



**ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT**

**♦ 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary AGM ♦**

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**DVII**

**REPORT TO THE AGM**  
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**Anti Apartheid Movement 1989**

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# INTRODUCTION

## Political Report adopted by the National Committee on 9 September 1989

1989 has seen the most dramatic developments in Southern Africa for a decade. Namibia's freedom should soon be a reality as the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia is implemented. South Africa has been forced to withdraw its military forces from Angola and there is widespread support for the Angolan government's initiatives to promote national reconciliation. Likewise the Mozambique government has taken bold new political and diplomatic initiatives designed to halt the war being waged by the South African surrogates RENAMO against the people of Mozambique.

These historic developments in the region are of the greatest significance especially since they coincide with major new offensives by the Mass Democratic Movement within South Africa, in particular the Defiance Campaign.

Africa has united behind the liberation struggle in South Africa with the decision of the Organisation of African Unity to support the initiative of the African National Congress by adopting the Statement of Principles for a new constitutional order for a united, democratic and non-racial state, guidelines to the process of negotiations, and a programme of action involving all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaigning for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

The challenge facing the international anti-apartheid movement is to ensure that the world now unites to take effective action so that the system of apartheid can be eliminated and the African continent can be freed from racial tyranny.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement faces a special challenge because of Britain's role as No.1 protector of apartheid and Mrs Thatcher's dogmatic refusal to take any effective action to help end apartheid.

### ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT 30TH ANNIVERSARY

On South Africa Freedom Day, 26 June, the Anti-Apartheid Movement marked the 30th anniversary of its foundation. It was on South Africa Freedom Day 1959 that Father Huddleston and Julius Nyerere addressed the first public meeting to launch the Boycott Movement in Britain and internationally in support of the call by the late Chief Albert Lutuli, President of the ANC, for the boycott of South Africa. Within a year the Boycott Movement had been transformed into the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The 30th anniversary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was an occasion to mark but not to celebrate since so many of the objectives of the Movement remain unrealized. The British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, underlined this by receiving the new leader of the National Party of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk, at 10 Downing Street, just three days before 26 June. This point was stressed in a statement on the visit of F.W. de Klerk issued by the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa and signed by COSATU and the UDF affiliates:

"Mr de Klerk will be welcomed in Britain shortly before June 26th, celebrated throughout South Africa as Freedom Day. Freedom Day will be especially significant this year, marking as it does the 30th anniversary of the greatest international movement against apartheid: the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. By meeting de Klerk at this time Mrs Thatcher will not only be expressing contempt for our people, but also the British people."

The visit of F.W. de Klerk to Britain, which had been preceded by similar visits by Foreign Minister Botha and Finance Minister Du Plessis, reflects a determined effort by the British government to undermine South Africa's international isolation and project the image that the new leadership of the National Party are planning to abandon apartheid.

This aggressive new policy by the British government represented a direct challenge to the basic policy tenets upon which the Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded. And these policies, as any objective analysis of the

situation in Southern Africa would recognise, are as relevant today as they were three decades ago. Indeed they must be the basis upon which the Anti-Apartheid Movement enters the 1990s. The decade which must surely see the ultimate elimination of the system of apartheid.

### NAMIBIA: PROSPECTS FOR FREEDOM

The most significant development for the freedom struggle in Southern Africa has been the implementation of the UN plan for the Independence of Namibia and the very real prospect that the people of Namibia will secure their freedom and independence in 1990. The creation of a sovereign and independent state of Namibia, joining the ranks of the Front Line States, will represent a profound advance for the struggle to free the African continent of apartheid, racism and colonialism.

The Pretoria regime's agreement to the implementation of the UN Plan, over ten years after the original adoption of Resolution 435 by the UN Security Council, was above all due to the struggle for independence which has been waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO of Namibia.

Pretoria's capacity to sustain its illegal occupation of Namibia had been further undermined by the military defeats it had suffered in southern Angola in the early months of 1988 - in part due to the arms embargo - which had compelled South Africa to withdraw its armed forces from Angola. The growing impact of sanctions on the apartheid economy was also a contributing factor since it became increasingly difficult for Pretoria to meet the economic burden of its illegal administration in Namibia and especially the costs of its occupation forces. These were increasingly unable to contain PLAN, the military wing of SWAPO.

Faced with these realities Pretoria had little choice but to enter into the process of negotiations which led to the implementation of the UN Plan. However this reflected no fundamental change of objectives as events have proved. Indeed the Botha regime evidently calculated that it could turn its retreat from Namibia into diplomatic advantage internationally, to reduce the pressures for an end to apartheid in South Africa itself.

The long drawn out process of negotiations during 1988, which began in May with the meeting in London between Angola, Cuba, the USA and South Africa, eventually led to the agreements signed in New York on 22 December. April 1st 1989 was set as the date for the implementation of the UN Plan. But preparations were seriously hampered by the insistence of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council that the military component of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) should be drastically reduced.

As a result of the cutbacks in the military component and the resultant delay in securing the Security Council's endorsement, there was no effective UN presence in much of Namibia on 1 April 1989, the date set for the implementation of the UN Plan. Crucially the UN had failed in advance of 1 April to secure the enforcement of a key proposal in the UN Secretary General's report, namely that the para-military units, known as Koevoet, should be disbanded and not merely transferred into the regime's police force (SWAPOL). The UN had likewise failed to resolve one fundamental issue, namely the position of SWAPO forces within Namibia.

Thus the independence process started in tragic circumstances with Koevoet forces committing acts of carnage against SWAPO guerrillas and Namibian civilians; a tragedy which was compounded by the decision of the UN Secretary General to authorise the deployment of South African forces against SWAPO, in clear breach of the UN Plan, on the spurious grounds that SWAPO forces had entered Namibia in breach of a protocol agreed between Angola, Cuba and South Africa during negotiations in Geneva the previous August. The presence of Mrs Thatcher in Namibia on 1st April further aggravated the situation especially with her unfounded attacks on SWAPO.

Thus, from the very commencement of the implementation of the UN Plan, a situation existed in which many Namibians doubted that free and fair elections would take place. Moreover the South African authorities, through the Administrator General, felt confident to dictate terms, whilst the UN Secretary General's Special Representative had shown that he was unwilling to confront the South Africans.

Although the position in relation to SWAPO forces was resolved, such have been the problems which have subsequently arisen, especially the activities of Koevoet, that the SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, felt compelled to warn

in August 1989 that the prospect of "free and fair" elections "hangs in the balance." Moreover the UN Plan fails to address the procedures and machinery for the transition to independence following the elections. It is essential that control rests with the UN and the elected Constituent Assembly during this period and that Pretoria is unable to destabilise or undermine this process.

Despite these obstacles, SWAPO has demonstrated a tremendous capacity to mobilise, lead and inspire the people of Namibia. The emerging trade union movement, united in the National Union of Namibian Workers, has declared its full endorsement of SWAPO as have student, youth and women's organisations. The will of the Namibian people is clearly to secure an independent Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

## PEACE IN ANGOLA ?

Developments in Namibia became closely intertwined with those in Angola during 1988. Indeed it was military setbacks which the South Africans experienced in Angola against the combined forces of Angola its Cuban allies which led not just to South Africa's military withdrawal from Angola but to the agreement to proceed with the implementation of the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia.

However the agreements reached in the quadripartite meetings between Angola, Cuba, the USA and South Africa also involved the phased withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Although formally an agreement between two sovereign states, Angola and Cuba, this was part of the overall set of agreements.

Since 1975, Angola has been a target of South African aggression, both directly and through its surrogate UNITA. Moreover UNITA's capacity to create havoc and terror in Angola has been greatly strengthened by the provision of US funds and military hardware by the Reagan administration, which has been renewed by President Bush.

Namibia's independence will deny UNITA its main logistics base. Also, South Africa has formally committed itself to end all assistance to UNITA. Thus UNITA's position is becoming increasingly weakened. However, if South Africa reneges on its undertakings regarding Namibia and Angola, the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, due to be completed in July 1991, could leave Angola vulnerable to renewed South African aggression, either direct or indirect.

It was in this context that Angola took a major new initiative to try and integrate UNITA personnel and followers into Angolan society provided that the UNITA leader Savimbi was excluded from the process. With the support of a number of African states Angola was able to make such progress that a regional summit was convened in Gbadolite, Zaire on 22 June, at which a ceasefire was agreed and the process of integration agreed. However UNITA has failed to fully implement the ceasefire and there is growing speculation that the agreement will collapse. Cuba has already warned the UN that it might suspend the withdrawal of its military forces should the situation deteriorate further.

## WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE

The tragic consequences of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation were demonstrated most vividly in Mozambique. The South African backed RENAMO has continued to resort to the most brutal acts of terrorism and banditry in its campaign to destroy Mozambique. A UNICEF report published in April 1989 estimated that the war waged by RENAMO had caused the loss of the lives of over 494,000 children under 5 years old in the period 1981 to 1988.

The consequences for Mozambique have been enormous, affecting all structures of society. The FRELIMO Congress which met in August 1989, the first Congress under the leadership of President Chissano, took a series of profound decisions to enable Mozambique to assure its sovereignty and independence. In terms of national policy it adopted new programmes on education, housing, health. It also redefined the role of FRELIMO as the vanguard party of all the people of Mozambique, omitting the previous commitment to Marxism-Leninism.

At the Congress President Chissano announced new initiatives which have opened up the prospect of ending the war in Mozambique and bringing peace and stability to the country. President Moi of Kenya and President Mugabe

of Zimbabwe were invited to assist in mediating. Shortly after the Congress a high-level delegation of Mozambican church leaders, with government agreement, met in Nairobi with RENAMO representatives, and a dialogue was begun which seems likely to continue for some time.

However South Africa and its allies have sought to exploit these developments. On the one hand there has been a concerted effort to project RENAMO as a legitimate political force and to disguise the reality that it is a terrorist organisation created by the illegal Smith regime which since 1980 has served as a surrogate of the South African Defence Force. At the same time the contacts between Mozambican leaders and South Africans, including both PW Botha and PW de Klerk, have been presented as evidence of a weakening of Africa's international isolation of apartheid South Africa.

## THE FRONT LINE STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's overall strategy towards the Front Line States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) has continued to be based on maintaining and strengthening its domination of the region through a combination of military aggression and economic destabilisation. The 1989 budget saw a further 24% increase in military expenditure on top of increases of 30% in 1987 and 22% in 1988 - a 99% increase since 1987! Despite seeking to project an image of "good neighbourliness," Pretoria's rearmament programme reveals the real intent of the apartheid regime: it talks peace whilst preparing for war.

It has long been recognised by South African foreign policy makers that the key to undermining its international isolation lies in its relations with Africa and especially the independent African states in the region.

With the active support of the western powers, South Africa has therefore been working actively to promote the concept of a regional conference ostensibly to draw up a "security pact" in which it would be an equal participant with the independent African states in the region. Its real intention would be to use this to normalise its relations with independent Africa and break out of its international isolation. This would be part of a Pretoria-inspired propaganda campaign aimed at convincing the international community that once Namibia is independent, the issues of decolonization in the region will have been solved, and apartheid - being an "internal matter" for South Africans themselves to resolve - should no longer be an issue on the agenda of the international community.

South Africa has been seeking to further these objectives on an ad hoc basis, both through direct contact with Southern African states as well as wider afield. The former State President PW Botha for example visited Malawi and Ivory Coast, whilst Foreign Minister Botha was able to visit Zaire, Gabon and Egypt during the course of the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

These developments have been presented as diplomatic break-throughs by Pretoria in much of the western press. In reality the process is much more complex. They have only been possible because South Africa has been compelled to end its aggression against Angola, agree to the implementation of the UN Plan for the independence of Namibia, and feels obliged to disassociate itself from the RENAMO atrocities in Mozambique and appear to be contributing to a settlement.

Moreover the Front Line States remain united, as does the Organisation of African Unity, in their commitment to eradicate apartheid. At a special meeting in Lusaka on 10 August 1989 they endorsed proposals initiated by the African National Congress. These were in turn adopted as official policy of the Organisation of African Unity at a special meeting of its Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa which was held in Harare on 21st August. The Declaration adopted not only included a Statement of Principles upon which a new constitutional order for united, democratic, non-racial South Africa should be based, but also set out the preconditions necessary to create a climate for negotiations and guidelines for a process of negotiations. The Programme of Action of the Declaration reaffirmed the OAU's commitment to the liberation struggle being waged by the people of South Africa and the campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. It was also agreed to "ensure that the African continent does not relax existing measures for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa".

The Declaration adopted at Harare therefore represented a profound setback for Pretoria's manoeuvres. With a common African stand on these central issues, Pretoria will find it extremely difficult to succeed in its efforts to normalise its relations with Africa and especially the Front Line States.

## APARTHEID IN CRISIS

Central to all developments in the region and within South Africa itself has been the underlying crisis of the apartheid system. A crisis which manifests itself in all aspects of life but above all in the political and economic fields.

The fundamental cause of this crisis is the refusal of the oppressed people of South Africa to acquiesce in their own oppression combined with the profound impact on the apartheid system of the struggles of the peoples of Namibia and the Frontline States for freedom and independence, which are re-inforced by the impact of sanctions.

Pretoria has failed to curb the spirit of resistance within South Africa and now faces a renewed offensive which illustrates the extent to which the ruling National Party has failed to achieve conditions of stability and normality despite the most all-pervasive and systematic repression.

### - the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) on the offensive

The resistance movement within South Africa has not only recovered from the setbacks it experienced as a result of the State of Emergency and the banning of the UDF and other organisations in February 1988, it has emerged more powerful, more coherent, with greater maturity and with greatly increased unity.

Central to the popular movement is the Mass Democratic Movement. One of its leaders said of the MDM: "It is not the UDF. Neither is it COSATU. It is more than the UDF and COSATU combined. But the UDF and COSATU form the strategic core of the MDM." It is the MDM which is spearheading the Defiance Campaign which started in August 1989 by challenging apartheid health care but rapidly moved into other sectors such as education, employment and recreational facilities such as beaches. An integral element of this Defiance Campaign is the refusal to accept the bans and restrictions imposed on organisations and individuals. Indeed the UDF and its leadership in effective unbanned themselves on the sixth anniversary of its foundation on 20 August 1989.

The fact that the MDM was able to move onto the offensive was due largely to the growing strength of the non-racial trade union movement and of COSATU in particular. COSATU's third Congress in July 1989 was characterised by a renewed spirit of determination and unity and a recognition that new possibilities existed to further unite the trade union movement in action against apartheid. This was reflected in the Workers' Summit the following month which was attended by workers from COSATU, NACTU and independent unions and agreed on a common programme of action to challenge the Labour Relations Act.

This spirit of unity also found expression in the decision to convene the "Conference For A Democratic Future", originally planned for 7 October but then postponed to 9 December. The Convening Committee not only included prominent leaders of the UDF and COSATU, such as Albertina Sisulu and Cyril Ramaphosa, but church leaders including Archbishop Tutu and Dr Naude, and campaigners from the black consciousness tradition, Khehla Mtembu and Mbulelo Rakwana.

### - ANC leadership

The overall offensive by the Mass Democratic Movement and wider anti-apartheid forces took place against the background of the African National Congress demonstrating its commanding authority as the leadership of the national liberation movement. Its initiatives on Constitutional Guidelines for a post-apartheid South Africa and on the framework for a negotiated transfer of power to a democratic South Africa underlined the centrality of the ANC to any settlement process.

Likewise the range and diversity of South African organisations seeking contact and meetings with the ANC indicated the growing recognition within South Africa that the future of the country would be increasingly determined by the ANC and no longer by the National Party. State President PW Botha's meeting with Nelson Mandela in June, although motivated by the desire to promote confusion and disunity amongst anti-apartheid forces, amounted to a further recognition that the ANC is central to any change in South Africa.

### - repression intensified

All these developments have taken place against the background of the most severe repression. On 12 June 1989, South Africa entered its fourth year

under a continuous state of emergency. Detention without trial continued unabated, although as a result of the hunger strikes in early 1989 large numbers of detainees were released, simply to be served with draconian restriction orders. The number of political opponents on death row rose to over 80 with the sentencing of the Uppington 14. New moves were made to criminalise opposition. In December 1988 leaders of the UDF were found guilty of treason for their activities in promoting peaceful and non-violent opposition to apartheid. By 30 June 1989 over 200 political trials (including 5 Treasons Trials) were in progress or had been set down for hearing.

However Pretoria has demonstrated increased sensitivity to the effect of its repressive policies on international opinion. In cases such as the Sharpeville Six and the continued imprisonment of long term prisoners suffering from ill-health, such as ANC and SACTU veteran Harry Gwala and PAC President Zeph Mothopeng, it has sought to project a illusion of compassion. The reality of repression, however, is very different and is taking new and even more arbitrary forms including assassinations, summary executions and bombings and attacks against offices and homes. The Human Rights Commission catalogued 100 such attacks over a three-year period.

The effect of these attacks is compounded by the continuing role of vigilantes especially those associated with Inkatha warlords in Natal. Efforts to promote a "peace process" through talks between the UDF, COSATU and Inkatha made some progress, however the indiscriminate murdering of UDF and COSATU supporters has continued unabated.

### - National Party in crisis

Nothing illustrates the extent of the crisis within South Africa more than the crisis with the National Party which culminated in the resignation of PW Botha as State President. The underlying problem confronting the National Party is that it has no solution to the South African crisis and has increasingly sought to cling to power by advocating contradictory policies designed to placate traditional Afrikaans voters whilst trying to appeal to the supposedly more "liberal" English speaking community. Above all it is obliged to try and present a "reforming image" for the benefit of its international apologists.

Its "Five Year Action Plan" for the 1989 racist elections encapsulated these contradictions. Although it spoke of a new democratic South Africa the entire Plan was based on the cornerstone of apartheid - "group rights."

The lack of effective policies and leadership led to further defections by the white electorate to the Conservative Party during the Municipal elections of October 1988. At the same time there has been a consolidation of opposition forces to the "left" of the National Party with the creation of the Democratic Party largely based on the PFP but under the joint leadership of Zac de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan. The further erosion of the National Party's monolithic hold over the white electorate was demonstrated at the September election with a collapse in its vote, leaving it with a much reduced majority over the combined seats of the Conservative Party and Democratic Party.

### - the apartheid economy in crisis

South Africa continues to be gripped by an ever deepening economic crisis. The fundamental cause of this crisis are the struggles of the people of South Africa, and above all the Black working class, against the system of super-exploitation which is the essence of apartheid.

The impact of these struggles is further accentuated by the escalating costs of security - which it has been calculated amount to 1/3rd of the total expenditure of 65 billion rand in the 1989 budget. Indeed if one adds the costs of maintaining the elaborate apartheid institutions and structures (including 14 separate departments of education) it can be demonstrated that the cost of maintaining and enforcing apartheid now accounts for 50% of budget expenditure.

The international isolation of the apartheid economy as a result of sanctions measures and the lack of long term confidence in the economy amongst influential banking and financial circles in the west, has further fueled the crisis.

Since August 1985 there have been no significant inflows of capital and investment into the South African economy. As a result South Africa has become a net exporter of capital to the tune of \$10 billion. The rand has continued to fall in value both against the dollar and a pool of major currencies. Its foreign reserves have continued to fall (26% over the past

year) and now stand at approximately \$2 billion which represents the value of 5-6 weeks imports. The drop in the value of gold has had a significant impact on the economy since gold has traditionally accounted for 45% of South Africa's export revenue and gold holdings account for 75% of its reserves. Moreover South Africa's capacity to manipulate the gold markets has been weakened as it loses its pre-eminence as the west's leading gold producer. Its share of western gold production has fallen over the past decade from 75% to 40%.

The range of sanctions measures which have been imposed by the US Congress, the Nordic countries, the Commonwealth and the European Community have denied South Africa important traditional markets for its products. At present this has not led to a massive reduction in its foreign exchange earnings but many of its exports (especially coal) are now sold at a "premium" at a reduced rate just because they are South African. In other cases new markets have had to be found. "Knocked down" prices and increased marketing and transport costs have reduced significantly the profitability of such exports.

These then are the economic realities which South Africa faces as it seeks to renegotiate its massive international debt of which \$11 billion becomes due by June 1990. \$8.5 billion of this sum represents short-term loans which were frozen by Pretoria in September 1985 following the closure of the stock exchange and foreign exchange markets. The international banks to whom these debts are owed agreed first in March 1986 and again in March 1987 "interim agreements" by which the repayment of the bulk of the debt would be deferred. The current agreement expires on 30th June 1990. The very future of the South African economy thus depends upon whether the international banking community is prepared to renegotiate a further agreement or insist on immediate repayment.

## THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION TO THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID

These developments underline the importance of the international dimension of the crisis facing not only the apartheid economy but the system of apartheid in its entirety. Indeed as the mass democratic movement has gone onto the offensive within South Africa there have been renewed calls for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the United Democratic Front and COSATU. The President of the African National Congress Oliver Tambo reiterated the ANC's call for comprehensive sanctions and this position was endorsed by the OAU at its special meeting in Harare.

One of the four central pillars of the African National Congress's struggle has been the promotion of the international isolation of apartheid South Africa. Although primarily perceived as a campaign for economic sanctions, the international isolation of apartheid South Africa has much wider ramifications.

Its isolation in the fields of sport, culture and academic life have a direct effect on the morale of the white minority population. Its diplomatic isolation is keenly felt; it denies South Africa influence in a host of international forums. Without doubt it is the arena of military and nuclear collaboration where the South Africans experience the most serious obstacles as a direct result of the mandatory UN arms embargo and world-wide efforts to promote its strict application.

Pretoria has been forced repeatedly to acknowledge the effect of its international isolation. Most recently the National Party's Five Year Action Plan states:

"the most vicious international attempt - over more than two decades - to destroy the South African economy by boycotts, sanctions and disinvestment, have strained the economy of the country and of every business and household."

Indeed the Action Plan goes further by stating that:

"the Republic of South Africa must regain its rightful place in the international community" and therefore pledges to:  
"counter boycotts and sanctions while working to improve the image of South Africa".

Pretoria has sought to counter its international isolation by seeking to project a new image of South Africa to the outside world. A major priority has been to create a climate of opinion internationally, especially in business circles, so that the banks involved will agree a new rescheduling of its massive international debt on as favorable terms as possible.

In promoting this counter-offensive it is seeking to exploit, to the maximum,

the fact that it has agreed to the implementation of the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia and that it is apparently improving its relations with neighbouring African states.

However Pretoria also recognises that it is obliged to convey the impression internationally that change is on the agenda within South Africa itself. In particular it wishes to present itself as being pro-negotiations.

As a result of the negotiating processes over Angola, Namibia and Mozambique, there has been constant speculation over negotiations in relation to South Africa itself. Indeed there has been much talk about "political solutions" not only from predictable quarters such as Washington, London and Bonn but also from Moscow and certain African states. Regrettably much of this speculation appears concerned solely with the initiating of negotiations without any pre-conditions as to the objectives for such negotiations. As a result a climate is being created which is almost entirely beneficial to Pretoria. Its agenda for "negotiations" is one involving the co-optation of Blacks into the structures of apartheid. Pretoria's rejection of the OAU Harare Declaration demonstrated again that it remains implacably opposed to any negotiating process which is designed to end apartheid and lead to a non-racial democratic and unitary South Africa.

As a corollary to this process there now appears to be a concerted attempt to present sanctions as simply a means of bringing South Africa to the negotiating table rather than as an instrument designed to contribute to the destruction of apartheid.

There is an urgent need to counter this offensive by the Pretoria regime and its allies in order to ensure the intensification of the international isolation of apartheid South Africa.

## BRITAIN AND THE APARTHEID CRISIS

Britain, historically, has always played the central role in determining western policy towards Southern Africa. This role was a direct result of Britain's economic, strategic and other related interests in South Africa in particular but also throughout the region.

As the apartheid crisis developed in the mid-1980s Britain chose to play the central role in protecting apartheid South Africa by vigorously opposing any effective programme of sanctions and by seeking to undermine and isolate the main forces for national liberation in particular the ANC.

However there has been a growing recognition within British policy-making circles that a South African policy which only took the form of anti-sanctions rhetoric was not credible and indeed there was a real risk that Britain could find itself so isolated that it would be unable to influence or control change. Mrs Thatcher has therefore sought to project a new image - as a prime mover in promoting negotiations and change. Her first tentative steps in this direction were taken in 1988 on her tour of Kenya and Nigeria when she declared her interest in a visit to South Africa. She returned to the same theme in March 1989 when she visited Zimbabwe, Malawi and Namibia. On the eve of this tour she gave an extensive interview to the BBC World Service in which she referred to the new leadership of the National Party as wishing to end apartheid. Whilst on tour, having condemned the isolation of Pretoria, she announced that she would be inviting leaders of the National Party including F.W. de Klerk to meet her at 10 Downing Street.

The full weight of Downing Street's media manipulators were then effectively put at the disposal of Pretoria in order to present a new image of "reform" and change as preparations were made first for the visit of Finance Minister du Plessis and then for F.W. de Klerk himself.

The effect of these meetings and Mrs Thatcher's initiatives as a whole was to bring comfort to the apartheid regime and relax international pressures. It is significant that on the day before Mrs Thatcher's meeting with De Klerk, the newly appointed Governor of the Reserve Bank was meeting with the major international banks on the Technical Committee for preliminary discussions over the rescheduling of South Africa's debts.

It would appear that Mrs Thatcher's intention is to try and convince Pretoria of the need to make a number of gestures such as the release of Nelson Mandela and a small number of other prisoners. Such a gesture for example, would portray both Pretoria and Downing Street in a favorable light, but in fact falls a very long way short of the pre-conditions necessary to create a climate for negotiations set by the OAU and previously by the Commonwealth. However a number of such gestures could be used by Britain and other western countries to justify the lifting of existing sanctions

measures and a general relaxation of international pressure, especially if they were part of a package in which Pretoria was able to present itself as the initiator of a process of negotiations.

For Britain and Mrs Thatcher, however, this is a high risk strategy since there can be no guarantee that Pretoria will feel able to deliver such a package. If there is no visible progress in the near future then the pressures will mount again rapidly on Britain to take effective action against South Africa.

## THE WAY FORWARD

The dramatic developments in Southern Africa which are now taking place require the Anti-Apartheid Movement to re-evaluate its policies and to identify even more clearly its priorities especially as we enter a new decade.

All our experience tells us that the basic policy approach of the Anti-Apartheid Movement - an approach which has been pursued consistently over three decades - corresponds to the expressed wishes of those at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. This approach is based on our understanding that it is the struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa which is the decisive force which will achieve freedom and liberation. The Anti-Apartheid Movement is committed to support these struggles and to respond to their calls for international action and solidarity. This above all requires the Movement to campaign all-out for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa.

As we enter the 1990s the campaigning priorities of the Anti-Apartheid Movement are self-evident:

1) the most urgent priority must be to ensure Namibia achieves genuine independence - this requires maximum solidarity with SWAPO at this the most crucial and historical stage of its struggle

2) all-round support for the struggle of the people of South Africa being led by the African National Congress for a united, democratic and non-racial state.

3) intensification of the campaign in Britain and internationally for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa, and mobilisation within the framework of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, to further the isolation of apartheid South Africa in order to -

- a) stop the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt
- b) halt all flows of investment, loans and credit to SA
- c) prevent any relaxation of existing sanctions measures
- d) stop all sporting, cultural and academic links with apartheid South Africa
- e) strengthen and strictly implement the arms embargo
- f) secure a mandatory oil embargo.

4) renewed campaigning against repression including stopping apartheid executions, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees, and the lifting of all banning and restriction orders on organisations and individuals

5) the effective countering of pro-apartheid propaganda and disinformation by Pretoria and its international allies in particular the concerted efforts being made to promote an image of "reform" and the illusion that the regime is about to negotiate the ending of apartheid. Such initiatives should involve the highlighting of the preconditions laid down by the OAU in the Harare Declaration which Pretoria has to abide by in order to create a climate for negotiations

6) full support for the Front Line States in their struggles against South African aggression and destabilisation and for SADCC's efforts to undermine South Africa's economic domination of the region

## THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT: THE TASKS AHEAD

The major task facing the Anti-Apartheid Movement is to develop its work that it can make a decisive contribution towards achieving the objectives outlined above.

Much of the period covered by this Report has been a time for consolidation following upon the dramatic achievements gained during the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 campaign.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has during the past five years expanded

dramatically both in size and influence. There has been an even greater growth in the expectations as to what our Movement can achieve, especially from those directly engaged in the liberation struggle.

The Movement has sought to respond to immense challenges: political, organisational and financial. It has responded imaginatively to the challenges arising from the implementation of the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia. It has frustrated the efforts of those seeking to relax international pressure on Pretoria especially through Boycott Apartheid '89 and the protests against De Klerk's visit. And it has encouraged an even wider basis for anti-apartheid activity in Britain through its active role in the establishment of the Southern Africa Coalition.

It has focussed renewed attention at the mobilisation of key sectors of the community in its work, especially the trade union movement, the women's movement and Black and ethnic minorities. It has initiated reviews of the organisation, financial management and servicing of the Movement and its membership in order to be best placed to face the challenges of the 1990s.

However the most fundamental task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement must be to so mobilise the people of Britain through popularly based campaigning activities that it can compel a fundamental change in British policy. Britain, under Mrs Thatcher, remains the key protector of apartheid. In all critical areas: trade, investment, strategic sectors, sports and culture - Britain heads the list of collaborators with apartheid. Britain likewise plays the decisive role in the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the European Community in blocking effective international action. This must be changed, and this must be the overriding task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement as it enters the 1990s.

## SOUTH AFRICA

The Introduction to this Report outlined some of the momentous events which have taken place in South Africa during this period. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has not been a passive observer of these processes, rather it has engaged actively in mobilising support for the Mass Democratic Movement and the liberation struggle as a whole. As events have unfurled so it has been necessary to respond quickly and effectively to developments.

In January 1989 the visit to Britain under the auspices of the AAM of two key leaders of the UDF, Mohamed Valli the Acting General Secretary and Murphy Morobe the Acting Publicity Secretary, provided an opportunity for the Movement to be fully briefed as to the internal situation inside South Africa and the perspectives of the Mass Democratic Movement. Valli and Morobe had spent long periods in detention under the State of Emergency until their escape to the US Consulate and the subsequent undertaking by the regime that they would not be restricted on their release. An intense programme of meetings and briefings was organised during their stay including an hour and half session with the Foreign Office Minister of State Lynda Chalker at which they were able to set out clearly the UDF's position on a range of key issues.

It was evident from these briefings that the Mass Democratic Movement was poised to go on the offensive and this first demonstrated itself with the detainee hunger-strikes. The AAM and SATIS worked together to ensure that these secured maximum publicity and effective solidarity, and that the British government was compelled to intervene on the side of the hunger strikers. The hunger strikes forced the regime to release large number of detainees and clearly represented a major victory which spurred the Movement into more action.

The British government sought to deflect attention from these developments by launching a counter-offensive. At the end of March Mrs Thatcher visited Southern Africa (Zimbabwe and Malawi plus her provocative "stop-over" in Namibia) during which she not only reiterated her hostility to sanctions but announced a new diplomatic initiative involving visits to Downing Street by National Party Ministers purportedly to persuade them to abandon apartheid. The AAM National Committee issued a statement on 8th April "utterly condemning Mrs Thatcher's initiative" and warning:

"If this joint South African/British counter-offensive were to succeed it could

give the apartheid regime a new lease of life and prolong for years the wealth privilege and power of white supremacy and the poverty, degradation and oppression of the Black majority."

The first of these visits was in April when Finance Minister Du Plessis was entertained in Downing Street - without any prior publicity - although this backfired since it took place within hours of the arrest of South African agents in Paris over the "Blowpipe Affair". The real prize for Pretoria however was the invitation to the new leader of the National Party F.W. de Klerk to meet Mrs Thatcher. This visit was shrouded in even more secrecy and no details were released as to its timing. Both the South African Embassy and Downing Street admitted that this was to avoid protests and adverse publicity.

Following press speculation that the visit would be towards the end of June, the Movement decided that it had no alternative but to launch a major protest campaign against the visit. Publicity material was produced and plans were made for a protest march from Malet Street to the Bull Ring near Waterloo so that participants could proceed to lobby their MPs.

The MDM in South Africa issued a forthright statement condemning Mrs Thatcher: "The invitation ... is yet one more brazen act of collaboration between the British government and the white minority regime. But this invitation takes first prize for its total insensitivity." They then arranged for the UDF President Albertina Sisulu, who had been granted a passport to visit Washington to meet President Bush, to rearrange her schedule so that she could address the Bull Ring Rally. Thus on the eve of De Klerk's arrival in Britain a most effective protest march proceeded through the streets of London on the evening of 20 June with the simple message "Stop Apartheid: Stop de Klerk." An enthusiastic audience welcomed Albertina Sisulu and Sister Bernard Ncube of the Federation of Transvaal Women.

De Klerk had a very different welcome. Anti-apartheid protesters blocked his car as it left the security area at Heathrow and within minutes of checking into his London hotel the Movement was alerted; from then on it was besieged by angry AAM supporters. De Klerk was dogged by protests throughout the rest of the visit. A reception at the South African Embassy attracted half a dozen participants but dozens of protesters. He twice abandoned plans to visit the Phantom of the Opera after his VIP status was withdrawn at the insistence of staff at the theatre who also threatened further protest action. A press conference at the Embassy led to some streets around Trafalgar Square being sealed off to traffic and pedestrians and when De Klerk finally appeared before the press he refused to answer questions and then cancelled pre-arranged interviews. Later an area around Pall Mall was barricaded off so that he could lunch with Sir Geoffrey Howe.

The message to De Klerk was clear - the only place in London he was welcome was in 10 Downing Street. Whatever transpired between De Klerk and Thatcher the visit was a public relations disaster.

In complete contrast Mrs Sisulu returned from the USA the following month at the head of a six person UDF delegation. The other members were Azhar Cachalia, Cernick Ndlovu, Titus Mafofo, Jessica Duarte, and Sister Bernard Ncube. Mrs Sisulu became the first leader of the South African liberation movement to meet a British Prime Minister since Lloyd George met ANC Secretary-General Sol Plaatje in 1919. The very fact that Mrs Thatcher felt compelled to meet the UDF underlined its growing strength and influence.

Of greater significance was the welcome she and her delegation received. Meetings were held with numerous organisations and individuals including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Neil Kinnock MP and other Labour leaders, and TUC General Secretary Norman Willis, as well as receiving a very warm reception from the press.

At a packed press conference in the House of Commons Mrs Sisulu read a statement on behalf of the UDF calling for the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and re-affirming the centrality of the ANC to any settlement in South Africa.

The visit served to underline the widespread support for the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement and the almost total isolation of the Pretoria regime. Fearing a similar rebuff in the US, De Klerk shortly after the UDF's visit to Britain cancelled his plan to visit the US before the 6 September elections.

The delegation briefed the Movement about the forthcoming Defiance Campaign and other developments around the racist elections and the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

## NAMIBIA

The past year has proved to be historic for the people of Namibia. Implementation of the UN Plan for Namibia's independence was originally due to start on 1 November 1988. South Africa's capacity to renege on agreements was seen yet again when November 1st came and went without any progress. The period leading up to the revised date of 1 April, finally agreed in New York on 22 December 1988, saw intensified activity on the diplomatic and campaigning fronts.

### UNTAG force cut

The major setback at this time, which was to have huge repercussions when implementation of UNSCR 435 began, was the decision of the UN Security Council on the initiative of the five Permanent Members, and against the opposition of SWAPO, the Front Line States and many other countries, to drastically cut the size of the military component of the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). UNSCR 639 of 16 January paved the way for what was finally to see a reduction from the original 7,500 to 4,650. This decision was widely condemned; the Movement wrote to the Prime Minister, the UN Secretary General and the other Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. Following on from this, during February, meetings were held between the AAM and senior representatives of the Embassies of the USSR, US and China where our concerns were put and conveyed to the respective Foreign Ministers.

### Campaigning activity prior to 1 April 1989

The Movement initiated a wide range of activity in the run-up to implementation of UNSCR 435. A national Lobby of Parliament was held on 7 December 1988, designed to ensure that the issue of Namibian independence had a high profile on the parliamentary agenda during this crucial period leading up to final agreement on implementation of UNSCR 435. The Lobby was sponsored by the British Council of Churches; the TUC; Church Action on Namibia; Local Authorities Against Apartheid; the National Union of Students; Namibia Support Committee (NSC); and United Nations Association. The Lobby focus shifted slightly when agreement on implementation of the UN Plan became certain: the objective became to keep maximum pressure up to ensure South Africa did not renege on its agreement. Key issues identified for the Lobby were: the need to ensure South Africa does not renege on its agreement to implement the UN plan; the need for the government to ensure maximum vigilance over implementation; the need for MPs to support Namibia's territorial integrity; and the need for a positive aid policy for a post-independence Namibia.

The Lobby itself was attended by several hundred participants from all over the country; local groups and other activists having appointed local constituency co-ordinators to ensure as many constituency MPs as possible were lobbied. Speakers in the Grand Committee Room of the Commons included Dr David Owen MP; Roy Hattersley MP, Archbishop Huddleston, SWAPO Chief Representative Shapua Kaukungua and Anton Lubowski. Many local groups followed up the lobby with visits to MPs surgeries; local petitions etc. The Lobby and ensuing activity undoubtedly provided an important grounding for the subsequent campaign for full implementation of UNSCR 435.

Other successful initiatives in this period included a campaign taken up by the civil service unions to secure the release of SWAPO Secretary for Labour Jason Angula; and the SATIS Seminar on 'Children, Apartheid and Repression in Namibia'. The Children's Seminar was a major focus of the International Week of Action on Namibia, 27 October - 3 November, which saw widespread activity across the country in support of Namibian independence: pickets; public meetings; the flying by local councils of the SWAPO flag; fundraising events etc were amongst activity undertaken. A mass picket of South Africa House was held on 1 November - the day originally scheduled for start of implementation of UNSCR 435.

In addition, the Movement co-operated with SATIS in arranging extensive programmes for the Namibian delegation which visited for the Seminar: SWAPO Secretary for Information Ilidipo Hamutenya addressed a London press conference on 28 October and attended a briefing meeting for key



Scottish organisations in Glasgow on 31 October, as well as addressing a public meeting in Scotland, and a briefing meeting of AAM affiliates and other national organisations in London on 1 November. Dr Solly Amadhila met with a range of medical specialists and journalists; lawyer David Smuts visited a London law centre and met with representatives of Lawyers Against Apartheid; NANSO General Secretary Ignatius Shigwameni met with student leaders; and teacher Balbina Hausen visited a local ILEA school and the Institute of Education. The specialists and students met with Aid Agencies to discuss projects for Namibian children; and members of the delegation also met with and briefed international anti-apartheid movements and seminar participants. Members of the delegation also addressed a series of local AA group meetings across the country during the Namibia week of action, many of which received extensive local publicity.

## Events surrounding 1 April

The implementation of UNSCR 435 began on 1 April 1989. The diplomatic battle at the UN over the cuts in UNTAG had delayed the deployment of UN forces on the ground. As a result, the UN was unprepared for the crisis which South Africa engineered over the presence of PLAN guerrillas in the North. The ensuing slaughter of PLAN fighters put the whole process in jeopardy as Pretoria unleashed a reign of terror throughout northern Namibia.

The alleged justification for this action was that SWAPO forces were meant to be in Angola, north of the 16th parallel and that SWAPO had provoked the fighting. SWAPO took the view that the presence of its armed forces inside Namibia was explicitly envisaged by the UN in 1979. Independent observers reported that South African security forces had initiated the fighting. The AAM responded immediately and with considerable success to the crisis, which was exploited by the British government and also by the media as an opportunity to attack SWAPO. AAM MPs Dick Caborn and Bob Hughes challenged Mrs Thatcher's argument that SWAPO broke the UN plan both in a letter and in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister was forced, in unprecedented circumstances, to apologise to the House for her inaccurate statements on the question.

The AAM also strongly attacked the role of the Prime Minister during her visit to Namibia on 1 April, the very day the UN allowed the re-mobilisation of South African forces against SWAPO. The National Committee on 8 April issued a statement condemning South Africa's attack; calling for de-mobilisation and confinement to base of all South African forces; the immediate deployment of the full UNTAG component; and for SWAPO to be a full party in any further negotiations.

A major element in the Movement's response to the April crisis was the staging by the Namibian Emergency Campaign of a rally in support of SWAPO on 19 April. A packed hall of over 1,000 people heard SWAPO's Secretary for Information Hidipo Hamutenya give a detailed account of events in the region. Bernie Grant MP lead a collection that raised over £800.

## Implementation of the UN Plan

Despite the crisis around 1 April, implementation of the UN Plan continued, albeit fraught with problems. A central violation of the Plan proved to be the continuing presence and murderous activities of members of Koevoet - the notorious counter-insurgency unit - an issue which AAM Chair Bob Hughes raised with the Prime Minister. The Koevoet issue has been covered extensively in AA News and raised as a top campaigning priority. The Movement has also undertaken a wide range of lobbying and briefing in relation to the implementation of the Plan, including briefing the OAU diplomatic group and the Association of African Diplomats.

A substantial number of observer delegations have been to Namibia during the implementation process and the Movement has co-operated with and assisted in relation to a number of such visits, including those of Glenys Kinnock and Tessa Blackstone; and Geoffrey Bindman, chair of SATIS, who visited on behalf of the International Commission Jurists. Such visits, largely co-ordinated through the British Council of Churches, have provided an important opportunity to publicise the failings of the independence process. Other international missions, such as the Commonwealth delegation in October have also highlighted with authority and urgency the many problems. Indeed the Commonwealth mission reported that there were grave doubts as to whether free and fair elections would prove possible.

Issues such as the continued activity of Koevoet, electoral registration

irregularities, and massive intimidation and violence have all been identified by observers as crucial problems. The Movement has sought to extensively expose these facts through briefings, Members' Newsletters, AA News reports etc. The violence and repression was highlighted by the tragic assassination on 3 October of Anton Lubowski, deputy head of administration in SWAPO's election directorate. The AAM President immediately wrote to the UN Secretary General calling for an increase in the UN military and police forces and urging the UN to itself ensure the personal security of political leaders. The AAM assisted in the organization of a commemorative meeting for Anton Lubowski in London.

Another aspect of the continued defiance of the UN Plan by Pretoria has been the failure to release all Namibian political prisoners and detainees. It was on 21 April that Leonard Sheehama was sentenced of death; other Namibians remain on Death Row in South Africa, and the Movement has promoted widely the SATIS briefing on political prisoners and repeal of legislation, as well as highlighting such cases in AA News.

Despite many problems, the return of about 40,000 Namibian refugees from exile was achieved, and nearly 3/4 million voters registered. The Pretoria regime, however, continued to delay and obstruct the UN right up to the last minute on key issues such as the rules for the conduct of the election and the powers and functioning of the Constituent Assembly.

## SWAPO Election Campaign Appeal

A key priority identified by the AAM, following consultation with SWAPO, was the need to ensure maximum financial support for SWAPO's election campaign. In response to a request from SWAPO, AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston personally initiated a special SWAPO Election Campaign Appeal for which he secured the unprecedented sponsorship of all the main opposition leaders: Neil Kinnock MP, David Owen MP and Paddy Ashdown MP, together with TUC General Secretary Norman Willis. The Appeal was initiated to raise maximum financial support for SWAPO to be able to compete in the elections on as near as possible equal terms to client parties of Pretoria, and hence help ensure genuinely free and fair elections; it was on this basis that such broad-based cross-party support was possible.

The Appeal was launched at the House of Commons on 20 April in the presence of the party leaders; Archbishop Huddleston; SWAPO Information Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya; and SWAPO's Election directorate chief Hage Geingob. Unfortunately, this impressive line-up failed to secure extensive press coverage.

The Appeal has been administered by the Movement, and a range of publicity material produced: brochure, poster and sponsor form. In addition, the Movement has promoted the widest possible circulation of the Appeal amongst trade unions, churches, students etc; this activity has also been mirrored by many local groups as well. For example, in Merseyside many thousands of leaflets were distributed in local estates, community centres etc. The Appeal soon gathered momentum: by July £15,000 had been raised and the first cheque was handed over to the SWAPO President Sam Nujoma during a brief visit to London. Early contributions included £500 each from NAI GO and MSF and £1,000 from the Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa.

Local groups took up the Appeal with enthusiasm: wide ranging activity has been undertaken to raise funds, from a sponsored walk across London bridges to busking at the Edinburgh Festival. Many groups set themselves local targets for fundraising: Yorkshire and Humberside even surpassing its target of £5,000. A cultural evening involving top actors and actresses: 'Night for Namibia' was organised by the London Committee together with the Namibia Support Committee, Mozambique Angola Committee and Camden Council. Fundraising has also taken place at a wide range of fora, such as Labour Party Conference where a special Appeal to all delegates was circulated and a collection taken by Glenys Kinnock, and AAM chair Bob Hughes and treasurer Richard Caborn with MP's and others raised nearly £1,000 for the Appeal.

A final initiative in support of the Appeal has been undertaken by Archbishop Huddleston, targeted specifically at the Movement's national members, who are sponsoring balloons in SWAPO colours for £5, which are to be let off at a photo-call in Trafalgar Square on 6 November, on the eve of the elections in Namibia.

## FRONT LINE STATES

The apartheid regime's "export of violence" and its "deliberate destruction of economies and lives in neighbouring states" cost the independent states of South Africa £6.5bn in 1988, or 40% of the achieved regional Gross Domestic Product. Since 1980 1.5 million lives have been lost, over half of them children under five, from war-induced starvation, the destruction of health services, and civilian/military casualties. Another 1.5m. have fled their countries, and 6.1m. have been displaced within their countries. Over the period 1978-88 South Africa's "Total Strategy" for regional dominance has cost Southern Africa an estimated \$60 billion.

This grim picture, revealed in a recently published report by the UN Economic Commission for Africa, was the backdrop to the conference in Bonn in December 1988 staged by the European Campaign against South African Aggression against Mozambique and Angola (ECASAAMA). AAM President Archbishop Huddleston gave the keynote address, and Abdul Minty and Alan Brooks also represented the Movement. A number of AAM activists also participated in the event.

It was around the same time that the negotiations between South Africa and Angola, with the US acting as 'mediator', which had started in London in May 1988, finally reached a conclusion with the signing of protocols in Brazzaville on 13 December 1988 and of substantive agreements in New York nine days later. The prospects for peace in Angola which thus opened up were immediately clouded, however, by a commitment made by President Bush to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi of continuing support.

In the context of US insistence (supported by Britain) on linking South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, the New York agreements removed the last obstacle to the implementation of the UN Plan for Namibia's independence. But SWAPO was not a party to the negotiations, and not a signatory to the agreement, which included the restriction of SWAPO forces to bases in Angola north of the 16th parallel. This unsatisfactory state of affairs contributed to the crisis that developed in Namibia around 1 April.

The subsequent reduction of South African armed forces in Namibia under UN supervision, though it fell behind schedule because the UN had approved their deployment in the north, marked an inexorable change in the balance of forces in the region. South Africa's scope for direct aggression against Angola was drastically curtailed, and its capacity to support and promote UNITA as a means of destabilising the Angolan government was now much curtailed.

The Angolan government hosted a regional summit on 16 May 1989 in Luanda, winning support for a peace plan based on five key points:

- Cessation of South African and US interference in Angola's internal affairs.
- Cessation of hostilities along the Benguela railway.
- Respect for the constitution and other basic laws.
- Integrations of Angolans in UNITA into state bodies and other institutions according to their abilities.
- Acceptance of the voluntary and temporary retirement of Jonas Savimbi.

With Zaire now assuming the role of 'mediator', a further regional summit was hastily convened at Gbadolite on 22 June, where a ceasefire agreement was reached, which was soon repudiated in deeds and words by Savimbi, who proceeded to launch an international drive to mobilise support for Unita.

This was the context in which Savimbi visited Britain at the time of the Conservative Party conference, and met the then Foreign Secretary John Major. In a widely reported statement, the AAM sharply condemned the meeting as "most significant reversal of British policy. We have in the past had firm assurances that ministers and government officials would not meet Savimbi...Such a meeting can only give encouragement to Unita to continue to block moves towards peace in Angola." A protest picket of Savimbi's subsequent press conference was also staged.

The AAM maintains close and fruitful links with the diplomatic representatives of Zimbabwe, Zambia and the other Front Line States, providing information and holding consultations about regional and

international developments in relation to apartheid South Africa.

The posting to New York of Tanzania's long-standing High Commissioner in London Mr A. Nyakya meant a sad farewell to a good friend of the Movement, but the appointment as his successor of Mr John Malaceta, formerly Foreign Minister, is a guarantee of continuing cordial relations. Tanzania's profile as a Front Line State is being raised once again with the transfer to Tanzania of ANC cadres formerly based in Angola. Archbishop Huddleston visited Tanzania briefly in September to attend the 10th anniversary of the Solomon Mhlangu Freedom College and renew his long friendship with Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

South Africa's continuing destabilisation of Mozambique has been an on-going focus of solidarity work in Britain. In the course of regular contacts with the Mozambique embassy, the Movement has been briefed about the Frelimo Party's 7th Congress and peace initiatives. The first leg of the BART information tour about the effects of apartheid on children in the region featured speakers from Mozambique, and is reported more fully under SATIS below.

Local AAM Groups and members participate in material aid projects to support Mozambique, and a local AAM initiative in Bristol is promoting the twinning of the City with the Mozambique port of Beira. Two notable events in London, one in October 1988 to mark the anniversary of the death of the late Mozambican President Samora Machel, the other in May to mark the anniversary of the Kassinga massacre and the highlight the hopes of peace in Angola and independence for Namibia, were staged by the London Committee in conjunction with the west London AA groups, the Mozambique Angola Committee (MAC), and in the latter case the Namibia Support Committee and Britain/Cuba Resource Centre.

AA Enterprises (AAE) continues to build trading links with the Front Line States and raise consciousness of their crucial role in the fight against apartheid by projecting their culture, especially music, and selling merchandise. Both the AAM and AAE have been involved in consultations about a major initiative, now under the aegis of the Glasgow Mayfest, to bring diverse forms of culture to Britain from the Front Line States in the summer of 1990.

## CAMPAIGNS

### NAMIBIA EMERGENCY CAMPAIGN

Following consultation with the NSC and SWAPO, the Movement co-operated with the NSC in launching a major campaign initiative to run for the period up to Namibia's independence: the Namibia Emergency Campaign. The NEC was established with three prime objectives: to mobilise maximum support amongst the people of Britain for securing independence for Namibia; to mobilise solidarity with SWAPO; and to expose and campaign against any attempt by South Africa and others to sabotage implementation of the UN Plan.

To effect these aims the NEC has produced regular mailings which have been widely circulated, and an extensive mailing list built up. The NEC mailings have sought to disseminate in an accessible way the information available on implementation of the UN Plan and to highlight urgent areas for action, such as pressure on the UN and government, and on the media over bias and inaccuracy of reporting.

The NEC established itself quickly with a highly successful mobilising Conference on 13 May. The Conference, attended by over 200 participants from a wide range of national and local organisations provided an important springboard for intensified activity. It was addressed by speakers including the SWAPO Secretary for Labour Jason Angola, recently released from detention; and Paul Boeteng MP, the only British MP to have been in Namibia during the crisis after 1st April.

The Conference adopted a major Programme of Action including: mobilisation of political support for SWAPO; effective implementation of the UN plan; a Week of Action for June/July; intensified campaigning pressure on the government and MPs; financial support for SWAPO; and a strategy for effectively challenging media bias. The Conference agreed to send letters to the Prime Minister, UN Secretary General and SWAPO President Sam Nujoma: a warm reply was received from the SWAPO President, a less positive response from the government.

In addition, an Activists Meeting was held on the Sunday, 14 May. This provided a more informal opportunity to look at implementation of the Programme of Action, and was particularly designed for local activists. Practically orientated sessions were held on key campaigning areas, fundraising and media work.

The NEC Week of Action, June 24 - 1 July, saw a wide range of activity across the country. Many local AA groups, working with local NSGs in some areas, held public meetings, rallies and other events. Large scale mobilisations took place in Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and London. An Early Day Motion was put down in the House of Commons by Paul Boeteng MP, calling for effective implementation of the UN Plan, which received widespread cross-party support. In addition, the NEC sought a meeting with the government to press home concerns about implementation of UN SCR 435, and AAM and NSC met with Foreign Office officials on 28 June. The NEC prepared a special leaflet for the Week of Action.

The NEC held a number of consultative meetings for national organisations, to provide briefing and information on campaigns and activity. The first meeting was held in March at the launch of the NEC, and was addressed by SWAPO Secretary General Andimba Toivo ja Toivo. A follow-up meeting was held at the House of Commons in June, addressed by Peter Pyke MP, who had just returned from Namibia. A range of key national organisations have actively taken up the campaign, particularly trade unions and church organisations. Many churches have sent delegations to Namibia during the implementation period and the Movement and the NEC has worked closely with a range of such groups, particularly Church Action on Namibia.

The NEC has continued to prioritise fundraising for SWAPO. A special 'SWAPO Will Win' badge was produced for mass promotion in the run-up to the elections. It has provided a useful means of mobilising financial and political support for SWAPO. A promotional flyer for the badge was produced for the badge and sent to all AAM members.

In addition, the NEC secured a follow-up meeting with the Foreign Office for 5 November, prior to the elections. A comprehensive memorandum prepared for that meeting focuses key problems both as regards implementation of the UN Plan and the role of the British government. The Memorandum is to be widely circulated to MPs, the press, local groups and national organisations.

The NEC is intending to continue its work up until independence is finally achieved. A leaflet has been prepared for local use during the period of the election week to explain the issues at stake and to prepare the ground for the continued campaigning required. The NEC has identified a number of key on-going issues including pressure for an effective transfer of power when the Constituent Assembly is elected; campaigning for the territorial integrity of post-independence Namibia; continued financial support for SWAPO; a massive aid programme of independent Namibia; and opposition to any South African attempt to saddle Namibia with a debt from its illegal occupation.

The NEC is also planning a further mobilising conference on 27 January to look at building effective support for Namibia in the transition period and beyond - an important opportunity to assess the implications of the elections and the progress towards a genuine transfer of power to the people of Namibia.

## OTHER ACTIVITY

In addition to activity directly initiated through the NEC framework, the Movement has continued to provide resources. A new Namibia leaflet was produced for this period; also a briefing 'Countdown to Freedom', running through the steps in the UN Plan; and extensive coverage provided in AA News to both the situation in Namibia and internationally, as well as campaigns here. The Movement has provided speakers at numerous local meetings throughout the year, particularly since most SWAPO officials and students left the country in order to register for the election.

The Movement has liaised closely throughout the year with SWAPO over all aspects of our work. The National Committee meeting in July was addressed by SWAPO's Acting Chief Representative Peter Manning; the October meeting by SWAPO Secretary for Foreign Relations Theo Ben Gurirab. The Movement has also hosted on SWAPO's behalf two press conferences for the SWAPO President during the year.

## BOYCOTT APARTHEID 89

This section details the preparations and implementation of the Boycott Apartheid 89 campaign. The campaign arose from the adoption of Composite H at the 1988 AGM which was augmented by Report R4 also approved by that AGM.

### LAUNCH

The campaign was press launched on Monday 20 February with details of the plans for the year plus a report examining Britain and South Africa's economic ties.

The decision to delay the launch until February was reached at a Local Groups meeting on 20 January so that Groups could organise locally based initiatives to coincide with the national launch which was designed to be a photo-opportunity. A visual picket with giant fruit and a signing ceremony of the Boycott Pledge by AAM Chair, Bob Hughes, MP, was staged outside the British headquarters of Cape - Unifruco - in the Strand in London. Although very well attended by press and photographers it did not result in the breadth of coverage we would have hoped for. The Telegraph (outside London), Scotsman, Guardian, Morning Star, local papers and radio, trade and retail press, and a number of trade union and 'left' journals carried pieces. Additionally radio coverage was gained on London's IBC, Birmingham BBC Radio and Radio 4's 'You and Yours' programme.

Local Groups were successful in gaining local publicity using politicians (Ann Matthews and Simon Hughes MP in Southwark), Lord Mayors (Sheffield), and celebrities (Carmel from Eastenders in Haringey). Students from the Polytechnic of Central London anti-apartheid group occupied South African Airways in London.

### BOYCOTT BANDWAGON

A centrepiece of Boycott Apartheid 89 was the Boycott Bandwagon - a especially converted double-decker bus designed to reinforce and supplement local campaigning.

The Boycott Bandwagon was unveiled on 31 May in Southampton by Bernie Grant MP and Southampton City Council leader, Alan Whitehead. Media interest in the event was intense with TVS featuring the Bandwagon and interviews as well as live local radio coverage and press the following day.

The launch of the Bandwagon took place on 8 June with a symbolic ride from the House of Commons to the South African Embassy. A number of MPs attended but the media interest did not result in coverage.

The bus is fully converted to include a cut-away platform on the upper deck with public address system. The upper deck also functions as a video cinema. The AAM commissioned a 25 minute video on the consumer boycott campaign by an award winning young film director, Ngozi Onwurah. The resulting video 'The Fruits of Fear' will, it is hoped, be widely used by Local Groups in schools, colleges, clubs etc.

Another award winner, Keith Piper, designed the exterior of the bus in a striking and colourful fashion. The interior downstairs acts as an exhibition and merchandising area. Additionally a large mobile stall can be erected to provide a space under cover outside the Bandwagon.

The cost of purchase and conversion amounted to approximately £17,000, £14,800 of which was raised through grants, advertising and sponsorship from various organisations - to all of which we are most grateful. The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism, and The Network for Social Change provided grants. Advertisers were AA Enterprises, MSF, NALGO, Tradescraft, and the TUC. AAA, BETA, C of E International Affairs, COIISE, CPISA, FBU, NAS/UWT, NUTGW, STE, SOGAT '82, UCATT and USDAW acted as sponsors.

The Bandwagon is to be garaged over the winter months having completed a six month tour. The second leg is to start in mid-February 1990. Appreciation needs to be expressed to the Bandwagon's driver, Mark Eastgate, for his immense hard work shouldering responsibility not only for driving but also for the bus's maintenance, and day-to-day functioning. It was originally envisaged that the political and organisational work would be undertaken by a second staff member. Due to financial difficulties it proved impossible to allocate sufficient funds. The solution envisaged was to encourage voluntary helpers to accompany the bus on a regional basis for periods of between 2 to 3 weeks, supplemented by existing staff members covering short periods. This did not solve the structural weakness. We were fortunate to have such a capable driver to bear the brunt of the inevitable difficulties that ensued. These matters are to be further discussed to ensure better arrangements in future.

Notwithstanding that the Bandwagon is generally perceived as having been a great success: over 140 towns, cities and villages have been visited; local press and radio coverage has been extensive; approximately £15,000 worth of merchandise and campaign materials has been sold; the bus has been part of the political programme of many Local Groups and has stimulated the formation of new Local AA Groups as well as rejuvenating existing ones. Feedback both from organisers and consumers has been very positive.

## BOYCOTT VIDEO

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's first entry into the world of video produced the 'Fruits of Fear'. The film is a powerful 25 minute documentary that exposes how South Africa's export trade is used to fund apartheid. The video explains the need for People's sanctions clearly and simply, appealing to the British public to make their opposition to apartheid felt through the use of the consumer boycott.

'Fruits of Fear' is presented by Brian Bowell of "Prospects" and 'South of the Border' fame and includes interviews with Dennis Goldberg, Tanya Abrahams, and Archbishop Tutu. There are also contributions from some well known faces, including actresses Judith Jacob and Tilda Swinton, footballer Paul Davies and actor Tom Watts.

The video was given a preview screening at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London and subsequently received attention in, for example, The Mirror, Face, NME, and Time Out.

It is available for hire or sale with special concessionary rates for Local AA Groups many of whom have viewed it on the Boycott Bandwagon.

## PLEDGE FORM

The Boycott Apartheid 89 Pledge was designed as a campaigning tool to complement the activity of organisations. The current total of signatories is 44,189. The response must be considered poor, considering the wide support that exists for the consumer boycott.

## BOYCOTT FESTIVAL

A mid-summer 'Boycott Festival' was to take place in summer at Alexandra Palace. However the April meeting of the National Committee approved the Executive Committee decision that the Festival should be cancelled. The EC reviewed proposals for the event in the light of unfolding developments in Namibia. It decided that, although the festival might be a success it would be unwise to proceed, given the initial expenditure, the large sums involved, and the lack of any guaranteed funding, especially considering the overall financial situation facing the Movement.

## RETAILERS

All major retailers were written to by Bishop Huddleston, requesting them not to sell South African products. A briefing sheet outlines retailers policy and further follow-up work is to take place.

It was agreed at the January meeting of the NC to have a day of action against Tesco on 22 April where the aim would be to mount a picket outside every Tesco branch - an ambitious effort never previously attempted. Each Local Group received a letter containing advice on this with the address and telephone number of the store/s in their area. Regional AA Committees were also sent details of all the stores in the region. All Local Groups were requested to cover (or find other organisations to cover) the branches they were allocated. The response was outstanding - over 320 of the 380 Tesco

stores were picketed (84%).

As covered in the April and March issues of AA News a young shopworker, Clare Morgan, was sacked from a Wm Low supermarket in Newcastle. Tyneside AA launched and maintained a very high profile local campaign. Preliminary discussion took place between the AAM HQ, Tyneside AA and the Scottish Committee. The matter has also been raised with the shopworkers union, USDAW and is to be discussed at the 1989 AGM.

The plans for publishing an Apartheid Free Shopping Directory are being implemented. A briefing explaining the initiative and with advice on the activities that can be undertaken by Local Groups has been circulated as has been a newly designed "South African Products are not sold here" sticker. Plans for a 'Greengrocer of the Year' competition are in abeyance.

## WHOLESALEERS

A focus for this comparatively new area for our attention was the Cape Action Day on 18 March. Many local groups undertook action but wholesalers were covered sketchily, many groups leafletting retailers as normal. Effective ways of challenging the role of wholesalers in the distribution and sale of South African products need further investigation. A new leaflet and poster have been produced for the campaign against Cape - the material also incorporates the campaign against Outspan. The latter was highlighted in a day of action on 24 June at the height of the citrus fruit season.

## COMMODITIES

An international conference, 'No to Apartheid Coal', for European Community Sanctions against South African coal was due to take place in Rome on 19-21 May. The conference, to be organised by the Coordinamento Nazionale Anti-Apartheid, Italy on behalf of the Liaison Group of National Anti-Movements in the European Community. Unfortunately the conference had to be postponed because of organisational difficulties in the host country.

It came to the attention of the AAM that 'strongman' Geoff Capes was involved in a series of promotional visits for 'Cape'. Local Groups near to venues on the itinerary were alerted. 'Cape', as a further part of its promotional activities, concentrated its consumer advertising on 3 magazines - Prima, Good Housekeeping and Essentials. Outspan also undertook an advertising campaign and AAM members were alerted and requested to write in complaint.

Fruit and veg - especially that sold in multiple retailers - remained a favourite target of much regular campaigning by Local Groups.

Research and publicity material on the nature and role of Gold exports from South Africa was made available in the period in conjunction with the newly established World Gold Commission. Discussions are currently underway to finalise a campaigning strategy.

The campaign against Shell, Tourism to South Africa, and apartheid coal, whilst part of Boycott Apartheid 89, are covered elsewhere in this report.

## FUNDRAISING FOR BA89

A volunteer initiative, the Fun Run on 11 June in Brockwell Park, London, was a most successful first venture for the AAM. Monies raised from runners under 16 went towards childrens projects in Southern Africa and from adult runners to the Boycott Apartheid 89 campaign. (see the Fundraising section).

At the time of writing donations for the campaign have totalled several thousands of pounds. The Pledge Form was a convenient and efficient way to realise such funds. The funds raised from the Movement's Grand Draw this year went towards financing the BA89 campaign.

Especially produced cardboard home collecting boxes were distributed to members with Anti-Apartheid News. The message of the box is to enjoin people to give their 'Change for Change' and contribute to the campaign.

Katherine Hamnett, the fashion designer, designed two T-shirts for the AAM's use. Photographs of Eastenders Judith Jacob sporting the Boycott Apartheid 89 T-shirt and of Aswad wearing the Katherine Hamnett design were made available for local promotional activities.

A range of other BA89 campaign merchandise material eg T-shirt, mug, enamel and tin badges have been produced and sold to help finance the campaign. (For 'Operation Orange', see Fundraising).

## MOBILISATION

Members were informed of Boycott Apartheid 89 in the Presidents Appeal mailing, subsequent newsletters and special mailings. Extensive coverage was supplied by Anti-Apartheid News throughout the period. The AA News supplement produced for the Movement's 30th anniversary covered the consumer boycott in depth.

Much attention centred on ensuring that the campaign always sought to promote membership of the AAM either individually or organisationally.

## RESOURCE MATERIAL

The 'Campaign Briefing No 1' was an invaluable aid to understanding the economic and political role of Britain's trade with apartheid specifically relating to our imports from that country. The briefing was substantial and widely distributed.

The campaign brochure has been an important element of the publicity materials. Produced in a 6-panel, elongated A-3 folded sheet with graphics and photographs it provided basic information on the politics of the consumer boycott and BA89. Subsequent editions of the brochure, although planned, were not produced.

A range of publicity material (leaflets, badges, stickers, balloons, posters etc) was produced with a common logo (which elicited widely differing responses). General posters (A2 and A4) and leaflets were designed to be multi-purpose with a blank space for local activities - a constant request of Local Groups.

Specific leaflets on particular priorities within Boycott Apartheid 89 are also available eg coal, Tesco, Shell, Cape and Outspan as are specific campaign briefings eg coal, tourism.

## DEVELOPMENT AND STRATEGY

A Local Groups meeting held in January the day following the National Committee was a useful and productive arena in which to cover campaigning details and initiatives as well as exchange ideas and information eg local launches on the same day and the production of a video. The meeting was a very profitable spring board for subsequent activity.

This was developed by means of regional mobilising meetings. Seventeen such meetings took place - covering all of the Movement's Local AA Groups. Details of these events were made available to our wider membership via Anti-Apartheid News, and in the Campaign brochure. The regional meetings were partly information and education based but primarily aimed to discuss implementation of campaign plans on three levels: local, regional and national. Whilst there were large variations in the size and effectiveness of the meetings, overall they helped to give Boycott Apartheid 89 a good start - better than most such national campaigns have achieved in the past.

The Executive Committee agreed to the establishment of Boycott Apartheid 89 committee consisting of full time officers and staff which oversaw the detailed implementation of the campaign. It reported to the EC and liaised with the Consumer Boycott Unit.

## SANCTIONS NOW!

The main campaigning task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement has continued to be the promotion of the case for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

A considerable amount of the Movement's efforts in support of sanctions have been concentrated during this period on information and education. It has been important to demonstrate that:

- sanctions have begun to bite and are therefore "constraining" apartheid
- the leadership of the anti-apartheid struggle within South Africa and the liberation movement as a whole remain firmly committed to a policy of international sanctions
- the anti-sanctions policy of Mrs Thatcher serves to sustain the apartheid system.

Both the Pretoria regime and the British government sought to exploit the progress achieved towards the implementation of the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia by stepping up their anti-sanctions rhetoric, propaganda and disinformation. The Movement has sought therefore to counter this above all through its popular campaigning activities for sanctions in particular Boycott Apartheid '89. However it has also been necessary to provide a much more effective range of educational material to enable people to have the confidence to present the case for sanctions, in an apparently changing environment.

The Movement decided to use the opportunity of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa meeting in Harare in February 1989 to publish a study entitled "Constrained by Sanctions: The Apartheid Economy in 1988". This provided extensive evidence of the economic and political impact of sanctions on South Africa. Further such evidence was published by the AAM as the campaign to stop the re-scheduling South Africa's foreign debt gathered momentum. Recognition that sanctions were having a significant impact grew rapidly during 1989 especially as significant elements within the Pretoria regime themselves were obliged to acknowledge this reality.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement had also to respond to a concerted disinformation exercise projecting the impression that the Black majority in South Africa and significant figures in its leadership had abandoned their support for sanctions. This included so-called "opinion polls" carried out under the State of Emergency which makes the advocacy of sanctions illegal and using the questions formulated in such a manner as to ensure a bias against sanctions. The Foreign Office eagerly joined in this disinformation campaign with the former Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe claiming "that some black leaders who have in the past supported comprehensive sanctions are now changing their minds." In fact the African National Congress, the Mass Democratic Movement (including both COSATU and the UDF) and the church leadership in South Africa remained firmly committed to sanctions. The Anti-Apartheid Movement made special efforts to ensure that their voices were heard effectively both through the press and media as well as through the direct work of the AAM.

Faced with these challenges the AAM sought both to ensure that its specific sanctions campaigns were pursued within the framework of the overall campaign for comprehensive sanctions but also sought to broaden and widen the support for sanctions amongst the population as a whole. The TUC Congress and the Labour Party Conference again endorsed policies in support of comprehensive sanctions - and in April the British Council of Churches at its Assembly in Glasgow moved considerable closer to such a policy approach. In order to win a wider consensus in support of sanctions the Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought to play an active role in the Southern Africa Coalition whose work is described below.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA COALITION

The Anti-Apartheid Movement played an active part in the creation of the Southern Africa Coalition which was launched on 1st September 1989. The Coalition was established as a short-term initiative bringing together over 80 organisations to work for a fundamental change in British policy towards Southern Africa. The Coalition's main priorities were identified as the Commonwealth Conference; the re-scheduling of South Africa's debt; and a lobby of parliament to take place in February 1990.

The Southern Africa Coalition grew out of the Conference "Britain and Southern Africa: The Way Forward" which was organised by the British Council of Churches and Christian Aid on 28 February 1989 - a date chosen because it was the first anniversary of the historic march on Parliament by South African religious leaders following the banning of the UDP and other organisations. This BCC/Christian Aid Conference was supported by many of the organisations in the Coalition including the AAM which had served on the Preparatory Committee for the Conference.

The BCC/Christian Aid Conference, which was addressed by church leaders from South Africa, Angola, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain including the Archbishop of Canterbury, was concluded by the presentation of a "Call to Action against Apartheid" by the Bishop of Coventry. This "Call to Action", essentially a demand for more effective and extensive sanctions against South Africa, became the policy framework for the Coalition and the Bishop of Coventry was elected to chair the Coalition with Norman Willis the General Secretary of the TUC as Vice-Chair and Rev Michael Taylor Director of Christian Aid chairing the Executive Committee.

The Southern Africa Coalition launch took place at Church House on 1st

September and was addressed by Moses Mayekiso the General Secretary of NUMSA. Messages of support were received from the ANC, Archbishop Tutu, COSATU, and NACTU. Immediately following the launch the Chair flew to South Africa as the guest of Archbishop Tutu to express solidarity with the Defiance Campaign during the racist elections. The Coalition was invited to address AAM "fringe" meetings at the TUC, Liberal Democratic and Labour Party Conferences and organised its own meeting at the Conservative Party Conference. Its immediate focus was the Commonwealth Conference and a successful postcard campaign led to over ten thousand postcards being sent to the Prime Minister calling for sanctions and a similar number being received by the Commonwealth Secretary-General supporting the Commonwealth's stand on sanctions. An advertisement "A Call to Britain and the Commonwealth" appeared in the national press on the eve of the Conference. A memorandum addressed to the Prime Minister was presented to the Minister of State in the Foreign Office, the Hon William Watdegrave MP just prior to the Commonwealth Conference.

The Coalition which brings together Christian and other religious groups, trade unions, anti-apartheid organisations, local authorities, aid agencies and many others reflects the growing support in Britain for the anti-apartheid struggle and has already played an invaluable role in developing the Anti-Apartheid Movement's relations with organisations at a national and local level.

## ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

### BANKING

The issue of financial 'sanctions' against the regime became a focus point for campaigning against economic collaboration during the year. Of special concern was the need of the regime to reschedule its foreign debts and a major campaign focussing on the debt issue was launched in April at the NatWest AGM by AAM and End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSAs). A range of campaign and briefing materials was produced and widely distributed within and beyond the Movement.

Many of South Africa's economic problems have stemmed from its inability to raise any significant sums of new money on the international capital markets. One small loan engineered by a Swiss bank at the end of last year led to worries that new lending might commence but continued pressure on the banks has prevented this loan from leading to any breach in South Africa's exclusion from capital markets. Swiss banks were targeted by an ELTSA day of action on Swiss collaboration with apartheid.

On 13 April, in a unique action unprecedented in Switzerland, AAM President Archbishop Huddleston attended and addressed the AGM of the Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS) at the request of the anti-apartheid campaigners there. UBS is one of the major banks involved in rescheduling South Africa's debts, and is believed to be the largest buyer of SA gold among Swiss banks.

South Africa's need to reschedule some \$8 billion of foreign debt due by June 1990 has forced the regime to adopt a conciliatory stance towards the international community and been a major factor behind the "reform" programme. Campaigning over this issue has seen a remarkable level of international coordination by anti-apartheid groups and banking campaigns. A special consultation on the issue, organised by the ANC in London in July was attended by representatives of 16 countries and led to an international campaign, with much of the coordination being done by AAM and ELTSA.

Participants in the consultation agreed that the central aim of the campaign should be the demand for no rescheduling of the debt, a position also taken by the MDM and church leaders in South Africa. They adopted a programme of action, including an international day of action on 4 October and a week of action in November.

The AAM, working in close collaboration with ELTSA, consulted with the National Union of Students (NUS) and the Banking, Insurance and Finance Union (BIFU) about the development of the campaign, which was also taken up as a key issue by the Southern Africa Coalition (SAC). Representatives of the British Council of Churches, NUS, and the Commonwealth Secretariat were amongst those that sought meetings with the key banks (in Britain the National Westminster, Barclays and Standard Chartered) in an effort to prevent a new deal.

Pretoria moved quickly to head off the campaign, exploiting the transition from PW Botha to FW De Klerk to convey the impression of a change of direction, and the deal was rushed through in October, after intensive lobbying by South Africa in Switzerland and at the IMF. Its announcement was timed to forestall increased Commonwealth pressure on the banks.

The decision by the banks to reschedule the debt on extremely generous terms to South Africa, reached immediately after de Klerk announced the release of Walter Sisulu and seven other leading political prisoners, was a serious setback. AAM immediately protested at the decision, which had provoked anger at the Commonwealth Summit, meeting as the deal was announced. President Kaunda described the banks as "bloodsuckers."

The campaign, however, led to some significant shifts in the positions of some banks, especially NatWest, the main target, and had a crucial role in placing sanctions against South Africa back on the international agenda.

Looking forward AAM is planning a series of initiatives on bank support for apartheid. As well as working closely with ELTSA, we will be looking to build on the international coordination achieved in this campaign. The attention which has been focussed on the debt issue will be used to build support for action against other forms of bank collaboration, with a particular focus on trade credits.

Finance for trade is becoming increasingly important to the regime as, despite the rescheduling, it continues to be denied access to conventional lending. Much of this lending is guaranteed by the government Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD) and the AAM and ELTSA will press for South Africa to be taken "off cover" by the ECGD.

### MINORCO/CONSGOLD

The crisis in confidence in the South African economy has led to increased attempts by South African capital to expand overseas. The British government's continued encouragement of British economic links with South Africa, despite all the evidence of the effectiveness of sanctions, makes Britain the obvious country for South African firms eager to expand abroad.

The most dramatic example of this tendency was the bid by Minorco, the overseas arm of South Africa's largest company, the Anglo-American Corporation, for Consolidated Gold Fields, the second largest gold mining company in the world, after Anglo-American itself. The bid, valued at £3 billion, was Britain's biggest ever. Anglo-American had spent years building up a stake in ConsGold and preparing for the bid.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement immediately condemned the bid and called on the government to block it, using powers under the Industry Act. AAM played a significant role in highlighting the South African links of Anglo-American and building pressure against the bid. Minorco's attempts to portray itself as independent of its South African parent collapsed as the weight of evidence against it was built up.

The South African connection led to widespread international action to prevent Anglo-American from acquiring some of the world's finest gold reserves. The government of Papua New Guinea said that it would refuse to allow South African capital to take over ConsGold's assets there, including some of the lowest cost gold mines in the world. Australia too expressed concern at the bid's implications for ConsGold's assets there.

Pressure over the bid forced the government to refer the bid to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission, although they immediately attempted to undermine this decision by narrowing the grounds of referral as far as possible. The Commission, however, faced with growing public concern over the South African angle, announced that it would look into all aspects of the bid. AAM sent detailed submissions to the Commission on the damage that would be caused by allowing the takeover and these submissions were noted in the final report.

The government's compulsive protection of South Africa's economic interests was again shown when the commission failed to act against the bid and the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry allowed a new bid by Minorco to go ahead. As Minorco gained a tiny majority in favour of its bid, the Anti-Apartheid Movement threatened a worldwide campaign against the company.

However, despite gaining the required acceptances to win control of ConsGold, Minorco's South African links finally buried the bid. An

American court ruling, heavily influenced by the actions of Minorco's South African parents, killed the bid. Whilst it was Minorco that was the immediate loser, the main defeat was suffered by Pretoria, whose agent Minorco had been.

ConsGold's own South African links had not been ignored during the bid. Indeed the bid had concentrated attention on the damage that South African links do to companies, and many leading financial advisors had called on ConsGold to sell out. Disinvestment by ConsGold had always been a demand of the AAM and following the collapse of the bid, AAM went on the offensive on this issue.

ConsGold was taken over almost immediately by Hanson, who promptly disposed of most of the group's South African assets. Some, however, remain in Hanson's hands and campaigning must continue to ensure that these are sold. Moreover, Minorco remains lurking in the background looking for a new target. But after the exposure of their South African links, even they had to admit that it would be very difficult for them to re-enter the takeover market.

## DISINVESTMENT

The downturn of the South African economy has had a continuing effect on business confidence in the future of apartheid. This loss of confidence is reinforced by the exodus of foreign companies. Company disinvestment further restricts the apartheid economy's access to capital, technology, skills and markets and reduces the strength of the anti-sanctions lobby in this country.

Many of Britain's largest investors in South Africa have already withdrawn, but over 200 remain, including many in strategically important areas of the economy. Further withdrawals were seen in 1989, although retention of non-equity links (trading, licensing and other ties) have undermined some of the effect of this.

Many of those companies which remain are the most "hard line", since those whose commitment to the apartheid economy was weaker have already withdrawn. This has contributed to a slowing down of the disinvestment process through 1989. However, among those disinvesting parts of their South African holdings were several of Britain's longest standing partners in the apartheid economy. Courtaulds and RTZ both sold holdings during the year, and by far the largest sale was Hanson's partial disposal of ConsGold's assets detailed above.

The campaign has thus reached the point where even those companies most committed to South Africa are now reducing their holdings. The disinvestment campaign was given a major boost by the decisions of America's two largest investors, Mobil and Goodyear, to pull out. This move has added to the pressure on all remaining companies to withdraw and shows that whilst the pace of disinvestment may have temporarily slowed, this may merely be a prelude to withdrawals by the "hard line" corporate supporters of apartheid.

If this sort of breakthrough is to be made in Britain, then pressure must be sustained on all the remaining companies and the Movement will continue to campaign for the severance of commercial links with South Africa, including non-equity ties maintained by companies that have disinvested.

## GOLD

The World Gold Commission, on which the Movement is represented, has been active in promoting sanctions against South African gold, apartheid's biggest foreign exchange earner.

Italy is the largest purchaser of South African gold, used in the country's jewellery industry. The Commission, together with the Italian trade unions, organised a conference on gold and apartheid in Vicenza, the centre of the jewellery industry. The conference, addressed by ANC President Oliver Tambo, attracted great local interest and jewellery manufacturers agreed to investigate alternative supplies.

The Commission has also been attempting to provide its own alternative supplies of jewellery which would be guaranteed apartheid-free. The first such items, to be marketed by AA Enterprises, should be available by the end of this year. Once an alternative is available it will be possible to pressurise jewellers firstly to sell a range of alternatives to South African

products and in future to become completely apartheid-free.

Gold interests have highlighted the need permanently to remove gold from the market in order to maintain its price. Since industrial uses account for only a tiny percentage of total gold production, permanent removal of gold can only be achieved by increasing jewellery sales. By reducing and eventually eliminating South Africa's ability to sell into this vital market, the price the apartheid economy receives for its most important export will be cut.

The Commission has also been active in the USA and Switzerland. A US Congressional investigation, launched at the initiative of the Commission brought to light the sensational discovery that existing US sanctions legislation banned the import of South African gold bullion into the US, since all South African gold is marketed by the Reserve Bank, a parastatal organisation. The 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act bans imports from South African parastatals.

The effect of this has already led to South African gold being sold at a 1% discount to alternative supplies. The full report of the Congressional investigation, which will come out at the end of the year, is expected to recommend full sanctions against South African gold. Implementation of sanctions against jewellery made from South African gold would lead to an immediate switch by producers to other sources of supply, rather than risk losing their major market.

In Switzerland the Commission has built on the success of its work in the US to achieve assurances that South African gold sold through Switzerland will no longer be labelled as "Swiss", preventing possible by-passing of US sanctions.

Further progress is hoped for in the immediate future as international interest in the possibility of sanctions against South African gold increase as a consequence of the Commission's work. As well as the US Congress, both the UN and the Commonwealth have expressed their belief that a gold sanction needs to be investigated urgently. The work of the Commission will continue to be supported by the Movement.

## TRADE

Trade between Britain and South Africa rose in 1988 for the first time since 1985. British exports to South Africa rose by 13%, whilst imports from South Africa rose by 23%.

A number of factors are behind these worrying trends. Most of the increase in imports was accounted for by increases in the price and volume of platinum imports. The price of platinum has since fallen considerably as a consequence of announcements by Ford and General Motors that they are developing catalytic converters using materials other than platinum. Since platinum is South Africa's third largest export earner, after gold and coal, and catalytic converters are expected to be the main price-driving factor for the metal, this announcement is of great significance. The Movement is monitoring developments in this area closely.

British exports to South Africa rose as a consequence of a general upturn in the South African economy through the first three quarters of 1988 and because of UK government attempts to promote trade by British companies with South Africa. A policy of domestic expansion, funded by a consumer spending boom, led to increased economic growth in South Africa through the early parts of 1988. In turn this led to increased investment and purchases of capital goods, computer equipment and machinery from traditional suppliers such as Britain.

However, such an artificially created boom could not last long, and by the last quarter of 1988, the brakes were already being put onto the economy as inflation rose and the balance of payments was put under severe strain by floods of imports. Tariffs of up to 60% have had to be placed on a wide range of imports to protect the balance of payments position rendered vulnerable by the combination of debt repayments and the loss of export markets caused by trade sanctions.

In order to meet the constraints placed on the economy by sanctions measures, growth has had to be sharply curtailed this year, following the mini-boom of 1988. Interest rates have been increased to 18% and growth is predicted to be below 2% this year and lower still next year. On top of all this, the gold price is falling, leading to the real possibility of a recession in the South African economy in 1990.

Against this background the UK government has been doing everything within its power to promote trade between Britain and South Africa. The Movement produced a special report "Selling Out To Apartheid" widely reported in leading newspapers detailing Britain's attempts to undermine sanctions measures, including those which the government had agreed to.

British government support for trade with apartheid is undeniably a major contributor to the recent rises in British exports to South Africa. The AAM report, launched on 6 February at the House of Commons, showed how the DTI had consistently broken the spirit of agreements made by the government and how DTI staff had been specifically instructed to promote trade with South Africa, even in strategically sensitive areas such as the Mossel Bay oil-from-gas plant.

Having agreed to an end to funding for trade missions to South Africa, the DTI has simply shifted such missions to London, holding seminars on opportunities for British companies to increase their dealings with apartheid, or encouraged closely-linked bodies to take over funding these missions, whilst continuing to provide full facilities from diplomatic missions in South Africa.

Since publication of the report, AAM has discovered at least two further instances of the UK government's desperation to support trade with apartheid. The DTI was due to host a seminar on opportunities for British companies to export process plant equipment to South Africa, and commissioned a detailed study of the market to help potential exporters. A combination of the tube strikes and lack of interest led to the seminar being cancelled.

In September, the UK-South Africa Trade Association's Director, Nick Mitchell, chaired a seminar on Investment in the Transkei, one of South Africa's so-called independent homelands. UKSATA is an area advisory board to the British Overseas Trade Board, a branch of the DTI. (The report, "Selling Out to Apartheid", had exposed the DTI's close relationship with UKSATA, and UKSATA's involvement in assisting the British government to breach even those sanctions to which it had agreed). The Transkei seminar was a clear breach of the government's 'voluntary ban on new investment' and the Movement has written to the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry demanding that UKSATA be removed from its status with the DTI.

## CONSUMER BOYCOTT

Consumer boycott activities of the period falling under the Boycott Apartheid 89 campaign are reported separately.

## LABELLING

On 1 January 1989 a new Trade Descriptions (Place of Production) (Marking) Order came into force to replace the Trade Descriptions Act and bring Britain into line with EEC regulations.

The order says that goods do not have to show place of origin unless the packaging of the goods is misleading (eg if it has a picture of the Eiffel Tower but originates from Fiji, it should have a place of origin).

The order covers all goods except: food and fishery products, horticultural items, feed stuffs, fertilisers and pharmaceutical products.

This order does not apply to fresh fruit and vegetables which under EEC Council Regulation must adhere to quality standards which include marking the country of origin. Local Authority Trading Standards departments are responsible for enforcing these regulations.

A briefing was produced and circulated to all Local AA Groups in April, and Anti-Apartheid News covered the issue. But confusion still exists as is apparent by the practice of both major retailers and market stalls.

The Consumer Boycott Unit meets regularly, and had devoted much effort to developing a campaign perspective on tourism; to promoting consumer vigilance regarding the appearance and (increasingly deceptive) marketing of apartheid produce, and monitoring the information received from around the Movement; and to initiatives within the framework of the Boycott '89 campaign to promote the effectiveness of the consumer boycott.

A major fund-raising/campaign initiative in June 'Operation Orange'

focussing on the consumer boycott and increasing pressure in the government for sanctions, is reported elsewhere.

## COAL

Over one million tonnes of apartheid coal a year are now entering Britain. Initial figures for 1989 indicate that even more South African coal may be entering the UK. Official figures disguise the real level of these imports as often coal is transhipped to Holland and re-exported to the UK as 'Dutch Blend' (there are no coal producing pits in Holland!).

The AAM has continued to work with the NUM to prevent these imports into the UK. Local campaign material has been produced by the Yorkshire and Humberside Regional AA Committee. One more issue of the Coal Campaign Bulletin has been produced which features the activities of Shell in trading in apartheid coal and another is scheduled before the end of this year.

A recent development has been the production by Manchester City Council of an exhibition to promote sanctions against South African coal. This is an excellent campaign tool which needs to obtain the widest possible circulation in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, coal field communities and trade union movement.

Durham miners, Teesside and Hartlepool Anti-Apartheid groups organised a protest against the shipment of South African coal through Hartlepool port. Wolverhampton Anti-Apartheid group organised a petition against South African coal imports. Exeter Anti-Apartheid group organised a local seminar on stopping South African coal imports through ports in the Exeter area. The South West TUC AA Committee substantially reduced South African coal imports through Avonmouth in cooperation with the TGWU and Bristol council. They are presently working with the regional TGWU to phase out all apartheid coal imports through ports in the South West. Falmouth Labour Party has raised the issue of South African coal imports through Falmouth docks.

The NUM sponsored MPs have resisted a number of Private Members Bills to expand port capacities in order to facilitate a greatly increased level of South African coal imports with the privatisation of the power industry in the UK. Only the 'whipping' of Tory MPs ensured the safe passage of the Bills. The role of Tory MPs with close links with the South African coal industry and known for their apologist views on apartheid needs to be exposed over the coming year.

Unfortunately, the planned European wide conference on sanctions against South African coal did not take place. However it is expected that such an event will take place next year.

The South African coal industry still greatly fears the imposition of European Community wide coal sanctions. They have invested a great deal of money in promoting counter-propaganda claiming that apartheid has been eliminated on the mines. The defiance campaign organised by the South African NUM against apartheid practices gives the lie to these claims. The imposition of coal sanctions is still within reach of European anti-apartheid movements and would strike a major blow against the apartheid economy. We must take advantage of the heightened resistance inside South Africa to make them a practical reality over the coming year.

## URANIUM

The fact that Mrs Thatcher found time in the course of a very short visit to Namibia to visit the RTZ uranium mine at Rossing underlines the strategic importance attached by the British government to the illegal traffic in Namibia's major mineral resource.

"Namibia Nuclear Reactions" - a documentary made under the guidance of the NSC and shown in the BBC's Open Space slot on 7 September - was an important exposure of the issues, putting them in the context of the struggle for Namibia's independence and paying welcome tribute to the role of Liverpool's dockers in stopping the trade through their port.

Developments around South Africa's continuing membership of the International Atomic Energy Authority are covered elsewhere in this report. The issue of the apartheid regime's uranium exports is one that needs to be given higher priority.



## OIL EMBARGO

The main element of the campaign to secure a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa has been the Boycott Shell campaign.

This year has seen the further consolidation of the campaign involving locally based activity throughout the country. This work has been spearheaded by the AAM and Embargo. At the same time there have been encouraging initiatives to improve international co-ordination in which the World Council of Churches has played an important role.

There were two periods of co-ordinated local activity during the year. The first was a week of action from 14-20 November of which the highlight was a London-wide motorcade co-ordinated by the London AA Committee. This was followed on May 6th 1989 with a Day of Action in advance of the Royal Dutch Shell AGMs in the Hague and London. These AGMs again attracted considerable media coverage in both the Netherlands and Britain. The presence of Dr Beyers Naude at the Dutch AGM following a remarkably successful blockage of Shell's main laboratory in Amsterdam lifted the Boycott Shell campaign to a new level.

The pressure for Shell to withdraw from South Africa intensified significantly following the announcement that Mobil were to sell out from South Africa. Although this disinvestment move by Mobil was not on a basis which was acceptable to the main union organising at Mobil, CWIU, and fell short of a genuine process of disinvestment it still represented a significant breakthrough and placed Shell in an increasingly isolated position.

Careful consideration has been given to the best means of expanding the Shell campaign. Two key constituents are the churches and the trade union movement. The WCC Central Committee's decision to call on its member churches to participate in the Boycott Shell Campaign led the WCC to take a number of initiatives including a special publication *Shell Shock* and the convening of a consultation in Amsterdam in May 1989 involving church bodies and anti-apartheid movements. The AAM was represented by Mike Terry and EMBARGO by David Craine and as a result further steps were taken by Embargo to involve the British churches. The two major unions organising at Shell, TGWU and MSF, produced with the AAM a special leaflet setting out the case for Shell's withdrawal from South Africa which has been circulated amongst their members. The AAM has also approached the TUC with a view to convening a meeting of all the unions recognise by Shell to further develop the campaign within the trade union movement.

The National Committee discussed the need for the Movement to develop new campaigning initiatives at its July and September meetings and following the September meeting a half-day meeting for local group activists was held to provide a framework for in-depth discussion.

The AAM and Embargo continue to focus on wider issues relating to the oil embargo such as the involvement of British companies in the Mossel Bay development; Hong Kong's role as a base for many of the shippers delivering oil to South Africa; and the continued refusal of Britain to support a comprehensive oil embargo.

## TOURISM

Tourism to South Africa is on the increase. During the first three months of 1989 a total of 346,460 people came to or left South Africa, compared to 296,146 over the same period last year. An increase of over 15% has been evident in relation to tourists from Britain, with 41,587 visitors from the UK during the first 3 months of 1989, a most worrying statistic.

The South African tourist industry is undertaking a major push at present and seems to be benefiting from the increasing interest in long-haul exotic holidays. The first charter flights are about to commence to South Africa. The regime is even boasting that it envisages tourism to be as major an income earner as gold in a decade. The AAM's campaigning on tourism will clearly need to increase since it represents not only a major source of revenue but also an important psychological boost to the white minority. The British Government has continued with its ineffective and unpublicised "voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa", adopted as part of the limited package of measures against apartheid announced in 1986. A recent government spokesperson stated: "In Britain we live in a free society and it would not be right for the Government to take powers to restrict the freedom of travel. It is therefore ultimately a matter for individuals and organisations concerned whether they choose to adhere to the voluntary ban." It is clear that many travel agents and tour operators do not even know of the "ban".

During November 1988 much activity was generated against the South African presence at the Olympia World Travel Market in London. This

culminated in a highly effective protest organised by the London Committee which virtually closed down the SATOURS and South African Airways stalls. Similar actions are likely to be necessary this year since the organisers, Reed International, seem determined to allow a South African presence at this year's event. However a number of local authorities, notably Wakefield, London Borough of Richmond, Manchester and York, have pulled out of the World Travel Market in protest at South Africa's participation. The last two withdrawals resulted from the strong stance taken by the Local Authorities Against Apartheid Biennial Conference against tourism to South Africa. A whole number of actions have taken place against South African Airways up and down the country, most notably sit down protests at their London offices this year.

Tourism has not been as major a component of the Boycott Apartheid 89 campaign as had been hoped, due to more pressing priorities. Nevertheless in Yorkshire, Wallace Arnold were effectively targeted for their promotion of South African tours in the month of September.

## MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

The work to seek an end to all forms of military and nuclear collaboration between Britain and South Africa continues to be the most strategically important priority of the Movement. This work has continued to be undertaken in the closest consultation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, which the AAM initiated in 1979.

The ten years since the World Campaign was established has seen very significant progress being made to secure the transformation of the UN mandatory arms embargo from a "signal" of disapproval of apartheid into an effective instrument designed to prevent South Africa sustain and expand its military and nuclear capability. The success of the arms embargo was illustrated in particular in early 1988 when it became evident with the South African's had lost their military superiority in southern Angola. However South Africa has responded to these developments by engaging in a major re-armament programme - since 1987 it has increased military expenditure alone by 99%.

Once against this Report records both the work of the World Campaign and the specific contribution of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The World Campaign has worked hard to ensure that the Commonwealth plays an active role in strengthening the arms embargo. It prepared a special report for the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa which was presented to its Toronto meeting in August 1988. The Committee gave this report detailed consideration at its Harare meeting in February 1989 where it adopted a special statement on the arms embargo. This led to a number of important initiatives by Canada which both chairs the Foreign Ministers Committee and currently serves on the UN Security Council.

The Statement adopted in Harare dealt with two major issues - the definition of items falling within the scope of the arms embargo and the need for the embargo on the importing of arms from South Africa to be mandatory by the UN Security Council.

The latter issue has been of particular significance because of the progress South Africa has been able to make in marketing its arms internationally. A most disturbing development was the participation of South Africa at the International Defence Equipment and Avionics Exhibition (IDEA 89) in Ankara in May 1989. Such participation was in breach of two Security Council resolutions SCR 558 and 591 and it was the first time that South Africa had been able to exhibit military equipment at such an event in a NATO country since the adoption of these resolutions. A related development has been the co-operation extended by Chile in the marketing of South African military equipment especially the G5 155mm howitzer. In March 1989 the South African Defence Minister General Malan visited Chile to seal a deal by which a Chilean company Cardoen would assemble the G5 and then export it as a product of Chile thus disguising its South African origin. The World Campaign took both these cases up with the Turkish and Chilean authorities respectively as well as with the UN Security Council Committee on the arms embargo. They both illustrated the growing importance for South Africa to develop its export market in order to make its armaments industry financially viable.

The World Campaign has also taken up a series of cases involving the export of arms and related materials to South Africa in breach of the UN arms embargo. Many of these cases arose because of the narrow interpretation by governments of the items which fall within the scope of the arms embargo. Two countries in particular were involved; the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel. In the case of the FRG these included the supply of submarine plans to South Africa, the delivery of MBB helicopters to the South African police and bantustan authorities, and the role of Daimler-Benz in the licensing and other arrangements for the production of engines for military vehicles in South Africa. However in an important development the World Campaign together with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid held a high level consultation in Bonn at which detailed consideration was given both to these cases and the general weakness in national legislation.

In relation to Israel, despite undertakings which it gave in 1987 that it would not enter into any new military relations with South Africa, it continues to be the major collaborator with South Africa in the military and nuclear field. By far the most disturbing development was the joint South African/Israeli testing of a nuclear capable IRBM (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile) at Armscor's Overberg range which was believed to be an adaption of the Israeli Jericho II missile. Two test flights were carried out during July 1989.

South Africa's access to nuclear technology and "know-how" through its membership of the International Atomic Energy Agency continues to be a matter of grave concern. Despite a decision of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement that South Africa should be expelled from this UN agency, once again the proposal of the IAEA's Executive Board that South Africa should be suspended was postponed. This was due solely to the position of the USSR which now follows a common approach on this matter with the USA. Both argue that South Africa should be encouraged to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, immediately following the IAEA Annual Conference in September 1989 the USA, UK and USSR announced that they were going to enter into discussions with South Africa over the NPT. Earlier in the year, the Netherlands Foreign Minister was reported as stating that the EC should reconsider its ban on nuclear exports to South Africa if South Africa signed the NPT. The Director of the World Campaign immediately approached the Dutch Authorities and at a meeting with them in the Hague they qualified their position.

The Spanish Foreign Minister, following representations by the EEC Liaison Group of AAMs, gave an undertaking that there would be no relaxation in the EC ban. However Foreign Office Minister of State Lynda Chalker MP informed the Movement on 17th April 1989 that Britain would review its policy should South Africa sign the NPT. Thus under the guise of extending the NPT, the conditions are being created to renew open nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has made a series of representations to the British government concerning the implementation of the arms embargo. The most important case during the period of this report was the so-called "Blowpipe Affair" involving arrests in Paris on 21st April for an apparent attempt to "swap" missile technology stolen from Shorts, Belfast for arms for para-military units in northern Ireland. The Anti-Apartheid Movement acted immediately by seeking prompt action by the Prime Minister. Mrs Thatcher replied to Bob Hughes MP the AAM Chair informing the Movement of the action taken to expel three members of the South African Embassy. These expulsion however brought to light the fact that Britain had acted contrary of the EC decision of September 1985 not to grant credentials to military attaches from South Africa. One of those expelled was an official in the military attaché section who had been accredited in December 1985. Moreover the military attaché section of the Embassy was still functioning despite the fact that there were no accredited military attaches which raised disturbing issues over what activities it was really engaged in.

Further revelations over the recruitment of employees at Shorts to work for the South African missile production company resulted in the AAM calling for a general enquiry into the implementation, enforcement and monitoring of the arms embargo. The Foreign Secretary wrote on 18th May 1989 turning down this appeal.

Other related matters include the South Africans obtaining an interest through Space Research Corporation in another northern Ireland company linked to arms production, the importing into Hong Kong of South African riot-control equipment, and repeated reports of links between Westland Aircraft and South Africa.

The Movement is considering further initiatives in order to secure the

strengthening and strict implementation of the arms embargo and the halting of all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

## SPORT

Britain remains the country with the most collaboration with apartheid sport. This year has seen a major rugby tour involving British players and a planned English cricket tour this winter. That such tours are possible reflects the persistent refusal of the British government to take seriously its responsibilities under the Commonwealth Geneagles Agreement. The public reaction to these tours does, conversely, show the growing support for the boycott.

Positive and significant developments have taken place in relation to the non-racial sports movement in South Africa. The establishment of the National Sports Congress (NSC) and its development as a political force in South African sport have put additional pressure on the regime and sports bodies prepared to operate within the framework of apartheid. The NSC has strenuously opposed rebel tours and initiated a campaign against the World XV rebel rugby tour. It was also directly as a result of the growth of the non-racial sports movement that a senior Mass Democratic Movement delegation visited London this summer to lobby against the cricket tour. The Movement sent a message of support to the NSC inaugural congress, helped secure messages from a range of anti-apartheid movements around the world, and has developed, in co-operation with SANROC, a close working relationship with the NSC and individual non-racial boards.

The AAM continues to maintain a close working relationship with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). In addition to regular liaison, the Executive Chairman of SANROC, Sam Ramsamy addressed the July meeting of the National Committee. AAM and NSC have co-operated extensively on campaigns, including a press conference and hosting of the MDM delegation. The Movement also continues to liaise closely with other anti-apartheid movements over the boycott.

## RUGBY

The World XV rugby tour went ahead in September. The AAM co-operated closely with the AAMs in Ireland, New Zealand and Australia, issuing a joint statement at a press conference with SANROC, the ANC and Campaign for Fair Play in the House of Commons launching the campaign. Archbishop Huddleston and Bob Hughes MP wrote personally to all prospective players. The Scottish and Wales Rugby Unions passed on the letters, but the Rugby Football Union Secretary, Dudley Wood, refused to pass on 'propaganda'.

Urgent approaches to the government by Archbishop Huddleston and Bob Hughes elicited an ineffectual response: Ministers wrote to the home unions belatedly and in weak terms urging them not to pass on invitations and the Prime Minister refused to personally intervene. A wide range of support was secured for the campaign: one notable case was that the band Simple Minds cancelled performances at the home of Scottish rugby, Murrayfield, in protest at the decision of the SRU to sanction the tour. This received extensive publicity in Scotland and was a boost to the campaign.

The touring team faced a newly developing upsurge of opposition inside the country. A protest rally in Cape town was banned; the grounds for the 'Tests' were sealed off by security police; peaceful protestors were arrested at the players' hotel in Cape Town and outside branches of the sponsoring bank - First National Bank. Willie John McBride and other players and officials refused to meet NSC representatives and were protected by the Security Police at all times. An attempt to stage a publicity stunt of a coaching exercise in a township backfired when youth barricaded the route and the visiting team coach was forced to return to the hotel. It is also important to note that the players who finally went were largely second rate.

The ramifications of the tour have been considerable. The Secretary of the WRU resigned because large numbers of Welsh players and officials participated and were involved in secret negotiations behind his back as secretary. Most crucially, this debacle concluded with the WRU voting to sever all links with the South African Rugby Board (SARB), a huge victory for the campaign waged persistently over many years by WAAM. In Ireland, the IRFU was forced to issue a statement regretting the tour to placate one of its sponsors, Digital, but this did not save its deal with another, WANG, who pulled out.

## CRICKET

The other major focus has been the announcement of rebel English cricket tour planned for January 1990. News of the tour leaked out in early August: many well known names were involved, although few are current top players. The AAM made immediate representation to the Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB) and the government urging effective intervention. In line with the International Cricket Conference (ICC) decision of January 1989, the TCCB announced that all players were to be banned from future test cricket and those in the England side at the time were dropped. A major victory was secured early on when the two black players in the side Phil de Preitas and Roland Butcher announced their withdrawal, as a direct result of the controversy provoked by the tour, particularly the high profile condemnation led by leading black British athletes such as John Regis.

The AAM immediately launched its biggest sports campaign since 1969/70: the 'Stop The Tour' campaign. Local co-ordinating committees were established in every county with players participating. Protests were held at over 50 matches throughout the rest of the season, including a crucial focus on the Nat West Final at Lords in September. A national Stop The Tour petition was produced and is being widely circulated with considerable support. Approaches have been made to players and clubs direct by local campaigners; a number of local authorities are to review their involvement with relevant counties; and extensive media coverage has been received for the campaign. Local activity has been widespread and imaginative: from a celebrity cricket match in Haringey to a mass postcard campaign in Nottingham.

A Mass Democratic Movement delegation comprising Krish Mackerduh, President of the Non-Racial South Africa Cricket Board (SACB); Murphy Morobe, Publicity Secretary of the United Democratic Front; Ngconde Balfour, NSC Western Cape President; and Mi Hlatwayo of the COSATU Sports and Culture desk visited for several days towards the end of August and held a series of meetings with officials from the Department of the Environment (responsible for sport) and Foreign Office; with Norman Willis, Roy Hanersley and others. In addition, the two cricketers, Krish Mackerduh and Ngconde Balfour met at Lords with rebel captain Mike Gatting and colleague John Emburey, as well as holding a private informal meeting with Raman Subba Row, chairman of the TCCB. The visit secured extensive media coverage and was a great success in ensuring that the voice of genuine non-racial sport in South Africa was heard by both cricketers and the public.

## OTHER SPORTS

Whilst cricket and rugby have held centre stage, developments elsewhere have continued to show that the boycott is being strengthened. The Movement has continued to liaise with a wide range of organizations and individuals seeking to exclude South Africans, one small example being archery where a Natal club has been excluded after 20 years from participating in a British based postal shoot. Local activists have also continued to protest against violations of the boycott, examples being two boxing matches in Southwark and Teeside. The fights also raised the issue of the role of local authorities in ensuring that council controlled facilities are not used in such events, an important policy of a significant number of local authorities.

Internationally, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has reaffirmed its strong position against apartheid and in support of the boycott and other international bodies have either severed links completely or moved towards such a policy of isolation: the ICC (ban on players from test cricket who go to South Africa); the International Tennis Federation (suspension of South Africa); the Association of Tennis Professionals (withdrawal of recognition of South African tournaments); the International Motorcycling Federation (suspension of South Africa and withdrawal of recognition of South African competitions).

All of these developments emphasise the growing strength of the sports boycott. Groups such as the South African Rugby Board (SARB) and their allies have sought to weaken and undermine the boycott. A meeting between the SARB, the non-racial South African Rugby Union (SARU) and the ANC in October 1988 fuelled suggestions of a shift in policy amidst debate as to the possibility of the establishment of single non-racial sports bodies administering sports in South Africa and hence obviating the need for the boycott. Following the ANC, SARB, SARU meeting and deliberately misleading press reports the AAM Executive Committee issued a statement emphasising that the boycott should be maintained until apartheid is eliminated.

SANROC likewise stated that only if and when sport in South Africa was totally integrated would any such discussions begin. The specific case which raised this issue (the initiatives of the SARB), was to be exposed as a hollow gesture aimed at weakening the boycott as soon as the World XV tour plans were announced, and it revealed the true colours of the SARB.

The AAM continues to promote widely the UN Register of Sports contacts with South Africa. The Register remains an important tool for excluding from sporting events those who have been to South Africa. Additionally, the strength of the campaign can be seen from the growing number of sportspeople pledging to the UN not to return to South Africa until apartheid is dismantled.

Of crucial importance throughout the year, and central to all the work of the Movement on this issue, has been the on-going attempt to secure a more effective commitment towards implementation of the Commonwealth Gleneagles Agreement from the British government. Continual approaches to both Sports Minister Colin Moynihan and the Prime Minister direct by both Bob Hughes and Archbishop Huddleston have been made. A request for a meeting with Mr Moynihan was originally put in September 1988, only to be rejected or ignored in further correspondence until the end of September 1989 when a meeting was agreed to, on the proviso that opponent of the boycott John Carlisle MP was also invited. Bob Hughes described the decision as preposterous and wrote to the Prime Minister urging that Moynihan have responsibility for implementation of the Gleneagles Agreement removed. The Minister's response to the meeting request was typical of the government's attitude through out the year: belated, ineffectual and cynical. Britain remains - and has been singled out by the UN as - the main collaborator with a partheid sport.

The role of the Prime Minister herself has been a major focus of pressure from the Movement: she has rejected every call for personal intervention to stop either the cricket or rugby tours and has remained silent throughout on the issue, in stark contrast to other Premiers such as Australia's Bob Hawke in relation to the World XV rugby tour. Pressure in the Commonwealth as well has been felt in relation to Britain's position, and has been heightened by the cricket tour being due to commence the first day of Commonwealth Games in January 1990. The AAM has consistently pointed out that the inaction of the British government is undermining the position of British sport internationally.

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## CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC BOYCOTTS

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The cultural and academic boycotts remain an important aspect of the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa. The apartheid regime continues to seek to break out of isolation in these areas, with mixed success, particularly on the cultural field. The international campaign has been strengthened by the growth of the culture of resistance inside South Africa, and the development of non-racial progressive academics organisations at many institutions. The growth of such structures has served to encourage and inspire further efforts to strengthen the boycott.

In the cultural arena, the launch last September of the South African Musicians Alliance (SAMA) was a significant development. SAMA aims to unite and organise progressive cultural workers and promote the culture of resistance. SAMA planned a major launch concert in March, which was banned by the regime. As a gesture of solidarity, the AAM and Artists Against Apartheid secured messages of support and condemnation of the ban for SAMA from top performers including Simple Minds, Dire Straits, Wet Wet Wet and Phil Collins as well as the Musicians Unions. SAMA's development has been hampered by repression, including the detention of its leaders.

Another welcome development has been the establishment of the Film and Allied Workers Organization (FAWO). The Movement has met with representatives of both SAMA and FAWO during the year.

Visits to South Africa in breach of the boycott have continued in both academic and cultural arenas, although numbers, particularly in relation to musicians, appear to be dropping. No British bands have appeared at Sun City in the past year: a significant development reflecting the growing strength of support for the boycott in the music business. The main area

where evidence shows an increase in collaboration is in relation to actors and actresses.

The South Africa film industry continues to develop its attempts to lure foreign performers and film-makers to participate in its growth industry of third rate movies. Amongst British actors who have gone to film in South Africa or Namibia in the last year have been Donald Pleasence, Christopher Cazenove and John Hurt. The AAM has ensured that their names will appear on the new UN cultural register and has assisted a range of journalists and film-makers with detailed information on this aspect of collaboration with apartheid South Africa. The AAM is currently collaborating with Arekopaneng, the British-based South African cultural workers group, in relation to a campaign to stop the possible distribution here of one such film: 'The Gods Must Be Crazy II', a racist film caricaturing the Khoisan (Bushmen) which is set to go out on the international circuit. This case is also being taken up by the Film and Allied Workers Organisation inside South Africa.

Following a year of major public activity, Artists Against Apartheid has had a quieter year as regards public activity, but continues to be a vitally important organisation for the work of the Movement in the cultural field. AAA founder Jerry Dammers and AAM Executive Committee member Bernie Grant MP worked closely with a rap organization BROTHJR - black rhyme organisation to help equal rights - which produced a well received record 'Beyond the 16th Parallel' with all proceeds going to the ANC. The record went quickly to the top of the Rap Chart.

Key British unions such as the Association of University Teachers and the Musicians Union have maintained their important policies in support of the boycott. The Movement liaises with and gives guidance to a range of organisations in relation to the boycott and provides an information pack on the academic boycott. The UN Register of Actors, Entertainers and Others who have performed in apartheid South Africa continues to be widely promoted. In addition, the Movement has also assisted the United Nations by providing detailed research for updating the register for 1989, particularly in relation to the growing violations of the boycott in the film industry.

Jazz Against Apartheid, a new initiative to promote the anti-apartheid cause amongst jazz lovers, was founded during the year and staged a number of successful benefits at the Jazz Cafe in London and elsewhere. An interim committee was established in September at a meeting addressed by AAM Deputy Executive Secretary Alan Brooks.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA - THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY

### HUNGER STRIKES

On 23 January 1989, 20 detainees held in Diepkloof Prison embarked on an indefinite hunger strike in protest against their continued detention without trial under the State of Emergency. They were later joined by others in a similar situation in various parts of the country. By February over 600 detainees were on indefinite hunger strike across South Africa. Of those detained over 100 had been held in continual detention since June 1986.

The hunger strikers sent open letters to the Minister of Law and Order outlining their demands. Central to these was the issue of their 'unjustified and prolonged detention without trial'.

In an attempt to break the hunger strike the prison authorities began removing those on hunger strike away from other prisoners either within the same prison or to police stations elsewhere. Medical attention was also withheld from some strikers.

The emergency detainees were joined in their hunger strike by 18 detainees held in terms of the Internal Security Act which provides for indefinite detention, incommunicado and in solitary confinement.

As the hunger strike spread and grew in strength SATIS responded by activating its 3,000-strong emergency mailing list at both national and international level in order to publicise as widely as possible this heroic struggle. Three times in as many weeks at the height of the hunger strike emergency mailings were carried out relaying the latest information from

monitoring bodies inside South Africa, in particular the Human Rights Commission. SATIS called for a massive deluge of letters to the South African State President demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all detainees and to the British government demanding an urgent intervention to secure the release of all detainees and the lifting of the State of Emergency. SATIS also made urgent representations to the Foreign Office but this was met with a bland welcome for Law and Order Minister Vlok's promise of a review of individual cases.

In addition to extensive mailings, on 22 February SATIS staged a Service of Witness For the Detainees, supported by the British Council of Churches (BCC), at the Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square followed by a well-attended solemn candle-lit vigil opposite the South African Embassy. The service was addressed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and others taking part were Rev. John Lenola and Rev. Brian Brown (BCC).

Across Britain vigils, services and solidarity fasts were held by SATIS supporters to highlight what was becoming within South Africa a tense, if not critical, situation as the first hunger strikers neared death. Under increasing pressure the Minister for Law and Order met lawyers, church leaders and parents of detainees and on February 16 gave an undertaking to examine the case of each detainee. By the end of March over 300 detainees had been released and by April 800 had been released, a great victory indeed.

However, of those released over 480 were served with heavy restriction orders making them virtual prisoners in their own homes. Today there are over 700 restrictees, showing that restriction is increasingly being used as an alternative to detention without trial. Restrictees are at risk from the terror tactics used by the regime and those operating with its sanction. An example of the informal violence now used against activists - and one which attracted wide international attention - was the assassination of David Webster in May.

Further hunger strikes have continued intermittently over the rest of the year and wherever possible SATIS has responded to requests for interventions from bodies within South Africa.

### STATE OF EMERGENCY

On 10 June 1989 the South African regime reimposed the State of Emergency for a fourth year. In response SATIS supported the Anti-Apartheid Movement's protest picket of the South African embassy. In May SATIS had appealed to the British government to make every effort to ensure that it was not renewed. The reimposition of the State of Emergency portends the continued banning of organisations and curtailing of their activities. Detention without trial has continued, albeit on a reduced scale. Most public meetings, gatherings and funeral processions are still banned or restricted. The media remain heavily censored and prevented from operating freely. The security forces will continue to use the State of Emergency to act outside the law, safe in the knowledge that they will not be exposed.

### NO APARTHEID EXECUTIONS

The campaign to save the Sharpsville Six, which climaxed in March 1988 and continued to run at least until September of that year, generated such intense international pressure on the Pretoria regime, and highlighted so sharply the issue of political executions, that between 25 March 1988 and 20 April 1989 no such executions were carried out. Inside the country the Save the Patriots campaign kept up the pressure, and lawyers involved in the defence of those on Death Row exploited with growing success the few available avenues for blocking or deferring impending executions. Paul Tefo Setlaba, whose execution was first announced for 10 June 1988, then for 24 November 1988, had his death sentence commuted to 20 years on 1 March 1989.

Since there was a real danger that the regime would resume executions whenever it deemed it opportune, unless governments with influence on it made an issue of political executions in general, (instead of intervening only in exceptional circumstances), a campaign to change British policy on this issue became necessary.

On 6 April 1989, the tenth anniversary of the hanging of the ANC combatant Solomon Mahlangu in 1979, SATIS launched a new initiative to bring a halt to apartheid executions, with the objective of securing support from MPs of all parties for a British policy of intervention in all cases of political executions by the South African regime.

The campaign centred on a petition addressed to parliament, running until October, which was due to be handed to the Speaker in early November. It was launched at a press conference given by Geoffrey Bindman, Chair of SATIS, with Andrina Forbes and Ivy Kriel, the mothers respectively of Ashley Forbes (jailed for 15 years for ANC military activities) and Ashley Kriel (member of the same unit as Forbes, who was murdered in cold blood by the SA police in 1987). The mothers also attended a public meeting organised by Lawyers Against Apartheid, and the National Committee meeting in Glasgow. A programme of media briefings and other meetings around the country was arranged for Mrs Forbes by SATIS to promote the winning of Prisoner of War status for captured combatants.

Within a week of the launch of the No Apartheid Executions campaign the South African regime gave notice of its intention to execute Ndomiso Silo Siphonika and Mackedzwanu Menze of the Addo Youth Congress. Their two co-accused had their death sentences commuted to 25 years imprisonment. SATIS immediately put into action its emergency procedure in an attempt to prevent the executions being carried out. The British government, the EEC, the Commonwealth, the United Nations were all notified and encouraged to make interventions to save the lives of these young men. Other national and international bodies were alerted including European AA Groups, trade unions and the media.

The executions were nevertheless carried out on 20 April and SATIS held an all-night vigil outside the South African embassy as an act of solidarity with the families of those hanged. In response to this execution SATIS circulated the petition as widely as possible in an effort to ensure that as many people as possible were informed of the apartheid regime's practice of executing its political opponents.

A particular focus of the campaign, worked on jointly with Lawyers Against Apartheid, has been the granting of Prisoner of War status for captured combatants of the African National Congress who have taken up arms. The Geneva Conventions on the humanitarian conduct of war recognise the legitimacy of such struggles and require the South African authorities to treat captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war.

In mid-May three further executions were announced of young activists, one of whom was a member of the African National Congress. Again SATIS activated its emergency procedure which resulted in several notable interventions including one by the Spanish government acting on behalf of the EEC. SATIS held a lunchtime picket of the South African embassy to protest at the proposed executions and two consecutive all night vigils. As a result of the pressure exerted both within South Africa and externally stays of execution were granted for Senile Masuku and Dupa Mbonane. However, Abraham Mngomezulu was executed at dawn on 25 May 1989.

At the same time the death sentences against William Niombela and Tjeluvuyo Mgedezi were commuted to long prison sentences. The successful campaigns run on their cases are reported below under the Joint Campaign.

As well as the petition SATIS have been circulating campaign cards encouraging supporters to raise the question of apartheid executions with the governments of Britain, France, the United States, West Germany and with the United Nations. Posters and stickers were also produced for the campaign.

On September 29th the fourth political execution of the year was carried out when the South African regime executed Mangena Jeffrey Boesman despite a wide range of calls for clemency. This execution was of particular significance as it was the first political execution under the new leadership of P.W. de Klerk, and fourth in 1989 - more than in each of the two preceding years.

The importance of the campaign was underlined by the sentencing to death in May of 14 of the 26 Upington trialists. Convicted of killing a policeman on the notorious basis of 'common purpose', the 14 represent a cross-section of the community in the Upington township of Pabello in the northern Cape. In August SATIS met with one of the defence attorneys and an extensive series of briefing meetings took place with influential figures and organisations under the auspices of SATIS. On October 13, the third anniversary of the start of the case, SATIS launched at a press conference the campaign to Save the Upington 14. Speaking at the launch were Geoffrey Bindman, the chair of SATIS, and Jerry Ndou, assistant general secretary of SAYCO (South African Youth Congress), and a committee member of the 'Save the Patriots Campaign'. A leaflet outlining the case of the Upington 14, a badge and a poster are now being widely distributed by SATIS.

For many the highlight of the SATIS calendar was the No Apartheid Executions Rally held on 11 October, UN Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners in South Africa. Three keynote speakers from South Africa addressed the meeting: Mrs Leah Tutu, one of those arrested during a women's march to the British consulate in Cape Town to demand the unconditional reprieve of all those on death row; Audrey Coleman, of the Detainees Parents Support Committee; and Jerry Ndou of the 'Save the Patriots' Campaign and the South African Youth Congress. All speakers called for a change in British government policy so that they intervene in all political death row cases immediately. The rally was chaired by Glenys Kinnock, SATIS sponsor, and other speakers included Mendi Msimang, ANC chief representative in Britain, and Garfield Davies, general secretary of the shopworkers' union USDAW which played a major role in the successful campaign to save William Niombela from execution.

A new initiative this year by SATIS in relation to the No Apartheid Executions campaign, has been the instigation of letter and card sending to the political prisoners on Death Row in Pretoria Central Prison. Many prisoners spend years on Death Row in miserable conditions. In theory they, unlike ordinary political prisoners, can receive an unlimited number of letters. SATIS therefore aims to build up to thousands the number of letters arriving on Death Row. Such an action will also ensure the apartheid regime is well aware that the international community is following the case of everyone on Death Row.

## NAMIBIA

Throughout the year SATIS has been involved in various other campaigning activities. Early in the year a document was produced outlining certain aspects of South Africa's obligations in relation to the implementation of UNSCR 435. The document was circulated widely to international and national bodies involved in the process of monitoring the implementation of UNSCR 435. The document listed the principal legislation used for political repression and listed the known political prisoners held by South Africa. SATIS distributed the document to these bodies to help ensure that all repressive legislation was repealed and all political prisoners released. To date most of the political prisoners in Namibia have been released, though eight remain incarcerated including Leonard Sheehama who is on Death Row in Pretoria Central Prison. SATIS will continue to campaign for their release.

This year SATIS joined the Southern Africa Coalition and has been actively involved in working with churches, trade unions, local authorities, development agencies and other bodies to secure a fundamental change in British government policy towards South Africa.

## MANDELA CAMPAIGN

The huge Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute at Wembley Stadium on 11 June was undoubtedly an outstanding event that captured the imagination of millions across the world. But as well as its political impact, the concert was intended as a fund-raising event.

From the outset it was agreed by Artists Against Apartheid and the AAM that any financial surplus would be split: 50% to the AAM to finance the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 Campaign, and 50% to children's projects in Southern Africa, to help those most affected by the horrors of apartheid.

By late 1988, total income from the concert, including ticket sales, TV and radio fees and merchandising, came to £3.45 million. Expenditure, including costs of the venue, advertising, bands' expenses, production and administration, totalled £2.25 million.

So the surplus was £1.2 million, although some additional income has also accrued during 1989. This surplus has been divided between the AAM and seven agencies, who, once they have reclaimed tax, will have benefited by £600,000.

These agencies are: the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), Christian Aid, the Save the Children Fund, Oxfam, IDAF (who will spend their share on the Sol Plaatje Educational Trust), War on Want and the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust (BART). Projects being funded include: the Fund for War Victims in Mozambique, Food Aid for Crèches and an Abandoned Children's Centre in Angola.

Freedom Productions, the company set up by the AAM to provide legal and

financial back-up for the Wembley concert, on the other hand, has no charitable status. Once corporation tax is paid, the AAM receives £390,000.

The Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 Campaign, as well as being the most ambitious campaign ever mounted by the Movement, was the most expensive, costing approximately £400,000, including the costs of the Glasgow and Hyde Park rallies, the Freedom March, publicity and advertising, additional staff and administrative overheads.

At a ceremony in the Africa Centre on 15 December, attended by Mandela's lawyer Ismail Ayob, Archbishop Huddleston handed over cheques to representatives of the seven agencies and the AAM. All the speakers stressed that the campaign for the unconditional release of Mandela and all other political detainees must continue.

Towards the end of last year the 'Nelson Mandela Emergency Petition' was widely circulated in response to the news that Mandela, suffering from tuberculosis, had been moved to hospital. In addition to the petition, the Anti-Apartheid Movement placed a full page advertisement in The Observer calling for Nelson Mandela's immediate release.

Throughout the year there has been much speculation about the possible release of Nelson Mandela. In July he was invited to meet President PW Botha - a meeting which he used to assert the growing centrality of the ANC. It would now appear that Mandela has used his influence to secure the release of other leaders, but he has indicated that he himself does not expect to be released in 1989. The international and internal pressure is now so strong that his release could take place in the near future, but the regime has still given no firm undertaking on this score.

## JOINT CAMPAIGN AGAINST TRADE UNION REPRESSION

Over the past year there has been a great increase in the campaigning work of the AAM Trade Union Committee and SATIS Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia. At present forty national trade unions support the campaign, including the FDA and ISTC, which are not affiliated nationally to the AAM.

The Movement's AGM in November was enlivened by the welcome news of the release of former railwayworker and ANC stalwart Harry Gwala. His release followed on from extensive campaigning by the NUR's Rail Against Apartheid and the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia. Rail Against Apartheid organised a postcard campaign to call for his release and the Joint Campaign circulated model letters to be dispatched to the South African authorities from branches of British transport unions.

The Joint Campaign has continued to prioritise campaigns to save trade unionists on death row. The NUM followed up their petition to save the NUM 3 by circulating 20,000 leaflets calling for protests to save Tjeluvuyo Mgedezi (the other two of the NUM 3 were acquitted). The case was extensively featured in The Miner and Yorkshire Miner.

The shopworkers union USDAW produced a petition calling for the commuting of the death penalty against South African dairyworker William Ntombela. This was signed by over 5000 of their members. The Joint Campaign also worked with the International Transport Workers Federation over the case of four members of the South African TGWU who were on Death Row for their supposed role in killing a bus driver during a stayaway. All six trade unionists had their death sentences commuted.

The Joint Campaign continued to work with the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to obtain the release of the defendants in the Alexandra Five trial, involving the General Secretary of NUMSA, Moses Mayekiso. Our campaign material was widely circulated throughout the labour and trade union movement. Model articles were produced for trade union journals. The AAM also cooperated on the speaking tour involving Khola Mayekiso, organised by the TUC to further highlight the trial. (See also Trade Unions).

The Joint Campaign launched a major initiative to obtain the release of 'the father' of South African trade unionism Oscar Mpetha. The campaign was made possible by the financial support of the TGWU. The campaign was launched the President of the AAM, Archbishop Huddleston, the General Secretary of the TUC, Norman Willis, Oscar's son Thomba and Bob Parry MP. Campaign material was widely circulated throughout the labour and

trade union movement.

The case was the most widely featured anti-apartheid issue over the last year in trade union journals. Protests were organised over the failure of the regime to release Oscar to attend the funeral of his son Karl who died in a motoring accident. A appeal for funds to place an advert in a national newspaper was sponsored by the TUC. The advert was placed in the Guardian on South Africa Freedom Day. The surplus generated by the appeal was used to place full page adverts calling for Mr Mpetha's release in two progressive South African newspapers South and New Nation. Two early day motions circulated through the House of Commons received the support of over 100 MPs (the second receiving all party support). A protest was organised outside the South African Embassy to mark Mr Mpetha's 80th birthday which was addressed by the President of the TUC, Tony Christopher. At least eight other countries organised protests on this day. Mr Mpetha was eventually released with six other ANC stalwarts in October 1989.

The Joint Campaign produced material with the civil service unions CPSA, IPCS, IRSF and NUCPS to highlight the continued imprisonment of SWAPO Secretary of Labour, Jason Angula. Mr Angula was eventually released in late 1988. At a reception in his honour Mr Angula expressed his appreciation for international efforts to obtain his release.

The communications unions CMA, NCU, STE and UCW took up the cases of members of Post and Telecommunications Workers Association (POTWA) who were detained in South Africa. Rail Against Apartheid has continued to feature the campaign to save the SARHWU 4. New material on this case will be available in the near future. The NUM has taken up the case of miner Lucky Nomnganga who is on death row in South Africa and new material on this case will be available from the Joint Campaign in the near future.

The Joint Campaign organised union wide protests over the detention of COSATU regional organiser Donsie Khumalo and further protests on his re-arrest for breach of restrictions placed on him. The Joint Campaign is planning to highlight the case of TGWU member Alfred Ndlovu who was imprisoned for five years for ANC activities. Finally, the Joint Campaign has worked with Amnesty International and One World to further highlight aspects of repression of trade unionists in South Africa.

## CHILDREN'S CAMPAIGN

As a continuation of the campaign to Free the Children From Apartheid', the SATIS Committee on Children organised the seminar on 'Children, Apartheid & Repression in Namibia'. The seminar was held at the National Union of Teachers headquarters on 29 October and was attended by 400 people.

The keynote address was given by Hidiipo Hamutenya, SWAPO Secretary for Information and Publicity, with additional contributions by Ignatius Shigwhameni, General Secretary of the Namibian National Student's Organisation (NANSO). The afternoon session was divided into three workshops on law, education and health which were addressed by David Smuts, advocate of the Supreme Court and Director and Founder of the Legal Assistance Centre of Namibia, Dr. Solomon Amadhila, senior paediatrician at the Oshakati Hospital and teacher Balbina Hauses.

A unique feature of the seminar was the participation of three young people, Jackson Anghuuo, E Aitengela and Jacobina Ndalikokule, who gave moving accounts of their personal experiences under the apartheid regime. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston shared the role of Chair with Geoffrey Bindman; other participants included Gus John, Julio Faundez and Dr Pamela Zinkin.

This timely seminar focussed on the importance of winning independence for Namibia, and therefore of providing support for SWAPO in the forthcoming independence elections, and it encouraged participants to show practical support by taking part in anti-apartheid activities.

## CHILDREN AND APARTHEID - NATIONAL INFORMATION TOUR

An area of concern expressed at the October seminar was the lack of information in many parts of the country on the plight of children in Southern Africa and in particular the situation facing children in the Front

Line States. This, coupled with the need to broaden the campaign to 'Free the Children from Apartheid' saw the full endorsement and support of the AAM for the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust (BART) national information tour.

The tour was organised in conjunction with the SATIS Committee on Children with the participation of Avelino Munhamaze (20-30 April) and Lina Magaia (1-18 May) from Mozambique, Nomvula Mokonyane from South Africa and Ignatius Dempers from Namibia. Participants from the SATIS Committee on Children included: Janey Buchan MEP, Robert Hughes MP, Joan Lester MP, Victoria Britain, Mike Pye and Glensy Kinnoch. The participants addressed four one-day seminars (Manchester, Sheffield, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen) attended eleven civic receptions and addressed 52 meetings including 12 public meetings (Barnsley, Leeds, Huddersfield, York, Bradford, Durham, Gateshead, Kircaldy, Dundee, Stirling, Ayr and Glasgow). Meetings were held at community centres, women's centres, religious organisations, trade unions, youth organisations and multi-cultural organisations, attracting a very broad cross section of the public, many of whom had never had contact with the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The tour generated much enthusiasm in Scotland and the north of England strengthening existing campaigns and pledging support for new initiatives which included witnessing 200 students from the Thomas Danby College in Leeds enthusiastically pledge to boycott the products of apartheid in their catering careers. Many towns are now considering linking towns, schools and colleges with similar institutions in Mozambique. A cheque for £1,500 was presented by Tyneside AA for a radio transmission set for the Manhiça area in Mozambique.

The second leg of the tour, in the southern part of the country, was initially planned for the autumn of 1988, but was postponed until February 1990 in order not to clash with the vital stage of the Namibia campaign.

## YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORKERS

A Youth and Community Workers Against Apartheid dayschool was set up in response to 'Children, Apartheid & Repression in Southern Africa' held in April 1988. The dayschool was attended by 75 people who participated in a wide range of activities designed to increase awareness and encourage discussion amongst young people.

These included workshops on using visual arts, video, drama, poetry, rhythm, Development Education materials and games providing Youth and Community Workers with information and practical skills.

## INTERNATIONAL WORK

Developments in Southern Africa have made it even more important for the Anti-Apartheid Movement to play an active role internationally in promoting its policies and campaigns. During the period covered by this Report the main focus has again been on the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the European Community since these are the arenas in which the British government plays such a key role in seeking to block effective international action.

### THE UNITED NATIONS

The role of the United Nations has been especially critical during this period because of its responsibility for the decolonisation of Namibia. The role of the UN came under special focus in late December 1988 when the five permanent members of the UN Security Council first proposed a reduction in the size of the military component of the UNTAG operation in Namibia.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement made repeated representations to the UN throughout the period especially in response to the decision of the UN Secretary-General to sanction the deployment of South African military forces after 1st April in breach of the UN Plan. These representations focussed on the repeated failure of the UN to ensure that South Africa fully complied with the UN Plan, its inability to exert full control over the territory and its refusal to effectively confront South Africa.

The role of the five Permanent Members of the Security Council (China,

France, UK, USA, and USSR) was of special concern especially since two, China and the USSR, had traditionally supported the anti-colonial struggle in Namibia and Southern Africa. This new role of the five permanent members has clear implications for the future position of the UN in relation to South Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has continued to work closely with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid. It was particularly encouraging that Major-General Garba, the Nigerian Chair of the Special Committee was elected President of the UN General Assembly. The Special Committee supported many of the campaigning initiatives of the AAM including sponsoring the Boycott Bandwagon.

The Movement has co-operated with a range of other UN bodies. These include the UN Security Council Arms Embargo Committee (see Military and Nuclear Collaboration); the UN Human Rights Commission (the AAM was again invited to present evidence to its Ad Hoc Working Group on Southern Africa); and the Centre on Transnationals (Abdul Minty and Mike Terry of the AAM were both invited to present evidence to its Panel on TNCs in South Africa and Namibia which held hearings in Geneva in September 1989).

The UN General Assembly in 1988 resolved that, for the first time, a Special Session of the UN General Assembly should be held during 1989 to focus on the issue of apartheid and this is to take place from 12-14 December. It is hoped that this will provide a new impetus to the United Nations efforts in support of the struggle to eliminate apartheid.

### THE COMMONWEALTH

The Anti-Apartheid Movement continued to focus special attention on the role of the Commonwealth during this period - as it has done since South Africa was excluded from the Commonwealth in 1961.

This has involved close relations with the Commonwealth Secretariat, especially the Secretary General, Shridath Ramphal and the Deputy Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku. Both have given a very warm reception to representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement who have visited Britain under the auspices of the AAM.

The Commonwealth has continued to provide an impetus to the international campaign against apartheid through the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa. The Committee, chaired by the Canadian Foreign Minister, was established at the Vancouver Heads of Government Meeting in 1987 but boycotted by Britain. During 1988 it held two meetings in Lusaka and Toronto at which the framework of its activities were agreed.

Its meeting in Harare in February 1989 was of special importance in view of developments in the region especially the then imminent commencement of the implementation of the UN Plan. Abdul Minty, the AAM Honorary Secretary, was given a second hearing at the Committee's meeting in Harare. For that meeting three studies produced by the AAM were presented. The Committee met finally in Canberra in August 1989 prior to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur. The Committee undertook valuable work in the relation to the arms embargo, financial sanctions and trade sanctions as well as South African destabilisation and countering South African propaganda.

### EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The Liaison Group of AAMs created in September 1988 in Athens in order to co-ordinate anti-apartheid activity within the European Community has succeeded in consolidating itself in a number of significant ways. The Liaison Group consists of 14 anti-apartheid movements in 11 out of the 12 member states.

The Liaison Group met twice during this period - in April 1989 in Brussels - and in September 1989 in Paris. At the Brussels meeting it adopted a joint Manifesto for the European Elections and a co-ordinated campaign was organised throughout the Community to secure endorsement of the Manifesto Proposals from candidates and parties contesting the elections. In Britain all Labour and SLD candidates endorsed the Manifesto as did most Green, SNP and Plaid Cymru candidates and there were sympathetic responses from several Conservative candidates.

The Brussels meeting of the Group provided an opportunity for a series of meetings including one with the Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for External Affairs and senior officials of the Commission. Relations were also established between the Liaison Group and the SANAM/Standing Committee Secretariat which co-ordinates the EC's Special Programme for Victims of Apartheid.

Both the Brussels and Paris meetings focused in particular on the EC's policy towards Namibia. At the Paris meeting agreement was reached on a Memorandum on Namibia which was presented to the French Vice Foreign Minister, Mme Avice, at a meeting at the Quai d'Orsay following the Group's meeting.

European Community policy towards Southern Africa was the subject of a special meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the Community and those of the Frontline States in Luxembourg on 12th June. The Liaison Group prepared a Memorandum which was presented to the Foreign Ministers by the AAMs in their respective countries. Spain, the then President of the Community, opened the meeting with a statement of EC policy which illustrated the extent to which the EC allows its policy towards Southern Africa to be determined by the UK in particular.

During this period there have been a range of specific initiatives at an EC level by the Liaison Group on issues such as political executions, the Foreign Funding Act, EC/South African diplomatic relations and the abuse by South Africa of diplomatic missions in EC countries.

At the Paris meeting the Liaison Group decided to establish a small secretariat of which the British AAM is currently one of the members. The Group will meet next in Dublin during the Irish Presidency of the Community.

## GENERAL

The Movement's international relations have not however been exclusively within the frameworks of the UN, the Commonwealth and the EEC. A whole range of relationships have been sustained and initiated during this period. Numerous visitors from anti-apartheid and solidarity movements across the world visit the Mandela Street HQ. An encouraging development, in this regard, has been visits from Japan, Hong Kong and other Asian countries where trade relations with South Africa are expanding.

The AAM was represented at a series of international conferences during this period. Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary, was invited to a major anti-apartheid conference in Lagos in November 1988 hosted by the Nigerian Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP); Margaret Ling represented the AAM at a UN Conference on Women and Children held in Harare in January 1989; Karen Talbot participated at a special meeting convened by the Holland Committee to examine the feasibility of co-ordinated support for SWAPO during the implementation of the UN Plan. Mike Terry represented the AAM at a consultation on the arms embargo convened by the World Campaign in the Netherlands in February 1989; Abdul Minty participated on behalf of the AAM at a meeting for west European anti-apartheid groups in Amsterdam on foreign nationals in the SADF, and Dr Rachel Jewkes represented the AAM at an international conference in Kiev jointly organised the USSR Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the UN NGO Committee on Apartheid, Racism and Decolonization. (For the ECASAAMA conference in Bonn, see Front Line States).

The AAM has continued to enjoy close relations with the World Council of Churches. Abdul Minty attended a WCC Conference on the Frontline States on the eve of the 1988 AGM and both he and Mike Terry visited the WCC Headquarters in Geneva for meetings with the Director of the WCC Programme to Combat Racism in September 1989. The WCC sponsored the Boycott Bandwagon and again gave grants to the Wales AAM and the Scottish Committee. Archbishop Huddleston issued a special statement welcoming the WCC's decision to make its largest ever grant to SWAPO for its election campaign. The WCC has continued to promote the Shell Boycott Campaign and Mike Terry represented the Movement at a consultation called by the WCC on this campaign in Amsterdam in May just prior to the Shell AGM. Officers of the Movement met with the Eminent Church Persons Group led by the Rev Canaan Banana, the former President of Zimbabwe, which visited Britain in January.

A very heavy burden of work at an international level has continued to be

borne by the Movement's President Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. In January 1989 he visited Australia, Malaysia and India where he held meetings with the Australian and Indian Prime Ministers and the Malaysian Deputy Foreign Minister. In April 1989, with Abdul Minty, he visited Nigeria as guest of the Head of State for week long nationwide tour during which he was awarded Nigeria's highest honour, the Grand Commander of the Order of the Niger. He also visited Zurich in May to attend the AGM of the Union Bank of Switzerland and in September he was a special guest at the 10th anniversary ceremonies for the Solomon Mahlangu College in Tanzania. Special appreciation should also be extended to Abdul Minty who on behalf of the AAM and the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa has again had to travel extensively during this period.

## AREAS OF WORK

### TRADE UNIONS

The struggle against apartheid is now clearly the major international campaign issue for the British trade union movement.

The past year has seen a increasing unity and confidence in the democratic trade union movement in South Africa. The formation of an industrial union in the garment sector, creating the Congress South African Trade Union's (COSATU) third largest affiliate, brought the membership of that federation to over one million. There is also growing unity in the teaching sector with the establishment of a co-ordinating body to create a united and progressive teachers union.

The year has also been typified by growing political maturity on the part of the democratic trade union movement. In March 1989, the first Workers Summit brought together representatives of all COSATU's unions, of eleven affiliates of the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and of independent unions representing 150,000 workers to discuss their campaign to fight the Labour Relations Act.

Despite intensive police harassment and disruption, a second Workers Summit took place in August involving COSATU, NACTU and the independent trade unions planned for three days of protest action against the Act to coincide with the racist elections on 6 September, and an overtime ban that started on 22 September.

Over 3 million workers and students participated in the stayaway making it the largest political protest in South African history. The fact that the stayaway involved far more people than the signed up membership of the democratic trade union movement underlined the resilience of trade union organisation in the face of state attacks and the increasing co-operation between these structures and community based organisations.

COSATU constitutes an integral part of the Mass Democratic Movement and has been a leading organiser in the defiance campaign. COSATU's third congress in August took important decisions on building the MDM, adopting the African National Congress guidelines for a constitution for a post-apartheid society and to launch a campaign for a Workers Charter in the context of the broader demands contained within the Freedom Charter.

However, the prospects of the formation of one trade union federation in South Africa still appear to be a longer term goal, although both COSATU and NACTU recognise that one federation would be in the interests of the South African working class and the struggle against apartheid. Also debilitating divisions exist in one of COSATU's largest affiliates the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA) despite attempts to bring opposing sides together.

The democratic trade union movement has continued to be subject to sustained attack by the apartheid regime and state backed vigilantes. The Labour Relations Act constitutes the most severe attack on the democratic trade union movement in over ten years. Union officials and activists have



been arrested and detained. Union buildings attacked and ransacked. In the Natal, trade union activists such as Jabu Ndlovu have been murdered apparently by supporters of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

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. The AAM organised a number of solidarity adverts in South African newspapers, signed by twenty-two national trade unions, to mark the third anniversary of the foundation of COSATU in December 1988. A 'Hands Off COSATU' protest was organised outside the South African Embassy to mark this anniversary. The AAM also co-ordinated solidarity messages from British trade unions to the two Workers Summits and third COSATU Congress. Messages were also organised from British garment unions to be sent to the founding congress of the 180,000 strong South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU). The Fire Brigades Union (FBU) has co-ordinated trade union protests against the Labour Relations Act. To date the British Government has refused to meet a delegation from the British trade union movement to hear protests about the Act.

On individual cases of repression the AAM has co-ordinated its work through the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia. The campaign has worked closely with:

- a) the NUR to release political prisoner Harry Gwala and save the lives of the SARHFWU 4;
- b) the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to free the Alexandra Five;
- c) the civil service unions, CPSA, IPCS, IRSF, and NUCPS to free Namibian political prisoner Jason Angula;
- d) the NUM to save the lives of miners Tjeluvuyo Mgedezi and Lucky Nomnganga;
- e) the shopworkers union USDAW to save the life of dairyworker William Ntombela;
- f) communication unions CMA, NCU, STE and UCW over the detention of four members of POTWA;
- g) the International Transport Workers Federation to save the lives of the Pateo drivers.

The Joint Campaign also conducted a major campaign to free South Africa's oldest political prisoner Oscar Mpeha, organised protests over the detention of COSATU regional organiser Donsie Khumalo, and called for unions to send condolences to NUMSA over the murder of Jabu Ndlovu.

A number of unions are continuing to develop bilateral relations with affiliates of COSATU, in consultation with SACTU. These unions have developed programmes of material aid in order that these unions can develop, exchange information on matters of common concern and send delegations to each other Congresses. It is widely recognised in the AAM and amongst our trade union affiliates that such solidarity links have greatly enhanced the potential of mobilising solidarity from amongst their members. In some cases, excellent educational and campaigning material has been produced.

The STE journal, 'The Review', carried an excellent report on their unions delegation to the POTWA congress. The NUR's Rail Against Apartheid campaign regularly reports on developments with its projects in support of SARHFWU. NALGO gives extensive coverage to its activities in support of Ntshawu and MWUSA. NUPE produced a shop stewards handbook for Ntshawu. IRSF has renewed financial assistance for the SADWU.

The AAM co-operated with the 'Sisters of the Long March' tour which highlighted the struggle of members of NUMSA with British multi-national BTR. In addition, the AAM helped promote the speaking tour organised by the Trade Union Congress, involving Khola Mayekiso, to highlight the treason trial involving her husband, Moses Mayekiso and other defendants in the Alexandra Five trial. All defendants were eventually acquitted and the AAM received a letter from Moses expressing his appreciation for our contribution to the international campaign to obtain the release of the Alexandra Five. The AAM also worked to promote the visit of the former General Secretary of CCAWUSA, Emma Mashinini.

The AAM has also encouraged the development of bilateral relations between British trade unions and affiliates of the National Union of Namibian Workers. The AAM organised meetings between Bamibus Tjizu, General Secretary of MANWU and unions organising in the metal and construction industry in this country. NALGO attended the congress of NAPWU and the NUM hosted a delegation from the MUN on an

educational course. The AAM also organised messages from teaching unions in this country to be sent to the founding congress of the Namibian National Teachers Union (NANTU).

The AAM Trade Union Committee has concentrated its efforts in mobilising support for the independence process in Namibia. The NUNW and its affiliates are supporting SWAPO in the election campaign. NALGO sent a delegation to monitor the preparations for the elections. The delegation's report was extensively covered in NALGO News, and even earned the Prime Minister's congratulations to NALGO for its excellence. The SWAPO Election Campaign Appeal was widely circulated throughout the trade union movement. For first time in the TUC's history, the General Secretary, Norman Willis supported an election appeal by endorsing the SWAPO Election Campaign Appeal. The FBU, MSF, NALGO, NUCPS and STE and USDAW all made contributions to the appeal of 1500 or over.

## COOPERATION WITH THE TUC

The AAM has continued to enjoy cordial relations with the TUC international department. We have had regular meetings to discuss closer co-operation on a wide range of issues. The TUC made a major contribution towards the campaign to free Oscar Mpeha. General Secretary Norman Willis spoke at the launch of the campaign and endorsed an appeal to raise money to place an advert in the Guardian newspaper on South Africa Freedom Day.

Mr Willis and the chair of the international committee, Ron Todd, have addressed a number of regional and local events organised by the AAM. The TUC also hosted to SWAPO's Namibia Day reception.

The AAM was once again allocated a stall at the 1989 TUC congress at which another comprehensive policy statement on South Africa and Namibia was adopted. The resolution was moved by the IRSF and seconded by the UCW. Our fringe meeting at the Congress was attended by 150 delegates and was addressed by Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary of NUMSA, Peter Manning, Acting Chief Representative of SWAPO, Mendi Msimang, Chief Representative of the ANC, Rita Donaghy, President of NALGO and victimised trade unionist Ross Galbraith. Moses Mayekiso addressed the full Congress and was rapturously received by the delegates.

The TUC is a major supporter of the Southern Africa Coalition, which is reported elsewhere in this document.

## 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 40 national affiliates, 35 have taken up the opportunity to be represented on the committee.

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 AAM and COSATU and the NUNW. Our work is enhanced by the invaluable contribution of SACTU. The committee has also continued to take an active role in taking up the general priorities of the AAM.

The committee has had special discussions on mobilising support for SWAPO, the formation of professional groups, SATIS work, fundraising, the South African debt and the Upington 14 trial.

The Trade Union Committee would like to express appreciation to MSF for the use of their head office for committee meetings.

## WORKING WITH THE UNIONS

As a result of the committee and with the able assistance of George 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: APEX, BFAWU, BIETA, CPSA, COHSE, FBU, GMB, IPCS, IRSF, ISTC, NALGO, NAS/UWT, NATFHE, NCU, NUCPS, NUM, STE, USDAW, MSF, NUJ, NUPE, NUT, AUT, NAPO, IWA.

Representatives of the AAM or the South African trade union movement addressed the conferences of GMB and IRSF (Archbishop Huddleston).

BIFTA (George Lobo), NCU and STE (POTWA), USDAW (CCAWUSA), CPSA (SACTU).

The trade union committee produced model motions for branches to submit to annual conferences resulting in policy developments in many unions. However the take up by local groups of these model motions was disappointing. Under five groups asked for copies to circulate to their local trade union branches.

Two more national unions have affiliated to the AAM: the National Union of Marine, Aviation and Shipping Transport Officers and the United Road Transport Union. The Association of University Teachers and the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation passed resolutions at their annual conferences to affiliate but have yet to apply for membership.

Membership at regional and local level has steadily increased to nearly seven hundred trade union branches, regional committees and trade councils in national membership. This is largely as a result of the widespread distribution of the trade union recruitment leaflet and response to initiatives from the Joint Campaign. There needs to be a greater effort by local groups to recruit local trade union branches to the national AAM. MSF has agreed to produce a leaflet to recruit individual members and USDAW a leaflet to recruit their branches to the AAM. MSF has the highest total of branches in membership (30%) whilst the IRSF has the highest percentage of branches in membership (25%).

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 with the trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia have been produced.

The AAM has worked closely with many national trade unions regarding the development and implementation of anti-apartheid policies. The AAM had a meeting with the shopworkers union USDAW to discuss the consumer boycott and the Tesco's campaign, worked with the GMB to oppose the Minoreo bid for Consolidated Goldfields, the TGWU and MSF on the Shell boycott, the NUM on the campaign against South African coal, BIFU and MSF on the debt campaign, the Musicians Union on the cultural boycott and organised a briefing for public sector unions on the implications for anti-apartheid campaigning of the Local Government Bill. The AAM has also worked with the GMB and the BTR campaign to seek reinstatement for sacked members of NUMSA. The AAM also works closely with unions who have developed structures or committees to implement their anti-apartheid policies.

The AAM's national trade union affiliates have also supported a number of other initiatives launched by the AAM. The TUC, MSF, NALGO, BETA, CPSA, COHSE, FBUL, NAS/UWT, NUTGW, STE, SOGAT 82, UCATT and UCW all advertised or sponsored the boycott bandwagon. COHSE, HVA, GMB, MSF, NALGO and NUPE all sponsored the 'Health and Liberation in South Africa and Namibia' conference, jointly organised by the AAM Trade Union and Health Committees.

The trade union committee cooperated in the production and promotion of the special trade union issue of Anti-Apartheid News, over 30 000 copies of which were circulated around trade union branches. The trade union committee has continued to make full use of AA News to give coverage to trade union issues. The AAM continues to receive widespread coverage in trade union journals with Red Tape (CPSA), The Journal (NUCPS), The Miner and Yorkshire Miner (NUM), Assessment (IRSF), Dawn (USDAW), MSF Journal, BETA News, The Record (FTAT), Public Service and NALGO News (NALGO) and Transport Review (NUR) being especially supportive. A number of unions continue to run sessions on apartheid at their education modules or activist events.

The IRSF produced a special brochure and carrier bag to promote support for the boycott campaign and the MSF and TGWU to promote support for the Shell boycott.

The work of the Trade Union Committee is greatly enhanced by the role of regional and local trade union committees. The South-West TUC AA Committee has provided an excellent model for practical campaigning in the trade union movement which other regions may wish to emulate. The Trade Union Committee attaches a great deal of importance to developing these structures and wishes to see a greater emphasis from the wider movement on implementing our policies locally in the trade union movement. In

addition, it wishes to provide more useful advice to individual trade unionists on how they can develop anti-apartheid policies within their respective unions.

The Trade Union Committee salutes those trade unionists who have made a stand against trade with apartheid by refusing to handle South African goods. The blockade against South African and Namibian uranium is still being imposed by Liverpool portworkers, and two members of the TGWU in Leicester have been sacked by Granby Plastics for refusing to work on an order for Nyoil from South Africa, a product with potential military uses. The Movement has supported the campaign around their case.

## LOCAL AA GROUPS

The number of Local AA Groups across England, Scotland and Wales has stabilised at 178. These groups are regionally co-ordinated through eight committees which cover 92 Local Groups.

This section of the report aims to cover Local Group activities and development. As previously, however, it is impossible to convey the depth of range and nature of their work due to the immense amount undertaken. What follows therefore is a reflection of the crucial profile Local AA Groups assert for the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the locality. Sincere congratulations are due to those activists who make this happen.

## CAMPAIGNING

Local Groups provide the foundation of all of the AAM's campaigns. Local Groups have been an important factor in the activities described in this report.

The priority campaign for Local Groups has been Namibia and support for SWAPO and the implementation of the independence process.

Notable for its sustained success is the Yorkshire and Humberside Regional AA Committee which raised over £5,000 surpassing its target for the Swapo Election Campaign appeal. It kicked off with a Free Namibia march and rally in October 1988. The march, part of the International Week of Action on Namibia, took place in Bradford and was addressed by representatives of SWAPO and the Angolan embassy, with Max Madden MP as chair. The following June both Manchester and Merseyside AA groups organised successful marches and rallies in a very public demonstration of support. Wales AAM held demonstrations in October of both 1988 and 1989.

Lambeth held a six-hour vigil in Brixton where information on Namibia was distributed to local people and red carnations were sold raising over £125 for SWAPO. Later in the week, a successful public meeting was held with speakers from SWAPO, the Cuban embassy and a child refugee from Namibia. The SWAPO representative was presented with the money collected at the vigil.

A similar presentation was made to SWAPO by Ealing AA. Representatives of SWAPO and the ANC were presented with cheques for £5,000 each at the Group's celebration of Namibian Women's Day on 10 December. The money was mainly raised by the Southall festival in June plus contributions from members and local organisations.

Many Groups raised money for the appeal in a variety of ways, some standard; a sponsored walk in Redbridge, appeals, meetings and collections; and some more imaginative, a flag day, 'Swim for SWAPO', 'Eat for SWAPO', and a benefit concert - all in Tyneside alone. Inter-group cooperation and communication afforded Tyneside and Edinburgh AA the opportunity for further fundraising at this year's Edinburgh Festival. Members of Tyneside AA hit on the idea of busking at the fringe. Following consultation and support from Edinburgh and the Namibia Support Group they managed eight performances over the weekend generating more than £500 for SWAPO.

Blackburn & Darwen AA raised an incredible £612 at a public meeting. Sheffield AA held a 48-hour sponsored fast and a day of action on which church leaders joined other campaigners in handing out leaflets and collecting money beside a symbolic ballot box inside a cage.

A continuous thread in the political programme of most, if not all Groups,

has been the consumer boycott under the umbrella of the Boycott Apartheid 89 campaign.

Action against Shell featured prominently. To launch the International Week of Action, the London AA Committee (together with Embargo) organised a Boycott Shell Motorcade. On the morning of 12 November, a convoy of vehicles adorned with banners and ANC balloons, set off from the Shell Centre to bring the message to the motorists of London. With leaflets spread out along the route, the motorcade first visited the Hammersmith & Fulham AA picket and finished with Southwark AA - a highly successful initiative. Edinburgh AA staged a similar action the following May whilst Taunton and West Somerset AA Groups took a more environmentally friendly approach with a cyclecade in March.

Conington AA were the recipients of a soaking from station staff during a demonstration in summer - they successfully persuaded a number of motorists, previously unaware of Shell's apartheid links, to turn away from the petrol station. Police were called to the scene and members of the group explained that as garage staff were washing a car on the forecourt, they turned the hose on the demonstrators. The picket was peaceful and caused no obstruction. In preference to a picket Fife AA hung banners across a major road into the town. Bristol AA took an approach involving more stamina namely a 24-hour picket whilst Islington AA involved a singing group, 'Raised Voices'. Perhaps the most determined form of this action has been that of Hammersmith & Fulham AA who have picketed their local station for over 100 weeks. From their experience Hammersmith activists wrote a briefing for Anti-Apartheid News for other Groups to plan and sustain such a campaign.

Activity against Shell was stimulated by the Local Group in the village of Staverton in Devon when an AA campaigner clashed with Shell who arrived to make a £500,000 television commercial on location. Residents were hired as extras and most passed the money on their parish council, which was also given £800 by Shell's film unit. At a meeting held to discuss the issue, the village was asked to 'distance itself' from Shell and its involvement with apartheid.

Another example of working with other organisations and within the wider community was Newport AA's intervention with the local borough council. Following discussion the council refused a request from Shell to take part in a local youth employment project. Birmingham AA leafleted a Shell regional shareholders meeting at Solihull Conference Centre on 4-5 October.

Other aspects of B89 were covered. Anti-apartheid campaigners took the organisers of the World Travel Market at Olympia, by surprise when they staged both a picket and a sit-down protest. Their aim was to highlight South Africa's participation in the tourism exhibition, the largest of its kind in the world.

Haringey AA have utilised direct action in their continuing campaign against their local Tesco branch in response to the store's breach of repeated assurances to customers that the country of origin would be marked on all goods. After hearing complaints from customers that avocados were displayed as 'country of origin various', two protestors went into the store and refused to move from the display area. The deputy store manager was unwilling to discuss the matter or show labelling on the boxes. The manager called the police, but no charges were brought. At least one other customer wrote to Tesco to say that she and her husband would not shop at the store in future in disgust at the behaviour of Tesco management.

Sheffield have extended their campaign by producing special cards in the build up to a 2 day boycott of a Tesco branch held this October. Three thousand were sent by shoppers to the local management asserting that if South African products were not removed he should expect a massive stayaway. When Sheffield AA undertook a similar venture in 1987 over 200 shoppers were turned away from the store, losing Tesco an estimated £10,000 of business. Two members of Lewisham AA were acquitted on charges of obstructing the highway during one of the group's weekly Saturday morning pickets of the Tesco Superstore in Lewisham's shopping centre in south-east London. Police allegations that pedestrians had been 'forced' to walk in the road to avoid the picket were dismissed in court by an independent witness. Members of Lawyers Against Apartheid prepared the case and represented the two in court.

The Boycott Apartheid 89 day of action against Tesco on 22 April was a resounding success and demonstrated the industry and commitment of our Groups to deliver action on a nationally co-ordinated basis. Virtually all Local Groups took part and reported great public support. Haringey AA

used a five-foot high head of P W Botha whose mouth acted as a postbox for letters of protest addressed to the store manager. Redbridge handed out 5,000 leaflets on the day, while Blackburn & Darwen AA found themselves being snooped upon by someone who turned out to be a regional Tesco manager. An apartheid-free picnic proved popular outside Tesco headquarters in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, but Southwark AA were not so lucky - one member was arrested for obstruction. Durham AA, displaying their continued artistry, made sure shoppers looked at the label by producing a colourful banner incorporating brand names and logos.

Responses to other aspects of the boycott were picked up by Local Groups. A notable example was Southwark AA's intervention over a World Boxing Association title fight, screened live to South Africa, between South African Brian Mitchell and Londoner Jim McDonnell. Mitchell claimed to be opposed to apartheid, but let slip his true colours by suggesting that P W Botha was anti-apartheid. The venue is owned by Southwark council, which had breached its own strong anti-apartheid policy by booking the event. Although the fight was not cancelled there was a raucous and large picket co-ordinated by the Local AA Group.

Haringey staged a Cricket Carnival as part of the Stop the Tour campaign. Under the slogan 'Gatting's batting for apartheid - We are batting for freedom' celebrities joined local community organisations in a special cricket match. Many groups were pivotal in the 'Stop the Tour' campaign organising emergency protests at short notice. This demonstrated Groups' capabilities to respond quickly and significantly; many of the demonstrations were very well supported, notably Bristol where over 200 attended, Hastings where 120 vocal supporters gathered, and Cheltenham and Canterbury where the media coverage and local activity was considerable.

The campaign against debt rescheduling was taken seriously by Local Groups and much of the groundwork had been laid for stepping up the momentum up activity for the International Week of Action. The announcement of the rescheduling has angered who are keen to take the campaign financial sanctions further.

Local Groups undertook SATIS campaigns with vigour. Barnet AA combined their annual general meeting with a public meeting addressed by Geoffrey Bindman, Chair of SATIS, who spoke on the sham of the 'legal system' in South Africa. They undertook extensive work in support of their adopted political prisoner Ahmed Kathrada. South Devon AA organised a vigil and photographic exhibition at Totnes.

Many groups responded to calls for increased activity on the 'No Apartheid Executions' campaign and the plight of detainees. North Staffs AA organised 24-hour fasts to draw public attention to these issues one of which for 'Peace, Liberty and Social Justice in South Africa' involved the Rector of Stoke-on-Trent, Ron Cason, and colleagues, and the Revd Gerald Starkey of St Paul's, Mount Pleasant.

Richmond AA approached the matter in a different way. To draw attention to the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela they released a declaration from nearly 30 leading figures in Richmond including the mayor and Sir Richard Attenborough, who declared their commitment to boycotting apartheid produce as a way of supporting the campaign for his release.

Lambeth AA have collaborated in a project to commemorate the death of Hector Peterson, the first of many hundreds of children shot dead in the 1976 Soweto uprising. A site has been landscaped by Lambeth Council for the statue of 'The First Child' created by Zimbabwean sculptor, David Mutasa. The project, the inspiration of the local '196 Gallery', is intended as a tribute to all those who have sacrificed their lives in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Another community initiative was that of Hackney Community Against Apartheid which carries the message of the struggle against apartheid into the Turkish community in Hackney and to other ethnic minorities.

Over 200 people came to hear the newly-appointed Mozambican ambassador to Britain, HE Armando Panguene, pay tribute to President Samora Machel on the second anniversary of his death. The audience heard a succinct analysis of the political and military situation by journalist Victoria Brittain, and was the first to view Toni Stransburg's new film on the fate of the children of the region, 'Chain of Tears'. The meeting was chaired by Margaret Ling of the AAM. After a lively discussion and a short break for international food, the evening ended with the Mozambican band Matola. The meeting - organised jointly by the London Committee through west London AA Groups and the Mozambique Angola Committee (MAC) - raised over £400

for village self defence in Mozambique.

Another commemorative event, for the 11th anniversary of Kassinga, involved the efforts of the London Committee and MAC joined by the Namibia Support Committee, War on Want, and the Britain Cuba Resource Centre. Requests to 'sponsor a flower in remembrance of Kassinga Day' ended in 700 flowers displayed in the shape of Africa; Glenys Kinnock unveiled a commemorative picture by an exiled Namibian. A cultural and information event with food and salsa band in the evening attracted 200 people to hear Bernie Grant MP, Marga Holness of ANGOP, Inge Zomwani (SWAPO), Cuban poet Pedro, and Essop Pahad of the ANC. One thousand pounds was raised.

## FUNDRAISING

All Local Groups finance themselves through a variety of activities, including for example, benefit concerts, discos, sales of merchandise, sponsored events, flag days, donations and membership subscriptions. The range of fundraising and turnover of Groups differs dramatically.

Such funds raised were also sent to the AAM HQ. Whilst there is not the same degree of acceptance of the political argument - that constituent parts of the Movement substantially fund the national work of the AAM - as there is in other organisations many Groups raise considerable amounts for the AAM HQ. In order to promote further fundraising for the AAM nationally as well as Local Groups, steps have been taken to stimulate schemes which benefit both parties such as the 50% Prize Draw where half of the proceeds go to the Local AA Group. Liberation movements continue to receive funds from Local Groups.

## EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

Education and dissemination of information remains an integral ingredient of Local Group work, with material used varying from the simple to the sophisticated, from single sheets of A4 and verbal briefings to professionally produced newsletters and dayschools.

Both the London Committee and the Sheffield Southern Africa Resources Centre have begun producing their own printed news bulletin. The Scottish Committee plans an information bulletin for Local Group members, affiliates and other supporters entitled 'The Movement'. Ipswich AA spread the message through their own radio broadcast on Vic Radio, the local community station.

The British Ambrose Reeves Trust Information tour reached many Local Groups and provided a forum for discussing 'Children under Apartheid' in meetings and seminars (please see under SATIS).

Too numerous to record here are the myriad meetings, conferences, dayschools, newsletters, leaflets, publicity stunts, etc which fulfil the function of educating and informing our membership and the wider public.

All AA Groups realise the importance of press and media activity, and some have a great deal of sophistication in their approach. Enfield AA received significant local coverage when they wittily highlighted the fact that the new-born child of the chair of the group, upon discovering he shared the same birthday as PW Botha, "joined" the Local Group. His mother and father were delighted to accept his application and welcomed his decision to immediately begin boycotting Shell petrol stations.

A stream of press releases from Haringey AA sought to highlight their activity in an interesting and 'catchy' manner. They were successful, particularly within the black press (as were Notting Hill AA), in eliciting coverage.

## COMMUNICATION

Intra-AAM communication has gradually improved, helped substantially by the appointment of a Field Officer at the beginning of this period. A greater degree of coherence needs to be imposed on the flow of material and information from the AAM HQ to its constituent parts. Clearer guidance and identification of priorities is needed which satisfies the requirements of Local Groups which continue to vary substantially in their capabilities and experience.

The Campaign Bulletin was generally recognised as an important communication tool. However its production is in temporary abeyance due to staff resources being unavailable. Anti-Apartheid News and its regular coverage of local activity provides a forum for debate and remains a major campaigning resource. However it is still under-used as a source of information for, from and about Local Groups.

Local Groups continue to supply the AAM HQ with information on their activities and contribute to the discussion of policy but this remains diverse in quantity to say the least. Functioning not just as an indicator of anti-apartheid activity, this information can also be disseminated to others as well as forming the reservoir of information for the compilation of this report.

Local Groups meetings - scheduled the day after NC meetings - took place on two occasions and their style and content confirmed their desirability. Varied in size but consistent in their in-depth and informal nature they have provided a most useful forum and appear to be well regarded.

The importance of Local Group input into the National Committee cannot be underestimated. The wider the involvement of Groups party to decision making the greater the likelihood of effective policy implementation. A pool fare system operates to ensure that all Groups pay the same fare to attend no matter the distance traveled and a creche is available. It is a matter for some regret that many Groups are not represented. Many Groups do contribute however and provided, for example, an important input on discussion which in April resulted in the paper 'Future Development of the AAM' being adopted by the NC.

## DEVELOPMENT

The appointment of a Field Officer, Gerard Omasta-Milson, has facilitated the process of development of our structures and increased support for Local Groups in matters of policy, organisation and finance. Critical steps have, therefore been taken in the right direction, however they remain steps and much diligence and application must yet be exerted.

There is a much wider understanding of our membership structure, ie. national individual members (NIM's) and local individual members (LIM's). The AAM HQ has been notified of 4,218 LIM's by 90 Local Groups. There appears to be a profound variation in the nature of the membership structure of Local Groups from the ad-hoc to the advanced. Size varies significantly as do the membership rates on which there has been debate on the necessity or otherwise of a standard local membership fee. Servicing of NIM's is similarly diverse; however a consensus looks like emerging with NIM's being contacted intermittently for the high priority events only.

Understandably (and appropriately) the priority for Groups is campaigning. However there may be a lack of balance in some instances where attention to organisation, administration, membership or finance is minimal resulting in structural weaknesses. This can limit the ability to campaign most effectively. For example a lack of proper membership records and financial planning hinders the ability of a group to grow beyond a certain size.

An underlying need has been identified for support, training and communication in these areas. Plans for a series of regionally based meetings covering membership, finance and fundraising are to be put to Local Groups for 1990. The aim of these is to strengthen our organisational basis. More specifically it is envisaged they provide an opportunity to explain procedures at the AAM HQ, provide expertise and guidance on appropriate procedures for Local Groups and very importantly listen to Local Group ideas and needs in these areas. The level of such discussions would vary depending on the skills and requirements of those attending.

The regional mobilising conferences to debate the implementation of Boycott Apartheid 89 in February and March strengthened the process of regionalisation of the Movement's local structures. Eight regional AA Committees now exist and informal communication is now much greater in areas not covered by regional committees. These ad-hoc committees typically come together for specific projects and events. The necessity for such liaison was highlighted during the tour of the Boycott Bandwagon.

Circulation of material, speaking at meetings and production of local publicity is widespread and contributes to the identity of the Group and helps increase its impact on organisations in the locality. Initiatives, such as the Southern Africa Coalition, have provided an opportunity to contact local organisations previously not automatically identified with the AAM.

Bristol AA have established a Southern Africa Resources centre on the model employed by Sheffield AA which will employ a full-time worker.

An important development in the process to counter the continued and chronic underfunding of the AAM has been discussion at the National Committee of the role of Local Anti-Apartheid Groups. The agreement to institute an Annual Local Group levy was an important element of the result of those discussions, which took place at three consecutive NC meetings. The plans are being implemented at the time of writing. As with any new system a period of acclimatisation is expected. It is envisaged that the levy will produce a regular base of financial support to the AAM whilst not limiting the ability of Local Groups to function politically and financially. Hence for example the continued development of 50% schemes and a wide definition of what activities, that provide finance for the AAM, will be part of the levy ie raffles, Soweto walks etc.

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## LOCAL AUTHORITIES

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### FOURTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

One hundred and thirty-nine Local Authority delegates representing 70 councils attended the fourth biennial conference on local authority action against apartheid held in Sheffield on 16 - 17 February. This positive conference built on the success of previous ones. It elected a new Local Authorities Against Apartheid (LAAA) national steering committee and adopted a programme of action. The programme identified certain key areas: economic action - it was agreed to support the AAM's 'Boycott Apartheid 89' campaign; action on political prisoners to give particular attention to repression of civic leaders and community organisations (a memorandum on this issue is currently being finalised in liaison with SATIS); and Namibia, LAAA agreed to sponsor the Namibia Emergency Campaign and followed developments in the independence process intervening with the British government and United Nations where appropriate. Other areas of priority were education, tourism, the Frontline States, sports and culture.

Key note speakers were: HE James Gbeho from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, Mendi Msimang (ANC), Peter Manning (SWAPO) and Dudu Chili from the Soweto Civic Association. Representatives of Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cuba and Mozambique also took part.

LAAA also joined the Southern Africa Coalition initiative for a fundamental change in British policy.

### LOCAL AUTHORITY RESOURCE UNIT ON APARTHEID

The Resource Unit has been established as a limited company by local authority subscribers. It aims to develop expertise through the pooling of experiences; provide a resource of information concerning Southern Africa; and produce and circulate information.

### TEN DAYS OF ACTION AND GENERAL ACTIVITY

The centrepiece of local authority action was, again, the 10 Days of Action from 16 - 26 June.

Southwark council produced a new 12-inch record, 'Abolish Apartheid Now' recorded by Reggae artist Roy Shirley. It was sponsored by the council's race equality committee in a new initiative to spread the anti-apartheid message. The record also provided the theme song for the council's successful anti-apartheid festival, Jamdown Apartheid, held during the 10 Days of Action.

A number of Local Authorities particularly those in Wales were prominent in the response to the rebel Rugby tour of South Africa.

Manchester city council's 'Anti-Apartheid Weeks' reached out to all sectors of the city, bringing them Asian and African music, such as Kulu and Fela Kuti; films such as 'Chain of Tears'; and anti-apartheid speakers. A special

church service was also held, as well as poetry workshops, an arts and crafts fair and African drumming. Councillor Mike Harrison and local MP's with representatives from the council's working party presented a 10,000 signature petition calling for the release of Nelson Mandela to 10 Downing Street. The signatures were collected during the 'Week of Action'.

Crawley borough council undertook a similar initiative with a festival against apartheid at their prestigious Hawth centre. The week was a combination of music, film, dance, and discussion. Elsewhere Newham Council maintained a tradition by renaming a road in E16 'Mandela Rd'.

'Apartheid's War on its Neighbours', published by Sheffield city council, is another resource for the campaign against South African destabilisation. The pamphlet uses material from the 'Building Links with the Front Line States' conference for local authorities, with main contributors Zambian foreign affairs minister Mavis Muyunda and Frelimo leader Jorge Rebelo of Mozambique.

A number of Local Authorities including York, Islington, withdrew from the World Travel Market.

Local authorities continued to liaise with local and national structures of the AAM.

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## STUDENTS AND YOUTH

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The involvement of students and young people in general in the work of the AAM continues to provide an important constituency of support. An upsurge of support in colleges in particular was seen at the start of the last academic year. As a direct result of the impact of the summer Mandela campaign, student groups were getting 100200 new members at this time.

Likewise the struggle of the youth of South Africa and Namibia themselves has provided great inspiration. The emergence of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) as a major political force in the Mass Democratic Movement, spearheading the campaign against apartheid executions; and the growth of the Namibian National Students Organisation (NANSO) leading a massive students boycott earlier in the year and now, as a new affiliate of SWAPO actively campaigning in the elections, have both been important developments in the region impacting on young people here.

Students have continued to play an active role in a wide range of campaigns. Mailings to student groups have included highlighting the Namibia campaign and the debt-rescheduling campaign at the start of the new academic year. Many student groups have taken up these and other issues throughout the year. NUS has also circulated material on the debt campaign and did a special mailing to all Student Union on the Namibia campaign. Boycott Apartheid 89 has also had a high profile in colleges: some groups have targeted local supermarkets with a high student market, others have been boosted by visits by the Boycott Bandwagon.

The Movement continues to work with a range of student and youth organisations: liaison with the National Union of Students continues as a priority: a range of initiatives are planned for the new academic year, following on from the first term priority work on Namibia. AAM's campaigns are also featured regularly in NUS's publications. AAM had a stall and presence at the two NUS national conferences during the year, an important opportunity to meet student activists and promote campaigns. Other organisations with whom the Movement continues to liaise include the United Nations Association Youth, Young Social and Liberal Democrats, National Organisation of Labour Students and the Woodcraft Folk.

At the initiative of SATIS, a number of youth and student organisations are now planning to actively take up specific cases of prisoners on Death Row involving young activists. The organisations participating in this important development are UNA Youth, Young SLD, NOLS and NUS. The visit of a representative of SAYCO and the Save the Patriots Committee provided an important opportunity to brief these organisations on the campaign.

The Movement continues to provide a range of support for youth and student groups around the country: speakers, running stalls, advice on campaigns etc. Many local groups are also now working at involving more young people in their activities.

## WOMEN

Work amongst women in the AAM received a long-awaited new impetus this year with the adoption of the joint Executive Committee-Women's Committee report 'Mobilising Women Against Apartheid' at the 1988 AGM and the commitment with it to a year-long campaign on women.

This paved the way for the appointment of a temporary women's campaign organiser and the organisation of a Month of Action on Women in March and a national 'Women Against Apartheid' conference in June.

Despite short time for preparation, a leaflet 'Every woman can do something' was prepared for the Month of Action and women organised many activities from pickets to public meetings, exhibitions and benefit concerts, up and down the country. Women's pickets were organised outside the South African Embassy on International Women's Day and Sharpeville Day, focusing in particular on women political prisoners in South Africa. A special membership leaflet aimed at women was also produced. An AAM social event was also organised at the Women's TUC.

To build on the activity and enthusiasm generated by the Month of Action, a conference for women only - the first in the AAM's history - was held on 3 June. Though originally intended to be planned by a Preparatory Committee made up of representatives of other women's organisations, in the event it was planned by women from the Executive Committee and the Women's Committee and attended by 170 women.

Speakers from the ANC and from SWAPO focused attention on various aspects of the struggle against apartheid for women in Southern Africa. Women shared and developed ideas for action against apartheid and discussed the position of women within the AAM and the question of how to mobilise more women at all levels into action against apartheid. Feedback was monitored, and the consensus was that the day had been well-organised, enjoyable, instructive and stimulating.

Amongst the demands which emerged from the conference was the need for the AAM to have a women's voice which is accountable and representative of all women in the Movement, not just London-based. This, and other recommendations were discussed by the National Committee and will form part of the remit of a Working Party which has been set up to address these issues.

Intensive discussions were held on the issue of Equal Opportunities policy, and a wide-ranging memorandum was prepared and put forward to the Executive Committee.

Throughout the year the AAM Women's Committee has continued to produce the Women's Committee Newsletter. In February a highly successful cabaret evening was organised jointly with the AAM London Committee to support the Women's Committee appeal for a minibus for SOMAFCO. In October a briefing meeting was organised for the South African trade unionist Emma Mashinini. Work is continuing on building a network of women interested in the activities of the Women's Committee.

## BLACK AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

The Black and Ethnic Minorities Committee staged its first public event in May with an African Liberation day solidarity evening at Soho's Wag Club, addressed by Bernie Grant MP and representatives of SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa. A collection for the SWAPO Election Appeal Fund brought an enthusiastic response. Contributions totalled £600, with a pledge from the National Black Caucus of £100 topping the donations.

The evening also featured a fighting speech by Frelimo militant and Mozambican author Lina Magaia. AAM vice-chair Dan Thea made a strong appeal to the Black community and ethnic minorities to boycott South African goods and get involved in the fight against apartheid. The evening was brought to a rousing conclusion with South African freedom songs led by the ANC choir singing and dancing.

In August the Committee cooperated with the London AA Committee, Women's Committee and Church Action on Namibia in preparing and

staffing a float at the Notting Hill Carnival which was designed to promote support for SWAPO. A considerable number of SWAPO WILL WIN! badges were sold.

In a continuing effort to encourage Local Groups to implement the guidelines for work in black and ethnic minority communities adopted by the 1987 AGM, the Committee held open meetings in the lunch-breaks of the National Committee meetings at Glasgow in April and Cardiff in July. Follow-up work is needed, and it appears that many Local Groups have yet to consider how to build links in their area. Demand for the leaflet prepared by the Committee (Black Solidarity - a Call to Action) continues to be good, and it has been reprinted more cheaply by omitting unnecessary colours.

The Committee was invited by the Executive Committee to consider a draft policy statement on Equal Opportunities in Employment. Several discussions were held, and a fresh draft was submitted to the E.C.

A survey of the composition of the Executive Committee and then other AAM Committees at national level presented to the National Committee in September showed that of the total membership of 158, (which includes a degree of duplication), approximately 25% were Black and 38% were women.

The Committee protested to the Home Office about the seizure of Viraj Mendis from the sanctuary of a church in Manchester and the prospect of his deportation, but shortly afterwards the deportation was carried out. The Committee also sent solidarity messages to two anti-racist demonstrations in Southall to mark the tenth anniversary of the death of Blair Peach. The production of an anti-apartheid rap record has been reported above under the Cultural and Academic Boycott.

## EDUCATION

The Movement continues to provide a wide range of information packs, advice and guidance to teachers for courses and to pupils doing projects, essays etc: often dealing with several dozen such requests every week. In addition, many more schools are now requesting speakers on a whole range of topics for classes, assemblies etc.

A useful range of educational resource for schools are now being produced in various quarters and promoted through the AAM, particularly through AA News, such as the Leeds Development Education Centre pack for school students. In addition, the Movement continues to promote the range of educational materials prepared by the British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (BDAF).

## HEALTH

The struggle to isolate apartheid in the health field has made significant advances over the last year. The British Psychological Society and the Royal College of Psychiatrists both adopted strong policy statements against apartheid and in favour of an academic boycott. The College of Speech Therapists also adopted an anti-apartheid motion. A strong campaign was fought for South Africa's expulsion from the World Psychiatric Association, which failed in part due to the particular circumstances of that organisation. The coming year will pose new challenges in the form of a concerted attempt by some countries to rejoin the racist World Medical Association. The AAM Health Committee has already started campaigning to prevent these moves taking place.

In May, a conference 'Health and Liberation in South Africa and Namibia' was jointly organised by the AAM Trade Union and Health Committees. The opening session was addressed by Rodney Bickerstaffe, General Secretary of NUPE, Kisa Dhlamini from the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) from South Africa, Barry Kistnasamy from the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) from South Africa and Peter Manning from SWAPO. A solidarity message was also received from the newly formed South African Health Workers Congress (SAHWCO). The conference heard about the problems of trade unions organising in the health field as well as the health situation in general in South Africa and Namibia, and discussed solidarity action which health workers in Britain can take in the struggle against apartheid. A collection

raised over £200 for SWAPO.

The AAM Health Committee has continued with its general educational work this year, both in sending speakers to meetings and in the production of 'Health and Liberation', its bulletin.

The Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa (MACSA) was able to present SWAPO President Sam Nujoma with a cheque for £1000 for medical support which SWAPO needed during the election campaign. Money has also been raised for 40 medical kits, which have been sent to the ANC.

## MULTI-FAITH COMMITTEE

This year has seen major moves forward for the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the establishment of closer working relations with many of the main Christian churches in Britain. Similar developments have taken place with many of the leading Christian aid agencies. This situation has developed out of the conference organised by the British Council of Churches on the theme 'Britain and South Africa - The Way Forward' held in London in February. Out of this grew the Southern Africa Coalition (reported earlier) in which again the AAM has played a leading role. This has served to cement our relationships with a range of churches, including the Church of England, the Methodist Church, and the Church of Scotland, as well as with several Christian aid agencies, including the Catholic Institute of International Relations, Christian Aid, and Pax Christi.

These contacts established at a national level now need to be built on at a 'grass roots' level to build an understanding of the work and the role of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the wider religious community in Britain. To facilitate this work the Multi-Faith Committee has prepared a brochure entitled 'Apartheid a Religious Response.' The brochure sets out why all the main religions of the world reject apartheid, an appraisal of the spiritual side of the struggle against apartheid, a series of quotes from major religious figures and institutions inside South Africa condemning apartheid and calling people of faith to action, and the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

After some months of inactivity, the Multi-Faith Committee started meeting again in the autumn. Unfortunately the convenor of the Committee, Rev. Cedric Mayson, has been obliged to give up his post, but discussions have begun and a successor is expected to be found soon. Our thanks to Cedric for his invaluable contribution to this important area of work.

## PARLIAMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

A separate report will be given at the AGM.

## INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

## ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

In 1988/89, the production of Anti-Apartheid News has moved on to an increasingly professional footing. For the first time in the paper's history, a full-time staff member has editorial responsibility, and layout is now done on a desktop publishing system, rather than by hand.

The redesign of the paper (which took effect from January 1988) has now

been consolidated and readjusted following an updating meeting with Roger Huddle, the designer.

Roger Huddle also designed the attractive supplement produced by the Anti-Apartheid News team to mark the AAM's 30th anniversary. *Boycott Apartheid 1959-1989 - 30 years of the Anti-Apartheid Movement* was distributed both with the June issue of the paper and as a publication in its own right.

The supplement, which called for a redoubling of the sanctions campaign, included an interview with AAM president Archbishop Huddleston, a chronology of milestones in the struggle to isolate apartheid, a picture spread of anti-apartheid activity, and an overview of worldwide action.

Throughout the year, Anti-Apartheid News has reported on the whole spectrum of the fight against apartheid - from interviews with leaders of the democratic movements within Southern Africa to campaigns within Britain including:

- Mendi Msimang, chief representative of the ANC in the UK
- Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary, and Mohammed Valli, acting general secretary
- Barbara Switzer, assistant general secretary of the British Trade union MSP
- Hidipo Hamutenya, SWAPO information and publicity secretary
- Andrina Forbes, whose son Ashley is imprisoned in South Africa
- Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the UDF
- Doris McBride, whose son Robert is still on Death Row.

Among the many guestwriters and contributors were: Marion Wallace, Geoffrey Bindman, Ethel de Keyser, Tom Minney, Brian Bolton, Sonia Bunting, Marga Holness, Peter Robbins, Suresh Kamath, Phyllis Altman, Sam Ramsamy, Steve Howell, Peter Manning, Vella Pillay, Julie Griffiths, Guy Berger, Mzala, Mary Turok, Paul Joseph, Dr Bevis Miller and Tony Gifford.

The contents of each of the 10 issues per year is planned by the paper's Editorial Board whose members include journalists, researchers and anti-apartheid activists. Feedback and suggestions from readers on topics the paper should be covering are always welcome, as are offers to join the Editorial Board, or to act as regional correspondents for the paper.

As part of its drive to increase the profile of Anti-Apartheid News within the AAM, the Editorial Board is planning a meeting at the 1989 AGM to discuss the role, contents and use of Anti-Apartheid News.

Those who have served on the Editorial Board during the year are Deborah Ewing, Margaret Ling, David Coetzee, Jean Middleton, Bernadette Valkley, Keith Somerville, Gerald O'Sullivan, Siphon Pityana, Brian Bunting, plus a number of AAM staff.

After nine years of unremitting work, Margaret Ling resigned as Editor of Anti-Apartheid News in June. At its July meeting, the National Committee expressed its gratitude and appreciation to Margaret for the dedication and skill with which she tackled the enormous amount of work entailed in producing the paper since 1980. Margaret, who also served on the executive committee during the year, managed to combine her voluntary editorial responsibilities with her full-time job as a co-director of AA Enterprises.

With effect from the September issue, Alan Brooks, AAM deputy executive secretary, took over as Editor, with Elizabeth George (previously part-time Editorial Assistant) as full-time Assistant Editor / Production Manager. Vanessa Eyre continues as Advertising / Circulation / Promotions Manager.

Special thanks are due to the writers and photographers - especially those from the International Defence & Aid Fund (IDAF) - who have contributed to the paper, and also to Christobel Gurney and Nancy White for typesetting services, and to those volunteers who have helped with paste-up including Deborah Ewing, Cameron Brisbane and Andy Holten.

## DISTRIBUTION AND ADVERTISING

The circulation figures for Anti-Apartheid News over the past twelve months have closely reflected the fluctuations in membership (all National Individual Members and nationally affiliated organisations receive the paper). In November 1988 the circulation stood at 30,000 but by October 1989 had fallen to 23,000.

Although the bulk of copies are distributed to the membership, the paper is also distributed to subscribers and through bookshops and bulk orders. Bulk orders have remained steady at around 4,400 copies; the breakdown for October 1989 is as follows:

	No. of orders	No. of copies
Local Groups	70	1662
Trade Unions	25	1324
Student Orgs	11	178
Individuals	30	184
Misc/comps		1052

As the figures show, the majority of local groups do not at present take an order and a promotional drive amongst these local groups has already begun. A promotional poster has been produced which serves a dual function of promoting the paper and publicising local group activity, with the slogan 'What's going on? - Buy Anti-Apartheid News.' Amongst groups that presently take a bulk order, Tyneside AA tops the list at 140 copies, followed by Merseyside AA and the Scottish Committee with 100 each. However, the majority of groups take less than 25 copies and a promotional drive amongst these groups is also planned to try and increase present orders.

A new subscriber file was set up in December 1988, and there has been steady if not rapid growth from the initial 260 subscribers to the present 501.

Bookshops continue to be supplied by Central Books and orders have remained constant at around 400 copies.

As in previous years, the September Anti-Apartheid News was a special trade union issue, with an increased print-run of 51,000. There was an excellent response from both national and branch trade unions & trades councils. National trade unions circulated a total of 28,350 copies around their branches and affiliated branches and trades councils took a total of 1,867 copies. Income generated from these sales alone amounted to £1,717. A further £4,554 was raised from the advertising supplement.

Together, the June issue and 30th Anniversary supplement attracted over 8 pages of advertising, bringing in £4,391. A wide range of organisations including trade unions, local authorities, local AA groups, IDAF, BDAF, AA Enterprises, the PLP AA group, Christian Aid, and NUS advertised. An extra 5,000 copies of the supplement were printed and they are distributed to new members and enquirers.

In an attempt to ensure more regular advertising, national trade unions and local AA groups were invited to take ads in several issues at a discounted rate: in response MSF agreed to place an ad in each issue; the NGA and NUCPS agreed to advertise in 3 issues, as did Haringey AA and Wolverhampton & District AA.

The total income from advertising over the year has totalled £11,800. A wide range of organisations have taken the opportunity of both supporting the paper and of promoting themselves amongst the AAM's membership and other readers of Anti-Apartheid News. IDAF and AA Enterprises have again been regular advertisers.

## RESEARCH

The Movement has established itself as the foremost source of information on UK company links with South Africa and the Companies List, for which three updates have been produced during the year, has continued to be much in demand by journalists, individual investors and the rapidly-growing ethical investment business. AAM has become a key reference point for information on the South African economic situation as a whole and a great deal of information has been provided, especially on the debt crisis; DTI collaboration with apartheid; and the Minoco/ConsGold takeover bid.

During the year the Movement has been engaged in research on behalf of Bristol City Council on South African goods imported through Bristol docks. When finished, this project will provide Bristol with the necessary information to step-up its long-standing opposition to apartheid and further to reduce the links between the city and South Africa. An interim report was submitted in September.

International coordination of information gathering and dissemination was a particular feature of the debt campaign. Building on this as well as our already existing links with organisations such as ELTSA, the Labour Research Department and IDAF will be invaluable in building the information base to inform our campaigning decisions.

## PUBLICATIONS

The Boycott Apartheid '89 campaign saw the production of a wide range of material from specialised leaflets targeting particularly important South African products, to detailed briefings explaining the importance of the boycott campaign in the struggle against apartheid and giving breakdowns of the seasons and value of major target produce.

Boycott pledges have been only one of a number of petitions produced by the Movement through the year. The No Apartheid Executions petition has run through the latter part of the year, whilst the Stop the Tour petition was just one part of a wide range of material that had to be put together at very short notice when the cricket tour was suddenly announced.

Namibia has been a focus for action this year and the Namibia Emergency Campaign briefings have been produced, countering the considerable amounts of South African propaganda surrounding the independence process. Namibia was also a focus at Labour Party Conference, just one of the many conferences, political and trade union, at which the movement was represented and at which material was available.

Economic links have continued to be a major area of publications work, with regular updates to the Companies List, a new edition of Apartheid in Crisis (trade statistics) and the report on DTI hypocrisy, Selling Out To Apartheid (see above, under Trade). On top of these major publications, numerous briefings, factsheets and other papers have been produced. Of special note is Campaign Briefing No.1 on British imports from South Africa, produced as a key resource for the Boycott Apartheid '89 campaign.

# FINANCE AND FUND-RAISING

## FINANCE

Much progress has been made during this period to tackle fundamental problems relating to the financial position of the Movement. These relate in particular to the generation of funds; proper budgeting; effective mechanisms for financial control; and accountability to the democratic structures of the Movement. Improvements have been made in all four areas.

**Generation of funds:** The audited accounts for 1988-89 show a growth in income to £935,160, however over £380,000 of this was accounted for by income from Freedom Productions, i.e. revenue from the Mandela Concert. For the financial year 1989-90 the National Committee set targets for income for each major category with the aim of raising a total of £830,000. By setting such targets it has been possible to monitor real income against budgeted income in order to assess performance.

**Budgeting:** For the first time in the Movement's history the National Committee was presented at its July meeting with a draft budget for income and expenditure which allowed the National Committee to examine critically how the Movement's resources are to be expended. The provision of such a budget - and subsidiary budgets for management purposes - has provided for the first time proper mechanisms to control expenditure.



**Financial Control:** The Movement's accounts have now been computerised which provides for simple but effective mechanisms for financial control. Together with new procedures for preparing and approving budgets and a new ordering system, the basis now exists for strict control together with an ability to respond rapidly to any shortfall of income or unanticipated expenditure.

These structural improvements together with the appointment of a General Manager and a Finance Officer to succeed Mike Ketchum should lay the basis for a much more secure financial framework for the AAM. During this year a number of new initiatives have been taken to generate increased income. These have included an expanded programme of fundraising projects; a professional approach to appeals and other direct mail initiatives; the resurrecting of the Campaign Fund; and the introduction of a Local Group Levy on a per-capita basis.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is especially appreciative of the income received from AA Enterprises, the Workers Co-Operative establish to promote the sales of anti-apartheid and frontline products. For the financial year ended 31 May 1989 the gross amounts earned by the AAM from AA Enterprises totalled £27,745. The AAM has a joint Steering Committee with AA Enterprises, with which the Movement enjoys a close relationship, and we take this opportunity to express our appreciation.

The progress achieved in relation to the Movement's finances has been largely due to the tireless efforts of Vella Pillay who served as Honorary Treasurer until March 1989. Vella, who had suffered a mild heart attack in the spring of 1988 had been advised to relinquish the onerous responsibilities of Treasurer and he was succeeded by Richard Calton MP. Vella Pillay continues to serve on the Finance Committee of the Movement; however this is an appropriate opportunity to record our appreciation for the determined manner in which he sought to transform the financial organisation and control of the AAM. It is also appropriate to thank Mike Ketchum our Finance Officer until May 1989 who also served as Company Secretary of Freedom Productions and Finance Officer of BART.

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## FUND-RAISING

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The well-attended workshop at the last AGM on Finance and Fundraising brought forward many ideas on ways of developing the Movement's fundraising strategy. Clearly there is a wealth of experience and knowledge at the disposal of the Movement. Bearing in mind the ideas raised a number of solutions were sought for the problem of underfunding which has beset the Movement. Some are detailed elsewhere but the following five are particularly relevant here.

Firstly, a second Fundraiser - Sian Bakewell - has been appointed by the Movement to cover Projects. Tim Walker is now responsible for Appeals. Secondly, a fundraising programme has been conceived which is more in line with both the capacity of the Fundraisers and the Movement's needs. Thirdly, an expanded programme of direct-mail and magazine inserts has been developed which will help the Movement target more accurately potential donors and members. Fourthly, a range of national fundraising events, inspired by the successful Freedom Run in London last year - under the title of 'Freedom Events' - is to be set up to involve people all across the country. And finally, a Fundraising Newsheet will be produced and circulated to Local Groups and interested individuals so as to increase the general level of awareness about fundraising initiatives. There will also be a section reserved in AANews for fundraising news.

We hope these initiatives will help the Movement nationally while also assisting local groups with their own fundraising and contribution to the national levy.

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## FUND-RAISING SCHEMES SINCE AUTUMN 1988

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This period has seen a series of highly successful fundraising schemes. They have not only raised sizable sums of money but have also served

to make significant campaigning points. The following are the highlights:

- The 1988 Prize Draw proved to be the most successful ever - raising a total of nearly £34,000 (costs were in the region of £7,000).
- The 1989 Prize Draw following on has proved even more successful. It was launched in April with the most attractive range of prizes ever. First prize being a car worth over £5,500. Other prizes included five holidays - three of them worth #500 or over - a CD player, a colour TV, a bed, a futon, and a portable stereo: 59 prizes in all were donated. And the completed returns for the Draw have just become available, indicating a much increased profit over the previous year. A total of over £60,000 has been raised for an expenditure of approximately £11,000. This was in no small measure due to the efforts of Local Groups. For the first time a 50% scheme was operated, enabling groups to keep half of the income from the tickets they sold. In addition a special prize of an Amstrad Computer was offered for the group which sold the most tickets over the value of £500 (£250 to the group). Sheffield AA are the proud winners!

In 1990 we will be launching the Prize Draw through Local Groups in March - before tickets are sent to individual national members - to enable groups to distribute tickets and encourage individuals to return tickets through the group; thus more money for groups!

- The 1988 end-of-year President's Appeal was for the first time direct-mailed to members, rather than being enclosed with AA News. This approach was highly successful: £40,000 was raised for an expenditure of £9,500.

This annual appeal which sets out our aims for the forthcoming year needs to reach every supporter in the country. That's why the help of Local Groups in assisting with the distribution is so important - in particular in delivering it to Local Individual Members who are not national members.

- Our range of Cards for Winter 1988/Spring 1989 again proved to be very popular. Large quantities were taken by Local Groups and unions. This year's new range of cards has attracted a great deal of interest in particular from the unions - one union has ordered 13,000.

- "Operation Orange" - an imaginative initiative planned to raise money and mark South Africa Freedom Day (also the 30th anniversary of the Movement) was an outstanding success. The paper oranges, over-printed with a message calling on the government to introduce sanctions, were returned by over 20% of our members. And the oranges, many with personal comments added, were delivered to Downing Street by a delegation including Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Norman Willis and Mamta Singh (who was born on South Africa Freedom Day!). Nearly £30,000 was raised (including £11,000 of standing orders) for an expenditure of just £7,500.

Campaign-orientated appeals, such as "Operation Orange" prove to be highly successful, and will be incorporated into our 1990 programme of appeals.

- The Freedom Run, a unique event initiated and organised by AAM volunteers, was undoubtedly one of the highlights of the year. 1,200 people took part - making it the largest 'political' run for many years. Special thanks must go to Fay Dellimore, the Run Co-ordinator who did an outstanding job, both in terms of arranging sponsorship and prizes for the event, and logistical arrangements. As of the present date the Run has raised £25,000 for an expenditure of £8,700.

Already plans are in hand for next year's run. And as described we hope to organise a series of Fun Runs, Cycle rides and around the country building on the success of the Freedom Run.

- Flag days: Special collection kits were produced early in 1989 for the use of groups consisting of sashes, cans with a redesigned sticker and wallets for keeping lapel stickers in. The kits, designed in an eye-catching fashion, have clearly helped to raise the profile of street collectors. Some groups report a substantial increase in income over previous years. Bristol AA, for example, raised over £700.

# ORGANISATION

## MEMBERSHIP

1988 witnessed a very dramatic increase in the membership of the AAM, which was overwhelmingly the result of the impact of the Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70 Campaign. This expansion was without precedent and due to unique circumstances which are unlikely to be repeated. As a result, the membership at the end of October 1988 stood at about 19000, and reached a peak of 19,410 at the end of March 1989.

The total number of new members during the period October 1988 - October 1989 was 4793.

Special efforts have been made this year to promote a higher rate of renewals in order to maintain the individual membership at the high level that was achieved. Formerly the renewal process comprised two steps. A first reminder card was sent at the beginning of the month preceding the date of renewal followed by a second reminder with a cover note from the Membership Secretary at the beginning of the month in which the renewal was due, together with a renewal card and a freepost envelope. Following a review of this procedure, it was decided to include an additional third reminder. These new procedures came into operation from April 1989. All those who were due for renewal from April 1989 received a third reminder with a detailed cover letter from the AAM's Honorary Secretary Abdul S Minty, explaining the importance of the work of the AAM, what it has achieved, what still needs to be done and why their continued membership is so important to the AAM.

It was also decided that for all those people that were due for renewal between June and September, the second reminder would be a special letter from Jerry Dammers and Jim Kerr referring to the Wembley Concert and events since to motivate members to rejoin. The decision to send the letter from Jerry Dammers and Jim Kerr was based on the assumption that the overwhelming majority of new members over the summer and autumn of 1988 were derived from the Mandela campaign.

The total individual membership at the end of October 1989 was 14,061.

The table below shows the changes in membership:

### GROWTH/DECLINE IN MEMBERSHIP JANUARY-OCTOBER 1989

	A New Members	B Lapsed Members	C* Net Growth	D Renewals due	E** %Renewal Rate
JAN(3)	568	143	425	385	62.86
FEB(3)	383	90	293	289	68.86
MAR(3)	246	146	100	449	67.48
APR(3)	281	402	-121	1030	60.97
MAY(3)	158	273	-116	793	65.57
JUN(3)	555	1721	-1166	3604	52.24
JUL(3)	405	387	18	940	58.83
AUG(3)	350	59	291	318	81.45
SEP(2)	169	3549	-3380	6335	43.97
OCT(2)	271	592	-321	1062	44.26

\* C = A minus B

\*\* E = No. of renewals received as a percentage of renewals due.

( ) indicates the number of reminders they have been sent.

NB: The third reminder sent to Jan, Feb, March, was in fact a letter from Bishop Huddleston sent to everyone whose membership was due preceding 01.3.89.

At the time of going to press, a third reminder had not been sent to those whose membership lapsed in September and October. It is hoped that after doing so, the renewal rate for both these months will see a further increase.

The average renewal rate between January 1989 - October 1989 has been 61%. This renewal rate has been very encouraging and indicates that the new renewal procedures have resulted in a higher rate of renewals (between March-July 1988 the average renewal rate was 53%).

Analysis of membership by category, ie. Joint(£13), Individual(£10), Student(£6.50) and unaged(£4.50), showed that almost 1/3 of members pay a sub-economic rate.

This year, for the first time, a careful study has been carried out into the real costs of servicing members. This revealed that the cost per member (including the payment of £1 per member to the local AA group) is approximately £7. Great concern was expressed as to the level of subsidy provided for members on the lowest concessionary rate of £4.50; effectively every member in this category costs the AAM £2.50. It was therefore agreed by the National Committee to merge the two concessionary rates into one, at the higher current level ie £6.50. The National Committee also agreed to review the servicing of members, and for that a membership survey will be conducted as part of the process of clarifying what the options are.

There are currently 1291 organisations affiliated to the AAM, of which 708 are trade union branches, 200 CLPs, 91 student unions/student AA groups, 35 Trades Councils, 5 women's organisations, 11 national organisations other than trade unions, 10 church groups and 178 recognised Local AA Groups. There is clearly much scope for increasing affiliations to the AAM amongst religious, women's and community organisations.

38 national trade unions were affiliated at the time of the last annual report. In January 1989, the Movement welcomed the affiliation of 2 more national trade unions, the United Road Transport Union (URTU) and the National Union of Marine, Aviation and Shipping Transport Officers (NUMAST).

Over the year 298 new organisations affiliated to the AAM. These were for the most part trade union branches, which affiliated as the result of a new leaflet, aimed specifically at trade union branches, which was circulated by some national trade unions to their branches.

However most national trade unions have only between 1-10 local branches affiliated to the AAM. There are 20 trade unions with 1-10 local branches affiliated, 7 with 11-20 branches affiliated and 5 others have 20-40 branches affiliated. NUCPS has 48 branches affiliated. However MSP and NALGO have by far the most branch affiliations standing at 125 and 118 respectively.

It is hoped that the recirculation of the trade union recruitment leaflet and the production of a new general recruitment leaflet for affiliated organisations will see a healthy increase in the number of organisations affiliated to the AAM in 1990.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The 1988 AGM, hosted by Sheffield AAM at the Octagon Centre, was the second held on a delegate basis. It was attended by 405 delegates representing 222 organisations and 20 members of the out-going National Committee. (Total 425 : 272 male, 153 female). There were 9 observers, 6 with and 3 without speaking rights.

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee of the Movement met five times during the period covered by this report and in a significant new development two of these meetings were out of London in Glasgow (April) and Cardiff (July). The high level of attendance at both these meetings reflects a growing

recognition of the genuinely national character of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The first meeting took place immediately after the AGM in Sheffield and was primarily concerned with the election of the Officers and incoming Executive Committee. The meeting however did consider the Report R7 on the Development of the Movement which had been remitted to the NC together with the relevant motions and amendments. The National Committee agreed that this was a major item of importance and asked the EC to circulate it to all affiliates especially local groups and regional committees asking for comments and for it to report accordingly to the next meeting of the National Committee.

The first full meeting of the National Committee took place in January at the NALGO HQ in London and the "Future Development of the AAM" was one of the key items on the agenda. The NC had before it an Options Paper prepared by the EC which sought to take into account views expressed at the AGM and subsequent comments. Following a constructive debate the EC was authorised to bring a final document to the April NC. However to ensure full discussion and debate it was agreed that it had to be circulated well in advance of the meeting.

This Report entitled "Future Development of the AAM" was prepared, circulated and given the most careful consideration at the National Committee meeting in Glasgow in April. It identified clearly both the "problems" and the "priorities". It examined the development of Scottish and Welsh organisation; Regional Development; the need to cater for "targeted groups"; the issues of "Management and Organisation" and those of "Membership, Communication and the Media". The meeting unanimously adopted the Report's recommendations, the key ones being:

- the requirement that more systematic attention is given to organisation, administration and financing
- the promotion of regional structures and organisations together with the expansion of the existing Field Officer service
- a set of priorities for the appointment of additional staff, namely:
  - 1) Scottish and Welsh Field Officers;
  - 2) the first (and possibly second) additional Field Officers for England;
  - 3) the Press Officer;
  - 4) the remaining Field Officer(s);
  - 5) Women and Black and ethnic minority development workers;
  - 6) Youth and Multi-faith development workers.
- the need to seek external funding for the four development workers and that should such funding be available these appointments would be made.

The unanimous adoption of this Report following a comprehensive process of consultation means that the Movement has a clearly agreed framework for expansion and development.

The National Committee meetings during 1989 paid especial attention to Namibia. The January meeting was addressed by Shapua Kaukungua of the SWAPO Central Committee; the April meeting - coming within a few days of the massacre of SWAPO cadres by the Pretoria regime in breach of the UN Plan - agreed to adopt a specific programme of action in response to the crisis after having an specially extended period of discussion; the July meeting was fully briefed by SWAPO Information Officer; whilst the September meeting was privileged to receive an up-to-date report from Theo Ben-Gurab SWAPO's Secretary for Foreign Relations. These briefings and discussions ensured that the National Committee was able to provide an effective lead to the Movement as a whole during the most critical period of the entire struggle for Namibia's independence.

The National Committee also reviewed progress during the year on the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the AGM. It also received two comprehensive reports on the Movement's finances. The July and September meetings considered progress in relation to the Womens Campaign and at the latter meeting it was decided to establish a Women's Working Party to make further proposals in this area. Amongst speakers invited to address the National Committee was Sam Ramsamy, the Chair of SANROC who briefed the NC on the sports boycott campaign and developments with the non-racial sports movement within South Africa.

The September meeting adopted the Political Report which forms the Introduction to this Report.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee, which is elected by and from the National Committee, advises the National Committee and sees to the execution of policy and the organisation of campaigns. It has held monthly meetings throughout this period as well as special meetings to review developments in Southern Africa. It also agreed during this period to hold quarterly meetings with the ANC in order to exchange views and strengthen relations between the AAM and the ANC.

The Executive Committee co-opted two members in addition to the Officers and EC members elected by the National Committee and the ex-officio representatives of WAAM and the Scottish Committee. It has a series of sub-committees covering different areas of work: the trade union committee; women's committee; black and ethnic minorities committee; health committee; and multi-faith committee. Other sub-committees have specific tasks: the Consumer Boycott Unit; AA News Editorial Board; and Finance Committee. The Fundraising Projects Sub-Committee functions as a Sub-Committee of the Finance Committee; a further such Sub-Committee is to be established to cover membership and promotion of the Movement.

The Executive Committee has focussed attention over this period both on the campaigning work of the Movement and on organisation, management and financial control. A new Management team has been created and a Management Committee established to strengthen the functioning of the Movement.

## AAM HEADQUARTERS

Work has been proceeding steadily for much of the past year on the refurbishment of additional premises in Mandela Street, and it is hoped that these will be ready for occupation in a couple of months. When completed, they will provide much improved facilities for volunteers, storage and despatch, and for the reception of visitors, as well as much needed additional office space.

It has long been recognised that a very heavy burden of the work of the Movement falls on the staff at Mandela Street. The dedication of the HQ staff is a source of great strength to the Movement, and their growing professionalism resulting from accumulated experience will surely stand the AAM in good stead.

The burden on the staff has been particularly onerous this year - partly because of the increasing pace of events in Southern Africa and the multiplying demands upon the solidarity movement, partly because of the severe cash flow problems encountered in the spring and summer.

A third factor having a major impact on staff this year has been the number of posts that have fallen vacant, some of which took longer than expected to fill. It has taken nearly a year to fill the new post of General Manager (initially advertised as Finance and Administrative Secretary) - a crucial addition to the HQ management team - and this gap in the management structure placed additional strains on virtually all members of staff. However, with the appointment of Lesley Higgins to this post, to take effect shortly after the AGM, we shall at long last have a full complement of staff, and improved prospects for reducing the turnover of personnel.

Much attention has been given during the year to establishing and improving methods of management and organisation, in order to increase efficiency and minimise waste. Central to this effort has been the establishment of a Management Committee, comprising certain lay officers together with the Executive Secretary and Deputy Executive Secretary. The Committee oversees finance and personnel matters, and with the addition of the General Manager it will be the pivot of the day-to-day running of the organisation, under the guidance of the Executive Committee.

Tribute is also due to the volunteers at HQ, without whose selfless performance of many laborious and tedious tasks the HQ's functioning would be seriously impaired. An initiative by some of the volunteers led to the June Fun Run, an imaginative innovation which it is hoped to repeat in 1990.

# AAM 1988/89

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## Staff

Shani Adiseshiah (from Sept 89)

Colin Adkins

Joy Annergarn (from Jan 89)

Sian Bakewell (from Oct 89)

Paul Brannen (from Jan 89)

Lorraine Carver (part-time)

Lucy Clapp (from Oct 89)

Ruth Elias (from Aug 89)

Mark Eastgate (from June 89)

Vanessa Eyre

Mick Flynn

Elizabeth George

Sue Longbottom

Joni McDougall

Ruth Marzetti (from Oct 89)

Yao Minta-Amuah (from Oct 89)

Gerard Omasta-Milsom (from Oct 88)

Bindy Patterson (part-time, from Sept 89)

James Richardson (from July 89)

Michael Sharp

Mamta Singh

Karen Talbot

Tim Walker

Our grateful thanks to the following staff who have left the Movement's employ since the last AGM: Stuart Bell, Jacqui Collison, Ros Epton, Chitra Karve, Mike Ketchum, Ngozi Onwurah, Shailan Shah.