



# the Anti-Apartheid Movement

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## ANNUAL REPORT

### The Labour Government and Apartheid

The work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement for a British policy of opposition to apartheid and for Britain's fullest participation and support for the United Nations in this respect has in the past received substantial support from the Labour and Liberal Parties. When a Labour Government was elected a year ago not only broad sections of anti-racial opinion in this country but also the peoples of South Africa and the Afro-Asian world expected a considerable advance towards an enlightened British policy towards apartheid and the South African Verwoerd regime.

One of the first acts of Mr. Wilson's Government was to announce an embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. But this embargo explicitly excluded the supply of arms under "existing contracts" and, as we now know, under the various secret provisions of the Simonstown military agreement between the two countries. As a result of these exclusions a substantial volume of arms shipments have been made to South Africa in the past year: the Buccaneer naval bombers supplied carry British obligations to provide spares and maintenance equipment well into the 1970's.

South African military personnel are still being trained in Britain and nothing has been done to discourage the growing flow of British capital and technical know-how and British skilled manpower into South Africa for the development of its armaments and aircraft industry. Top British military, naval and air force personnel visited South Africa as part of a "normal" Imperial Defence College course, while Britain trains South African nuclear scientists in her nuclear establishments.

These developments have undermined the arms embargo to the point of re-establishing the status-quo in Anglo-South African relations in this respect.

The actions of the Labour Government have been a severe disappointment to all opponents of apartheid, especially those millions of South Africans who in the past have drawn strength and inspiration from the support Mr. Wilson and other Labour leaders gave to the anti-apartheid struggle. They cannot but help feeling badly let down.

When the arms embargo decision was announced in November 1964 the AAM issued a statement expressing dismay and concern; explaining that the limited character of the embargo did not fulfill the terms of the UN Security Council resolution of December 1963 and the embargo's exclusions provided South Africa with ample loopholes for continued imports of arms and military equipment from Britain and for British facilities for the training of South African military personnel

The AAM's warning proved correct. The Labour Government recently agreed to supply South Africa with a quantity of military vehicles, following the United States' and Canadian Governments' refusal to permit these orders being placed in their countries. This not only made nonsense of the British embargo but actually undermined the embargoes being pursued by other countries.

At the United Nations and in other international organisations British representatives continue to obstruct the adoption of anti-apartheid policies and resolutions, while in matters of trade the present Government has intensified its relations with the South African apartheid regime.

Although South Africa has long since ceased to be part of the Commonwealth its exports to this country continue to enjoy Commonwealth tariff preference. In February last the Board of Trade's Parliamentary Secretary declared, in reply to a question in the House of Lords, that "... we are proud to trade with South Africa. Make no mistake about that." At a time when well over half the nations of the world are actively boycotting South Africa in fulfillment of their obligations to the United Nations, this shameful statement by a member of the British Government indicates our fullest collaboration with and support for apartheid.

The British Government has also refused to join in rendering support to the victims of apartheid through the UN-recommended Defence & Aid Fund, despite the fact that many other Governments are now doing this, including those of Holland and Sweden.

The step-by-step retreat of the Labour Government from its commitments over the years to support the anti-apartheid struggle has given new impetus to the Verwoerd Government to extend its apartheid policies to every field of life and to crush the forces of democracy and freedom through unparalleled legislation and police violence.

#### The Situation in South Africa

It is useful to note here the salient facts of life for the majority of South Africa's population under the apartheid system:

It is a criminal offence for a black man to own property or land, or to occupy it without permission of the white man. This applies to all but 2.4 per cent of the land area, designated as the "natural homeland" for over 11 million Africans. The remaining 87 per cent of the land area, except for a few pockets for Indian and Coloured occupation, is the "natural homeland" of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million Whites.

Education takes up 4.07 of the national income but only 0.42 per cent is spent on African education, despite the fact that there were 350,000 more African children at school in 1963 than in all other schools for White, Indian and Coloured children.

The average annual income per head of the population is £36 for Africans, and £624 for Whites. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 births is 200+ for Africans, and 27 for Whites.

Out of a total population of 16 million the average yearly prison population is now 70,000. This is more than double the British figure, although our population is over 50 million. 55,000 of those in prison are African, 12,000 are Coloured and 3,000 White. Up to 1960, 68 people were hanged a year. In 1963 this figure reached 120 and last year it was 89. (The British figure, before the Homicide Act, was 13 per year).

Banning orders, deportations, house-arrest, 90-day detention, and now 180-day detention (for potential State witnesses) are weapons in the armoury of Vorster's Security Police used to crush all opposition to apartheid. The conditions under which people are detained have driven several to suicide.

A former Supreme Court Judge, speaking of the conditions applied to detention under the 180-day law in South Africa, asked ".... are we not going back to the Middle Ages, substituting such confinement for the rack and thumb-screw which were used in that period?"

### International Action against Apartheid

The implications of South Africa's apartheid policies and the massive arms build-up in recent years for the peace and security of Africa and the world have been frequently examined by the United Nations as well as by the African States. They are all convinced that the continuation of apartheid with all its instruments of arms and violence constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. It makes a war between the races inevitable. This led the United Nations to a serious consideration of imposing economic sanctions against apartheid. But as is well-known its adoption as an effective policy has been persistently obstructed by the Western states. In 1964 the Security Council set up an "Expert Committee" to study the feasibility of sanctions, and in particular its effectiveness on the South African economy. The report of the Expert Committee issued earlier this year substantially supports the findings of the International Conference on Economic Sanctions held in London in April 1964, sponsored by the AAM. This report is now expected to be discussed by a meeting of the Security Council. For the Council to move forward towards collective international sanctions against apartheid it is imperative that the AAM maintains a high order of public activity in this country. We must ensure that British policy at the United Nations ceases to be obstructive on the crucial matter of economic sanctions.

In the meantime the need to proceed in other directions against apartheid is particularly urgent. The UN Special Committee in its important report of August 1965 (addressed to the General Assembly) recommended a programme of United Nations' action which, without prejudice to the urgent implementation of an embargo on trade, calls for:

An end to all political trials and an amnesty for all political prisoners in South Africa;

Full compliance by all member-states, "without restrictive and unilateral interpretation", in the decisions of the Security Council for ending the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition, military vehicles, equipment and material required for the domestic manufacture of arms.

An end to the export of aircraft and naval craft to South Africa;

Revocation of all licences granted to South Africa for the local manufacture of arms and military equipment;

Prohibition of foreign investment in, and the supply of technical personnel for, South Africa's war industries;

Prohibition of foreign investment, the grant of loans and credits to the South African government and South African companies, and to discourage emigration to South Africa;

Prohibition of the supply of petroleum and petroleum products, rubber, chemicals and other strategic raw materials to South Africa.

It is important to ensure that the British Government will not once again put obstacles in the way of this plan at the United Nations this year.

#### Political prisoners

In November 1964 an intensive campaign for the release of South African political prisoners culminated in a packed Central Hall meeting in London. Mrs. Hilda Bernstein drew attention to the treatment of political prisoners in an impressive and moving speech - she has since addressed meetings all over this country on this issue. Protests were organised throughout the year when we heard about the executions of Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba, and John Harris. Recently we drew attention to the conditions under which Issy Heymann was imprisoned. There have been many published reports of police torture of political prisoners. The South African Government is trying hard to suppress these reports by prosecuting those who have published the information.

#### Representations to Governments

Following the Government decision in November 1964 to embargo arms supplies to South Africa the AAM issued a statement calling for a complete ban on the export of armaments to South Africa. It sent cables to the Governments of West Germany and France requesting them not to accept orders which would otherwise have been placed in Britain. France did not reply but the West German Embassy informed our office that "they do not supply South Africa with any military equipment". We have requested written confirmation of this but have received none. On March 8th a lobby of Parliament was held; a large number of MPs discussed at great length the various points made by our members. We also distributed 30,000 "Sharpeville" postcards for members to send to the Prime Minister.

A CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNMENT WAS SENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER IN JUNE 1965. FOLLOWING THIS, WE HAVE BEEN GRANTED AN INTERVIEW AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE ON OCTOBER 19TH.

## Isolating Apartheid

Cricket: In April and May we undertook to organise a major campaign of protest against the tour of the all-white South African cricketers who arrived in London in June. Pickets and demonstrations were held outside hotels and cricket grounds.

The MCC received an AAM deputation led by our Hon. President, Mr. David Ennals, MP, on the morning of the first day of the Lords Test Match. The Queen and the Prime Minister were approached with a request that they should boycott the Test Match, and both did not attend. This is the first time that both Royalty and the Head of the Government refrained from attending a Lords Test Match since this practice was first instituted in the early 1900's.

The press was generally unsympathetic to our campaign although local newspapers gave widespread coverage to action taken in their areas. This campaign enabled us to involve many new people in our work and resulted in at least two new Anti-Apartheid Committees being formed.

During the last year white South African hockey and swimming teams visited the U.K. and protest demonstrations were organised against their visits.

Cultural: Emphasis is now being shifted to an extension of the cultural fight against apartheid into films. Tony Richardson, the well-known British director responsible for such films as "Tom Jones", has banned any of his future films from being shown in South Africa. Following AAM initiatives the British Screenwriters Guild has called for a ban on the distribution of British films in South Africa and other film trade union moves are under way to achieve this ban. Both John Osborne and Harold Pinter, well-known writers for screen and stage, have indicated support for moves of this nature.

Abroad, the Tanzanian Government have banned the showing of two British films on the grounds that they were made in South Africa. AAM has contacted African and Asian Governments asking them to follow this example. Various well-known American film stars have agreed not to allow their films to be shown in South Africa.

Following visits to South Africa by Dusty Springfield and Adam Faith, Actors' Equity reviewed its position on South Africa, and re-iterated its opposition to racism in entertainment. It invited individual members to sign a declaration pledging not to work in South Africa, and this has been signed by many of Britain's most prominent theatrical personalities.

After an approach by AAM, Lord Willis raised in the House of Lords the question of the South African Government's amendment to its Copyright Act, which would allow the works of foreign playwrights to be presented in South Africa regardless of the playwright's wishes. The amendment was introduced because of the almost total success of the playwrights' embargo on segregated South African performances of their works, initiated by AAM in 1963. Many American names have been added to the list of playwrights exercising the ban, in a declaration organised by the American Committee on Africa.

Academic: AAM has approached Professors and Senior Lecturers of British Universities to sign a Declaration stating that they will not accept any posts in South Africa. Details will be released at a press conference in mid-November.

### "Anti-Apartheid News"

The dissemination of information about South Africa to as wide and varied an audience as possible is imperative to the success of our campaign for governmental action against apartheid. News of the campaign in the world outside is infrequent but the need to maintain a steady public interest in South Africa remains the duty of AAM even as other events take topical precedence.

The AAM decided late in 1964 to publish a monthly newspaper, with a view to covering fully news about South Africa and the campaigns against apartheid in the rest of the world. The paper was also designed to extend the political and campaigning work of the AAM itself in this country, and to provide an additional weapon in the fight to alert public opinion here to the dangers of the South African situation and the need for British action to oppose apartheid.

Publication started in January 1965 with a print order of 5,000, which sold out almost immediately. The paper has appeared monthly, with a joint July/August issue, the intention being to publish ten issues a year. Sales have fluctuated slightly each month but circulation has reached a steady 7,000, of which 1,500 is accounted for by individual subscriptions. Distribution is largely in the U.K., though constant efforts are being made to expand abroad with steadily favourable results.

The editorial and technical help of some of Britain's top journalists has been obtained, and together with South African writers, journalists and members of AAM's Executive Committee and staff they form the editorial committee for the newspaper. The paper itself was chosen for display at the annual exhibition of the Designers and Art Directors' Association.

Its success thus far as a campaigning weapon for AAM is undisputed. Its sale in the streets, at meetings, in the libraries and bookshops - while still not wide enough - has contributed to the spread of information about AAM as well as about South Africa and apartheid. Projects for its wider distribution are under way - in the trade unions, the universities, the political parties of this country and abroad. The financial battle for survival is unceasing and great efforts are needed for all members and supporters in expanding the sales and subscriptions to the paper.

### Trade Unions

The Trades Union Congress this year adopted a resolution condemning apartheid and calling for measures towards imposing international sanctions through the United Nations. The Movement is deeply conscious of the importance of sustained work in the trade unions - ultimately the struggle against apartheid in this country can only succeed with the fullest involvement and support of the trade unions. The AAM has over the years been active in this work. This has not been easy. In the past year we attempted

to set up a committee of trade unionists whose task would be to organise educational and other activities aimed at winning from the TUC and the trade unions concrete action and in particular the implementations of the 1964 and 1965 TUC resolutions on apartheid. These attempts have not succeeded so far. However, over the year the Movement has distributed quantities of education material, including the newspaper, to trade unionists, and sent speakers to address trade union meetings. Work in the trade unions should be considered as requiring a high priority in the coming year.

### Membership

During the last year 1,275 new members joined AAM. Our total paid-up membership is over 2,500. (1,000 lapsed members are being reminded to renew their subscription by means of a special circular from the Secretary.)

### Anti-Apartheid Committees

There are now 19 Anti-Apartheid Committees which are extremely active and 9 which organise sporadic activity. Five new Committees are in process of being formed. During the cricket campaign every area in which a Committee existed had pickets out, letters appeared in the local press, leaflets were distributed and by this process the attention of the local population was focussed on South Africa's apartheid policies.

Many Anti-Apartheid Committees have been instrumental in getting local councils to implement consumer boycott; they have protested against the export drive of the South African Government, which organises exhibitions, sends official delegations and advertises extensively all over the country. AA Committees remain the chief instrument for spreading our work and many individuals spend much time arousing local interest on South Africa. AA Committees now exist in all major centres in Britain.

### Students

University groups have been particularly active in AA activities throughout the year. In most Universities there are either special AA groups or other societies which have undertaken to organise meetings etc. on South Africa. Several Universities have collected funds to provide education for students.

Thousands of students came to London in November 1964 to demonstrate against the lack of academic freedom in South Africa, and most of them attended our November Central Hall meeting. Following an AAM Student Conference held in February this year hundreds of students marched to St. Martin-in-the-Fields church on Sharpeville Day and signed the Memorial Book.

### Speakers

Requests for speakers have increased - the average is now 15 meetings per month, though the demand during this latter part of the year is much greater than during the summer months. These requests come from schools, Universities, United Nations' Associations, Liberal Party groups, Constituency Labour Parties and other organisations - in fact a fairly good cross section of our society.

A significant absence is that of trade union branches. We have had speakers from AAM at the occasional trade union meeting but these requests are rare, and we must consider taking the initiative ourselves and arranging such meetings.

We have been able to call on an excellent panel of speakers for this important aspect of our work. They are drawn largely from South Africans resident in this country. The response to many of the meetings has been excellent - often local anti-apartheid groups are being started as a result. Efforts are always made in these occasions to enrol members, to increase subscriptions to "Anti-Apartheid News" and to distribute our literature. It has been felt by many speakers who undertake long journeys to the same town to address small meetings that an effort should be made from this office to co-ordinate such requests, and that local organisations be encouraged to sponsor a joint meeting. This would serve the purpose of providing a larger audience, of allowing for more extensive pre-publicity, and save the various organisations duplicating the speakers' fares. We require that these fares be paid and also that overnight accommodation be provided when necessary.

#### Pamphlets, Leaflets, & Badges

We have an extensive stock of pamphlets about apartheid, plus our own information sheets on specific subjects, and leaflets and posters. These are made available at all our public meetings and are taken or sent to those meetings for which we supply speakers. They are also much in demand by our members and many others who write to us for information for both academic and literary purposes as well.

Anti-Apartheid badges continue to be in steady demand. We have sold over 10,000 during the year and are awaiting new supplies.

#### Annual Political Conferences

An AAM meeting for delegates at the Liberal Assembly was chaired by Mr. Eric Lubbock, M.P. and addressed by Mrs. Hilda Bernstein. At the Labour Party Conference a statement criticising the Labour Government's step-by-step retreat from tackling the apartheid question was distributed to delegates.

#### Overseas work

This year it was decided to pay special attention to overseas work and a sub-committee was formed in order to concentrate on co-ordinating the work of Anti-Apartheid groups abroad. Our initiative brought an encouraging response and we are now in a position to exchange information with all known overseas Committees.

This co-ordination was centred around March 21st and June 26th, two dates of historic significance in South Africa. Sharpeville Day was commemorated in Denmark, Israel, the USA, Nigeria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and in several parts of Norway and Sweden.

In June activities centred around the conditions of political prisoners, and meetings, film shows, exhibitions, etc. were organised in Australia,



Canada, France, GDR, Geneva, Holland, Italy, Ireland, and the Soviet Union.

In several countries newsletters are issued from time to time based on news from "Anti-Apartheid News" and the work of each individual committee or group. France, Canada, Geneva, Ireland, West Germany, India and the U.S.A. all issue their own roneo'd material. There is much work to be done in this field since it is necessary for all the Anti-Apartheid Committees to be informed of each other's work.

Our International Rally on June 27th was held in Trafalgar Square but unfortunately we were not able to obtain any speakers from abroad though we did receive messages from the Secretary-General of the U.N., Commonwealth leaders and other international figures.

The Sharpeville Book, which was signed by hundreds of British people during March, was presented to U Thant's deputy at the United Nations in New York by our Chairman, Mr. Thomas Kellock, Q.C., in September this year. The Chef du Cabinet expressed his pleasure at receiving this and welcomed our Chairman's assurance that the AAM will continue to support the United Nations in its efforts to campaign against apartheid in South Africa.

#### World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

This Committee has had several meetings throughout the year and suggested that an investigating commission of jurists should visit the prisons of South Africa. The U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid has adopted this suggestion and submitted it to the General Assembly.

Supporters of the World Campaign organised activities in an attempt to save the lives of Mini, Khayinga, Mkaba and John Harris, and the other 48 people sentenced to death for political crimes. One indication of our work was the announcement by the South African Minister of Justice that he had received over 2,000 letters from all over the world demanding a reprieve for Mini and his colleagues.

Attention was also drawn to the steps being taken by the South African Government towards excluding "named" lawyers from practising in South African courts. A memorandum on the subject was distributed.

June 26th was declared an International Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners in South Africa and detailed information on the torture of political prisoners and prison conditions was distributed.

The case of Isaac Heymann, the first person to be detained under the new 180-day detention law aroused considerable comment and interest. It was used as a means of publicising this law which allows the South African police to hold people for over six months merely as potential State witnesses. Protests at this latest legislation are being sent to the South African Government.

#### National Committee

The National Committee has met this year under the chairmanship of our new Hon. President, Mr. David Ennals, M.P., an active supporter of the Movement since 1960. It consists of representatives and observers from a

wide range of organisations, such as the Africa Bureau, Christian Action, Movement for Colonial Freedom, the Society of Friends, the Women's Co-operative Guild, United Nations Association, Amnesty International, World University Service and a number of trade unions, plus a number of individuals who are active in AAM.

The National Committee elects an Executive Committee of 11 members which meets monthly. There are five officers of the Movement - Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary and Administrative Secretary. The position of Hon. Treasurer is vacant.

### Relations with South African organisations

Following a Memorandum about the work of the Movement, submitted by the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Coloured Peoples Congress, it was reaffirmed that the AAM was a British organisation and welcomes regular discussion between South African organisations and officers of the Movement.

The Movement reiterated its policies, its independence, and its British character. Its aims call for persistent public campaigning to secure such changes in British policy as would make this country actively oppose apartheid in all its aspects.

The representatives of the South African organisations concerned declared their respect for the AAM and their appreciation for the work it had done.

The Movement looks forward to continued cordial and friendly relations with the representatives in London of all South African anti-apartheid organisations.

### OUR FUTURE TASKS

The AAM is working in an environment of growing racial tension everywhere. In the past we warned that the scourge of apartheid as an organised system of race oppression was contagious and would spread, bringing havoc and war in its wake. The past year has seen some of these fears materialise over a broad front in many countries. There is emerging as a result a coalition of nations who are basing their policies on principles of racial exclusiveness and discrimination.

In Britain we have seen the racial question take an increasingly dangerous form, mainly because official policy is now reflecting some of the features of apartheid. Step by step Britain is joining the forces of white supremacy and race reaction. This is true not only in respect of the evident retreat of the Labour Government from its promises of opposition to apartheid and racialism in South Africa; it is reflected in the policy of equivocation towards the patently racist regime in Rhodesia and in its handling of race relations inside Britain.

The British Prime Minister may well resent the charge of racialism being made against his policies. But whether he is aware of it or not, his Government is pursuing a course of the gravest danger to the peace of the world - a course which immeasurably strengthens the forces of racialism and reaction everywhere and which provokes the dangers of a cruel race war.

South African apartheid concentrates in a single system all the features of racism and national oppression: it embodies all the trappings of Nazi-style ruthlessness and fascist violence. It maintains itself not only through the savage repression of all opposition in the country but by armed force and through the support, diplomatic, political and economic, that it receives from the major Western powers.

Our Movement has the aim of assisting towards striking from the apartheid system the support which it receives from Britain and the Western nations in general. We do not pretend that through our efforts we can bring an end to apartheid: the final salvation for the South African people will come through their own efforts and struggle.

Our duty lies in giving support to that struggle through campaigns to remove such international "intervention" that exists - trade, capital exports, military supplies, emigrants, etc. - on the side of apartheid, and in giving this support our Movement will also be helping to oppose international racism. Because of this we will be drawn into wider campaigns of protest against racialism. We should be prepared for this. With our aims and duties clear our programme of struggle and campaign must embrace the following tasks in the coming year:

1. to campaign for and demand immediate and progressive changes in British policy towards apartheid; to fearlessly expose all aspects of Anglo-South African collaboration.
2. to advance the cause of sanctions and boycotts against South Africa - this calls for extended public activity to educate British opinion about the feasibility and importance of economic sanctions in the struggle for an adequate international policy against apartheid; further, to extend the boycott weapon to organise particular and special forms of opposition to apartheid - an academic boycott, for example, followed by declarations of individual and collective boycotts by members of other professions, cultural and sporting groups.
3. to step up our work of education in the trade union movement, so as to win wide trade union support and action in the anti-apartheid struggle.
4. to intensify our efforts of education and publicity in general - to improve our newspaper and other propaganda material; to distribute them widely and effectively and to counter at every point the effects of South Africa's official information in favour of apartheid and racism.
5. to extend our overseas work so that our efforts in Britain are paralleled abroad by actions in Western Europe and North America with sustained anti-apartheid actions; and to encourage the formation of anti-apartheid organisations in other countries and to co-ordinate with them in joint campaigns and activity.
6. to build the AAM: to win a large membership and anti-apartheid committee structure; to involve other mass organisations in anti-apartheid, and encourage the setting up of anti-apartheid action groups in all the

professions and among all sections of British life; and to persistently strengthen the finances of the Movement.

This programme required the fullest participation of all members and supporters. On this base the AAM will not only help in the struggle for freedom in South Africa but will join in the broader struggle against race reaction and those forces which are steadily moving the world towards a disastrous race war.

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