meeting organised by the AAM held at the TUC headquarters on 14 October. Speakers from the main opposition parties, including Labour deputy leader Roy Hattersley, and TUC general secretary Norman Willis endorsed a declaration which was signed by over 200 organisations representing 18 million people. The Movement's honorary secretary, Abdul Minty, flew to the Bahamas to present the declaration to the chair of the Commonwealth conference, Sir Lynden Pindling.

Although Mrs Thatcher conceded the principle of economic sanctions, the results of the Commonwealth conference were a significant setback for the sanctions campaign. Although completely isolated in the Commonwealth and increasingly isolated in Britain, Mrs Thatcher was able to block the adoption of an effective package of Commonwealth sanctions. Instead, in addition to a package similar to that adopted by the EEC, the Commonwealth agreed to establish an eminent persons group to promote a political dialogue in South Africa. The effect of this

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decision was to buy time for Pretoria and relax the pressure for sanctions. Paragraph 7 of the Nassau accord did, however, list further measures to be considered if no progress was forthcoming.

Public opposition in Britain to Mrs Thatcher's policies was developing rapidly. Within 10 days of the Commonwealth conference, London was the scene of the then largest anti-apartheid demonstration ever mounted in Britain. On 2 November, three marches, from Hyde Park, from Brockwell Park in Lambeth and from Tower Hill, converged on Trafalgar Square. Some 120,000-140,000 turned out on this massive 'March against Apartheid'. With Trafalgar Square filled way beyond its capacity, the crowd heard impassioned pleas for solidarity from ANC President Oliver Tambo, SWAPO central committee member Shapua Kaukungua, and the Revd Jesse Jackson. The 2 November demonstration, which had been called six weeks earlier, testified not only to the strength of public opinion but also to the increasingly effective mobilising capacity of the AAM.



Developments in Southern Africa, together with the campaigning work of the Movement, were also having an impact on the public's perception of British policy. An unpublished opinion poll carried out at the time of the March against Apartheid revealed that 75 per cent of those polled (excluding 'don't knows') believed that Mrs Thatcher was more sympathetic to the white government than to the black population in South Africa. Some 54 per cent believed British policy was not tough enough, and 55 per cent believed Britain should apply economic sanctions.

The Movement's AGM in December 1986 and its national committee meeting the same month provided opportunities to discuss how to maintain the momentum of the sanctions campaign. An 'Agenda for Action' was drawn up envisaging a period of intense local campaigning in March 1986 culminating in a national March and Festival for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa at the end of June 1986. At the same time, it was agreed that special initiatives were required over South Africa's debt crisis and on the boycott campaign. It was also decided that the campaign for sanctions over Namibia had to be integrated fully into the general sanctions campaign whilst at the same time ensuring that the distinctive case for sanctions to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia was presented more effectively.

In preparation for these new campaigning initiatives, a series of regional activists' meetings was held throughout the country

Right: A protest letter is handed in at No 10 Downing Street during the 2 November demonstration. (Picture by Paul Mattson)

Below: Members of Amanda, the ANC's cultural ensemble, lead off the 2 November demonstration. (Picture by Stefano Cagnoni/Report)



in the New Year. These laid the plans for the March month of action and in particular for coordinated demonstrations and rallies on the theme 'Free Namibia: Free South Africa: Sanctions Now!' on 22 March. Events took place in towns and cities throughout Britain, including Barnsley, Bath, Bristol, Derby, Leeds, Leicester, Manchester and Skipton, as well as a march across the Tyne from Gateshead to Newcastle and a motorcade through Mrs Thatcher's north London constituency of Finchley.

The next month saw a week of coordinated trade union action from 14-22 April, which built on a successful trade union conference for sanctions on 1 March.

Impassioned pleas for sanctions by leading figures in the anti-apartheid struggle, including Bishop Tutu and Winnie Mandela, together with the first collective call by the front line states for UN comprehensive mandatory sanctions at their summit in Luanda on 8 April, gave further momentum to the sanctions campaign.

During this period there was much speculation over the Commonwealth's initiative to promote a political dialogue with South Africa by the creation of its eminent persons group (EPG). The Movement had responded immediately to this initiative by stating that 'we could not set much store by it' as 'there is no evidence that P W Botha is now going to abandon apartheid'. And in January 1986 the Movement's president, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, wrote to the Commonwealth secretary general to stress the need for the initiative to have the full confidence of

the representatives of the black majority in South Africa and to express the Movement's fears that it could 'simply lead to the establishment of a dialogue between the Commonwealth and the South African authorities which they will be able to utilise for their own interests'. Bishop Huddleston was subsequently invited to discuss these and other related matters with the group itself.

A full account of the EPG's work and findings was published in *Mission to South Africa* on 12 June — the very date on which the Pretoria regime imposed its nationwide state of emergency. P W Botha had already given his reply to the initiative on 19 May when South African troops carried out simultaneous attacks on the capital cities of the Commonwealth countries of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe — attacks timed to coincide with high-level talks between the group and senior South African government ministers.

Britain's response to these acts of international terrorism by Pretoria was to join with the USA on 23 May in vetoing a resolution in the UN Security Council which would have imposed mandatory selective sanctions against South Africa. Britain and the USA repeated their vetoes on 18 June to block a similar initiative by Angola following a South African raid against the port of Namibe. Britain and the USA had previously vetoed mandatory measures over Namibia in the Security Council in November 1985.

The EPG reached a conclusion which confirmed the AAM's initial assessment, namely that the Botha regime was not yet prepared to dismantle apartheid or negotiate an end to white minority rule. This authoritative verdict was welcomed by the Movement in a statement by Bishop Huddleston. On the same day that *Mission to South Africa* was published, he delivered a letter to Mrs Thatcher outlining the measures which the Movement believed should be implemented immediately by the British government.

The report and the publicity surrounding it were to have a profound impact on the activities planned by the Movement. The tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre on 16 June saw the start of 10 days of action by local authorities as well as the opening of the UN conference for sanctions in Paris. The next day, some 3,500 people participated in a mass lobby of parliament organised by a number of major bodies in addition to the AAM, including the British Council of Churches and the TUC. The same day there was a major debate on sanctions in the House of Commons which saw a number of key Conservatives abstaining.

decision for the British government in the light of the EPG report, the forthcoming EEC meetings in June, and the Commonwealth summit in August. In a memorandum submitted to the foreign secretary, the AAM set out four policy proposals:

1. Britain should seek the imposition by the UN Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions;
2. Pending action by the UN Security Council Britain should implement the eight measures outlined in paragraph 7 of the Nassau accord;
3. Immediate action should be taken to ensure the strict implementation of the existing measures which Britain had endorsed;
4. Britain should sever diplomatic relations with South Africa.

The meeting, which attracted considerable media publicity, was followed by a crowded press conference in the House of Commons at which leaders of the Movement outlined the need for these policies and called for popular action to impose 'people's sanctions' against South Africa.

The next few days saw the subject of sanctions emerge as a key issue in British political life, with repeated confrontations in parliament between the government and opposition; with editorials in many of the major newspapers; and in numerous calls for sanctions by prominent personalities from many walks of life.

The prime minister's response to this growing political crisis was to propose that Sir Geoffrey Howe take on the job of seeking a political dialogue. With EEC heads of government due to meet in The Hague on 26-27 June, Bishop Huddleston telegraphed all the participants on the eve of the meeting calling for the imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions and setting out the Movement's opposition to Sir Geoffrey Howe's mission. However, at the meeting itself Mrs Thatcher, with West German and Portuguese backing, again blocked any sanctions measures and also secured the EEC's endorsement of Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit as an EEC mission. A list of measures was agreed for consideration in three months' time if no progress was achieved.

The following day, 28 June, saw the largest ever manifestation of popular anger to Mrs Thatcher's policies of appeasement of apartheid. The AAM's March and Festival for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa was the culmination of a month of intense anti-apartheid campaigning. Supporters estimated at up to a quarter of a million took part in the day's activities. A mass rally in Hyde Park heard from speakers who had actively promoted 'people's sanctions', such as Mary Manning from the Dunnes strikers in Dublin, Rodney Bickerstaffe of NUPE and council leaders Merle Amory and David Blunkett. This was followed by a march of between 80,000 and 100,000 people to Clapham Common where the festival was held. A huge crowd listened to prominent musicians and singers dedicate their performances to the struggle in Southern Africa, together with eloquent addresses by Moses Garoeb of SWAPO, Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, and Bishop Huddleston. The festival, organised in cooperation with Artists Against Apartheid, demonstrated the tremendous growth in popular support for the Movement. Marquees featuring the struggles of the ANC and SWAPO as well as the AAM itself attracted huge crowds. The entire event, which stretched the Movement's organising capacity to its very limit, was only possible because of the dedicated work of hundreds of volunteers.

The next month saw the Movement focusing its activities in preparation for the Commonwealth meeting in London in early August to review the work of the EPG. The national committee meeting on 19 July approved a comprehensive programme of activities, including a vigil at the summit. At the same time, the prime minister was embarking on a provocative justification of her anti-sanctions policy by claiming that sanctions were 'immoral'. This simply fuelled the political crisis and was an important factor in the decision by a majority of countries to withdraw from the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh. The Scottish Committee of the Movement took advantage of this development to launch a major campaign for sanctions in Scotland which culminated in a 1,000-strong demonstration when Mrs Thatcher visited the Games shortly before the Commonwealth meeting.

The Movement's activities contributed positively to the climate in which the Commonwealth meeting took place. An



An important opportunity was provided the following day, 18 June, to communicate the Movement's policies to both the government and a wider public when Bishop Huddleston led a delegation from the AAM to meet foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe. The Movement argued that June must be a month of

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eve-of-summit meeting was addressed by ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, the chair of the meeting, Sir Lynden Pindling, and the co-chair of the EPG, General Obasanjo. The next day, before the summit opened, a multi-faith service was held at St James's Piccadilly, where the address was given by another EPG member, Dame Nita Barrow, and this was followed by a procession to Marlborough House, the venue of the meeting. Also that morning, a full-page advertisement sponsored by the Movement appeared in the *Observer* calling for UN mandatory sanctions. It was signed by prominent figures from all walks of life, including the leaders of the Labour, Liberal, Social Democratic and Scottish Nationalist parties and Plaid Cymru, as well as the general secretaries of the British Council of Churches and the TUC. A vigil was maintained outside Marlborough House throughout the summit, and flowers and wreaths were laid on a coffin symbolising the victims of apartheid.

Such was the strength of Commonwealth opinion that Mrs Thatcher was unable to block the adoption of an effective package of sanctions. Instead, the other six Commonwealth leaders decided to proceed with the following sanctions measures:

- (a) a ban on air links with South Africa
- (b) a ban on new investment or reinvestment of profits earned in South Africa
- (c) a ban on the import of agricultural products from South Africa
- (d) the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa
- (e) the termination of all government assistance to, investment in, and trade with, South Africa
- (f) a ban on all government procurement in South Africa
- (g) a ban on government contracts with majority-owned South African companies
- (h) a ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa
- (i) a ban on all new bank loans to South Africa, whether to the public or private sectors
- (j) a ban on the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa, and

(k) the withdrawal of all consular facilities in South Africa except for our own nationals and nationals of third countries to whom we render consular services.

Mrs Thatcher, completely isolated at the meeting, and increasingly within Britain itself, would only agree to the following measures:

- (i) put a voluntary ban on new investment in South Africa
- (ii) put a voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa, and
- (iii) accept and implement any EEC decision to ban the import of coal, iron, and steel and of gold coins from South Africa.

The final development to report is the meeting of EEC foreign ministers in Brussels on 15-16 September. They reviewed the mission of Sir Geoffrey Howe, which had proved to be a disastrous failure. Despite this failure, and faced with West German and Portuguese opposition, and Britain's complicity with it, the meeting failed to agree to implement all the measures which had been identified at the summit in The Hague in June. Only a ban on new investment and imports of iron, steel and gold coins was approved; crucially, no action was taken to prohibit imports of coal.

Throughout this period, the Movement has been at the forefront of the campaign for sanctions. At the same time, it has pressed for action by the government to implement the measures it has formally endorsed. In October 1985, immediately following the Commonwealth summit, it delivered a memorandum to the government setting out the action required to implement EEC and Commonwealth measures, and these issues were discussed further at a meeting with the new minister of state at the Foreign Office, Linda Chalker, in February. On 30 June, the Movement published *A Tiny Little Bit*, which examined Britain's poor record especially in relation to the Commonwealth measures agreed in Nassau. It showed that Britain had failed to implement both the letter and the spirit of most of the package agreed by the Commonwealth in Nassau. There is mounting evidence that this will also be the case with the measures agreed by Britain at Marlborough House in August 1986 and in Brussels the following month.

*(Picture by Andrew Ward/Report)*



## Economic Collaboration

During the period covered by this report, a symbolic breakthrough was achieved in the campaign to stop British economic collaboration with apartheid South Africa when the prime minister conceded the principle of economic sanctions when she agreed to the Commonwealth Programme of Action in Nassau, which included an end to British government funding of trade missions to South Africa and action over krugerrands. Britain subsequently agreed to further measures at the Commonwealth meeting in London in August 1986, and the following month at the EEC ministerial meeting in Brussels on 15-16 September.

Of even greater significance was the upsurge of interest in and debate around Britain's economic stake in South Africa and Namibia. The press and other media gave extensive coverage to these issues, and the general campaign for sanctions further stimulated this interest. This report highlights some of the issues and campaigns, without attempting a full-scale assessment of them.

## Consumer Boycott



The boycott campaign has continued to be the focus of much anti-apartheid activity around the country. Indeed, it has achieved unprecedented levels of support, with virtually every local group holding regular pickets and many organisations as well becoming vigilant.

A major breakthrough in the campaign to sever links between the Co-operative Movement in Britain and South Africa was the decision of the Co-operative Retail Society (CRS) in October 1985 to stop buying South African products, and of its wholesale partner, the CWS, to follow suit.

Another significant success was the decision of the TUC Congress in 1985 to back the Movement's boycott campaign. A practical result of this was a series of assurances given by major chain stores to the TUC, and announced by it in December 1985, that they would no longer handle South African goods.

Examples of local activity are endless: in Newham an AAM appeal to boycott was signed by leading community members and published in three local papers; Oxford had regular pickets of Tesco's, often with 50-plus people, in October/November and obtained hundreds of signatures for a petition; the opening of a new Sainsbury's superstore in Islington was picketed by women from the London Irish Women's Centre, much to the annoyance of Sir John Sainsbury who was welcoming the first shoppers!

Much work was concentrated on specific supermarket chains, especially Sainsbury's and Tesco's, who have formally taken decisions to reduce sales of South African stock but have so far not moved to a total boycott. Their stores have been targets for concerted picketing all over the country with much success. The St Paul's Apartheid-Free Zone Campaign (SPAFZC) in Bristol organised mass pickets of the local Tesco's, and the management was forced to bow to pressure and remove all South African goods. This marked a significant victory and shows that Tesco's can be made to respond to the campaign. In London, Sainsbury's has also come under concerted attack with coordinated citywide protests. The London boycott working group, which has helped develop stronger work, met three Sainsbury's directors to argue



Islington AA picketing a local Sainsbury's, June 1986. (Picture by Jez Coulson/IFL)

the case for a total boycott. It is clear that Sainsbury's are feeling the effect of the boycott campaign and claim to have reduced their South African products to less than 1 per cent.

Another approach to boycott work has been community-based campaigns to encourage local small businesses to stop stocking South African goods. This approach has been successfully adopted by groups such as the SPAFZC in Bristol, the Liverpool 8 group, and an anti-apartheid campaigning group in the Asian community in Scotland, South Africa Concerns You. Such pressure within local communities has resulted in many areas in successes for the boycott campaign.

In the textiles area, the success last year with Hepworth/Next shops has had a knock-on effect. The contract that Next had went on to Richards Shops initially, but campaigning was such that they too dropped the contract soon after taking it on.

In Scotland, local groups and activists have concertedly targeted the supermarket chain William Lows, who are now looking for alternatives to South African products. The campaign will continue until they remove all the products of apartheid. Marks and Spencer are another chain targeted in some areas, for example among the Greater Manchester area groups. This company, which prides itself on its British image, continues to be totally unrepentant on stocking South African products.

There are few parts of Britain where the boycott campaign is not being felt. As well as the work of local AA groups, many trade unions, community organisations, student groups, etc. are taking up the boycott, and it has popular support across the country. However, there is no room for complacency, and the Movement is planning to intensify its campaign until all the major chains and other stores ban South African and Namibian products.

## Oil

The British government announced on 25 September 1985 that it had decided to endorse the EEC's restrictive measures which the other members of the EEC had adopted a fortnight earlier. These included 'a cessation of oil exports to South Africa'. This was the first formal support by Britain of an oil embargo against South Africa. No measures have been adopted to make this embargo legally binding, and it is interpreted by the British government to exclude refined petroleum products. It also does not apply to the involvement of British companies or individuals in the delivery of oil to South Africa.

However, this formal adoption of an oil embargo does provide new opportunities to press for effective action. This development, together with the highly successful Maritime Unions Against Apartheid conference, held in London on 30-31 October 1985, meant that the AAM's campaigning work in support of an oil embargo against apartheid South Africa took on a new lease of life.

The CCSA oil working group, which brought together a wide range of trade union, anti-apartheid and church organisations, was reconstituted as 'Embargo!' in January 1986, with a revised mandate and some new participating organisations. The current membership of Embargo! is: ASTMS, TGWU, NUS (trade unions) and the AAM, Namibia Support Committee, ELTSA, CCSA and URC. The ANC and SWAPO liaise closely with the committee.

Among the first acts of the new group was to prepare for and launch a joint AAM/Embargo! campaign directed against Royal Dutch Shell. When the Movement's national committee first considered the possibility of a Boycott Shell campaign in January 1986, there were a number of concerns expressed. The case for such a campaign lay in the unique international structure of the company, its key role in supporting the apartheid system, and the campaigns already being mounted against the company in the USA. The national committee agreed to the campaign but recognised that the campaign against BP's collaboration with apartheid had also to be developed.

The first stage in the Boycott Shell campaign was to liaise closely with the Dutch and US anti-apartheid groups involved. Simultaneous press conferences in The Hague and London on 21 March were held to announce that Shell had been urged to withdraw from South Africa and Namibia by its May AGM, or else face a greatly escalated campaign.

In the run-up to Shell's 1986 AGM, a number of institutional shareholders, such as the University of Wales, the Methodist Church and Lambeth Council, sold their shares in Royal Dutch Shell in protest at the company's continued involvement in South Africa and Namibia. The value of these shares totalled some £4 million.

(Picture by Tim Jarvis)



The AAM and Embargo! then announced their plans for a month of boycott action in July. This campaign was launched at the march and festival on 28 June, and resource material was prepared, including briefing papers, posters, leaflets and stickers. Particularly noteworthy was the *Shell Shadow Report*. During this month, AAM activists picketed Shell petrol stations, took part in a coordinated day of action on 18 July (Nelson Mandela's birthday) by unfurling 'Boycott Shell' banners from motorway bridges over the approach roads to major cities, and also mounted a demonstration at the Shell-sponsored British Grand Prix.

The experience of the Movement during the July campaign prompted a second similar period of campaigning activity planned for November 1986, to be spearheaded by the National Steering Committee for Local Authority Action. At the end of September, representatives from the six nations most involved in the Shell campaign met in London to review progress and chart the way forward. In the same month, at a press conference organised by Embargo!, the Shipping Research Bureau launched its latest report on secret oil shipments to South Africa.

The current world glut in oil supply makes the task of enforcing the embargo more difficult. The regime's need to break the embargo remains as crucial as ever. The year's campaigns have raised public understanding and awareness of this, and the Movement can look forward to greater activity in the coming period.

## Trade

In the calendar year 1985, the UK imported goods worth £990m from South Africa (1.3% of total imports), and exported £1,010m worth to South Africa (1.2% of exports). British imports from illegally-occupied Namibia remain around the £60m per annum mark.

The biggest category of South African imports into the UK (nearly 25% of the total) is precious metals and stones, of which platinum, diamonds and gold bullion are the major items. The second largest category (about 20%) is the products of agriculture, fisheries and forestry, of which fresh and canned fruit are the main component.

The government's position on this trade, which is a much larger factor in the economy of apartheid South Africa than it is in Britain's economic life, continues to be one of 'business as usual'. As reported elsewhere, opportunities to curtail British economic collaboration with South Africa in concert with the rest of the Commonwealth and the EEC were spurned. The government's concern to give the narrowest scope and least effect to even the few measures agreed are demonstrated by the way in which the ban on the sale of krugerrands was implemented. Agreed in Nassau on 20 October 1985, it remained a dead letter until 23 May 1986, when on the eve of a bank holiday weekend the announcement was made of the British ban on the sale of krugerrands, but without legislation to block imports via third countries or to block imports of the gold coin that has replaced the krugerrand, the protea.

British government agreement in Nassau to stop funding trade missions to South Africa has similarly been interpreted in the narrowest possible way, with government back-up to send missions continuing to promote trade actively. Indeed, the January 1986 update of the British Overseas Trade Board's advice to exporters to South Africa and Namibia revealed no downgrading or dismantling of the machinery to promote such missions.

The voluntary ban on promotion of tourism was offered by Mrs Thatcher at the Commonwealth mini-summit in August as a sop for her refusal to join with the others present in proceeding with the 'paragraph 7' package set out in the Nassau Accord. Research by the Anti-Apartheid Movement showed that just one of the paragraph 7 measures alone (ban on air links, if applied to air freight as well as passenger traffic) would have affected some 40% (by value) of South African imports into Britain.

A regrettable new development, to which AAM is responding both nationally and locally, has been the export of retail goods from the UK to South Africa. Marks and Spencer are involved in this trade, which involves goods bearing their brand name 'St Michael' being available in South African shops, and even the training of South African personnel by M&S in London.

The British Industry Committee on South Africa (BICSA) was formed in January 1986, claiming to represent 54 of the biggest UK companies involved in the South African economy. The AAM studied this new element in the anti-sanctions campaign and published a briefing paper on BICSA during the summer. As an offshoot of the CBI and UKSATA (UK-SA Trade Association), the BICSA predictably projects the narrow interests of its member companies as the best basis for national policy towards South Africa.

As the period under review came to an end, a new danger began to emerge, namely that British exporters would seek to pick up the trade links dropped by American and Scandinavian interests as a consequence of the sanctions legislation adopted in these countries. Greater vigilance and action by AAM supporters will be necessary to prevent Britain expanding its trade links with South Africa when others are doing the opposite.

## Loans and Investment

The unilateral moratorium declared by the South African regime on the repayment of its overseas debts in September 1985 has dominated developments in this field over the past 12 months. The initial moratorium, which expired on 1 January 1985, was renewed against a background of secret meetings involving key elements in the international banking community which eventually resulted in a restructuring of Pretoria's debts.

AAM's president made repeated representations to the major British banks involved urging them to refuse to assist South Africa. The Botha regime initially appointed a retired Swiss banker, Dr Frits Leutwiler, to mediate with the creditor banks. Attempts by the Movement to make representations to Dr Leutwiler when he held his first meeting with the banks in London in October 1985 failed when his representative did not appear at a prearranged venue. AAM activity around this meeting and the follow-up session in London in February attracted much media attention and political support, despite the attempts of the banking community to draw a veil of silence over these proceedings.

The February meeting agreed a framework for what amounted to an effective rescheduling of South Africa's debt, including the establishment of a technical committee. This agreement between the principal creditors and the apartheid regime represented a sign — much needed by Pretoria — of confidence in the South African economy. The AAM also picketed a meeting of the technical committee in London in September 1986, which took place without Dr Leutwiler, who had by then resigned his post.

This year greater resources and more research than ever before have been devoted to the debt crisis of apartheid and to work on companies and their activities in South Africa and Namibia. The AAM has published briefing documents outlining the relationship of the international community with apartheid, and the companies list has been fully revised and updated. Once again, the National Steering Committee for Local Authority Action has led the disinvestment campaign among local authorities. Whilst there have been no 'big name' withdrawals from the apartheid economy, many companies have scaled down their operations. Political and economic instability in South Africa, combined with the Movement's campaigning, have reduced net new investment by UK companies, valued at £296m in 1983, to a mere trickle. In addition, the sharp depreciation of the rand has effectively halved the value of UK firms' investment in apartheid, which has now been estimated to be worth around £6bn, of which slightly more than 50 per cent is in the form of indirect investment.

There is a growing number of research-oriented organisations making their own contributions to the disinvestment campaign. The AAM has valued the work of many of these organisations, and the joint discussions and consultations that have been held with both individual researchers and groups such as CIS, LRD and TNIC have proved mutually beneficial. In particular, the LRD's *Profiting from Apartheid* and CIS's work on Consolidated Goldfields deserve special mention.

However, the AAM's closest liaison in the field of work on disinvestment has been with End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA), who once again spearheaded work aimed at British financial institutions' support for apartheid. The sixth *Barclays Shadow Report* was published in April, and work on Barclays, including the National Union of Students' day of action against the bank, would have proved difficult without the support of ELTSA. In addition to the day of action, the AAM's London Committee mounted a very successful roving picket which took in four main banking institutions on 26 February. On the same day, a day of action on loans to South Africa, special publicity material was prepared and local and student groups participated in activities directed against the involvement of high street banks in such loans to South African corporations and government bodies.

The question of South African investment in the British economy — and the influence over our economy that this entails — is an issue that has received some attention in the past 12 months, but which needs to receive a lot more. The potential role of Anglo-American (owners of J Bibby & Sons) and Liberty Life (owners of Sun Alliance) is one which could undermine an

effective sanctions policy. A ban on procurement by government departments from South Africa, and from South African controlled companies, and a ban on the procurement by South African interests of North Sea oil and other shares, are important campaign priorities.

The Movement also announced its intention to organise a boycott of Lloyds Bank if its takeover of Standard Chartered had proved successful, which in the end it did not.

## Emigration

For the first time, the number of those leaving South Africa has exceeded those entering:

	1985 (January—June)	1986 (January—June)	Change (1986 as % of 1985)
Emigrating from South Africa	5,006	7,189	+ 43.6
Immigrating to South Africa	11,259	3,647	- 67.6

Emigration from Britain to South Africa has declined from almost 11,000 in 1983 to just over 9,000 in 1984, to fewer than 5,200 in 1985.

While recruitment by South African companies in Britain has, on the whole, declined over the past 12 months, there have been some notable exceptions, with Barclays Bank being outstanding in their ostentatiousness — full-page colour advertisements for computer operators. Such advertisements are becoming rarer owing to a reluctance on the part of some publications to accept such copy — and a refusal by trade unionists to handle it. However, the vacancies that are being advertised reveal the desperate shortage of skilled personnel in the apartheid economy, especially in high-tech areas such as computer programming and operation. As emigration from South Africa continues, this shortage becomes ever more acute.

In line with the decreasing number of advertisements, recruitment also appears to have dropped, although no reliable figures are available. British miners who emigrated during the British miners' strike are dissatisfied, according to reports in the South African press, and certainly the instability of apartheid has acted as a sharp deterrent to many prospective applicants.

## Diplomatic Relations

The Movement's AGM in 1985 adopted a resolution which called for an intensification of the campaign to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa. This campaign sought the closure of both the embassy in London and the consulate in Glasgow. The Scottish Committee of the Movement, throughout the autumn of 1985, held a weekly demonstration outside the consulate each Friday demanding its closure. This campaign secured widespread support in Glasgow and, as a symbolic action, Glasgow city council renamed the square in which the consulate is situated as Mandela Square.

The national committee decided to pursue this campaign by securing support from the major political parties. A memorandum was prepared and sent to all opposition parties. A special effort was made to secure the support of the Labour Party for the policy and the memorandum was sent to all members of the Labour Party NEC as well as to the wider labour movement.

On 18 June a delegation from the Movement led by Bishop Huddleston met the foreign secretary and specifically called for the termination of diplomatic relations with South Africa. This call was repeated at a press conference following the meeting.

The Movement also protested repeatedly at the access given to representatives of the South African embassy by radio and TV, and declined invitations to appear in a number of programmes in which embassy representatives were to participate.

## Military and Nuclear Collaboration

The AAM has continued to campaign actively to halt all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. Following the publication of *How Britain Arms Apartheid* in July 1985, a delegation from the Movement led by Bob Hughes MP met the new minister of state at the Foreign Office, Linda Chalker, in February 1986 and held a detailed discussion on the contents and recommendations of the report. The minister undertook to consider the points raised. However, there has been no change in British policy over the implementation of the UN mandatory arms embargo.

As reported in the last annual report, a major arms trial took place in Birmingham which culminated in the conviction of five arms dealers for smuggling military equipment to South Africa. Although the trial exposed major loopholes in the arms embargo, this provoked no change in government policy. Moreover, the British government has taken no further steps to bring to justice the four Armscor officials who were originally arrested in April 1984, were subsequently granted special bail conditions allowing them to return to South Africa and then refused to return to stand trial.

A new study was prepared on United Kingdom controls to enforce the UN arms embargo which was presented to a seminar held at the end of May at the International Maritime Organisation's headquarters in London. It was organised by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in cooperation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa. The AAM assisted in its arrangements. The seminar was presented with detailed studies on the controls to enforce the arms embargo being operated by a number of key western countries. It was attended by governments, experts, anti-apartheid movements and other NGOs, and resulted in agreement being reached on a declaration listing a series of recommendations required to strengthen and strictly implement the UN arms embargo against South Africa.

The Movement cooperated with the World Campaign on a number of issues, in particular to stop international participation in the Congress on High Speed Photography and Photonics which took place in Pretoria in September 1986. The World Campaign obtained the names of nearly 100 international participants who were due to present papers or deliver lectures. Some 17 scientists were due to attend from Britain. The World Campaign and the AAM worked intensively with governments and anti-apartheid organisations to persuade the international participants to withdraw. Following representations to the prime minister, the state-funded Science and Engineering Research Council instructed its representative to withdraw. Four academics withdrew, as did two representatives of ICI, following media coverage. There was a similar response internationally and, as a result, only three British scientists took part out of a total of 15 non-South Africans.

A similarly coordinated campaign was organised to stop international participation at a conference on radiation waste held in Cape Town, also in September 1986. The only known British participant, a professor from the University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology, withdrew following representations by the Wales AAM.

The World Campaign continued to be active in seeking the exclusion of South Africa from the International Atomic Energy Agency. It also made representations to the US administration following its decision to provide Unita with Stinger missiles, which amounted to an open violation of the arms embargo since Unita is a surrogate of Pretoria and the SADF. It also worked closely with the West German AAM to protest at the delivery of Messerschmidt helicopters to the South African police.

## Sports Boycott

The Movement continues to campaign vigorously for a sports boycott of South Africa and Namibia. Britain remains the largest sporting collaborator with South Africa, despite the government's formal commitment to the Gleneagles agreement and continued representations to the sports minister, Richard Tracey, by the Movement during the year. The Movement continues to work closely with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), and has also worked with the Black British Conference Against Apartheid Sport (BBCAAS) throughout the year on campaigning initiatives.

The British Lions' rugby tour to South Africa was to have been a major focus last year and the cancellation of the tour on 2 December 1985 was a great victory; it illustrated the extent to which South Africa has now become isolated in the international sports arena, even in the rugby world. One consequence of the cancellation of the tour has been the approaches being made to South African Rugby Union players by British Rugby League sides, in an attempt to circumvent the boycott. Both the Movement nationally and local groups have intervened on this issue, but the government and clubs have failed to act and South African participation could grow still further in Rugby League. The International Rugby Football Board centenary celebration matches at Cardiff and Twickenham on 16 and 19 April were another focus of campaign due to South African participation in the 'rest-of-the-world' squad. Fruitless approaches were made to the government to intervene and strong protests took place, especially at the Cardiff match.

Robert Wyatt of Artists Against Apartheid at Twickenham, April 1986. (Picture by Tim Jarvis)



On the cricket front, British players continue to coach and play in South Africa during the winters in contravention of the Gleneagles agreement. One very immediate result of this collaboration was the cancellation of the greater part of the England B team cricket tour, i.e. the legs to Zimbabwe and Bangladesh. The Movement welcomed these moves and strongly criticised the TCCB and government for allowing the maintenance of cricketing links with South Africa. In women's cricket, due to

considerable pressure, the Women's Cricket Association now requires the signing of a declaration that players will not play or coach in South Africa before they are considered to be selected for England. This followed an unofficial tour to South Africa by a team, the 'Unicorns'. The members of this side were also banned from playing for England this year.

In the boxing area, the Frank Bruno/Gerrie Coetzee fight was a major campaigning focus. The Movement worked closely with BBKAAS and SANROC, lobbying government and Bruno himself, and holding a public rally in Brixton the night before the fight. Although attempts to stop the fight failed, a successful picket was held on the night at Wembley and thousands of spectators were leafleted.

The Movement continues to deal with many enquiries in relation to the sporting boycott, especially from local authorities and other organisations vigilant over the boycott at a local level. A number of British sportsmen and women have pledged not to return to South Africa until apartheid is dismantled and have been deleted from the UN register, although for prestige and credibility the apartheid regime continues to attempt to entice leading sportspeople to South Africa with massive financial inducements.

## Cultural Boycott

The main development in the cultural field has been the launching of Artists Against Apartheid on 15 April, with its key aim being to enforce the cultural boycott of South Africa and to use culture as a weapon against apartheid. The work of Jerry Dammers and a small team of volunteers was instrumental in getting AAA off the ground. AAA has already had a high profile and has organised a number of major gigs, including the line-up of bands for the Festival for Freedom at Clapham Common on 28 June.



(Picture by Tim Jarvis)

The Equity debate on the cultural boycott has continued to be a major issue, and the Movement has supported the work of Equity members promoting the boycott. In January, a well-attended meeting jointly organised by the AAM and Performers Against Racism provided a valuable rallying point for this campaign. The moves to impose a ban on Equity members working in South Africa resulted in a referendum being held and a successful campaign produced a significant majority in favour of

a ban on performing in South Africa. As a consequence Derek Bond resigned as president of Equity due to his intransigent and active personal support for continued cultural links with South Africa. However, the subsequent legal judgment against the referendum represented a major setback and the future direction of this campaign is under discussion.

A number of British performers continue to perform in South Africa, although others have now pledged not to return, including Cliff Richard, Elton John, Robert Powell and Leo Sayer. The work of local groups and local authorities in particular, in putting on pressure and being vigilant at a local level, has often been the key factor in ensuring these commitments are made and that collaborators are challenged. Another success in the cultural isolation of South Africa was the action of the Musicians' Union at the royal wedding this year, when the SABC was denied access to sound when musicians were performing at Westminster Abbey. Another breakthrough was the decision of the organisers of the Llangollen International Eisteddfod to exclude two South African groups.

An exciting product of the cultural boycott has been the contribution artists are now making in support of the anti-apartheid cause. In Scotland, a number of artists produced a cassette of songs entitled 'Freedom is Coming', and the Welsh Language Society with the Welsh AAM produced an EP record 'Galwad ar Holl Fywyr Byffalo Cymru'.

Finally, controversy still surrounds the Shakespeare Birthday celebration at Stratford-on-Avon when the South African flag was flown during the ceremony. This year a significant number of Commonwealth African states refused permission for their flags to be flown alongside the flag of the apartheid regime.

## Academic Boycott

The academic boycott has continued to be pursued with vigilance by the Movement, education unions and students, and there have been a number of successes this year. The 1986 World Archaeological Congress in Southampton continued to be a major focus, with the campaign against South African and Namibian participation being waged by the Movement, Southampton AA, the city council, the student union and the AUT branch. The invitations having been withdrawn, and despite the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Societies' having withdrawn its support, the Congress went ahead as scheduled in Southampton in September 1986 and was a major success. The impact of this campaign was remarkable, prompting a TV programme and major articles in the national press.

A further setback in academic credibility for the apartheid regime was the campaign against the International High Speed Photography and Photonics Congress in Pretoria in September 1986. Six British academics were due to participate, but as a result of campaigning by the Movement, local groups and student unions, four of the six pulled out.

Another success was in relation to the planned visit by a leading apartheid academic from Stellenbosch University who was due to visit the London School of Economics and other colleges. Protests by the student union and mounting opposition to the visit resulted in its cancellation.

One professional body to strengthen its commitment to the academic boycott this year was the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), following their decision in May 1985 to withdraw recognition from the Orange Free State University architecture school. This year the decision was extended to cover Cape Town, Wits and Natal universities, and the success of the campaign overturned eight years of bilateral links with South African universities. This campaign has in turn prompted the formation in September 1986 of UK Architects against Apartheid, which is now campaigning for the severance of all links between RIBA and South Africa.



## Southern Africa- The Imprisoned Society

Over the last year apartheid repression has escalated sharply as the regime expends more and more effort in suppressing the people of South Africa and Namibia. By the end of September 1986, some 16,000 people had been detained in South Africa under the second state of emergency declared on 12 June 1986, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of Soweto. The partial state of emergency that was declared in July 1985 was lifted on 7 March 1986. Many hundreds of people have been killed by the security forces and the number of political trials has risen dramatically as the regime increasingly uses its legal apparatus to criminalise opposition.

In Namibia, the atrocities and brutality of the occupying army continue to intensify. A number of political trials have been held in the attempt to check the activities of SWAPO, and the South African president has intervened to prevent crimes committed by the SADF against Namibian civilians being exposed in court.

SATIS, its support organisations and the AAM need to redouble their efforts in order to expose and campaign against the scale of repression currently taking place. SATIS has initiated a fresh drive with a general emergency campaign, and is coordinating a number of specific campaigns. Many activists have been drawn into political repression campaigning work through these initiatives, and SATIS has built up new support among the rapidly expanding constituency of the AAM.

### Emergency campaign

Launched by SATIS in March 1986, this campaign had the two aims of focusing attention on the horrors of political repression in South Africa and Namibia, and providing a wider campaigning base in this country. The campaign concentrates on the four main areas of death sentences, political trials, detentions/torture and political prisoners. A mailing scheme has been set up which supplies subscribers with both specific campaigning material on particular cases of repression and general background information. This scheme has so far attracted almost 200 people and organisations, and has enabled SATIS to assist other organisations to mount campaigns by supplying the necessary material.

### Death sentences

The campaign against judicial murder under apartheid has become a priority of SATIS's work as the regime is increasingly using the death sentence against political opponents.

(Picture by Paul Mattson)



### BENJAMIN MOLOISE

On 18 October 1985, Benjamin Moloise was executed by the regime despite worldwide appeals for clemency. He had been under sentence of death since June 1983, and a stay of execution had been granted on 21 August 1985. SATIS had produced a range of campaign material on this case and organised a number of protest actions, and the whole issued attracted major publicity. An all-night SATIS/AAM/ANC vigil was organised on 17/18 October and many organisations held local events. Representations for clemency were made by a huge range of governments and organisations, including the Commonwealth heads who were meeting in Nassau, France, Germany, the US and the OAU. This barbaric judicial act by the apartheid regime had the effect of sharply increasing the pressure for sanctions against South Africa. SATIS has received many requests for information about its work as a result of the campaign for Benjamin Moloise.

### THE SHARPEVILLE SIX

On 12 December, six young people, one woman and five men, were sentenced to death in South Africa for their alleged part in the death of a 'community councillor' in September 1984. SATIS immediately started a national campaign to save the Sharpeville Six and published a pamphlet, *No Apartheid Executions - Save the Sharpeville Six*, which gives details of this case including evidence of the torture inflicted on them while in



(Picture by Jez Couhan)



Above: Lenny Henry and friends at the Performers Against Racism rally, London, 26 January (Picture by Andrew Ward/Report)

Right: Anti-apartheid activists in Guernsey demonstrating in solidarity with the AAM's 2 November demonstration

Below right: Anti-apartheid protest in Sheffield, September 1986, (Picture by Lesley Boulton)

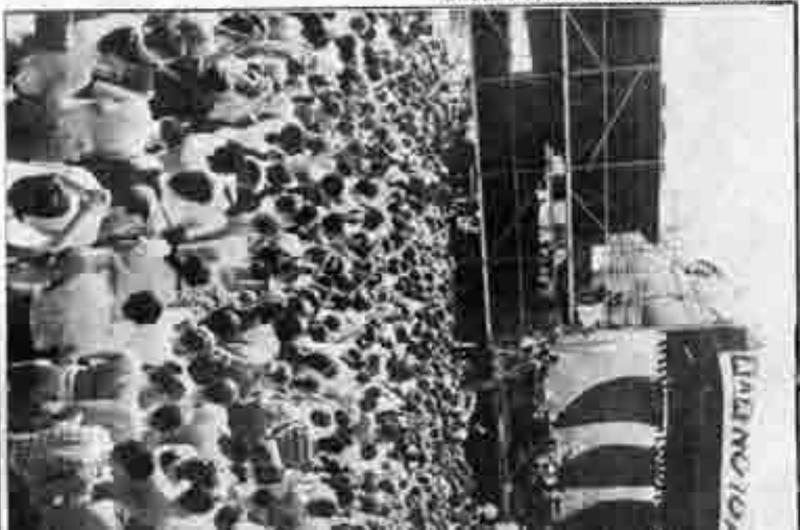
Below: Amanda, the ANC's cultural ensemble, sing the anthem in concert (Picture by IDAF)





*Picture by Stefano Cagnoni/Reporti*

*(Picture by Stefano Cagnoni/Reporti)*

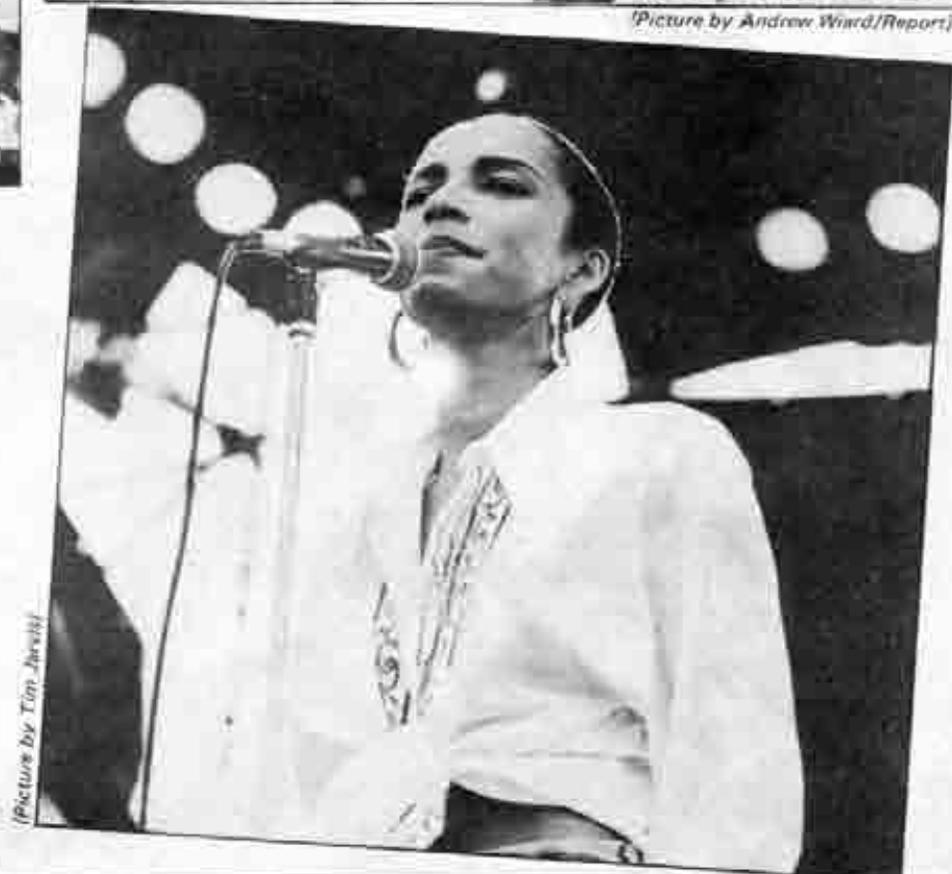
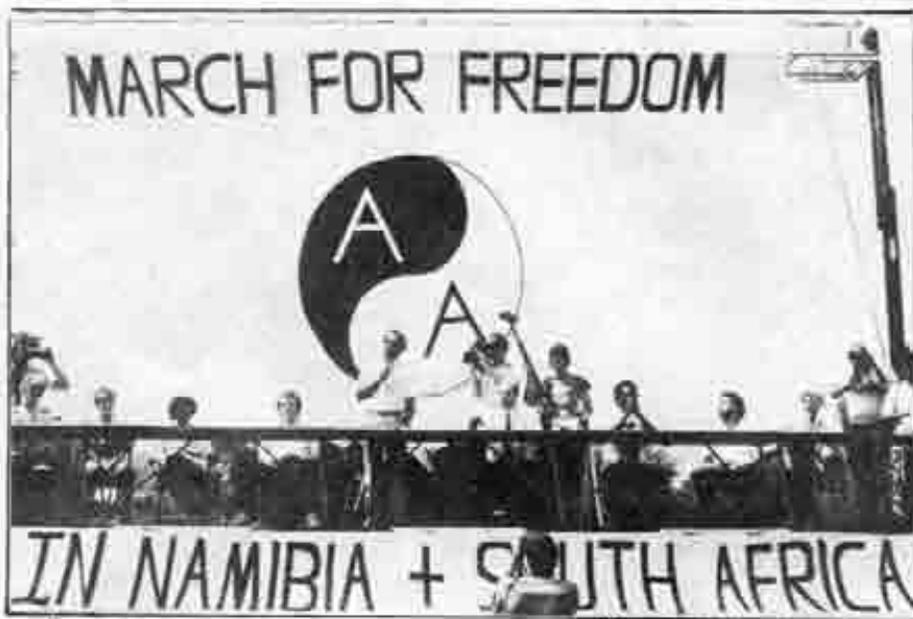


*(Picture by Tim Jarvis)*



*Picture by Tim Jarvis*







Above: Protest outside conference organised by the British section of the International Society for Human Rights, against the use of the conference to attack SWAPO and the liberation struggle in Namibia. (Picture by Al Cam)

Left: ANC Choir at the service at St James's Piccadilly, prior to the Commonwealth summit vigil, 3 August 1986. (Picture by Stefano Cagnoli/Report)

Below: Prominent British women deliver letter of protest to 10 Downing Street condemning Mrs Thatcher's stand on sanctions, 19 June 1986. (Picture by Stefano Cagnoli/Report)



detention. Representations to the British government by SATIS and AAM on this case resulted in their intervening with the South African authorities. SATIS has also produced a campaign pack with posters, leaflets, and a declaration which has been widely circulated. A Sharpeville Six postcard was jointly produced by the AAM Women's Committee and SATIS. Many local AA groups and other organisations have taken up the case of the Six, who are currently imprisoned awaiting the appeal against their sentences. In South Africa, the United Democratic Front has launched a campaign to save their lives, and internationally both the OAU and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid have issued appeals to the apartheid regime on their behalf.

#### CLARENCE XULU, LUCKY PAYI, ANDREW ZONDO

On 9 September 1986, three men were executed in South Africa. Two of them, Payi and Xulu, had been sentenced in February 1985 for murder, and the third, Andrew Zondo, on 13 December 1985 for planting a bomb in a supermarket. Despite appeals from SATIS and a large eve-of-execution vigil, the British government refused to intervene in these cases. Publicity material was produced, including posters and leaflets, and several SATIS supporters made protests to MPs and the government. On 6 April 1986, SATIS held a vigil attended by nearly 300 people at St Martin in the Fields to draw attention to all the people facing the death sentence.

#### Political trials

Lengthy trials have become a feature of the repressive machinery employed by the regime to suppress resistance in the townships of South Africa and in Namibia. Putting people engaged in resistance on trial is used as an instrument of repression even if convictions do not result — the rate of convictions in South Africa has been very low. A very large number of trials, most involving armed resistance, are currently taking place with a potential that many of the treason and 'terrorism' charges may result in death sentences. The large number of trials has meant that SATIS has only been able to focus campaigns on a few of these but has made use of the pamphlet produced in June 1985, *Political Trials in South Africa — judicial instruments of repression*, to draw attention to the nature of political trials under apartheid.

#### UDF TREASON TRIAL CAMPAIGN

The campaign launched by SATIS in March 1985 to secure the release of the 16 leaders of the United Democratic Front, charged with 'high treason', was wound up in December 1985 when 12 of the 16 were acquitted after the 'evidence' of the prosecution's key witnesses was clearly shown to be untenable. A large number of representations from organisations, including the UN, Amnesty and the World Council of Churches, were made in this case. The SATIS petition was widely taken up. The chair of SATIS, solicitor Geoffrey Bindman, represented the International Commission of Jurists as an observer at the start of the trial in October 1985, and on his return published articles in the national press and led a SATIS delegation to meet the then minister of state at the Foreign Office, Malcolm Rifkind, to make representations on this and other trials in South Africa.

#### THE SAAWU FOUR

The four men who were not acquitted in December 1985 were all members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). SATIS continued to campaign for their release under the auspices of the emergency campaign. An extensive briefing on the four and the trial was prepared and circulated, especially to national trade unions. During the AAM Trade Union Week of Action, SATIS arranged for a letter protesting at the continuing trial of the four, signed by the general secretaries of the five civil service unions, to be handed into the South African embassy. This letter was published in the *African Times*, and several trade union journals took up the case. In March 1986, the four were also acquitted of all charges.

#### THE VAAL 22

On 11 June 1985, 22 people — UDF leaders, trade unionists and black consciousness activists — were charged with treason.

Geoffrey Bindman was refused access to the accused during his visit to South Africa. Articles by him and a campaign pack consisting of a briefing paper, photographs and leaflets prepared by SATIS were thoroughly circulated. Some of the people in this trial have been held for over two years in detention; the trial opened on 21 January 1986 and has dragged on for many months — another example of how the courts are used to immobilise anti-apartheid activists.

#### THE NAMIBIA SEVEN

On 4 February 1986, the trial opened of seven Namibians charged with 'participating in terrorist activities'. SATIS supported the Namibia Support Committee's picket on that date and jointly arranged a further demonstration at the South African embassy on 15 March. The seven were sentenced on 7 May to periods of between five and 16 years. Another important trial of eight Namibians, again facing charges of 'terrorism', started in August 1986; the NSC and SATIS are currently discussing initiatives in this campaign.

#### Political prisoners and detainees

The large number of people detained in South Africa and Namibia, and the steeply rising number of political prisoners, has involved SATIS in considerable activity. Many organisations wanting to campaign for the release of detainees and political prisoners have approached SATIS for information and guidance. Several local AA groups have taken up the cases of prisoners serving long sentences, and SATIS has been able to use its mailing scheme to distribute material on a number of different cases. A briefing paper, *Detainees and Political Prisoners in South Africa and Namibia*, was produced in September 1986. The emergency campaign has also encouraged different constituencies (ie, trade unionists, students, churches) to take up the cases of similar groups detained in Southern Africa. Two 'Free all South African and Namibian Political Prisoners' posters have been produced in 1986.

Local AA groups have been encouraged to focus part of their campaigning work specifically around the emergency campaign, especially with issues such as the Sharpeville Six. SATIS has contributed workshops, stalls and speakers at a number of major events. For example, SATIS held a stall at the massive AAM Festival on 28 June 1986 which attracted many signatures for the Sharpeville Six declaration. SATIS also helped coordinate the Christmas list which again attracted thousands of cards and messages of support to the families of those suffering political repression under apartheid.

The emergency campaign has attracted strong support and, in order to maintain the campaigning momentum, SATIS is convening a national conference on political repression in Southern Africa scheduled to take place in December 1986.

## Free Nelson Mandela Campaign



The international campaign to free Nelson Mandela continued the momentum built up over the years. The importance of Mandela as a symbol of a free non-racial South Africa is universally recognised. Almost without exception, the worldwide statements on apartheid have called for the unconditional release of Mandela as a precondition to any possibility of meaningful negotiations. There was intense speculation in the first few months of 1986 that his release was imminent, but Mandela's

known rejection of any conditions attaching to his release — he again dismissed Botha's 'offer' of release at the beginning of February 1986 — and the intransigence of the apartheid regime continue to make any such possibility merely rumour.

Winnie Mandela has also continued to draw international publicity in her indomitable struggle against apartheid. In December and January she successfully defied the banning order that had restricted her to Brandfort since 1977 and, exploiting a loophole in the law, returned to her home in Soweto. SATIS organised a large picket of the South African embassy on 22 January on the day of her appearance in court for defying the order. A number of leading articles in newspapers and magazines have been published about both Winnie and Nelson Mandela.

The call to free Mandela was echoed by the hundreds of thousands of people who took part in the two massive AAM demonstrations in November and June. At the Festival for Freedom, a larger-than-life artwork of Mandela formed the focus of the Mandela exhibition, which attracted large numbers in the AAM marquee.

Many organisations, cities, towns and groups have staged demonstrations and organised events to highlight the call for Mandela's release. These included:

- The GLC placed a sculpture by Ian Walters of Nelson Mandela on the South Bank; the unveiling ceremony was performed by his daughter, Zenani Mandela, and ANC president Oliver Tambo on 28 October 1985.
- The National Union of Students renamed its headquarters Nelson Mandela House, at a ceremony which Zenani Mandela and her husband, Prince Dlamini, attended, also in October.
- Leicester city council renamed the park where the Leicester rugby club trains as Nelson Mandela Park, at a ceremony in March 1986, adding to the sizeable number of cities in Britain who have honoured Mandela.
- Dundee city council conferred the Freedom of the City on Mandela at a civic function attended by ANC chief representative Solly Smith in June.
- In Huddersfield, speakers corner was renamed Nelson Mandela Corner.
- The London borough of Hackney created Nelson Mandela Close during the AAM's March Month of Action, and Haringey borough now has Mandela Way.

SATIS has produced a Free Nelson Mandela Information Pack containing briefings, posters, badges and stickers, which acts as a guide to the campaign and is proving popular notably with schools and colleges.

The British Defence and Aid Fund, following its successful poetry competition for Mandela among school students, published a selection of the entries in the form of a large colourful poster.

## Material Aid

The intensification of the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa has resulted in a tremendous increase in the material needs of the liberation movements, SWAPO and the ANC. During the period covered by this report, there has continued to be an encouraging response to appeals from the liberation movements and their supporters. At the 1985 AGM, for example, a donation of £5,000 was presented to the ANC from the proceeds of the annual Walks for Soweto.

The newly-formed Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa of the AAM Health Committee has made much progress (see *Health*).

Many local AA groups raised substantial donations for the Namibia Support Committee's material aid campaigns.

Some £10,000 was raised, in particular from the labour movement, for the emergency fund set up for the South African NUM strike in August 1985.

## International Work

The Movement has continued to promote international action against apartheid, especially the enforcement of effective sanctions against South Africa. This has involved cooperation at the level of the EEC and the United Nations, and also the Commonwealth (see *Sanctions Now!*).

As reported in the 1984/85 annual report, a meeting of EEC anti-apartheid movements was held in September 1985 to plan coordinated action at EEC level. As a result, there has been close liaison with many of these AAMs to promote the campaign for sanctions. The AAM has also liaised closely with the Labour group of MEPs, as well as with the EEC Commission. The British Commissioner, Stanley Clinton Davis, wrote on the role of the EEC for *AA News* and was on the platform in Trafalgar Square on 2 November. Further coordinated action is under consideration.

The Movement continued to work closely with the UN. The executive and honorary secretaries represented the AAM at a special strategy session organised by the Special Committee against Apartheid at the UN headquarters in New York in November 1985. The Movement assisted the Special Committee in the organisation of a seminar on the arms embargo in London in May 1986, and Abdul Minty represented the AAM at the World Conference for Sanctions against Racist South Africa at UNESCO headquarters in June.

The Movement has also been actively involved in a number of initiatives to promote international action on Namibia, which are reported under that section of this report.

The Movement's president has continued to travel extensively on its behalf and, in addition to attending international conferences on Namibia in Brussels and Vienna, he visited Bermuda and the USSR. The visit to Bermuda was at the invitation of the Anti-Apartheid Group there and assumed a special significance as it took place a few weeks after Mrs Thatcher had personally intervened to overrule sanctions measures agreed by the Bermuda government. The visit to the USSR was in response to a longstanding invitation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. During his visit, Bishop Huddleston met the vice-president of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, who is also an alternate member of the Politbureau of the CPSU, and had a useful exchange of views concerning developments in Southern Africa.

The Movement has continued to develop its relations with a range of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements. It has taken part, for example, in two planning meetings on the international campaign against Shell, and Des Starrs of the executive committee represented the AAM at an Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation conference on Southern Africa in Ethiopia in October 1985. Margaret Ling, editor of *AA News*, also represented the Movement at a series of events in Zimbabwe on the theme 'Africa in Struggle' in May 1986.

Bishop Huddleston in Bermuda



# Areas of Work

Much of the Movement's resources goes into the mobilisation of different sections of the community in support of its policies. The major campaigns undertaken during the past 12 months and the tremendous growth in general support for the Movement has meant that the level of servicing has not always been of the level desired. A number of steps have been taken to rectify this situation, in particular the expansion of the number of staff members involved in campaign work. However, the tremendous growth in local groups, student work and trade union work alone has been such that it has proved difficult to keep pace with developments. Other areas, such as local authority action against apartheid, have not received the attention they warrant. This report describes some of the key areas of work but it by no means covers the full extent of activity undertaken, and nor does it include a wide range of organisations which are active in the anti-apartheid struggle.

## Trade Unions

The trade union movement has thrown its weight behind the AAM's campaigns in response to the intensified repression in South Africa, and has devoted unprecedented resources to the fight against apartheid.

This welcome boost to the Movement's work derives much of its impetus from the rising levels of workers' struggles and trade union organisation and unity in South Africa, with the formation of COSATU at the end of 1985 being a notable measure of the advances made.

Thousands of trade unionists were detained under the first partial state of emergency and the second national one from 12 June 1986. The detention of many key elements of the national and local leadership of COSATU indicated that this body, which had played a major role in the huge stay-aways of 1 May and 16 June, was a special target of the regime's repression.

The AAM Trade Union Committee, working closely with SATIS and SACTU, has sought to give the greatest possible exposure to the repression of trade unionists in South Africa. At the same time, the trade union movement has become more involved in work on political prisoners generally, making a definite contribution to the vigils in solidarity with Benjamin Moloise in October 1985 and with Xulu, Payi and Zondo in September 1986.

Trade unionists have continued to organise and participate in campaigning activities. Five major civil service unions (IPCS, IRSF, CSU, SCPS and CPSA) picketed the South African embassy in April and a joint letter from their general secretaries was handed in. Other noteworthy contributions to campaigning activities were made by GLATC, with its picket and deputation to Downing Street, followed by a demonstration at the embassy on the eve of the Commonwealth mini-summit; by ACTT at the RFU centenary match at Twickenham in April, where the Movement demonstrated against South African participation; and by the FBU at the Marlborough House vigil in August 1986.

Outstanding was the contribution of the trade union movement to the AAM's two massive demonstrations in November and June. Without the organisational, financial and human resources of our

national and local trade union affiliates and the participation of rank-and-file trade union activists, two such resounding successes would have been impossible to imagine. It is unnecessary to list individually those of our affiliated unions who participated in AAM's campaigning activities in the past year — they all did.

The South-West Region of the TUC worked with local AA groups as well as the AAM office to organise a highly successful SACTU speaking tour which took in the Avonmouth docks. The executive committee of COSATU authorised one of its members to visit Britain for a short period in May/June. After addressing the NALGO conference, the speaker was able to fulfil a number of engagements in Scotland. Similarly, the AAM together with the NUM was able to organise a speaking tour in July 1986 for an official of the South African NUM who was involved in the Counter Information Service's campaign against Consolidated Gold Fields. There is no doubt that such speaking tours can be of immense value both to the speaker and the audience, seeking inspiration and news direct from Southern Africa.

The trade union committee has followed closely developments within the trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia. Complementing its close work with SACTU and the ANC, the AAM has also maintained contact with a number of non-racial democratic unions operating openly in South Africa as well as the new confederation of COSATU. The Emergency South African Miners' Strike Fund, with Peter Heathfield as one of the trustees, was able to send nearly £10,000 to help relieve the hardship resulting from the official South African NUM's strike of 1985.

Close liaison is maintained with SACTU over all aspects of the AAM's trade union work, and the AAM was honoured to be invited to attend the thirty-first anniversary of SACTU commemoration in March 1986.

### Trade union action for sanctions

Action among British trade unionists has drawn much inspiration from the continuing struggle of the Dunnes Stores strikers in Dublin. The 11 women and one man, who have been in dispute since

17 July 1984 for following their union's policy of refusing to handle South African and Namibian produce, scored a significant victory when the Irish government announced a ban on the importation of South African agricultural produce, to take effect from 1 January 1987. However, despite numerous approaches from the Irish Distributive and Administrative Trade Union to the employers, the 12 remain effectively locked out until the new year. AAM has maintained the strike fund set up in 1984, and Mary Manning, the IDATU member who initially refused to handle apartheid produce, addressed the March for Freedom on 28 June. In addition, representatives of the Dunnes Stores strikers have addressed many meetings up and down the country over the past year.

In January 1986, a dispute began in Portsmouth which has been likened to the situation in Dublin. Workers in the stores of Portsmouth Health Authority followed NUPE policy and began to negotiate with management about the handling of South African and Namibian goods. Despite every effort to reach an agreement whereby the apartheid produce was phased out of the stores' inventory (where it comprised only 13 out of 6,000 items), the health authority sent workers home early, docked pay, brought in outside contractors to do NUPE members' work, and eventually first threatened to sack those involved (which by March also involved COHSE catering staff and TGWU distribution staff) and then locked out those in dispute.

The AAM worked closely in conjunction with NUPE at a local and national level to coordinate publicity for the dispute and aid for those involved, whose basic wage was less than £60 per week. An immediate appeal was sent out to all AAM members and affiliates, which was followed by a press conference given by Bishop Huddleston and Rodney Bickerstaffe, general secretary of NUPE. The authority then began to admit emergencies only to the hospitals in its area in an attempt to force by moral blackmail those in dispute to return to work.

Eventually, the health authority suspended its threat to dismiss the NUPE members for three months and, following that period of time, there has been a stand-off between union and management, with the health authority claiming that

## Areas of work

DHSS purchasing guidelines make it impossible to accede to the request of their employees to have the moral right to refuse to handle apartheid produce. This claim has been challenged by the union, and undermined by the decisions of a growing number of health authorities across Britain to cease the procurement of apartheid goods since the dispute began. In the intervening period, Andy Lavender, spokesperson for the NUPE members, has addressed meetings throughout the country. The action of Portsmouth NUPE members has demonstrated what AAM policy, pursued by determined action and backed with understanding of the issues involved, can achieve.

Other areas of direct action by trade unionists have been growing steadily in frequency, for example:

- In March, TGWU dockers in Swansea refused to handle imports of South African coal.
- Since January, NUS members working on ferries between mainland Britain and the Shetland and Orkney islands have refused to handle apartheid produce.
- ACTT members in the Grampian Television area have refused to transmit commercials for South African produce.

the conference heard a range of speakers, including Ron Todd, in his dual capacity as TGWU general secretary and chair of the TUC International Committee.

The conference served as an important basis for mobilisation for a Week of Action in April, when over 150,000 leaflets were distributed within the trade union movement, dozens of meetings held, and workplace pressure exerted on management to operate the boycott of apartheid South Africa.

In addition to the national AAM trade union conference, a number of regional conferences took place throughout the year. A North-West Labour Movement conference against apartheid was held in April, and plans are well advanced for more conferences, in London, Bristol, Norwich, West Midlands, Tyneside and Merseyside in the autumn of 1986.

Following the great success of NALGO's *Guide to Apartheid*, which has to be considered as a landmark in trade union education on Southern Africa, the union has set up a 'Southern Africa Advisory Panel' to coordinate its work in this field. Other unions with similar specialist bodies are the NUR, with 'Rail Against Apartheid' (RAA), and ACTT with a special Anti-Apartheid Committee,

increasingly aware of the value of specialist material for trade unionists on the subject of apartheid. Thus the committee produced a leaflet for distribution at the TUC Congress and thereafter. In addition, a number of publications made a particularly welcome appearance, including not only the NALGO and TUC guides mentioned above, but also the Labour Research Department's *Profiting from Apartheid*.

### Trade union affiliations

Consolidation of the AAM's influence in the trade unions has been achieved not only through educational work but also by an increase in the affiliation of organisations to the movement. The Civil Service Union and the Banking, Insurance and Finance Union both affiliated at a national level, bringing the total number of national trade union affiliates to 35, representing some 93 per cent of the TUC's membership. The conference decision of BIFU was particularly significant because of the strategically important areas in which BIFU members operate.

However, growth has been most spectacular at local level, with nearly 600 trade union branches, regional councils and trades councils now in membership.



Left. ANC president Oliver Tambo addressing the Maritime Unions Against Apartheid conference, October 1985. (Picture by Gerard Livett)

### Mobilisation and education

These practical campaigns to enforce sanctions at local level through action by workers and their trade unions have been accompanied by a great deal of educational work aimed at consolidating the major advances made in anti-apartheid activity in the trade union movement during 1984/85. A highlight of this effort was the highly successful AAM Trade Union Conference held in London on 1 March 1986. Sponsored by eight national unions and attended by some 447 delegates representing 37 trade unions, plus 29 representatives from trades councils,

The NUJ, while not affiliated to AAM, has also made some moves in this direction. These bodies have complemented the work being done by specialist local AAM committees — the South-West and Yorkshire & Humberside Regional Trade Union Committees, for example. Among the activities of these specialist bodies has been the production of specialist material (both RAA and the ACTT committee have made attractive contributions), and the coordination together with the AAM head office of speaking tours by representatives of trade unions or of the liberation movements.

The trade union committee has become

### Relations with the TUC

Following the advances achieved at the TUC Congress in 1985 in terms of its policy on South and Southern Africa, and on the role of the AAM, much progress has been made in the year under review in developing a fuller political perspective on the fight against apartheid in the trade union movement, in realising this perspective in action, and consolidating it by patient educational work.

This progress has created the conditions in which it has been possible for the AAM to have more frequent and regular contact with the TUC and its international depart-

ment than hitherto. This showed itself in the participation of the TUC in arrangements for the two national demonstrations and the AAM trade union conference, and especially in the cooperation that developed in the preparations for the parliamentary lobby for sanctions in June.

Over the summer, under the pressures of a fast-moving situation, the TUC general council and international committee took several initiatives and made a significant independent contribution to the vigil at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London. Shortly before that, the planned visit to South Africa by an ICFTU delegation took place and, although it appeared to have been finalised somewhat precipitately, the participation in it of TUC general secretary Norman Wills and of TUC international committee chair Ron Todd focused public attention on the TUC's involvement in the issue of apartheid.

In the autumn, the TUC's role in the fight against apartheid developed in an imaginative and novel way with the premiere screening at the annual congress of a cinema commercial promoting the boycott campaign and the presentation of 'a flower for freedom'. The agitated response of the apartheid embassy in London to these initiatives showed that they had hit their target with unmistakable effect.

No less significant was the unanimous adoption by the TUC Congress of an important and far-reaching resolution on apartheid with some notable new features. The resolution reaffirmed 'the vital role of the ANC, UDF, SACTU, SWAPO and the AAM in politicising the opposition to the apartheid regime in Southern Africa and in this country'. It endorsed union pressure on employers to enforce the boycott in canteens, and on government departments, nationalised industries and local authorities in relation to contracts. It called on affiliated unions to investigate employers' collaboration with the apartheid regime with a view to securing disruption of these relations, and committed the general council and affiliated unions to support trade unionists victimised for complying with this policy. The importance of this decision in the light of the experience of the Dunnes Stores workers and the Portsmouth dispute can hardly be overestimated.

In addition, the general council is committed to pressuring the government for comprehensive mandatory sanctions and to mounting an education programme to increase public support for a boycott of South African goods. The 'entire labour movement, in concert with the AAM' is called upon to strengthen the boycott and to help achieve 'a complete embargo upon all trade, commercial, financial, cultural and sporting activities'.

To carry out this policy in an active, resolute and effective manner is a challenge not only to the TUC, its international department and its affiliated unions, but also to the AAM itself. In facing up to this challenge, a major res-



Trade unionists at the Commonwealth summit vigil, 3 August 1986. (Picture by Jez Coulsan/IFL.)

possibility rests on the AAM's trade union committee.

### Trade Union Committee

The continued progress in the trade union movement has been primarily the result of the efforts and work of the AAM trade union committee. The committee has continued to meet monthly, chaired by national committee member Fred Carneson. Of the AAM's 35 national affiliates, 32 have taken up the invitation to be represented on the committee.

As a result of the work of the committee and the invaluable assistance of Colin Adkins, the AAM was represented at the following unions' conferences: TASS, ASLEF, ACTT, APEX, ASTMS, BIFU, Equity, CPSA, COHSE, EIS, GMBATU, IRSF, IPCS, NALGO, NATFHE, NCU, NUPE, NUR, NUT, SCPS, STE, TWU, UCATT, USDAW. The AAM's presence usually took the form of a bookstall and/or fringe meeting. Representatives from South African unions or liberation movements also addressed the conferences of TASS (ANC), NALGO (COSATU), NUPE (SACTU) and the NUM (South African NUM). At least 38 unions adopted new or improved policy positions on the question of Southern Africa.

The work at trade union conferences has been followed up by extensive educational work, providing speakers at trade union meetings and schools, material for trade union branches, articles for trade union journals, and maintaining close liaison with many national trade union offices and officers regarding the development and implementation of anti-apartheid

policy. The strengthening of links between the AAM and the trade unions is reflected on the one hand in the fact that attendance at the monthly meetings of the trade union committee has markedly increased, and on the other in the greater access enjoyed by the Movement to union officials at all levels and to union periodicals this year. As a result of this spirit of determination and cooperation, much more has been achieved.

The committee also pays detailed consideration to other matters of concern in the struggle by trade unions against apartheid. Over the past 12 months, the members of AAM's staff responsible for local groups and political prisoners have addressed meetings of the committee in order that a closer relationship can develop between different branches of the Movement. In particular, consideration has been devoted to the problems of workplace anti-apartheid groups, secondary boycotting and the disinvestment campaign, and the continuing debate surrounding the question of 'direct links' with South African trade unionists. Also planned is a special meeting to deal with the situation in Namibia. As a result of last year's special committee meeting with the editor of *AA News*, its coverage of trade union-related matters has improved, with contributions from various prominent trade unionists in both Britain and South Africa, including Alan Sapper (ACTT), John Edmonds (GMBATU), Portsmouth NUPE (Richard Jewison), Louis Mahoney (Equity), and Jim Slater (NUS). Current plans include a special half-day conference for trade union education officers.

## Local AA Groups

Local groups continue to be the backbone of the Movement. Groups and activity have expanded massively in the last year, to such an extent that there is hardly an area of Britain that is not covered by a group. There are now over 180 local AA groups in existence, including a new one in Guernsey. The campaigning work that all of the groups have undertaken provides the crucial local profile for solidarity work.

In some cities, the Movement's work has expanded to such an extent that there are groups throughout the city and umbrella groups have been established to coordinate work, such as in Glasgow, Greater Manchester and Merseyside. The Scottish Committee and Wales AAM have also strongly developed their own networks and campaigning among their local groups, as well as organising national events. The London Committee of the Movement has also continued to grow, with new groups throughout London, Londonwide events and activity such as the London activists' conference in October, as well as initiatives such as the London boycott working group.

Many local groups have been developing regional contacts and there have been a number of regional activists' meetings during the year, especially in February/March 1985. In a number of cases, these meetings have led to closer cooperation between groups. Regional demonstrations took place on 22 March in towns and cities such as Barnsley (600 attended), Bristol (800), Leeds (500) and Tyneside (500).

The breadth of work and activity amongst local groups would be impossible to cover in detail, but there are a number of key areas where local groups continue to develop their work. Solidarity with the liberation movements has been a motivation to much work. Many local groups have stepped up their work on Namibia in solidarity with SWAPO. For example, Sheffield AA raised over £2,000 for SWAPO/NSC material aid campaigns in the last year; they also held a fortnight of

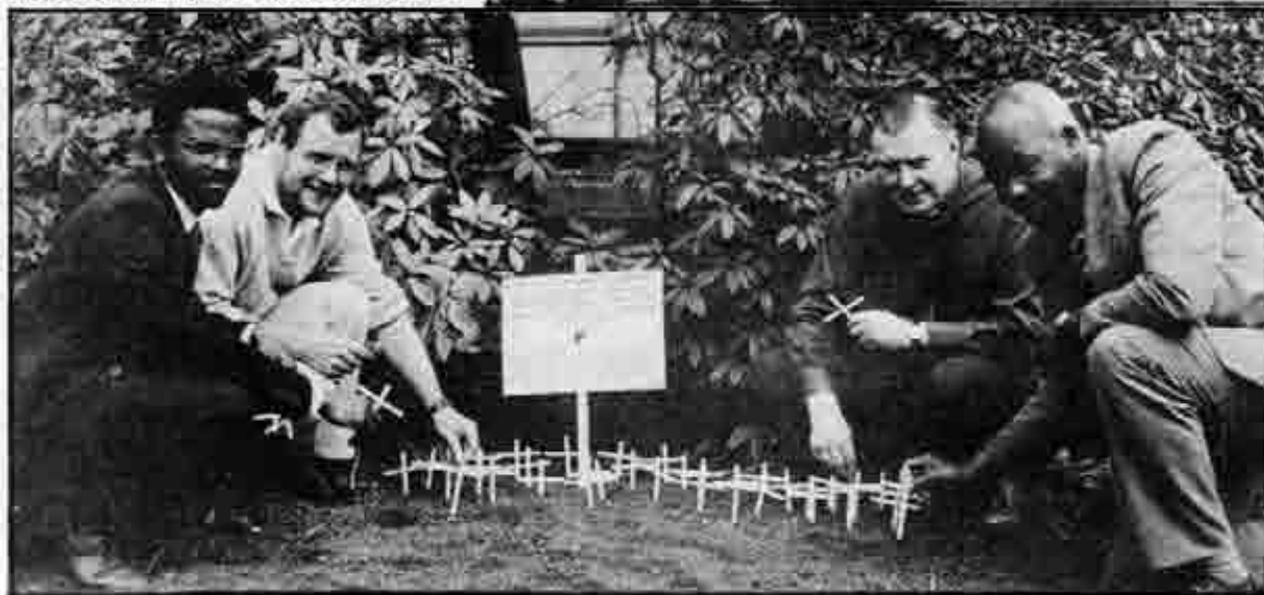
action around the anniversary of Kassinga and distributed over 10,000 leaflets, and held a major public meeting with the SWAPO flag flying from the town hall. Nottingham AA have highlighted the issue of Namibian uranium, organising with the local CND group, as well as doing material aid fund-raising for SWAPO.

Similarly, solidarity with the ANC remains an important priority for local groups. The Scottish Committee organised a speaking tour with Denis Goldberg from the ANC throughout Scotland, and many local groups have had ANC speakers and run material aid campaigns or fund-raising,

particularly for the ANC freedom school, Somafo.

Local groups played a key role in ensuring the success of the major national campaigns of the Movement. They mobilised large numbers to take part in the two national demonstrations in November 1985 and June 1986, and the Wales AAM organised a Wales-wide demonstration, also on 28 June. A similar input was made for the national lobby of parliament on 17 June 1986 when local groups in many areas took on a coordinating role.

Local groups have continued to demonstrate their capacity to intervene whenever



Above:  
Tyneside AA  
taking part  
in the March  
month of  
action.

Left:  
Over 600  
crosses  
planted in  
Sheffield's  
Peace Gardens  
on 3 May to  
commemorate  
the victims of  
the Kassinga  
massacre.  
(Picture by  
Martin  
Jankinson)

an issue of collaboration with South Africa arises in their area. For example, Exeter AA worked successfully to persuade a local academic who was due to participate in an international congress in South Africa to withdraw; Southampton AA continued to campaign vigorously on the issue of the World Archaeological Congress; and Birmingham AA coordinated a highly successful campaign against six visiting South African Rotarians to the West Midlands. These examples highlight the key role of local groups as the voice of the Movement locally, challenging and campaigning against collaboration with the apartheid regime wherever it happens.

In all areas, it is local groups who take on the 'bread and butter' campaigns of the Movement, such as the boycott campaign, Barclays, etc. Many groups have succeeded in getting local organisations to pull their bank accounts out from Barclays and the list of such successes is far too long to record. The strength of grass-roots campaigning now far surpasses previous levels of activity, the organisational capacity of local groups has grown substantially, and the ability of the Movement to sustain a high campaigning profile in every area in solidarity with the people of Southern Africa has never been greater.



Above: **Cemden AA's Soweto Walk**  
(Picture by Val Harness)  
Left: **Richmond AA members marching against apartheid** (Picture by New Worker)

## Local Authorities

The number of local authorities and the scope of their action have again grown tremendously. The burden of this work has fallen on the National Steering Committee for Local Authority Action against Apartheid, which is chaired by Cllr Mike Pye of Sheffield city council. The Movement continues to liaise closely with the National Steering Committee. A significant new development has been the establishment of a Scottish Steering Committee.

The main activity organised during the past 12 months was the 10 days of coordinated local authority action from 15 to 26 June 1986. This saw an unprecedented number of authorities participating and certainly had a major impact as it coincided with important developments in South Africa.

It is not yet possible to report the full extent of action taken, but a further survey is due to be carried out in the near future to update the report published in 1985 of action taken.

One further important development has been the increased interest in action over Namibia. Birmingham city council agreed to host a seminar on Namibia and at least two councils, Sheffield and Newham, displayed SWAPO flags to commemorate days associated with the struggle in Namibia.

The Mayor of Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council adding the final flower to a floral display depicting the anti-apartheid symbol, outside Gateshead Town Hall, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, 16 June 1986.



## Students and Youth

The student work of the Movement continues to have a high profile and remains the primary focus of our overall youth work. The Movement continues to work closely with the National Union of Students, who have given a high priority to AA work, which greatly assists the work of the Movement. AAM and NUS have pursued a number of joint initiatives during the year: there was the annual student convention in Sheffield in January which was well attended by activists and most successful; a jointly organised speaking tour went to dozens of colleges in the second term with AAM, NUS, SWAPO and ANC speakers; AAM and NUS worked closely on student mobilisation for 28 June, with a joint mailing to all 900-plus student unions; and the two organisations are currently collaborating over a campaign pack for student unions for the start of the academic year. The Movement has had a strong presence at both NUS national conferences this year, with the bookstall making contact with hundreds of activists. A highly successful meeting at the December conference was attended by several hundred delegates, with ANC and SWAPO speakers, and NUS also debated and adopted comprehensive policy on Southern Africa.

There was a national student rally on 19 October in Trafalgar Square, and also a coordinated day of action against Barclays Bank that involved action by over 300 colleges. The Barclays campaign has been a major success in the student movement, with Barclays losing thousands of pounds worth of student accounts, due, in their own words, to the work of NUS and AAM. There has been a growth in the network of student groups and strengthened campaigning in all sectors, and a growing number of student unions continue to affiliate to the Movement nationally. The number of student initiatives taken include many disinvestment campaigns, one success last year being York University's; the growing number of scholarship schemes for ANC and SWAPO students around the country; the renaming of many buildings, with NUS leading the way with Mandela House, which was renamed at a ceremony attended by Zenani Mandela; and on a general level there was large-scale student mobilisation for the 2 November and 28 June national demonstrations, as well as strong student involvement in local activities around the country.

On a wider level, the Movement continues to have liaison with a wide range of student and youth organisations, including those of the major opposition political parties, the British Youth Council, the Woodcraft Folk, the UNA youth section and YCND, among others. The Movement has provided speakers and bookstalls at meetings and conferences of these organisations, as well as round-table meetings to brief them on developments in Southern



Above: Nottingham students occupying Barclays Bank during the national student week of action, October 1985. (Picture by John Birdsell)



Left: Student sit-down outside the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square, 19 October 1985. (Picture by Paul Mattson)

Below left: NUS headquarters in London renamed Nelson Mandela House during the student week of action. (Picture by Simon Grosset)



Africa. We have also been providing more material and speakers to youth groups and schools around the country. There has been a growing amount of youth activity amongst local groups, and initiatives are developing such as the establishment of youth committees to coordinate work, for example the youth committee of Manchester AA.

The heightening struggle of young people within Southern Africa has motivated much of the increased work. Many student and youth groups have protested against the banning of COSAS, and there have been valuable opportunities for briefings from representatives of AZASO and NUSAS who briefed leading student and youth activists. There can be no doubt that the crucial role of young people in the struggle in Southern Africa has given an example to young people in this country to be at the forefront of solidarity work in Britain.

## Education

The Movement continues to recognise the importance of educational work. The speaker service to schools has increased still further as many more schools encourage courses on apartheid. The Movement also deals with the rapidly expanding number of requests from students and teachers for materials for projects and courses.

A growing number of local authorities and LEAs have adopted policy on the positive teaching of the African liberation struggles and have also promoted anti-apartheid exhibitions in schools and libraries. This was a particular feature of the local authority ten days of action when LEAs were encouraged to promote anti-apartheid in their schools. There were exhibitions, displays, etc, in many schools during this period.

The Movement continues to promote the educational work of the British Defence and Aid Fund, and in particular its materials for schools. The teaching unions have also taken up education work, an example being the planned conference on education under apartheid organised by the World University Service, which is sponsored by the AUT, NATFHE, NUT and NUS, and which the Movement is supporting. Such initiatives will strengthen the understanding of teachers and lecturers and assist further developments in educational work.

## Health

The AAM Health Committee has continued to campaign vigorously for the isolation of South Africa in the health field and to inform the people of Britain of the devastating effects of apartheid on the health of the black majority in South Africa and Namibia, and the inequalities in the provision of health care.

Campaigning work undertaken this year has included a picket organised outside the World Congress of General Practitioners in protest against South African participation.

The Committee has continued to circulate widely, nationally and internationally, the document entitled *The case for the expulsion of South Africa from international psychiatry*, and has continued to put pressure on the Royal College of Psychiatrists to raise the issue at the World Psychiatric Association.

*Health and Liberation*, the quarterly bulletin of the Health Committee, has been produced regularly this year and has an ever-increasing circulation. It has covered the campaigns of the Committee and a regular update on the health situation in Southern Africa.

Many speakers from the Health Committee have participated in meetings up and down the country, and our campaigning leaflets have been widely circulated.

The Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa (MACSA) has been rapidly expanding its work this year. Many books and items of second-hand medical equipment have been collected for the ANC hospital at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania; and £4,500 worth of drugs were sent to the ANC for use in their hospital and clinics in Africa over the last year.

## Women

The AAM Women's Committee has grown considerably during 1985/86 — in its activities, in its membership and in its links with women around Britain.

Women's groups in local areas have made increasing numbers of requests for speakers from the Committee. We have visited women's centres, black women's groups, women's peace groups, Labour Party women's sections, student groups and others. Many women's centres agreed to display exhibitions about women under apartheid and to collect material aid for the ANC and SWAPO.

One of the highlights of 1986 was the picket organised with SWAPO Women's Council and ANC Women's Section outside South Africa House on 8 March — International Women's Day. Over 500 women attended, many bringing banners and babies, and drew attention to the position of Theresa Ramashamola, the lone woman among the Sharpeville Six, sentenced to death by the Pretoria regime. Signatures were collected to a petition, which was presented to Mrs Thatcher, demanding British intervention on behalf of the Sharpeville Six, demanding immediate independence for Namibia, and calling for sanctions. Special postcards and T-shirts had been produced for the day. SWAPO and ANC members led the picket in songs of solidarity.

Other highlights of the year included a rally organised by Haringey Women's Committee together with women from the local AA and other groups. The rally was addressed by Gertrude Shope, head of the ANC Women's Section in Lusaka. It was an important show of solidarity, with Haringey Civic Centre being renamed after ANC activist Charlotte Mxeke.

Another focus was the celebration held on 9 August — South Africa Women's Day. This year was the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the day — the women's march on Pretoria in 1956, protesting against passes. Speeches from Ulitala Hiveluah of SWAPO Women's Council, Maria Nobrega of SACTU, Hackney councillor Mavis MacCullum, and Mittah Seperepere of the ANC Women's Section roused the capacity

audience with their calls for action. Tembi Nobhadula — who was on the march in 1956 — appealed to the meeting for material aid for the Somafco settlement in Tanzania, an appeal which met an overwhelming response.

For a long time the Women's Committee has been restricted by its London base but this year saw an exciting increase in the number of 'Women Against Apartheid' groups around the country. Groups in Nottingham, Aberdeen, Sheffield and Merseyside provided focuses for campaigning around the country.

The Committee's designing and creative work have improved. The newsletter now has a readership of over 500. It is filled with up-to-date news of women in Namibia and South Africa, and the campaigning work in this country. Other resources produced this year include two new T-shirts, two posters, the first sheets of a resource pack on women and apartheid, and campaigning postcards. The Committee is also in the early stages of making a short video about women in South Africa to take around to women's groups.

The work of the Women's Committee is constantly inspired by the courageous fight of the women of Namibia and South Africa against the Pretoria regime. The Committee trusts that it enters the new campaigning year well prepared to offer them full solidarity in the fight to overthrow apartheid.

(Picture by Stefano Cagnoni/Report)



## Black Community

This year has seen a significant increase in involvement of the Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities both in the work of the Movement and in wider campaigns of solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

The St Paul's Apartheid-Free Zone Campaign in Bristol has not only had a major impact locally but has served as an inspiration to other communities across the country. It specifically led to the formation of a Liverpool 8 campaign with similar objectives. The boycott campaign has also been taken up by black organisations at a local level, such as the Black Parents Movement in Haringey and a community group in Brixton.

The Movement has continued with its practice of publishing multilingual leaflets for major events, such as the 2 November and 28 June demonstration. The Revd Jesse Jackson's visit to Britain as guest of the AAM and the GLC had a big impact on the black community and contributed to the huge turnout on 2 November. Jesse Jackson's programme, which involved visits and meetings with a wide range of organisations and activists in the black community, served to stimulate increased solidarity within the black community.

Afro-Caribbean and Asian councillors and parliamentary candidates have played an active part in the Movement's work at national and local levels. For example, Brent council leader Merle Amory

addressed the 28 June rally in Hyde Park, and Linda Bellos of Lambeth council called a press conference to announce Lambeth's decision to sell its shares in Shell.

The Movement continued to receive the active support of organisations such as the Indian Workers Association, the Afro-Caribbean Organisation and the West Indian Standing Conference. For example, the director of WISC and the secretary of IWA both addressed the meeting organised for the lobby of parliament, as did the former GLC councillor and prospective parliamentary candidate Paul Boateng.

The national and executive committees

have both given consideration to how this area of the Movement's work can be expanded. In addition, the national committee, at its meeting in September, unanimously decided to send a message of solidarity to the St Paul's Apartheid-Free Zone Campaign following police harassment in St Paul's the previous week.

The Movement also made representations to the Inner London Education Authority over its support for Caribbean Focus '86 because of Barclays' funding of the programme. Following numerous protests, mainly from Caribbean organisations, Barclays' sponsorship was terminated.



SWAPO and ANC guest speakers at an Asian benefit organised in Glasgow by South Africa Concerns You (SACY), where £400 was raised for SWAPO medical kits. (Picture by SACY)

## Multi-Faiths

The Multi-Faiths Committee, established in the early months of 1985, has continued to contribute to the growing anti-apartheid activity among religious organisations and several events were staged.

Foremost among these was the multi-faith service held at St James's Church on 3 August 1985 on the opening day of the

Commonwealth mini-summit. The service was attended by people from many different denominations, and afterwards the 300-strong procession to the AAM's vigil for sanctions was led by two members of the EPG, Shapua Kankungua of SWAPO, Alfred Nzo and Solly Smith of the ANC, and Bishop Trevor Huddleston,

with the ANC and SWAPO singers.

Vigils were held during Holy Week and to mark the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

Many of the major churches in 1986 issued statements expressing support for a policy of full sanctions against apartheid. Notable amongst these were the British



Picture by Stefano Cagnoni (Report)

Council of Churches, the Church of England Synod and the Catholic Bishops' Conference. The mass lobby for sanctions on 17 June was endorsed by the BCC and Christian Concern for Southern Africa, both of which played an active role in its organisation.

Large meetings organised for the Revd Beyers Naude and Revd Frank Chikane, by the BCC and CIIR respectively, were supported by the AAM and provided the opportunity for an AAM bookstall and mobilisation among the religious community, a large number of whom also supported the November and June demonstrations.

This increased activity reflects the growing resistance in South Africa and Namibia of religious groups and churches responding to the development of the liberation struggle. In October 1985, the *Kairos Document* ('Kairos' - the decisive moment of truth) was issued in South Africa and published in Britain by the BCC and CIIR. A radical theological statement produced at the grassroots, it not only finally lays to rest any possibility of theological justification for apartheid, but moves the theology of those who oppose apartheid to a new stage, where the church must be clearly seen in action on the side of the oppressed and not stand as a 'third force' between oppressor and oppressed. This exciting document has received strong support and acts as a rallying point for wide sections of anti-apartheid activity in the religious community, both in South Africa and internationally.

In addition to the growing number of denominations involved with and supporting the AAM, August also saw the formation of 'Jews Against Apartheid', whose inaugural meeting was addressed by Denis Goldberg of the ANC and received messages of support from a number of Jewish community organisations.

Our thanks to Fr Steve Reith for his invaluable voluntary work to help establish the Multi-Faiths Committee.

event, which was organised by the AAM in cooperation with a number of other organisations (see *Parliament*).

At the Labour Party conference of October 1985, the party's support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions was reaffirmed in the resolution adopted. The highlight of the conference as a whole was the address by President Oliver Tambo and the welcome accorded him by delegates and visitors. In addition, the party adopted a statement on Southern Africa from the NEC which outlined its policy in more detail. The Labour Party has also participated actively in many AAM or AAM-supported events, including the 2 November March Against Apartheid, the Emergency South African Miners Strike Fund, the ten days of local authority action against apartheid in June, as well as the March and Festival for Freedom on 28 June.

The Movement has continued to develop its relationship with the party's policy directorate, which produced a special leaflet in support of sanctions, and the press and communications department, which assisted in the publicity for the vigil for sanctions in August.

Overall, the Movement's relations with the Labour Party have improved significantly, with greater support for the Movement's policies now than for many years.

The Liberal Party has also built upon the support for the Movement chronicled in last year's annual report. The party was represented at both national demonstrations, as well as the mass lobby, the Commonwealth vigil for sanctions and, following the political changes in local authorities as a result of the local elections in May, the ten days of local authority action against apartheid. In particular, the Movement has been able to have a number of meetings with the party leader and deputy leader in order to discuss issues of common concern. Support for the Movement has continued to be forthcoming from the Young Liberals, who hosted an Anti-Apartheid meeting at the annual Liberal Joint Assembly in Eastbourne in September 1986, which attracted a large attendance. In addition to the leader and deputy leader of the party, Simon Hughes MP has also been active, representing the party at various AAM activities during the year.

The party consolidated its policy position of 1985 by adopting an emergency resolution on comprehensive sanctions at the 1986 assembly.

The SDP has also developed its policy in favour of sanctions over the past 12 months, and its relations with the AAM have become closer. The Movement held a fringe meeting and ran a bookstall at the party's annual conference in Harrogate for the first time in September. A policy statement, advocating mandatory selective sanctions against South Africa, was adopted, along with an emergency resolution. The policy statement revealed the progress that had been made within the party over the last 12 months; however, there is still a need for more work to

secure full support for the Movement's policies from the SDP.

Relations with the Conservative Party at a national level have existed primarily in the realm of representations to the government over its policies and actions. The government has consistently acted as 'Pretoria's best friend' and on many occasions has found itself playing the role of sole protector of apartheid.

However, growing dissatisfaction with Conservative Party policy has expressed itself in a number of ways. The formation of Conservatives for Fundamental Change in Southern Africa was established by three Tory MPs following a visit to South Africa early in 1986. This body has called for limited measures to be introduced. More strident are the opinions of a number of Conservative councillors and pressure groups. The Tory Reform Group in particular released a statement in July urging the immediate imposition of sanctions on South Africa.

Plaid Cymru and the SNP continue to give their active backing to the AAM, as have the Communist Party and various components of the Green movement, including the Ecology Party.

As events in Southern Africa continued to dominate both domestic and international politics for much of the year, the upsurge of interest in the AAM and its campaigns from various left political groups reported last year has been maintained. While this support is generally welcomed, there continue to be differences of approach and understanding of developments in the region amongst certain of these groups.

## Parliament

The AAM has been more active than ever before at a parliamentary level, briefing members of both Houses, submitting evidence to select committees, and responding to numerous debates, parliamentary questions and statutory instruments that have passed through the Houses of Parliament in the past 12 months.

Members of all parties have been left in no doubt by AAM members and supporters in their constituencies that action is demanded on apartheid. In the Commons, the Parliamentary Labour Party Anti-Apartheid Group, under the secretaryship of Richard Caborn MP, has ensured, together with the efforts of the other two main opposition parties, that Southern Africa has dominated foreign affairs question time. Richard Caborn and the AAM were fortunate to be able to count on the work of Sue Walmsley, who serviced the PLPAAG until she left Parliament to take up a new appointment in June 1986.

Among the other major events in both Houses this year have been:

## Political Parties

The Movement has continued to cooperate with a wide variety of political parties and organisations which support the AAM and its policies, and to seek to influence those which have different approaches to the situation in Southern Africa.

The increasing unity for the imposition of sanctions against apartheid South Africa among opposition parties was clearly demonstrated by the participation of the Labour, Liberal and Social Democratic party leaders in the mass parliamentary lobby for sanctions on 17 June. Plaid Cymru and the Scottish Nationalist Party also participated actively in the

## Areas of work

- United Nations (Namibia) Bill: introduced by Lord Hatch in July 1985, the bill narrowly failed to pass the second reading stage in October, the government's majority being just 16.
- Following the South Africa (Sanctions) Bill introduced under the 10-minute rule in July 1985, Richard Caborn again introduced a similarly-worded bill in this parliamentary year. The government chose on this occasion to vote down the measure.
- A Statutory Instrument was laid by the government in February 1986 removing the obligation on retailers and suppliers to place a 'country of origin' mark on many goods. Some movement in this direction was to be expected under a 1985 ruling by the European Court. However, the government's action far exceeded the requirements of the court order, which itself left room for such marking to remain on goods on a voluntary basis. Labour members, led by Neil Kinnock, tabled an early day motion to revoke the Statutory Instrument.
- The AAM submitted evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, which also heard evidence from ANC president Oliver Tambo.

The government has been shown to be inconsistent in its appraisal of the Southern African situation, and the prime minister in particular has caused herself and her party some embarrassment in her handling of the matter under intense parliamentary scrutiny. The Foreign Office and the prime minister have shown themselves to be uncertain on matters of fact relating to the impact of sanctions on the UK economy.

The opposition has devoted its parliamentary time to two debates on the Southern Africa crisis in the past parliamentary year, and has proposed a number of anti-apartheid amendments to other pieces of government legislation.

The Movement has had the opportunity to discuss the issues at stake with senior figures in the Parliamentary Liberal Party on a number of occasions during the year.

In the Conservative Party, the formation of 'Conservatives for Fundamental Change in Southern Africa' was a sign of the differences of opinion emerging in that party's ranks. The AAM has yet to meet formally with CFFCSA, but looks forward to doing so.

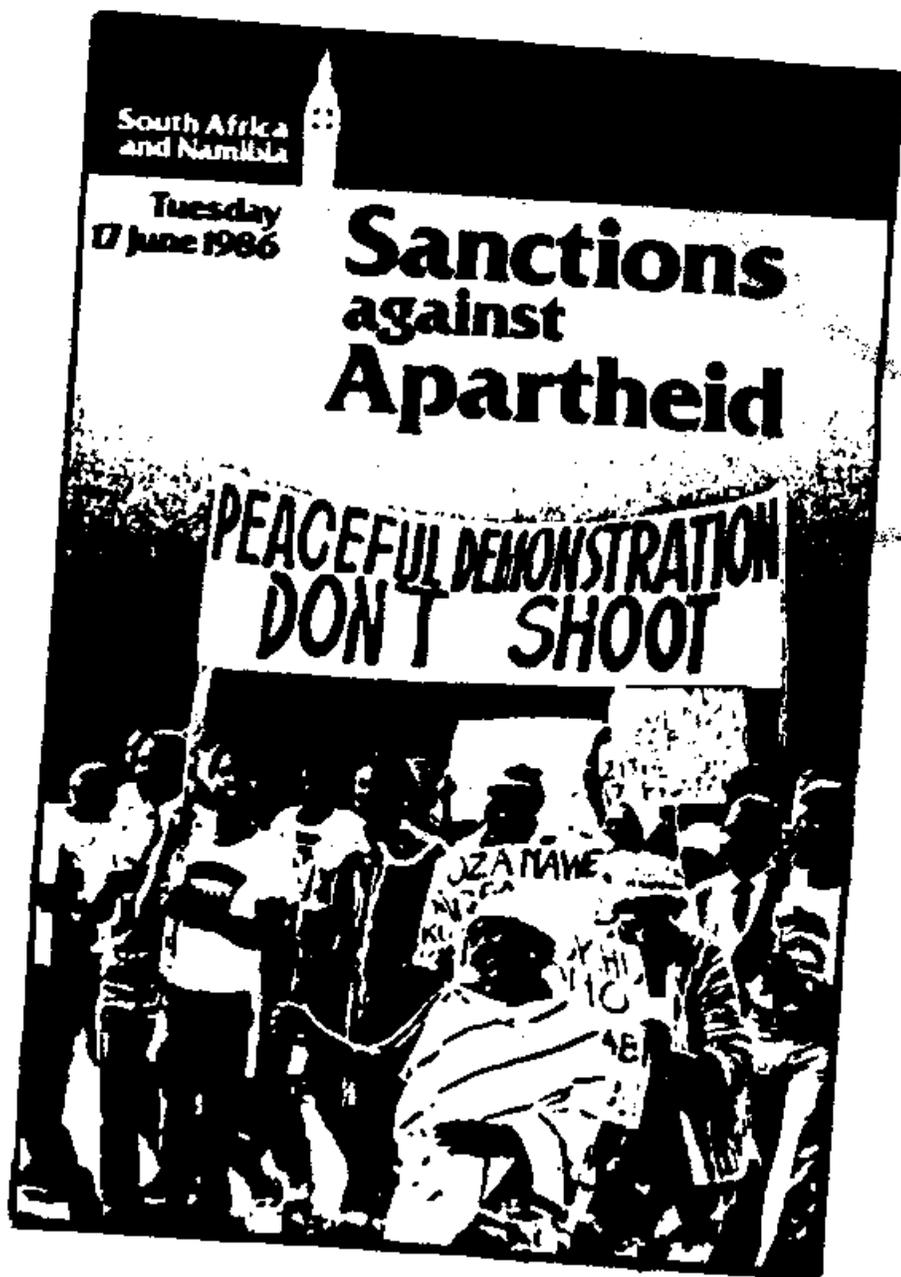
### Mass Parliamentary Lobby for Sanctions

As reported elsewhere in this publication, the mass parliamentary lobby for sanctions took place on 17 June. It attracted over 3,000 participants, and speakers at the two meetings in Westminster Cathedral Hall and the Grand Committee Room included Neil Kinnock, David Owen and David Steel. In addition, Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, Phillip Morgan of the BCC, and Denis

Healey MP took part. The lobby was an historic event for the AAM, as it involved close coordination with a number of national organisations, for the first time for such purposes, namely the BCC, TUC and UNA, and also the Namibia Support Committee and the National Steering Committee for Local Authority Action against Apartheid, to name but some.

This was a highly successful lobby from which much useful information was

gleaned regarding the position of a majority of MPs on the question of the imposition of sanctions. A majority of the returns were in fact from Conservative members, and indicated a number of areas where further work may well bring satisfactory results. Special recognition must be given to Kathy Jones of the British Council of Churches for her work in processing the information from the lobby returns.



## Information

# Anti-Apartheid News

The Newspaper of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

For the first time in *Anti-Apartheid News'* history, the Movement's accounts for the year to 30 June 1986 show a surplus of income from sales of the newspaper and paid advertising (£15,017) over expenditure (£14,852).

This, combined with circulation figures averaging 18-20,000 over the period covered by this report (compared with 7,000 at the end of 1982), is good news for the AAM. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of *AA News'* editorial board that the AAM's regular newspaper, which is recognised all over the world as a leading voice of the anti-apartheid movement despite being produced with minimal resources on a shoe-string budget, has a large as yet untapped potential for further growth. As the board reported in March 1986:

'*AA News* is the most important publication of the AAM. It is one of the main channels through which new supporters are introduced to the AAM's policies and become members and activists. It provides AAM activists with news and information about the struggles they are supporting in Southern Africa... It helps to unite the AAM through common understanding of the issues at stake... *AA News* is a highly saleable product through both campaigning and commercial outlets and it has the capacity to be an important revenue earner for the AAM.

'Today, *AA News* needs to be brought up-front. It has the capacity to work a great deal harder for the AAM and the liberation struggle, both in mobilising political support and in raising funds... The newspaper is on the brink of a potential breakthrough — but to achieve this it needs the support of the AAM's members and local groups, those who read it, sell it, promote it and use it in campaigns.'

### Editorial content

Events in Southern Africa over the past year, and the enormous growth in public interest in the liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa, have presented *AA News* with an immense editorial challenge. The paper has always fulfilled a number of different functions through its coverage and analysis of events in Southern Africa, as well as reporting on past, present and forthcoming campaigns at local, national and international level, and serves a wide readership with varying needs.

The imposition of the state of emergency in South Africa, and the consequent decline in the quality and usefulness (as opposed to quantity) of mainstream press and other media coverage of events inside the country, has placed an added responsibility on *AA News* to communicate the assessments and views of those in the front line of popular resistance to apartheid. Features of special mention which have appeared in *AA News* over the year to September 1986 include interviews with and articles on or by ANC president Oliver Tambo, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, ANC head of information and publicity Thabo Mbeki, ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad, head of the ANC women's secretariat Gertrude Shope, Jonas Gwangwa and Ndonda Khuze of the ANC cultural ensemble Amandla, COSATU central executive member Themba Nxumalo, Port Elizabeth community leader and consumer boycott organiser Mkuseli Jack, UDF leader Revd Frank Chikane, Natal Organisation of Women chair Noziwe Madlala, and NUSAS president Brendan Barry.

On Namibia, *AA News* has to tackle the almost total silence of the mainstream media, and indeed a lack of interest in the struggle in inverse proportion to the

attention focused on South Africa itself. *AA News* has published interviews with and articles by the chief representative of SWAPO in Britain, Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO head of information and publicity Hidipo Hamutenya, SWAPO deputy secretary for information and publicity Kandy Nekova, Ida Jimmy of the SWAPO women's council, and SWAPO member Philimon Itula. It has worked closely with other organisations concerned to raise the profile of the Namibian struggle in Britain, particularly the Namibia Support Committee, International Defence and Aid Fund, and the Namibia Communications Centre.

The 1985 AAM annual general meeting adopted a number of resolutions with implications for *AA News*, by suggesting special editorial attention to the issues of apartheid 'reform', destabilisation of the front line states, the role of the South African embassy in London, racism in Britain, South African propaganda, and the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act against members of the liberation movements. Features published in response have included centre spreads on the front line states and South African aggression, 'reforms' and the state of emergency, and the schools boycott, articles by Suresh Kamath of the AAM executive (on racism and apartheid), by Marga Holness and Richard Helmore of the Angolan press agency ANGOP, Paul Fauvet of the Mozambique press agency AIM, and contributions from Jagun Akinshegun of the St Paul's apartheid-free zone in Bristol and Shafiqur Rahman of South African Concerns You in Scotland.

Other contributors during the year have included Glenys Kinnoek, Adrian Long (National Union of Students), Stanley Clinton Davis, Earl Bousquet (St Lucia AAM, Caribbean), Vaughan Jones (Namibia Churches Action),

Seumas Milne, Phil Baker (Oxfam), Paul Johns (CND national chair), Andy Coupland (Joint Docklands Action Group), Revd Brian Brown (British Council of Churches), Mike Pye (Sheffield city council), Louis Mahoney (Performers Against Racism), Dali Tambo (Artists Against Apartheid), Tony Schiavone (Welsh Language Society), Alan Whitehead (leader, Southampton city council), Akwe Amosu, Lydia Merrill (Nuclear Free Zone network), Rt Hon Denis Healey MP, and Chris Searle.

### 'Challenging Apartheid'

The *AA News* editorial board has paid special attention during the year to the implications of the proposed constitutional changes in the AAM and in particular the introduction of a nationally integrated, two-tier membership structure. The latter implies both a much increased circulation for *AA News* through its systematic distribution to local AA members as well as national, and a heavy responsibility on AA local groups to enable such distribution to be achieved.

On 2 March 1986, the editorial board convened a special meeting for *AA News* readers, users, sellers and contributors to discuss, *inter alia*, the implementation of proposed constitutional changes. The meeting, attended by representatives of AA local groups, national and executive committee members and others, welcomed the proposed introduction of a Campaign Bulletin to supplement the role of *AA News* and to relieve some of the editorial burden from it. It also pointed to the great deal of hard work that has to be done to ensure that *AA News* takes full advantage of the potential for increasing circulation and sales as the Movement expands and changes.

The editorial board has since been seeking to imple-

## Information

ment these and other ideas for increasing sales and circulation, and for improving the servicing of members, including a feasibility study of commercial despatch arrangements, the expansion of commercial distribution to bookshops and newsagents, increased sales of advertising, and the production of promotional material for use by local AA groups and paper sellers. It is clear, however, that the

capacity of *AA News* fully to respond to the campaigning challenges of the late 1980s depends on more resources of staff time, funds and professional expertise being invested in it.

That *AA News* has come so far and achieved so much with so little is in large measure due to the many individuals who have generously given their time and experience, as reporters and

contributors, designers, graphic artists and photographers, packers, wrappers, publicity agents and sellers. Without Nancy White, *AA News*' typesetter, in particular, the newspaper would never appear at all. Mick Flynn, staff member responsible for the paper throughout the period covered, must also take much of the credit for its greatly increased earnings over the year.

Margaret Ling continues as *AA News* editor, while Deborah Ewing, a member of the editorial board, took over responsibility for the July/August 1986 issue during the editor's absence abroad. Other members of the editorial board who have served during the year are Alan Brooks, Brian Bunting, David Coetzee, Jean Middleton, Vella Pillay, Keith Somerville and Bernadette Valley.

## Publications

To complement *AA News*, the AAM produces a wide range of campaigning material, from pamphlets to leaflets, from badges to posters.

The past 12 months have seen a dramatic increase in the range of material produced. A particularly encouraging development has been the new range of material available on Namibia.

Another important development has been the increase in publications relating to different aspects of the sanctions campaign. Particular reference should be made to publications by the Labour Research Department, Counter Information Services, Tower Hamlets International Solidarity and Trades Council and the Birmingham-based Trade Union Resource Centre.

The Movement has also produced a series of memoranda on different aspects of British policy. Of particular significance were *A Tiny Little Bit*, published on the eve of the Commonwealth summit on 30 July; and a briefing on BICSA, the newly-formed anti-sanctions lobby set up by the business community. An updated list (September 1986) of UK companies and their subsidiaries and associates in South Africa has also been published.



## Speakers

The number of requests for speakers flowing into the AAM office has risen steadily, with often more than 8 or 9 requests every week — almost double the previous year. During periods of intense activity, such as the ten days of local authority action, the trade union week of action and the March month of action, these requests increase still further.

## The Media

Southern Africa has again featured prominently in the press and other media during the period covered by this report. Despite the existence of a news clampdown under the two states of emergency in force during this period, events in South Africa were reported extensively. In sharp contrast, there has continued to be what amounts to a conspiracy of silence over events in Namibia and on South Africa's war against the front line states.

Last year it was reported that 'the media have also been obliged to report the growing crisis in western policy towards Southern Africa and the campaign for sanctions and disinvestment'. This process has continued. Indeed it is important to record that there were some significant shifts in editorial policy in favour of sanctions measures. The *Financial Times*, *Guardian*, *Mail on Sunday* and the *Observer* all argued for stronger measures against South Africa.

However, despite the crucial role that the Movement has played in the campaign for sanctions, the great majority of our campaigning initiatives go unreported in the national media. Indeed, the two major demonstrations on 2 November and 28 June were poorly reported in the press, in contrast to television and radio coverage. The Movement's voice is still not adequately heard and this needs urgent attention.

However, throughout the period covered by this report, the AAM headquarters has been constantly in contact with the media. Numerous requests were received for information, statements and interviews, and the Movement's profile in the foreign media has grown enormously. For example, the 2 November demonstration was headline news in the USA, and the 28 June March and Festival was televised throughout the world.

In Britain, the labour movement press, especially the *Morning Star*, *Tribune* and *Labour Weekly*, have continued to play an invaluable role in mobilising support

for the Movement's campaigns. Similar support has been forthcoming from the black community press and radio, and the religious press. There has also been a further marked increase in coverage in much of the trade union press.

The Movement has continued to organise press conferences and distribute press releases with the objective of securing reporting of AAM activities and policies.

The 1985 AGM adopted a

resolution recognising the need to counter South African propaganda in the media. *Anti-Apartheid News* has contributed to this campaign by encouraging representations to the IBA and individual TV companies. The Movement itself has made representations to the BBC and ITN on numerous occasions. Despite these activities, the South African embassy continues to have access to TV and radio in order to propagate the racist policies of the apartheid

regime. An encouraging development in this field was the decision of the NUJ's international committee to encourage more media coverage of Namibia.

The Movement would again like to take this opportunity to thank the many individual journalists in the press, radio and television who have striven hard to ensure effective coverage of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

## Finance and fund-raising

The financial situation of the Movement has again suffered as a result of the rapid expansion of the Movement's work. In the 1984/85 annual report, a dramatic increase in expenditure was reported (from £102,758 in 1983/84 to £155,755 for 1984/85). This had led to a deficit of some £22,802. There was an even greater increase in expenditure during 1985/86 to a total of £316,510. Income also rose significantly to £299,223, thus leaving a deficit of £17,287 over the financial year. This in turn resulted in an accumulated deficit on the Movement's general account of £26,690.

The main factor which led to this situation was the very large deficit incurred for the March and Festival on 28 June — amounting to well over £40,000. If grants and donations anticipated in support of this event had been forthcoming, then the general account could have been back in credit.

These financial results have prompted serious discussion in the executive and national committees. A number of key decisions have been taken, including agreement to appoint a finance officer and the strengthening of the fund-raising work of the Movement. The Movement's finance committee has been enlarged and the system for invoicing has been computerised. However, the underlying trend remains unhealthy. The regular income required to maintain the functioning of the HQ, the production and distribution of *AA News*, and the servicing of the membership and local groups is now over £12,000 a month, and likely to rise in the future. An appreciation of the importance of fund-raising for the Movement itself still remains restricted to a limited number of key activists.

Once again the Movement is indebted to all those who contributed to the range of fund-raising activities it has organised, and to all those who have donated so generously to the Movement. Sponsored

events continue to be an important part of the fund-raising work. Paul Annegarn once again took part in the London Marathon; the Cycle for Mandela attracted a greater number of participants; and the number, size and revenue of the Soweto Walks organised by local groups has increased dramatically.

As joint authors of the 1987 *Pluto Big Red Diary on Southern Africa*, the AAM compiled and edited their yearly diary. Apart from the political importance of a widely distributed and attractive condensed guide to South Africa and Namibia, it is hoped that substantial income will be generated from its sale.

An emergency presidential appeal, widely distributed and more attractively produced, recouped over £8,000 — the best response to such an appeal the Movement has yet received.

Goods and gifts continued to be a vital regular source of funds. The range and volume of goods provided by the AAM HQ have much increased. Despatch and demand for these over the Christmas period was up on last year. A particular success was the huge volume of goods sold at the Movement's March and Festival for Freedom on 28 June. Two new lines of T-shirts, mugs, badges, etc. were sold at a ferocious rate. Hard-working volunteers on the day deserve special mention, for their contribution made this possible. Local AA group work on goods continues: Tyneside AA and Sheffield AA have joined Brent and Barnet AA in establishing and sustaining fund-raising products.

Finally, a special note of appreciation must be made for Mr Arthur Prior, the Movement's auditor, for his assistance and advice. Thanks should also be expressed to the GLC for a major grant for equipment to the Movement and the London AA Committee.

# Organisation

## MEMBERSHIP

The year 1985/86 has seen an increasing level of support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement from both organisations and individuals, and this is reflected in the significant increase in the AAM's membership. The total number of new members this year was 5,000, which is more than double the number of individuals who joined in the year 1984/85.

There are some 850 organisations affiliated to the AAM. These include made trade union and political party branches. There has also been a significant increase in the number of women's organisations affiliating to the Movement. There continues to be a tremendous variety of organisations affiliated, including student, youth and church groups, and a number of community relations councils. The breadth of support for the AAM is also reflected by a number of national organisations which have joined this year, including the Indian Workers' Association, Women Against Pit Closures and Red Wedge. There have been about 500 new affiliations this year.

The total membership of individuals and organisations now stands at approximately 8,500, which is an increase of 3,500 on the previous year. This increase is very encouraging but there is a high proportion of members and member organisations who are not renewing their membership. New procedures for renewals are being introduced to try and ensure that a much higher percentage of renewals is achieved.

Local groups have an enormous potential for increasing the membership, as most local activists are still not national members. If wider support for our policies and campaigns is to be secured, it is of the utmost importance that the AAM expands and consolidates its membership rapidly.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The annual general meeting is the major opportunity during the year for AAM members to play a part in formulating policy and discussing campaigning plans for the year ahead. Resolutions adopted form the framework of policy for the AAM, and constitutional changes have to be ratified by the AGM.

Each year notice is sent out for the AGM inviting members and affiliated organisations to submit resolutions to the AGM and to nominate individual members to serve on the national committee of the Movement. At the AGM itself members discuss and vote on motions and elect 30 individual 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 1985 AGM a total of 16 resolutions were adopted covering a range of areas of campaigning work. Messages were received from the president of SWAPO, the NEC of the ANC and the NEC of the UDF. Well over 1,000 members and delegates from affiliated organisations participated.

An important decision was taken that in future the AGM would be held over two days and that a registration fee should be introduced. One result of this was that it proved impossible to find a venue for the AGM during the autumn of 1986, when the meeting would normally have taken place, and as a result the national committee reluctantly decided to postpone the AGM to January 1987. The AGM also requested the national committee to consider the proposals which had been drawn up by the Movement's development sub-committee to strengthen and expand the organisational basis of the Movement. This matter is reported on fully in the section on the national committee below.

The AGM also ratified an amendment to the constitution adopted by the national committee which restricted attendance at the AGM to individuals who had been in membership three months prior to the AGM.

## 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, one representative of each local AA group and regional committee, and representatives of 25 national or regional member organisations elected annually from amongst such organisations. The Southern African liberation movements attend the national committee in a special category with observer status, and observers are also invited from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to 10 individuals may be coopted.

The scope of activity and workload of the national committee have expanded significantly, reflecting the overall growth of the Movement. The national committee met five times during the period covered by this report. Its first meeting, in December 1985, was primarily concerned with electing the new executive and other Movement office-holders. It also gave initial consideration to the work required to implement the resolutions adopted at the AGM. This meeting decided in principle to call the March and Festival for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa on 28 June 1986, together with a series of other initiatives as part of an 'Agenda for Action' which had originally been presented to the AGM. The executive committee was requested to bring proposals to the next national committee meeting on the restructuring of the AGM.

The February meeting of the national committee provided the first opportunity for a detailed discussion of the development sub-committee's report on the future development of the Movement. This, together with a paper from the executive committee on the restructuring of the AGM, was debated at length. The meeting agreed in principle on the establishment of a dual-tier structure of national and local members, and accepted the proposals of the sub-committee's report. The executive committee was empowered to produce a revised report including proposals on the establishment of a delegate AGM to the next national committee, together with necessary changes in the constitution and standing orders. This report, 'Challenging Apartheid', was subsequently prepared in draft form and widely circulated, and then presented to the April meeting of the national committee, where the revised proposals were again considered in detail. Finally, in July 1986, the national committee adopted a series of amendments to the constitution and standing orders, and agreed that 'Challenging Apartheid' should be revised and then published for distribution to the membership of the Movement as a whole. The meeting agreed that the amendments to the constitution should be forwarded to the AGM for ratification. It was recognised by the national committee throughout these discussions that the changes in the system of membership and the introduction of a delegate AGM were of great significance, and every effort has been made to promote the widest possible debate on this issue.

The February national committee meeting also discussed a series of recommendations from the executive on the actions to be taken to implement the resolutions adopted by the AGM and, following discussion, agreed on a range of initiatives to be taken. It also agreed to participate actively in the international campaign against Shell, and discussed a progress report on the implementation of the 'Agenda for Action'. This meeting was addressed by the acting president of the UN Council for Namibia, Ambassador Sinclair, and a national committee statement on Namibia was adopted.

The April meeting's main item of discussion was the mobilisation and organisation of the March and Festival for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa on 28 June, and it agreed on a detailed budget and speakers to be invited.

The July meeting, in addition to formally adopting the amendments to the constitution and standing orders, adopted

plans for the Commonwealth mini-summit and for the Namibia Week of Action in the autumn. The last meeting of the national committee covered by this report was in September and it adopted the political report as well as considering a detailed financial report and the work of the Movement during the Commonwealth Games and mini-summit.

There has been a marked and welcome increase in the number of local AA groups sending representatives to the meetings of the national committee; but many local groups still do not avail themselves of the right to take part.

### 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 it in its work. It can also appoint sub-committees and these are currently the trade union, health, women's, multi-faiths, finance and fund-raising committees, as well as the editorial board of *AA News*. There is 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.

The executive committee continued to take up with the government the implications of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, especially the case of the chief representative of SWAPO who was searched under powers contained in the Act when he entered Britain on 22 September 1985. MPs were extensively briefed by the Movement when the Act was being discussed in parliament, and numerous other initiatives have been taken on this matter. Particularly close liaison was maintained with the NCCL on this issue, as was also the case in relation to the campaign against the Public Order Bill. The Movement distributed NCCL briefings to local AA groups and urged them to campaign locally on the implications of the Bill's proposals for local anti-apartheid activity. At a national level, the Movement jointly sponsored a major rally with other campaigning organisations on 12 May 1986, at which a speaker from the Movement outlined its opposition to the key recommendations of the Bill. The Movement also participated in a demonstration outside parliament against

the Bill and lobbied members of the House of Commons Standing Committee which considered the Bill in detail.

The executive committee also established a March against Apartheid Defence Fund to assist those arrested following the 2 November rally in Trafalgar Square.

### AAM HEADQUARTERS

THE AAM HQ in Mandela Street is the nerve centre of the Movement. It is estimated that some quarter of a million items are now posted out each year and an equivalent amount of correspondence received. A very heavy burden thus falls on the staff and the team of committed volunteers who undertake the practical work to ensure the success of the Movement's campaigns.

This year, the Movement suffered the loss in tragic circumstances of Liz Hollis, its local groups organiser, who died in February 1986. Her death was a blow to her colleagues and many friends throughout the Movement. A meeting was held in her memory in April and funds raised in response to an appeal are planned to be used to buy an item of medical equipment for use at the ANC hospital at Mazimbu.

There have been a number of changes on the staff. Cate Clarke, the deputy secretary, left the staff in July 1986 after seven years working for the Movement, and Penny Weaver, who had worked as part time assistant to the executive secretary, left in March 1986, to be succeeded by Chitra Karve. Mick Flynn took over as local groups organiser, and his position as projects organiser was filled by Vanessa Eyre. Karen Talbot and Clive Nelson, who were appointed as temporary campaign workers in the autumn of 1985, were appointed to permanent posts as campaign organisers. Stuart Bell was also employed on a temporary basis to undertake company research. Carola Towie, who had filled the temporary vacancy caused by Sue Longbottom's maternity leave, continued to work a job-share with Sue but was moving to alternative employment when this report was being prepared.

The Movement moved into its existing headquarters in the spring of 1983 but they are already too small for the number of staff and the volume of work being undertaken. Camden council provided temporary additional accommodation prior to the 28 June demonstration, and plans are in hand for a further expansion of the headquarters.



SOLIDARITY  
WITH  
**ANGI!**

AFRICAN PEOPLE SAY  
WE SAY NOW.  
SANCTIONS NOW.

ANTI-A  
...CIL FOR SANCTIONS

...COFFIN BEHINDS THE  
VICTIMS OF APARTHEID

Illustration by Stefano Campese/Bravo