



Anti Apartheid Movement

Annual Report
September '70 — August '71

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
89 Charlotte Street London W1P 2DQ. Tel 01-580 5311

Annual Report
September 1970 – August 1971

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD	2
INTRODUCTION	
The Struggle Against Apartheid	3
South Africa's Outward Looking Policy	3
'Dialogue' - The Liberation Movement - The West	3
The Challenge in Britain	5
1 SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS	
South Africa	6
Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	7
Namibia (South West Africa)	9
The Portuguese Colonies	10
2 CAMPAIGNS	
Arms Embargo	11
<i>Sharpeville</i>	14
Campaign in Companies	15
<i>South Africa Freedom Day - June 26</i>	16
Action on Rhodesia	17
Cabora Bassa	18
Political Prisoners	20
Cultural Boycott	23
Sport	25
3 ORGANISATION	
Work in the Trade Union Movement	28
Lobbying in Political Parties	32
Branch Activities	32
Student Activity	33
Work in Schools	35
Anti-Apartheid News	36
Publicity	37
Finance	38
<i>Fund Raising</i>	38
Membership	39
National Committee	39
<i>Voluntary Helpers</i>	40
4 INTERNATIONAL	
General	40
The Commonwealth Conference in Singapore	41
The United Nations	41
'Dialogue' with South Africa	41
Western European Support Groups Conference	42
CONCLUSION	42

FOREWORD

The report that follows is an impressive account of the work undertaken by the Movement during 1970/71. Its officers, staff and voluntary helpers have given unceasing service and one might be forgiven if in reading the report one assumes that all that can be done is being done. But this would be far from the truth. In my foreword to the 1969/70 report I wrote: 'This is a critical moment in the life of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. . . . Those who support racism are as active as ever.' It would now be correct to say that the racist forces are stronger, and the Movement therefore needs to enlarge its base and increase the participation of members and supporters in all its activities. The overall picture is even more complicated in that some apparently liberal voices are calling for 'change' in South Africa, but they are calling for 'change' which in no way threatens the system of apartheid with all its attendant evils and injustices. The AAM rejects these voices and will continue to work for the cessation of all links with the apartheid system and in support of those who are struggling to eradicate racism throughout Southern Africa. In this task we need the assistance of every single person opposed to racist practice.

I can record that the Movement is stronger than it was a year ago, that its work has been extended, and that I have every confidence that this momentum will continue. In doing so, I pay tribute to the many people who have worked to achieve this.

The Rt Revd Ambrose Reeves
President

INTRODUCTION

The Struggle Against Apartheid

The past year has been the most eventful of recent years; the momentum generated by the demonstrations during the visit of the all-white Springbok rugby team and the cancellation of the cricket tour has extended itself into other perhaps more significant areas such as the campaigns against the resumption of arms sales to South Africa and against companies with investments in South Africa. The International Court of Justice has delivered the first clear and forthright decision on the question of Namibia, and international recognition of the need to support the armed struggle of the African people in order to bring about freedom and democracy in Southern Africa has grown. These reflect new gains for the anti-apartheid movement. The heroic armed struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau continues. FRELIMO units are now in action south of the Zambesi.

South Africa's Outward-Looking Policy

On the other hand the Pretoria Government has been persistent in implementing its new outward-looking foreign policy and giving greater prominence to Bantustans, whilst at the same time increasing repression within the Republic and even prosecuting Christian leaders for carrying out humanitarian work.

Although there was a considerable sense of crisis over the Singapore Commonwealth Conference, the British Government has offered to sell weapons to South Africa in breach of Security Council decisions and there have as yet been no serious repercussions. The International Court has declared South Africa's presence in Namibia as being illegal, yet Western governments block all international measures against South Africa and permit their companies to recognise South Africa's occupation and invest in the trust territory. British entry to the Common Market would cause serious difficulties for South African exports but the Pretoria Government is confident that special arrangements will be made by the Common Market countries to ameliorate them. The US has relaxed some of the terms of its arms embargo and has tested the South African-manufactured Cactus missile system for possible purchase. France has agreed to set up an aircraft factory in the Republic. The British Government has resumed talks with the Smith regime and the danger of a complete sell-out is greater than it has ever been. It is therefore not surprising that the Pretoria regime is full of confidence – and has proudly revealed its ability to make nuclear weapons, an achievement largely due to the long-term assistance it has received from Western countries.

'Dialogue' – The Liberation Movement – The West

The greatest threat to white South Africa and other minority and colonialist regimes comes from the oppressed African people and their liberation movement. Faced with a long-term armed struggle, the regimes

are driven to work for better relations with overseas countries and particularly those in Africa. They already have allies in the West but if that relationship is to be further strengthened it is vital to win new friends in Africa, Asia and South America. These links will also serve the purpose of denying external support to the forces of liberation within Southern Africa. The strategy is to erode the anti-apartheid policies of other governments and in the process not only end South Africa's isolation but also win support for the contention that armed struggle will not bring a solution and that the only hope lies in a certain brand of peaceful change brought out by establishing links with the apartheid system and denying support to the liberation movement.

The debate in other countries about their attitude towards South Africa has recently been complicated by a new line which is being put forward by some South Africans with a record of past opposition to apartheid. They argue that since the Bantustan system offers positions of a certain power and influence to some Africans, and since there is no other centre of African power in existence in the country, the best tactic for Africans is to use the Bantustan system as a means of putting forward their demands.

Whether this is a justifiable tactic inside South Africa is a question beyond the scope of this report. The important thing for us to remember is that it is a tactic suggested by people who feel themselves unable to launch a direct attack on apartheid. It has been linked in some recent statements with the completely fallacious notion that a 'softer' line on South Africa is now justified because apartheid is supposed to be breaking down.

No one can deny that there have been changes: the visits of non-white sportsmen from abroad; tours by black leaders from the United States and Africa; the visit of Dr Banda with pomp, ceremony and a dramatic relaxation of apartheid rules; the challenging public statements of Bantustan chiefs - these do reflect a certain break with tradition. But the question is not so much whether there is a change, but what is its nature and extent. Does it provide an avenue for bringing about genuine freedom for the majority of South Africans? It is crucial to recognise that even in those areas where the government does not actually initiate the change it retains control over it. It is inconceivable that the white ruling group will initiate and support radical change aimed at and capable of undermining the apartheid system. Areas in which such changes have taken place have been those in which the white group has found it necessary and convenient to make them - none of the changes have been made to meet the needs of the African, Indian and Coloured people whose conditions have in fact deteriorated.

It must further be remembered that such changes as have been made have been necessary and convenient to the white group in order to counteract the growing isolation forced upon South Africa. There are signs that the policy of boycott and isolation is beginning to produce results. It would be madness to throw that policy away because it has achieved a tiny fraction of what it was designed to achieve. On the contrary, the fact

that pressure upon apartheid is producing a few small cracks should be the signal for redoubling the pressure.

Those who argue the contrary are, whether deliberately or unwittingly, playing the same game as the South African Ministry for External Affairs. Above all South Africa does not want the liberation movements to win external support, and the West is at one with this objective. It is not surprising therefore to note the enthusiasm and backroom work put in by leading Western countries to promote dialogue between white South Africa and independent African States. The West would also like to see an end to the present confrontation between white- and black-ruled Africa. With peace between them it would become easier to support South Africa's other objective of becoming the dominant African power with links stretching all over the continent and providing a base for Western economic activity in the rest of Africa. Such a strategy requires further support for the white rulers, and recent events indicate not only a closer military relationship between South Africa and the Western powers but also increased economic links between Western European countries and the Republic. This growing consolidation of Western and South African interests represents a substantial thrust against world opinion and the policies of Afro-Asian countries.

Thus, in 1971, South Africa appears outwardly confident and determined to befriend the rest of Africa. Individual countries are making their own direct links with South Africa, but initiative for a dialogue has been formally defeated by the OAU. Dr Banda has been given the task of setting up a major dialogue conference next year. Never has South Africa worked so unceasingly at good public relations in projecting the apartheid system as being not altogether devoid of reason or hope. But these will prove to be passing illusions of hope – no meaningful change will have taken place within the country, but in the meanwhile valuable international goodwill will have been bought with false promises.

The Challenge in Britain

South Africa may succeed in winning this temporary international support in certain quarters but ultimately it has to come to terms with the challenge of its own people. It is they who by persistent struggle will win their freedom, but that day will be postponed for as long as possible by the white group – dialogue and new solutions are weapons for undermining the liberation movement and maintaining the racist system of apartheid. It is therefore now even more important to give the widest distribution to information about the nature of the apartheid system and the symbolic as opposed to real changes it is forced to make from time to time. These symbolic changes are made in an effort to win international acceptance *and* to maintain apartheid and racism as the way of life in South Africa.

1 SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

South Africa

South Africa's growing economic difficulties caused some South African businessmen to call for better jobs and better pay for African workers. Commenting on this call (which came most particularly from Harry Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation), Stanley Uys, the South African journalist, asked whether Mr Oppenheimer included those Africans working in Anglo-American's goldmines, whose average pay was 69 cents (40p) a shift, whereas white miners were paid 19 times as much. Towards the end of last year, Dr Diederichs, South Africa's Finance Minister, said that apartheid would not be relaxed to solve the skilled manpower shortage.

At the end of October, the results of the Provincial elections showed a slight fall in support for the Nationalist Government, and an overall gain of six seats for the United Party.

The World Council of Churches' decision to support the liberation movements in Southern Africa was condemned by Mr Vorster, who threatened that if the churches in South Africa did not terminate their links with the wcc, action would be taken against them. From November 13 to December 3, the Archbishop of Canterbury toured South Africa. On his departure he said that violent revolution would come if big changes did not take place.

Dr Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, informed a press conference in Geneva that Mr Vorster had said that he would not permit the wcc delegation which had planned to visit South Africa 'to go further than the International Hotel at Jan Smuts Airport'. This and other conditions imposed by Mr Vorster made it necessary for the wcc delegation to postpone this visit. The World Lutheran Federation then announced a delegation to South Africa, but it was thought unlikely that its representatives would be granted greater freedom. A Lutheran finance committee is currently looking into the withdrawal of its funds from banks dealing with South Africa.

Following the arrest of the Dean of Johannesburg in January (see POLITICAL PRISONERS), Security Police made widespread raids on church and student premises. Several churchmen were deported. Early in March, a crowd estimated to be in the region of 10,000 people met at the Gelvandale Sports Stadium to protest against an increase in bus fares. Gelvandale is a Coloured township to which many families had been moved from a Coloured area in Port Elizabeth which had been rezoned exclusively for white occupation. The police opened fire on this unarmed crowd, injuring at least 24 people. They subsequently raided homes, clubbing Coloured men, and the 10 people who later appeared in court alleged assault by the police while they were held in custody.

In May, Mr Vorster declared that correspondence had taken place between himself and President Kaunda, in an attempt to discredit the latter. This backfired when the Zambian Government published the correspondence in full and showed many of Vorster's allegations to be false.

Also in May, Mr Loots, South Africa's Minister of Statistics, confirmed that the African population living in the urban areas was larger than the entire white population in the whole of South Africa. It was also announced that Africans accounted for more than 95 per cent of South Africa's prison population.

During this year, South Africa's outward-looking policy began to show results — the Malagasy Republic signed a loan agreement with South Africa under which R4.5 millions would be made available for development. President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Dr Busia of Ghana both announced that they favoured sending envoys to South Africa. African States began to line up: the majority opposed to 'dialogue'; the Ivory Coast, Malawi, plus six of the francophone African States, in favour. At the OAU meeting held in Addis Ababa in June, 27 of the 37 countries represented were opposed to any dialogue with South Africa.

On 10 August, thousands of African National Congress leaflets were distributed in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth. Simultaneously exploded from plastic buckets, the leaflets, which were printed in different African languages, called on the people 'to prepare for battle'.

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

In November, Sir Alec Douglas-Home announced in the House of Commons that preliminary negotiations with the Smith regime had begun through the British Ambassador in Pretoria. And on November 25, the *Sunday Telegraph* reported that there was a higher level of guerrilla activity in Rhodesia than had previously been admitted. At the UN, the Security Council called on the UK to end the illegal rebellion, and urged all States to implement fully all Security Council resolutions on Rhodesia. Meetings took place in February between Ian Smith and the heads of the South African and Portuguese security forces, plus security officers from Angola and Mozambique. The purpose of the discussions was not revealed.

Under Rhodesia's Land Apportionment Act, the land is roughly divided, half to the 230,000 whites and half to the 5,000,000 Africans. The Land Tenure Act, passed in 1969, extends the power to enforce this racial separation. Under its terms, which state that each race shall have its own area, and may not occupy land in the area of another except by a permit issued by a Minister, the residents of the Cold Comfort Farm Society, the only non-racial society in Rhodesia, were threatened. On November 18, Didymus Mutasa, Chairman of the Farm, was arrested, and Guy Clutton Brock, one of the founders of the Farm, and Treasurer of the Society, was deprived of his Rhodesian citizenship. On January 6, he was declared a prohibited immigrant and, on February 5, he was expelled from the country. The churches in Rhodesia stated their opposition to the Act, which no longer permitted churchmen to move freely among the races. After a period of protest, Ian Smith announced that the churches need

not apply for a permit to work on what was formerly mission land, as it would be 'deemed to have been issued', but he retained the right to cancel any permit.

The Property Owners (Residential Protection) Bill was due to come before the Rhodesian parliament in March. Aimed at the 25,000 Asian and Coloured Rhodesians, it stated that a residential area may be declared an 'exclusive area' within which persons of an 'excluded denomination' may not occupy land. To evict members of one racial 'denomination', 15 residents, whose identities would remain secret, might apply to the local authority for their area to be declared 'exclusive'. But when the Rhodesian parliamentary session opened, this Bill and the Bill empowering the government to provide segregated public facilities in urban areas, were deferred. The move was regarded as expedient in the context of negotiations with the British Government.

At about the same time, further efforts were initiated to end the long resistance of Chief Tangwena and the Tangwena tribe. Much of Tangwena property was destroyed and the people fled to the hills. Chief Tangwena appealed to Britain for help. He has since been charged, and found guilty, under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. He was given a six-month suspended sentence for making subversive statements, and fined £40 for 'uttering words likely to undermine and impair the authority of the Chiefs and District Commissioner'.

In the Economic Survey of Rhodesia 1970, published in April, an increase in the value of exports and an even larger increase in the value of imports were shown. It stated that a heavy increase of investment in the public sector would create more demands for imports, and warned that foreign exchange resources would be under an even greater strain. A new direct railway line, avoiding Botswana, which would link Rhodesian and South African commercial centres, was announced by Rhodesia's Minister of Transport and Power in May.

On June 23, 124 African secondary school pupils were convicted under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of holding an unlawful procession after a protest march proclaiming 'No second South Africa' and 'Rhodesia is a police state'. And, on the same day, 200 students from the University College of Rhodesia marched on the Ministry of Education in Salisbury to protest against the new discriminatory rates of pay announced for Black and White teachers. Under this pay scale, African teachers with the same qualifications will start on a salary £360 per annum less than their white counterparts.

During June, it was revealed that Lord Goodman, as special envoy of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, had been to Rhodesia and that talks were now being stepped up. Students demonstrated against a British sell-out and some 40 had their grants withdrawn. Shortly before the talks began, the Rhodesian parliament approved the government's decision to continue the state of emergency for another 12 months. On July 2, a cache of arms was seized from a Salisbury warehouse and 25 people were arrested, and in August two completely secret trials began. Neither the names of the

accused nor the charges have been revealed. Both the accused are Africans.

Namibia (South West Africa)

On July 29, 1970, the UN Security Council adopted two resolutions on Namibia. The first called on all States to refrain from any relations — commercial, consular or diplomatic — which imply recognition of South Africa's authority over Namibia; the second asked the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on the question, 'What are the legal consequences for States of the continuing presence of South Africa in Namibia. . . .' The UK abstained on both resolutions. The case opened at the International Court of The Hague on January 20 — the fifth occasion on which the Court has considered the case of Namibia. (In 1966, the United Nations had withdrawn from South Africa the mandate over the territory, a decision which South Africa has ignored.) Public hearings opened at The Hague on February 7.

Also in February, the South African Government announced that it was willing to hold a plebiscite of all the inhabitants on whether it should continue to administer the territory. The United Nations Commission on Namibia denied that South Africa had the right to organise a plebiscite, and Mr Sam Nujoma, President of the South West African Peoples Organisation, said that this proposal would only be acceptable if the plebiscite were conducted by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. On June 21, the International Court declared by 13 votes to 2 that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal, and called upon South Africa to withdraw.

In the past few years Western firms have been eager to exploit Namibia's oil and mineral wealth. British Rio Tinto Zinc is developing what will eventually be one of the biggest open-cast uranium mines in the world at Rossing. And Shell and BP are drilling for oil in three jointly-held concession areas. In all, 44 companies are known to be prospecting for minerals. Under South African rule, the natural resources of the country are being squandered for the profit of foreign companies.

Reports in May indicated increased guerrilla activity in the north of Namibia. SWAPO guerrillas ambushed a mobile police unit near Rundu in Okavangoland, and a land-mine exploded under a police border-patrol vehicle in the Caprivi Strip, killing two South African policemen and injuring seven.

In June, following the World Court's decision, a group of Ovambos made a statement in which they condemned the Bantustan policy of the South African Government and stated their whole-hearted support for the World Court's decision. They listed 11 ways in which South Africa had deprived the Namibians of their basic human rights. At the same time, leaders of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia addressed an open letter to Vorster supporting the World Court's judgement and expressing the wish that 'South West Africa may become a self-sufficient and independent state'.

The Portuguese Colonies

In Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism is now in its tenth year. Portugal has in recent months intensified her military effort, and the major Western powers continue to assist this effort with military hardware supplied to Portugal under the NATO agreement. South Africa's interest in supporting Portugal in her wars against the advance of African liberation is one of necessity, and the alliance of the white minority regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal has in recent years grown closer.

In Angola, work is beginning on the Cunene river dam project, similar to, though smaller than, the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique. South Africa has again agreed to take most of the power generated by the dam. The Cunene region has a strategic importance for South Africa: it lies on the borders of Namibia, between the areas in which Angolan and Namibian freedom fighters are operating, and it also borders on Zambia. Placed in the context of the struggle in Southern Africa, the dam is another weapon for the minority white rulers.

In September, GUERRILHEIRO reported that the MPLA was continuing to build up its strength in the eastern part of the country, and Dr Neto, President of the MPLA, announced that, despite the presence of 70,000 Portuguese troops, the guerrillas now controlled one-third of Angola, and had established local administrative centres and schools. An MPLA communiqué reported that Portuguese planes had used chemical sprays as well as incendiary bombs, in destroying houses and crops in the liberated areas. MPLA issued an urgent appeal for foods and medicine - needed as a result of these bombings. Evidence of the effects of the chemical warfare used by the Portuguese was given at a press conference in London on July 7 and presented on behalf of the MPLA by Asiram Humbaraci, who asked people to protest against their use. (The chemicals are manufactured in the USA.)

In Mozambique, the Portuguese launched a massive offensive under Kaulza de Arriago, the new military commander. They did not, however, achieve their objective of sealing off the border in Cabo Delgado. FRELIMO guerrilla operations extended south of the Zambesi towards the end of last year, and in June 1971 a Portuguese communiqué admitted intensive action by FRELIMO in the vicinity of Cabora Bassa. In May GEC of America announced its withdrawal from the Cabora Bassa scheme, and in the same month the Portuguese Government announced its intention of placing the Tete district of Mozambique, where the dam is to be built, under a military governor. In a letter from the General Council of White Fathers, the White Father missionaries announced that they had left Mozambique as they could no longer support the policies of the Catholic hierarchy which upholds the Portuguese colonial regime. The *Guardian* of 19/8/71 reported that Malawi was cooperating in Portugal's campaign against African guerrillas in Mozambique and had handed over two patrol boats on Lake Malawi to seconded Portuguese naval officers.

On November 22, a force of 300 men invaded the West African state of Guinea, which borders on Guiné, the scene of a war that has now

lasted seven years between the PAIGC and the Portuguese colonialists. The PAIGC has received support from Guinea and this attack was found to be linked with the Portuguese. More than two-thirds of Guiné is now controlled by the PAIGC and schools and centres for medical care have been established.

Meanwhile, in Portugal, on March 8, the Armed Revolutionary Action Group claimed responsibility for the blowing up of 14 military helicopters and three training aircraft at the Portuguese Air Force base in Tancos. At the end of March, Father Joaquim de Andrade was sentenced to three years imprisonment and loss of political rights for 15 years on charges of aiding the movement to free Angola from Portuguese rule. Seven other men and one woman received prison sentences ranging from 18 months to 4½ years. And at the start of the NATO meeting in Lisbon in June, the ARA carried out a bomb attack on the telecommunications centre and then launched a second attack on the Portuguese consulate in Luxemburg. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Britain's Foreign Secretary, attended the NATO meeting and had two days of talks with his Portuguese opposite number. It is expected that the Portuguese asked Britain to lift the blockade of Beira, part of the sanctions patrol against Rhodesia.

Those forces that wish to retain white minority government in South Africa are lined up with Portugal. They face the growing force of African liberation which has in some measure been achieved in these three territories.

2 CAMPAIGNS

Arms Embargo

Following on the campaign against the Government's decision to resume the sale of arms to apartheid South Africa (see 1969/70 Annual Report) the Movement has over this past year worked to develop wide and systematic support throughout the country and particularly in those areas where potential arms suppliers are situated. The list of likely arms suppliers was revised, trade unionists were canvassed at national, local and shop steward level, the situation in particular factories was investigated and contacts with workers in these factories were pursued.

At the OAU Heads of State conference in Addis Ababa in early September 1970, a resolution condemning arms sales to South Africa by Britain, France and West Germany was adopted. Malawi and the Ivory Coast were among the countries which abstained and now lead the call for a dialogue with apartheid South Africa. A delegation, led by President Kaunda, was appointed to visit countries supplying arms to South Africa in an attempt to dissuade them from doing so. At the conference of Non-Aligned States held in Lusaka a week later, a similar resolution was passed and included the USA, Italy and Japan among the countries on whom pressure should be applied. Cheering AAM demonstrators greeted President Kaunda when he called on Mr Heath on 16 October. The general impression gained was that Heath was still determined to proceed with the supply

of arms to South Africa. The Government's intentions were sharply criticised at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference held in Canberra on 3 October, and on 10 October the UN General Assembly's Special Political Committee called on all States to implement immediately the Security Council's demand made in July for a complete arms embargo against South Africa.

AAM meetings arranged at both the Labour and Liberal Party conferences condemned the sale of arms to South Africa. And Mr Wilson, at the Labour Party Conference, announced to wild applause that 'the Labour Government will accept no treaty which is in conflict with the decision of the UN'. At the Conservative Party Conference the Bow Group arranged a debate at which Nicholas Scott MP fiercely attacked the resumption of arms sales, and there were rumours that Mr Heath would find considerable opposition among his back-benchers on this issue.

The Canadian Government, which had since 1963 applied a general embargo on arms exports to South Africa, excluding the supply of spare parts, now announced that a total ban would be implemented.

A mass rally was called by the AAM in Trafalgar Square on 25 October as part of a country-wide campaign of meetings, demonstrations and regional conferences. Organisations supporting the rally included the United Nations Association, International Defence & Aid Fund, Student Christian Movement, National Union of Students, Young Liberals, Communist Party, Movement for Colonial Freedom, Peace Pledge Union and many others. Marchers set off from the Victoria Embankment and more than 10,000 people finally crowded into Trafalgar Square to hear Dick Seabrook, President of the Union of Shop, Distributive & Allied Workers, Canon Collins, the Rt Revd David Sheppard, Reg Prentice MP, Paul Foot, Reg September of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mike Terry of the NUS, and Abdul Minty. The rally was chaired by John Ennals. Dick Seabrook was loudly cheered when he said: 'We should declare the arms "black" and no trade unionist should work on them.' Following the rally several thousand people marched to the offices of Hawker Siddeley carrying the model of the Buccaneer bomber which had earlier led the march to Trafalgar Square. A confrontation between police and demonstrators developed and several demonstrators were arrested. In the meantime, representatives of a number of organisations marched to Downing Street and handed in letters to the Prime Minister urging the maintenance of the UN embargo against the sale of arms. Messages supporting the rally were received from Mrs Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, the Labour Party, Eldridge Cleaver, and Hugh Scanlon, President of the AUEW. A film, now available for use at meetings, was made of the march and rally.

The Bishop of Durham's Committee, of which the Movement is a constituent member, was formed in October to concentrate primarily on lobby activities. In early November a delegation led by the Bishop met Mr Heath to discuss the arms issue. And the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Mr Heath expressing his own 'deep disquiet' and the concern of 100 Anglican bishops about the possibility of arms sales. Leaders of

Britain's two million Methodists sent a telegram to Mr Heath supporting the Archbishop. Throughout November and December Mr Heath consulted Commonwealth leaders on this issue, and by mid-December it was generally agreed that the British Government would take no final decision on arms sales until after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in Singapore in January.

Towards the end of November the Movement launched a Declaration against arms sales. Following a small announcement of this Declaration in *The Guardian*, the AAM office was inundated with requests for copies. They were also distributed at the House of Commons, through trade unions, various organisations, students, etc, and in the short space of seven weeks over 100,000 people had signed the statement totally opposing the sale of arms. During this period the Movement undertook a series of visits to all High Commissioners to discuss the coming conference and the arms sales issue. On 7 January the AAM's Hon Secretary flew to Singapore to present the signatures to the Chairman of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. He also carried a letter from the TUC supporting opposition to arms sales. This campaign received extensive Press coverage and daily reports revealed the breadth of opposition to the resumption of arms sales.

A mass meeting was organised at the Central Hall in London on 18 January, timed to take place on the eve of the arms discussion at the Conference in Singapore. It was supported by a broad-based group of organisations and trade unions. Speakers included Bernadette Devlin MP, Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard, the Bishops of Stepney and Chichester, and Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of the National Union of Mine-workers. The meeting sent a cable to Mr Heath calling on him to heed British and Commonwealth opposition and abandon arms sales.

A demonstration took place at the end of January outside the head office of Westlands, following Press reports that Westland Wasp helicopters would be sold to South Africa.

The final communiqué from the Commonwealth Conference recorded that a study group consisting of representatives from Australia, Britain, Canada, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia and Singapore would investigate the security of the maritime trade routes in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Before this eight-nation study group met, the British Government announced that it would permit the sale of seven Wasp helicopters to South Africa under the terms of the Simonstown Agreement. Nigeria then withdrew from the study group, followed by other members, and the study group never in fact met. In South Africa the British Government's decision was welcomed by both Government and Opposition MPs. In a Press statement the Movement announced that it would 'mobilise opposition to these government plans' so that they would not be implemented.

Pressed in the House of Commons for a commitment to limit arms sales to the seven Wasp helicopters, Sir Alec Douglas-Home refused to give such an assurance. A deputation of 40 Tory back-benchers met Sir Alec on a similar mission and received the same reply.

Sharpeville 1971

In the growing campaign against the sale of arms to apartheid South Africa, demonstrations on this issue were considered the most suitable activity to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville. On Saturday, 20 March, the AAM marched through Hayes and rallied outside the factory of Westland Helicopters. The rally was chaired by Bob Hughes MP and the speakers were Ernie Roberts of the AUEW, John Gaetsewe of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and Pat Lyons of DATA. On the following day (Sunday, 21 March) an open-air meeting was arranged in Hyde Park. A dramatised version of the Labour and Conservative Governments' record on the question of the sale of arms to South Africa was read by Graham Chapman, George Melly, Cosmo Pieterse and Carmen Munroe, and speakers at the meeting included Joan Lester MP, the AAM's Vice-Chairman.

A South African arms-buying team arrived in the UK in March. Strict secrecy was maintained over the arrangements for this mission. But it was known that they visited Bristol (where the BAC missile system is built), Yeovil (Westlands) and Portsmouth (Vosper Thornycroft). In April the Government again came under attack when the *Financial Times* (17/4/71) disclosed that South Africa had asked to buy up to six frigates. The report was subsequently denied. South Africa's Defence Minister Botha encountered AAM demonstrators when he arrived for talks with Lord Carrington at the Ministry of Defence on 10 June. It is believed that Mr Botha enquired what HMG's attitude would be if South Africa placed orders for certain warships. This visit to Britain was only part of an arms-buying tour of Europe which took in the Paris Air Show, visits to French arms manufacturers and a meeting in Lisbon with Portuguese Defence Minister General Sa Viano Rebelo.

Mr Botha's visit to this country coincided with the visit of the President of the South African Atomic Energy Board, Dr A. Roux. *The Guardian* reported that he had visited the advanced fast reactor at Dounreay 'which produces a plutonium by-product which, as well as being a nuclear fuel, can be used in the production of atomic bombs' (*Guardian*, 12/6/71). And in the *Financial Times* (18/2/71) David Fishlock, Science Editor, examining the claim made by Mr Vorster last July that South African scientists had found a way of enriching uranium 'unique in its concept', concluded that the Pretoria Government was likely to be frustrated in its commercial nuclear aspirations but that it could turn 'its enrichment process to military ends, making instead the highly enriched uranium that atomic weapons require'.

Trade union opposition to arms sales continued. In May, DATA passed a resolution pledging official support for workers who black arms. And at the TUC this year an all-embracing resolution on Southern Africa including this clause was passed unanimously (see TRADE UNIONS).

Over the past few months there has been an apparent lull in the arms sales issue. But this is deceptive. Reports indicated that South Africa had presented HMG with an extensive list of arms requirements. It is surely

the fierce campaign conducted against this further strengthening of the apartheid regime which caused the Government to pause after granting permission for the supply of seven helicopters under the dubious guise of an obligation under the Simonstown Agreement. This is a temporary respite. Though South Africa is reported as being almost self-sufficient in many arms and now receives the bulk of her requirements from France*, she still needs maritime armaments and maritime patrol aircraft. Obtaining these from Britain will further her political aims as well as enhance her military capacity. In March it was reported that a British consortium led by the British Aircraft Corporation is working on a guided-missile defence system for South Africa.

The British Government policy to ally itself even further with the apartheid régime and to foster South Africa's role as a regional power has been extensively discussed elsewhere (*AA News*, Annual Report 1969/70). The AAM needs to be vigilant and to work with even greater dedication for country-wide support in this campaign.

Campaign in Companies

The Movement has campaigned for many years against individual British firms which collaborate with white supremacy in Southern Africa. Fresh impetus has been added to these campaigns by our work with the Dambusters Mobilising Committee (see CABORA BASSA), by the campaign in America against the Polaroid Corporation, and by Neil Wates' welcome announcement that his company would not invest in South Africa. It is a measure of the success of these campaigns that many companies are now announcing minor concessions which are causing confusion in some circles. The recent announcement by Barclays of equal wages for Black and White workers, and Polaroid's formula of improving pay and training for Africans and channelling some of their profits into African education in order to maintain their profitable operations in South Africa, are examples.

Proposals for equal pay for Black and White workers, training schemes, and improved work conditions in no way remove the support for apartheid afforded by these companies' presence, nor do they threaten the system of apartheid. Latest figures show that the gap between White and African wages is increasing. In manufacturing, the ratio rose from 5.1 to 1 in May 1966, to 5.7 to 1 in June 1970; and in mining it increased from 17.5 to 1 in June 1966, to 20.3 to 1 in March 1971. Job reservation continues to ensure that Africans cannot threaten the skilled and semi-skilled jobs that have become the White man's preserve. The Movement will continue to campaign for a total withdrawal of British companies from South Africa.

In addition to these campaigns, the Movement has also campaigned against British companies involved in Cabora Bassa and has continued

* *The Times* report (28 June 1971) stated that 'South Africa is to build its own Mirage jet fighters under licence from the French designers, the Marcel Dassault company'. France is South Africa's major arms supplier and has already provided submarines, missile gunboats, supersonic jets and other aircraft.

to work against trade union and university investment in firms with South African interests. Protests have been staged at the Annual General Meetings of Rio Tinto Zinc, Cape Asbestos and Charter Consolidated. Supporters of the Movement, attending as shareholders (with minimal holdings), exposed the role of the companies in support of apartheid, and questioned the chairmen about all aspects of their Southern African operations. Proposals for the withdrawal of these companies from Southern Africa and the payment of current dividends to the liberation movements were put forward. These campaigns have been widely reported in the Press.

Information about the South African interests and connections of these firms, and numerous others, is constantly being compiled, and widely distributed. The documentation on the major firms mentioned in the Movement's list of 500 British firms with subsidiary and associate companies in South Africa has been reorganised, and 60 new company files have been opened in recent months.

A new boost to the campaign in companies was provided by the Round House Conference to commemorate South Africa Freedom Day, at which the campaigns against involvement throughout Southern Africa by Barclays, United Transport, ICI, Guest Keen & Nettlefold and Rio Tinto Zinc were discussed.

South Africa Freedom Day (26 June)

The Conference on *Britain & South Africa — Partners in Imperialism*, held in the Round House, Chalk Farm, on 4 July, to commemorate South Africa Freedom Day, was planned to cover the extent of British and European support for apartheid and racism in Southern Africa and how this support furthers South Africa's imperialist role on the African continent; to deal with the issue of 'dialogue' and to concentrate on the methods of campaigning against British firms with investments in South Africa and those likely to be involved in selling arms. The Rhodesian issue was clearly intended to be discussed under the above headings but, in view of the Government's declared intention to seek a 'settlement' with the Smith regime and Lord Goodman's visit to that country, discussion on Rhodesia dominated the conference. The other dominant issue was the campaign on investments.

Five hundred people attended and the conference was divided into two sessions — the morning devoted to information and the afternoon to discussion of action. A high point of the afternoon was the speech delivered by Caroline Hunter, one of the leaders of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, who spoke on the Polaroid campaign in the USA. She had flown over expressly to take part, and her campaign experience proved most helpful. Sobizana Mugqkana spoke on behalf of the ANC (South Africa).

A set of papers on South Africa's Economic Relations with the Western Powers, South Africa's Outward Policy, and the Situation of the National Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, were prepared by

Sean Gervasi, Brian Bunting and Basil Davidson — plus background documents on five companies involved in Southern Africa (see CAMPAIGN IN COMPANIES). These were distributed to all who attended and continue to be used as background/briefing documents.

Unfortunately, insufficient time had been allowed during the afternoon action session for the many contributions that were volunteered from the floor. The Movement plans to remedy this omission in the coming year by holding a smaller conference at which the main emphasis will be on the discussion of action proposals by the participants. Nonetheless, useful proposals did emerge both on the investment campaign and on the Rhodesian issue. The conference material will certainly provide valuable information for future campaigns.

A conference leaflet was widely distributed, and the conference itself received good press coverage.

Action on Rhodesia

On 20 October 1970, the British Government confirmed that further approaches would be made to the Smith regime to seek a 'settlement', and Lord Goodman embarked on a series of visits to Rhodesia for 'talks about talks'. Since, in 1969, Ian Smith promised white Rhodesians 'the death knell of majority rule', and HMG has committed itself to maintaining the five principles which include unimpeded progress to majority rule, it is difficult to see any common ground for such talks. A 'settlement' can only mean British Government consent to an agreement well outside the spirit and the letter of the five principles — a 'deal' which will effectively betray the African majority for which Britain claims responsibility.

The Movement has, during the year, regularly supplied information to Members of Parliament, press, organisations and individuals, on current developments in Rhodesia, to counter the virtual clampdown in most newspapers on this issue. From reports in Rhodesian newspapers that the Anglo-Rhodesian Society was to 'sell' Rhodesia at the Bath and West and Southern Counties Show, the Movement was able to alert AAM members in Bath who, on making representations to officials, were able to secure the withdrawal of the Anglo-Rhodesian stall. Enticing reports of life in Rhodesia, sent by agents of the illegal regime to individuals in this country, were exposed in the press; and advertisements couched in similar language, which appeared in a newspaper distributed in the UK, were taken up with the Attorney General and the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Following the 4 July Conference (see *South Africa Freedom Day*), the Movement called a day of action on 16 July. Thousands of copies of a leaflet headed 'No Agreement with Smith' and calling for 'No independence before majority rule, negotiations only with the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, the release of political prisoners, and the expulsion of South African forces from Rhodesia', were distributed for signature and were either posted or delivered to the Foreign Office. A placard demonstration was held in Downing Street for most of

that day, and a letter to Sir Alec Douglas-Home was handed in by MPs Philip Whitehead and Bob Hughes, writer Andrew Salkey, representatives of Rhodesian African movements and representatives of trade unions, political parties and organisations in the UK. The letter stated that 'the issue of Rhodesia demands a principled solution. If HMG fails in this objective it will be to the detriment of Britain's international standing and carry with it disastrous implications for race relations in Africa and throughout the world'.

Cabora Bassa

The Cabora Bassa dam scheme in Mozambique has been widely condemned as an attempt by the Portuguese to promote massive white settlement along the Zambesi Valley, to strengthen its position in its war against FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front) and also as an example of the growing involvement of South Africa in this war. Over the past year the scheme has come under increasing attack on two fronts: FRELIMO are now operating to the south of the dam site, and the international campaign against the collaboration of Western capital has made significant progress.

The Movement, working closely with the Dambusters Mobilising Committee, has continued to campaign against British involvement in the dam. The campaign against Barclays has been sustained. Supporters attended both the Barclays DCO and the Barclays Annual General Meetings, Barclays' being prolonged to 4½ hours by 30 single shareholders. At this meeting it was made clear that although the performance bonds it had previously issued have lapsed, the bank is still involved in the dam 'via a long line of credit to a customer'. Annual meetings of ICI, GKN and United Transport were also attended by supporters who protested at the role of these companies in Southern Africa, and in particular in Cabora Bassa. These campaigns have met with considerable success, and British companies have been forced onto the defensive about their Southern African operations. At a meeting with the Monmouthshire Anti-Apartheid Committee, United Transport's Chairman admitted that they would not have become involved in the dam project if they had realised its political consequences, and GKN's South African Managing Director has been told to refer to London before issuing any information. Barclays has lost important accounts, including that of the Student Christian Movement, and the majority Labour group in Lambeth Council is committed to withdrawing the council's £37 million account. Student recruitment to Barclays dropped from 48% of new student accounts in October 1969 to 33% in 1970.

The Movement has also assisted in the production of three stickers for use in the Cabora Bassa campaign, and a much-needed pamphlet on Cabora Bassa is going to press as this Annual Report is being written.

Outside Britain the campaign against the collaboration of international capital in the dam scheme has also met with success. Protesters at the Alcan AGM in Canada caused the meeting to end in uproar, and SAE having

lost Italian Government financial backing, was forced to sub-contract the work it was to have done. In America, General Electric (USA), after announcing its intention to become involved, withdrew under heavy pressure, and in Germany the international campaign has made it unlikely that the Government will extend further credit guarantees for the scheme. At the United Nations the Cabora Bassa development has been condemned, and member nations urged not to participate.

As the building at the dam site proceeds, and intensive development of the area begins, further involvement by the West in this, the biggest construction project in Southern Africa, is becoming inevitable. Already ICI, GKN, Babcock & Wilcox and British Leyland have opened new subsidiaries in Mozambique. A Brighton firm of consulting engineers, Preece Cardew & Rider, is advising on the 1,000-mile power transmission line to South Africa. The Conservative Government has made British involvement in the scheme easier. The British National Export Council mission to Mozambique in October paid a visit to the dam site, and an export credit guarantee of £5 million for use in Portugal and Mozambique was announced last autumn. Maurice Macmillan MP, replying on behalf of the Government to a Parliamentary question in December, said that the Government would not discourage British participation.

Both the Government and the interested companies have been forced to clamp down on publicity about Cabora Bassa in an attempt to thwart opposition to the scheme. According to the *Daily Telegraph* Cabora Bassa 'is the target of an intensive campaign of obstruction which has its origins with the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London. For this reason discussion of the awards of contracts is highly confidential'.

At the Cabora Bassa site, work on the dam is well advanced. The diversion tunnels have been completed, and road links extended. The 5,000 workers on the site lead a strictly segregated life on an apartheid basis in the specially built township of Songo.

At the same time FRELIMO has made considerable advances. Portuguese communiqués have admitted since February that FRELIMO is fighting south of the Zambesi, and more recently FRELIMO has destroyed lorries on the roads leading to Cabora Bassa. In one ambush, 12 miles from the dam site, precision instruments and plans for the dam were captured. FRELIMO's presence south of the Zambesi is of profound significance, as it breaches the second line of Portugal's defence that Cabora Bassa was intended to secure.

The campaign against the Cabora Bassa dam has exposed the role of Western economic involvement in support of white supremacy in Southern Africa in a highly specific way. In Britain it has brought those companies involved into open conflict with anti-apartheid forces. In conjunction with international pressures and FRELIMO's increasing successes, the campaign must be sustained until all Western support for white supremacy is withdrawn.

Political Prisoners

The South African Government's campaign to repair its image abroad may tend to obscure the fact that, within the country, repression continues and has, if anything, increased.

In September last year, Winnie Mandela and 18 other Africans were acquitted on charges under the Terrorism Act after having spent 16 months in detention, most of it in solitary confinement (refer 1969/70 Annual Report). Benjamin Ramotse, the 20th defendant, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Detained under the Terrorism Act since 1968, his appearance in the dock had come as a surprise – not even his wife had known of his arrest. An accurate estimate of the numbers of political prisoners in South Africa's jails cannot therefore be given – there have been other cases like that of Benjamin Ramotse – since under the terms of the Terrorism Act people may simply 'disappear'.

For Winnie Mandela and the 18, freedom was again denied. All 19 were banned and Winnie Mandela was placed under house arrest. In addition they are all 'continually harassed by the Security Branch and several have lost their jobs' (Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, 13/2/70).

The pressure exerted by the AAM on behalf of Winnie Mandela and her co-accused certainly contributed to their release from prison, and efforts to publicise the cases of political detainees and prisoners, and to focus world attention on their plight, is a continuing part of the Movement's work. In February the National Committee set up a sub-committee to concentrate on this campaign, with special reference to the announcement by the South African Government of an amnesty for prisoners to mark the 10th anniversary of the Republic. Within South Africa there had been an interesting response to this announcement – a National Committee for Clemency was formed to campaign for this amnesty to be extended to political prisoners 'languishing in jail for convictions deeply held'.

A letter supporting the aims of this Committee and pointing out that 'despite the South African Government's denial of the existence of any such category as "political prisoners", it consistently excludes from remission of sentence, from parole and from amnesty those prisoners who would be defined as within this category', was sent out together with a background document. The signatories to the letter included: Jeremy Thorpe MP, the Bishop of Durham, Denis Healey MP, Canon Collins, G. H. Doughty, General Secretary AUEW (Technical and Management Section), Angus Wilson and Richard Crossman MP. It was sent to trade unions, political parties, student groups and organisation in the UK, America, Australia, the Far East – all in all it covered 30 countries. In the letter the appeal 'to press by all means available for the release of political prisoners' gained an added emphasis in being tied to the UN call for 1971 to be International Year Against Racism and Racial Discrimination. A number of replies to this letter have been received from abroad, and campaigns have been initiated in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the West Indies. Pressure is being exerted on the governments of

these countries to make representations to the South African Government on this issue.

'APARTHEID IS ENOUGH TO TURN ANY CIVILISED HUMAN BEING INTO A POLITICAL PRISONER' was the slogan on the poster produced for this campaign. It was reproduced in a number of newspapers which also gave coverage to the campaign.

In March, Peter Magubane, who had spent 16 months in prison, together with Winnie Mandela and others, was again detained by the Security Police, and Mrs Mandela herself was charged with and found guilty of breaking her banning order. She did so by receiving a visitor into her home and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Her appeal is now pending. Peter Magubane was released in June after having spent a total of 20 months in prison - most of it in solitary confinement. He had not been found guilty on any charge.

At least 20 people - members of the South African Unity Movement and of the African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa - were detained under the Terrorism Act in February. Some papers reported that as many as 38 people had been arrested, but names were not given and news of those who were known to be detained had come from families. A statement issued by the Unity Movement mentioned, among others, the names of Leo Sihlali (who had just been released after 2½ years on Robben Island), Gwendoline and Alfred Wilcox (both under a five-year banning order), and Kader Hassim (banned and under house arrest).

The AAM immediately called a demonstration outside South Africa House in protest at these arrests. Publicity was sought for this case and *The Guardian* interviewed a relative of one of the detainees, who is now in this country. Letters were sent to the UN, the ICJ and other organisations urging them to make a public protest against these arrests. On 16 June, 14 of the detainees appeared in court in Pietermaritzburg, charged under the Terrorism Act, and were remanded to 2 August. Proceedings were dropped against one of the 14, Joseph Tshukudu Maleka, who is to be tried separately. The 13, accused of plotting to overthrow the South African Government 'with force of arms and foreign assistance', appeared in court briefly and were again remanded to 16 August while their statements alleging assault and torture while in detention were investigated. On their appearance one of the accused alleged that Mthayeni Cushela, an elderly farmer from the Transkei who was detained with them, was tortured for days on end and finally died. The Security Police maintain that he died from 'natural causes'.

This trial coincided with the trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Revd Gonville French-Beytagh, a British subject who was arrested in January under the Terrorism Act. He was detained for eight days in solitary confinement before being charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. These charges were later withdrawn and on 30 June the Dean was charged under the Terrorism Act. His trial opened on 2 August and the evidence so far has revealed that his 'crime' was that he assisted the wives and families of political prisoners with money which

was used for food, for education and for fares to visit husbands and fathers in prison.

In protest at these trials the Movement called for a 24-hour vigil outside South Africa House on 1 and 2 August. Contact was made with the churches, and it was suggested that sermons delivered on 1 August deal with these two trials, with the Terrorism Act and with the position of the opponents of apartheid in South Africa. Many churches responded to this appeal and, prior to the vigil, Bishop Reeves preached on this theme in the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields.

The Movement has been vigilant on the issue of political prisoners, though information is frequently delayed or difficult to obtain. International organisations, UK organisations, trade unions, students, and members and supporters of the Movement have been alerted to request their governments to make representations to the South Africans, and to publicise each case as widely as possible. Within South Africa, opposition to the treatment of political prisoners, first shown with the public demonstrations in the case of Winnie Mandela, continued with the establishment of the Committee for Clemency. But the detentions, bannings, arrests, and persecution by the Security Police continue at a ferocious rate.

In May, James April was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for being trained in guerrilla warfare 'with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic'. The final opportunity for Robert Sobukwe (former leader of the banned PAC) and Shanti Naidoo (detained with Winnie Mandela and then imprisoned for refusing to give evidence against her) to leave South Africa was lost when the South African Supreme Court ruled, in June of this year, that they could not travel to an international departure point. Both had been granted one-way exit permits by the South African Government, but the Minister of the Interior refused to relax the terms of their banning orders and allow them to travel to the airport. This departure from earlier practice is an extension of the South African Government's inhumanity.

Also in June, Father Cosmas Desmond, author of *The Discarded People*, a book describing the conditions in the African resettlement areas, otherwise known as 'the dumping grounds', was served with a banning and house arrest order. He is confined to his home from 6 pm to 7 am on weekdays and all day Saturday and Sunday; he is banned from attending social and political gatherings; and he may not write for publications or be quoted in any South African newspaper. The order also bans him from attending church on Sunday.

We have here mentioned only a few of the trials, political detentions and bannings that have taken place in South Africa over the past year and on which the Movement has worked. Currently a duplicated letter addressed to Mr Vorster which calls for the release of all political prisoners, and which refers in particular to the trial of the Dean and of the 13 accused in the Pietermaritzburg trial, is being circulated for signature throughout the country. Biographical material on 30 political

prisoners is now available and work is proceeding to enlarge this number. The Movement is writing to trade unions, churches, women's organisations and others urging that each group adopt a political prisoner and agitate for his release.

Cultural Boycott

It is now almost eight years since British playwrights instructed their agents to insert a clause in all future contracts automatically refusing performing rights in any theatre 'where discrimination is made among audiences on grounds of colour'. At that time, 48 playwrights signed this Declaration, and in the following years their number was added to by at least another 50 playwrights from the UK, France, Ireland and the United States. This Declaration against apartheid was initiated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and resulted in South African theatre managements having few contemporary plays available for public performance in the segregated theatres of the country. In January 1965, the South African Government issued a proclamation forbidding all mixed gatherings at places of public entertainment – thus giving legal compulsion to what had previously been the theatre-owners' traditional choice. In the same year the Government passed an amendment to the Copyright Act permitting the legal 'pirating' of plays.

During these past eight years there have been many attempts by South African theatre managements to persuade British playwrights to change their minds, but the vast majority have maintained their position. A resolution calling for the film unions to work out a coordinated policy to prevent their films being shown in segregated cinemas in South Africa, originally proposed by the Writers Guild in 1969, has now been agreed to by the ACTT and by the Musicians Union. (The latter has since 1961 refused to allow any of its members to perform in South Africa.)

With the announcement that the South African Government is to establish television in South Africa, in which programmes intended for whites will not be received by the black population, writers, actors and technicians are being urged to prevent the use in such a television system of programmes and films from Britain. A resolution to this effect was recently passed by the Executive of the International Federation of Actors and will be considered by Equity Council at an early meeting.

The cultural boycott of South Africa has nonetheless met with some questioning in recent years, and at least three playwrights who were among the original signatories to the Declaration have now agreed to the performance of their work in South Africa. They are aware that theatres are segregated and that such halls as are available for blacks are rudimentary both in equipment and comfort. Their arguments for relaxing the boycott vary: some might be ascribed to a certain impatience, in that political change in South Africa is taking time to come about; in other cases, playwrights feel that if their plays do get shown to the Africans, even if only on a few occasions (as well as enjoying a long run in the well-equipped theatres exclusively for whites), at least they are getting

their ideas across to an African audience; there is also a feeling that playwrights would rather it were the South African Government which banned their plays. In addition they consider that they have some hope of influencing the whites.

In response to a public declaration withdrawing his support for the boycott by one of the three playwrights referred to above, the representative in the UK of the African National Congress wrote in *The Times* of 11/9/71: 'the white community . . . have for decades been appealed to through the humanity of plays' and 'have left their posh theatres to march to the polls and consistently maintain their privileged position'.

The Movement has been eager to discuss such doubts as may arise in the minds of playwrights. An institutionalised and static stand on any issue would destroy the developing and dynamic nature of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and it is constantly concerned to avoid this pitfall. While the Movement is prepared to examine any evidence of new tendencies in this field, it reaffirms its position in working for the isolation of South Africa in every field in accordance with the appeal from the elected representatives of the African people. Apartheid is applied in the field of entertainment as it is in sport, and this commitment by playwrights in refusing to collaborate with the apartheid system is in support of the African majority who for the most part are denied the right to attend the theatre and concert halls should they wish to do so. If those playwrights now permitting the performance of their work in South Africa do so on the basis of a changing political situation within the country, they have been effectively taken in by the South African Government's external propaganda machine. The innumerable laws which forbid opposition to apartheid remain on the statute books. 'Bridge-building' or 'dialogue' over the years has not produced any change within the country, whereas a refusal to collaborate with the system, as seen in the campaign on sport, and the possibility of white South Africa's isolation have at least caused this minority to question the application of apartheid in such areas.

The Movement has written to playwrights now beginning to have their work performed, requesting their participation in this Declaration, and it has also written to those playwrights who have withdrawn from this commitment urging them to consider this matter further. In May, Alan Sapper, General Secretary of the ACTT, following on information from the Movement, issued a statement in which he said: 'ACTT condemns those playwrights who have recently indicated their willingness to allow their plays to be performed in South Africa without restriction. This action of theirs contravenes the policy laid out by the unions in the entertainment industry of this country, all of whom are opposed to apartheid. We take this opportunity of reiterating our condemnation of South Africa's apartheid policy and our support to creative artists not allowing their works to be prostituted by their being performed or shown to segregated audiences'. The Movement is at present circulating a letter to the general secretaries of unions in the Federation of Film Unions for eventual

publication. The following is an extract from that letter, which two unions have now signed:

'We are . . . most disturbed that a handful of playwrights have, for whatever reason, seen fit to put in jeopardy the efforts of their fellow-writers by allowing their work to be shown in South Africa, thus accepting segregation, delighting the South African Government's PR men, and dismaying those Africans, black and white, who are willing to lay their lives down to achieve racial equality in their country.

'We call upon those playwrights not to be deluded into thinking that their plays will contribute to any "meaningful dialogue" with the powers in Pretoria; not to desert – or to take advantage of – their fellow-writers who have held out so firmly against the South African Government; not to undermine this new initiative to spread the boycott into the cinema as well; but to reaffirm their total opposition to apartheid by refusing to allow their plays to be shown to segregated audiences in South Africa or anywhere in the world.'

Sport

The campaigns conducted in this country against the white South African rugby tour and the projected cricket tour have now had their counterparts in many countries, notably Australia. World attention has been focused on the Australian campaign against collaboration with apartheid sport. It has been a sustained campaign involving the trade unions, students and many organisations.

In February, the Australians achieved a major breakthrough with the banning of a South African surfing team from a Sydney beach. This was followed by a spectacular campaign during the South African rugby tour and, in September, by the announcement that the Australians had withdrawn their invitation to the all-white South African cricket team. This decision had a profound effect within South Africa. It now means that the South African cricketers are excluded from international competition, and their dismay at this isolation has led them to intensify their demands for modifications in the application of apartheid in cricket. (This opposition to apartheid in cricket has shown itself only since the cancellation of the South African cricket tour of the UK.) Mr Vorster, with an unerring instinct for self-destruction, commenting on the cancellation of the South African cricket tour of Australia, said: 'What I do foresee, and what I hope will happen, is that majorities will refuse to allow minorities to dictate to them . . .' (*Guardian*, 11/9/71).

In New Zealand, following on the campaign to stop the All-Blacks' rugby tour of South Africa in 1970, greater efforts are now being made against collaboration with apartheid sport, through CARE (Citizens Association for Racial Equality) and HART (Halt All Racist Tours). Demonstrations took place during a visit of the South African all-white surf life-saving team, including a re-enactment of the Sharpeville massacre at Waihi Beach; and later in the year a South African women's hockey team

withdrew from an international tournament in Auckland, anticipating demonstrations. These campaigns are now being intensified with a massive publicity drive – with meetings, posters, stickers, etc – in an effort to stop the projected tours by the South African cricketers in early 1972 and the Springbok rugby team in 1973.

Groups in many other countries are now involved in campaigning to stop all collaboration with racist sport. An all-white South African badminton team met with disruption when touring Holland; in America, demonstrations took place during the Professional Lawn Tennis Championship in which South Africans were involved; and in anticipation of such demonstrations South African swimmers were banned from a competition in West Germany.

But the French Rugby Federation went ahead with their tour of South Africa and South West Africa (Namibia), despite considerable opposition from within France, from SAN-ROC and the AAM. Cables were sent to the French Sports Ministry, to the President of the FRF and to M Schumann, Foreign Minister, in which the Movement urged the cancellation of the tour of South Africa and Namibia, pointing out that France had voted for the UN resolution withdrawing from South Africa the mandate over South West Africa. Contact was made with the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, who cabled requesting the cancellation of the tour.

Rugby is now the only sport in which South Africa participates internationally, and the Movement is currently embarking on a campaign to stop the British rugby tour of South Africa due to take place next year.

In March, Rhodesia was invited to participate in the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. In a letter to all Olympic Committees (copies of which were sent to High Commissions and embassies), attention was drawn to the Security Council resolution on Rhodesia passed in May 1968 in which all member States were instructed to 'prevent entry into their Territories . . . of any person travelling on a Southern Rhodesian passport'. Examples of Rhodesia's racist legislation affecting sport were also given in the letter, in particular the Municipal Amendment Act of 1967 under which municipalities are permitted to establish separate swimming baths for the different races, and to prohibit the use by one race of facilities provided for another. In the same year the Smith regime also prohibited sporting fixtures between white and non-white schools unless separate changing rooms, showers, etc, were provided for the non-whites. The 'separate facilities', where provided, would be afforded 'according to the needs of each such race'!

The Federal Republic of Germany had agreed to abide by this resolution, and this was pointed out during a visit by representatives of the Movement to the Foreign Ministry in Bonn (see INTERNATIONAL). Assurances were given that this resolution would be adhered to. Letters urging action on this issue were also sent to the President and General Secretary of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

In June, the Monmouthshire Anti-Apartheid Movement initiated a campaign against the Welsh Hockey Association's projected tour of

Rhodesia. They campaigned in the area, questions were asked in the House of Commons, the central office engaged in correspondence with the Secretary of the Welsh Hockey Association, and Mr Eldon Griffiths, Minister of Sport, expressed his concern about this tour taking place, to the Chairman of the Association. Despite these pressures the Association went ahead with the tour. As a seeming concession to the objections raised they changed their name to the Welsh Dragons, and decided not to wear the Welsh team jerseys, or to play in Test matches when in Rhodesia. The Chairman denied that the substitution of a club side with the same players as the national team was 'a subterfuge'. Telegrams were also sent to the Welsh Youth Rugby Council urging them to refuse collaboration with apartheid sport and to abandon their plans for a South African tour. Towards the end of June, the Movement distributed leaflets and demonstrated against the participation of South African tennis players at Wimbledon.

Despite South Africa's isolation from most international contests, exchanges still continue between school and university teams, and with teams from different counties. The Movement has made contact with these groups and submitted information and the arguments for terminating such links. The Fair Cricket Campaign - chaired by the Rt Revd David Sheppard, Bishop of Woolwich, and formed in 1969 during the campaign against the South African cricket tour on which the Movement is represented, continues to meet at regular intervals. It has protested against these exchanges and maintains a vigilant eye on all such projected collaboration with apartheid sport.

The International Cricket Conference met at Lord's in July, and a motion from the West Indies Cricket Board of Control, calling for the isolation of South Africa from international cricket until the game is played on a non-racial basis within South Africa, was considered. Prior to the meeting, the Movement wrote to the Secretary of the Cricket Council urging support for the West Indies resolution and on the day of the meeting a deputation from the Movement, consisting of the Chairman and Robert Hughes MP, together with deputations from SAN-ROC and the Young Liberals, met the Secretary of the ICC and presented letters urging ICC support for the West Indies on this issue. The ICC subsequently issued a statement indicating that future cricketing relations with South Africa would be 'a question solely for the determination of each member country'.

Following the cancellation of the South African cricket tour of Australia, Mr Waring, Minister of Sport in the South African Government, in an interview with *Drum* magazine affirmed that multi-racial sport would not be allowed.

The agitation among white South African sportsmen, administrators and spectators is now a visible movement. Over the past 18 months, they have become increasingly aware that, unless apartheid sport ceased to be the practice inside South Africa, white South African sports teams would be excluded from all international contests. The prospect and now the

fact of this isolation have spurred many who have hitherto shown no opposition to segregated sport (nor to the methods of team selection which exclude Africans, Indians and Coloureds from representing their country abroad whatever the level of their skill), to call on the Government to relax this ruling. They have not called for the elimination of racist practice: Mr Vorster's 'concessions'— eg, allowing non-white sportsmen from abroad to play in South Africa against all-white South African teams — have not extended to sport inside South Africa. And the token gesture proposed by the South African cricketers of including two non-white cricketers in the team which was to have toured Australia was rejected and exposed for the hollow insult it was. Some white South African sportsmen may now wish for non-racial sport inside South Africa and for international teams to be chosen only on merit, but following the cancellation of the South African cricket tour of the UK (1970) and of Australia (1971), coupled with exclusion from the Olympic Games and from almost every other sport at international level, it is now *necessary* for them all to agitate against the practice of apartheid sport in order to meet the demands of the world bodies. And once the rules are broken the consequent developments cannot be predicted.

3 ORGANISATION

Work in the Trade Union Movement

The Movement's increased activity in the trade union movement has met with an encouraging response. During a year in which the dominant concern of the trade unions has been the campaign against the Industrial Relations Bill, the AAM has made considerable progress. The fight against the Bill often made it difficult for trade unionists to give much time to the Movement, but the overall effect of the increased political awareness among rank-and-file trade unionists, which was a product of this fight, greatly benefited our work.

Whilst efforts have been made to consolidate the contact and influence which the Movement has with unions at a national level, particular attention has been paid to developing our activities at district, branch and shop floor level. It will take some time for the full effect of this work to become clear but already it has produced some results.

Trade unionists at all levels opposed the sale of arms to South Africa and, as reported in the last Annual Report, a motion to this effect was passed unanimously at the 1970 Trades Union Congress. A declaration of principle for trade unionists launched at that Congress rapidly attracted signatures, including those of many leading trade unionists, and over 1,000 signatures were collected. Messages of support from trade union leaders were received for the 25 October arms rally, where Dick Seabrook, President of USDAW, spoke on behalf of trade unionists. Lawrence Daly of the NUM spoke at the 18 January Central Hall meeting (see ARMS CAMPAIGN).

During the winter months, the campaign on arms was developed at a

regional level, with five regional conferences held primarily for Labour Movement activists. The conferences were held in Swansea (28 November), Manchester (6 December), Edinburgh (12 December), Leeds (13 February), and Croydon (27 February). With the exception of Edinburgh (see BRANCH ACTIVITIES), the conferences involved between 40-80 people, mainly trade unionists, in a detailed discussion on how British workers could prevent arms being supplied to South Africa. The conferences also reviewed the part being played by the Labour Movement in combating British collaboration with the racist regimes in Southern Africa. Useful contacts were established, between the Movement, local AA branches and the participating trade unionists, which enabled all sides to gain a clearer perspective of the priorities and strategy necessary for a successful arms campaign in the trade union movement. A conference planned for Newcastle-on-Tyne had to be cancelled due to the Post Office strike, and the Leeds and Croydon conferences took place during that dispute. In the latter case part of the proceeds were donated, at the unanimous wish of the participants, to the UPW Hardship fund.

The Government's decision, announced in February, to sell seven Westland Wasp helicopters to South Africa was thoroughly condemned by trade unionists, and a march and rally took place at the Westland factory at Hayes on 20 March at which leading trade unionists addressed the demonstrators (see ARMS CAMPAIGN). Contacts were developed with shop stewards at several Westland factories to investigate possible action that could be taken. The DATA branch at the Westland factory at Yeovil passed a resolution stating their refusal to work on arms for South Africa, and a series of motions were presented to the DATA National Conference in May, with the result that a strongly worded composite motion, which included a clause instructing the DATA Executive to support any worker who refused to work on arms contracts, was carried overwhelmingly. This motion was forwarded to the AUEW Conference but just failed to be debated due to lack of time. Although there is considerable support among workers in Westland factories for the blacking of arms to South Africa, the recent decision by Westlands' management to close the Hayes factory, and in the process lay off nearly 2,000 workers, has further complicated the picture. There is also no evidence to show that Westlands have at the time of writing actually received the South African order.

The campaign to stop the emigration of workers to South Africa has been maintained. The NUM continues to campaign against white miners from Britain emigrating to South Africa, and in March the Miners International Federation appealed to all its affiliates to express similar opposition. Attempts to recruit workers for the Johannesburg buses were strongly condemned by the T & GWU and by the International Transport Workers Federation. In May and June, South Africa made an attempt to recruit workers from a broad range of jobs in the print industry. NATSOPA, SOGAT Division A and SLADE & PW all urged their members not to accept such positions. The work done by the Movement in the print industry has now resulted in SLADE & PW resolving to press for the expulsion of South

Africa from the International Graphical Federation. In November the Field Officer met James Jack, General Secretary of the Scottish TUC, to discuss possible action against the South African Immigration Centre in Glasgow. Subsequent discussions have been held with Glasgow Trades Council on the picketing of these offices and this action is now pending. In early July, Dr Mulder, the South African cabinet minister responsible for immigration, visited Britain, and the Movement asked Vic Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, to issue a Press statement condemning the visit on the basis of the 1969 TUC resolution. This request remained unanswered. A leaflet on emigration, entitled 'What South Africa House won't tell you', was distributed at the 1971 Annual Congress of the TUC, and it is hoped that bulk orders for this leaflet will be forthcoming from unions.

Wide distribution of a paper on the investments held by trade unions in firms with South African subsidiaries was undertaken and letters were sent to all unions holding such investments. In November the Chairman and the Field Officer of the Movement met the General Treasurer and other representatives of the Civil and Public Services Association. After an exchange of letters, the CPSA informed the Movement that they were withdrawing investments from companies involved in the South African armaments industry. They are also currently investigating other firms in which they hold investments. At their annual conference in April, the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union resolved to withdraw all its investments in firms with South African subsidiaries. In response to a letter from the Movement, the NUJ has withdrawn its investments in a number of firms with South African subsidiaries, and ASLEF has decided not to make further investments in such firms. However, both unions continue to hold investments in firms with South African subsidiaries. The ACTT withdrew their remaining account from Barclays Bank.

The campaigns on arms, emigration, and investment received a tremendous boost from the decision taken at the 1971 TUC in Blackpool in September. Three motions, submitted by the Musicians Union, the Chemical Workers Union and the Tobacco Workers Union, with an amendment submitted by DATA, were composited to form a powerfully-worded motion that Congress adopted unanimously. The motion included opposition to arms sales to South Africa and to a sell-out in Rhodesia; support for workers who black arms; a call for the withdrawal of all union investments in firms with South African subsidiaries; greater publicity for the 1969 Congress resolution discouraging emigration to South Africa; a call for efforts to obtain the release of political prisoners; moral and material support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa; action against the sale of French Mirage jets to South Africa; and the breaking of trade union links with South African whites-only trade unions.

The Hon Secretary of the AAM spoke on behalf of the Movement at a meeting held at the TUC, organised by the Labour Party Fund on Southern Africa. Approximately 50 conference delegates attended.

During the course of the year, one particular action by trade unionists

at a local level, stands out. In March, through the concerted action of Bristol AAM, Bristol Trades Council, Somerset NUM, South Wales NUM, and Bristol NUR, a shipment of coal from South Africa bound for Bristol docks was diverted under the threat that it would be blacked. The ship proceeded to Amsterdam where its cargo was again blacked, and eventually arrived empty, in Copenhagen. Since there is no information that the coal was off-loaded at any port, it is assumed that it was dumped at sea. This effort was an example of what can be done, through concerted union action and through international trade unionism, almost entirely from local initiatives.

The Trade Union Action Group (TUAG) has met regularly, and several new members have joined the committee. It has continued to publicise the situation in Southern Africa, through trade union journals and through the distribution of literature (over 30,000 copies of the leaflet entitled 'Carr's Industrial Bill is oppressive - but you should read Vorster's' were distributed at the 21 February TUC rally). Plans have been made to address a number of trade union meetings and to illustrate further the relationship between events in South Africa and Britain, eg, the laying-off of workers in this country by firms which are dramatically expanding their activities in South Africa. The TUAG has arranged the distribution of material for union conferences, and in several cases has sent representatives. Motions have been suggested to trade union branches for submission to national conferences, eg, an excellent motion was successfully moved by a London branch at the Biennial Delegate Conference of the T & GWU. The number of union branches and trades councils affiliated to the Movement has doubled in the last year, and affiliations by ACTT and SLADE & PW have brought the list of national unions affiliated to the Movement to 14.

The presence in this country of John Gaetsewe, the Western European Representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, has been of enormous assistance in our work. He spoke at all the regional conferences and on several other occasions, and has produced a series of useful documents for trade unionists in particular fields, as well as being a member of the TUAG.

The response to an appeal for funds sent to all trade unions has been disappointing but further contributions are hoped for. As our work in the trade union movement develops it is expected that larger sums will be forthcoming.

The effect of trade union opposition to apartheid is beginning to make a greater impact internationally. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), in the editorial of the July/August edition of its journal *Free Labour World*, called for campaigns against emigration to South Africa, against investment in apartheid and for the total isolation of South Africa. The ILO adopted a resolution on apartheid at its 56th Session in June, emphasising the need to discourage emigration to South Africa. In September 1971, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid approved a recommendation that the UN call an international conference of trade unions for action against apartheid.

Lobbying in Political Parties

As a non-party political organisation, the Movement has worked to gain support from all political parties. Meetings are regularly held at Labour and Liberal Party Conferences and though no such meeting has taken place at the Conservative Party Conference, AAM material has been distributed.

The main effort has been concentrated on gaining the support of all sections of the labour movement — the trade unions, constituency and local labour parties, the Co-operative Movement — and of Members of Parliament of all parties.

Each year, the Movement sends every Constituency Labour Party a background briefing on developments in Southern Africa plus suggested points for inclusion in resolutions submitted to the Party Conference. An accompanying letter invites requests for speakers and offers additional background material. At the Party Conference, the Movement's representative contributes information and assistance, if required, to those delegates who are to speak to resolutions on Southern Africa.

The AAM meeting at the 1970 Labour Party Conference was well attended. Chaired by Joan Lester MP, speakers included M. B. Yengwa of the African National Congress of South Africa, Ian Mikardo MP, Reg Prentice MP, and representatives of other Southern African liberation movements.

At this Conference, a resolution calling for a comprehensive arms embargo against South Africa, a curb on further investment with particular reference to investment in the armaments industry, and full moral and material support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa, was passed overwhelmingly. Following on this resolution, the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, in May 1971, launched an appeal fund for money to assist Southern African freedom fighters. It was agreed that the money would be given 'unconditionally'.

Branch Activities

During the course of the year, the branches of the Movement have played an increasingly important role in AAM activities. They are the vital channels for local organisation, highlighting events in South Africa through educational work, campaigning against local links with the Southern African regimes and mobilising support for national campaigns.

The Movement now has 45 branches, of which the majority are active in varying degrees. A few of the branches formed as a result of the Springbok tours campaign have had organisational difficulties, mainly due to the lack of experienced activists, with a consequent diminution of activity. It is expected that this will be remedied in the coming year.

Branches such as Edinburgh and Manchester have continued their long tradition of extensive activity. Bristol carried out a full programme for much of the year, including a successful campaign to stop the import of South African coal (see TRADE UNIONS), but have recently lost some leading members. Birmingham, after a successful meeting in the autumn, has had

a disappointing year, and the Merseyside group remains in a weak position. Two groups – Mid-Sussex and Monmouthshire – have had outstanding results from their first year's work, and branches formed during the course of this year in York, Mid-Herts, Dursley, Croydon and Guildford have all made encouraging progress. The new branch in York, plus the affiliation to the Movement of the Leeds Anti-Racist Committee, established the AAM in Yorkshire for the first time in many years. The Hampstead group has been revitalised and has implemented an impressive range of activities. A steady level of activity has been maintained by West Wales, Derby, Exeter, Kensington & Chelsea (now renamed West London), Nottingham, Peterborough and Southend. Groups such as Glasgow, Cardiff, Brighton and several of the Surrey branches have made important contributions at different times during the year.

During the course of the winter, groups in West Wales, Manchester, Edinburgh and Surrey gave valuable help in the organisation of regional conferences for trade unionists. The Edinburgh conference covered a much broader base and was most effectively organised by Edinburgh AAM, the Trades Council, and local student groups. Fifteen hundred people attended the conference. It was preceded by a demonstration through Edinburgh which made a considerable impact in the Scottish Press. Whilst the cooperation with trade unionists that occurred in Edinburgh is not always possible, many groups do not involve trade unionists as much as they do other sections of the community. Involvement of trade unionists at a local level is essential if the developments outlined in the trade union section are to succeed.

Many groups have in the course of their programmes devoted attention to the racial situation in Britain and in particular have been involved in opposing the Immigration Bill which the Government presented to Parliament in the spring. A number of Community Relations Councils have affiliated to the Movement during the year, and links with immigrant organisations in this country have been extended.

Branches have continued to respond positively to calls for national action. Particularly noteworthy was the response to the arms petition, where local groups collected many thousands of signatures, and in the process established additional links with local organisations. A number of groups have reported on their activities to the National Committee, but there are still too few local groups actively participating in this decision-making body. Similarly, many groups do not keep the Movement informed of activities that they are planning or have undertaken. In general, insufficient use is made of *AA News*, and greater sales of the paper by local branches are hoped for in the future.

Student Activity

The effect of extensive student involvement in last year's campaign against apartheid sport has been consolidated and student involvement on the Southern African issue remains at a high level. Students are increasingly better informed, and a greater understanding of the full nature of British

collaboration with the minority regimes in Southern Africa is emerging. Regular meetings on Southern Africa, or 'South Africa Weeks', have been held in most universities and in the larger colleges. 'Boycott Barclays' campaigns were held in almost every major college during Fresher Weeks and activities such as the mass withdrawal of accounts, pickets, marches and sit-ins were continued against Barclays for most of the year. The rugby tour and subsequent efforts to stop the projected cricket tour provided students with a campaign of national importance on their own doorsteps. The campaigns against arms sales, against university/college investment, etc, have provided less obvious targets, with more research work necessary if they are to be successful. The result has been that several groups who have embarked on a campaign have not managed to cope with this challenge.

At a national level, students have continued to demonstrate their opposition to collaboration with the white regimes in South Africa. The 10,000-strong demonstration on 25 October against arms sales to South Africa was fully supported by the NUS and by several thousand students on the day. Support for the arms petition, the 18 January Central Hall meeting and the 4 July conference at the Round House came from a large number of students.

There were also some excellent local efforts. Outstanding amongst these was the action of Edinburgh students who, on discovering that their authorities held £500,000 of investments directly in South African firms, developed a campaign that led to the mass involvement of students, who with a significant number of staff demanded the liquidation of all such investments. An extended debate took place in *The Scotsman*, with the correspondence columns filled with letters on the subject. Eventually, with discussions taking place through the Christmas vacation and beyond, the university authorities, who were threatened with direct action by the students, decided to liquidate all such investments for 'economic reasons'.

Students at the University of East Anglia pressured their university authorities to set up a separate bank account from the university's Barclays account, and later in the year protested to ICI representatives on the role of that company in South Africa. Students at Queen's University, Belfast undertook a prolonged campaign to stop their authorities investing in companies with South African subsidiaries, and during the summer term campaigned successfully, with the support of NUS, to prevent their rugby team touring South Africa. Students at North-West and Northern Polytechnics held a prolonged sit-in against the appointment of Dr Terence Miller (former Principal of University College, Rhodesia) as Principal of the two combined polytechnics. One of the charges levelled at Dr Miller was his collaboration with the Smith regime. Students at Thames Polytechnic divided the college for one day into segregated areas, using 'Whites only' and 'No Blacks allowed' stickers to illustrate to their colleagues the nature of apartheid. Students at Liverpool organised a large-scale protest in November against a visiting South Africa House trade delegation.

Cooperation with the NUS during the course of the year was based on the resolution passed at the 1970 NUS Conference in Bradford. The sub-committee formed by that resolution did not have a very long or successful existence. The Movement assisted in the organisation for the national meeting of the NUS Free Southern Africa Campaign in early November and with subsequent regional meetings. The campaign was not as successful as had been hoped and as a result representatives of the NUS, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, and AAM met in early June to consider plans for the next session. As a result, the campaign this year will be organised through a network of local contacts, using a campaign manual on Southern Africa being produced for local activists, and with regular meetings of contact members. (In September – outside the scope of this report – a meeting for contacts was held and over 20 different areas were represented.) The NUS has given increasing support to the Movement during the course of the year, and the Movement was again invited to attend the Easter Conference as a guest of the NUS International Department.

The developments at the University College of Rhodesia have continued to be of concern to students. British students strongly condemned the withdrawal of grants, by the Smith regime, to some 40 African students attending UCR, for their part in two demonstrations. Both these demonstrations were of a peaceful nature. One, against the Bishop of Mashonaland, for his failure to support the decision of the World Council of Churches, involved 250 African students; and the other, against a sell-out by Britain, held outside the offices of Ian Smith immediately prior to his meeting with Lord Goodman in July, was supported by several hundred students.

During the past year, the number of student unions affiliated to the Movement increased to 18.

A number of the AAM's activities rely heavily on the ability of students to react rapidly to national and international developments and to voice their dissension in demonstrative form. The vitality and vigour which students and young people bring to the Movement's campaigns have a broad and far-reaching effect, and they remain a vital ingredient in the promotion of the anti-apartheid cause.

Work in Schools

During the autumn, in response to increasing numbers of requests from schools for information about Southern Africa, and for materials suitable for use by teachers and in project work by pupils, the Movement embarked on a campaign to increase the scope of its work in schools.

The first requirement for this work was good teaching material which could present the facts and introduce the issue of Southern Africa in schools. In conjunction with a number of teachers and other experts, the Movement participated in setting up the Southern Africa Education Project to prepare teaching material (text, slides, tape, overhead projector transparencies and extract material for pupils) for use in the upper forms of secondary schools and in further education.

A Conference 'Teaching about Southern Africa' was held on 15 May, to present some of the material being prepared for the 'education kit', and to discuss with teachers what their main requirements were and how best to approach the subject in teaching situations. More than 60 teachers attended from the London area, and numerous enquiries have been received as a result.

The material for the kit is now near completion, and a pilot project will be mounted in some schools during the autumn, with full production proposed for the spring of 1972. During the visit of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid in June they displayed great interest in the kit and have since mentioned it to UNESCO, through whose auspices we hope for a wider distribution.

Work must continue to ensure that this material is widely used, and that the Movement counters the flow of material from the South African Embassy into schools. The number of speakers sent to schools increased considerably during the year, and we anticipate further openings for our work.

Anti-Apartheid News

Anti-Apartheid News took a big step forward in February 1971 when it expanded from eight to 12 pages and changed its format. At the same time the price went up to 5p.

AA News carries news and analysis of developments inside South Africa, and during the past year it has covered changes in the South African economy, political trials and the treatment of political prisoners, political events within the white camp, the underground activities of the liberation movements, and black protests like the Port Elizabeth bus boycott.

It has provided a steady flow of information on the situation in Rhodesia and has tried to counteract the near black-out on Rhodesia in sections of the national Press.

On Mozambique, Angola and Guiné-Bissau it has printed reports from the liberation movements on the progress of the wars and has made a special priority of describing the new societies that are being built up in the liberated areas and of publicising the need for aid in the form of clothing, medical supplies and money. It has carried an outstanding series of articles by Antonio de Figueiredo on events inside Portugal.

AA News remains a campaigning newspaper, and a large part of its coverage has concentrated on exposing the links between Britain and the white regimes and on reporting the increasing activity against them. It has given special attention to the needs and activities of local anti-apartheid committees.

The new 12-page format has made it possible to give more space to displaying the publicity materials – posters, stickers, etc – available from AAM and to reviewing books, pamphlets and films.

Circulation has remained constant at between 7,000 and 8,000 copies, and now that the paper has shown that it can successfully maintain itself

at 12 pages, its next priority is to expand the number of copies that are sold and read.

Publicity

The need to publicise the work of the Movement and those aspects of the changing situation throughout Southern Africa which have either not reached or not been used by the media, has required sustained effort. Over the years, many contacts have been made with journalists in almost every national newspaper, and these are constantly renewed. Requests for information are regularly received from the Press and extensive research work is frequently undertaken to assist in the publication of a particular story. Background pieces have appeared on the arms issue, political prisoners, Cabora Bassa, and other developments in South Africa. The Movement also takes the initiative in suggesting particular subjects to be covered and is frequently consulted on the background of certain developments and asked to suggest people to be interviewed. On the whole, the Movement's activities have been widely reported, though there have been instances – such as the 25 October rally – when a few newspapers made an emphasis on comparatively minor disruption and ignored the massive crowd in the Square who had come from many parts of the country to express their opposition to the resumption of arms sales to apartheid South Africa.

Similar connections exist with television current affairs programmes, but contacts in radio are regrettably few. At a local level, newspapers and radio are kept informed about activities such as the Hayes demonstration (see ARMS EMBARGO), and the network of AA Committees throughout the country constantly use the local Press to spread information via letters and articles.

Sales and distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, background sheets, posters and stickers have increased and a wide distribution has been achieved for the many excellent publications produced by the UN Committee on Apartheid, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Africa Bureau. The Movement continues to benefit from the professional services of design and copywriting experts who have taken on the responsibility of producing our posters and most of our leaflets. These have been reproduced in the national Press and have proved most effective in campaigns in the UK. They have also been used in Australia and New Zealand. *Anti-Apartheid News* continues to gain new readers and remains a vital source of information on the Movement's activities and on developments in Southern Africa.

Providing speakers for meetings has always been an important part of our educational/publicity work. The number of meetings for which this service was requested reached a high point last year, averaging between three and four per week, and this has been maintained. The largest number of requests for speakers has come from student groups, followed by AA Committees, schools, local organisations, Labour parties, Young Conservatives, trade union branches, trades councils and churches. The Move-

ment is deeply indebted to the many people who give so generously of their time and energy, frequently travelling great distances to speak at a meeting. Their work has made a significant contribution to the education campaign and gained new supporters for the anti-apartheid cause.

Finance

The accounts for the year ended 30 September 1971 will be submitted to the Annual General Meeting. They will show that both the revenue and the expenditure of the Movement have increased by about 50% over the figures for last year. This increase reflects the generally high level of activity throughout the year. On the expenditure side, the Movement has been hit by the general increase in costs, and especially by increased postage rates. Further increases were involved in our decisions to take on an extra member of staff, to rent two extra rooms at 89 Charlotte Street, and to produce a larger *AA News*.

The increase in revenue is also attributable to a number of factors. Membership had increased before the National Committee's decision in June to raise the subscription rate to £2 per annum (with reduced rates for students and pensioners). It is too soon to assess the results of that decision, but we hope that this item of revenue will show a further improvement next year. Literature sales and revenue from *AA News* are also up. The donation from the World Council of Churches was extremely useful, and without it we should have been unable to produce anything like the volume of educational and campaigning material which has in fact gone out this year.

However, the greater part of the increase in expenditure has had to be covered by fund-raising functions, mainly organised by the office staff. This has been a severe burden and will continue to be so unless members are prepared to play a much more active part in fund-raising. In the early months of 1971, it was found that, in spite of all the efforts which were being made, income was not keeping pace with the rise in expenditure. The situation was considered at several Executive meetings and a number of economy measures were adopted. These include a cut in the printing costs of *AA News* and a severe limit on printing and postage expenditure (which means a limit on material sent out). The Movement can only be released from the restraints which this represents, by an increased fund-raising effort throughout the ranks of members and supporters.

Fund-raising

Funds have been raised over the past year by direct appeals, three fund-raising functions, collections at meetings and rallies, and a special appeal at the time of Sharpeville. Appeals have been directed to our membership via newsletters, and *Anti-Apartheid News* has carried two requests for funds. A special letter from the President of the Movement was sent out before Christmas, and the Sharpeville appeal was sent in the main to playwrights and writers. They were asked to sign a pledge which read: 'To mark 1971 - designated by the United Nations as International Year

Against Racial Discrimination, to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre (21 March) and to assist with Anti-Apartheid Movement's campaign against the resumption of arms sales to apartheid South Africa - I am contributing my royalties/pay for the week/day of Many responded most generously, including Robert Bolt, David Mercer, Fay Weldon and Christopher Hampton.

The fund-raising functions all took place at private houses and, of these, two were most expensively priced, and included performances by Georgia Brown, Fou Ts'ong, John Williams, Marian Montgomery and the Musica Reservata, who all contributed their services. The third was held just before Christmas and the tickets for it were rather less expensive.

In addition, individuals who have in the past made particularly generous contributions to the work of the Movement have at times of crisis during the year been approached for assistance. A few local groups have organised functions on behalf of the Movement and we are hopeful that this source of funds will increase - which will also assist the extension of political work in different areas.

Spontaneous contributions plus fund-raising efforts have in the past year raised almost half of the Movement's total income.

Membership

The high rate of membership recruitment achieved during the 1969/70 sports campaign was sustained at a slightly lower level during the summer months and increased dramatically in the first six months of the current year, with new members enrolling at an average of 150 per month. This can be directly attributed to the high level of public campaigning on the arms issue. During the summer months, however, recruitment tends to slow down and with the drop-out rate continuing at last year's level the increase has now evened out. Membership has now increased by 25 per cent since last year.

The extent of the Movement's support is not, however, reflected in the number of paid-up members. The extent of support for the anti-apartheid cause is much greater, as we demonstrated during the campaigns against arms sales and against collaboration with apartheid sport. It is vital that those who support these campaigns commit themselves to joining the Movement. If, as is hoped, the request in the August Members Newsletter - to 'enrol a friend and double the membership overnight' - is adopted, the Movement, thus immeasurably strengthened, will function with greater force and be able to extend its activities. An increased membership will also assist in alleviating the recurring financial crisis.

National Committee

The National Committee, which meets quarterly, is the policy-making body of the Movement, and its officers and individual members are elected at the Annual General Meeting. This Committee in turn elects the Executive, which meets at least once a month and sometimes more frequently. An average of 30 people have attended each National

Committee meeting during the year, and we have again to report the poor attendance from organisations represented. Anti-Apartheid local committees' attendance has varied, but reports on their activities have been given by representatives from Mid-Herts, Monmouthshire, Finchley & Friern Barnet, Mid-Sussex, Manchester, Hampstead, West London, and Hornsey. These comprise less than one-fifth of the number of functioning local groups. For the most part, the others keep the office informed by letter, but it would be helpful, both to the local groups attending and to the committee itself, if more local committee representatives could come, and the Movement is anxious to assist in facilitating their presence.

Extended discussion has taken place on the repercussions of South Africa's outward-looking policy, on the 'dialogue' issue, on the campaign against arms sales and against investment, and on the political prisoners campaign initiated by the National Committee. Every item in this report has been discussed at meetings and campaigns have benefited from suggestions made by members of the Committee. Dr Pascal Ngakane and Abdul Minty have both addressed meetings — Dr Ngakane, recently arrived from South Africa, on his experience of conditions in that country; and Abdul Minty on the 'dialogue' with South Africa.

Voluntary Helpers

The Movement's Officers, Sponsors and staff are listed at the beginning of this report, but before concluding this section, mention must be made of the invaluable contributions made to the work of the Movement by voluntary helpers, too many in number to be listed here. In addition to those who come to wrap and send AA NEWS and newsletters, there are ten people who help in different ways at least once a week, and most come more often. Without their assistance the many additional services offered by the central office could not be undertaken and the Movement's work would suffer in consequence.

4 INTERNATIONAL

General

During the past year the AAM has been involved in extensive activity at an international level. Several visits were paid by the Hon Secretary and the President to Germany in order to give support to various initiatives taken locally to organise activities on Southern Africa. German involvement in the Cabora Bassa dam has provoked widespread opposition throughout the country and as a result the Bonn Government has decided not to support other investment projects in South Africa through the provision of credit guarantees. These visits to Germany also created an opportunity to meet with officials in the Foreign Ministry and among the various issues taken up with them was German involvement in the Transall aircraft supplied by France to South Africa, as well as Rhodesian participation in the Munich Olympic Games. However, the most important result of these visits was the cooperation established with various local and national groups actively engaged in campaigns on Southern Africa.

The Commonwealth Conference in Singapore

For several months prior to the Conference the Movement undertook a series of visits to the representatives of Commonwealth governments on the question of arms supplies to South Africa, and as a result was able to supply them with valuable information as well as to anticipate some of the problems which would arise at the Singapore Conference. A massive campaign in Britain had brought the whole issue of arms sales into prominence as the major subject for discussion at the Commonwealth Conference (see ARMS EMBARGO).

The Hon Secretary went to Singapore on behalf of the Movement to present petitions with 100,000 signatures against the sale of arms to South Africa. These were presented to the Singapore Foreign Minister, who received them on behalf of the Conference Chairman, Mr Lee Kuan Yew. This presentation received international publicity and made some impact on the Conference itself. While in Singapore, the Hon Secretary was able to work closely with various government delegations and to assist them particularly by providing information on the Simonstown Agreement and on other aspects of the arms embargo debate.

The United Nations

In March 1971, the Hon Secretary was invited to attend a consultative meeting of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organisations. The meeting, which took place in New York, agreed to a number of proposals to be implemented by the UN and its organs with a view to intensifying the international campaign against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. It was also a valuable opportunity to exchange information about methods of work with the various groups engaged in public activities and to meet members of government delegations at the United Nations.

While in New York, the Hon Secretary also appeared before the Decolonisation Committee for a short hearing.

In June, a sub-committee of the Special Committee on Apartheid visited various capitals to consult with non-governmental organisations, liberation movements, and specialised agencies of the UN and the OAU. When in London, they met the Chairman and Hon Secretary of the Movement and also had meetings with other organisations concerned with Southern Africa.

'Dialogue' with South Africa.

The Movement sent cables to the President of the Ivory Coast, pointing out that nothing meaningful could be achieved by a dialogue with South Africa and urging that the initiative by the Ivory Coast be abandoned. A cable was also sent to the OAU Conference in Addis Ababa in June urging that dialogue with South Africa be opposed and pledging the Movement to continue working for policies already adopted by the UN and the OAU.

The Chairman was invited to attend a special meeting with the OAU

and other organisations in Dar es Salaam in February. This initiative by the OAU is welcomed by the Movement and presages further consultation and cooperation between anti-apartheid groups and the OAU in the future.

Western European Support Groups Conference

A Conference of West European support groups for the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies was held from 9-12 April at Kasteel Schaloen in Holland. A representative from the AAM attended the Conference, in which 24 representatives from Western European groups took part.

The Conference discussed material aid to the liberation movements, the distribution of information and publicity material, campaigns against the building of the Cabora Bassa and Kunene River dams, NATO and arms deliveries to Portugal, and chemical warfare in Angola. It was agreed that each group would keep the others informed of their plans and that efforts would be made to coordinate activities. Another conference to discuss these issues would be held in 1972.

CONCLUSION

Now that the policy of isolating South Africa is beginning to make an impact, there are people who are calling on anti-apartheid campaigners to change this policy to one of 'persuasive contact'. The Movement needs therefore to extend the range and effort of its educational work: to explain the fraudulent nature of the South African Government's Bantustan policy; to illustrate the fact that the gap between black and white wages has increased, not diminished; and to show that 'persuasive contact' with white South Africa is simply a way of reinforcing the status quo in that country.

In Britain, with the discriminatory Immigration Bill—and other legislation affecting large sections of the community (see TRADE UNIONS)—which is becoming law, we face a period of heightened tension. It is necessary for us to connect the problem of Southern Africa with those facing many people in this country, and to show its relevance to their situation.

There is now a greater awareness of the fact that Southern Africa, with its institutionalised racism, is the stronghold of White supremacy and, as such, has a profound influence on developments in the rest of the world. South Africa, highly industrialised and rich in natural resources, is the dominant power in the White alliance of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. In working for the withdrawal of British collaboration with the repressive minority rulers in South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guiné, the AAM reaffirms its support for the liberation movements in these territories.

The policy of HMG, which is one of closer identification with these white minority governments, clearly demands our untiring and active opposition.

OBITUARY

The movement wishes to record its sorrow at the irreplaceable loss of the Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie, dedicated and active anti-apartheid worker over many years. He worked tirelessly within the Edinburgh Anti-Apartheid Committee and made an immeasurable contribution to the entire Anti-Apartheid movement.

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