

NUS AAM

student conference on

SOUTHERN AFRICA



Ben Gurabi (SWAPQ)



Essop Pahad (ANC, 5.A.)

ASTON JOINT UNION BIRMINGHAM

6th~8th July 1973

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Sobizana Mngatkana, (ANC)

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

The second national student conference on Southern Africa took place during 6th-8th July at Aston Joint Union in Birmingham, Organised jointly by NUS and AAN and attended by roughly 80 delegates representing 24 colleges (double the attendance at last year's conferece at Plaw Hatch) the conference brought together people who had been working on the Southern Africa Campaign since its inception, others relatively recently involved or taking over local responsibility for the work next year, NUS/AAM staff and Executive and representatives of the liberation movements, for three days of intensive education, experience sharing, discussion, planning and a bit of drinking. The aim of the conference was to assess campaign activity during 1972-1973 and to establish practical and effective tactics for next year's work. It included wide-ranging discussions on technical aspects of the work, ways of implementing the campaign according to specific local situations and for those people involved in and committed to solidarity work for the African people of Southern Africa the Conference was an opportunity to meet and get to know each other, discuss problems, and to develop the close contacts and working relationships, which the success of the student campaign depends on to a large extent.

This report reflects some of the hard work done by the delegates and outlines the important campaigns that are planned for the 1973-74 session. We hope that it will carefully read and will prove useful for local activists. Burther information is available from NUS, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine (CFMAG).

SECTION II

THE CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

The following is a brief resume of the conference. It cannot cover all the points raised during the sessions, but is reinforced by the full reports of the discussion groups which are produced later.

The Conference was opened on Friday evening by Steve Parry, National Secretary NUS Executive, who welcomed the delegates and spoke of the important tasks I that faced them during the weekend. Roger Trask, National Field Officer, AAM, introduced the paper 'An Assessment of the Year's work' (see Appendix I) paying particular attention to the recommendations in the final section. He also introduced the conference agenda, described how it had been drawn up and what it was hoped it would achieve.

Abdul Minty, Honorary Secretary, AAM addressed the conference. He spoke of the recent developments within Southern Africa, the advances of the forces opposing white minerity rule and the response by these regimes to try and overcome growing internal and external opposition. He pointed to NATO's military and economic involvement on behalf of the minority regimes, particularly Portugal, and to the direct and indirect support which those regimes received from the West European capitalist countries. The peoples of Southern Africa were showing their opposition to the oppressive regimes in many forms, from the grant strikes by a 100,000 workers in Souther Africa, through to the major military and political gains of FRELIMO in Mozambique.

Following questions the conference adjourned for theing.

On Saturday morning, with Hugh Bayley, NUS Executive in the chair, the session commenced with a talk from Ruth First, leading South African author and joint author of 'The South African Connection! Ruth spoke of the role of foreign investment in Southern Africa, explaining how this fitted in with the complex apartheid structure. She showed that foreign investment was there because of apartheid rather than in spite of it. With particular reference to Brithsh investment (60% of foreign investment), she explained that the press, Parliamentary Sub-Committee, etc., were trying to direct discussion on to the question of wages rather than the whole legitimacy of British investment. Big business was concerned that a highly profitable area was coming under attack and were trying to deflect criticism in this way.

John Sprack, AAM Executive took the chair and introduced Polly Gaster, Secretary, The Committee of Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. Polly spoke of the advances in the task of reconstruction in the liberated areas and paid particular attention to the increasing role played by women in the development of the struggle. The liberation movements had achieved significant advances; in Guine despite the cowardly assassination of Amilicar Cabral, the leader of the PAIGC, further advances had been made including the shooting down of several Portuguese aircraft. In Mozambique the extension of the struggle to Manica e Sofala province was a major strategic development for FRELIMO. Despite the continual threat of bombings and other military attacks a new revoluntionary society was being created in the liberated areas with co-operative structures in many fields, including agriculture, health and education. Outlining the extensive role played by women in the liberated areas and on the military front, Polly explained that their contribution was an integral part of the struggle. There was still some discrimination but this was steadily declining.

Following questions to Polly the Conference broke into discussion groups to examine the political situation in Southern Africa as a whole.

After lunch, with Steve Parry in the chair, the conference was again in plenary session. Steve introduced Ben Gurabi, from SWAPO who spoke of the recent visit paid by himself and the London SWAPO rep, Peter Katjavivi to the liberation forces fighting in the Caprivi strip. They had spent four days in Namibia with the SWAPO forces and had been tremendously encouraged by their morals and commitment. They say evidence of SWAPO military success which has resulted in over 200 South African troops being killed in the first six months of the year. As a result the South African forces were being forced to dramatically change their strategy. In other parts of Namibia the South African Government's fraud elections for a puppet legislative Council were being rejected by wide sections of the population. Moves to procrastinate at the UN were being heavily opposed.

Questions and discussion followed and the Chairman then introduced Sobizana Mngaikana of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Sobizana spoke on the question of material assistance. He pointed out that it was of both a political and a practical value. The liberation forces were fighting a very powerful enemy and they had many urgent needs. The precise requirements varied very much from territory to territory according to the conditions each liberation movement was operating under. By campaigning for material assistance support and understanding of the legitimacy of the armed struggle in Southern Africa would be gained. This was particularly important amongst the peoples of the West and would also contribute

*to the undermining of the collaborationist role played by the West in league with the minority racist regimes.

Following refreshments Roger Trask took the chair and introduced Barry Munslow Manchester University, Barry who played a major part in the Manchester University Investments campaign, described some of the major features of their campaign which might be af assistance to the delegates in their own unions. He spoke of the necessity of bold and imaginative publicity; of building a strong base and not fearing the dangers of delegating work, of planning out a campaign and educational programme together; and of drawing other sections of the community into the campaign. In Manchester this last point had been achieved with some surcess, the staff at the university had passed a resolution calling for the disinvestment of the university shares, as had several union branches within the university. A petition signed by leading members of the labour movement had gained substantial support and a labour movement conference was to be held in the autumn. The points raised by Barry were particularly useful in the discussion groups where some of them were taken up in more detail, The second speaker in the session was John Hosey, father of Sean Hosey one of the Pretoria Six and himself a shop stewards convener at British Leylands in Coventry. He described his experiences during his two months in South Africa observing his son's trial, He detailed the torture which all the Pretoria Six had been subjected to and the appalling conditions under which they had been held during the six months or more before their trial. He described the conditions be had seen in South Africa, which were even more barbarous than he had expected . He continued by explaining the work done by the Coventry Defence Committee, set up by predominately labour movement organisations to campaign for the release of the Pretoria Six, and spoke werely of the role students at Warwick wre playing in the campaign. Using this example be suggested ways in which students could work with and assist the campaign in the labour movement.

The evening session, after dinner, was devoted to discussion groups. The topics of these groups were, The Investment Campaign, Fundraising and Material Aid, Boycott Campaigns and Political Prisoners. (see following Section).

On Sunday morning the conference split into groups again to discuss the question of organisation e.g. Freshers Week, organisation of a year's programme. Following this the conference returned to the final plenary session with Steve Parry in the chair. John Sprack introduced the reports from Saturday night's discussion groups which had been typed and circulated to delegates. Discussion followed on each report and all were subsequently adopted, Roger Trask, making the final address to conference urged delegates to start planning out the activities for their college as soon as possible. He urged that the campaigns should not be run on a stermo-typed basis but with local fire and imagination. Fund raising for the liberation movements and other organisations and investments had emerged as the major national campaigns with boycotts and support for political prisoners campaigns being initiated locally. He urged full support for the campaign against Caetano's visit to Britain.

Following his brief final remarks, Steve Parry declared the conference closed

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SECTION III

DISCUSSION GROUP REPORTS

A. Discussion Group in Investment

Chaired by Roger Trask, (AAM)

Breadth and Scale of Campaign

- 1. Eampaigns should concentrate on Southern Africa as a whole. The tendency to confine argument to South Africa should be avoided at all costs.
- 2. Local authority sector colleges should initiate action on local authority investments;
- 3. In both cases, the educational value of the campaign should be properly developed;
- 4. The motivation should be political and agruments developed of a political nature, to avoid deflection into an economic dead end.

Components of a University Campaign

1. Research

a) Initial action by committed people to assemble the "vital statistics". This research would involve more members to form a research team as the scope increases:

2. Publicity

a) Major document, presenting fact, argument, line of approach, aims and reasons, this should be attractively presented. There is value in including "juicy details" of the firms' method of operation against a background of Southern Africa and its oppressive system. (Use Counter Information Service reports as a source)

Structure of a University Campaign

1. Limitations

- a) Effective action over two terms only;
- b) Allow for time wasting by the University Authorities in later stages of the campaign;
- c) One can accent on some benefit from the recent airing of the wages issue, which provides a foundation on which one can immediately build.

2, Mass Base

The educational aspects of the campaign must not be forgotten, and the development of a mass base of support is essential at the earliest stage to allow progress in later negotiations.

3. Timetable

- a) It is necessary to follow the research and initial publicity with a policy decision at a UGM at the earliest opportunity next term. It was felt that the motion should not be taken to a UGM at a time when the chances of success were not assured. Thus educational preparatory work should be vital.
- b) A programme of action, or charted path of operation, should be prepared and incorporated in the policy at this stage.

c) Deadlines for required responses from University Authorities should be specified. But the tactics employed should ensure that initiative remains with the campaign and does not shift to the authorities.

4. Lobbying

Lobbying of other groups is essential, and concurrent informal and official approaches should be made to the following staff committees: AUT, ASTMS & NALGO (all within the University), Trades Council, local councillors, any other groups represented on the University Council.

Sustaining the Campaign

- a) Speakers meetings, film shows, etc ensure continuing interest, and sefvice educational function;
- b) Manchester Union have a film which runs 15 mins. and is promised to be useful and fun at 1a Monty Python. (Contact "Welfare", University of Manchester Union).

6. Press

- a) Essential that the local press should be utilised to the full, and contact with individual reporters should be initiated and sustained;
- b) Use of the student press is essential to sustain the campaign, and involve more people. The student press will utilise copy if available to them.

7. The Atmosphere:

Constant activity and publicity - posters, handbills, stickers, use of tannoy - will ensure that the "hum of the campaign" attracts students to it.

8. Feedback

It's vital that NUS and AAM get full information on all activity whatever form, successful or not. This is needed to assess campaign progress nationally also for press interest.

Beyond this point it was felt that tactics affected by response from the Authorities and local conditions, support and commitment would dominate and it was decided not to persue an abstract "typical" structure.

Notes on a local authority sector campaign

- 1. It was recognised that conditions differed since there was no direct link between students and the local authority controlling the college as university students identified directly with their university.
- 2. However, the educational value of a campaign on local authority investments made it vital for the same reasons as in the university sector.
- 3. It was assumed that research would be simpler, and that facts and figures of the LA's investments would be either immediately available, or obtainable from a councillor.
- 4. Precedents should be identified and information on these sought from local authorities which had already sold investments. It was felt that approaches to Derby, Camden and Hammersmith would result in information on the resolutions they passed, as well as copious background information on the value of shares sold, debate, etc.

5. The difficulties of building an effective campaigning body on this issue in the smaller colleges indicates that approaches to local groups should be aimed at realising a partnership, rather than effective supportive activity on the part of sympathetic bodies.

6. It was suggested and adopted that the Colleges of Education Conference might devote a session to develop the discussion of College of Education activity in this field.

B. Discussion Group on Political Prisoners:

I Aim

The aim of the campaign should be to call for the release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa, to gain as much publicity as possible forward therefore public interest and involvement in the campaign and thus in the nature of the oppressive regimes in Southern Africa.

II Tactics:

Specific demands pertinent to each of the territories should be made as follows:

- a) Zimbabwe British people have a special responsibility for prisoners held by the illegal Smith Regime and the level of activity must be stepped up. Most urgent is action against the : illegal hangings being carried out by the Regime, and for release of Joshua Nkomo.
- b) South Africa: Immediate campaign should call for the release of the Pretoria Six, broadening to include all political prisoners. A suitable slogan might be "Release Nelson Mandela...."
- c) Namibia Campaign for the release of Herman ja Toivo and all other Namibiar prisoners, at the same time haghlighting SA's illegal occupation of Namibia.
- d) Modern description of the Geneva Convention as regards prisoners of war and political prisoners.

III Campaigning

- a) Organise speaker meetings specifically on political prisoners address by representatives of the liberation movements and other closely involved, .e.g. John Hosey, Judy Todd;
- b) Adoption of a particular prisoner by local groups, college unions, etc. e.g. Merman Tolvo is the V.P. of Hull University. Fund raising for that prisoner and his dependents, letter writing campaigns, again to prisoner and dependents and also to British Government, MPs, SA authorities etc;
- c) 1974 marks ten years since the Rivonia trial when Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and others were sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. A mass demonstration is planned to commemorate this, involving European NUSés, IUS and organised in conjunction with the ANC (SA) A possible date for this demonstration would be 26 June (SA Freedom Day)

C. Discussion Group on Boycott

I Aim

The objective of any boycott campaign is to isolate Southern Africa. Boycotts are regarded by the liberation movements as truly revolutionary acts, in that their effect is felt not only by the oppressed people but also by the oppressors and their supporters. News of process successful boycotts serves to hearten and encourage the African people and affects the white minority by losing them money, prestige and depriving them of their connections abroad. Boycotts are also effective in terms of the opportunities they give for politicisation and mobilisation, not only amongst students, but most other sectors of the population.

II Types of Boycott

The particular type of campaign undertaken will depend largely on the local situation, e.g. a college with a strong AA Group could set off with "Boycott Barclays", whereas one which has only recently started working on the campaign might find it easier to involve people initially through e.g. boycotting SA goods in the Union refactory and advancing from there.

1. Academic Boycotts South Africa depends on Britain for a large number of personnel, and on British professional institutes for support in vocational training (e.g. architecture, engineering). Bodies providing this sort of disguised aid to South Africa can be pressurised by students connected with them. Students should also work as far as possible with local branches of the teaching unions (AUT, NUT, ATTI) on this campaign.

2. ACU Campaign

The campaign against the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) decision to invite South Africa and Rhodesia to attend their quinquennial conference in Edinburgh in August was started by students in Scotland.NUS and AAM became involved early on and substantial opposition was built through contact with trade union branches, trades councils and political parties. This pressure was strongly augmented by the decision of amny Commonwealth universities to boycott the conference in SA and Rhodesia took part. These combined pressures proved; such aful and both South African and Rhodesian universities were forced to withdraw.

- 2. Boycott of produce Boycotts of fruit, sherry and wine are easy to organise and are immediately and visibly effective. They can and should wherever possible be extended outside the local union to involve Town and Trades Council, shoppers in the local supermarket, etc.
- 3. Boycott Barcleys Campaign The aim of this campaign is not simply to lose the bank money. Barcleys (the of the major clearing banks, is the most heavily involved in Southern Africa) provides an appropriate target, and the campaign against it should involve the mass of students, and aim at raising consciousness about the situation in SA, increasing student involvement and activity in all aspects of the campaign.
- 4. Sports Boycott: This continues to be a vital boycott that hits hard at the "white man in the South African street". Success has been greater here than any other boycott and has prompted a wider understanding of Southern Africa. The British Lions Rugby Tour is planning a South African Tour in 1978. During the year attempts will be made to bring rascist teams to Britain and to send other British teams to South Africa and Rhodesia. We know how to oppose them, let's ensure none slip through the net.
- 5. <u>Music Boycott</u> The Musicians Union forbid their members to play in South Africa. We must support this ban and ensure that groups playing at colleges have not and will not go to South Africa.

III Implementation of the Boycott

Academic Boycott

- a) Pressure on professional institutes such as RIBA, which has connections in South Africa, and help to reinforce the discrimination against Africans in the professions to break links with South Africa
- b) Pressure on newspapers (local, national) to stop taking advertisements from Southern Africa firms;

- c) Making sure that South African firms are not allowed to recruit on your campus and that your Careers Advisory Service is not offering jobs in SA;
- d) ACU: This campaign is going ahead with the demand that the ACU declares policy on apartheid; stops advertising on behalf of SA and Rhodesian academic institutes, and expells SA and Rhodesia from ACU membership.

Barclays Campaign

- 1. To counteract Barclays' own propaganda to freshers
- 2. To suggest the Co-op Bank as an alternative
- 3. To force Barclays to move their branches off campus.
- 4. To pressure LEA's not to allow Barclays to tour schools
- 5. To complain to Radio Luxemburg about its acceptance of Baralays ads.

Produce Boycott

- 1. To boycott SA fruit, and draw attention to it in the shops by using posters and small stickers (perhaps to be produced centrally)
- 2. To involve Trades Council etc. the people who actually sell the produce
- To pressure local Co-ops to boycott
- 4. To pressure college authorities not to use SA sherry and wines at functions
- To ban SA produce in college and Union refactories
- 6. To look into the possibility of boycotting Portuguese textiles (e.g. T-shirts)

One last point is that boycott campaigns are particularly suitable for activity in freshers weeks, in that the issues are clear-cut (don't buy this, don't bank here). The campaigns can be built on once people become involved, but must be sustained initially.

D. Discussion Group on Material Aid

I_Aim_

The campaign should have a two fold objective; of raising funds to materially support the liberation movements and at the same time using the fund-raising activities to increase awareness of and commitment to the liberation struggle. It is therefore very important that fundraising should always be done with political perspectives, and seen as an opportunity to educate.

II Implementation

1. General The campaign should advance at both local and national level. The NUS "clearing house" fund for liberation movements should be publicised and used as much as possible (largely because this is the best way to assess centrally how extensive the campaign is). It is important to recognise through fund raising, the totality of the struggle i.e. to avoid "favouritism" through concentrating on one specific movement. Funds should be raised for all freedom and internal opposition movements such as SACTU, SASO, and allocated according to needs.

2. What kind of aid

Money alone is preferable, as it can be used by the movements for their specific needs. However, dependent on the local situation it may be more effective to fund raise for specific projects, such as materials for reconstruction in liberated areas, educational and medical supplies, military equipment, etc. as some students resent giving cash for military pupposes only. It is therefore essential for NUS/AAM to keep in close contact with the movements so as to be aware of changing needs.

Materials themselves can also be supplied locally - e.g. factory; "seconds" such as blankets, shoes, pencils etc, and shipped out to the movements. Contact Liberation Movements in London for details of forwarding addresses.

- 3. NUS/AAM should as far as possible provide publicity material for local use, and produce detailed documents on fund raising methods.
- a) Speakers meetings to be organised locally and addressed by liberation movement representatives, NUS, AAM;
- b) A month of intensive activity, possibly finishing with a national meeting.
- c) Possibly deciding on a national target figure for the whole year
- d) Liaison with Trade Union movement

E Discussion Group on Organisation for Freshers Weeks

Introduction

To ensure the continuance of our activities on Southern Africa the recruitment of Freshers must be a major priority . The recruitment of new members to AAM and Liberation support movements should aim to raise the political awareness of the new students but at the same time the initial approach will probably have to be on a low key level.

<u>Aims</u>

The group felt that the aims for the initial programme should be:

- a) recruiting
- b) provision of information, highlighting student situation (SASO) c) fundraising for liberation movements
- d) campaign

<u>Methods</u>

- a) Recruiting recruiting will only be of long term use to the movement if it is accompanied by political education. However in the initial stages one requires an indication of commitment The use of banker's orders for membership fees has proved successful in several colleges
- b) Provision of information the initial information can be made available to new students before term starts by including a brief information sheet in a mailing to all freshers. During the Freshers Programme there are many sources of information and methods of presentation such as
 - i) Films (lists from NUS, AAM, CFMAG and liberation movements)
 - Posters
 - iii)Fact sheets on specific points
 - iv) Speakers
 - v) Photo exhibitions
 - vivi) Theatre groups dramatisation of particular points
 - vii) Slide shows viii) Personel contact - discussion groups

and social events - bread & chese lunches folk singing evenings

discoss

Many of these presentations can be combined (e.g. exhibitions with theatrical presentations.

c) Fund raising - Many of the information dissemination events can combined with fund raising (e.g. collections at meetings, films, etc) Admission charges to social events. Approaching actors and musicians unions to provide performers and personalities for charity events.

Fund raising can be related to specific wants of liberation

movements: e.g. SWAPO's need of field hospitals, medical supplies for JMC/Zimbabwe.

d) Campaigns - The group felt that Barclays Bank would provide a good starting campaign. For the campaign to have a chance of success the approach should be on a low key level.

Assistance from NUS/AAM

Because of the wide range of local campaigns it was felt inappropriate for the central organisation to provide all the back-up material, however certain specific services should be provided e.g. badges, fact sheets, films, speakers, posters, photos and fact sheet on Barclays Bank. Posters should have space for details of local activities

Thetical the proof.

SECTION IV

CONCLUSION

The conference report clearly shows the scale of the task ahead of us. Day by day liberation movement fighters are risking their lives in the struggle for freedom. Our task seems simple compared with this but the liberation movements have repeatedly stressed the importance of solidarity within Britain - it's up to us to increase that solidarity; to make sure that they receive all the support we can give them in that struggle.

It is vital that steps are taken immediately to get the campaign going in your college and this Report should help you to do that. Advice and assistance with programmes, speakers etc. is available from NUS, AAM and CFMAG. In addition the first meeting of student activist network next session will take place on September 22nd in London and this will be a further chance to get and give assistance. If you did not attend the conference please send your name to the NUS International Department so that you can be put on the mailing list. This mailing list forms the basis of the network. If the network is to succees we need tyour full participation in taking decisi decisions and implementing them.

A decisive year is in fromt of us, a year in Which we must work together to strike further blows for the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa

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APPENDIX II

Useful addresses

African National Council

Anti Apartheid Movement

Committee for Freedom in Mozambique Angola and Guine

International Defence and Aid

National Union of Students

Student Christian Movement

South West African Peoples Organisation

United Nations Students -- Association

49 Rathbone Street London W 1 (580-5301)

89 Charlotte: Street London W 1 (580-5311)

12 Little Newport Street London WC2 (734-9541)

104 Newgate Street London EC1 (606-6123)

3, Endsleigh Street London WC1 (387-1277)

Annandale North End Road London NW 11 (455-3211)

10 Dryden Chambers Oxford Street London W 1 (437-3063)

93 Albert Embankment London SE1 (735-0181)

DELECATES TO NUS/AAM CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

ASTON JOINT UNION 6th-8th JULY 1973

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Organidation	

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