



**Anti-Apartheid Movement
Annual Report**

of activities and developments 1987/88



**ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
Annual Report
October 1987 - September 1988**

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FOREWORD

The past year in the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been dominated by one event, the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela, which took place on 18 July. It is literally true that virtually the whole world knew of this event as a result of the great pop concert at Wembley in June which was the preparation for it. A billion people saw on their television screens some of the greatest stars in the world who gave their services free for this event. In spite of considerable pressure from our opponents, the BBC transmitted the whole event live for over 10 hours. This marvellous concert was followed by another almost equally significant event, a rally in Glasgow attended by over 80,000 people to launch the freedom marchers on their way from Glasgow to London. Twenty-five marchers, each representing one year of Mandela's life imprisonment, walked 600 miles and finished their march on the day of the great rally in Hyde Park. All of this got considerable press coverage, at least in Great Britain, and the rally itself was the largest that the Movement has ever attempted. It was addressed by President Oliver Tambo, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and many others.

As a result of these efforts, it is reckoned that the membership of our Movement has doubled during this past year. There is no need for me to add my own thanks to all who have taken part in these events, for the success of them is a thanksgiving in itself.

As I write, events in Southern Africa are once more at a critical stage. Talks involving Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States, centring upon the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435, have created vast shockwaves through the continent. At the same time, the South African government has been launching various diplomatic initiatives aimed at gaining support from various African states and so creating for itself a return to a recognised position in the world community. Again, as I write these words, the results of the municipal elections in South Africa are not known, but it is very clear that President Botha's aim is by hook or by crook to show that he has sufficient black support to influence favourably world opinion.

There have been very strong reactions to the initiatives over rugby football and soccer with regard to the sports boycott. Again the final picture has yet to emerge. We have to recognise that the Anti-Apartheid Movement is a solidarity movement whose aim is quite simply to give its fullest possible support to all who are working for the immediate end of apartheid. We are not attempting to dictate what is the best manner in which this struggle could be brought to a successful conclusion. Inevitably, however, because we are now a world movement and because our title is what it is, people turn to us for guidance. It by no means easy in such a turbulent moment of history to give effective guidance and to take the appropriate action. Perhaps next year the picture will be once more clearer and we shall find ourselves again moving rapidly forward to the climax of all our efforts when apartheid will be no more. In the meanwhile, the watchword is 'Never relax: always press on.'

I must end on a personal note of thanks for the really wonderful birthday party given to me by the Movement and its friends for my 75th birthday anniversary. This was something totally unexpected in its magnitude and was most deeply encouraging because of the hundreds of messages I received from governments and individuals all over the world. I do recognise that there are limits to what I can usefully do and I certainly do not intend to become a burden to the Movement because of the diminishment of old age. However, I also intend to give all I can in this next critical period of the struggle, and it is wonderful to know that we are so united.

Trevor Huddleston CR

The Rt Revd Trevor Huddleston CR
President

26 October 1988

INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the political report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the national committee at its meeting of 9 September 1988

The past year has brought new advances for the liberation forces in South Africa, Namibia and the Front Line States, and for the worldwide movement in solidarity with them. Their growing confidence and unity in action have deepened the crisis of the apartheid regime, accelerating the process of its decline and disintegration.

Indeed, when the history of the demise of the apartheid system is written, it will record the battle for Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola as a major turning point. It was here, in March 1988, that the Botha regime suffered its worst military defeat yet. Having failed to take this strategic town, and finding thousands of its ground forces trapped, Pretoria was forced on to the retreat. Obligated to return to the negotiating table, the regime soon found itself compelled for the first time to agree to a specific date for the proposed arrival in the region of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) in implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia. It was also compelled to start immediately the long-agreed but never implemented withdrawal of its forces from the People's Republic of Angola. These developments demonstrated a reality that permeates the whole of Southern Africa — the fact that the Pretoria regime's ruthless pursuit of regional domination has foundered on the rock of popular resistance to racist rule.

In Namibia itself, the biggest ever mobilisations of young people in school boycotts and of workers in a huge two-day stoppage and other protest actions were major factors in putting the Pretoria regime under intense pressure. Also contributing to this effect was the marked upsurge in the armed struggle led by SWAPO's military wing, PLAN (the People's Liberation Army of Namibia). These processes further demonstrated that the balance of forces was shifting significantly in favour of the liberation struggle.

The South African regime's attempts to coerce the Front Line States into a subordinate relationship by trying to hold them to ransom both politically and economically and by destabilising them have so far failed, coming up against the growing self-reliance and mutual solidarity of the countries most affected, namely Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia.

And in South Africa, the implacable determination of the people to rid themselves of the tyranny of apartheid, and their fortitude in the face of unparalleled repression, have defeated the regime's every effort to crush all resistance and find a way out of its inexorable decline. Amongst the notable features of the resistance were a marked escalation in armed struggle, the new-found role of the churches and mosques in asserting opposition to and defiance of the state, and the continuing militancy of the youth and students. Especially noteworthy have been the consolidation, both politically and organisationally, of the independent non-racial trade unions, and the growing strength and confidence of the black working class, marked especially by the staging on 6-8 June of the biggest stayaway in the country's history. These processes underlined the

domestic isolation of the Botha regime and contributed to its inability to re-establish even the limited capacity to dictate the course of events it had back in 1984 when the present phase of its crisis began.

Internationally, the regime stands more isolated than ever before. Its utter failure to come up with any new internal political initiative, the erratic course of its once-vaunted 'reform' programme, and the undeniable brutality of its domestic repression and regional aggression have caused dismay amongst its key western allies. The resulting intensification of international pressures for an extension of sanctions against Pretoria has made the position of governments which continue to oppose sanctions less tenable.

A regime in crisis

In its fortieth year in power, the ruling National Party (NP) suffered an accelerating disintegration of its power base, losing ground on the one hand to the Conservative Party and other ultra-right forces such as the AWB, and on the other hand to the increasingly alienated section of the white middle class, both in business and the professions, which sees no future for itself whilst apartheid lasts. Under the impact of the widening influence of the ANC, a similar process of disintegration began to appear in the ranks of the Progressive Federal Party, still trapped in the cul-de-sac of parliamentary politics.

At the same time, the internecine conflicts within the bantustan elites, symptomatic of deep-seated discontent and resistance in the rural areas, erupted repeatedly, especially in a series of coups in the Transkei and Ciskei, throwing into sharp relief both the rampant corruption of the tribal despotisms and the increasing instability of one of the main pillars of the apartheid regime. This climaxed in an attempted putsch by disaffected lower ranks in Bophuthatswana in February which compelled Pretoria to drop its pretence of respect for the homeland's 'independence' and to intervene militarily to reinstate the puppet regime of Lucas Mangope.

The unprecedentedly heavy losses of both men and materiel suffered by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in Angola from late 1987 onwards undermined the confidence of many whites in the government and led even the Dutch Reformed Church to question the military's presence in Angola. It also gave fresh impetus to the campaign against conscription, which reached a new peak on 3 August 1988 with the bold declaration by 143 young white men that they would not report for military service — a brave stand in the light of the imposition on David Bruce a few days previously of the maximum sentence of six years' imprisonment for refusing to be called up. Now, not even the banning of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) will stop a growing number of young whites refusing to serve in the apartheid military.

The regime's increasingly futile endeavour to accommodate black political aspirations whilst maintaining white supremacy found expression in a strategy whose

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key features were attempting to (i) paralyse the base of the mass democratic movement through intimidation and terror, and decapitate its leadership through detention and proscription; (ii) resuscitate community and town councils and mollify the inhabitants of the townships by investment in housing, electricity, drains, etc; (iii) by these means to prepare the ground for the October 1988 municipal elections and for black participation in the proposed National Statutory Council — a 1980s version of the literally powerless Natives Representative Council of the years 1936-46.

In seeking to achieve the first of these objectives, the regime unleashed on the people the brutal savagery of vigilante violence and of Inkatha thuggery, especially in the Pietermaritzburg area. Ignoring the abundant evidence of the brutal role of Chief Buthelezi's organisation in the tragic conflict in Natal, western leaders, notably Mrs Thatcher, continued to espouse Buthelezi as a 'moderate', valued for his hostility both to sanctions and to the ANC.

Under the reimposed state of emergency, the police continued to arrest and detain leading figures in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other organisations, whilst keeping in detention many who had been taken in under the first state of emergency. When this failed to halt resistance activities, the authorities struck a vicious blow on 24 February, imposing draconian bans on 17 organisations (including the UDF itself and 14 of its affiliates) which amounted to outlawing them in all but name, severe restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and bans on 18 leading individuals, including the two co-presidents of the UDF, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede. These measures provoked a considerable response, both nationally and internationally. When the churches stepped into the breach, with the formation of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy and the holding of a peaceful march in Cape Town by leaders of different faiths, the authorities reacted by immediately banning the Committee and dispersing the march, detaining its leaders for several hours.

Whatever short-term respite Pretoria may have gained by these actions, by proscribing the leading organisations committed to non-violent forms of resistance the regime undermined the credibility of western governments' pursuit of 'peaceful change' through a process of negotiation. This action revealed that Botha had set his face against any prospect of dialogue with the disenfranchised majority. As he himself declared at the NP conference in Durban in August: 'I'm not considering even to discuss the possibility of black majority government in South Africa.'

Similarly, the introduction of the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill at the beginning of March to curb external funding of projects hit at the very heart of the 'positive measures' adopted by the European Community and the United States, threatening to deprive them of their principal means of intervention in the mass democratic movement.

In seeking to achieve its objectives within the black townships, the regime has come up against several obstacles. A key political one has been the ongoing rent boycotts in about 50 places, some of which have been sustained for over three years; attempts to break these by measures such as electricity cuts have only exacerbated township tensions. A key economic obstacle that has crippled the efforts of the Joint Management Committees to carry out a facelift has been the paucity of funds available from both the state

and private sector for investment in infrastructural improvements.

This in turn is a symptom of the deepening economic crisis gripping South Africa, provoked not only by the structural flaws of the apartheid economy but also by its growing isolation, resulting in the drying up of foreign loans and investment, and a sharp drop in exports to the US and other countries now imposing limited sanctions (only partly compensated for by greatly increased trade with Japan). As a result, the rate of inflation has begun to rise again, and severe credit restrictions and import surcharges have been forced on the government in an attempt to stop the plunge into deficit of the balance of payments — which swung from a surplus of over R6 billion in the last quarter of 1987 to an annualised deficit of R400 million in the first quarter of 1988. By July 1988 reserves had fallen 28% below their level at the end of 1987. Already having difficulty in making current debt repayments, the regime is facing big repayments due in 1990.

With a 22% rise in military spending anticipated in the 1988 budget, government spending has now reached the point where it accounts for 37% of gross domestic product. The seriousness of the economic crisis facing the regime was underlined by its enforcement of a wage freeze for civil servants, an unpopular measure adding to its political problems within the white electorate. Living standards are declining, especially for blacks, and only a sudden (and unlikely) sharp rise in the price of gold could halt the downward spiral of the economy in which the regime now finds itself caught.

The uncertain, contradictory and irrational actions of the regime in response to the mounting pressures on it reveal the depths of the dilemma it has created for itself. Having released Govan Mbeki, one of the most senior ANC leaders, from prison in November, the authorities lost their nerve and in December imposed restrictions on him which amounted almost to house arrest. Having apparently resolved in March to proceed with the execution of the Sharpeville Six, the authorities backed down and granted a stay of execution — and instead proceeded with the execution of other political prisoners. After P W Botha had loudly proclaimed that the fate of the Six would be determined by judicial processes, the minister of justice intervened in July to announce an indefinite stay of execution. Similarly with the film 'Cry Freedom', when the Publications Appeal Board's decision to allow it to be shown was overturned a few hours later by the minister of justice.

After launching the Bill to restrict overseas funding, the government later back-tracked and delayed its passage through parliament. Even with its long-prepared and much-vaunted Labour Relations Amendment Bill, aimed at crippling the independent trade union movement, destroying the possibility of effective legal strikes and reversing some of the key elements of the Wiehahn reforms of the 1970s, the regime appeared to have been disconcerted by the opposition of both the unions and some powerful employers, but finally went ahead with the promulgation of the legislation on 1 September.

Nowhere was the policy dilemma of Pretoria more starkly revealed than in Namibia. With its intensified military occupation and persecution of civilians, the murderous activities of the Koevoet police counter-insurgency units, and the increasing harassment of the media, especially *The Namibian* newspaper, the regime systematically destroyed any possibility of its puppet

transitional government's gaining credibility and support. Its resulting unsuitability to serve Pretoria's ends led to its being brushed aside in favour of an enhanced role for the directly appointed administrator general.

It was only in its intensification of repression that the regime displayed any consistency. 'In 76 years of struggle under the banner of the ANC,' observed ANC President Oliver Tambo, presenting the National Executive Committee's 8 January statement, 'we have never known a campaign of repression as coldly calculated and systematic as we have experienced this past year. The emergence into the open of the so-called National Security Management System as the central instrument of government, its core composed of the racist army and police, is indication enough of the decisive importance of the use of force as the principal means of government.'

'The issue', the NEC pointed out, 'is not just the imposition of the dastardly state of emergency. The effort to maintain the so-called security of the apartheid system has meant a determined attempt to break the will of the people and to destroy our organisations through sustained terror carried out by soldiers, the police, kitskonstabels and secret assassination squads.'

These words proved tragically prophetic. For the first time, the racist regime carried its murderous activities into Europe, failing twice to kill the ANC's representative in Brussels, and then succeeding in killing Dulcie September, its representative in Paris, on 29 March. A few days later, ANC legal expert Albie Sachs was seriously injured in another assassination attempt, this time in Maputo.

In the same period an onslaught was launched against the 'alternative' press in South Africa, with the *New Nation* being suspended for three months and other papers for shorter periods. Reporting restrictions on the national and international media were tightened yet further as the regime sought to conceal its reign of terror from an increasingly horrified world.

The regime's attacks on church leaders, its inhuman 'cat-and-mouse' treatment of the Sharpeville Six, and its refusal to respond to unprecedented international pressure for the release of Nelson Mandela on or before his 70th birthday — all had a profound impact on public opinion in the West and led to a re-examination of policy towards South Africa in Washington, Bonn, Brussels, Paris, and — to a much lesser extent — in London too. Downing Street has let it be known that it is dissatisfied with Pretoria — though not sufficiently to modify its ostrich-like stance on sanctions.

Southwestern Africa

In contrast to Pretoria's seeming indifference to the international community's reactions to developments within South Africa, it has felt compelled to respond to international initiatives over Angola and Namibia. There can be no doubt that the decisive factor which led to South Africa's agreement finally to withdraw its forces from Angola and proceed with the UN plan for the decolonisation of Namibia was the loss of air superiority and the staunch defence of Cuito Cuanavale by the FAPLA and Cuban forces. Having lost several aircraft, and unable to provide effective air cover for its ground forces, or to conceal fully their mounting losses, the Pretoria regime was compelled to enter into a negotiating process which began in London in May.

There can be no certainty — after ten bitter years of

Pretoria's prevarication over the implementation of UNSCR 435 — that the Botha regime will honour the commitments it has made over Namibia and Angola in the course of these negotiations. But it remains true that in certain key respects the situation has altered decisively in favour of the liberation struggle.

The entire future course of events in Southern Africa could be determined by the current negotiations over Angola and Namibia. In this critical situation, it is vital that the Anti-Apartheid Movement does all in its power to strengthen the support in Britain and internationally for the struggles of the people of Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of SWAPO and the ANC; to intensify solidarity with the Front Line States and to work unremittingly for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa and its illegal administration in Namibia.

One critical factor has been the impact of existing sanctions. Weak though its implementation has been in some respects, the arms embargo has nevertheless significantly contributed to South Africa's loss of air superiority by making it difficult, if not impossible, for Pretoria to replace and modernise its air force. The growing economic burden of the war in Angola, of the military occupation of Namibia, of the huge bureaucracies of the apartheid state in a period when loss of export markets has cut foreign exchange earnings, has made the price of Pretoria's policies almost too high to pay.

But this does not mean that the current international negotiations are taking place in conditions entirely favourable to the freedom struggle throughout the region. It is clear that Angola has paid a heavy price for its resolute defence of its independence — especially with the growth of US aid to Unita. And it is the US administration that has cast a shadow over the talks with its insistence that the Angolan government enter into negotiations with Unita. Moreover, should the implementation of UNSCR 435 begin, Pretoria's allies will claim this as evidence of a change of heart by the regime and seek to rule out of court any pressure being brought to bear on South Africa, especially during the implementation period. This could provide the Botha administration with a much-needed breathing space to try and re-establish economic and political stability in the knowledge that there will be no retaliatory action by the international community. Yet if Pretoria now sabotages the negotiating process, the case for sanctions will be overwhelming and pressures for them unstoppable. In this complex and fluid situation, it is clear that anti-apartheid and solidarity movements everywhere will need to exercise vigilance and seek to mobilise maximum support for the ongoing freedom struggle, not least in South Africa itself.

Britain and western policy

The need for maximum vigilance will be especially great in Britain, because it continues to be a key determinant of western policy towards the region. Thus the policies pursued by the British government have a profound influence on the course of events in Southern Africa. Britain, although not a direct participant in the four-party talks on Namibia/Angola, has been actively backing the US role, and it was no accident that the first meeting was in London.

In a significant shift of policy, revealed following the Commonwealth conference in Vancouver in October 1987 by Mrs Thatcher, Britain moved closer

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to the US policy of aiding Unita, by arguing that 'the development of Angola depends on the establishment of peace there. We continue to urge a policy of reconciliation upon both the MPLA and Unita.'

Britain — isolated but influential

It was at the Vancouver conference that Britain again reaffirmed its anti-sanctions policy, thus isolating itself from the entire Commonwealth. The communique of the heads of government meeting included six different paragraphs which Mrs Thatcher refused to endorse. One of these involved the boycott by Britain of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa. It subsequently met twice — in Lusaka (February 1988) and Toronto (August 1988).

However, Britain's apparent isolation on the sanctions issue should not allow anyone to be deluded into believing that Britain lacks influence over the development of western policy. There is indeed much evidence to the contrary, namely that Britain is actively trying to regain the centre stage in determining western policy. This first emerged during the prime minister's tour of Africa in January 1988 when, following visits to Kenya and Nigeria, it was disclosed to sympathetic British correspondents that she intended to visit South Africa itself. The visit depended on the timing being right, it was explained. This story has reappeared in slightly different forms repeatedly in the British press, especially whenever there is pressure on the government to act.

In apparent preparation for such a visit, the foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, announced he would visit a number of Front Line States in the autumn of 1988, possibly to be followed up by a prime ministerial visit to the region. In the event, he visited only two of the Front Line States, Tanzania and Mozambique, but Zimbabwe's President Mugabe subsequently met Mrs Thatcher in London.

Behind these diplomatic moves, the British government would appear to have two clear objectives. Firstly, it needs to be seen to be acting if its anti-sanctions policy is to have any credibility. Secondly, but much more crucially, it is intent on creating the conditions for some limited controlled change within South Africa — falling far short of the non-racial and democratic South Africa envisaged in the Freedom Charter — which would allow South Africa to be rehabilitated internationally by Britain and other major western powers. Essentially this involves appeasing the apartheid regime. It involves encouraging Pretoria's 'reforms' and projecting the illusion that a negotiating process could soon be under way. It allows Britain to protect apartheid South Africa from effective sanctions and to undermine the international standing of the ANC. And, above all, it assists Pretoria in its efforts to establish political and economic stability within South Africa.

Moreover, Britain's role in seeking to block the imposition of international sanctions against Pretoria is by no means limited to the Commonwealth. Once again this year it has used its veto in the UN Security Council. On 8 March, together with the USA, it vetoed a carefully formulated draft resolution which simply sought to make mandatory the limited sanctions measures which Britain and the USA already subscribed to. So moderate was the resolution that it would have been operative for only 12 months because opponents of sanctions have argued that the USSR could use its veto to block the lifting of sanctions even though others judged that they should be suspended.

The Thatcher government has been even more active

within the EEC in seeking to block all moves towards a stronger common policy towards South Africa. The general climate of opinion within the EEC institutions and amongst other EEC governments toughened considerably during this period, especially as a result of the 24 February bannings, the introduction of the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill and the threatened execution of the Sharpeville Six.

At a series of meetings of the Council of Ministers and in the structures of European Political Co-operation, whereby the EEC countries seek to formulate a common European foreign policy, Britain has found itself completely isolated, even from the other staunch opponent of sanctions — the FRG. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that it was the stronger stand taken by the FRG, which appeared to be contemplating supporting further sanctions against Pretoria, which led the regime to back off, albeit temporarily, from enacting the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

As a result of British intransigence, no further measures were adopted by the EEC and there is growing evidence that the limited measures already adopted by the EEC are not being strictly applied.

The British Foreign Office was even so enthusiastic in its anti-sanctions campaign that it openly interfered in the proceedings of the US Congress when the British embassy in Washington wrote to US congressmen threatening retaliatory action against US oil companies if the US sanctions legislation then being debated in the House of Representatives (June 1988) included powers to deny licences to foreign oil companies operating in South Africa. A clause to this effect was subsequently removed when the Bill was debated in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

This proposed US legislation, which if enacted would amount to almost total sanctions against South Africa, represented further evidence of the worldwide movement towards comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

Britain's international isolation on the sanctions issue became even more apparent with the nomination of Michael Dukakis as the Democratic candidate for president on a clear pro-sanctions platform.

The ability of the British government to sustain its blocking role in relation to sanctions is determined by a number of factors, a decisive one being the strength and influence of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and its policies. The need to expose and oppose the policies of the Thatcher government towards Southern Africa has never been such an urgent task for the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Conclusion

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has a proven record of mobilisation of the British people in support of the freedom struggle in Southern Africa. Indeed, in 1989 it will mark three decades of persistent campaigning. Impressive advances have been recorded during the recent period, especially as a result of the impact of the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign. There can be no doubt that there is a widespread climate of opinion amongst the British public which is in general sympathetic to the Movement's policies and critical of those of Mrs Thatcher. This has also been evident in the response to the Sharpeville Six and the Free the Children from Apartheid campaigns. There is also growing evidence that this support is having a direct impact on Britain's economic relations with South

Africa. Some 20% of British companies have withdrawn from South Africa, and there has been a similar percentage drop in South African imports into the UK. These developments, which have been in large part a result of the People's Sanctions campaign promoted by the AAM, are making a small but significant contribution towards the all-round isolation of apartheid South Africa.

It is also evident that the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been able substantially to widen its basis of support amongst the people of Britain. New initiatives, based on years of patient and sometimes unrewarding work, have resulted in encouraging responses from sections of the community which have not traditionally associated themselves directly with the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

This makes it even more important that the Movement further develops its style of work, generates the resources, and tackles with enthusiasm the task of consolidating and expanding on these advances so that it can truly reach all sections of the community throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles.

There can be no doubt of the impact of the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, even on the British government. However, despite the tremendous popular mobilisations which have been achieved, there has been no fundamental change in British policy. It is this task which must continue to be a major priority of our Movement and this in turn requires even wider understanding and support for our Movement and its policies.



Archbishop Trevor Huddleston — a founder of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and its president since the death of Ambrose Reeves in 1980 — celebrated his 75th birthday on 15 June 1988.

This occasion provided a unique opportunity for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and participants in and supporters of the struggle for African freedom to pay tribute to his outstanding contribution to the cause of justice and liberation.

The highlight of the activities was a meeting on 13 June, at the Institute of Education, where hundreds of his friends and colleagues gathered to celebrate his birthday. Among those who addressed the meeting were Oliver Tambo, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and Shridath Ramphal. The previous evening the Scottish Committee of the AAM hosted a reception in Glasgow where, in the presence of Revd Allan Boesak, Scottish friends were able to pay tribute to Trevor Huddleston's work for the fight against apartheid. The Commonwealth secretary general honoured Archbishop Huddleston by hosting a special dinner to celebrate his birthday, at which the guests included the president of Tanzania.

The Oxford University Press published *Trevor Huddleston — Essays on his Life and Work* (ed Deborah Honoré), a collection of essays by a number of Trevor's friends written in appreciation of various aspects of his life's work. Numerous messages were received from heads of state and government from all over the world, as well as from the UN secretary general.

SOUTH AFRICA

24 February bannings

On 24 February the South African authorities issued orders effectively banning, in all but name, the United Democratic Front and 16 other anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa. A further order banned the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) from engaging in any anti-apartheid activities. Restriction orders were also imposed on the joint presidents of the UDF, Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, and other UDF activists.

These actions by the apartheid regime represented the most serious attack ever mounted on the democratic movement, with far-reaching implications, since they effectively prohibited almost all legal non-violent forms of opposition to apartheid. At the same time they demonstrated that, despite the most draconian state of emergency having been enforced for 20 months, the regime had failed to break the spirit of resistance within South Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement sought to mobilise the widest possible protest against the bannings and moved into action immediately. On the day of the bannings the president of the AAM, Archbishop Huddleston, issued a public statement condemning the bannings and calling for the immediate imposition of sanctions against South Africa, and a protest was held outside South Africa House. Within 24 hours of the news reaching London, a representative press conference was called under the auspices of the AAM and addressed by Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, the shadow foreign secretary, Gerald Kaufman, Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, Rodney Bickerstaffe, NUPE general secretary, the Revd Brian Brown, Africa secretary of the British Council of Churches, Vicky Phillips, president of the National Union of Students, the general secretaries of War on Want and the Catholic Institute for International Relations, representatives of Oxfam, Christian Aid and the World University Service, Jerry Dammen of Artists Against Apartheid, Geoffrey Bindman of SATIS, and the chairman and director of the United Nations Association, Ivor Richard and Malcolm Harper. At the press conference, Archbishop Huddleston and Bob Hughes MP announced further initiatives being taken by the AAM to seek the lifting of the bannings. Following this press conference, a further emergency demonstration was held outside South Africa House.

Immediate representations were made by the AAM to the British government. Archbishop Huddleston wrote to the prime minister on 24 February and two days later, together with the

TUC general secretary, he met the foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Whilst condemning the bannings and restrictions, Sir Geoffrey ruled out any of the specific measures proposed at the meeting by the AAM.

Immediate efforts were made to mobilise support in parliament. The officers of the Parliamentary Labour Party Anti-Apartheid Group, especially Bob Hughes and Richard Caborn, lobbied successfully for an emergency debate, which took place on 29 February — coinciding with a march on the racist parliament in Cape Town by Christian and other religious leaders during which Archbishop Tutu and others were arrested. The spectre of the leadership of the Christian church being arrested, together with the banning of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy which Archbishop Tutu and others had established, served further to fuel international outrage. It had a direct impact on the debate in parliament. Half of the Conservative back-benchers who participated in the debate called for tougher measures by the British government, and the government's majority fell to 56. The AAM prepared and distributed a special briefing to 250 interested MPs.

The AAM also sought to mobilise international condemnation and action. Archbishop Huddleston met the Commonwealth secretary-general on 26 February, having issued an appeal for immediate Commonwealth action. Both the secretary-general and the Canadian minister of external affairs, Joe Clark, in his capacity as chairman of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa, issued strong statements of condemnation. The AAM also called for an emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the EEC, and on 26 February Archbishop Huddleston delivered a letter to the minister counsellor at the FRG embassy addressed to the president of the Council of Ministers, Herr Genscher, urging that such a meeting be convened. There was no response. The EEC issued a very mild statement of condemnation. However, at an informal meeting of foreign ministers in early March it was agreed to review South Africa's diplomatic representation in the EEC countries but this review led to no action to reduce South Africa's diplomatic presence.

Special efforts were directed towards the United Nations in order to secure worldwide action in response to the bannings. Archbishop Huddleston sent messages to both the president and secretary-general of the UN, and the AAM engaged in extensive lobbying of ambassadors to the UN in order to secure the convening of the Security Council. It met from 3 to 8 March,

Marching on Downing Street — church and community leaders join the AAM in the call for sanctions



Picture: Andrew Ward

when the UK and USA jointly vetoed a draft resolution which sought to make mandatory some of the existing EEC measures for a period of only one year. (The three other western members of the Security Council, France, FRG and Japan, all abstained.) The UK and USA therefore vetoed measures which they themselves formally subscribe to. This response by the UK underlined the extent of Britain's commitment to preventing effective international sanctions from being imposed against South Africa. At the same time the failure of France and the FRG to vote with the UK and USA illustrated a growing recognition by other European countries that certain measures were required. Archbishop Huddleston wrote to the foreign secretary to protest at the UK's decision to cast a veto.

Extensive efforts were made to maintain and develop the campaign against the bannings amongst the public and involving other organisations. These included a special protest outside South Africa House when prominent individuals representing the 18 banned organisations stood gagged in silence to symbolise the effect of the bannings. The Movement also called a day of protest on 21 March (Sharpeville Day) which was preceded on Saturday 19 March by local group mobilisations. It was aimed at distributing some half a million stickers to be worn on 21 March with the simple slogan, 'Ban Apartheid: Sanctions Now!'. Also on 21 March an emergency meeting was convened at the National Liberal Club, attended by some 60 national organisations who jointly signed a declaration which was delivered to Downing Street following an impromptu march down Whitehall.

There can be little doubt that this crackdown by the apartheid regime aroused tremendous outrage worldwide, which was further fueled by two other developments which followed almost immediately on the 24 February bannings. The first was the introduction of the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, and the second was the decision of the state president, P W Botha, to turn down the appeal for clemency for the Sharpeville Six. Taken together, they placed the issue of South Africa back firmly on the international agenda, as it had been up to the autumn of 1986.

Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill

The apartheid regime followed its 24 February bannings — which sought to prohibit all legal and non-violent opposition to apartheid — by introducing the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which sought to prohibit overseas funding of anti-apartheid activity by churches and secular organisations. Both represented attacks not only on the democratic opposition to apartheid but also represented a direct challenge to the 'positive measures' of Britain and the EEC. These 'positive measures' could be restricted or banned under the planned legislation and so it would become impossible to justify such 'positive measures' as an alternative to sanctions.

Campaigning activities were focused in particular on the impact of this legislation on the European Community's Special Programme for Victims of Apartheid. The distribution of funds under this programme is coordinated within South Africa by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Kagiso Trust. In April, representatives of these three partners visited Brussels to meet with the EEC Commission, NGOs involved in the programme, and representatives of the anti-apartheid movements in the EEC, which contributed to the strong stand taken by the EEC Commission and the Council of Ministers against the legislation. A number of the South Africans in Brussels were able to visit London, where they briefed participants at the conference on children on 23 April (see *SATIS*). A further initiative to mobilise opposition to the legislation was taken in May when prominent leaders of the South African partners visited a number of EEC capitals. Following a meeting in London with the foreign secretary on 23 May, a joint statement was issued by the delegation which included the Catholic Archbishop Hurley, SACC general secretary Revd Frank Chikane and Revd Beyers Naude. They called for a long overdue minimum programme of action, including diplomatic sanctions, an embargo on South African coal, stronger financial sanctions and a ban on direct flights. The delegation expressed its dissatisfaction with British policy but appeared to have received a more positive response in

the FRG. Further protests over the legislation were made by the EEC and individual governments, and the threat of EEC sanctions apparently led the apartheid regime to postpone consideration of the legislation in parliament.

Media bans

Since the imposition of the second state of emergency in June 1986, the South African authorities have pursued a relentless campaign to keep the realities of repression out of the world's media and hidden from South African readers and viewers. A new phase of this campaign was heralded on 28 August 1987 by the promulgation of emergency powers enabling the authorities to suspend or close down periodicals after the issuing of warning notices. The prime target of this campaign was the 'alternative press', ranging from the commercial anti-apartheid *Weekly Mail* to a number of publications which articulate the perspectives of the mass democratic movement. The first in the firing line was *New Nation*, issued with a warning on 27 November and subsequently suspended for three months from 22 March. Others to suffer threats, warnings or periods of suspension included *South*, *Samstaan*, *Work in Progress* and the *Weekly Mail*. (Shortly before this annual report went to press, the *Weekly Mail* received its third and final pre-banning warning, and the offices of *The Namibian* in Windhoek were fire-bombed.)

In response to these developments, and the disturbing failure of the British media to mount a serious coordinated challenge to the restrictions placed on their coverage of events in South Africa and Namibia, the AAM sponsored a conference on 6 April organised by the National Union of Journalists on the theme 'White Lies: censorship and disinformation under apartheid in South Africa and Namibia'. Co-sponsors were the Namibia Support Committee and the media unions NGA, SOGAT, BETA and ACTT. Archbishop Huddleston gave the opening address, followed by Joe Thlohloe (former NEC member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa), Sakhela Buhlungi of the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers of South Africa, Essop Pahad of the African National Congress, Amrit Manga, member of the editorial collective of *New Nation*, Peter Manning of SWAPO, Victoria Brittain, *Guardian* journalist, and Rashid Seria, editor of the Cape Town weekly, *South*. Workshop sessions discussed in detail the situation in broadcasting, national newspapers and book publishing. Although participation by working journalists was disappointing, the initiative was generally felt to have been a useful one.

The AAM continues to participate in the SACIG (Southern Africa Crisis Information Group) forum with aid agencies and other concerned organisations, with a view to pooling resources and contributing towards improved information flows about developments in the region.

ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki joins the protests in London against the 24 February bannings



Picture: Andrew Ward

NAMIBIA

The adoption by the UN Security Council of resolution 601 on 30 October 1987, affirming that all outstanding issues relevant to the implementation of UNSCR 435 had been resolved, welcoming SWAPO's readiness to sign a ceasefire agreement with South Africa, and authorising the secretary-general to arrange a ceasefire between the two parties and to prepare for the emplacement of the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), marked a turning point in the international community's role in securing Namibia's independence. A high-level delegation from the AAM, led by Archbishop Huddleston, presented a memorandum to foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe on 25 November which called for British action to increase pressure on South Africa and to support the UN secretary-general's efforts to fulfil his mandate. None of the numerous proposals put forward was accepted by the government and, as reported in the section on the Front Line States, the AAM was obliged to make repeated representations to the government in response to the grave escalation of the military conflict in southern Angola.

How this escalation led in May 1988 to South Africa's being compelled to enter into negotiations with Angola and Cuba, with the US participating as 'mediator', has been reported earlier. With the 10th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 435 due on 29 September, the AAM laid plans for a major new campaign, 'Free Namibia Now', intended to culminate in a national lobby of Parliament in December. A key event in this campaign is to be a seminar on the plight of children in occupied Namibia, planned for October.

Visit of SWAPO President Sam Nujoma

The visit of SWAPO President Sam Nujoma from 25 to 31 October 1987 provided an important opportunity for the AAM to mount a concerted high profile campaign during the 1987 Namibia Week of Action which coincided with his visit. In addition, as the main speaker at the 24 October 'Sanctions Now' demonstration, President Nujoma was able to address the widest possible audience, both at the rally and through press and TV coverage. The president undertook an extensive range of engagements during his visit, in both England and Scotland.

On arrival in London on 28 October, the president addressed a well-attended press conference which resulted in articles in, amongst others, the *Daily Telegraph*, *Morning Star* and *Caribbean Times*. The following day, 24 October, the president was the main speaker at the 'Sanctions Now' national demonstration, which again afforded considerable media coverage. On 27 October, the president delivered a major lecture entitled 'Namibia - Britain's Responsibility' at the Logan Hall, organised by the AAM and the Namibia Support Committee; over 400 people attended the lecture and the text of the speech was made available afterwards.

Additional engagements undertaken by President Nujoma during the London stage of his visit included a meeting with Neil Kinnock, leader of the opposition, and Gerald Kaufman, shadow foreign secretary; a briefing to representatives of British aid agencies; a meeting with the Parliamentary Labour Party Anti-Apartheid Group; and a meeting with minister Lynda Chalker at the Foreign Office.

President Nujoma undertook an extensive and strenuous programme outside London from 28-30 October in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Liverpool. The AAM Scottish Committee, with assistance from Strathclyde and Lothian regional councils, organised a schedule including a meeting with Strathclyde Regional Council; a reception hosted by Glasgow District Council; a conference with leading Scottish figures from trade unions, churches, political parties and aid agencies; a reception hosted by Lothian District Council; and a public meeting at Edinburgh University. A significant aspect of the success of the

visit was the media coverage generated: as well as articles in the major Scottish papers, TV and radio interviews were also obtained, ensuring that the president's visit was extensively covered.

The remainder of President Nujoma's visit entailed short programmes in Sheffield and Liverpool. Sheffield City Council and Sheffield AA hosted the president for a meeting with AA activists, councillors and trade unionists; in addition to a civic reception hosted by the mayor and attended by leading local figures, including the Bishop of Sheffield. Again local press coverage was secured. In Liverpool, the Namibia Support Committee arranged a short programme where a reception was held in Toxteth, followed by a public meeting.

The overall impact of the president's visit was considerable. In addition to the series of meetings and engagements in London, the schedule outside London provided a rare opportunity to raise significantly the profile of SWAPO and the Namibian struggle on a local and regional level, which was achieved with considerable success. In addition, the timing of the visit to coincide with the Namibia Week of Action ensured that the overall campaign at that time received a considerable boost.

Namibia Week of Action, 27 October-3 November

The main aims of the Week of Action, agreed jointly by the Movement and the Namibia Support Committee, were to focus on publicity to raise the profile of SWAPO; trade union solidarity with the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW); and to expose British collaboration with the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia.

Whilst the visit of SWAPO President Sam Nujoma provided the main highlights of the week, local activity was widespread, although not as extensive as had been hoped due to the close proximity of the Week to the national sanctions demonstration. Local AA groups held public meetings with SWAPO speakers, raising money and publicity. Local authority action during the week, such as the flying of the SWAPO flag from town halls, followed the NSC-LAAA Namibia seminar in September and a briefing prepared by the AAM giving guidelines for local authority action during the week.

The Week of Action also provided an opportunity to focus on the plight of Namibian detainees: 31 October was designated a specific day for promoting this aspect of the National Petition Campaign to 'Free All Apartheid's Detainees'. This was used by local groups to raise the Namibian issue locally through street collections, stalls, etc, on the Saturday of the Week.

The other major focus was trade union solidarity: an NSC day school on 'Namibia and Trade Unions' was held in Sheffield; the AGM of Consolidated Goldfields was picketed over the issue of the sacking and eviction of 4,000 Namibian miners from their Tsumeb subsidiary in July 1987; and fundraising events were amongst activities undertaken in this area.

Following up the Namibia Week of Action, a number of local AA groups participated in mobilisation around a speaking tour in February by Gerson Uriah of the SWAPO Youth League, David Imbill of the Namibian National Students Organisation (NANSO), and former Robben Island political prisoner David Shikomba. Later in the year, AA activists also supported the tour by a Unimog military vehicle (as used by the SADF in Namibia), raising funds for its conversion into an ambulance. The route of its tour coincided with the Mandela Freedom March in Birmingham in July.

Another notable event in this period was a visit to Britain by a delegation from the Namibian Council of Churches, in the course of which, to mark the 10th anniversary of the Kaatinga massacre on 4 May 1978, a special service was held in Westminster Abbey.

FRONT LINE STATES

South Africa attacks Angola

Starting in late September 1987, the apartheid regime began a grave escalation of its military aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, aimed initially at saving the forces of its surrogate, Unita, from a major defeat at the hands of FAPLA, the Angolan armed forces. Subsequently, this operation focused on the attempted capture of the town of Cuito Cuanavale and its strategic landing strip.

Following admissions by the regime that an offensive was under way, Archbishop Huddleston wrote to the foreign secretary on 9 October urging HMG to initiate action in the UN Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, and to summon the South African ambassador. The government took neither action, and the Archbishop wrote again on 9 November, enquiring what action the government would take in the light of its joint undertaking with other members of the Commonwealth, embodied in the Okavango Statement of 16 October, to respond to South Africa's non-implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 by consideration of appropriate measures under the UN Charter.

The Foreign Office predictably claimed that mandatory sanctions would not be effective in securing implementation of resolution 435, and contented itself with summoning the South African ambassador on 18 November. A week later the UN Security Council, by resolution 602, unanimously called upon South Africa to withdraw its forces from Angola by 10 December.

In the meantime, an AAM delegation, comprising Archbishop Huddleston, Bob Hughes MP and Abdul S Minty, had seen the foreign secretary to discuss the issues raised by the Harare children's conference, and to present a memorandum on Namibia and Angola criticising the government's inaction on Namibia and condemning its *de facto* support for US positions on Angola, especially its advocacy of a policy of reconciliation between the MPLA government and Unita.

Far from respecting UNSCR 602, Pretoria increased the size of its forces in Angola, leading the UN Security Council again to call for its withdrawal in a resolution of 23 December. As with the earlier resolution (602), unanimity was achieved at the price of accommodating US and British hostility to sanctions by omitting any reference to the possible application of sanctions.

With the South African forces augmented in January to the level of some 7,000 troops, the AAM called a picket of South Africa House on 2 February. Archbishop Huddleston wrote again to the foreign secretary, and on 24 February he had a meeting with the Angolan ambassador — one of a number of consultations and briefings that took place in the course of the year and which also involved such leading members of the MPLA-Party of Labour as Ruth Neto and Roberto d'Almeida.

Campaign in support of the Front Line States

The November 1987 AGM was the launching pad for intensified campaigning on the issue of the Front Line States. A keynote speech by Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), comprehensively argued the case for sanctions being in the interests of not only the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, but also the independent countries of the region. The text of this important address was subsequently published by the AAM in an illustrated pamphlet. The AGM also endorsed the recommendations of the report of the Working Party on the Front Line States, including the proposal that March be a Month of Action on this issue. A special new leaflet about the regional issues, aimed at a mass audience, was produced for the Month, and a number of public meetings and conferences were staged by local AA groups in March/April. Although it proved impossible to mount a speaking tour by Front Line States representatives on the scale envisaged by the Working Party, the Movement was honoured by a visit by Mozambique's minister of education,

Graca Machel, who addressed a packed lunch-hour meeting in Oxford and the annual conference of the Scottish Labour Party in Perth on 11 March.

A London rally on 24 March, addressed by representatives of Botswana and Angola, and of aid agencies in the region, with Joan Lester (opposition spokesperson on overseas aid), was planned to wind up the Month of Action. Unfortunately, other campaign activities in the same period, around the Sharpeville Six and 21 March, affected mobilisation for this event and attendance was disappointing.

A major initiative by the National Steering Committee of Local Authorities Against Apartheid (NSC-LAAA) resulted in the holding of a conference on 'Building Links with the Front Line States' on 19-20 May. The first event of its kind, the conference was organised by the NSC-LAAA with support from the London boroughs of Hackney and Camden and the AAM. It focused on the role local authorities can play, and included workshops on twinning links, aid and development, sanctions, and trading with the Front Line States. Keynote speeches were given by Jorge Rebelo, member of the Political Bureau of Frelimo Party, Mavis Muyunda, deputy foreign minister of Zambia, and Archbishop Huddleston, and contributions by diplomatic representatives of other Front Line States and from the liberation movements. Over 120 delegates took part, including representatives of 40 local authorities. A varied cultural programme in the evenings was also provided.

Visit of Jonas Savimbi

Jonas Savimbi, leader of the South African-backed Unita organisation in Angola, paid his first visit to London for several years in early July as part of a tour of western capitals. With the prospect of military defeat for South Africa and Unita in Angola, the visit was clearly designed to establish some diplomatic credibility for Unita as an 'independent' force with a claim to be included in the regional negotiations taking place between Angola, South Africa and Cuba.

At short notice, the AAM linked up with the Mozambique Angola Committee (MAC) and the Angolan embassy to coordinate a range of protest activity focusing on Unita's record of terrorism and collaboration with the apartheid regime. This included a protest advert in *The Independent* signed by over 200 organisations and individuals, and a large picket outside the Royal Institute of International Affairs, where Savimbi addressed a closed meeting. Favourable press coverage was obtained for these actions. Despite Foreign Office assurances that Savimbi would not be officially received, 'there was some informal contact at official level' during his visit, as was revealed by the prime minister's secretary in reply to a letter of protest by the AAM's chairperson. Overall, however, the visit was generally deemed to have failed in promoting Unita's interests.

Other activities

An initiative by solidarity organisations with Angola and Mozambique under the name ECASAAMA (European Campaign Against South African Aggression against Mozambique and Angola), to hold a European-wide conference to build support for these countries, led to AAM participation in preparations for a major event in Bonn planned for December 1988.

Discussions were held with representatives of the AFRICA Fund, who expressed satisfaction at the work being done by AAM to publicise and win support for the Fund and its programme of assistance to the Front Line States and liberation movements.

Throughout the period, close contact and consultation was maintained with the diplomatic representatives of the Front Line States. In August 1988, the AAM was pleased to welcome Armando Panguene as Mozambique's first ambassador to Britain.

CAMPAIGNS

Sanctions Now!

In the run-up to the Commonwealth conference in Vancouver in October 1987, the AAM took a number of initiatives to strengthen the pressures for sanctions. Archbishop Huddleston wrote to the Commonwealth secretary general rebutting in detail government claims that Britain was complying fully with the few sanctions measures to which it subscribed, and an accompanying memorandum, distributed to participating delegations, showed the significant impact of the measures already in place despite their selective and in some cases voluntary character and Britain's dismissive attitude towards them.

Subsequently published under the title *Sanctions Begin to Bite*, the document played an important role in the ensuing developments which left Britain isolated as the sole dissenter to an otherwise united approach, formulated in the Okanagan Statement, aimed at widening and reinforcing existing Commonwealth, Nordic and US measures against South Africa, and for the first time placing the Commonwealth's recommendations within the perspective of achieving comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

Also made available to Commonwealth governments and the media were a number of internal documents of the Department of Trade and Industry promoting British exports to South Africa, and related AAM correspondence with the government (see *Economic Collaboration: Trade*).

The adoption of strong pro-sanctions resolutions by the TUC and opposition parties during the autumn of 1987 were the backdrop to a major AAM rally and demonstration on 24 October timed to focus and express public support for sanctions and dissatisfaction with the British government's negative role at the Commonwealth summit on the issue of sanctions. In one of the biggest demonstrations of the year on any issue, some 50-60,000 people assembled on the Embankment and marched to Hyde Park, where speakers included SWAPO President Sam Nujoma, Johnstone Makatini, head of the ANC's international department, Archbishop Huddleston, Glenys Kinnock, Norman Willis, Bernie Grant MP, Joan Lester MP and AAM activist Rekha Patel, with Margaret Ling, AAM vice-chair, presiding. A delegation to Downing Street handed in a letter from the AAM president calling on the prime minister to implement sanctions. Music by Zimbabwean artists Lovemore Majajivana and the Bhundu Boys rounded off a successful day for activists from all over England and Scotland. Some 4,000 people, including members of 23 local groups throughout Wales, attended a WAAM rally in Cardiff on the same day.

Whilst the Commonwealth conference in Vancouver and the campaigning activities of anti-apartheid and solidarity move-

Picture: Jason Gold



ments worldwide ensured that the international campaign for sanctions was maintained, it was the events in South Africa in February and March (described above) which placed the issue of sanctions back high on the international agenda. The UK and US veto in the UN Security Council on 8 March was the first sign of divisions between the FRG and Britain over sanctions. Under the presidency of the FRG's foreign minister, Herr Genscher, there was a series of discussions within the framework of European political cooperation over the possibility of reaching agreement on further sanctions measures, with the FRG reportedly taking a much more positive attitude to sanctions than had previously been the case. At EEC meetings Britain repeatedly found itself completely isolated, with only Portuguese support on some issues. These discussions focused in particular on a package of sanctions which would be enacted by the EEC should the Sharpeville Six be executed or the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill enacted.

Further momentum for sanctions came with the adoption of the Delums Bill in the US House of Representatives and similar legislation by the Senate's foreign relations committee which, if enacted into law, would amend existing US legislation to impose almost total sanctions against South Africa. Likewise, the Toronto meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, at which major reports on sanctions were presented, also served to keep the sanctions issue on the international agenda.

In Britain, the 1988 conferences of the TUC, Labour Party, SLD and SDP all came out in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

These activities, and others reported elsewhere, played a crucial role in combating a British government-led offensive aimed at generating the notion of 'sanctions fatigue' and spreading the misconception that sanctions were not only not working but were making the Pretoria regime more intractable. Whilst the Local Government Act (reported under *Local authorities*) dealt a serious blow to a key sector of the consumer boycott and showed the lengths to which the government was prepared to go in order to stop People's Sanctions from breaking British links with apartheid, the government failed to shift public opinion towards its policy on sanctions. This was shown by the results of the opinion poll commissioned by the Movement and carried out by Gallup at the end of June 1988. This found that 45% of the public supported economic sanctions (down only by a statistically insignificant 1% from two years previously), and only 35% were opposed, down from 40% in 1986. Support for sanctions is strongest among young people: among 16-24-year-olds, 47% favoured sanctions, rising to 51% among 25-34-year-olds.



Picture: Tim Jarvis

Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70

Free
NELSON
MANDELA

Overview

The 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign represented, without doubt, the most effective campaign ever initiated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Its impact was felt throughout Britain and across the world, and it reached into South Africa itself — even to within the prisons of apartheid.

The campaign had one simple message — freedom for Nelson Mandela. Yet the ramifications of the campaign were extensive. It demonstrated the capacity of the worldwide anti-apartheid movement to determine the international agenda and thereby demonstrably influence the policies of governments throughout the world.

It also represented a turning point for the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. The variety and range of activities organised within the framework of the campaign represented both a qualitative and a quantitative change in the Movement's work.

The campaign above all has already increased the prospects of securing the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

The planning of the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign required tremendous effort, for its success depended on the effective combination of a range of different activities. The initial plans were announced at the AGM and presented in detail to the national committee in January 1988. This followed close consultation with the ANC, the Mandela family and the Mandelas' lawyer. Originally, it was envisaged that there would be four key elements to the campaign: the Tribute to Nelson Mandela at Wembley Stadium on 11 June; the Glasgow Rally to launch the Freedom March on 12 June; the Freedom March itself from Glasgow to London; and an eve-of-birthday rally in Hyde Park on 17 July to welcome the Freedom Marchers.

However, more and more elements became integrated into the campaign as it gathered momentum. The decision of the BBC to broadcast the concert live on BBC 2 television and Radio 1, and the subsequent worldwide coverage, added one new dimension. The special birthday badges were another; the Mandela Freedom Cycle Ride another: indeed it is impossible to list the entire range of activities initiated by the Movement nationally, let alone all the spontaneous activities which took place within the broad framework of the campaign.

The campaign was launched at a press conference at the Africa Centre on 20 April, the 24th anniversary of Mandela's speech from the dock. Present were Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Ismail Ayob, the Mandelas' lawyer, and the Revd Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. A video message from Winnie Mandela was released at the press conference. The extent of support for the campaign was illustrated by the messages received for the launch from, amongst others, ANC President Oliver Tambo, the UN secretary general, the Commonwealth secretary general, the foreign secretary, the leaders of the Labour Party and SLD, the general secretaries of the BCC and TUC, and many more.

A further press conference took place on 25 April in Glasgow to announce details of the campaign in Scotland. Amongst those taking part were Ismail Ayob and Jim Kerr of Simple Minds.

Press and media work for these two events and the campaign as a whole was undertaken by Laister Dickson Ltd, whose professional experience was of great benefit to the Movement and the campaign. The AAM is deeply indebted to director Wendy Laister and all the staff for the tremendous efforts they made to secure extensive and favourable publicity for the campaign.

Wembley Tribute 11 June

The first highlight of the campaign was the 70th Birthday Tribute at Wembley Stadium on 11 June. Under the banner of 'Artists Against Apartheid in support of the Anti-Apartheid Movement', many of the world's leading performers came together to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela and associate themselves with the campaign to secure his freedom and the end of apartheid. The Anti-Apartheid Movement is immensely grateful to Artists Against Apartheid (AAA), especially its coordinator, Jerry Dammers, assisted by his colleague, Chandru Sekay. The initial approaches made by Jerry Dammers to leading artists, building on the success of the AAA Festival on Clapham Common in June 1986, made the entire project a possibility. A special company, Freedom Productions Ltd, was formed to provide a framework for the financial and contractual aspects of the event. From the outset it was agreed that 50% of any surplus from the event would be for the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and especially the Free Nelson Mandela campaign, and 50% for projects for children from Southern Africa to be channelled through seven named agencies — the process being under the supervision of Archbishop Huddleston. It was on this basis that artists and others were approached to participate in the event.



Jim Kerr of Simple Minds

Picture: IDAF/Gillian Edelstein

At the suggestion of Artists Against Apartheid, a small independent production company, Elephant House Productions, was approached to produce the event and when Simple Minds confirmed their interest in the project just before Christmas 1987, the project began to take shape. A provisional booking had already been made for Wembley Stadium and from then onwards every effort was made by AAA, Elephant House, Freedom Productions and the Anti-Apartheid Movement to ensure the success of the event.

By mid-March, when a number of leading artists, in addition to Simple Minds, had confirmed their participation, including Dire Straits, Whitney Houston, Hugh Masakela, Miriam Makeba, Sly and Robbie, and Harry Belafonte, it was possible to go public and to start ticket sales.

It was during this period that the BBC began to express an interest in the live televising of the event. The original conception of the concert had involved the possibility of a video which could be edited for televising on Mandela's birthday. There was little initial interest in such a project, but it was recognised that live TV and radio coverage in Britain and internationally would transform the entire event. In March, BBC 2 and Radio 1



Jonas Gwangwa and his band

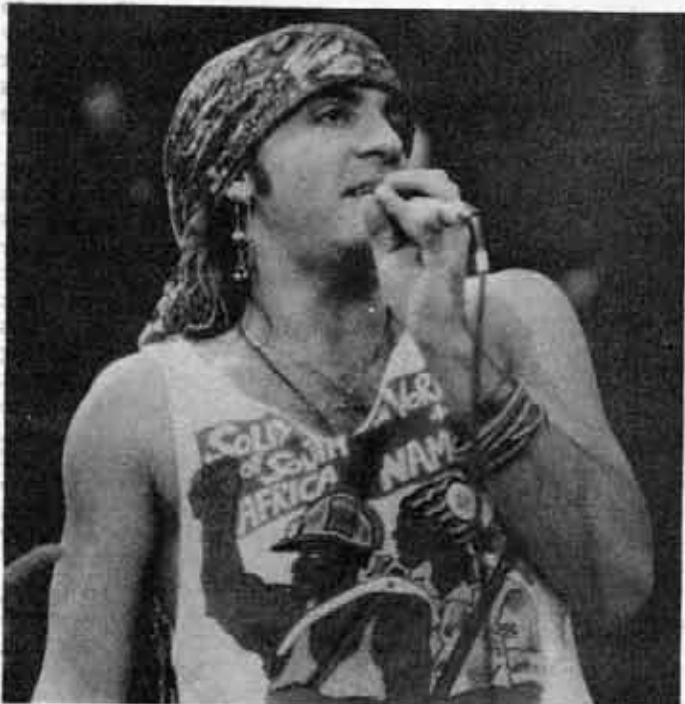
Picture: IDAF/Gillian Edelstein

announced that they would be broadcasting the Wembley concert, and negotiations were commenced with other TV and radio stations which led eventually to its being broadcast in 63 countries.

With the potential of a worldwide television audience, the scale of the event grew very rapidly. The original six-hour concert was extended to 10½ hours, with continuous performances through the use of a presentation stage to complement the main stage. Prominent artists were commissioned to prepare works to be incorporated into the stage set, and powerful images were created by Sue Coe, Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, Keith Haring and Ralph Steadman. The executors of the estate of Namibian artist John Muafangejo gave permission for one of his works to be used, as did AA Enterprises on behalf of Mary O'Shaughnessy of KWATZ. The visual impact of the stage, due to the creative design of Mark Fisher and Jonathan Park of Fisher Park Ltd, was felt not just by those at Wembley but also by the TV audience.

Many others contributed to the impact of the event. The ICA prepared a series of videos; Le Maitre Fireworks presented a pyrotechnical display to close the day; whilst many organisations and individuals worked behind the scenes on lighting, sound, stage construction and other aspects of production. Special thanks are due to Barrie and Jenny Marshall of Marshall Arts.

As the event gathered momentum, more and more prominent artists were persuaded to participate and special efforts were made to ensure that the programme as a whole conveyed the



Little Steven

Picture: IDAF/Gillian Edelstein

message of the tribute and that it truly reflected the commitment of the artists of the world. It is impossible to express appreciation in this report to all the artists who participated, but special thanks must go to Simple Minds for being prepared to commit themselves to the project from the very beginning, and to Jerry Dammers, Little Steven and Harry Belafonte, whose work in coordinating artists against apartheid in Britain and the USA created the climate in which an event of this nature could become a possibility.

The BBC's decision to broadcast the concert was attacked immediately by the far-right Tory MP John Carlisle, but he failed to generate any support from other quarters. However, in the period immediately prior to the Tribute there appeared to be a concerted campaign from sections of the media aimed at stopping the broadcast proceeding. A series of stories appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Times*, *Standard* and *Daily Mail* all hostile to the BBC and in some cases containing complete falsehoods. In one case, the *Daily Telegraph*, a retraction had



Lenny Henry and Richard Gere

Picture: IDAF/Gillian Edelstein

to be published. Although motivated by sympathy or support for the apartheid regime, these stories focused in particular on who would benefit financially from the concert and the fact that the coverage would serve to promote the ANC which was frequently described as a 'terrorist organisation'. However, this press campaign failed to make any significant impact and so the apartheid regime itself intervened with an unprecedented attack on the BBC. Ironically these attacks simply served to focus greater media attention on the event, and over 200 journalists attended a photo call and informal press conference given by Archbishop Huddleston at Wembley Stadium on 10 June.

The Tribute itself was a remarkable occasion and an overwhelming success. Given the size of the event, there were few technical difficulties and the only serious defect was that the finale, which was due to include a message by Winnie Mandela and a short address by Archbishop Huddleston, had to be abandoned because of late running.

The Movement will always be immensely grateful to all those who performed and otherwise contributed to the success of the day. The response worldwide was remarkable, with appreciation being expressed from Australia to Sweden, Angola to China, and especially throughout Europe, including the USSR and the GDR.

Overwhelmingly, TV stations ensured the integrity of the event and indeed went much further than the BBC in complementing the programme with material on apartheid, on Mandela and on the ANC. In some countries criticism was expressed of the editing of the programme and this was especially the case in the USA.

A baseless attack was made on the event in some sections of the press claiming that a message smuggled out of prison from Nelson Mandela had been censored out. There was no such message from Nelson Mandela and no such censorship.

The AAM was honoured to welcome as its guests at Wembley

a number of prominent South Africans, including President Oliver Tambo of the ANC, Revd Allan Boesak and Ismail Ayob, and Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, secretary general of SWAPO, who was imprisoned with Mandela, flew in to join the concert, having addressed a massive rally in Amsterdam. Other guests were the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Major General Garba, Commonwealth secretary general Shridath Ramphal, UN assistant secretary general Sotirios Mousouris, and leading figures in the labour movement, including Ron Todd, Neil and Glenys Kinnock and Arthur Scargill, and representatives of agencies benefiting from the event.

An impressive range of merchandise was commissioned for the Tribute which raised valuable income for the AAM and the children's projects. Thanks are due to Michael Rainbird who produced the programme for the concert. Michael Rainbird was also responsible with Penguin Books for the publication of the *Festival Concert Book* which was released with record speed in July.

Above all thanks are due to Elephant House Productions and in particular Tony Hollingsworth, Neville Bolt and Ken O'Neill who were responsible for the production of a unique and memorable event which will be regarded as an outstanding moment in the whole history of the world-wide anti-apartheid movement.

The event generated considerable income but also involved substantial expenditure. Freedom Productions Ltd are currently finalising the accounts of the event in order that the surplus can be determined, tax paid and the resulting final surplus distributed between the AAM and the seven agencies, namely CAFOD, Christian Aid, Save the Children Fund, War on Want, IDAF, and the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust.

The AAM would like to express its thanks to the board of Freedom Productions, its legal advisors, Seifert Sedley and Williams, and their accountants, H W Fisher, to TASS (now MSF) which underwrote the loan necessary to hire Wembley Stadium; and to the staff of the AAM who serviced the company, especially Michael Ketchum, the company secretary, assisted by Pearl Adiseshiah who was employed to service the company.

The Wembley Tribute and the surrounding publicity laid the basis for the Movement's success in carrying the name and significance of Nelson Mandela into millions of homes throughout Britain. Just how remarkable this achievement was emerged from the Gallup poll commissioned by the AAM at the end of June/beginning of July. Of the 1,929 persons polled, 92% recognised Mandela's name, and 77% knew who he was and/or of his imprisonment. (This compares with the reality that in a typical constituency fewer than 50% of British people can name their MP.) No less than 70% of those polled, including a majority of those intending to vote for each of the major political parties, supported the call for Mandela's release, and only 10% opposed it. Amongst 16-34-year-olds, 76% supported his release. Some 58% felt that Mrs Thatcher 'should do more to help secure the release of Nelson Mandela'.

Freedom March and Cycle Ride 12 June — 17 July

The day after the Wembley concert, the Scottish AAM staged the biggest and most successful mass rally in its history. Some 15,000 people assembled in brilliant sunshine to march to Glasgow Green. There they joined a similar number of people to hear a strong platform of speakers, including the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, the SWAPO secretary general, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, the Revd Allan Boesak, Archbishop Huddleston, Domingos Ganga (MPLA), Bob Hughes MP and Bernie Grant MP, Janey Buchan MEP, and Jim Kerr, lead singer of Simple Minds. President Tambo personally greeted each of the marchers, representing between them the 25 years of Mandela's imprisonment.

The rally was the launching pad for what is believed to be the longest 'mass' political march mounted in Britain. Lasting five weeks and covering 590 miles, the Nelson Mandela Freedom March brought the 'Freedom at 70' message to the streets of over

40 cities and towns in a rolling campaign. Overnight stops were made at Coatbridge, Bathgate, Edinburgh, Dalkeith/Penicuik, Galashiels, Kelso, Wooler, Alnwick, Ashington, Newcastle, Durham, Darlington, Thirsk, York, Leeds, Bradford, Rochdale, Manchester, Macclesfield, Tunstall, Stafford, Lichfield, Walsall, Birmingham, Coventry, Leamington Spa, Northampton, Bedford, Luton, St Albans and Haringey. Stops were also made in Crumlington, Long Benton, Gateshead, Huddersfield, Halifax, Hebden Bridge, Todmorden, Oldham, Stockport, Congleton, Rugeley, Warwick, Silsoe, Harpenden, Barnet and Finchley.



Nelson Mandela Freedom March in Newcastle

Picture: IDAF

Following the Wembley concert and its wide impact, the march caught the imagination of countless activists and proved to be an inspiring and effective means of involving wider forces in the campaign. Local mobilisation, whether to greet or send off the marchers, or at rallies and gigs, often exceeding the organisers' expectations, demonstrated the popular enthusiasm for the campaign, and the capacity of the AAM on the ground to stage imaginative and attractive events. The variety of organisations and individuals that came forward to provide overnight accommodation and/or food for the marchers, drivers and campaign bus staff was very encouraging (see also *Local AA Groups*).

Local and regional media coverage ranged from patchy to very good, in contrast to the national media which, with only one or two exceptions, ignored the march for all but its start and finish. The campaign bus accompanying the march, with its mobile stall, provided the focus for a sustained and effective merchandising and recruitment operation.

Organisations represented by marchers included the following: ANC and SWAPO, AAM, British Council of Churches, Church of Scotland, War on Want (Scotland), National Union of Students (UK) and NUS (Scotland), National Organisation of Labour Students (NOLS), Roads to Freedom (CPGB), the Woodcraft Folk, Battersea Labour Party, and the following trade unions: NALGO, TGWU, GMB and MSF. The GMB hosted the marchers overnight at their Manchester college. Trade unions sponsoring marchers included NUCPS, STE, NCU, UCW and USDAW. Most marchers were sponsored by their own organisations to raise funds for projects allied to the campaign and for the AAM itself, but the results were disappointing in terms of the amounts of money raised. The Movement is indebted to the marchers, whose fortitude, determination and readiness to serve as ambassadors of the AAM in taxing conditions were crucial to the success of the march.

Tribute is also due to the 11 Nelson Mandela Freedom Riders, who biked the 400 miles from Lands End to London, via Plymouth, Newton Abbot, Exeter, Bridgwater, Bristol, Bath, Swindon and Reading, meeting in London with the marchers in Muswell Hill on the eve of the rally. This was the first major event of the newly-formed South West Regional AA Committee.

Freedom Rally and Vigil 17 July

Sunday 17 July saw the largest political rally to have been organised by the AAM. In addition, making it the most ambitious event undertaken by the Movement, a mass demonstration for the last leg of the Nelson Mandela Freedom March preceded the rally.

The last leg of the Freedom March assembled in Finsbury Park, where it was seen off by speeches from the leader and mayor of Haringey Council and Margaret Ling of the AAM executive. Despite a heavy downpour in the hour before the assembly, approximately 50,000 people joined the march, which was led by the 25 Nelson Mandela Freedom Marchers, the Mandela Freedom Riders, SWAPO secretary general Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and prominent supporters of the Movement. The march was one of the longest routes chosen for an AAM demonstration, with numbers swelling as it headed into central London, and with the marchers receiving a very positive reception from passers-by along the route.



Marching to Hyde Park

Picture: Kevin Ramsay

The Nelson Mandela Freedom Rally in Hyde Park attracted massive additional numbers to the march, with the crowd at its height approaching a quarter of a million people, a reflection of the enthusiasm and interest engendered by the campaign as a whole. In addition to the keynote speech by Archbishop

Picture: Andrew Ward



Abdul S Minty and Archbishop Huddleston welcome Archbishop Desmond Tutu at Hyde Park

Desmond Tutu, the rally was addressed by Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, ANC chief representative Mendi Msimang, Commonwealth secretary general Sonny Ramphal, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Sir Richard Attenborough, Mandela Marcher Jo Beck, and the event was chaired and introduced by Bob Hughes and Abdul Minty.

The rally was also different from previous such events due to the cultural components integrated into the programme. The event began with music from Jonas Gwangwa and his band, and the speeches were interposed with dramatic readings from Mandela's writings and speeches by 'Cry Freedom' actor John Matshikiza and actress Clare Benedict. Following the speeches, the pop group Simple Minds played two songs: 'I ain't gonna play Sun City' and their song written for the Mandela concert, 'Mandela Day'. The event was rounded off with more songs from Jonas Gwangwa, joined by Jerry Dammers for a performance of 'Free Nelson Mandela', and finished with 'Nkosi Sikeleli' Afriks' led by the ANC Choir.

An additional new feature of this rally was the use of a giant video screen to relay proceedings to the crowd, which enabled everybody in the vast crowd to clearly see the speakers. The screen was also used to show videos which had been commissioned by the Institute for Contemporary Arts for the Mandela concert, for a specially-prepared video presentation by IDAF, and

a message to the rally from Winnie Mandela. This undoubtedly added a new dimension to the Movement's presentation of such a rally and was an essential factor in the participation of all those attending. As a result, the overwhelming majority of those present stayed throughout the three-hour programme.

Press and TV coverage was also excellent: there were over 300 accredited press on the day, including TV crews from the USA, Canada, Australia and across Europe. The news coverage secured on BBC and ITV was very good on the Sunday evening; the national press coverage on Monday was much more uneven. Regional and local coverage was also good, and the international exposure excellent from as far afield as Australia to Eastern Europe.

As the culmination of the biggest campaign in the AAM's history, the rally provided a fitting climax to an intensive five-week period of activity, of which a marked feature was the distribution of hundreds of thousands of 'Free Nelson Mandela' badges — many of which were in evidence on the following day and through the weeks following.

Following the massive rally in Hyde Park, many people joined a late-night vigil organised by AAM and the London Committee outside the South African embassy to see in Mandela's birthday. By the time midnight approached, the vigil had swelled to several hundred people enjoying the rousing songs of the ANC Choir and supported by the almost continuous tooting of motor horns from the traffic in Trafalgar Square. At midnight a special birthday banner was unfurled with the singing of 'Happy Birthday Nelson Mandela' and the vigil ended at 1am with a short address from AAM honorary secretary Abdul S Minty.

Birthday 18 July



Archbishop Huddleston and SWAPO general secretary Andimba Toivo ja Toivo celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday

The actual day of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday saw a tremendous range of activities all across Britain, with birthday parties, vigils and events being held: a room being renamed at Sheffield Town Hall in Mandela's honour and birthday concerts in Glasgow and London were two of the many highlights. The exhibition produced by International Defence and Aid Fund was shown in many places.

Nationally, the main event was a multi-faith Service of Tribute at St James's Church, Piccadilly. The service focused on Mandela's contribution to the struggle for justice, peace and freedom for the peoples of Africa, including readings from SWAPO's general secretary, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, the ANC chief representative, Mendi Msimang, and the Mandela Marchers. Representatives from the Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist and Christian traditions contributed, and the main address was delivered by Archbishop Huddleston. The service was attended by 500 people, including Members of Parliament and several diplomats; a crowded photo-call was held outside St James's, with a 70cm-wide birthday cake and mass-signing of a giant birthday card.

Following the Service of Tribute, three members of the AAM executive, Abdul Minty, Mike Terry and Alan Brooks, led a deputation to deliver to the South African embassy the 30,000-plus cards sent in from all over Britain demanding Mandela's immediate release. The embassy refused to accept them and even went as far as to forcibly eject the boxed cards into the street — an action which attracted some press coverage.

Later the same day the Mandela Marchers were welcomed at the House of Commons by a large number of MPs, many of whom were sporting the 'Free Nelson Mandela' badge. Amongst them were most of the Labour MPs who had joined the Marchers between Bedford and Luton as an act of solidarity.

Assessment

The AAM launched the 'Freedom at 70' campaign with the specific objective of seeking Mandela's freedom by his 70th birthday. In this sense the campaign was unsuccessful; however, it was always recognised in the preparation and planning for the campaign that it would be necessary to maintain the momentum from July 18th onwards.

Plans were in hand for a series of initiatives when news was received that Mandela had contracted tuberculosis. He was moved first to hospital and then to a private clinic. These developments, and conflicting statements by the regime, fuelled speculation that Mandela could be released by the end of 1988. The Movement took a series of steps to ensure that the momentum of the campaign to secure his freedom focused on these developments. The most important of these initiatives was an Emergency Petition to Mrs Thatcher urging her to intervene personally to secure Mandela's release. The prime minister was one of the few world leaders who failed to make any intervention on Mandela's birthday.

The most important task, however, now facing the campaign is to ensure that should Mandela's release be secured, it in fact achieves the wider objective of the release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of his organisation, the ANC and other banned organisations, so that Mandela's freedom becomes the key to the freedom of all the people of South Africa.



Economic collaboration

Disinvestment

Apartheid's economic and political difficulties have been glaringly reflected in the accelerating pace of company disinvestment from South Africa. To highlight the scale and significance of this process, the AAM produced a detailed report, *The South African Disconnection*. Published in April and widely reported in the press, the document revealed that one-fifth of British companies operating in South Africa in 1985 withdrew in the subsequent two years. During 1987/88, many major companies with long-standing connections with South Africa departed, including Norwich Union, TI, BICC, Metal Box and Rover.

Motives for such withdrawals combined faltering confidence in the South African economy with the adverse publicity associated with investing in South Africa and Namibia generated by disinvestment campaign work. The long-term effect of these withdrawals will be to deprive the apartheid economy of foreign capital, technology and skills. It also removes companies that have previously lobbied hard against sanctions. It is a development which has been of utmost concern to the regime.

A corresponding indication of the crisis of confidence afflicting the South African economy has been moves by South African corporations to transfer assets overseas. Two large corporations, Rembrandt and Liberty Life, announced the setting up of 'separate' European companies during the year. Many others have quietly bought shell companies in Britain in anticipation of a further economic deterioration in South Africa, and as a hedge against sanctions. The Movement will need to give close attention to South African capital's penetration into Britain.

By far the biggest attempt by South African capital to penetrate the British economy and secure interests as far afield as Australia and North America was launched with a bid by Minorco, Anglo American Corporation's overseas holding company, for Consolidated Gold Fields in September 1988. This carefully-prepared attempt to take over a British company worth £3 billion was immediately denounced by the AAM, which called upon the government to use its powers under the Industry Act to prevent the take-over from proceeding.

The immediate impact of disinvestment has been blunted by the retention of non-equity links (franchise, licence or technical agreements) with ex-subsidiaries. Several companies, notably ICL and Consolidated Gold Fields, have arranged deals structured to ensure retention of control over subsidiaries, despite reductions in holdings. Much attention has been paid to identifying those companies which continue to provide support for the regime, despite having 'disinvested', and the AAM will continue to campaign for the severance of all commercial connections with South Africa.

The National Union of Students (NUS) has been especially active in promoting disinvestment, and successful campaigns were conducted by several Oxford colleges and the London School of Economics, which announced the sale of all its holdings in companies with South African or Namibian investments in February. A survey of local authority pension funds showed that nearly half restrict investment in South Africa to varying degrees. The AAM is increasingly able to provide technical advice on disinvestment strategies for a wide range of organisations, including City brokers and portfolio managers. The AAM has cooperated with both the Ethical Investment Research and Information Service (EIRIS) and the Pension Investment Resource Centre (PIRC) in this area.

Banking

The campaign against bank lending to South Africa has continued to be successful in preventing the apartheid regime obtaining any significant international loans during the year. South Africa's exclusion from international capital markets has been the key economic reason behind the strains apparent in the South

African economy during 1988. Shortage of foreign loan capital has meant South Africa has had to run a large current account surplus to cover both the programme of debt repayments agreed with its creditor banks in March 1986 and a continuing leakage of capital occurring despite exchange control restrictions. Signs that the current account was falling into deficit in the first two quarters of 1988 caused considerable concern amongst South African economists, provoking a sudden rise in interest rates, imposition of import controls and a weakening of the rand.

A high degree of international coordination has again been a feature of the banks campaign. End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA) hosted a two-day seminar in January. Bank campaign activists from 10 countries attended the event, which provided an invaluable opportunity to exchange information and plan joint activities against the mainly German and Swiss banks still involved in lending.

The AAM was able to provide information to the enquiry on South Africa's international financial links commissioned by the Commonwealth Group of Foreign Ministers on South Africa. The report submitted to the Commonwealth meeting in Toronto concluded that financial sanctions were having a marked effect on South Africa, but that there was still considerable scope for action at government level. It specifically recommended action on trade credits.

The issue of trade-related lending — loans made by banks either to British exporters to South Africa or to South African importers of British goods to cover goods in transit — is now the main focus of the campaign. ELTSA has conducted very useful research in this area. In July 1988, Gerhard de Kock, governor of the South African Reserve Bank, noted a 'gratifying' increase in trade credits available to South Africa, and clearly they have increased partially to fill the gap left by other forms of lending.

Most UK banks provide this sort of finance, and the government agency, the Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD) insures a significant proportion of these loans. The AAM and ELTSA will continue to press for these commercial connections with apartheid to be cut.

Midland Bank's sale of its minority holding in Thomas Cook in South Africa means that there are now no British banks with active South African subsidiaries. On taking over Hill Samuel (which was among the largest lenders to South Africa in the early 1980s), the TSB gave commitments to dispose of its South African interests and to make no further loans.

Looking ahead, the challenge is to maintain pressure on banks to ensure that financial links with South Africa continue to dwindle and that South Africa is unable to gain another three-year rescheduling agreement when its debt repayment schedule comes up for renegotiation in early 1990.

Gold

The ELTSA seminar on the banks campaign in January also resulted in the formation of a new organisation to work specifically on the issue of gold sanctions against South Africa, the World Gold Commission. This was launched in May as an international network of campaign groups and experts from the precious metals field, with the AAM providing the secretarial facilities. Its aim is to take advantage of recent research to develop practical ways of excluding South African gold from world markets, a development which would have profound consequences for the apartheid regime, which derives almost 50% of its foreign earnings and a quarter of its tax income from the gold industry.

The Commission has concentrated on two areas. First, it has worked to persuade non-South African members of the World Gold Council, a marketing organisation for gold dominated by South African mining interests, to resign. Second, it has looked into the possibility of jewellery retailers providing lines of jewellery guaranteed as non-South African. In the future it will be working on finding alternative sources of gold for the Italian jewellery industry, which is the biggest in the world.

Trade

1987 was the year when it became evident how effective wide-ranging trade sanctions could be. Following the passage of the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act at the end of 1986, US imports from South Africa fell by almost 50%. South Africa was forced to attempt to divert much of its export trade to new markets, often in the Far East. That it was partially successful argued the need for fully coordinated international action, rather than that sanctions could not work.

British imports from South Africa in 1987 fell by 20% from £829m to £658m. Impressive though this was, it was largely accounted for by a shift in the diamond trade from London to Switzerland. The rest resulted from falls in imports of fruit and vegetables, iron and steel (after the imposition of partial EC sanctions) and textile yarns. All South Africa's five main trading partners except Japan decreased their imports, and OECD countries overall reduced their imports by 12% (in dollars).

Having fallen for the previous two years, the sterling value of British exports to South Africa increased by 12% in 1987 compared to 1986 (up to £949m from £849m). In dollar terms, in which much of South Africa's trade is conducted, the increase was over 20%, reflecting the relative decline in the dollar against the pound. The first quarter of 1988 indicated that a comparable increase in exports occurred during the first half of this year as well. The rise reflected the temporary upturn in the South African economy, after several years of stagnation, which provoked renewed imports of industrial machinery (British exports of power-generating machinery increased by 63%) and consumer goods. It also indicated that British exporters, with the connivance of the government, were seeking to take market positions vacated by countries such as the USA which have imposed sanctions. UN trade statistics reveal that other countries, notably Japan and West Germany, also increased their exports in 1987.

While these increases restored some measure of domestic confidence in South Africa, there is every indication that the apartheid economy's recovery is now over and has been based largely on an artificial consumer credit boom. Pressure on the trade account caused by static exports and a rising imports bill led to the sudden imposition of import curbs in August 1988. South Africa is unable to afford imports on this scale if it is to maintain a current account surplus to service its foreign debt.

Against this economic background, so revealing of the vulnerability of South Africa to trade sanctions, the determination of the Thatcher government to do everything possible to promote trade with South Africa, short of directly providing funding for trade missions, has been disturbing. On the eve of the Commonwealth conference, the AAM called attention to a number of internal DTI briefings, including market reports on offshore oil and gas exploration, safety and security equipment, computer technology, post office equipment, construction and health care. In a letter to the secretary of state for trade and industry, the AAM's chairperson pointed out that promoting trade in these areas undermined the international embargoes on oil (UN and EC), arms (UN) and 'sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces of South Africa' (EC). He called for the withdrawal of the briefings and the ending of the special relationship between the DTI and UKSATA (UK-South Africa Trade Association).

In November, the trade minister, Alan Clark, told an UKSATA gathering that 'as South Africa becomes more industrialised it will continue to present new and exciting opportunities and I hope that British companies will continue to be well-represented and to keep winning business from our competitors'. This represents the most aggressive government position on trade with South Africa in the western world. The AAM faces a major challenge in exposing how this narrow view of Britain's short-term economic interest in South Africa holds sway over the present government.

While continuing to press for effective government action, there remains significant scope for reducing South African imports, particularly in the consumer-vulnerable area of fruit and vegetables. Indeed, consumer boycott action designed to inhibit trade has become more important than ever, given the government's decision to interpret its sanctions obligations in

the narrowest possible sense.

The Movement protested to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office about, and called the attention of the Commonwealth Secretariat to, the export by a Banbury firm, Coated Specialities plc, and Redfearn plc of Barnsbury of plastic sheets bearing the South African coat of arms, to be used in the new identity documents being issued to replace the passes used under the old pass laws. The AAM pointed out that the sale was in conflict with the spirit and intention of the EC measures of 1985 banning the export of sensitive equipment to the South African police (for whom such documents are an essential means of control), but the foreign secretary refused to intervene.

Consumer boycott

'Although there are no official sanctions against South African agricultural produce entering the UK, as there are now in the United States, Canada and Scandinavian countries, there seems to be a reluctance of buyers to take the risk of stocking South African produce. The picketing of stores in the UK by anti-apartheid demonstrators has compounded the problem.' This quote, taken from the South African Canned Fruit Export Board annual report, highlights the very real threat posed to apartheid by the existence of the consumer boycott.

The promotion of the consumer boycott remains one of the primary campaigns of local AA groups. Tesco has been the priority target of much of this action.

Throughout December, Exeter & District AA collected signatures outside their local Tesco on a petition in the form of a large card Cape apple. The group also produced an updated guide to *Apartheid-Free Shopping in Exeter*, which shows the extent to which South African goods are available in the city and explains the background to the consumer boycott campaign. Fourteen members of Cor Cochion Caerdydd (Cardiff Red Choir) were found guilty of obstruction after supporting Merthyr AA's Tesco picket. The supermarket manager called the police and arrests followed. Four members of the choir were given two absolute and two conditional discharges, due, no doubt, to their impromptu singing on the steps of the magistrates' court before the hearing. Brent AA held a candle-lit vigil outside the largest Tesco store in the country in February to publicise the suffering of children under apartheid. Members of the group explained to shoppers the connection between boycotting South African goods and campaigning against the detention and torture of children.

Tesco claims that South African produce is avoided where possible, but many branches still stock canned Del Monte and John West fruit and fruit juice from South Africa. Hounslow AA report that the only South African goods on sale in their local branch are lemons — despite available alternatives. Haringey AA report oranges, peaches and mangoes being labelled 'produce of more than one country'.



Many protests were made to Adshel because of their continued acceptance of Cape fruit ads. In Sheffield the local AA group and the Council for Racial Equality brought the matter to the attention of the city council, who reprimanded Adshel and

suggested that they make a donation to the ANC and SWAPO from the proceeds of the ads. Kingston AA were among the many groups to write and complain to Adshel.

The magazine *Elle* agreed to stop carrying adverts for Cape fruit.

Butetown community in Cardiff is aiming to be the first apartheid-free zone in Wales. The Butetown Apartheid Free Zone Campaign was launched at a public meeting held by Cardiff AA. The initiative was warmly welcomed by the local group and by guest speakers.

The Drill Hall and the Hackney Empire in London decided not to stock the soft drink, Appletise, after learning that the company was South African. (Information has since been received by the AAM HQ that the ownership of the company has been transferred from South African Breweries to a Dutch company; Appletise has therefore been taken off the boycott list).

Trade unionists have been as active in the campaign as ever and play a crucial role in the promotion of the campaign and its ability to strike home. The Broadcasting and Entertainment Trades Alliance (BETA) members have been attempting to force South African products out of the BBC canteen.

Labelling

Following fresh evidence of sanctions-busting, some retailers are to stop using suppliers who sell them illegal, relabelled South African produce. The Co-operative Retail Services are considering making its suppliers sign a clause stating they will not 'supply knowingly any product that originates from South Africa'. The Gateway marketing director says that if the chain catches any suppliers misrepresenting goods it will immediately de-list them. The head of the legal department of Next, replying to an explanation of its current policy on apartheid goods, said the company does not sell any goods of South African origin but that 'if your enquiries reveal that a particular item has slipped through the net, I would be most obliged if you would supply me with details and I will put any necessary enquiries and subsequent action in hand forthwith'. Sharwoods have given assurances that they no longer import any produce from South Africa.

Cases of sanctions-busting operations are occurring with mounting frequency. Bella Nova Granny Smith apples, which are from South Africa, have been put into boxes marked English Granny Smith. A box of grapes obtained by the AAM revealed a crude South African attempt to break the consumer boycott with false country-of-origin labels. The grapes, which bear the trade mark 'Sunfresh', are clearly labelled as 'produce of Botswana'. But the wording on the box is in both English and Afrikaans, and Botswana neither grows nor exports any grapes. South Africa, on the other hand, is Britain's leading source of grapes, with 26% of the market in 1985. As consumer resistance to its produce has grown, South Africa has been re-routing its goods through third countries and labelling them as if from other countries such as New Zealand, Botswana, Swaziland and Zambia.

Leading do-it-yourself stores are selling timber and other DIY products, eg Texas Homecare, misleadingly labelled as made in 'RSA' or one of the so-called 'homelands'. St Albans AA group has taken a lead in exposing this practice at Payless DIY which was selling its own brand drawer fronts and doors as from the 'RSA' or 'Ezekhini Kwazulu' a year after the store manager gave assurances that all apartheid goods would be clearly labelled as from South Africa.

Bernie Grant MP, a member of the AAM executive committee, enlisted the help of other MPs to investigate food relabelling which was covered in some depth in trade magazines, especially *SuperMarketing*.

Consumer Protection Act

The Consumer Protection Bill became law in 1987 and contained within it a provision for the repeal of the Trade Descriptions Act 1972, including its country-of-origin requirements. This will be replaced by the Trade Descriptions (Place of Production) (Marking) Order 1988. This new order is intended to come into effect on 31 December 1988. Its effect will be to remove country-of-origin marking requirements on goods such as clothing, hardware and DIY products. The only exception is that, if goods are

presented in such a way as to suggest that they emanate from a country other than the one where they were actually produced, they will have to be clearly labelled so as to identify the country of origin. Otherwise no country of origin will be required for these types of commodity.

The order does not apply to agricultural and fishery products, foodstuffs and medicinal products. The first two of these categories are covered by other European Community regulations.

The order, which is being introduced in the face of combined opposition from consumer groups, retailers and producers alike, as well as from the AAM, results from action taken by the European Community in 1986 to bring Britain into line with Community-wide labelling practices.

The changes have serious implications for the consumer boycott campaign. Increasingly, it will be necessary for campaigners to be able to identify South African brand names and the names of South African companies, since goods of the types referred to above will not have a country of origin marked.

Consumer Boycott Unit

To consider this and other matters, a Consumer Boycott Unit was established as a subcommittee of the executive committee to serve as a 'think tank'. Newly formed, the Unit has been considering campaigns and initiatives for next year.

Coal

The apartheid coal industry is in a state of crisis. Sanctions measures imposed by the United States, France and Denmark have hit South African coal exports. In 1987, South Africa exported 42.4 million tonnes of coal (a drop of 5%). According to official statistics, imports into the United Kingdom during 1987 fell to 201,000 tonnes (313,000 tonnes in 1986).

However, media attention focused on the use of Holland by the South African coal industry as a point of transshipment for its coal prior to export to the UK. Research by the Dutch AAM and the study of trade statistics indicates that the correct figure for South African coal imports into the UK is closer to one million tonnes.

There has been increasing pressure for the introduction of a coal ban as part of a new package of measures to be introduced through the EEC and Commonwealth, particularly in response to the banning of the democratic organisations and further clampdown on the media. Only Britain has held out against these moves.

Campaign supporters have begun the process of implementing the 12-point plan of action adopted at the joint AAM/NUM conference against South African coal in 1987. A *Coal Campaign Bulletin* has been produced to keep AAM and NUM activists aware of developments with the campaign. Nearly 500 people are on the bulletin's mailing list.



Miners from Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire join Women Against Pit Closures and AAM to picket a meeting of Conservative MPs and South African coal mining bosses

In December 1987, Durham NUM, Durham Mechanics and Tyneside AAM organised a demonstration attended by over 300 people to protest at the use of Seaham Docks for the importation of South African coal. This was followed up by a motorcade. On 14 May 1988, Yorkshire and Humberside AAM organised a day of protest action against South African coal imports in Hull.

Further protest activity has been organised against the activities of the Office of the South African Coal Industry. On 21 April anti-apartheid activists, miners, Women Against Pit Closures and NUM-sponsored Labour MPs protested against the visit to this country of a delegation from the South African coal industry, who were lobbying the UK government against coal sanctions and looking into the possibility of investing in a privatised electricity industry.

Labour MPs talked out two Bills which would have allowed the expansion of port facilities for the importation of South African coal. Also, the Scottish area of the NUM secured a commitment from the South of Scotland Electricity Board that they would not accept South African coal when they put the contract for the supply of power stations out to tender.

Local campaign material has been produced by NE Derbyshire District Council and Durham NUM, and the campaign has been regularly featured in *The Miner* and *Yorkshire Miner*. The AAM has produced a new campaign leaflet highlighting the role of Shell in exporting South African coal and calling for boycott action. A number of regional conferences have now taken up the issue of mobilising for a coal ban.

Uranium

The facts about Britain's defiance of UN Decree No 1 in relation to Namibian uranium have been further exposed in the recent period. In July, Labour peer Lord Hatch met Lord Trefgarne, the minister of state for defence procurement, and finally secured an admission that 1,100 tonnes of Namibian uranium oxide had been supplied to Britain between 1977 and 1985 following a 1976 government contract. This important admission followed months of questioning and a series of denials by the government; Lord Hatch is pursuing the matter further.

The UN Council for Namibia is continuing its legal action to stop the enrichment of Namibian uranium in the Netherlands by the Dutch company, Ureco, on the basis of UN Decree No 1 for the protection of Namibia's natural resources. This slow-moving but important case will, if successful, provide a precedent in international law which would have major implications for British companies operating in Namibia in defiance of international law. The case has been covered in *Anti-Apartheid News*.

The other significant area of activity in relation to uranium has been the stand of the Liverpool dockers who, since July 1987, have been refusing to handle shipments of uranium hexafluoride imported for processing by BNFL, unless BNFL were able to prove that the uranium ore did not originate from South Africa or Namibia. This important action, by TGWU members and also supported by the seamen's union, NUS, has significantly raised the profile of the campaign, which has been fully reported in *Anti-Apartheid News* over the year.

Oil

In November 1987, South African finance minister Barend du Piessis confirmed that the country's efforts to evade the international oil embargo were costing it dearly. Addressing the Cape congress of the National Party, he said: 'Billions of rands of scarce capital resources have been "sterilised" as a result of South Africa's political problems... these have been squandered on building up the country's strategic reserves of oil through fears that supplies would be cut off.' It is estimated that in the years 1979-87, the total cost to South Africa of the oil embargo was US\$19,970m — additional to its total crude oil bill for the same period of US\$25,630m.

The previous month, AAM chairperson Bob Hughes MP protested to the secretary of state for energy, Cecil Parkinson, about his sharing a platform at a London conference on 'Oil and

Money' (22-23 October 1987) with John Deuss, head of Transworld Oil Company, a major trader supplying South Africa in breach of the oil embargo, estimated to have been responsible for at least 25% of South Africa's crude oil imports in the period 1979-83. Shortly before the conference started, Transworld Oil claimed that it had now stopped supplying oil to South Africa.

The international campaign to persuade Shell to withdraw from South Africa and Namibia continued to be the main focus of the oil campaign. Evidence that the company was prepared to resort to unscrupulous practices to undermine the campaign came to light in October, with the disclosure that Shell had hired a consultancy firm, named Pagan International, specialising in helping multinational companies to defeat campaigns aimed at changing their practices. The 'Neptune Strategy', a lengthy secret report drawn up by the consultants which was exposed by US campaigners, was frankly duplicitous in its intentions: 'To engage the ecumenical institutions, churches and critical spokespersons in post-apartheid planning should deflect their attention away from the boycott and divestment efforts and direct their vision and energy into productive channels.'

Shell's ostensible strategy in response to the campaign was to combine an intensive public relations drive with litigation or the threat of it directed against local authorities that contemplated or adopted policies of boycotting Shell products. The PR campaign was tarnished by the Pagan exposé, and by Shell's persistent misrepresentation of the views of the Revd Allan Boesak and COSATU about divestment. The offensive against bulk buyers focused on the company's action against Lewisham Council.

The hearing of Shell's *ex parte* application in the High Court for judicial review of Lewisham Council's decision to cease purchasing Shell products commenced on 11 November and lasted for three days. A deposition by Archbishop Huddleston was a key part of the evidence presented on behalf of the Council. Judgment was given on 21 December 1987 in favour of Shell. Lord Justice Neill ruled that Lewisham was entitled to decide that it was in the interests of good race relations to cease trading with Shell because of its apartheid links. But the Council's aim of changing the company's policy towards South Africa was 'extraneous and impermissible' and nullified the boycott decision.

The High Court ruling anticipated the Local Government Act, which made it unlawful for a local authority to take into account non-commercial considerations in awarding contracts for supply of goods or services. However, before the Bill became law, one local authority, namely Sheffield City Council, after long and careful investigation of its responsibilities under section 21 of the Race Relations Act, decided not to include Shell in a list of companies invited to tender for a fuel supplies contract worth £1.8m a year.



The Shell AGM on 11 May saw the biggest and best-organised intervention yet by anti-apartheid campaigners, supported by pickets outside. Later, the company admitted that it had wrongfully excluded from attendance at the AGM a number of proxy holders whose forms were alleged to have arrived late. At an AAM press conference the previous day, Roger Lyons, assistant general secretary of the trade union MSF, which has over 3,000 members in Shell UK, pointed out that Shell's share of the petrol market in Britain had declined by 6.6% — before the withdrawal of 'Formula' Shell. Joe Jurczak, representing the United Mineworkers of America, reported that US campaigners had amassed just over half of the 10% of shares required to call an extraordinary meeting to discuss the South African issue.

On 31 July, *The Observer* disclosed that in March 1986 a cargo of North Sea oil worth £7m originally owned by Shell, had been shipped from the Shetland Islands' terminal of Sullom Voe to South Africa in breach of British government policy and EC and Commonwealth restrictions. AAM chair Bob Hughes MP wrote to the energy secretary pointing out that the case controverted the prime minister's claim, in a letter to Mr Hughes of 28 March 1988, that existing UK measures were effective, and demonstrated the need for a mandatory ban on oil exports.

The issue of Shell sponsorship continued to provoke debate. The Federation of Resources Centres, a 50-strong group of children's community centres, pulled out of a Shell-funded waste recycling scheme. But the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) entered into a three-year sponsorship deal with Shell worth £3m.

A notable anniversary was reached in July, when Hammer-smith and Fulham AA staged its 52nd consecutive weekly picket of a Shell petrol station.



Anti-apartheid demonstrators picket a Shell garage in Gloucester

In the USA, both Shell and BP lobbied hard, and ultimately successfully, against clauses in an anti-apartheid Bill sponsored in the US Congress by Robert Dellums that would bar US subsidiaries of foreign oil companies from securing US oil, gas or coal leases as long as their parent companies continued to operate in South Africa. Shell representatives admitted that, if passed, the Bill might compel Shell to abandon its South African operations. A senior British diplomat wrote in August to members of Congress objecting to the extra-territorial provisions of the Bill and threatening that by way of retaliation US companies could be excluded from North Sea oil exploration licences. Despite representations by US campaigners and the AAM, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed an amended version of the Bill that did not include the clause re oil companies.

The first report of the UN Intergovernmental Group to monitor the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa was published in November 1987. It concluded that the Security Council was under a special obligation to impose a mandatory oil embargo. Amongst the governments that failed to respond to the Group's questionnaire was Britain.

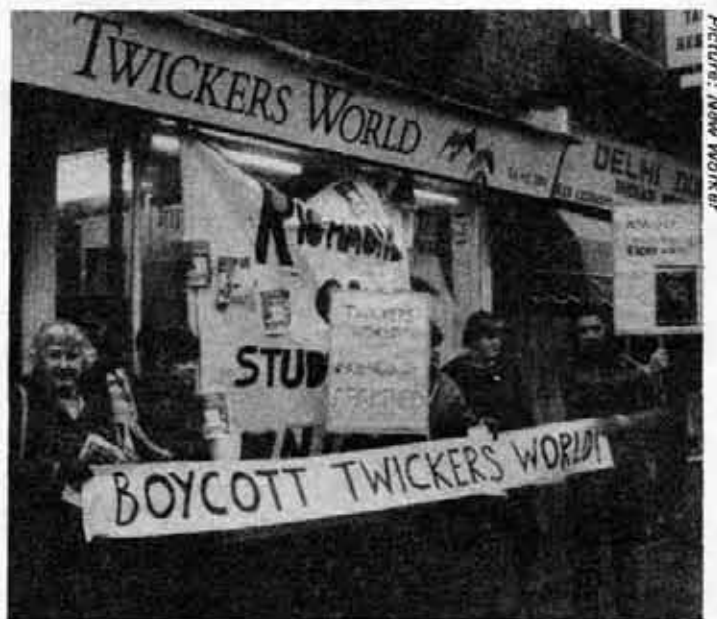
Tourism

During 1987, the South African tourist industry made a major push to regain trade lost through international reaction to the events leading to the state of emergency. This drive, combined with the effects of the clampdown on media reporting of events inside South Africa and the declining value of the rand, resulted in an increase of 14% in overseas tourism during 1987.

The figures for tourists visiting South Africa for the period January to May 1988 show a greater increase compared with the previous year, with UK tourism up 16.6% (47,779 visitors). Tourism is an important source of foreign exchange with an expected gross income of R1.2bn in 1988, as well as being a psychological boost to the white minority.

The British government has continued with its ineffective and cynical voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa, and has not even followed up its initial correspondence with the tourist industry on this subject.

At its 1987 AGM, Wakefield AA highlighted the participation of representatives from the South African Tourism Board (SATour) at the Olympia World Travel Market in November and, as a result, Wakefield Council refused to attend. Prominence has continued to be given in *Anti-Apartheid News* to tour operators who are totally disregarding the ban. Richmond AA has continued to apply pressure on the most notorious of these, Twickers World. The company withdrew from using local authority premises for promotion work after pressure from Richmond Council, and over 1,000 local signatures were collected on a petition protesting about Twickers World.



Picture: New Worker

Other activities have included pressure on Gloucester County Cricket Club to withdraw their advertising board for South African Airways, and a successful campaign run by Sheffield AA to get the off-licence chain Threshers to drop their joint promotion with SAA.

However, in view of the rising number of Britons holidaying in South Africa, there is an urgent need to step up the campaign against South African tourism during the Boycott Apartheid '89 year.

Emigration

South Africa is continuing to have difficulty attracting large numbers of white immigrants. In 1987, 4,164 immigrants entered the country, the majority from Western Europe. Of these, 2,168 entered from the UK. Although the figures for the early part of 1988 show a slight increase in emigration to South Africa, at this level South African industry and commerce cannot solve its chronic skill shortage. The international community has serious reservations about South Africa's long-term political stability.

Military and nuclear collaboration

The importance of this area of the Movement's work has been underlined by growing evidence that South Africa is losing its military superiority on the ground in Southern Africa, especially in relation to the armed forces of the People's Republic of Angola. The fact is that the UN arms embargo, despite all its limitations, means that the apartheid regime is unable to obtain the most advanced and sophisticated equipment from the international arms market.

The work to enforce the arms embargo has been largely coordinated by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, which the AAM established in 1979 and whose director, Abdul S Minty, is the AAM's honorary secretary. Most of the AAM's work in this area is undertaken through the World Campaign. This report therefore also covers some of the more important activities of the World Campaign during this period.

Advisory committee of the World Campaign

The World Campaign has established an advisory committee to assist in its work. It held its first meeting in Oslo from 28-29 February 1988, hosted by its chairman, Rolf Steen MP (vice-president of the Norwegian Parliament). The committee members are Mr Steen, David Steel MP, A B Nyaki, Tanzanian high commissioner to Britain, and Abdul S Minty. The committee met Prime Minister Brundage and Foreign Minister Stoltenberg, and worked out a number of initiatives which needed to be taken to strengthen the arms embargo and support the Front Line States.

The UN Security Council established in 1977 a committee to monitor the implementation of its decision to impose a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. This committee, as a result of a number of cases submitted to it by the World Campaign, issued a special statement on 30 December 1987 in which it was 'noted with alarm and great concern that large quantities of arms and military equipment... were still reaching South Africa directly or via clandestine routes'. However, no action has been taken by the committee to ensure that the governments concerned implement the embargo more strictly, largely due to the consistent opposition of Britain and the USA to any move to strengthen the arms embargo. Earlier, in April 1987, the US State Department reported that Israel, Italy, France, the FRG, Netherlands, Switzerland and Britain were involved in violating the UN arms embargo. It did not mention the USA which, in addition to direct supplies to South Africa, is also providing large quantities of arms to its surrogate UNITA forces in Angola.

Other activities of the World Campaign

Amongst the many other activities of the World Campaign were the following.

- In January 1988 Abdul S Minty had a meeting with Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (founder patron of the World Campaign) in Stockholm, and from there went to Arusha where the foreign ministers of the Front Line States met the Nordic foreign ministers, 25-26 January, and was then able to attend the opening session of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference on 28 January, also in Arusha. It provided a useful opportunity for discussions with government representatives as well as the liberation movements and other participants.
- The World Campaign submitted a special report on the operation of the mandatory United Nations arms embargo against South Africa for the meeting of the committee in Toronto on 2-8 August 1988, and the ministers decided to give it detailed attention and adopt appropriate proposals at the next meeting in Harare in February 1989.
- In March 1988 the World Campaign had an extensive meeting with officials of the Canadian government in Ottawa to discuss legal regulations and related machinery to implement the arms embargo. This resulted in identifying a number of loopholes and the need to ensure that the UN Security Council arms embargo committee is made more effective.
- The central committee of the World Council of Churches met

in Hanover during August and its Programme to Combat Racism organised a public meeting on 19 August with the general secretaries of the South African and Namibian Councils of Churches as the main speakers. Abdul S Minty was invited as the third speaker and he explained how the apartheid war in Southern Africa was being carried out with external help, including vital equipment from the FRG. Several hundred people from all over the country attended this meeting and the speeches are being published for wider distribution.

Subsequently, on 9 September the director of the World Campaign was invited to participate in a one-day private consultation on the arms embargo organised by the churches in Bonn. This considered how far the FRG was complying with the arms embargo, and at the conclusion the participants agreed to take some initiatives to ensure that the embargo is implemented more strictly by the FRG.

● The director of the World Campaign gave the opening address to the annual conference of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which took place in London from 13-15 May, on the theme 'Apartheid's War in Southern Africa'.

British collaboration

The World Campaign prepared, in consultation with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, a memorandum to the Commonwealth conference in Vancouver, outlining a series of breaches of the UN arms embargo involving Britain. A copy of this document was sent by the AAM to the Foreign Office. A reply was eventually received, and the World Campaign and the AAM are currently considering how to follow up the cases contained in the memorandum.

FRG submarine plans

The case of the FRG submarine construction plans, illegally delivered to South Africa, needed considerable attention throughout the year. In January the Bonn government informed the World Campaign that the delivery of the plans was no longer considered to be illegal since certain crucial blueprints had not been delivered to Pretoria. Thus, South Africa had apparently paid over DM40 million for plans that it could not use!

The two companies involved have consistently refused to disclose details about their contracts with South Africa, even to the Parliamentary Investigation Committee which is still carrying out its investigations. The FRG government also informed the UN that, since the case was not considered to amount to an offence, the public prosecutor had closed the file which would be opened only if any further relevant evidence was produced.

Meanwhile, the press reported that a letter allegedly written by Herr Strauss to Chancellor Kohl, indicating that they had discussed the submarine deal, was found during the summer and, if authentic, it would confirm that high government officials were involved in the transaction. The disclosure of this letter also led the Green Party to submit a formal application for the chancellor to be indicted for having given misleading information to the Parliamentary Investigation Committee.

Pretoria subsequently announced that it was not proceeding with the construction of submarines but would instead update its old Daphne-class French submarines. This could be to help divert efforts in the FRG to initiate a prosecution against those who delivered the construction plans in breach of the mandatory arms embargo.

Austrian aircraft

These aircraft, licensed for manufacture in the Ciskei, were declared by the Austrian government not to amount to a breach of the embargo since the Hobbyliner and Scanliner aircraft were not to be used by the military or police forces. The World Campaign was able to prove to the Austrian government and to the UN that the existing Austrian regulations had a loophole which made it possible to license the production of aircraft in South Africa in breach of the embargo. The Austrian authorities conceded that the loophole existed and initially promised the World Campaign (in September 1987) that the regulations would be changed in about a year.

That has not happened and it appears as if the industrial lobby has succeeded in preventing this amendment. The offending company has now produced an extract from its contract to the effect that the aircraft cannot be used for police or military purposes. The World Campaign believes that this was a deliberate attempt to enable the authorities not to take any action against the company and keep the present loophole in the regulations.

This case needs international exposure, as does the fact that, despite an official promise to the World Campaign in 1983 by the Austrian foreign minister, the loophole relating to the transit of hand-guns through that country has also not been closed.

FIDA '88 (Chile)

On 3 March 1988 the World Campaign established that South Africa had been invited to participate in the FIDA '88 Air Show in Santiago, Chile, in breach of UN policy. Immediate representations were made to Chile to cancel the invitation and the UN was alerted. The UN Special Committee supported the call of the World Campaign and called on others to boycott FIDA '88 in case the Chilean authorities refused to exclude South Africa.

On 10 March Abdul S Minty went to the UN in New York for consultations with diplomats about this case. On the same day, the arms embargo committee met and unanimously asked Chile not to breach the Security Council's decision. However, the Chilean authorities ignored the appeals and went ahead with South African participation in FIDA '88 as well as the official visit of two naval ships from South Africa at the same time. The South African exhibit was reported to be the largest at the show and the G6 howitzer, the Dart missile, the Seeker remotely-piloted spy plane and other Armscor equipment were displayed.

South Africa is effectively excluded from all international arms fairs and is only able to participate in the biennial FIDA shows. It is vital for international vigilance to be maintained since South Africa is desperate to export military equipment in order to overcome the high costs of its internal armaments industry.

MBB/British Aerospace multi-sensor platforms

In June 1988 the World Campaign revealed that South Africa had ordered multi-sensor platforms from MBB in the FRG as part of an electro-optic tracking system for which British Aerospace provided certain key components. This system is normally used by the military to test missiles but can also be used in the battlefield to detect the source of missiles. Both the British and FRG governments were asked to intervene and prevent the violation of the arms embargo, and the UN was informed.

On 30 June the World Campaign had a meeting with the Foreign Ministry in Bonn and was informed that one unit had been delivered to South Africa and that two were still on order. A few days later, Abdul S Minty was able to see the unit at a plant in Bremen and called on both governments to prevent its export. Foreign Minister Genscher responded with the assurance that he had instituted an investigation and that the two remaining units would in the meantime not be delivered.

Meanwhile, the British Foreign Office informed David Steel MP that a licence for the British equipment had been granted for export to the FRG and that it was for that country to implement the embargo. British Aerospace informed the World Campaign that it was not aware of the final destination of the equipment nor of its end use. A further meeting with the Foreign Ministry in Bonn on 8 September confirmed that the investigation was still not completed.

Daimler-Benz

When the Daimler-Benz AGM took place in Stuttgart on 1 July 1988 several shareholders raised the question of links with the South African military, and the director of the World Campaign was invited to speak to a motion on the subject. This was the second time that he had taken part in the AGM and the officials were insistent that the company merely engaged in 'normal trade' and could not be held responsible for how its equipment was used. In October 1988 several groups in the FRG decided to organise a coordinated national campaign against Daimler-Benz.

International Atomic Energy Agency

The IAEA general conference, 19-23 September 1988, once

again postponed the question of South Africa's membership. This was a result of the decision by the socialist countries, for the second year running, not to support the resolution which was originally agreed by all except the western group. The matter will be on the agenda for the 1989 conference, but the Pretoria regime's claims that it is ready to consider discussing the possibility of signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) have had some success. It is vital that public campaigns be organised to expose South African manoeuvres and the great dangers involved in allowing Pretoria to benefit from continued membership of the IAEA.

Cultural boycott

The cultural boycott has remained an important area of work for isolating South Africa as the apartheid regime and its supporters continue to attempt to lure performers, film makers and others to South Africa. Despite these attempts, there are many more performers, artists and actors now refusing to collaborate with apartheid South Africa. At the same time, the culture of resistance has been developing rapidly inside South Africa, despite repression by the apartheid regime such as the detention of leading cultural workers and the banning of public events linked to the promotion of people's culture. Supporting the development of people's culture as part of the struggle against apartheid, whilst also maintaining and strengthening the cultural boycott, has become an increasingly important aspect of this area of work.

A level of British collaboration in the cultural sphere has persisted, such as pop groups which continue to go to Sun City. Between May and October 1987, British bands Wishbone Ash, Nazareth, Black Sabbath and Status Quo all played Sun City, which was undoubtedly a blow to the campaign, although only Status Quo are currently of any note in the music business. However, the publicity and pressure the Movement was able to secure in relation to these breaches of the boycott was such that Black Sabbath and Status Quo subsequently pledged to the United Nations that they would not return to South Africa. In the case of Black Sabbath, this followed concerts in Holland and Hungary being cancelled because of their visit. Sun City has thus remained a focus for the campaign, with considerable success as regards the vast majority of bands refusing lucrative offers to play there and those who do, with few exceptions, being motivated by a desire to boost flagging careers.

The United Nations' 'Register of Actors, Entertainers and Others who have performed in Apartheid South Africa' remains an important campaigning tool. The Movement undertook detailed research for the UN in January to assist with updating the Register, leading to the addition of a significant number of British and international performers. The Movement also closely monitors breaches of the boycott and informs the UN swiftly so that performers immediately go on to the Register and are subject to international exposure, as was the case with the US singer Laura Branigan. In another case uncovered by the Movement, a British punk band pulled out of a planned trip to South Africa because of pressure.

The UN Register has been made widely available by the Movement to local authorities, student unions, trade unionists and others to ensure that facilities are denied to those who break the boycott. This has now become an established and effective policy in a growing number of local authorities in particular. As a result of this work, the number of British artists pledging to the UN not to return to South Africa continues to grow: in addition to Status Quo and Black Sabbath, bands who went to Sun City in 1986 - The Tremeloes, The Fortunes, Marmalade and the Swinging Blue Jeans have all since pledged not to return. Additionally, pressure from the Wales Anti-Apartheid Movement was crucial in ensuring a pledge from Shirley Bassey not to return to South Africa. The most significant figure finally to pledge not to return to South Africa has been Frank Sinatra.

An area of increasing concern in relation to attempts to weaken the boycott concerns the film industry and the growing number of big budget films being made in South Africa and Namibia for international distribution. These productions, with

financial incentives from the regime, are luring actors, including recently Britain's Oliver Reed and international stars such as Dolph Lundgren. The Movement has secured press coverage for the issue, particularly in relation to the filming in Namibia, with the cooperation of the South African Defence Force, of the pro-Unita film 'Red Scorpion'. The international campaign against this film has been so successful that Warners pulled out of distribution and no company has replaced them. The Movement is looking at a number of initiatives to develop a strategy to campaign effectively against this growing and significant area of violation of the boycott, to deter British involvement in these films and also to halt British films being shown in South Africa.

Local groups have continued to play an important role of vigilance over the boycott and to tackle breaches. The largest, most successful local protest of the year was in relation to the annual Shakespeare Birthday Celebrations at Stratford-upon-Avon. The Birthday Celebrations have been a focus for protest for several years due to the continued insistence of the organising committee to invite the South African embassy with all the other countries who attend and have their national flag flown in Stratford on the day. Both the Movement nationally and the local Stratford-upon-Avon AA group wrote to ambassadors and high commissioners urging their withdrawal if South Africa was not excluded. In the end, despite the largest-ever number of countries pulling out, approximately 50, South Africa was not excluded. Stratford and Leamington Spa AA activists organised a demonstration on the day of the visit of the regime's representative, attended by several hundred supporters. The campaign and protest gained considerable local and national press coverage. The end result of this consistent local pressure and campaigning, which has had the growing support of the Royal Shakespeare Company throughout, has reached the stage where RSC members have now stated that they will not perform in front of a representative of the apartheid regime next year and that if the organisers invite South Africa again there will not be a play to be watched.

The controversies of last year in relation to perceived changes in the boycott policy have continued. Following the ANC's Arusha conference, the Movement has maintained existing policy on the boycott whilst continuing close discussions with the ANC and others in relation to ways in which the development of people's culture can be supported and promoted internationally, whilst at the same time ensuring the maintenance and strengthening of the boycott. Lack of clarity over criteria has led to a number of controversies and to a need for guidelines to ensure that there is no relaxation of the boycott. The boycott policy continues to come under attack from those seeking to take advantage of the current discussions, a recent example being the public attack on the boycott by a director of the Market Theatre of Johannesburg at the Edinburgh Festival. Likewise, the regime is encouraging and funding more cultural trips abroad.

South African musician Johnny Clegg has been the focus of controversy in relation to the boycott this year. Clegg, an anti-apartheid musician born in Britain but resident in South Africa since childhood, was expelled from the Musicians Union this year in line with its policy of members not performing in South Africa (Clegg had joined the union by supplying a British address). The controversy further developed when Clegg's record company, EMI, issued a statement attacking the Movement and the MU's policies on the basis of incorrect information, blaming the MU for the fact that Clegg did not appear at the Wembley concert in tribute to Nelson Mandela. The Movement liaised closely with the MU over this issue, and has recently had the opportunity to discuss and clarify a number of the issues with Johnny Clegg himself.

This opportunity arose at an international seminar of artists and writers against apartheid in Athens, 2-4 September, organised by the UN Centre Against Apartheid. The event, in which leading South African figures took part along with representatives of the liberation and solidarity movements, provided a valuable forum for exploring ways of strengthening the cultural boycott and establishing mechanisms for supporting the democratic and popular South African culture which undermines apartheid.

The work of Artists Against Apartheid (AAA) continues to be of major importance to the Movement — on the issue of the cultural boycott and generally in securing support for the Movement from artists. On the boycott specifically, AAA continues to promote the insertion of clauses in artistes' record contracts to ensure their records are not sold in South Africa, and AAA founder, Jerry Dammers, has made important public statements on the boycott, particularly in the music press.

Academic boycott

The academic boycott continues to be an important aspect of the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa internationally. South Africans are finding it increasingly difficult to gain access to international conferences and meetings, and South African scientific and academic institutions, already suffering from a 'brain drain' as white professionals leave the country, are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit overseas.

The Movement regularly provides advice and guidance to academics and others who are seeking to exclude South Africans from events or who seek to have their work published internationally.

The Association of University Teachers reaffirmed its policy of a total academic boycott at the May council meeting which, whilst not being binding on members, is an important advisory position which has been vital in deterring academic contact.

In the student movement as well, the policy of academic boycott is being extended with some success: for example, Oxford Polytechnics Students Union has secured the adoption by the college as a whole of a policy of no academic contact with South Africa.



Picture: John Harris/ILF

Sports boycott

As last year, there have been no major tours to or from South Africa this year, yet Britain remains the country with the most collaboration with apartheid sport. This reflects on the one hand the strength of the boycott campaign, but also the inaction of the government over its commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement and the attitude of the governing bodies in a number of British sports.

The AAM continues to liaise closely with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and to maintain contact with other anti-apartheid movements campaigning on the sports boycott. The AAM was represented by its deputy executive secretary, Alan Brooks, at the International Conference against Apartheid Sport in Harare in November, organised by SANROC, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and the International Campaign Against Apartheid Sport, with the support of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. The conference looked at ways of strengthening the sports boycott internationally and was an important forum for identifying campaign priorities for the coming year.

Tennis is one of the key sports identified for concerted international pressure, particularly as it entered the Olympics this year. In line with this, the Movement has begun raising the profile of the campaign. Aberdeen AA organised a picket of a match between South African-born Kevin Curran and Australian Pat Cash, holder of the Wimbledon and South African Open titles, gaining a significant amount of press coverage. Additionally, Wimbledon was leafleted in relation to the participation of South Africans in British tennis, an action mirroring protests at the other 'Grand Slam' tournaments in France, Australia and the USA. This and other pressure has already resulted in a decision by the International Tennis Federation to reassess the status of the South African Open.

Golf is another sport targeted for international pressure, as a sport where collaboration with apartheid South Africa remains high. A setback to the campaign was the participation of top golfers, such as Britain's Ian Woosnam, in the Sun City million-dollar tournament in the winter. Also, South Africans continue to play freely in Britain. A response is developing amongst golfers in Britain, and a new group, 'Golfers Against Apartheid', is forming which will work within the sport to challenge the links between British and South African golf.

Rugby has also remained a target for the sports campaign. The major success was the collapse of the planned World XV tour to South Africa this summer, after it was rejected by virtually all the rugby unions and individuals players, including British players. This was without doubt a major blow to apartheid rugby.

Zola Budd has remained a significant figure in the sports boycott controversy over the year. There was a demonstration

at her race in February in Gateshead by Tyneside AA group, which received a considerable amount of publicity. Her return home to South Africa in May confirmed the widespread view that she had been using her British passport as a passport of convenience — a position argued consistently by the AAM since her arrival in Britain. Recent statements by Budd in South Africa suggest that she may now seek to return to Britain as an athlete, although she has also expressed a desire to join the diplomatic service and return to Britain/South Africa House, despite her previous disclaimers that she was not a politician!

Sporting contact with apartheid South Africa has continued in a number of other sports. In the past year, the AAM has taken up such collaboration in sea-angling, where South Africa was forced out of the European Boat Sea Angling Championships in Plymouth in September; water polo, where a rebel tour went to South Africa earlier this year; and football, where Kevin Keegan and other players have been to South Africa this summer. Sheffield AAM leafleted a snooker tournament protesting at the participation of South African players.

The AAM has continued to promote the United Nations Register of Sporting Contacts with South Africa as an important campaigning tool. An example of the importance of this work was the banning of golfers from a local authority-controlled tournament in Kirkcaldy in August because the players were on the UN Register. Additionally, because of the success of the campaign, increasing numbers of sportspeople are now pledging to the UN not to return to South Africa until apartheid is dismantled.

The other most recent and highly significant development in relation to the sports boycott was the cancellation of the England cricket tour to India this winter because of the selection for the touring side of eight players who had been to South Africa, including the captain, Graham Gooch, who was already contracted to go to South Africa this winter if he had not been made England captain. The Movement welcomed the strong position of the Indian government in opposition to the tour: Archbishop Huddleston sent a message of support to Anand Sharma, the Indian MP who organised the campaign. The Movement's chair, Bob Hughes MP, wrote requesting an urgent meeting with the sports minister to discuss the matter, but this was not possible prior to his departure for the Olympics. As the cancellation of the tour would not have been necessary were it not for continuing links with apartheid sport, in defiance of the Gleneagles Agreement, the Movement publicly placed the blame on the government for its inaction over implementation of Gleneagles and will be seeking a meeting with sports minister Colin Moynihan to discuss more effective implementation of the government's Commonwealth responsibilities in the future. There can be no doubt that actions such as that of the Indian government reflect the growing isolation of Britain over contact with apartheid sport and anger at Britain's unwillingness to act, a position which is proving damaging to the standing of British sport internationally.



Southern Africa The Imprisoned Society

A feature of 1987/88 has been the expansion of SATIS's work — in addition to a major role in campaigns such as the National Petition and Freedom at 70 campaigns, SATIS has (through the Harare Working Group, which is now the SATIS committee on children and the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia) greatly widened the work in Britain against apartheid repression. A conference on the repression of children in South Africa has been held and one on the repression of children in Namibia is planned for October 1988; and a range of materials has been jointly published on trade union repression.

In the No Apartheid Executions campaign, numerous and regular SATIS pickets of both the South African embassy and

the British Foreign Office have been organised, and a range of publications prepared. This year has also seen the compilation of an extensive SATIS direct mailing system, now more than 3,000-strong, and the establishment of a comprehensive international contact list. This has enabled SATIS not only to react more efficiently to events in Southern Africa, but also to provide information on a much wider basis.

The fifth anniversary of the formation of the UDF was marked by a letter published in *The Independent* signed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Geoffrey Bindman (chair of SATIS) among others. A memo on the repression of the UDF by the apartheid regime was also prepared under SATIS's auspices.

Free the children

The international conference on 'Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa' was held in Harare in September 1987. The conference was convened by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and sponsored by the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust (BART) to focus world attention on apartheid's youngest victims. Detailed evidence — much from South African children themselves — gave chilling witness to the daily physical and mental abuse and detention/torture of children. Delegates to the conference, who came from scores of countries across the world, returned from Harare determined, in the words of the conference Declaration, 'to act in a concerted way to keep the world aware of the plight of South Africa's children'.

The delegates from Britain came together to form the Harare Working Group, under whose auspices a range of events were organised, including large numbers of public meetings across the country, writing articles for a variety of journals, and the organisation of a conference, 'Children, Apartheid and Repression in Southern Africa', held on 29 April 1988 at the City University, London.

This major event attracted over 700 participants from within the professions in Britain — doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers, youth and community workers, probation officers, architects, information and religious workers, and representatives of aid agencies. The conference also brought together many newcomers to the issues.

A moving prelude to the proceedings of the conference was provided in the form of a multi-media presentation of the testimony of children who had been tortured in detention, complemented by slides, images of the atrocities inflicted on the children, exposures of their courage and resistance.

The keynote address, on the theme of children in Southern Africa, was given by the Revd Beyers Naude, with additional contributions by Helao Shityuwele, Dr Pamela Zinkin, Pius Langa and Faye Reagon. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston gave the keynote address on the topic 'Britain's responsibility'.

The afternoon session was divided into nine seminar groups to discuss the campaigning implications of the material presented in the morning, with a particular emphasis on the role of the professions. The outcome included proposals for the formation of Teachers Against Apartheid, Social Workers Against Apartheid, Probation Officers Against Apartheid and Youth & Community Workers Against Apartheid.

The workshop session was followed by the final plenary, which was chaired by Archbishop Huddleston, with statements by Aziz Pahad (ANC), Shapua Kaukungua (SWAPO), and a summary of the conference by Abdul S Minty, the conference rapporteur. A Declaration was approved pledging support for the children of Southern Africa and calling for professionals to sever all links with the professional bodies in South Africa which

tolerate the apartheid system. The conference was closed by a rousing speech given by the Maulana Faried Essack. The impact of the event was widely felt in quarters seldom reached previously by the AAM, and the executive committee is studying ways and means of supporting the campaigning specialist groups that have been established recently.

Sharpeville six

Against the background of some 80 people being sentenced to death since 1984 for involvement in resistance to the apartheid regime, the case of the Sharpeville Six leapt to prominence and attracted unprecedentedly widespread concern and protest throughout the world.

The Six — Reginald Sefatsa, Duma Khumalo, Theresa Ramashamola, Reid Mokoena, Francis Mokhesi and Oupa Diniso — were originally sentenced to death on 13 December 1985. But it was on 1 December 1987 that the attention of the world became focused on this case when the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein rejected their appeal against sentence. Although the judge found that there was no direct causal connection between the Six and the death of the town councillor, the court ruled that they shared common purpose with the persons (unknown) responsible for his death.

On the day of the court's ruling, Archbishop Huddleston wrote to the prime minister urging her to initiate a joint EC call for clemency. The disquiet and revulsion engendered by the court's decision was reflected in newspaper editorials and commentaries, and SATIS received innumerable requests for campaign material. On 4 December, the German ambassador to Pretoria, on behalf of the EC, appealed for clemency and on 18 December the UN Security Council made a similar call.

On 21 January, the defence filed a formal petition for clemency with President Botha, and five days later 12 influential South African organisations, including the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Youth Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, appealed through Archbishop Huddleston for action in support of their efforts to save the lives of the Six and others. This appeal and an accompanying SATIS memorandum were widely circulated at the United Nations and to many countries, including the USA, Canada, West Germany and France. Archbishop Huddleston also drew the appeal to the attention of the prime minister and, introducing what became a key element in the campaign, called upon her to intervene personally with President Botha.

SATIS staged a series of well-supported weekly pickets and mobilised a uniquely effective campaign of letters and postcards. Local AA groups took up the campaign vigorously, and

Picture: Morning Star



Labour MPs and trade unionists join the Sharpeville Six picket outside Downing Street

numerous pickets and meetings were staged throughout the country. More than 120 MPs from all parties signed an Early Day Motion. Under pressure, the foreign secretary indicated that Britain's concern had again been communicated to the South African authorities, but ignored requests for Mrs Thatcher to intervene.

The rejection of the clemency appeal by President Botha on 14 March and the announcement that the executions would take place on 18 March brought matters to a climax. Within the next 48 hours, President Reagan, General Secretary Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl made personal appeals to Botha, and the UN Security Council, in emergency session, called for a stay of execution.

Relatives of two of the Six, Julia Ramashamola and Joyce Mokhele, had discussions with SATIS representatives and meetings with the Commonwealth secretary general, Cardinal Hume, TUC general secretary Norman Willis, and the prime minister's private secretary. Leading figures from the churches, trade unions and the entertainment world joined hundreds of activists at SATIS pickets outside Downing Street and South Africa House, and thousands contributed towards a series of press advertisements. Media attention reached unprecedented levels, with *The Independent* running a particularly notable campaign. Prime Minister Thatcher was now compelled to act, and instructed the British ambassador to convey her concern to President Botha.

Finally, amidst intense international activity, and with only 15 hours to go before the scheduled time of the executions, the original trial judge granted a one-month stay of execution after lawyers for the Six had argued for a reopening of the trial on the grounds that one of the two principal witnesses, Joseph Manete, had given perjured evidence under police torture. The temporary reprieve, clearly a result of political pressures, further reinforced international criticisms of the South African judiciary's role in political trials and enabled SATIS to extend and reinforce the campaigning activity. Discussions with the relatives led to a widening of the international lobbying, whilst the defence lawyers prepared and lodged on 15 April a formal application for permission to appeal to reopen the trial.

This application was dismissed on 13 June, and on 1 July the defence petitioned the chief justice to reverse the decision. One week before the new date (19 July) set for the executions, and without waiting for the chief justice's announcement that five Appellate Division judges would hear argument on 7 September, justice minister Koble Coetzee intervened to announce an indefinite stay of execution, pending exhaustion of the judicial process and appeals to the state president. This time the subservience of the courts to the executive was made blatantly evident and the potency of international pressure in saving the lives of those on death row was confirmed. The Sharpeville Six are still at risk, though their prospects are slightly better now than they were a year ago.

No apartheid executions

Whilst world attention has been focused on the Sharpeville Six, SATIS has been actively concerned to highlight the wider problem of political executions, focusing on the rapidly increasing number of people on death row (some 64 by late September 1988) and on a number of key cases, involving Robert McBride, Tsepo Letsoare, Michael Lucas and the NUM Three. Activity on the last case is reported below under the Joint Campaign. For much of the past year, SATIS has maintained regular weekly pickets of the South African embassy, and less frequently the Foreign Office, with different organisations taking responsibility for particular days.

Of those named, Tsepo Letsoare was executed secretly on the same day in March that the Sharpeville Six were due to be hanged — a fact which only emerged some time afterwards. Last-minute efforts to save Michael Lucas proved unavailing, and he was executed a week later. However, no further political executions were known to have been carried out by mid-September.

In part this may be due to the fact that, inter alia, because of SATIS's international work, there is much wider awareness of the issues than used to be the case, whilst in Britain a substantial mailing list has been built up of individuals and organisations prepared to take up cases quickly. The reluctance of the British government to intervene, except where special circumstances are judged to prevail (as with the Sharpeville Six), and to wait for judicial processes to be exhausted gives cause for concern and unwarranted credence to the South African judiciary's claim to be independent of the regime.

Joint campaign

Following on from extensive discussion at the 1987 AGM about the increasing level of attacks on the non-racial democratic movement, the AAM trade union committee and SATIS launched the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia.

A survey undertaken by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee graphically illustrated the big increase in repression. Whereas, in 1986, 4% of those detained were trade unionists, by 1987, this figure had multiplied six-fold to 24%. Four trade unionists are presently on death row in South Africa.

The campaign launch took place on 1 February 1988 with a demonstration attended by 200 people outside South Africa House to mark the reopening of the trial involving Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA). Previously, the AAM had worked with the National Union of Public Employees to obtain the release of Themba Nxumalo, general secretary of the Municipal Workers Union of South Africa, and with the National Union of Railwaymen on the detention of Justice Langa, general secretary of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union.

The National Union of Mineworkers launched a petition, which was widely circulated around coalfield communities and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, raising the case of three South African NUM members on death row and the continued detention of shop steward Manne Diplo. The petition, which gained the support of the Trades Union Congress and miners unions affiliated to the International Miners Organisation, was signed by over 30,000 people and was delivered to the prime minister by a delegation of NUM-sponsored MPs, Peter Heathfield, NUM general secretary, and Bob Hughes MP, AAM chairperson. As a result, the British government has intervened in the case of Diplo.

On the case of the political trial of the Alexandra Five, the Joint Campaign has been working with the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, which contributed towards the production of 5,000 campaign cards. A major article on the new initiative appeared in the *Morning Star* on 28 June, the second anniversary of Moses Mayekiso's imprisonment. After discussions with NUMSA, the Joint Campaign produced a leaflet calling on trade unionists to obtain statements on the case from boards of directors of British multinationals with whom NUMSA has recognition agreements.

The Joint Campaign and Rail Against Apartheid (NUR) also produced education and campaign material demanding the release on humanitarian grounds of veteran trade union activist Harry Gwala. Gwala, a former railwayman and member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, is suffering from motor neurone disease, which is believed to be terminal.

The Joint Campaign and the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers have also produced campaign cards on the case of a CCAWUSA (Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa) shop steward, William Ntombela, who is presently on death row.

Finally, the Joint Campaign is presently planning, with a number of civil service unions, action on the case of SWAPO secretary of labour Jason Angula, and, with other unions, action on the case of trade union veteran Oscar Mpetha. The Joint Campaign also worked with One World on their new campaign which features the repression of trade unionists internationally.

Political prisoners/trials

SATIS has continued to campaign for the release of all political prisoners held by the apartheid regime. The tremendous interest generated by the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign helped to focus attention on other political prisoners. SATIS has provided considerable background information on several cases. The release of Govan Mbeki at the end of 1987 (though severely restricted) and the 25th anniversary of the Rivonia trial also served to focus on the long-term political prisoners in South Africa.

SATIS has also worked to highlight cases of people in political trials, notably the Alexandra Five and Ismail Ebrahim who was illegally kidnapped from Swaziland by South African agents in 1986 and is now on trial for treason.

Free all apartheid's detainees

This major initiative, launched in June 1987 on the anniversary of the declaration of the state of emergency in South Africa, with broad sponsorship, including the Trades Union Congress and the British Council of Churches, gathered more than a third of a million signatures from all over Britain. The petition was delivered to 10 Downing Street on UN Human Rights Day, 10 December 1987, by a delegation led by Archbishop Huddleston and Clive Jenkins, chair of the TUC.

The national petition was supported by hundreds of organisations and many prominent representatives, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop of York, all three leaders of the opposition parties and a number of members of parliament from the government side. One of the features of the petition campaign was a 'House of Commons Signing Day', when large copies of the petition were displayed in the House of Commons and more than 100 MPs from all parties queued to add their signatures. A similar exercise was held at the TUC General Council with the support of the general secretaries of all the major unions.

Celebrities such as Tom Stoppard, Dame Peggy Ashcroft and

Sir Richard Attenborough endorsed the petition, and activists all over Britain organised street collections of signatures with a special focus in the Namibia Week of Action on the plight of those often forgotten, detained without trial in Namibia.

Another feature of the campaign was the strong support generated in the religious community. The Anglican, Catholic, Methodist and Free churches were very active and many signatures were collected in the Jewish community. More than 20 bishops in Britain supported the petition, and the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, was among the international religious leaders supporting the campaign.

Organisations sponsoring the petition were the AAM, BCC, British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Christian Concern for Southern Africa, Committee for International Justice and Peace of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, Namibia Support Committee, National Steering Committee for Local Authorities Against Apartheid, National Union of Students, SATIS, TUC and United Nations Association.

Press coverage in both the national and local press was heavily supplemented by extensive coverage in the religious and labour movement press, which helped to focus the attention of hundreds of thousands of people on the apartheid regime's abuse of human rights.



Bernie Grant MP signs the Free All Apartheid's Detainees petition

International work

Developments in international policy towards Southern Africa in recent years have underlined the need for effective cooperation and coordination in the international campaign against apartheid. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has continued to be active in promoting such liaison although cooperation is severely limited by the lack of financial resources.

The main priorities of the Movement's international work have been the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the EEC, together with the strengthening of links with other national anti-apartheid and solidarity movements.

ANC conference

An important and highly significant development was the decision of the African National Congress itself to convene an international conference. This unique and impressive event - on the theme of 'Peoples of the World Against Apartheid and for a Democratic South Africa' was held in Arusha, Tanzania, from 1-4 December 1987. The AAM was represented at national level by Bob Hughes MP and Mike Terry, and there were also representatives from the Scottish and London Committees amongst a total British delegation of over 20 people, including TUC chairman Clive Jenkins, shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman and Bernie Grant MP. The conference was opened by Mwalimu Nyerere and addressed by Oliver Tambo and Sam Nujoma. The conference was truly representative of anti-apartheid forces across the world, and its declaration and programme of action provided an important framework of

policy and campaigning for the world-wide anti-apartheid movement. In London a special follow-up conference was held for British supporters of the ANC on 9 January 1988.

Commonwealth

Commonwealth action against apartheid continued to provide an important lead to the international community and the AAM has developed even closer relations with the Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth member states. A comprehensive memorandum was prepared for the Vancouver Commonwealth summit at which Abdul S Minty was present and where he was able to meet many of the participants.

The conference, in adopting the Okanagan Statement, broke with Commonwealth tradition, since Britain alone refused to agree to critical paragraphs on Southern Africa, including the decision to establish a Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa. This committee met first in Lusaka on 1-2 February 1988, where it was addressed by AAM hon secretary Abdul S Minty who presented a further AAM memorandum on Commonwealth action. He was also present when the committee met next in Toronto from 2-3 August 1988, where he was asked to present a report from the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

A series of meetings has taken place between the AAM and the Commonwealth secretary general and other representatives

of the Secretariat. The secretary general has continued to play a prominent role in the international campaign against apartheid and was especially supportive of the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign.

EEC

There has been a significant growth of cooperation amongst the national anti-apartheid movements in the EEC which led to the establishment of a liaison group of the national anti-apartheid movements of the countries of the EEC at a meeting in Athens in September.

Following consultations at the ANC Arusha conference a weekend meeting was held in Bonn on 13-14 February 1988. A memorandum was drawn up at the meeting for presentation to the European Council of Ministers and a communiqué was issued pledging cooperation between the EEC anti-apartheid movements. A programme of work was agreed on a range of issues at EEC level. A smaller meeting was held in Brussels in April when discussions took place between a number of AAMs and the South African agencies coordinating the EEC Special Programme.

The Athens meeting from 19-20 September built on this experience of cooperation and agreed on the need for the establishment of a liaison group which could provide a framework for representations to the institutions of the EEC and cooperation between national anti-apartheid movements over EEC issues. Following the meeting a memorandum was presented to a senior Foreign Ministry official, who agreed that it would be circulated to the Council of Ministers. It stressed the need for the EEC strictly to enforce existing EEC measures against South Africa, that these measures should be extended to include Namibia, and the need for further measures, especially the implementation of sanctions against South African coal.

The liaison group does not have any formal secretariat or structure — one or more anti-apartheid movements take the responsibility between meetings to follow up specific decisions. The work of this liaison group may well assume a growing significance given the general trend towards the harmonisation of foreign policy over Southern Africa amongst EEC countries.

United Nations

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has continued to maintain close working relations with a range of UN institutions, especially the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the UN Council for Namibia. In early May 1988 the AAM executive secretary visited New York to represent the Movement at a special meeting to mark the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Special Committee. The principal speakers at the meeting were the UN secretary general, Archbishop Tutu and Revd Allan Boesak. This visit provided an opportunity of meetings with the Centre Against Apartheid and the secretary of the UN Council for Namibia.

Over the past year, General Garba, chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr Noor, its secretary, and Mr Mousouris, UN assistant secretary general for the Centre Against Apartheid, visited London on several occasions and the opportunity of these visits was taken for further discussions with officers of the Movement.

The AAM was represented at two events organised by the Special Committee. AAM hon secretary Abdul S Minty was invited to address a UN regional conference in Lima, Peru, from 7-9 March, where he presented a paper on links between Latin American countries and South Africa. Whilst in Peru, he was able to alert both the UN conference and the government to the existence of a special office operating in Lima for South Africa to promote economic and other links with Peru and other countries in the region, and called on the authorities to close it. On his return via New York, he had a series of meetings with UN ambassadors and members of the UN Secretariat.

In September 1988 Mike Terry attended, as an observer, the UN Symposium on Culture against Apartheid in Athens. The symposium brought together prominent artists and others working in this field. A paper on the cultural boycott prepared by the AAM was presented to the meeting. The proceedings

were enriched by the participation of many prominent cultural workers from South Africa. The symposium issued a new appeal to artists not to visit South Africa. Much discussion centred on the need to provide effective solidarity with the growing cultural resistance in South Africa, and it was recognised by the symposium that there were cultural contacts with South Africa which undermined apartheid and that these should be supported.

The AAM was also represented on this occasion by Alan Brooks, deputy executive secretary, at a UN-sponsored conference, namely the International Conference against Apartheid Sport which took place in Harare from 5-7 November 1987. This conference provided a valuable framework for coordination between African sports organisations, the UN and other inter-governmental organisations and anti-apartheid sports activists. The declaration adopted not only provided a clear basis for developing the sports boycott, but also identified the main priorities of work in this area of campaigning.

Contact with anti-apartheid movements

The UN Special Committee provided assistance to the Japanese Anti-Apartheid Movement to enable Abdul S Minty to serve as a 'resource person' at an Asian Regional Workshop against Apartheid in Tokyo from 26-29 August 1988. The event provided a valuable opportunity for discussions with anti-apartheid activists from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, Taiwan and South Korea, as well as from Japan itself. The event focused in particular on the growth of trade with South Africa from Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea.

A similar workshop was held in Sigtunda, Sweden, from 19-22 November 1987 on the theme of global and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and occupied Namibia. Hosted by the Swedish Afrika Groups and ISAK, it was attended by 20 anti-apartheid and solidarity groups, mainly from western Europe, and drew up a comprehensive programme of action.

In addition to the contact established with other anti-apartheid organisations at the conferences referred to in this report, there have been numerous visitors to Mandela Street from overseas AAMs which have provided invaluable opportunities to exchange views and campaigning experiences. In September 1988 the AAM hosted a visit by a two-person delegation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and organised a brief programme for them, including discussions with the AAM executive committee. This provided an opportunity to discuss developments in the USSR's foreign policy towards Southern Africa.

The AAM was represented at an informal consultation hosted by ELTSA of groups campaigning specifically on the issue of loans and related areas of finance which took place in London on 30-31 January. This meeting provided a valuable opportunity to exchange views on South Africa's debt crisis and the role of gold. Discussions at this meeting led to the formation of the World Gold Commission.

During this period the AAM has sought to develop and strengthen its relations with a wide range of international organisations concerned and involved with the struggle against apartheid. The Movement's president was invited to attend the OAU summit to mark its 25th anniversary in May 1988; unable to go because of previous commitments, he sent a message of greetings expressing appreciation of the role of the OAU. Abdul S Minty represented the AAM at the joint OAU/UN Conference on Refugees in Southern Africa which took place in Oslo from 22-24 August, which, in the words of the conference president, the Norwegian foreign minister, began as a conference on refugees but ended as an anti-apartheid conference.

Likewise, close links have been maintained with the World Council of Churches, especially its Programme to Combat Racism. Its new director, the Revd Barney Pitso, has made an invaluable contribution to anti-apartheid activity in Britain since his arrival from South Africa, and the Movement looks forward to even closer liaison with the Programme in the period ahead.

The funeral in Paris of the assassinated ANC representative, Dulcie September, was attended by thousands of anti-apartheid activists from several countries. The AAM was represented by Mike Terry and Abdul S Minty, who delivered a message from Archbishop Huddleston at the funeral.

AREAS OF WORK

Trade unions

The AAM has continued to receive wide support from the trade union movement in its campaigns. This reflects the growing identification of British trade unionists with the struggle of their brothers and sisters in the non-racial democratic trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia.

The year 1987 was unprecedented in labour relations history in South Africa. Over nine million days were lost through workers taking strike action or participating in stayaway protests. As a result, the apartheid state has targeted the non-racial democratic trade union movement for sustained attack. Union officials and activists have been arrested and detained, union buildings have been attacked by state-backed vigilantes, and the apartheid state has introduced new repressive legislation, notably the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, in an attempt to roll back the gains made over recent years. In Natal, trade union activists have been murdered by supporters of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Despite these attacks, the non-racial democratic trade union movement, headed by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), has been able to mobilise mass action by workers. COSATU and the smaller National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) organised a three-day stayaway in June involving up to three million workers (organised trade union membership is near 1.5 million) to protest at the Bill. In Namibia, unions affiliated to the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) participated in the biggest stayaway in the history of the country.

The AAM has continued to encourage trade unions in this country to support their sister unions in South Africa and Namibia, and especially to show solidarity with them in the face of mounting repression. On 26 February, TUC general secretary Norman Willis accompanied Archbishop Huddleston in a delegation to the foreign secretary to protest at the banning of 17 democratic organisations in South Africa and the imposition of restrictions on the activities of COSATU. Earlier in the month, in response to the attacks on anti-apartheid trade unionists, the AAM trade union committee and SATIS, working closely with the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), launched the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia (see SATIS).

The last year has seen an increasing number of unions develop bilateral relations with COSATU affiliates, in consultation with SACTU. These links have enhanced the work of the AAM in these unions. A number of them, such as NALGO, NUM, NUPE, NUR, NCU, IRSE and FTAT, have started or are in the process of establishing material aid campaigns to assist the development of the

non-racial democratic trade union movement. In some cases, excellent educational and campaigning material has been produced.

The National Union of Railwaymen produced a report on its visit to South Africa and regular updates on its projects in support of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU). In another definitive document, the National and Local Government Officers' Association (NALGO) published a report on its delegation's visit to South Africa.

A pleasing development is the number of unions which are seeking to develop their solidarity work with non-racial democratic unions in Namibia. The AAM had a number of meetings with trade unionists who were visiting the country, and a member of CCAWUSA addressed the trade union committee on developments in South Africa. The AAM also met a delegation from NUMSA to discuss the trial involving Moses Mayekiso and the campaign to reinstate the sacked workers from BTR Sarmcol. The planned follow-up tour by 'Sisters of the Long March' after last year's successful tour by the 'Long March' play is being supported by the AAM.

Cooperation with the TUC

The AAM has continued to enjoy cordial relations with the TUC international department. In February, a joint meeting was organised between the international department and the AAM trade union committee to discuss matters of common concern.

The general secretary of the TUC, Norman Willis, and chair of the international committee, Ron Todd, have addressed a number of regional and local events organised by the AAM. The TUC

has also played host to a number of press conferences for AAM events and events organised by the ANC and SWAPO. The AAM was once again allocated a stall at the 1988 TUC congress, at which a comprehensive policy on South Africa and Namibia was again adopted. Norman Willis addressed the AAM's 'Sanctions Now' demonstration in London on 24 October.

The TUC's 1988 congress was also notable for the award of the TUC's Gold Medal to Nelson Mandela. It was received by ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, whose rousing speech — the first by an ANC leader at a TUC congress — earned a standing ovation.

Trade union committee

The trade union committee has continued to play a vital role in the promotion of AAM campaigns in the trade union movement. The committee meets on a monthly basis and is chaired by national committee member Fred Carneson. Of the AAM's 39 national affiliates, 35 have taken up the opportunity to be represented on the committee. Attendance at meetings has increased greatly over the last year.

The committee has followed closely developments within the trade union movement in Namibia and South Africa, and is continuing to develop the relationship between the Movement and COSATU and the NUNW. The committee has also continued to take an active role in taking up the general priorities of the AAM. Close contact is maintained with SACTU over all aspects of the AAM's trade union work.

Working with the unions

As a result of the work of the committee and with the able assistance of George

Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, at a press conference with Joyce Mokhesi, sister of one of the Sharpeville Six



Picture: Andrew Ward

Lobo and many local AA groups, the AAM was represented (by way of a bookstall and in some cases a fringe meeting) at the following union conferences: NUT, NAS/UWT, BETA, NUJ, USDAW, NGA, NIW, CPUSA, NUCPS, SOGAT, IPCS, IRSF, NUPE, BIFU, NATFHE, BFAWU, NCU, MSF, STE, UCATT, NALGO, CORSE, NUM, Representatives of South African trade unions or Southern African liberation movements addressed the conferences of ASLEE, FTAT, NUR, UCATT (SACTU); COHSE, GMB, NUT (ANC); IRSF (SWAPO); NALGO (NEHAWU); NCU and STE (POTWA). Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, addressed the MSF conference. The trade union committee produced model motions for delegates attending trade union conferences during 1988.

Three more national unions have affiliated to the AAM: the National Association of Schoolmasters / Union of Women Teachers, the Education Institute of Scotland, and the Health Visitors Association. Membership at regional and local level has remained static, with just over 600 trade union branches, regional committees and trades councils in national membership (many more are affiliated at a local level). To promote new growth, a trade union recruitment leaflet has been produced, aimed at increasing affiliations, and this was widely circulated throughout the trade union movement in September.

This work at trade union conferences has been complemented by extensive educational work, providing speakers at trade union meetings and schools, and producing material for trade union branches. Background papers on solidarity work within trade unions and the trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia have been produced.

The AAM has maintained close liaison with many national trade union officers regarding the development and implementation of anti-apartheid policy. The AAM has worked with the GMB and NALGO Insurance on the implementation of their disinvestment policies, the TGWU and MSF on the Shell boycott, the NUM on the campaign against South African coal, a number of unions that organise in the public sector on the Local Government Bill, and with numerous unions on repression and boycott initiatives. The AAM also works closely with unions who have developed structures or committees to implement their anti-apartheid policies. This year BETA joined a number of unions who have already established anti-apartheid structures in their union.

The AAM's national trade union affiliates have also supported a number of other initiatives launched by the AAM. The FBU, NUM, TASS, BIFU, SCPS (now NUCPS) and IPCS all made substantial contributions to the office expansion appeal. The GMB, TGWU (2), STE, UCW, NCU, NALGO, NUCPS, USDAW and MSF all sponsored a march on the Nelson Mandela Freedom March. Three unions — NUT, GMB and FTAT, awarded honorary membership of their unions to Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Special mobilisations of trade unionists in support of the

Sharpeville Six and against apartheid executions have been called. Both were supported by the TUC.

The trade union committee cooperated in the production and promotion of a special trade union issue of *Anti-Apartheid News*, an extra 60,000 copies of which were circulated around trade union branches. In response to a demand for greater coverage of trade union issues in *AA News*, the editorial board has allocated one page specially to the trade union committee. The AAM has also obtained greater coverage in a number of trade union journals by tailoring articles for their use, with *Red Tape* (CPUSA), *The Miner* (NUM), *The Journal* (NUCPS), *Assessment* (IRSF), *Dawn* (USDAW) and *TASS* (now MSF) journal being especially supportive. A number of unions are continuing to run sessions on apartheid at their education modules or activist events.

The AAM attended a seminar organised by the Commonwealth TUC and the NUJ for trade union journalists on the media censorship in South Africa and Namibia, and discussed a number of ways in which coverage in trade union journals could be improved. AAM's cooperation with the NUJ's conference, 'White Lies', on South African censorship is reported elsewhere.

A recent addition to the special campaign material produced by unions for their members was the production of the excellent brochure by NALGO entitled *Namibia — the Forgotten Colony*. The trade union committee has attempted to coordinate work with the Namibia Support Committee in this area. However, much more remains to be done to carry awareness of the issue of Namibian independence to the wider trade union movement. The AAM also sponsored the NSC conference 'Namibian Workers in Struggle'. The GMB also issued a joint appeal with UNICEF for Mozambique. This is the first time a national union has taken up an initiative on the Front Line States.

Of great concern to the trade union

committee is opinion poll evidence which points to a relatively weak level of support for sanctions amongst sections of the working class in this country. National affiliates need to communicate their policy more effectively to their members. The trade union committee intends to meet full-time officers, education staff and editors of union journals to help increase support for sanctions amongst this section of the population.

The work of the trade union committee has been greatly enhanced by the role of the growing number of regional and local AA groups who have established trade union subcommittees or liaison officers. The trade union committee intends that this should be a major area of development for the AAM, particularly in view of the growth in support for the Movement after the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 Campaign. The AAM needs to service and coordinate the efforts of these committees in order to mobilise further support from the trade union movement. The trade union committee has supplied speakers and background papers for a number of AA conferences dealing with the Movement's trade union work.

Many unions are continuing their efforts to give effect to People's Sanctions and particularly in support of consumer boycott activity. The TUC and a number of unions have now adopted policies in support of the Shell boycott. MSF, the major union with members in Shell, has issued a circular outlining the reasons for the boycott and calling for the company to withdraw from South Africa and Namibia.

The AAM has continued to work with the NUM on the campaign to stop South African coal imports into this country (covered in detail elsewhere). A new leaflet has been produced detailing the role of Shell in exporting South African coal to the UK.

Over 50 members of BETA have refused to work on a programme called 'London Letter', which is produced on BBC premises by a South African journalist for broadcast to South Africa.

The STE has challenged British Telecom's telex Gold Service to the so-called 'homelands' of Bophuthatswana and Transkei, and the NGA has raised the question of the continued acceptance by British newspapers and journals of advertising from South African Airways in defiance of the British government's voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa. Action against uranium imports is reported elsewhere.

The NUCPS has organised meetings of its members in the Department of Trade and Industry with a view to taking action against the department's continued promotion of trade with South Africa. The Musicians' Union has continued to play an influential role in implementing the cultural boycott. Members of NALGO successfully campaigned for the withdrawal of invitations to golfers to play in a local authority-run competition, because they were on the UN register of sporting contacts with South Africa.



Local AA groups

There now exists what amounts to a nationwide structure of local groups throughout Britain: 137 local groups cover most major towns and cities, and 18 are in the process of forming — a monthly list is published in *Anti-Apartheid News*. There are seven regional AA committees, six of which cover 63 of the 135 English local AA groups. Yorkshire & Humberside Regional AA Committee shares an office and a worker with Sheffield AA. Committees in London and the South West Region are investigating similar proposals. The Scottish Committee has an office established in Glasgow — where the regional committee is based — and has a full-time worker. Wales AAM is considering a similar operation.

To detail adequately the depth and range of all local AA group activity is beyond the scope of this section, but what follows is a snapshot of the many and varied tasks they undertake. It is a testimony to the energy and commitment of the AAM's activists and local groups.

Communication

Communication within the AAM has been identified as a crucial area for development. With respect to local groups, it falls broadly into three categories, namely communication from the AAM HQ to local groups, vice versa, and between local groups.

The production of a major new initiative in this area, the *Campaign Bulletin*, aims to rationalise and improve the transfer of information on campaigns. Designed to supplement, rather than replace, *Anti-Apartheid News*, items are brief and 'action'-oriented, rather than political analysis. As well as providing a summary of the various action plans for campaigns and fundraising, two further functions were envisaged. First, to promote the Movement's campaigning and research resources; second, to provide a forum for local groups to exchange ideas and information. Practical problems of production and distribution have resulted in four issues rather than six as planned. What little feedback there has been on the value of the *Bulletin* is generally positive.

Anti-Apartheid News has been extensively redesigned and remains the major campaigning tool of the Movement. However, it is still under-used as a source of information about local group activities.

Augmenting *AA News* (which is accompanied by the Members' Newsletter) and the *Campaign Bulletin* are irregular but frequent local group mailings and reports and documentation for the national committee. Local groups need to be briefed on all aspects of the Movement's work and on developments in Southern Africa. Presenting and disseminating this information so that political campaign priorities are clear and that local groups, all of

whom have finite resources, are not overwhelmed by the sheer weight of material continues to be the subject of much debate. Proposals for the future include a numbered system of circulars/newsletters and colour coding of mailings.

Increasing numbers of local groups are now producing their own newsletters, etc, and many are extremely professional in design and content.

Two meetings for local groups took place during the past year, on both occasions on the day following a national committee meeting to facilitate out-of-London participation. Although small, they served a useful purpose, and a number of the suggestions arising from them are being implemented.

Development

Challenging Apartheid, the 1987 report on the future development of the Movement, focused in particular on the role of local AA groups. The past year has seen the consolidation of our local group structure. This is a noteworthy achievement for a number of reasons. A high proportion of our local groups are newly formed (ie within the last one to two years) during the period of high media reporting of events in South Africa. The vast majority of these groups met the challenge to maintain interest and build their groups throughout this period.

A field officer has been appointed to complement the role of the local groups organiser, with the priority task of aiding the development of local groups in organisational and political terms; the promotion of campaigns as such will be serviced, as in the past, by the relevant existing staff members. New regional AA committees have been established, but at a slower rate than last year. Much thought needs to be given to the future evolution of such structures and it will provide a profitable starting point for the field officer. Stronger regional AA committees and the resultant improved coordination of local group activity strengthen the ability of the AAM to, amongst other things, promote campaigns and distribute material.

Promotion of membership, both local and national, is self-evidently of continuing importance. Whilst national individual membership, as reported elsewhere, has more than doubled, we have yet to ascertain whether there was a corresponding increase in local individual membership. Provisions within the constitution exist so that a central file may be compiled of all our local members, forwarded to the AAM HQ by local groups.

Promotion of local membership has included the production and circulation of standard local individual membership cards and stickers, blank spaces for local details on leaflets and posters (the latter is being introduced at the time of writing), circulation of artwork, model press releases and letters. Adaptation of various

AAM publications or use of graphics and/or logos is increasingly done by local groups, but the trend appears to be for the circulation of higher-quality artwork suitable for printing from.

Campaigning

It would be fair to deem the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 Campaign the highlight of local groups' campaigning activity in the past year.

Invidious as it is to highlight groups, special mention must be made of all the local AA groups involved in the organisation and mobilisation around the Mandela Freedom March and the Mandela Cycle ride. As with so much of our work, planning would have remained just that without the hard work of local group activists.

Amongst the many notable achievements of local groups around the Mandela March were the following: Edinburgh AA's welcome rally for the marchers; Northumberland AA's warm hospitality over three days in Wooler, Alnwick and Ashington; Tyneside AA's Long Benton welcome rally and march into the city, and their giant banner on the Tyne bridge; Durham AA's turnout of over 1,000 to greet the marchers, and their highly successful Mandela Birthday Benefit at the Students Union; York AA's festival; Leeds AA's 3,000-strong march and rally in Roundhay Park — the biggest turnout between Glasgow's send-off and Finsbury Park's finale; Bradford AA's public meeting on the theme of political prisoners, and the student group's friendly hospitality over two days; Rochdale AA's large reception crowd and public meeting; Oldham AA's banner and Manchester's superb civic reception, with school choir and giant birthday card; Stafford AA's success in securing radio coverage; Lichfield AA's Guildhall meeting; Walsall AA's welcome crowd; Birmingham's hospitality at the Star Club (two nights) and Accafess Centre; Coventry's civic reception and cathedral service, rounded off by a foot-washing ceremony; Leamington Spa AA's entertaining cabaret; the hospitality of the Matta Fan Canta Movement's Club in Northampton; Luton AA's 200-strong rally and the well-attended send-off organised by St Albans AA; Barnet AA's lunch and finally Haringey AA's march and rally in Alexandra Park.

Activities around the March laid the basis for the establishment or consolidation of new AA groups in Galashiels, Hebden Bridge, Congleton and Wolverhampton.

Those groups not directly concerned with the March or Cycle ride did not let that deter them. Giant birthday cakes and birthday cards, which also acted as petitions, were a popular theme.

Oxford AA collected 1,800 signatures on a card which they sent to Mandela together with a book from a local school containing self portraits by the children.



Inverness AA with their giant birthday card for Nelson Mandela



Teams from all over the city line up for Sheffield AA's first-ever Nelson Mandela Five-a-Side football trophy



York AA with the birthday cake they entered as a float in the Lord Mayor's Parade



Local supporters sign Plymouth AA's petition calling on the city council to remove the South African flag

Picture: Western Morning News



Plymouth AA's Mandela Birthday Party

Picture: Western Morning News

Picture: Martin Jenkinson

Picture: Morning Star

Passers-by were invited to place a candle on a giant cardboard cake in the city centre, and by the end of the day it was covered. Inverness AA sent their decorated card to Winnie Mandela and were pleased to see pictures of her holding it in the national press. Blackburn and Darwen AA worked with their local trades council to organise a whole day of events, including a march involving 300 people, a rally, children's activities and a pop concert. A birthday party for Mandela in Shropshire included a play by Bread and Circuses theatre company and music from Maria Tolly. Wrekin AA described the event as 'the most enthusiastic and successful gathering of progressive people seen in this out-of-the-way locality for many years'. Such views were a common feature of the reports received about the activities of other groups.

Teams from all over the city took part in Sheffield AA's innovative five-a-side football tournament for the Mandela trophy. They and a number of groups took the opportunity to capitalise on the mass popular appeal of the Mandela Birthday Tribute by having a public screening, together with exhibitions, raffle, bar and buffet. Barnet and Brent AA, borrowing an idea first used by Sheffield, organised a motorcade as part of the build-up to the arrival of the Mandela Freedom March. Merseyside AA organised their own freedom march and rally the day after Liverpool 8 Against Apartheid's Freedom Festival with the Bhundu Boys headlining. All groups reported a marked increase in sympathy and support for their work.

On a smaller scale but nonetheless significant was the mobilisation around the showings of the film 'Cry Freedom' which netted a large number of both local and individual members. Leicester AA raised £860 outside local cinemas and recruited 12 members. Richmond AA doubled their membership, and Haringey AA collected over £1,000 during the three-week showing at the Muswell Hill Odeon. Kingston AA held successful leafletting sessions and persuaded Donald Woods, now resident in Surbiton, to become honorary president of Kingston AA. The recently released film, 'A World Apart', presents a further prospect for fruitful local group campaigning. As in the case of 'Cry Freedom', a specially-produced leaflet is available.

Local groups maintain their support for national campaigns and initiatives. An outstanding example of comparatively small groups having a large impact locally and regionally was provided by South Devon AA and Totnes AA. Publicity for their activity timed to coincide with a Shell shareholders' meeting in Torbay was extensive. Speakers at a well-attended meeting included Dave Craine from Embargo and Phil Gregory from the South West TUC Anti-Apartheid Committee. A large picket was formed outside the centre handing out leaflets to shareholders and anti-apartheid activists inside questioned Shell representatives about their company's support for the apartheid regime. The Shell campaign was further supported

by local groups on the Day of Action on 14 May. Ealing AA convinced Ealing Community Transport to withdraw its charge account from the local Shell garage. Wessex Regional AA Committee ran a campaign to persuade a local radio station to stop running a competition in conjunction with Shell. Hammersmith & Fulham AA completed a year of its regular weekly pickets of a Shell petrol station in Hammersmith, during which hundreds of motorists had been persuaded to boycott Shell and much publicity generated for the campaign.

Work on political prisoners and in conjunction with SATIS continued to be an important part of local groups' campaigning calendar, with torchlight vigils (eg Sheffield and Birmingham), petitions (groups too numerous to mention), and interventions with MPs and councillors.

Local groups were among those who paid tribute to President Samora Machel of Mozambique on the first anniversary of his death in a plane crash. Commemorative demonstrations and meetings took place in London, Leicester, Manchester, Sheffield, Bristol and elsewhere.

Liaison and cooperation between local groups and other organisations were used to build the broad basis of support for the Movement's policies. Hackney AA developed positive links with the local Turkish community via the Halkevi Association. Doncaster AA, like many other groups, maintained close links with NUM branches, particularly over the coal campaign. Sheffield AA continues to enjoy an effective and productive liaison with the local authority. The London Borough of Ealing and Ealing AA jointly produced a Southall Festival Against Apartheid and Racism. Festivals with a strong cultural element were popular ways of reaching the community. Music, theatre, exhibitions and pickets all played a part in Bristol AA's Festival Against Apartheid. Featured were 'The Long March' by BTR strikers, Shikisha and Lovemore Majalvana.

On a sour note, vandals sabotaged a benefit organised by Hemel Hempstead AA by glueing up the venue's door locks. Slogans sprayed on the wall read 'ANC-IRA - terrorist scum'. It is believed that the National Front may have been responsible for this and another previous incident when a teargas canister was thrown through a window where a benefit was being held. The AAM needs to be informed of any incidents similar to this.

Attention needs to be given to activities designed to promote the development of local groups, eg a summer school, regular training workshops, production of speakers' notes, educational and training materials, development of the regions, and the AAM HQ as a resource centre for local groups.

Fundraising

Raising funds for AAM HQ, the local group and the liberation movements continues to be a key element in local group activity. Whilst in general the

political argument for the constituent parts of the Movement substantially funding the national work of the AAM has not been won, it remains the case that there are a number of local groups which consistently raise notable amounts for the AAM HQ. The ANC and SWAPO are major beneficiaries of local fundraising efforts. Local group finances vary from those which maintain minimal funds and donate all their money, to those which maintain a larger and growing financial base.

Aberdeen AA recouped £350 in aid of the ANC's Charlotte Maxeke Child Care Centre in Tanzania from the sale of their *Recipes of Internationalism* cookbook. Camden AA members produce and donate tea and cakes for their own activities which raises substantial sums.

Discos and musical benefits are very much a staple part of generating income. Earls Court AA sold tickets for a local disco. The club benefited by having extra people buying drinks and the group raised about £100. Islington AA held regular club nights at a disco with hip hop, house and African music. Cheltenham AA continued their tradition of potent sounds and presented Jali Musa Jawara and musicians from Mali. Months of planning and preparation culminated in a large and successful benefit hosted by Lambeth AA at the Fridge in Brixton. Music came from Kaap Finale, Orchestre Jazira and the Real Sounds of Africa. The event was made possible by Lambeth Amenity Services who gave financial assistance and backing. It raised over £1,500 for the ANC and SWAPO and exemplified the constructive liaison between local groups and local authorities.

Another example of positive and mutual cooperation was an 'African Evening for Mozambique', held by Cheltenham AA, which raised over £400. Fifty-two blankets and a large quantity of toiletries were also donated. The event, organised jointly with sixth formers from Bournside school, included speakers from Cheltenham AA, War on Want and Mozambique.

Goods and gifts, either purchased from the AAM HQ and resold or locally produced items, provide a steady form of income. Hemel Hempstead AA design, distribute and sell their own Christmas cards.

Sponsored events are comparatively low risk and involve low capital expenditure. Tameside AA and Stockport AA held a 20-mile sponsored cycle ride which raised around £600 for the ANC and SWAPO's medical supplies appeal. The decline of Soweto Walks as a fundraising venture was more marked this year. Where they still occur, generally among older groups, they are very successful. For example, Camden AA raised £3,000 and Bristol raised £7,000 (with the help of 27 children from a local junior school).

Material aid collections are a favourite form of street activity. The London Committee collected sports and recreational equipment for the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo) in

Morogoro, Tanzania. Malvern AA appealed to their members for gifts of bandages, insect repellent, baby powder, etc. Southwark AA held some very successful material aid collections outside local Sainsburys and chemists. Shoppers are handed a leaflet as they go into the stores, asking them to buy one extra item and donate it to the collection. Chiswick AA mount a display thanking shoppers for their contributions and detailing amounts

of goods raised so far.

Information and education

As an integral part of campaigning, educational and information work has underpinned all local group work. The March Month of Action on Front Line States furnished an opportunity to strengthen political understanding of the complex regional situation in Southern Africa, and

over two dozen meetings and conferences were staged on this subject.

Dayschools and meetings such as that organised by the London Committee on 'The National Question' and the South London Action Against Apartheid conference also furthered the process of deeper understanding. Many groups continued their internal educational programme with discussion and time allocated in their regular meetings.

Local authorities

Local Government Act

Despite intense and widespread lobbying, the Local Government Bill became law last spring. Locally, AA groups raised the grave implications of the Bill with MPs, lords and councillors. Petitions, letter-writing and deputations were part of a widespread and sustained intervention by local structures — most if not all Conservative MPs and lords remained impervious. Nationally, briefings were held with local government trade unions, a memorandum was submitted to the minister for local government, Michael Howard, who also received a delegation from the AAM. A full explanatory statement was issued by the AAM and a wide range of briefing material was produced and circulated to members of the Commons Standing Committee, the House of Lords and other interested individuals and organisations. All individual members of the AAM and affiliated organisations were urged to raise the matter. A meeting was held in the House of Commons at the beginning of the year to rally opposition and was addressed by the Bishop of Sheffield, lords from all political parties (except the Conservatives), crossbenchers and trade union peers.

The Local Authorities Against Apartheid (LAAA) National Steering Committee played a prominent role, as it has done in all local authority anti-apartheid work, in campaigning against the proposed legislation.

Unfortunately, despite all efforts, the provisions which prevent local authorities from boycotting South African and Namibian products, or supplier companies with major interests in those countries, were enacted unamended. LAAA convened a seminar, entitled 'Local authorities, South Africa and the law', for authorities and trade unions to discuss the implications of the law and future local authority anti-apartheid work. The meeting was briefed by Robin Allen QC. The result of the deliberations are to be circulated in the form of guidelines for local authorities. The implications of the Shell vs the London Borough of Lewisham court case were also analysed at the meeting. Further strategic responses to the legislation, which was clearly designed to restrict the scope of People's Sanctions, are being formulated.

March Month of Action and general activity

Central to coordinated activities for local authorities was action during June. In the past, local authorities have organised a ten-day programme of activities starting on 16 June and finishing on 26 June. This year, the period was extended to a month in duration so as to incorporate the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 Campaign.

Picture: Sheffield City Council



Sheffield's Lord Mayor Cllr Phyllis Smith unveils portrait of Nelson Mandela

Southwark Council organised two main events. A vigil was held on 16 June in memory of the Soweto massacre. There were speakers, live music from Shikisha, and a four-minute silence was observed. On 25 June, a large festival was held in one of the local parks. Hounslow's action included public meetings, a music and

poetry evening with African Dawn, a discussion on the consumer boycott, a Bop against Botha and a cabaret evening. Also in London, Ealing Council jointly organised a Festival Against Racism and Apartheid with Ealing AA which featured Jonas Gwangwa, Premi (a Bhangra band) Abacus and Benjamin Zephaniah. This was supplemented by local and children's performances, speakers, stalls and a food fair. Lambeth Council offered the freedom of the borough to Nelson and Winnie Mandela and flew the ANC flag above the town hall in Brixton on 18 July.

Other activities took the form of public ceremonies such as flag-raising, civic honours and policy initiatives. Local authorities played a prominent role in promoting the Mandela campaign. For example, the Mandela Marchers received a scroll of the names of the Rivonia trialists which is now on display in the council chamber of Ashington. Other authorities on the route of the Mandela March from Glasgow to London played a specially important role in providing not just political support but also logistical and practical back-up, with the marchers receiving around 30 civic receptions in the course of the five-week operation.

Activities took place outside the Month of Action, often in conjunction with the local structures of the AAM. Cynon Valley AA convinced their local council not to accept a £60,000 donation from the Gold Fields Environmental Trust set up by Gold Fields of South Africa or a gift of land from its British subsidiary, the Amey Roadstone Corporation (ARC), which was to be developed as a nature trail. The Port of Bristol Authority banned all new trade with South Africa and Namibia. The move came after two years' work by the city council's anti-apartheid advisory panel to produce a policy acceptable to port workers worried about their job security. An agreement will respect the right of existing customers to continue importing coal and some other products, but will stop the handling of any new South African or Namibian trade at city-owned facilities, and encourage buyers of apartheid products to seek alternatives. In 1987 the port handled over 3.4m tonnes, of which 171,238 tonnes came from South Africa or Namibia.

Conferences

Over 120 representatives of local education authorities, including both councillors and teachers, attended a conference in Rotherham in November on 'Education on Apartheid'. The conference, hosted by Rotherham Borough Council and held under the auspices of LAAA, marked a new departure in teaching about Southern Africa. ANC and SWAPO representatives spoke on the importance for the freedom struggle of education in both Southern Africa and Britain (see also *Education*).

The LAAA National Steering Committee conference in May, entitled 'Building Links with the Front Line States', reported above under *Front Line States*, led to the publication in booklet form of the keynote speeches by Sheffield City Council under the title *Apartheid's War on its Neighbours*.

Local authority resource unit on apartheid

Plans by LAAA to establish a resource unit for local authorities have progressed, but not sufficiently rapidly to allow the unit to start functioning. It is hoped that a prospectus and articles of association will be circulated to all local authorities before the end of the year.

Students

The Movement has maintained a high profile in the student movement over the past year, with students continuing to play an active and important role in all aspects of work. At a national level, the Movement continues to work closely with the National Union of Students (NUS), which has maintained the priority given to work on Southern Africa which has been of great assistance to the Movement's work. Joint activity undertaken by the Movement and NUS this year has included a campaign pack to student unions at the start of the year and a student activists' meeting in the third term. Also, the Movement and NUS have liaised closely to ensure AAM priority campaigns receive extensive coverage in all NUS publications and have been promoted effectively to all student unions, particularly so over the Namibia Week of Action, and the Mandela and Sharpeville Six campaigns.

The number of student AA groups continues to grow, with a particular development of support in the further education sector. Mailings have been sent to student AA groups over the year and an attempt to promote not just the establishment of groups but also affiliation to the Movement and regular liaison over campaigns and activity is an area of priority in the coming period. Also student AA groups are encouraged to work closely with local anti-apartheid groups in their area to ensure effective liaison over campaigns.

A number of key campaigns were

identified for the student movement last year, one of the major ones being the disinvestment campaign. The Movement and NUS called a meeting for disinvestment activists in London in February and a considerable amount of research materials were prepared to assist this campaign. Two notable successes occurred this year: in February the students at the London School of Economics finally won their disinvestment campaign that had been running for ten years and which had received much publicity and support following an occupation last year; and New College, Oxford, finally won their disinvestment campaign in the summer term.

Following on from the success of the Barclays campaign, students are now beginning to focus on Tesco and Shell. Initiatives around Shell include termination of college heating contracts, which has been successfully achieved by Oxford Polytechnic, and the refusal of student unions to refund petrol expenses for SU minibuses if they have filled up at a Shell station, taken up by Essex University. Likewise, the consumer boycott is developing, with students in a number of colleges targeting local supermarkets with a high student market.

Other local student campaigns continue to flourish: growing numbers of colleges have scholarships for ANC and SWAPO students, boosted by the creation of the NUS/Student Travel Association fund which will provide £30,000 towards scholarships. The Sharpeville Six and other SATIS campaigns have been actively taken up, with local petitions, vigils and postcard campaigns being run by many colleges. A student Sharpeville Six picket in March was well supported on a national student day of action on apartheid executions.

The Mandela Campaign also saw a good input from students. NUS-supported the campaign by providing a Mandela Marcher, briefing materials to SUs and its own publicity to promote the campaign. On the route of the Mandela Freedom March, students worked closely with local AA groups in most places, and the student turn-out for the demonstration was good despite the bad timing of the campaign for the student movement.

The Movement has continued to provide speakers to many student unions and student AA groups over the year; additionally, the Movement has had a

presence and bookstall at the two NUS national conferences during the year which provide an important opportunity to meet student activists and to promote campaigns. The Movement has also continued to liaise with student political organisations such as the National Organisation of Labour Students and Communist Students, which have also helped promote the AAM's work in the student movement. NOLS, CP students and the Social and Liberal Democrats students have all included articles by the Movement or AAM publicity in their materials to students at the start of this new academic year.

Youth

Promoting the involvement of more young people in the AAM continues to be a major priority for the Movement. The Mandela Campaign in particular has without doubt mobilised and inspired the involvement and support of substantial additional numbers of young people this year and has provided an important new base of support for the Movement to develop.

The development of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), despite its banning, and the role of youth in Namibia in the forefront of schools boycotts and opposition to conscription have undoubtedly inspired much activity amongst young people in solidarity with the youth of South Africa and Namibia. The Movement sponsored and publicised the NANSO/SWAPO Youth League speaking tour in the spring, which provided an important opportunity for building solidarity with Namibian youth.

The year has seen the development of youth activity within local anti-apartheid groups through both the establishment of more youth anti-apartheid committees and the appointment by local AA groups of representatives to coordinate work with and amongst young people. Local AA youth committees now also have a formal constitutional place within the Movement. These initiatives have both reflected and encouraged widespread local activity such as public meetings, regular youth pickets in some areas, gigs, work in schools and other imaginative activity.

The 'Youth Against Apartheid' week-



Lawson Naidon, Gerson Urirah and David Imbili at AAM Youth Conference

end conference, postponed from 1987, was the major focus for building the Movement's youth work during the year. Held in Birmingham in February 1988, the weekend attracted over 200 young people from local anti-apartheid groups, student groups, youth clubs, young trade unionists, church youth organisations and others. The conference was addressed by representatives of the SWAPO Youth League/NANSO national speaking tour, which was in Britain at the time, and by Lawson Naidoo of the ANC Youth League.

The weekend's discussion involved workshops and plenaries on all major aspects of the Movement's work, with a particular focus on practical campaigning work and the development of anti-apartheid work amongst young people, hence workshops focused on the boycott campaigns, running youth anti-apartheid groups, developing practical skills, trade union work, etc.

In addition to the formal conference sessions, there were a wide range of videos showing throughout, bookstalls and a special gig on the Saturday night organised by the student union. The organisational support of Birmingham AA was vital to the smooth running of the event. The development of youth activity in the AAM locally and the increased involvement of youth groups following the conference was an indication of its success.

The Movement also continues to liaise with a wide range of youth organisations such as the British Youth Council, UNA Youth and the Woodcraft Folk, who had a representative on the Mandela Freedom March and whose members gave notable support to the Mandela Campaign in many areas. In addition, the Movement continues to provide speakers, stalls and information to youth organisations for local meetings, events and campaigns.

Education

Education continues to be a growing area of importance, with a need to ensure that both activists and the wider public are better informed about apartheid and the situation in Southern Africa. The Movement now deals with an immense number of requests for information and materials from school students and teachers, regularly sending packs of materials and resource information to schools. In addition, schools and colleges continue to request speakers from the Movement to lead school assemblies, sixth form study groups and other classes. This service, increasingly supplied by local group representatives, is ensuring that the profile of the Movement in schools and colleges has been raised rapidly in the past year.

The role of local authorities and LEAs was stressed at an important conference organised by Local Authorities Against Apartheid in Rotherham in November. The Movement participated in the

planning group for the conference, and Joan Lester MP delivered one of the keynote speeches on behalf of the Movement. The conference was attended by over 120 representatives of LEAs, including teachers, councillors and officers. Workshops were held on the 1986 Education Act, educational policy, and educational practice in primary, secondary and GCSE teaching. The conference was an important contribution to drawing together those in education working on the issue of Southern Africa. Also in this respect, more schools, sixth form centres, etc, are participating in the local authority ten days of action through having exhibitions, videos, speakers, etc, during the period.

The Movement also promotes the educational work of the British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. BDAF continues to produce important educational resources for teachers. This year, BDAF and ILEA produced a guide to resources on South Africa and Namibia suitable for young people, *Learning About Apartheid*, which has been advertised in *Anti-Apartheid News* and is a useful tool for teachers seeking to do work on Southern Africa in the classroom.

Health

Campaigning by British health workers for the isolation of apartheid South Africa in the health field has rapidly expanded over the past year. This has been coordinated in part by the AAM health committee, but the development of many new groups working within the sub-specialities of health, such as Therapists Against Apartheid, Speech Therapists Against Racism, Psychiatrists Against Apartheid and Psychologists Against Apartheid, has shown the need for a larger forum to coordinate these activities, and so in the latter part of the year Health Workers Against Apartheid was formed.

In part the impetus for renewed activities in the health field came from the conference on Children, Apartheid and Repression in Southern Africa, which was held in April. Great concern has been generated throughout the health field over the detention and torture of children in South Africa and the medical treatment of political prisoners and detainees. Campaigning in this area has included work for the release of Harry Gwala, who is suffering from motor neurone disease.

At the College of Speech Therapy pressure has been mounted for an end to its close links with its South African counterpart. In April, the College was forced to hold a referendum on this question and the result was a three to one majority in favour of isolation. Unfortunately, the strength of the opponents of isolation within the college was such that the council declared the result null and void on the grounds that there was not a 60% return on the voting forms, despite the fact that the average turnout in elec-

tions to the council itself is only 10%.

Progress has been made in the campaign for the expulsion of the South African Society of Physiotherapists (SASP) from the World Congress of Physical Therapists (WCPT). The briefing document for the campaign was updated and re-circulated in the build-up to a meeting in London in June to discuss the position of the SASP. The meeting was successfully picketed and delegates leafleted by members of Therapists Against Apartheid. It adopted a resolution calling on members to cease activities which would support the apartheid regime and break relations with bodies endorsing or based on apartheid. This, however, has not meant the end of the campaign and the fight will go on until the SASP is finally expelled.

In June this year, the chief nutritionist of South Africa planned a visit to London to look at nutrition of the elderly and children in Britain. A campaign was launched around this visit, with the successful leafleting of the AGM of the British Dietetic Association urging delegates not to meet this person. The continued representation of apartheid South Africa in international nutritional and dietetic circles poses a challenge for activities over the coming year.

The AAM health committee has continued its efforts to publicise the effects of apartheid on the health of the peoples of Southern Africa. Its bulletin, *Health and Liberation*, has continued to cover the latest developments in health in South Africa and Namibia, such as the launch of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and the sacking of doctors at Baragwanath after writing a letter complaining about conditions in the hospital. It has also carried news of campaigning in Britain.

The Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa (MACSA) has continued to have broad support over the past year with donations from throughout Britain. This has enabled the purchase of HIV testing kits, items for a psychiatric clinic and 20 medical kits for the ANC. It is hoped to expand the campaign for medical kits over the forthcoming year.

Women

Solidarity work for women under apartheid and women in Namibia and the Front Line States has continued apace this year. The women's committee has been busy in all sectors of its work: campaigning, information dissemination and highlighting the role of women in the Movement. As one of the priorities of the year, and to seize on and improve on the vast growth of the Movement recently, the women's committee has begun the work of considering the profile of women activists within the structures of the AAM. It has recognised that women have a relatively low public and leadership profile within the AAM, although many local groups and community organisations affiliated to

the Movement are run by women. The committee has made proposals to the national committee which are at present being discussed at all levels. One of the aims of this is directly to increase the mobilisation of women in Britain.

The following are highlights relating to work among women:

♀ There has been an increase in women's officers or women's sections among local groups and regional committees, as a direct response to the appeal the committee made at the last AGM. One of the results of this has been a big increase in meetings and events on women under apartheid and solidarity work, organised by local groups and regional committees all over Britain. The women's committee itself has been invited several times to speak at such meetings.

♀ Working with SATIS, the women's committee organised a very successful campaign around the theme 'Save Theresa Ramashamois', one of the Sharpeville Six and the first woman to be sentenced to death for anti-apartheid activities. The women's picket of the South African embassy on International Women's Day saw hundreds of women calling for an end to apartheid executions, and was attended by both the ANC Women's Section and SWAPO Women's Council.

camps in the Front Line States.

♀ The committee has encouraged the Movement to increase its merchandising in support of women's campaigns and information on resistance; for example, promoting a video 'Angola é A Nossa Terra' (Angola is our country), filmed in cooperation with OMA (the mass organisation of Angolan women), and a book by ANC member Caesarina Makhoere, *No Child's Play*, about her time in an apartheid prison.

♀ The committee involved itself fully in the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign, including organising a women's section of the Nelson Mandela Freedom March and Rally on 17 July. The committee produced a special multilingual leaflet for women for this demonstration.

♀ The *Women's Newsletter* has continued to be an effective and informative way of increasing knowledge and solidarity with the struggle for liberation, in particular with the ANC Women's Section and SWAPO Women's Council.

Looking to the year ahead, work among women is going to be one of the major areas of growth in the AAM, with a resolution at the AGM calling for a month of action in solidarity with women in the liberation struggle, and a major national women's conference being called for. This work has already started with the organising of an all-day educational workshop in November 1988. The women's committee has been campaigning for several years for a permanent staff member responsible for developing anti-apartheid work among women. For the first time, it has had this year a part-time temporary worker at the AAM HQ, and it is to be hoped that this is a first step in the right direction.

Black and ethnic minorities

The adoption by the 1987 AGM of the report of the working party on the black and ethnic minority communities, which attracted some media attention, signified an important development in the Movement's efforts to step up its work in these areas and to address the concerns that exist, both about the issues at stake in Southern Africa and about the AAM as an organisation. It led to the establishment of the black and ethnic minorities committee, with Dan Thea as chairperson and Suresh Kamath as vice-chair (both of whom are AAM vice-chairpersons). The report was used as the basis of discussion in a number of local AA groups, and Dan Thea led a discussion on the implications and implementation of the report at a local groups meeting on 8 May.

The committee proceeded to prepare an attractive brochure, entitled *Call to Action*, outlining the perspectives of the

liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia and the role of the AAM, and stressing the need for solidarity action in the black and ethnic minority communities. Nearly 20,000 copies were distributed at the Notting Hill Carnival over the August bank holiday weekend and were well received. The September meeting of the national committee decided that, in view of the importance of the Movement's work in this area, the brochure should be made available free to local groups, despite the high costs of production.

The committee discussed ways and means of involving black and other ethnic minority organisations in the Mandela campaign. An appeal for support, signed by Bernie Grant MP and the committee's chair and vice-chair, was widely circulated. Notable support for the Mandela Marchers from black community organisations was provided, *inter alia*, in Leeds, Walsall (the Sikh community), Birmingham (the Access Centre), Coventry (at the civic reception) and Nottingham (the Matta Fan Canta Movement Club).

The work of the committee was discussed at two national committee meetings, and by the executive committee. The committee is currently compiling lists of organisations and contacts, with the aid of local groups, and preparing for a launch event.

Multi-faith

The increasing interest from the religious community in Britain in anti-apartheid work has been shown by the many thousands of people of faith who have supported the activities of the AAM in the past year. The emergency meeting on 21 March and subsequent procession to Downing Street to protest at the banning of 17 organisations in February received strong support. Amongst those attending the former were representatives of the Jewish Board of Deputies and of the Archbishop of Canterbury's staff. Particularly notable was the active and varied support from religious communities for the historic Mandela Freedom March. Religious services were held in York and at Coventry Cathedral, and religious leaders, including the Bishop of Durham, met the marchers. The Sikh community in Walsall and the Coatbridge Methodist Church were among many who became involved in the events surrounding the march, often providing overnight accommodation and food.

The main work of the AAM multi-faith committee during the last year has been to extend its work among all faiths represented in Britain and respond to the interest generated in Britain by the increasingly prominent role of religious leaders in South Africa and Namibia in opposing apartheid. The key advances have been in the number of people and organisations the multi-faith committee is now in contact with, which has been reflected in the support for the events in

Picture: Andrew Ward



♀ In response to an appeal from Somafo, the committee has created a working fund-raising group which is raising money for a minibus for the college. The committee has continued promoting material aid donations for the refugees

which the committee has been involved.

The committee itself has met fairly regularly throughout the year and built a large mailing list several thousand strong. It had a key role in organising the Service of Tribute to Nelson Mandela on 19 July, when over 500 people met in St James's Church Piccadilly.

On 18 September, the multi-faith committee held a novel and successful consultation on the 'Religious Struggle against Apartheid', where detailed discussions on the issues of violence and sanctions involved over 60 people, including Jews, Muslims and Christians.

More than 1,200 people attended the first Bishop Ambrose Reeves Lecture on 22 April 1988 delivered by the South African Council of Churches general secretary, Frank Chikane, at the Westminster Central Hall — a memorable occasion which was also attended by the Revd Beyers Naude and Maulana Faried Essack from South Africa. They made respectively the key opening and closing speeches at the huge 'Children, Repression and Apartheid' conference held the next day.

The network established by the multi-faith committee is also being reflected in some regions with the formation of several religious groups linked to local groups. A range of publications is being produced by the multi-faith committees for use by all faiths, and an increasing number of organisations have arranged local meetings focusing on religious struggle.

Parliament and political parties

The significance of the AAM's work at a parliamentary level and among political parties was underlined during the period of this report. Parliament provides a framework in which the policies of the government can be challenged, legislation can be resisted, and information secured by supporters of the Movement in both the House of Commons and the Lords. At the same time, it is an arena in which the Movement can work to win support for its policies from individual MPs which in turn can help change the climate of opinion. During the period of this report, the Movement has been operating on all these fronts.

The prime minister and Foreign Office ministers were repeatedly questioned, criticised and attacked during question

time over the government's policies towards Southern Africa by opposition MPs. A significant development in this area was the debate initiated by the Conservative MP, Ivor Stanbrook, following the Vancouver Commonwealth conference during which a number of Conservative MPs defiantly criticised the prime minister's position. This and subsequent interventions by Conservative MPs over the year have helped effectively to isolate the small group of fanatically pro-apartheid MPs in the House of Commons.

Among the most important work done in Parliament was the effort to resist the local government legislation under which local authorities were prohibited from boycotting South African products. Despite intensive work and the full support of the opposition parties in both the Commons and the Lords, the Bill went through effectively unamended in this crucial aspect. The Movement worked closely with the LAAA and was particularly appreciative of the efforts of the Bishop of Sheffield, who sought to amend the Bill in the House of Lords.

Labour MPs, mainly those sponsored by the NUM, did succeed in repeatedly delaying another piece of legislation opposed by the Movement, namely a Bill which authorises new port facilities for the importing of coal and which was widely seen as a means by which South African coal could enter the UK.

Much valuable information about British policy towards Southern Africa has been extracted as a result of parliamentary questions. Perhaps the most significant was in the House of Lords where Labour peer Lord Hatch secured an admission by the government that 1,100 tonnes of uranium had been imported from Namibia in addition to the original contract, a fact which had been previously repeatedly denied.

A welcome development was an increasing measure of cross-party agreement, for example on the Early Day Motions (EDMs) on Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday and the Sharpeville Six. This was largely the result of the formation during the last parliament of an All-Party Group on Southern Africa, with a view to promoting 'friendly relations and mutual understanding between the UK and the countries of Southern Africa'. Its officers were the following MPs: chair — Ivor Stanbrook (Con); secretary — Richard Caborn (Lab); vice-chairs — Peter Temple-Morris (Con); Bob Hughes (Lab); and treasurer — Simon Hughes (Lib). This group held a number of meetings with visitors from the Front Line States, Commonwealth countries, liberation movement leaders and delegates to the Lambeth conference. It played an important role in raising the profile of the Sharpeville Six campaign and securing the support of over 200 MPs for the EDM calling for Mandela's release. It has also provided an antidote to the pro-apartheid activities of the so-called 'All Party South Africa Group' — which only qualifies for the all-party title because of the participation of a single Labour peer.

The Parliamentary Labour Party's Anti-Apartheid Group, now in its fourth year, meets regularly and has over 70 member MPs. Its members play an active role at Foreign Office question time and in foreign affairs debates, and supported pickets on the Sharpeville Six, at the Shell AGM and on other issues. Among the guests at its meetings was the SWAPO secretary general, Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo. Some 13 members of the group met the Mandela Marchers north of Luton, and poured into the gutter South African wine given to them by the pro-apartheid MP for the area, John Carlisle.

Much of the success of this work in Parliament is the result of persistent efforts at local and national level by the AAM to win support from political parties. A firm base of support within a political party throughout the country helps to ensure the projection of AAM policies in Parliament itself. In this context there have been a number of important developments this year.

The newly-formed Social and Liberal Democrats at their first party conference adopted overwhelmingly a broad policy on Southern Africa which pledged the party's support for the liberation movements and comprehensive sanctions. At a well-attended fringe meeting addressed by the ANC, AAM and Simon Hughes MP, it was proposed to establish a SLD anti-apartheid group which will have the effect of greatly strengthening the Movement's work in this area. The first leader of the SLD, Paddy Ashdown MP, has pledged his support for the AAM — he is president of the Somerset and West Dorset AA Group, which includes his Yeovil constituency.

The Movement was also represented at the SDP conference, where a successful fringe meeting was held. The conference debated Southern Africa and approved an SDP report entitled *The Abyss of Apartheid*, which recommended a series of measures including a comprehensive trade embargo against South Africa. This represents a significant development of policy within the SDP.

The Labour Party has continued to support the Movement at many levels. The composite motion adopted at the 1988 conference resolved 'to support the activities of the AAM' and to encourage CLPs to affiliate to the AAM. The Movement used the opportunity of its fringe meeting to focus this year in particular on Namibia. Labour leader Neil Kinnock visited Southern Africa during July, and the shadow foreign secretary attended the ANC conference in Arusha. At a local level, both CLPs and Labour groups on local councils have supported many of the initiatives of the Movement.

Both nationalist parties, Plaid Cymru and the SNP, have continued to work closely with WAAM and the Scottish Committee respectively, as well as supporting the Movement as a whole. Firm support has also been forthcoming from the Green Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the newly-formed Communist Party of Britain.

INFORMATION & RESEARCH

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- Urirab and David Shikomba of the Namibian National Students' Organisation (NANSO) and SWAPO Youth League
- Simon Mbako, Metal and Allied Namibian Workers' Union
 - Chris Shipanga, *The Namibian*
 - Revd Matti Amadhila, Council of Churches of Namibia
 - Helao Shityuwete, SWAPO
 - Simba Makoni, executive secretary of SADCC
 - a representative of the End Conscription Campaign
 - Cristina Tembe, Frelimo Central Committee
 - a representative of the National Committee Against Removals
 - Angola's ambassador to Britain
 - Mzala, author of *Gatsha Buthelesi, Chief with a Double Agenda*.

Guest writers and regular contributors to *Anti-Apartheid News* have included Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Joan Lester MP, Andrew Bell, Brian Raymond (International Commission of Jurists), Jeremy Cronin, Joan and Jeremy Brickhill, Geoffrey Bindman, Rusty Bernstein, Solveig Kjeseth, Marga Holness, Ethel de Keyser, Peter Robbins, Pam Peacock and Ros Young.

Material has also been supplied by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, Namibia Support Committee, End Loans to South Africa (ELTSA), London Boycott Committee, Embargo, Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR), World Gold Commission, Mozambique Angola Committee.

Anti-Apartheid News has expanded significantly in size and circulation during 1987/8.

Four out of the 10 issues produced in the period covered have run to 16 pages instead of the normal 12 due to the promotion of solidarity and commercial advertising, one issue of 20 pages, and the September 1988 trade union issue to 24. Total revenue from advertising amounted to £11,808 in the past year.

Most of the advertisers have been local groups and affiliated organisations. IDAF and AA Enterprises have continued to advertise regularly, supplying the newspaper with the income it needs so vitally in order to become self-financing. Promotional materials produced include a new advertising rates card and a newspaper sellers' bag.

The circulation of *Anti-Apartheid News* has increased dramatically over the past 12 months, largely as a result of the massive increase in the number of national individual members during the Freedom at 70 campaign: the print-run now stands at 30,000, compared to 19,000 a year ago.

Although the bulk of this is accounted for by the membership, *Anti-Apartheid News* continues to be distributed and sold by a wide range of organisations, including local AA groups (87), trade unions (26), student groups (30), as well as a large number of committed individuals and activists. Together, these account for over 5,000 copies. Bookshops sell 400 copies.

As in previous years, the print-run was dramatically increased for the September issue (this year to 80,000 copies) — see *Trade Unions*. There were also increased print-runs of the June (50,000 copies) and July/August (30,000 copies) issues, which covered the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 campaign. The number of subscribers remained steady at around 750.

Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa, 24-27 September, was published by *Anti-Apartheid News* under the title 'A Cry from South Africa: Free the Children from Apartheid'. This publication, which proved a popular campaigning resource, was distributed both as a supplement to the November issue of the newspaper and as a separate document. The editorial board now plans to produce more such broadsheets in the future.

Anti-Apartheid News seeks to break through the barriers of silence, lies and distortions which surround the Southern African freedom struggle by reporting the actions, policies and perspectives of the democratic resistance movements as fully and as accurately as possible. During the year, the newspaper has interviewed a wide range of people from the region, including:

- President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO
- Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches
- Govan Mbeki
- Maulana Faried Essack of Call of Islam
- a representative of the South African Domestic Workers' Union (SADWU)
- representatives of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO)
- representatives of the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association (POTWA)
- Rashid Seria, editor of *South*
- William Smith of 'Victims of Apartheid'
- David Imbili, Gerson

The highlight of the year for *Anti-Apartheid News* has been its complete redesign by a professional designer working in close liaison with the editorial board. The 'new look' *Anti-Apartheid News*, launched in January 1988 under an updated, streamlined masthead, has been generally welcomed by members and subscribers as more attractive and inviting to read, with clearer distinction between news and feature pages.

An integral part of the redesign process was to improve the use of photographs which are now given a higher priority and occupy a larger proportion of the paper. Consequently, more time is now devoted to picture research.

There is no doubt that a better-looking *Anti-Apartheid News* has contributed to, and in turn helped to service, the rapid expansion of the AAM's membership during 1988.

The expansion of the AAM's Mandela Street headquarters, allowing space to be allocated for editorial and production processes, has also helped to make *Anti-Apartheid News* more accessible to its readers and better able to respond to the challenge of the AAM's higher public profile.

Anti-Apartheid News has made it a priority to be represented at press conferences and events such as the National Union of Journalists' 'White Lies' conference on media coverage of Southern Africa in April.

A special four-page broadsheet on the international conference on Children,

Publications

Anti-Apartheid News continues to rely on a large number of volunteers and others who donate their services, ranging from writing articles to helping with layout and paste-up. Special thanks are due to Roger Huddle of Artworkers for creating and successfully steering through the newspaper's redesign; to Nancy White and Christabel Gurney for unflagging support with typesetting; and to the International Defence and Aid Fund picture library for help with photographs.

Those who served on the editorial board during the year are: Margaret Ling (editor), Brian Bunting, David Coetzee, Deborah Ewing, Jean Middleton, Gerald O'Sullivan, Keith Somerville, Bernadette Vallely. Staff with particular responsibilities for *Anti-Apartheid News* are Elizabeth George (editorial assistant and production manager) and Vanessa Eyre (promotion, circulation and advertising). Other staff who sit on the editorial board are Alan Brooks, Colin Adkins, Stuart Bell, Mick Flynn, Clive Nelson, Karen Talbot and Mike Terry.

The beginning of 1988 saw the publication of the *Programme of Action for Sanctions*. Adopted at the national convention earlier in the year, it outlines action to be taken in all sectors of the community by way of 'People's Sanctions' and to lay the basis for government sanctions.

The Front Line States were the focus for the month of action in March, and a new educational/campaigning leaflet was distributed throughout the month raising the issue of South African aggression and the need for solidarity. This leaflet clearly filled a gap in AAM literature, and continues to be in demand.

Also in March, in response to the banning of 18 organisations in South Africa, *Ban Apartheid - Sanctions Now!* material was produced for an emergency day of action on 21 March. Several thousand posters, leaflets, and half a million stickers were distributed around that day.

The South African Disconnection, examining the

withdrawal of British companies was published in April, followed by the *List of Companies* in June. In September, the booklet *South Africa and Sanctions - the SADCC view* was produced in which Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the SADCC, argues the case for sanctions.

The 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign in the summer of 1988 saw an unprecedented level of production of materials for any single campaign, in terms of both quantity and range. Over one and a half million leaflets were distributed in the run-up to the 17 July rally, and well over one million Campaign Cards - resulting not only in a massive turn-out at the rally, but also in generous donations, thousands of signatures for the 'Freedom at 70' Declaration, and a doubling of membership. Material for the Nelson Mandela Freedom March was also produced. Posters, leaflets, an information brochure and sponsorship forms for Alan Brooks came from HQ, but many local groups also produced their own material. Several organisations also produced their own sponsorship forms for their Marchers.

The Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia has taken up the cases of the Alexandra Five, the NUM Three and Jason Angula, and postcards and leaflets have been circulated. The Joint Campaign is also to produce a detailed brochure about its activities. Another initiative in the trade union area is the publication of the *Coal Campaign Bulletin*, jointly produced with the National Union of Mine-workers. A new leaflet, *Stop Coal, Boycott Shell* outlines Shell's role in importing South African coal, and a new postcard set has been produced for the Boycott Shell campaign.

Publicity material was circulated at all the political party conferences where the

AAM held fringe events, as well as at the TUC congress. Youth has been a special focus this year. The 'Youth Against Apartheid' conference was held in January, and the 'Children, Apartheid and Repression' conference in April. Publicity material and documentation was produced for each event.

For the first time, the Movement has produced a full-colour catalogue for cards, books and fundraising items. The initial print-run of 120,000 is six times as great as the initial run last year.

We would like to thank all those who have helped in distributing colossal amounts of material, especially Patricia Bakker and Rachel Epson.

Publications researched and published by the AAM in the past year included:

- Memorandum presented to the Commonwealth Britain and the Arms Embargo - memorandum presented to the Commonwealth
- Sanctions Begin to Bite*, October 1987 (update of first memorandum above)
- The South African Disconnection*, April 1988
- Apartheid in Crisis*, 4th edition, May 1988 (statistics)
- UK Companies with Subsidiaries or Associates in South Africa and Namibia*, June 1988
- The Mossel Bay Gas Project*, 2nd edition, February 1988
- plus sundry factsheets, papers and documents.

Research

A computerised company database was established in the course of the year, which greatly expanded our ability to service organisations involved in disinvestment work, and those with an interest in the rapidly-growing 'ethical investment' field. Investment reviews were conducted for a number of local authorities, trade unions and professional groups. In June, a new edition of the invaluable *List of Companies with Interests in South Africa and Namibia* was published, which included financial and employee information for the first time. This list, along with the additional company research resources now developed, makes the AAM a key reference point for both investors and the press requiring information on company involvement in South Africa

and Namibia.

The AAM published detailed works of original research on the impact of sanctions on South Africa (*Sanctions Begin to Bite*) and on company disinvestment (*The South African Disconnection*). Both received extensive press coverage. Other main subjects for economic research have been coal, the Department of Trade, South African companies in Britain, and general trade flows. Such work means campaigns have a sounder research and information base to them. Closer cooperation with other organisations working in associated areas, such as the Labour Research Department (LRD) and IDAF, and with the Commonwealth Secretariat, as well as with overseas anti-apartheid groups, has been invaluable.



FINANCE

The generation of sufficient financial resources to enable the Movement to function effectively, and the development of more effective procedures for budgeting and financial control, represent a most important challenge to the Movement. The tremendous growth in the flow of funds through the Movement's accounts requires a completely different approach from that pursued when the Movement's turnover was under £100,000 per annum. The AAM is approaching a situation when it will have an annual income and expenditure of over £1 million and therefore requires structures consistent with that scale of expenditure. Important steps have been taken both to expand the Movement's income and to establish such structures, although much more has to be done in relation to both areas.

Clearly the most significant development was the revenue generated for the Movement by the 70th birthday tribute to Nelson Mandela at Wembley Stadium. The Movement is immensely grateful to all those who ensured its success.

The financial year to 30 June 1988 was one in which the activity of the Anti-Apartheid Movement greatly expanded. It was therefore also a year in which the financial demands on the Movement became increasingly difficult. Both income and expenditure doubled. The financial year ended in the middle of the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign, the largest and most costly ever mounted by the AAM. The majority of the initial cost of the campaign (a total of around £360,000) is reflected in the accounts, but much of the income was still to be received. The accounts therefore show a deficit of £79,000 for this campaign and an overall deficit for the year of £177,717, which, when added to previous deficits, totals an accumulated loss of £199,931.

Whilst such a deficit is obviously disturbing and demands immediate and serious attention, the accounts do not take into account income from the Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute held on 11 June 1988. The share of the surplus due to the AAM will be included in next year's accounts and will be over £300,000 after tax. The 'Freedom at 70' campaign and the Wembley concert completely distorted the planned expenditure for the year. Comparisons between planned and actual expenditure show an overspend in almost all areas, but most of this additional expenditure is attributable to the unanticipated campaigns which had to be planned after the budget had been formulated. The close involvement of finance officer Mike Ketchum in the management of the concert allowed for less progress to be made in the development of new systems of accounting and financial control than had been intended. The appointment of an additional finance worker in the year 1988/89 will help to relieve the pressure on this

sector of the AAM's work, and the planned new computer system will enable up-to-date information to be more easily obtained.

Initially, budgetary planning for 1988/89 has been undertaken but the final budget for this period depends on a range of decisions relating to campaigns and the further development of the Movement. It

is anticipated that expenditure will be at least £750,000, of which £400,000 is required to meet the basic administrative costs of the Movement (ie rents, rates, salaries, phones, postage, etc). An estimated figure of £250,000 has been allowed for campaigns and a further £100,000 allowed for the renovation of additional premises on Mandela Street and the

Fundraising projects

The year 1987/88 has seen another upturn in the Movement's fundraising fortunes. In March, Tim Walker was taken on as fundraising worker, and this has enabled the fundraising projects subcommittee to expand its activities.

In mid-November 1987, our own guide to fundraising for anti-apartheid groups, *Fundraising is fun*, by Bernadette Vallely was launched. This invaluable guide has given a big lift to the fundraising fortunes of local groups.

In March, our 1988 prize draw was launched. With the wonderful prizes on offer, it promises to be the most successful ever; the first prize is a 24-day holiday for two in China!

All the cards marketed through our 1987/88 catalogue, especially those designed by Hilda Bernstein, have sold extremely well, particularly over the Christmas period. Large orders for the cards were made by several unions and businesses.

Brian Bowell, Pat Squires and Robin Reeves competed in the London Marathon on behalf of the Movement and raised nearly £3,000. Thanks are due to them for the valuable effort they put in and to everyone who sponsored them.

An information pack was produced on holding street collections, and dates were suggested for local groups to hold collections on. Those groups doing so raised an average of £135. A lot more groups are planning to hold collections over 1989, and the AAM is in the process of purchasing special bibs and cans to help increase the effectiveness of collections.

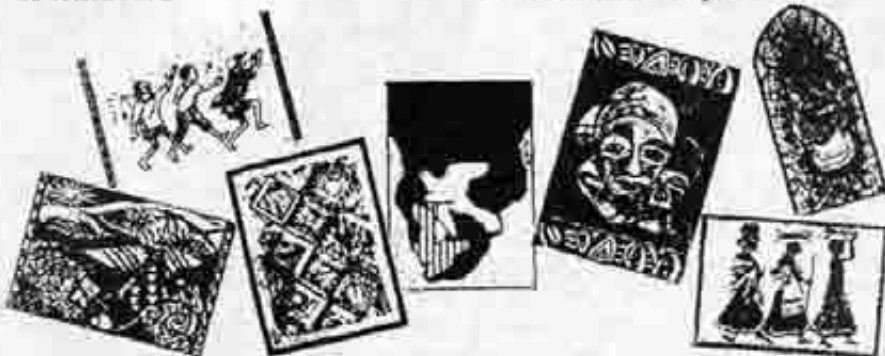
The main focus of the year has been the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 campaign. The fundraising projects subcommittee was responsible for the merchandising aspect of this campaign; the three main lines were a T-shirt, mug and cap all bearing the 'Freedom at 70' logo. For the first time, we managed to reach out into a mass market: Virgin Records stocked our T-shirts and sold substantial quantities as did several other major record stores. This campaign showed the extent of the demand that exists for anti-apartheid merchandise. With future campaigns we will be looking to reach out to an even wider market.

A special birthday card was produced for people to send to Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Over 5,000 were sold.

An expanded books and gifts catalogue has been produced for the period 1988/9. Included in this catalogue are new card designs by Hilda Bernstein and Ruth Carneson.

The fundraising projects subcommittee has been looking at ways of developing fundraising over the next year, and is looking to raise income substantially over that period. With the Boycott Campaign and 30th anniversary taking place in 1989, there are obviously great possibilities. There will be a chess tournament early in the year, with grandmasters taking part, and we are exploring the possibility of running a major sports event.

The fundraising projects subcommittee is interested in new ideas and new approaches to fundraising, and welcomes all inputs.



acquisition of a new computer system.

The generation of £750,000 is no easy task for an organisation such as the AAM. At the national committee the treasurer presented a strategy paper which provides a basic framework for generating such an income. This will require, above all, a very strong commitment and understanding from the Movement's membership.

Despite the large deficit, the financial year 1987/88 was one of solid achievement. The improvements to the first floor of 13 Mandela Street were carried out. Thanks are due to all those organisations and individuals who contributed to the Building Appeal and the President's Appeal of 1987. These appeals raised a very valuable £30,000.

AA Enterprises continued to develop, and almost trebled its contribution to the finance of the AAM, with a total of just

over £14,000. Artists Against Apartheid were the key element in the initial planning of the Wembley concert. Without the continued support and knowledge of this organisation, and Jerry Dammers in particular, the concert could not have been brought to its most successful fruition. Both these organisations are very important to the AAM and we thank all those involved with them.

Especial appreciation should be recorded to the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust (BART) which has provided a number of grants to the Movement over this year, for different areas of its work which are consistent with the educational objectives of the Trust. The annual report of BART is available from the Trust, which is based at Mandela Street. The Trust organised the first BART lecture in April 1988, which was addressed by the

Rev'd Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Both the finance committee and the fundraising projects sub-committee have undertaken important work for the Movement, as have the numerous volunteers who have helped in processing a range of fundraising projects and servicing orders, donations, etc, especially during the Freedom at 70 campaign. The AAM wishes to place on record its appreciation for the assistance of its auditor, Arthur Prior, for once again providing invaluable assistance with the accounts of the Movement. A very heavy burden of work fell on the shoulders of the finance officer, Mike Ketchum, who during this period also served as company secretary for Freedom Productions Ltd and finance officer of BART. His work is similarly much appreciated.

Picture: Morning Star



NUM president Arthur Scargill presents a cheque for £1,000 to AAM hon treasurer Velle Pillay



Jim Kerr of Simple Minds at the rally to send off the Freedom Marchers from Glasgow



Pictures: David Pratt



ORGANISATION

There can be little doubt that the strengthening of the various elements of the organisational work of the Movement, at both national and local level, is now amongst the most critical tasks for the AAM if it is to expand further its strength and influence. The very success of the recent campaigns of the Movement has highlighted many of its organisational weaknesses, and these have to be tackled urgently if the Movement is to develop its campaigning work to meet the expectations of the peoples of Southern Africa.

The Movement is beginning to benefit from the implementation of the proposals set out in the report, *Challenging Apartheid*, which was adopted at the AGM in January 1987. The national committee at its meeting in September 1988 received a report from the executive committee outlining the extent to which the proposals contained in that report had been put into operation. It was agreed at that meeting that a further report should be prepared outlining the additional steps which now had to be taken to ensure the effective development of the Movement.

As the Movement expands, this generates administrative and organisational work at national, regional and local levels. It is vital that much more attention is paid to the efficient and effective carrying out of such tasks. This is especially the case in relation to the AAM headquarters in Mandela Street, and considerable thought and effort have been put into ensuring its smoother functioning.

MEMBERSHIP

A report on 'Building a Bigger Base: AAM membership drive 1988' was presented to the 1987 AGM and approved. It argued that a big increase in membership was essential, both to increase the Movement's influence and to overcome its chronic financial weaknesses. It proposed (a) a 39% increase in the number of national individual members from 7,200 to 10,000; (b) a 25% increase in local affiliated organisations to 1,000; and (c) an increase to 100 in the number of national affiliated organisations. Thanks in large measure to the huge impact of the Mandela campaign, both targets (a) and (b) were handsomely exceeded. Little progress was made towards achieving target (c), which suggests it may have been unrealistic.

For the Mandela campaign, a special membership recruitment leaflet was produced and distributed, largely through local AA groups. In addition, 1,200,000 copies of our campaign card were distributed via inserts in *The Observer* colour supplement, *Marxism Today*, *Sanity*, *The Cut* and *Labour Party News*, totalling 870,000, and through trade unions, local groups and other organisations (330,000). With a high return rate of some 2.33% or 30,000 cards, this must be accounted a major success, especially since the operation more than paid for itself and brought in over 8,000 new members.

A third and crucial element in the effort to channel interest generated by the campaign into recruitment of members was an extensive advertising campaign in national and regional newspapers. All these initiatives, complemented by the systematic recruitment effort conducted by the Mandela Marchers, yielded a rich harvest. Between 1 June and 30 September, some 10,500 new national individual members were recruited, bringing the total to approximately 18,000.

Whilst these results give cause for satisfaction, they should not give rise to complacency. It is still the case that too little systematic attention is paid to recruitment, and reliance cannot be placed on high profile national campaigns to ensure continuing growth. Now that a dual membership structure exists, with most local groups comprising both national and local members, it is important to present both options to the public so as to maximise recruitment opportunities. However, so long as local rates vary, and some local groups have no local individual membership, it remains impossible to promote both options in all campaign materials, and measures to resolve this problem will need to be considered.

As well as the Mandela campaign membership leaflet, a number of other specialised recruitment leaflets were produced during the year as part of the membership drive. Especially welcome was a leaflet aimed at the black and ethnic minority communities and it is hoped that this will encourage more people from these communities to join the AAM and become more involved in its work. A special leaflet produced to distribute outside cinemas showing 'Cry Freedom' resulted in several hundred individuals joining the Movement. A leaflet to distribute outside screenings of the film 'A World Apart' has also been produced and it is hoped that this, too, will lead to an increase in membership. There is also a new leaflet aimed specifically at trade union branches.

One of the major problems has always been the number of members who join for one year only and do not renew their membership. In an attempt to alter this trend, last summer a new renewal system was introduced. Individual members now receive a special renewal card the month before their membership is due to expire, instead of receiving a series of reminders with *Anti-Apartheid News*. There has been an encouraging response to these cards. In the past, the rate of renewal was usually 33% or less. Since the new renewal system was introduced, the renewal rate has increased to an average of 40% during the period September 1987 to February 1988, and there was a further increase to an average of 63% from March to July 1988.

There are approximately 1,100 organisations affiliated to the AAM, of which 530 are trade union branches, 331 CLPs, 148 student unions/groups, 45 trades councils, 16 women's organisations and 13 national organisations other than trade unions. Thirty-eight national trade unions were affiliated at the time of the last annual report. Since that time, the Movement has welcomed the affiliation of NAS/UWT and HVA. Nonetheless, the figure remains at 38 due to the mergers of ASTMS and TASS into MSF, and SCPS and CSU into NUCPS.

At local trade union branch level, the Movement's success in recruiting affiliates has so far been very uneven. Most national trade unions have only between one and 10 local branches affiliated to AAM. COHSE, the FBU, TGWU, NUPS, NUR and NCU have between 11 and 20 branches in affiliation, and six others have between 20 and 40. Only MSF and NALGO each has more than 40 branches affiliated to AAM. It is hoped that the new trade union recruitment leaflet will provide the means to increase substantially the AAM's membership in this area.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The annual general meeting, which took place in Sheffield on 28-29 November 1987, was historic. It was the first AGM held at a venue outside London, and it was the first held under the new constitution and therefore on a delegate basis. Both precedents contributed to its success. The facilities in Sheffield were outstanding and contributed to the smooth running of the meeting. The delegate character of the AGM meant that it was much more representative of the Movement as a whole than previous meetings, and this resulted in a considerable improvement in the style and character of debate.

The number of delegates was 412 (representing a total of 229 organisations), of whom the great majority were from local groups (183 representing 90 local groups). Of the 412 delegates, 153 were women.

The AGM adopted 34 resolutions dealing with the full range of anti-apartheid work, and a further seven were remitted to the national committee for further consideration. The meeting was addressed by representatives of SWAPO and the ANC, and the executive secretary of SADCC, Dr Simba Makoni, delivered a keynote address.

The AGM also considered reports from the working parties which had been set up to consider work among black and ethnic

minorities and on the Front Line States. Major reports were also presented on the AAM's finances and its work in the trade union movement. The AGM elected a new national committee, as well as adopting plans for campaigning in 1988.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The national committee of the Movement is comprised of the president, vice-presidents and sponsors; 30 individual members elected at the AGM; one representative of each recognised local group (except when its membership is over 250, in which case it is entitled to two representatives); two representatives of the Scottish Committee and the national committee of the WAAM; and representatives of 25 national or regional organisations elected annually from among such organisations. The Southern African liberation movements attend the national committee in a special category with observer status, and observers are invited from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM.

The national committee met five times during the period covered by this report. One of these meetings was in Leicester, the remainder in London.

The first meeting took place immediately after the AGM and was primarily concerned with the election of officers and the executive. The first full meeting in January considered detailed proposals from the executive committee on campaigning plans for 1988 and for action to implement the resolutions adopted by the AGM. It also discussed the motions and amendments remitted to the NC by vote of the AGM, as well as those which were remitted because of lack of time for debate.

Agreement was reached on three specific phases of campaigning during 1988: a month of solidarity with the Front Line States in March; the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign in June and July; and an autumn of campaigning on Namibia.

This meeting also resolved to ask the executive to bring forward proposals concerning the amending of the constitution to enable constitutional changes to be debated at the AGM in addition to the existing procedure whereby the national committee amends the constitution but any change does not come into effect until ratified by the AGM. Such a constitutional amendment was agreed at the May meeting of the national committee.

A report was also given on the activities of the Economic League, one of whose employees had been representing a division of his union on the trade union committee. Much of the information contained in this report was included in a 'World in Action' programme on the Economic League. The individual concerned was invited to resign from the AAM, which he subsequently did. Following these revelations, the AAM wrote to the home secretary demanding an inquiry into the Economic League's activities, and also wrote to a number of companies subscribing to the League that also have significant interests in South Africa. The outcry led to several companies, among them NatWest and the Royal Bank of Scotland, withdrawing their support from the League. It has also been reported that the Midland and Barclays banks have stopped subscribing to it, leading to financial difficulties for the organisation.

The meetings in May and July largely reviewed the progress being made on the Movement's major campaigns, together with reports on membership and finance. The May meeting also considered an updated report on the AAM's work within the trade union movement based on that presented to the AGM.

The September meeting considered the preparations for the 1988 AGM and adopted the Political Report which forms the Introduction to this annual report. It also discussed a special report prepared by the AAM's women's committee on the need to develop its work among women, and approved plans for declaring 1989 'Boycott Apartheid '89'.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee, which is elected by and from the national committee, advises the national committee and sees to the execution of policies and campaigns decided on. It meets at least monthly and more frequently when required.

The executive committee can coopt up to six individuals and five such cooptions were made for this year. It can also establish sub-committees and those currently functioning are the trade union, health, women's, multi-faith and finance committees, together with the newly-formed black and ethnic minorities committee and the consumer boycott unit. A fundraising projects sub-committee functions as a sub-committee of the finance committee. In addition, there is the editorial board of

Anti-Apartheid News, which is also a sub-committee of the executive committee.

The period covered by this report has been one of immense significance for the AAM. It has required the EC to hold a number of special meetings so that it could both review developments in Southern Africa and take stock of the political situation existing in Britain in respect of Southern Africa. Additional meetings have been necessary to plan the Movement's campaigning work, especially the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign.

These pressures have meant that the EC has not always been able to pay the attention which is warranted to problems of organisation, administration and management, and as a result new structures are being devised to improve the functioning of the executive in these areas. The executive also agreed to establish a number of new posts on the Movement's staff, which are outlined below.

AAM HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the AAM are crucial to the effective functioning of the Movement. Having moved into the ground floor of 13 Mandela Street in 1983, it was agreed in 1987, when the lease became available, to take over the first floor. This work has now been completed, although it caused much disruption to the staff and hence to the functioning of the Movement, especially during the spring of 1988. Despite more than doubling the size of the premises, 13 Mandela Street is now inadequate to meet the Movement's requirements, especially for storage and for volunteers. Agreement has therefore been reached with Camden Council to take over additional premises on Mandela Street. The expenditure involved in the work required on these premises will be a serious drain on the Movement's finances. For the expansion work on 13 Mandela Street, a target of £75,000 was set but the appeals made only generated £30,000, thus contributing to the deficit incurred during the 1987/88 financial year. The expansion of the headquarters at 13 Mandela Street has already greatly improved the facilities for staff and volunteers, and it would have been impossible to have serviced the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign without these expanded premises. The Movement is grateful to all those who were involved in this work.

It has always been recognised that a very heavy burden of the work of the Movement falls on the staff at Mandela Street. Moreover, without the help of so many volunteers who give generously of their spare time to undertake the most laborious of tasks, the Movement could not function. However, such have been the pressures generated by the campaigning work this year that if it were not for the tremendous loyalty of both staff and volunteers to the Movement, and their commitment to the freedom struggle in Southern Africa, there could have been a complete breakdown in the functioning of the Movement. A great debt of gratitude is therefore owed to all those involved. Special thanks go to Patricia Bakker and Joy Annegarn for their invaluable assistance.

A number of steps were taken during this period to improve the organisation and administration of Mandela Street. These involved new personnel and new systems of organisation, including computers and wordprocessors and other technological support, in order to take full advantage of the expanded premises. The new appointments were Jacqui Collinson as an administrative assistant with special responsibility for despatch; Cara Cochrane as receptionist/telephonist; and Tim Walker as a fund-raising worker. After a short period, however, Cara Cochrane felt unable to continue to work for the Movement in this capacity and this vacancy was subsequently filled on a jobshare basis by Lorraine Carver and Ngozi Onwurah.

A new temporary campaign post was created to service the Harare Working Group (subsequently re-formed as the SATIS committee on children), and Joni McDougall was appointed to this post.

During the period of the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign, a number of additional temporary staff were taken on for different periods of employment. They were: Pearl Adiseshiah, Joan Clarke, Cara Cochrane, Rob Downer, Rachel Epton, Ros Green, Runa Johanson, Sophie Mathies, Simon Osborne, Beverley Provost, Lyn Solomon and Pat Tabor. In addition, Nadia Joseph was employed to provide back-up for work on SATIS, especially in relation to the Sharpeville Six campaign.

In August, the executive committee met to consider some of the most urgent problems which had arisen for the Movement which required additional staffing, and agreed to the creation of

three new posts: a field officer and a finance worker, the third post being that of a temporary organiser for the Parliamentary Lobby on Namibia. These posts are currently in the process of being filled.

The assassination of the ANC's chief representative in France, Dulcie September, and the attempted assassination of its chief representative for the Benelux countries gave rise to increased concern about the security of the AAM HQ and staff, as well as for South Africans and Namibians resident in or visiting Britain. A number of measures were taken to improve further the security of the AAM's premises and meetings were held with the metro-

politan police and the home secretary, Douglas Hurd. Special security arrangements were made for the Mandela campaign.

The executive is currently considering proposals for the further improvement in the functioning of Mandela Street, including an integrated computer system which will be able to service the membership, accounts, budgeting and campaigning requirements of the Movement. If progress can be achieved in this area, it will represent a major advance towards placing the Anti-Apartheid Movement on a sound organisational basis to face the challenges of the final period of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

OBITUARIES

The Movement records with sadness the deaths of the following supporters and friends:

On 22 October 1987, **James Madhlope Phillips**, chair of the 1946 Mine Strike Committee, member of CPSA and ANC, trade unionist and singer; aged 68.

On 15 January 1988, **Sean MacBride**, UN Commissioner for Namibia 1973-77, Nobel Prize winner and former Irish Minister for External Affairs; aged 83.

On 18 February 1988, **Joan Hyman**, representative of MCF/Liberation on AAM national committee since 1969, former Camden councillor; aged 74.

On 29 March 1988, assassinated in Paris, **Dulcie September**, ANC chief representative in France, and former AAM membership secretary; aged 53.

On 28 April 1988, **Lord Fenner Brockway**, founder of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, sponsor of AAM, lifelong campaigner for peace; aged 99.

On 15 August 1988, **Steve Parry**, activist in Hammersmith & Fulham AA with a deep interest in questions of culture and the cultural boycott; aged 40.

In September 1988, **John Ennals**, AAM chairperson from 1968 to 1976, formerly Director of UNA and Director of the UK Immigrants Advisory Service; aged 70.

