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ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Annual Report

October 1982 — September 1983

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FOREWORD

All of us involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement recognise that we have moved into a new and critical phase of the struggle. South Africa today is more aggressive both internally and externally towards those who oppose its racist philosophy. The new constitutional proposals, designed to deprive the majority of South Africans of their birthright and to entrench the present government in power, the continued uprooting of hundreds of thousands from their homes, the increased police surveillance and brutality, and the legislation designed to limit press freedom everywhere — all of these express the *internal* threat to human rights and human dignity.

In *foreign policy* the aim of destabilising its African neighbour states is pursued relentlessly: the attack on Lesotho, the occupation of the southern province in Angola, and even the support for a mercenary assault on the Indian Ocean state of Seychelles are examples of South African ruthlessness.

In the meanwhile, no settlement of the Namibian war is in sight. Every attempt to implement Security Council resolution 435 has been blocked and the illegal occupation of a whole country continues with tacit support from the western powers—including Great Britain.

Never was there a time when the Anti-Apartheid Movement so greatly needed the support of all who care for human rights and for justice and peace in our world.

But the Movement cannot act effectively if it is hampered by lack of resources. We have found fine new premises. We already have a magnificently dedicated and committed staff. But we urgently need more money if — in face of the challenges — we are to act effectively. As I begin to engage myself much more actively in the Movement I appeal to all our supporters to make the coming year an even greater advance on all fronts than was 1983.

† Trevor Huddleston CR
Hon President



INTRODUCTION

This Introduction, which represents the Political Report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting of 10 September 1983

Nineteen eighty-four marks the 25th anniversary of the founding of the AAM — a timespan during which the world has witnessed the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, the victory of the liberation struggle in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe and tremendous advances by the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa. Our Movement has made a significant contribution to the international struggle to win support for the anti-apartheid cause and the fight for the freedom of the Southern African peoples.

Our Movement was formed on 26 June 1959 in response to an appeal by the late Chief Luthuli, President of the African National Congress, and other South African leaders for a boycott of the apartheid regime. As a result it was in Britain that the campaign to boycott South Africa first took root and we have campaigned throughout the past 25 years for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and for British and international sanctions. In time the cause of sanctions became the policy of the United Nations and the greater majority of nations of the world. Working closely with the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, we have worked with access to achieve a mandatory UN embargo on the supply of arms and military equipment to South Africa, the expulsion of the apartheid regime from a wide range of international organisations and the curbing of South Africa's sporting, cultural and other contacts with Britain and the outside world.

The Movement has worked and won over to the anti-apartheid cause substantial and influential sectors of British public opinion, foremost within the labour and trade union movement, the churches, the student, women's and peace movements. We contributed to the solidarity campaigns in support of the national independence struggles of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Over these years our Movement became a veritable 'thorn in the flesh' of the apartheid regime and an acknowledged ally of the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. These are significant achievements.

However, after 25 years of worldwide anti-apartheid campaigning, the scourge of apartheid, and the oppression, hunger and violence it metes out to the majority of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, not only survives but has become more virulent as the growing pressure of the struggle for liberation and international isolation intensifies. Even more menacing has been South Africa's increasingly aggressive behaviour: invading and wilfully violating the sovereignty of the front line states, occupying the territory of Angola and undermining the stability and peaceful development of the independent states in the Southern African region. In recent years this threat has escalated into armed attacks on all the African states in the region and, above all, schemes to replace the established governments and their leaders with South African puppets. Thus, the South African threat to the peace and security of the African continent has acquired new and dangerous forms.

Within South Africa, despite the recent illusions of constitutional reforms, an explicit militarist regime has been created, with the aim of consolidating, through the force of arms and arbitrary police power, white minority rule and the indefinite subjugation of Namibia as a colonial enclave of apartheid.

Clearly, experience suggests that the struggle against apartheid possesses dimensions of wider import and which embraces a far more formidable Anglo-American and western conspiracy in the service of race rule in South Africa and the sustenance of the apartheid regime. It is to recent developments in this conspiracy that we now turn.

Western policies on apartheid

Behind the rhetoric of 'peaceful change' and the claim of 'constructive engagement' with apartheid lies a concerted policy to which the major NATO member countries now subscribe of

creating a protective framework within which South Africa and the apartheid system can flourish. That framework has recently been represented by:

- a) growing military collaboration by the western countries and NATO, through the exchange of intelligence information and transfer of arms and military technology in total violation of the arms embargo
- b) assistance in the development of South Africa's nuclear weapons capability — in part directly and in part through Israel
- c) the obstruction of the UN in the implementation of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on apartheid and the liberation of Namibia
- d) the expansion of economic links with South Africa, including the boosting of western capital investment to over \$32 billion, of which \$14 billion is now accounted for by the United States, according to official US estimates
- e) supporting South Africa financially through the provision of a \$1.1 billion loan by the International Monetary Fund in violation of the IMF's normal procedures and criteria
- f) encouraging and pressurising governments to normalise relations with South Africa and to trade with it through offers of western financial loans and grants
- g) working for the rehabilitation of South Africa by working to restore its membership in the various organs of the international community, to reverse the internationally-endorsed policies of boycott and isolation, and to win international recognition of South Africa's bantustans and its so-called constitutional reform measures
- h) inadequate action to prevent illegal South African activities in Britain and elsewhere in the form of break-ins, burglaries and the bombing of the premises of liberation movements and anti-apartheid organisations, as well as harassing representatives of the liberation movements and other opponents of apartheid.

These policies and actions also seek to destroy the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa, and force the independent states of Southern Africa into a position of subservience and dependence on the apartheid regime. In their broader context these policies indubitably reflect a deeper concern on the part of the major western powers to reverse the tide of national liberation and independent development in the African continent and provide the basis for South Africa's regional hegemony in Southern Africa.

British policy

For the Movement, recent developments in British policy are particularly pertinent. From repeated representations to the British government by the Movement, as outlined in this report, it is clear that the present government has moved decisively towards increased economic, military, diplomatic and other forms of collaboration with the apartheid regime. In particular Britain now not only explicitly disavows sanctions as a policy, but has actively worked to obstruct any constructive approach to both dealing with apartheid as a problem threatening international peace and security, and the Namibian question in terms of declared UN policy. Britain, as a member of the western 'contact group', has effectively fallen in line with the American and South African extraneous and irrelevant demand that Namibia's future should be linked to Cuban withdrawal from Angola — a position which grossly violates Angola's sovereign rights and powers over its domestic policies.

These serious shifts in British policy have been compounded by violations of the UN arms embargo policy, such as the Marconi contract for the provision of radar and associated technology for the South African government. Research by the Anti-Apartheid Movement shows that only the most limited restrictions apply over the provision of technology and know-how

for the further development of South Africa's arms industry. Furthermore, former British military officers and other personnel have been granted permission to join the South African armed forces. Britain has also permitted personnel with expertise in nuclear energy and related technology to be recruited for service in South Africa. The use of South Africa as a staging post for the construction of the military airbase in the Falkland Islands not only represents the first major British defence project involving South African cooperation since the 1955 Simonstown Agreement, but may well lead to closer British-South African security collaboration.

British investment and trade with South Africa continue to expand with the active encouragement of the Conservative government. It even undermines its own public policies by allowing the bantustans to establish 'missions' in London.

It is clear that in the light of the aggravating crisis in Southern Africa and the escalating struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples, under the leadership of SWAPO and the ANC respectively, Britain is, with its present policies, becoming increasingly locked into the escalating war in Southern Africa — and on the wrong side.

The Apartheid War

South African aggression continues to be focused overwhelmingly on Angola and 23 August 1983 marked the second anniversary of the South African invasion of large parts of southern Angola which have been under continuous occupation since then. This anniversary coincided with a major new offensive by South African forces which included the capture of the strategically important town of Cangamba in the south-east of the country; a move apparently designed to prepare for the declaration by Unita that it has set up a mini-state in South African-controlled territory. It is now becoming increasingly clear that South Africa is engaging, through its secret and undeclared war, in a determined effort to overthrow the government of the People's Republic of Angola.

However, the reality of South African aggression was exposed to the whole world when on 9 December South African forces carried out a series of attacks on residences in Maseru, the capital city of the Kingdom of Lesotho, killing 42 South African refugees and Lesotho nationals. Lesotho being completely surrounded by South Africa and the most vulnerable state in the region, without any comparable defence forces, has been the subject not only of brutal military attack but also of continuous all-round bullying tactics intended at placing Lesotho under the control of South Africa, so that refuge provided to South Africans should be ended and the state effectively turned into a virtual extension of South African territory.

In another well-publicised act of aggression, on 23 May South African aircraft carried out a series of bomb attacks on suburbs of the Mozambique capital Maputo, killing Mozambique nationals and one South African refugee. This attack once again demonstrated the total fallacy of South African claims: the targets bombed were said to be ANC military bases yet independent witnesses, including the British ambassador who inspected one of the sites attacked, confirmed that it was a jam factory and only civilians were killed. When this evidence was revealed internationally, the apartheid regime's ambassador in London invited ridicule by stating that the jam factory could be an ANC military base.

Zimbabwe has also continued to experience large-scale destabilisation and has had to take measures to counteract such schemes. One feature of the growing South African aggression and destabilisation is that they are increasingly aimed at destroying the economic sub-structures of the front line states and threatening various development projects which receive international aid. All these efforts appear designed to inflict so much overall damage that it is beginning to threaten the very survival of certain states in the region.

However, the front line states have responded to these challenges by increasing their cooperation and coordination, in particular in the crucial areas of defence and information. At

the same time, despite the determined efforts of the apartheid regime, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) has expanded its work in its efforts to strengthen the economies of the region and reduce their dependence on South Africa.

Namibia

The apartheid regime's continued illegal occupation of Namibia has become an integral feature of its war against Africa: the territory serves as a base for South African aggression against Angola, Zambia and Botswana.

The Namibian people's resistance is the most potent challenge to South African rule. The significant escalation of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the armed wing of SWAPO, is testimony to the determination of the Namibian people to liberate their country. At the same time, SWAPO has been reactivated as a legal organisation within the country, despite systematic repression. Popular support for SWAPO is overwhelming and Namibia's other political parties are in disarray. In response, South Africa has been obliged to abandon its 'internal settlement' based on the so-called 'Democratic Turnhalle Alliance' and its 'Ministerial Council'. It is now desperately attempting to regroup its 'puppets' into a new formation in the mistaken belief that it can create an alternative to SWAPO.

The prospect of the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia appears even more remote. Western policy towards Namibia has always been an accurate barometer of policy towards South Africa. The whole history of the negotiations is a long record of compromises made in good faith, even if some of them were secured through western strong-arm diplomatic tactics. Each time a particular matter was resolved to the satisfaction of the apartheid regime and everyone expected the announcement of a ceasefire and the implementation of the UN plan, a new issue would be raised. These manoeuvres were intended to give the impression that a settlement was at hand if only SWAPO and independent Africa would yield. Now that all these issues have been settled, the entire UN plan has been virtually scuttled by Washington and Pretoria insisting that the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola is a precondition for its implementation.

While it is important that Britain and other contact member governments have not formally supported the policy of Washington, Britain and others in effect stand with the USA when they argue that 'linkage' is a 'reality' and implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 depends in practice on its resolution. This ambiguous posture makes them appear helpless in the situation, thus paralysing further the possibility of effective international action being taken via the UN. There has been a further consideration of the matter by the Security Council and the Secretary General visited South Africa, Namibia and Angola in August 1983. However, the prospects for a settlement seem as remote as before and the apartheid regime has exploited these latest developments for its propaganda purposes.

The failure of the UN to make progress towards independence for Namibia is having a devastating impact on Namibia and its people. There are repeated reports of the most horrendous atrocities being committed by the South African forces, especially in the 'war zone', whilst the plunder of Namibia's resources continues apace and there are reports of widespread corruption within the illegal occupying administration.

The Pretoria regime has made familiar claims that its 'operations' both within Namibia and beyond its borders inside Angola have resulted in significant destruction of SWAPO's capability, yet all evidence points to an intensification of the armed struggle by SWAPO, necessitating major increases in the military presence of the occupying regime. The war costs continue to rise for the Pretoria regime, and its own military brass openly acknowledge that a solution can only be achieved through political means and not military reprisals. Yet the regime persists in its military aggression and destabilisation policies in its desperate bid to destroy SWAPO and all

resistance by the Namibian people against the illegal occupation by the apartheid regime.

Inside South Africa

Within South Africa there has been an unprecedented mobilisation of the oppressed people, of which the most significant developments have been the growth in size, strength, unity and solidarity of the independent trade unions and the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF). This new spirit of resistance is reflected in the preamble to the declaration adopted at the founding convention of the UDF in Cape Town in August 1983, which reads:

Freedom loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid and economic and all other forms of exploitation, and in our march to a free and just South Africa we are guided by these noble ideals.

Resistance to the 'constitutional proposals' and the Koornhof Bills has become the centre of the political arena. However, renewed struggles by black workers, students, women's organisations and community resistance to removals all reflect the new level of the struggle.

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, continue to demonstrate their striking capacity, with attacks on military, strategic and economic targets. The effect of these military successes has been to reinforce popular resistance of the oppressed people in their struggle against the apartheid system. This was exemplified by the nationwide campaign against the execution of the Moroka Three, which in turn was highlighted by the courageous role of their families.

All these developments are posing increasing challenges to the white power system. At the same time, deep-rooted economic problems are being accentuated by both growing international uncertainty as well as the tremendous strain which the war in Namibia places on the economy. The militarisation of the apartheid regime has continued unabated: military expenditure has again increased dramatically, the police force is being expanded and a new nuclear research installation is being established.

However, the regime persists in refusing to respond to the basic aspirations of the oppressed. Ironically, it has been publicity of the drought afflicting South Africa which has enabled the international community to gain an insight into the deprivation, hunger and malnutrition amongst rural African communities, year in and year out.

Against the background of these serious political, social and economic problems Afrikanerdom has been experiencing a major crisis. The so-called 'constitutional proposals' of Prime Minister Botha have provoked virulent opposition within some Afrikaner circles and led to the breakaway of a group of Nationalist MPs to form the Conservative Party. At the same time, small but significant numbers of whites are refusing to be conscripted to fight to defend apartheid.

The Nationalist government, however, is proceeding with its so-called 'reform' policy based on the cooption into the white power system of elements of the Indian and Coloured communities; the further bantustanisation of the country; and the rigid control of the African population under the Koornhof Bills. In practice, these 'reforms' represent the strengthening and modernisation of all the major pillars of apartheid. However, the implementation of its 'reform' policy will require even more systematic repression and there are all the signs that the regime is on the point of unleashing a new wave of terror. Already torture is the order of the day in the apartheid police cells whilst in the bantustans, in particular the Ciskei, a reign of terror exists.

The judicial murder of the three young ANC fighters on 9 June, in the face of unprecedented international appeals, once again demonstrated that the apartheid regime is prepared

to resort to the most barbaric acts in order to defend white supremacy.

Southern Africa — the time to act

Last year our political report stated: 'If the past year provides any lesson for the world community it is this: the overthrow of the apartheid regime, through active support of the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, and the isolation of South Africa through comprehensive sanctions, is now an urgent imperative for the preservation of peace and the safeguarding of the independence and freedom of the African continent.'

A year later it is not possible to claim that through international action the world community has been able to make a positive contribution to the overthrow of the apartheid system for what has happened is that the nature and rate of external collaboration with the Pretoria regime has increased in order to help it overcome the grave crisis experienced in recent years.

It is clear that despite our many achievements over the past quarter of a century our tasks are now even more onerous and urgent. We must work to mobilise the British people and join with anti-apartheid and other solidarity movements in a rousing and many-sided campaign to secure a fundamental change in British policy. In particular, Britain should:

- take effective measures to strengthen and strictly enforce the UN mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and ban all forms of nuclear collaboration
- immediately take unilateral measures to end British economic collaboration with South Africa and support UN mandatory comprehensive sanctions
- sever diplomatic relations with South Africa and halt the activities of South African operatives in Britain
- provide effective support for the front line states and other targets of South African aggression and destabilisation, and for the Southern African liberation movements.

These policies represent the minimum necessary for Britain to undertake if it is to contribute to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa. However, today the current Conservative administration has chosen a fundamentally different approach and its policies are taking on an increasingly pro-South African character. Thus the AAM has to campaign as never before. Our immediate tasks are:

- the development of effective solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements led by the ANC and SWAPO
- the campaign to publicise the apartheid war against Africa, to mobilise solidarity with the front line states and Lesotho and halt all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa
- an immediate mobilisation for measures to expose Britain's hypocritical policies over Namibia and for measures to compel South Africa to implement the UN plan for Namibia
- the intensification of the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions, the strict application of the arms embargo, a ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration, and the end of sporting and cultural links
- increased efforts to secure the release of Nelson Mandela, Herman Toivo ja Toivo, and all other South African and Namibian political prisoners
- a renewed campaign for the release of the Kassinga detainees
- coordinated international action to ensure that captured freedom fighters are granted prisoner-of-war status
- all-out campaigning to stop the execution of Namibian and South African political prisoners.

NAMIBIA

The prospects for the early implementation of the UN plan for the decolonisation of Namibia have receded dramatically during the period of this report. The international negotiations, first initiated by the so-called western contact group in 1977, have reached a total impasse due to the United States' and South African insistence that the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola must be a precondition for the implementation of the UN plan.

Strenuous diplomatic efforts have been made to overcome this obstacle but they have been repeatedly thwarted. The front line states, the OAU and the non-aligned movement have all rejected this 'linkage', as did the UN Secretary-General following a visit to the front line states in February 1983. Renewed efforts to ensure that the UN resumed its responsibility for Namibia included the convening of a major international conference in Paris during April 1983 and the convening of the Security Council the following month. A resolution adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 1 June gave a mandate to the Secretary-General to discuss with the parties involved (SWAPO and South Africa) arrangements for a ceasefire and the implementation of the UN plan. South Africa responded by insisting on linkage, thus effectively blocking any further progress.

Campaigning in Britain has concentrated on stimulating greater interest in Namibia, challenging British policy, exposing British collaboration with South Africa's illegal occupation, and mobilising solidarity with SWAPO. The peak of this activity was the Namibia Week of Action from 27 October to 2 November 1982. The main focus of the week was British collaboration and demonstrations were organised outside the London headquarters of many of the British companies operating in Namibia. Activities were organised by many AA local groups and new campaign material was produced.

Special attention has been focused on British policy towards linkage. There has been a considerable shift by Britain towards the US position and British ministers now state that progress towards implementation of the UN plan now 'depends in practice' on agreement over linkage between the USA and Angola. Delegations from the AAM have met government ministers twice to discuss this matter.

On 28 February Robert Hughes MP, AAM chairperson, led a delegation to meet Foreign Office minister Cranley Onslow and presented him with a memorandum entitled *Britain and Namibia: The Time to Change Course*. At this meeting the government reaffirmed the commitment it had given the AAM the previous July that it did not believe that Cuban withdrawal was a precondition for Namibian independence, although the impression was conveyed during the discussions that the government's policy had in fact changed. This assessment was confirmed in subsequent statements by the government and this was the major issue discussed when a further AAM delegation, led by Archbishop Huddleston, met the new Minister of State responsible for African affairs, Malcolm Rifkind, on 28 July. The minister subsequently wrote setting out the government's policy on linkage. The AAM took up the issue of linkage with the EEC Commissioner, M Pisani, following an

address he made to the European assembly, which was widely interpreted as an endorsement of linkage. He replied with an assurance that this was not the case.

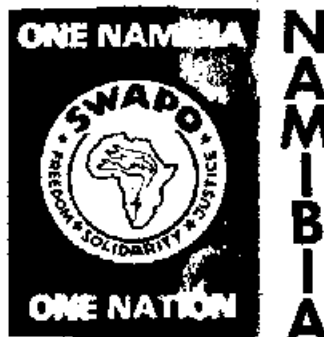
The AAM has also argued for the need for effective measures to compel South Africa to implement the UN plan. This was an integral part of the presentation made by the AAM delegations. Archbishop Huddleston also wrote to the Prime Minister on 23 May, the day the UN Security Council was convened to discuss Namibia, urging the government, if the South Africans did not agree to the implementation of the UN plan, to support measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, ie, economic sanctions.

Britain's role in sustaining South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia was a major feature of campaigning. An important development was the announcement early in 1983 that the CEEGB did not intend to renew its contract for Namibian uranium which is due to end in 1984. This led to immediate calls for the campaign to cancel the contract to be stepped up, as well as action to halt the arrangements whereby Namibian uranium is imported into the UK for processing and re-export. There has been a number of developments in the campaign. In November, the Bristol AA group initiated a commission of enquiry into the operation of Rio Tinto-Zinc in Southern Africa, which was linked to the move from Rossing of its managing director to work for RTZ in Bristol. The report of the commission has been widely distributed. In July 1983 CANUC organised a south-east regional trade union workshop on Namibia with the aim of securing greater trade union support for action to stop the importing of Namibian uranium.

One small success was an apology from British Telecom, who had used the South African flag for Namibia in an advertising campaign to promote international telecommunications. British Telecom publications now refer to Namibia, not South West Africa.

The course of Namibian history is clearly going to be increasingly determined by the struggle waged by the Namibian people and their liberation movement SWAPO. The AAM has continued to work closely with the SWAPO representatives in Britain and to meet SWAPO leaders during their visits to the UK. The President of SWAPO made a brief visit to London at the end of September 1982 and held a well-attended press conference. SWAPO speakers have addressed numerous anti-apartheid activities across Britain, and substantial quantities of material aid have been raised. Campaigns have continued to be organised by SATIS on behalf of Namibian prisoners.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement was represented by its hon secretary and executive secretary at the international conference on Namibia in Paris from 25-29 April, as well as in a workshop for non-governmental organisations on 30 April. These two events provided an opportunity for extensive discussions with anti-apartheid and solidarity movements from many countries working on Namibia. In Paris it was agreed that there should be a determined effort to organise international activity during the Namibia Week of Action in 1983 (27 October to 2 November), and at its July meeting the National Committee agreed on campaign plans for the week.



FRONT LINE STATES

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought to promote a growing awareness of South Africa's undeclared war against independent Africa and in particular opposition to South Africa's occupation of southern Angola.

The headline news of the South African attacks on Maseru, Lesotho, and Maputo, Mozambique, at least served to publicise South African aggression. However, the AAM still faces the arduous task of winning public understanding of the extent and nature of South African aggression and destabilisation, including the financing of anti-government armed groups such as Unita and MNR; of mobilising international solidarity with the front line states; and of exposing the role of Britain and other countries in contributing to South Africa's military and nuclear build-up. In particular, there is the urgent task of convincing the British government to intervene effectively to stop South Africa's aggression.

British government policy appears to be characterised by a desire on the one hand to strengthen relations with the front line states, whilst at the same time avoiding any real confrontation with the apartheid regime. Visits such as those of Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and the Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paulo Jorge, as well as the planned official visit of the Mozambique President, Samora Machel, all reflect a desire to improve relations with the front line states. These visits have also served to publicise the threat South Africa poses to international peace. British ministers on visits to Southern Africa have expressed concern at South Africa's policies. The government also responded to particular acts of aggression by the apartheid regime: in the case of the Maseru raid the South African ambassador was summoned to the Foreign Office the same day and the UK delegation voted for a UN Security Council resolution condemning the attack.

In practice, however, British policy has been largely rhetoric and lacking in substance. It persists in refusing to characterise South African aggression as a threat to international peace because this would open the way to mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa by the United Nations. Moreover, in relation both to Angola and Lesotho, Britain has effectively backed US policy: in the former case by stating that 'linkage' is a 'reality'; in the latter by pressuring Lesotho to negotiate with the apartheid regime.

The importance of extending solidarity with the front line states and Lesotho has been increasingly recognized internationally during the period of this report. The UN Secretary General visited the front line states in February 1983 and this was followed by a delegation from the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in April. From 25-27 March an international conference in solidarity with the front line states was convened in Lisbon, Portugal, and campaigning on the front line states was discussed at a seminar convened by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa in Leyden, Netherlands, in April and also at the Paris Namibia conference. The AAM was a member of the international preparatory committee for the Lisbon conference and attended its final meeting in Amsterdam in January. Following this meeting, the AAM hosted a visit to London from the international preparatory committee, including representatives from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, during which meetings were arranged with a variety of different organisations, including a briefing at the House of Commons. The AAM was represented at the conference by Robert Hughes MP and Abdul S Minty. Arising from these meetings, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, in particular from North America, Scandinavia and Western Europe, planned to launch coordinated campaigns on the theme *Stop the apartheid war* during the autumn of 1983. A briefing/workshop was organised on 9 July by the

AAM and the Mozambique Angola Committee to prepare for this campaign.

Much of the AAM's efforts have been concentrated on challenging British policy over 'linkage'. This is reported in more detail under the *Namibia* section of this report. The government's policy has shifted increasingly closer to the US: this was set out in a letter to the AAM president dated 2 August 1983 from the Minister of State, Malcolm Rifkind:

We discussed at length the government's policy on Namibia and I undertook to write to you about our position on linkage. As I told you at our meeting, the government has made clear its position on this on a number of occasions. (I attach copies of relevant extracts from the Official Reports of the House of Commons and House of Lords.) Our position has been consistent. We have always maintained that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is not a part of SCRA35. For the UK, Cuban withdrawal is not, and never has been a precondition for a Namibian settlement.

Bob Hughes expressed concern that in my written answer to Harvey Proctor on 1 July, I said that in practice progress towards Namibian independence now depends on the US/Angolan talks. This is no more than the truth.

For their separate political reasons, both the US and South Africa attach importance to a settlement of the Cuban problem in association with a Namibia settlement. While we do not accept that this should be a necessary condition, we cannot ignore the political reality that the withdrawal of Cuban troops would create a better atmosphere for a wider settlement. And it has long been our view that, if a Namibia settlement is to last, it cannot be imposed from outside, but must be willingly accepted by all the parties concerned.

Both the US and South Africa are of course aware of our views on this issue.

The British government would of course, welcome the withdrawal of all foreign forces in southern Angola—not only Cubans from Angola, but also South Africans from Angola. This could only enhance regional stability and improve the prospects for the peaceful resolution of the region's problems which we both agree is desirable and necessary.

Amongst the activities organised to publicise South Africa's aggression against Angola was the distribution of the World Campaign's *Apartheid's War against Angola* by Marga Holmes, which was released to coincide with the Angolan Foreign Minister's visit to London, and a photographic exhibition based on one first produced by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and the UN. This exhibition was displayed in Sheffield, Glasgow and London.

Protest demonstrations were organised outside South Africa House following the attacks on Maseru and Maputo, and appeals were addressed to the government to act effectively to halt South African aggression. In August the AAM chairperson again wrote to the Minister of State at the Foreign Office following South Africa's bombing attack on the strategic town of Cangamba in south-east Angola.

The AAM has worked closely in organising these activities with the Mozambique Angola Committee and the newly-formed Angola Information and Mozambique Information Office. Regular consultations have taken place with the high commissioners and staff of the missions of the front line states and Lesotho, who have always been willing to assist the AAM in its work in this field in any way possible.

SOUTH AFRICA

The South African authorities are engaged in a sustained campaign to reverse the limited measures aimed at isolating South Africa which have been universally accepted, and to secure the apartheid regime's rehabilitation into the international community. Much of these efforts has centred on promoting its so-called 'reform' policy and to win recognition for its bantustans.

Much of the British media continues to report uncritically the 'constitutional proposals' of the P W Botha administration and the British government itself appears to be preparing the ground for endorsing them. The British embassy in South Africa issued a statement, following the qualified acceptance of the constitutional proposals by the Coloured Labour Party, which was tantamount to their endorsement by the British government (with the sole qualification that they do not afford a role for the African majority!).

In sharp contrast to the British government's attitude, these 'constitutional proposals' have been overwhelmingly rejected by the African, Indian and Coloured communities, and have even proved unacceptable to bantustan leaders such as Chief Buthezi and to the all-white Progressive Federal Party. These developments have been reported extensively in *AA News*. Of particular significance was the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August 1983 to which the AAM's president Archbishop Huddleston sent a message of greetings.

The AAM's National Committee decided to encourage AA groups to organise meetings on the theme *Is South Africa Changing?* in order to promote greater public awareness of these issues; a number of groups have already organised such meetings.

Britain has also granted increasing de facto recognition to the bantustans. As reported in the 1981/82 Annual Report, 'Bophuthatswana House' was opened in West London in September 1982 and a campaign against it has been sustained over the past 12 months. Chief Mangope, the so-called president of Bophuthatswana, was again granted a special British document of identity to visit the UK, as was a Transkei rugby touring team. In the latter case it was admitted by the Foreign Office that they knew the purpose of the visit when the documents were issued, although the Minister of Sport was unaware of the tour until the eve of the team's arrival. The AAM protested to both the Foreign Office and the Minister of Sport at a decision which made a mockery of Britain's public policy of non-recognition of the bantustans and its support for the Gleneagles Agreement.

In July 1983, in the AAM memorandum presented to Minister of State Malcolm Rifkind, the case was set out for more effective measures to enforce stated government policy of non-recognition of the bantustans.

Activities were organised throughout the year to publicise the struggle against apartheid, AAM speakers addressed meetings organised by the ANC to mark South Africa Heroes' Day (16 December) and South Africa Freedom Day (26 June). In November the AAM cooperated with the ANC in the opening of its exhibition *Unity in Action* prior to the premiere of *The Sun Will Rise*. The Soweto massacre anniversary was marked by a demonstration outside South Africa House and a meeting at Toynbee Hall, which was also a celebration of the 70th birthday of AAM president Archbishop Huddleston. Greetings to Archbishop Huddleston and the AAM were received from heads of state and leaders from all over the world. Amongst those who addressed the meeting were Dr Yusuf Dadoo, the Tanzanian High Commissioner and E S Reddy, UN Assistant Secretary-General. The AAM arranged for the ANC exhibition to be displayed by Camden council at the Swiss Cottage library from 15-26 June.

There were a number of significant developments during this period concerning the illegal and improper activities of South African agents and diplomats. Following a series of break-ins at liberation movement offices during the summer of 1982, charges were brought against three men which led to the imprisonment on 17 December at the Old Bailey of a South African agent and a British burglar on conspiracy charges, and the subsequent acquittal of the third man. These trials provide dramatic evidence of the extent of South African intelligence activities in Britain. A South African diplomat was effectively deported as a result of police enquiries.

Against the background of these developments, AAM chairperson Bob Hughes led a delegation to meet Home Secretary William Whitelaw on 13 October to demand effective action to curb South Africa's intelligence activities. A memorandum was presented to him, The Home Secretary replied in writing on 22 December. He rejected the two main proposals, namely the termination of the no-visa agreement with South Africa and new procedures for accepting the credentials of South African diplomats aimed at excluding South African agents from South Africa House.

Over the May Day bank holiday weekend the new premises of the AAM were burgled and the Home Secretary agreed to an early meeting, which had to be postponed because of the pending General Election. A memorandum prepared for that meeting gave additional evidence of South African activities. Following the Election, a meeting was held with the new Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, at which a further memorandum was presented. At this meeting more detailed proposals for action by the government were made. The AAM has still not received satisfactory responses to its representations.



CAMPAIGNS

SOUTHERN AFRICA THE TIME TO ACT

Southern Africa: The Time to Choose was the theme of the most ambitious programme of activities organised by the AAM. They were launched with the conference in March 1982 and a 15,000-strong national demonstration, on 14 March, the day the ANC office in London was bombed.

Plans for this campaign to culminate in a week of nationwide action in March 1983 were revised by the AAM National Committee in December 1982 when it was decided that March 1983 should serve as the launching of a new campaign: *Southern Africa: The Time to Act*. The message of the campaign was that those who had chosen to side with the cause of freedom in Southern Africa had now to act before an all-out war engulfed the region. In February 1983 the National Committee approved an ambitious programme of activities and publications to promote this campaign, which would centre on a new AAM publication entitled *Southern Africa '83: A Manifesto for Action*. This was launched at a press conference in London on 24 March, which followed a week of activities on the theme of the campaign organised by local AA groups all over the country. The *Manifesto* in particular set out the policy towards Southern Africa for a British government in the 1980s and was intended to promote concern about Southern Africa in the run-up to the General Election. The *Manifesto* was to be accompanied by a series of 'manifesto reports' examining different aspects of policy. Copies of the *Manifesto* were sent to the Prime Minister and the leaders of all Britain's major parties, as well as to a range of different organisations concerned about Southern African issues. Tens of thousands were distributed throughout the country.

The launching of the *Manifesto* was followed immediately by two very important events in the AAM's history. The first, on 25 March, was the conference of local authorities convened by Sheffield city council, which led to the establishment of a steering committee to coordinate and promote local authority action against apartheid. The following day, Saturday 26 March, the Scottish Committee organised at the Henry Wood Hall, Glasgow, the largest and most representative conference ever held in Britain outside London. Its theme was *Scotland and Apartheid South Africa: The Time to Act*. These two events laid a very firm basis for the campaign.

These in turn were followed up by regional activists' meetings on 7 May for both the south-west and the north-east, held in Bristol and Newcastle respectively. The following weekend the Welsh AAM and the National Committee met to review the campaign. However, since these two meetings followed the

calling of the General Election, the National Committee agreed on a major revision of the campaign plans.

It was decided that local AA groups and member organisations act immediately to stimulate interest in Southern Africa during the Election campaign. They should be sent a questionnaire with the aim of presenting it to every candidate in the Election. Within three days a package of material was despatched from the AAM HQ, including the questionnaire, a draft leaflet for reproduction locally, statements from the major parties on Southern Africa, additional copies of the *Manifesto for Action*; and a statement from the National Committee. Most local AA groups responded immediately and the returns received were much higher than expected and reflected encouraging support for the AAM's policies from candidates of all political parties. However, the general objective of these activities — to seek to make Southern Africa an important Election issue — was not achieved. Despite major developments, including the aerial bombing of Maputo and the execution of the Muroka Three, none of the major parties chose to make a significant policy statement on Southern Africa during the Election campaign.

The National Committee met on 9 July to review the campaign in the light of the General Election result, and it was agreed that an urgent meeting should take place with the new Conservative administration. An AAM delegation thus met the new Minister of State responsible for African Affairs, Malcolm Rifkind, on 28 July and at that meeting presented a memorandum arguing the case for a change of British policy towards Southern Africa and setting out a series of specific policy proposals. Prior to this meeting an important shift in British policy towards closer relations with apartheid South Africa had been revealed by the disclosure that South Africa was to be used as a staging post for the construction of a military airbase on the Falklands. This development, combined with an assessment of the meeting and subsequent written responses, led the AAM to conclude that British policy was moving towards a significantly more pro-South African position than that which had been pursued by the government since 1979. The National Committee meeting in July had already recognised that the Movement faced a real challenge in the period ahead and had therefore decided on plans for a Namibia Week of Action from 27 October, a period of campaigning to *Stop the Apartheid War* to be launched in the autumn, and for a nationwide month of action in March 1984. These were discussed in more detail at the September meeting of the National Committee.

Military and nuclear collaboration

Campaigning to secure the strict implementation of the UN arms embargo against South Africa has been a major focus of the AAM since the first UN voluntary embargo was adopted in 1963. The experience of the past 12 months, however, has underlined the necessity for even more effective action. Revelations of breaches of the arms embargo have given some insight into the extent and nature of arms trading with the apartheid regime.

The World Campaign, which was initiated by the AAM in 1979, has continued to work closely with anti-apartheid and solidarity movements throughout the world in order to expose and campaign against all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. In April 1983 it convened a very successful workshop in Leydon, Netherlands, which provided a

unique opportunity for activists involved in these campaigns to share ideas and experiences and to improve coordination.

This report concentrates on British military and nuclear collaboration; however, it is important to place on record the number of examples of cases which have been exposed during the period covered by this report in other countries including some with a known record of opposition to apartheid. Examples include the planned shipment of guns from Austria via Denmark (revealed by vigilant airport workers); the participation of South Africa in an international arms fair in Athens (at which its G6 mobile 155mm gun was on display); further revelations of Danish ships delivering arms to South Africa, etc.

Amongst British cases, the following are the most significant:

Marconi radar contract

At the end of April 1983 it was revealed that the British government had granted a licence for the export of a Marconi military radar system to South Africa. The news broke on the eve of the international Namibia conference in Paris and provoked unprecedented international protests. Formal representations to the British government were made by the foreign ministers of the front line and other African states, the non-aligned movement and the UN Council for Namibia. The AAM chairperson wrote to the British government seeking an explanation and urging that the decision to grant the licence be reviewed. The government, in response to opposition protests in the House of Commons, insisted that the contract should go ahead, but refused to deny that it would have a military application. Many other organisations made representations to the government urging that the licence should be reviewed and the matter was raised directly with the government by the AAM when a delegation met Foreign Office Minister Malcolm Rifkind in July 1983.

The World Campaign produced a short document explaining the significance of the contract and the importance for South Africa that it is able to retain air superiority. Following the aerial bombing of Maputo by South African air force planes, Archbishop Huddleston appealed to the government to review the decision to grant the licence.

Delivery of the contract has still not been completed in the summer of 1983, and it is intended to continue to press for the contract to be halted.

Old Bailey arms smugglers' trial

Three British arms dealers were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment at the Old Bailey in October 1982, having pleaded guilty to a series of charges involving the smuggling of approximately £1 million worth of machine guns and spare parts.

Immediately following the trial, the AAM made representations to the Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary concerning issues arising from the trial and in particular the evidence presented in court that South Africa House had been involved in the payment of at least three of the shipments. Lengthy correspondence eventually secured an admission that there was prima facie evidence to this effect; however, nothing could be done, the Foreign Office explained, because the diplomats involved would have probably left the UK by then.

The Home Secretary did act to cancel the arms dealers' licences which had in fact been renewed after their arrest. Subsequent press publicity concerning the agents who shipped the arms to South Africa raised serious issues about the nature of the Customs enquiries.

The entire case, including the level of sentences imposed in view of the crimes committed, was evidence of the ineffective nature of regulations and the enforcement agencies dealing with the arms embargo.

Former British officers

The death of a former British officer in Mozambique who was killed by the Mozambique army during an action against a South African sabotage operation prompted questioning by opposition MPs in parliament. This led to the discovery that although this officer still had a residual commitment to the regular army reserve, the British defence council had not been asked to approve his service with the South African defence force. Further questioning also revealed that the defence council had granted permission to six British officers to serve in the SADF and the Defence Minister, Michael Heseltine, informed Denis Healey that 'no specific recommendations are made about which countries' armed forces an officer should join; nor do I believe that it would be right to do so ... An officer, once he has left the service, has all the rights of an ordinary individual to take up whatever employment he chooses.'

Nuclear collaboration with South Africa

The AAM received a reassurance that Britain does not collaborate with South Africa in the development of its civil nuclear programme. However, it refuses to translate this policy into effective action. This is particularly the case in relation to the recruitment of skilled nuclear personnel to work in South Africa. During the period of this report there have been new recruitment campaigns and renewed press interest in this issue. The Scottish press, for example, published details of the recruitment of personnel from Dounreay to work for Escorn.

Efforts to secure an undertaking that Britain will not tender for South Africa's second nuclear power station have so far been unsuccessful, although the government has stated that it will not permit the export of any items requiring export licences for South Africa's civil nuclear power programme.

The AAM has also made representations to the French President and the French embassy in London concerning reports that the French government was considering permitting French companies to tender for this nuclear power station.

UN arms embargo

The international enforcement of the arms embargo is the responsibility of a sub-committee set up by the UN Security Council with representatives of all members of the Security Council. In September 1980 it made a series of recommendations for the strengthening of the arms embargo but these have still not been fully considered. The sub-committee itself is also not functioning effectively and this has serious implications. These developments have arisen primarily because of the negative attitude to its work by both the United States and United Kingdom delegations.

At the level of British policy, the AAM has prepared a substantial memorandum which the government has agreed to consider, making proposals for ensuring that the arms embargo is strengthened and strictly implemented.

Economic collaboration

The most significant act of economic solidarity with the apartheid regime during the past 12 months was the unprecedented decision of the International Monetary Fund to grant a \$1.1 billion loan to South Africa in November 1982. Reports that the IMF was considering such a move prompted an emergency vote in the UN General Assembly overwhelmingly in favour of a resolution opposing any such loan. Only three countries -- the US, the Federal Republic of Germany and the UK -- opposed the resolution. In defiance, the IMF executive board proceeded to grant the loan; however, when the draft minutes of the meeting were leaked it was revealed that only 52 per cent of the Board's votes had been cast in favour of the loan and that the IMF had ignored normal procedures and criteria when approving it.

In Britain, the AAM made direct representations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, sought press publicity, as well as encouraging MPs to raise the matter in parliament. The leaked

draft minutes, referred to above, revealed that the AAM had been misled by the Chancellor and a series of substantial correspondence has been exchanged between the AAM and the Chancellor which has served to confirm the evidence that the granting of the loan was a political act of solidarity with the apartheid regime.

The AAM vice chairman took the opportunity of a visit to Washington to meet the managing director of the IMF to express the AAM's opposition to the loan directly to the IMF. Whilst in Washington, he met Jim Morrell of the International Policy Institute, who has been coordinating US and international opposition to the loan. A special meeting was organised in Paris during the UN Namibia conference to coordinate further action internationally. In July the Movement's chairperson tried unsuccessfully to introduce an amendment to a Bill on the IMF being debated in parliament. This amendment was based on a successful amendment adopted by the US House of

Representatives. The results of this sustained campaigning indicate that South Africa would now face an almost impossible task if it should seek further IMF loans.

The granting of the IMF loan to South Africa took place during the closing stages of the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. The AAM sought to maintain the momentum of its campaigning activities for sanctions. To coincide with the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the first UN General Assembly resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa, AAM president Archbishop Huddleston wrote to the Prime Minister calling for a review of the policy of successive British governments in opposing sanctions. This letter was handed in at 10 Downing Street, together with 70,000 signatures to the AAM petition calling for sanctions against South Africa. Archbishop Huddleston made a powerful plea for sanctions when he addressed the UN General Assembly on 7 November, and this plea was the basis for an address he gave to a joint AAM/Royal Commonwealth Society meeting at the RCS on his return to London on 16 November.

Any sober assessment of the International Year, however, cannot give rise to optimism. Instead of being a period during which South Africa was increasingly isolated, as a result of the policies of the Reagan and Thatcher administrations South Africa continues to maintain close economic links with most major western countries.

It has therefore become increasingly clear that the AAM's campaigns for the isolation of the apartheid regime have to secure an even deeper base. Amongst the activities organised to achieve this objective was the UN symposium on *Sheffield and Southern Africa* in November 1982, which provided the first serious opportunity for a major industrial city to examine its economic links with South Africa. The background papers prepared for this symposium, particularly those on the coal mining industry, steel and emigration, have proved to be of much wider use in the sanctions campaign. The level of participation in the symposium reflected the potential support which exists for the AAM's policies. A pamphlet based on the main addresses to this symposium was published jointly by the

AAM and Sheffield city council.

Later in November the AAM organised a successful sanctions conference for the trade union movement which is reported in the trade union section of this report.

By far the most significant development which is making sanctions a reality is the growing number of local authorities which are declaring their communities 'apartheid-free zones'. These authorities, by refusing to purchase South African products and taking related economic measures, are not only influencing public opinion locally but also deepening the basis for a national policy of sanctions.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has sought to strengthen its own activities against economic collaboration with South Africa by establishing an anti-collaboration sub-committee which aims to coordinate more effectively this area of work. Local AA groups have continued to focus attention on a wide variety of examples of economic collaboration. These have included the Scottish Committee's campaign against the takeover of Anderson Strathclyde, the mining equipment manufacturers, by the South African-controlled Charter Consolidated, the UK wing of the Anglo American conglomerate; Sheffield AA group's campaign against a local Chamber of Commerce delegation to South Africa; Birmingham AA's campaign against the importing of Ford P100 pick-up trucks from South Africa, etc. These local campaigns continue to be the backbone of anti-apartheid campaigning across the country. During this period the trade union committee has made a special effort to strengthen the campaign against emigration to South Africa; the paper referred to above by Chris Child has been a valuable tool in this campaign, as has material which has been prepared for particular trades and professions.

During the period of this report, new material has been produced to sustain the Boycott Barclays campaign and the campaign for oil sanctions against South Africa, both of which represent central elements in the overall campaign for sanctions against South Africa. It is intended that the formation of the anti-collaboration committee will result in these and related campaigns being placed on a sounder basis in the near future.

Sports boycott

The sports boycott continues to be the aspect of the Movement's work which attracts greater media interest than any other. Our work in this area is carried out in close cooperation with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC).

There have been many positive steps made in this area of work throughout the past year. The major contribution was the participation of the AAM in an international conference on sanctions against apartheid sport, organised by SANROC and sponsored by the United Nations in June of this year. Delegates to the conference included sports stars from France, Tanzania, Australia, New Zealand, GDR, Soviet Union, with representatives of national olympic committees from Algeria, Botswana, China, GDR, Libya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Soviet Union and Zimbabwe.

This three-day international conference adopted a declaration asking for a code of conduct to be adopted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) along the same lines as the Gleneagles Agreement of the Commonwealth Games Federation. The UN is now to approach the IOC with this code of conduct, to make it clear that sportsmen and women in collaboration with South Africa would attract punishment from the international community, and that the IOC should prompt international federations and other sports bodies to impose their own sanctions and pressurise governments themselves to take action against collaborators by, for example, withholding passports and visas.

The conference also sent a telegram to tennis star John McEnroe congratulating him on his decision to turn down a \$1 million offer to play in South Africa.

The AAM presented to the conference a document entitled *Britain and Apartheid Sport - Breaking the Links*, copies of which are available from AAM headquarters. The AAM also circulated the memorandum which it had presented to the Minister of Sport in July 1982, together with the text of the reply subsequently received setting out government policy.

Another success for the Movement was the decision by the MCC not to send a cricket team to South Africa by an over-

whelming majority: 6,804 against and 4,344 in favour of a South African tour. The Movement was in contact with a number of sympathetic members of the MCC during the run-up to the vote, and we are obviously very pleased with this decision. On the eve of the vote, the Prime Minister expressed her opposition to the tour in reply to a parliamentary question.

A surprising highlight of the year was the production by the BBC of a sports documentary by Ron Pickering, entitled *South Africa, Sport and the Boycott*, which gave an overview of the discriminating sporting conditions in South Africa, interlinked with the reality of apartheid.

A new organisation of black sportsmen and women, called the Black British Standing Conference against Apartheid Sports, an initiative of the Brixton-based Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association (MASDA), was set up in November 1982 to try to ensure that the British government implements the Gleneagles Agreement.

Despite these achievements and advances, local vigilance is still necessary in demonstrating against events as we have done throughout the year, such as visits from university sporting teams, South African crews taking part in the Henley Regatta, and individual sportspeople taking part in Wimbledon, surfing events, etc, but especially visits from the bantustans. The Movement protested in particular about the 'secret' tour of a Transkei rugby team in March 1983. Demonstrations were organised against fixtures in Northern Ireland and Wales.

The South African Rugby Board (SARB) continues to try to lure rugby teams to play in South Africa, and careful attention must be paid to any developments on this score.

Once again, in July of this year, a South African team competed at the International Stoke Mandeville Games despite a noisy and well-supported protest organised by Disabled People against Apartheid. However, due to their presence Canada withdrew from these games.

A complete register of all sportsmen and women from the UK who have visited South Africa is available from AAM headquarters.

Cultural and academic boycott

The cultural boycott remained an issue which drew considerable press interest. *AA News* regularly covered the issue, with news of performers visiting South Africa and, in a special feature in June 1983, published a list of British artists who had visited South Africa during 1982 and updating lists previously published in 1981.

The most publicised campaign during the year was over the announcement by Sir Richard Attenborough that he would attend the all-white premiere of *Gandhi* in South Africa. Coming only hours after the film had won a series of Oscars, Sir Richard's announcement provoked immediate and widespread protests and was front-page news for several days. AAM supporters and many other people who had seen the film and were appalled at the news contacted the AAM office, and Sir Richard received many letters urging him to reverse his decision. Gandhi's adopted grand-daughter, Shanti Naidoo, who lives in London in exile from South Africa, was interviewed on television. The AAM had several telephone discussions with Sir Richard, culminating in a meeting with him including representatives of AAM and ANC and Dr Dadoo on 18 April. The same day a press statement was issued which said Sir Richard would not go to South Africa until the 'government of South Africa opens every performance of *Gandhi* to all races throughout the film's entire run without the requirement for any cinema to apply for a permit'. In spite of the very apparent desire of the South African regime for the propaganda victory of having Sir Richard Attenborough present at the premiere, the price of removing apartheid from its cinemas was apparently too high and Sir Richard did not go. He also announced that all profits from the film being shown in South Africa would go to Gandhian charities.

The Welsh Committee of the AAM was once again very active on the cultural boycott, with a continuing campaign to stop the inclusion of South Africa in the Welsh Eisteddfod. The Committee was also very prompt in seeking a meeting with Tom Jones on his much publicised return to Wales in September 1983. The Committee met his management and a statement was issued saying that although Tom Jones had visited South Africa in 1976 he had no intention of going again, and indeed had many times been approached with offers of very large sums of money to play in Sun City but had refused them. The Welsh Committee and the AAM welcomed this statement, which received considerable publicity in the local media.

Sadly, other artists have continued to break the boycott. Leo Sayer, who has visited Sun City, was picketed by members of Tyneside AA when he appeared in Newcastle; the multi-racial dance group Hot Gossip visited Sun City for an extended period in the spring — AAM had written urging them not to go but despite repeated telephone calls to their management they refused even to discuss the issue. A major row broke out in Walsall Heath over a visit to South Africa by the Shire Oak School Brass Band: there were angry exchanges between the Community Relations Council and the education authority, and the issue attracted considerable local publicity.

Controversy surrounded the visit to Britain by South African multi-racial group Juluka, to promote their record. In spite of opposition from the Musicians Union, they were granted work permits by the Department of Employment and eventually reached an agreement with the MU that all profits from their appearances here would be donated to a suitable charity. The MU issued a statement strongly reaffirming its commitment to the cultural boycott. Arguments for the boycott were strengthened by the news that two South African musicians, Rufus Radebe and Joseph Charles, received four-year prison sentences in June for singing a Free Mandela song. This received coverage in the widely-read *New Musical Express* and several readers were motivated to get in touch with the AAM as a result.

There has been increasing interest in the AAM from the artistic community, which has assisted the Movement in reaching a different audience. Classical musicians donated their services for the Free Mandela concert on 26 June, and leading Indian dancers and musicians also performed at a benefit concert for the Movement. A major event in which the Movement was involved was the Festival of African Sounds at Alexandra Palace on 17 July, the eve of Nelson Mandela's birthday. Among the performers were Hugh Masekela, Jazz Afrika and Orchestre Jazira, who have both donated their services to the AAM on previous occasions, and Osibisa. Sculptor Ian Walters produced a large bust of Nelson Mandela, which he allowed the AAM to display at several public events over the summer. The exhibition *World Artists against Apartheid*, organised jointly by the BDAF and AAM in July, attracted interest from the art world. It was held at the Royal Academy and was opened by Sir Hugh Casson and Archbishop Huddleston. A large number of leading actors, writers and performers have endorsed the Free Mandela declaration, which is an indication of the potential support for the Movement in this constituency. As the cultural boycott becomes a more prominent issue, the AAM will need to be able to mobilise such people in support of its policies.

After discussion amongst local AA groups and the National Committee, the Executive prepared a statement of policy on the cultural boycott which was adopted by the National Committee. The statement was in response to the issues arising from visits by anti-apartheid cultural groups to the UK. It restates the Movement's firm commitment to the cultural boycott. Copies of the statement are available from AAM HQ.

The final word should lie with Eddy Amoo, a member of the British group The Real Thing who visited Sun City in 1982. He wrote to the AAM after his return to Britain: 'After returning from South Africa and having learned a great deal more about the place than we did, we now completely support the cultural ban... Sun City is an Afrikaner's paradise in a black man's nightmare.'





SOUTHERN AFRICA THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY



Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society (SATIS) devoted most of its campaigning efforts over the year to the campaign to stop the execution of the ANC Six: the Treason Trial Three — Johannes Shabangu, David Moise and Anthony Tsotsobe; and the Moroka Three — Jerry Semano Mosololi, Marcus Thabo Motaung and Thelle Simon Mogoerane.

The Moroka Three, whose death sentences were announced in August 1982 and who decided not to appeal but to petition for clemency, formed the first focus of the campaign. Leaflets were prepared and widely distributed, and a poster produced by the ANC was used in the campaign. Weekly Wednesday lunchtime pickets of the South African embassy, which started on 6 October, continued until June, when the South African authorities, in defiance of unprecedented international appeals for clemency, carried out the execution of the Moroka Three. In November it was announced that the appeal of the Treason Trial Three had been unsuccessful, and they too petitioned for clemency. The weekly pickets became part of the Save the ANC Six campaign, and new material was produced. Wide circulation to organisations and individuals resulted in hundreds of letters to the Foreign Office urging British intervention to stop the executions, as well as protests to the South African authorities. Pamphlets on both the Moroka Three and the Treason Trial Three were circulated to the press, as well as being distributed to organisations. A special campaign badge was produced.

SATIS, in cooperation with the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), organised the premier showing at the University of London Institute of Education, on 7 November 1982, of the film *The Sun Will Rise*, which focuses on death sentences in South Africa and includes interviews with Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu who was executed in April 1979, and with families of the ANC freedom fighters then under sentence of death. The film is a remarkably moving portrayal of the defiance of the people in the face of the most brutal and callous acts of the regime, and was widely used by AA groups and other organisations in the Save the ANC Six campaign. SATIS would like to extend its thanks to the IDAF for its timely production of the film and its assistance in making it available for distribution.

Des Starrs, chairman of SATIS, undertook a speaking tour of major towns and cities with Ruth Mompoti, chief representative of the ANC. The tour received considerable local press coverage and Des Starrs was able to use the opportunity to meet many local councillors, trade unionists, church people and others to discuss SATIS campaigns, and in particular the ANC Six, and thus secure further support for the campaign.

On 22 December SATIS organised a torchlight silent vigil for the ANC Six outside the South African embassy. It was supported by over 300 people but, sadly, received limited coverage in the national media, although considerable efforts had been made to secure this. The black and left press, however, gave the campaign consistent coverage. In December, the UN Security Council passed a resolution urging the South African authorities to commute the death sentences and copies of this were circulated to national organisations, seeking further support in the campaign. In response to this South Africa's permanent representative at the UN circulated material making allegations about the Moroka Three which even the trial judge had rejected. SATIS subsequently received, via the UN, a rebuttal of these allegations from the attorneys of the Moroka Three, refuting this with reference to court records, and SATIS made use of this material to expose South African lies and misinformation on the case.

In February the AAM sent a delegation to Foreign Office Minister Cranley Onslow. Although the meeting was mainly on Namibia, SATIS had requested that the case of the ANC Six be raised and this was done. The AAM was able to report to SATIS that the government's position had changed considerably from its original policy of non-intervention and that represen-

tations had been made on at least two occasions to the South African regime.

On 6 April, the fourth anniversary of the execution of Solomon Mahlangu, SATIS held a further evening vigil at the South African embassy. Again this was well supported but received little of the hoped-for publicity. Some local anti-apartheid groups held local events on the same day. It was announced in April that President Rene of the Seychelles and US Secretary of State George Schulz had both made representations to the South African regime for clemency for the ANC Six, and SATIS sent out a further press release with this and background information. In addition, a further circulation was made of material appealing for support and urging protests to the South African authorities and appeals to the British government for further intervention. It was announced in parliament, in response to a question by Frank Dobson MP, that between October 1982 and March 1983 over 700 representations had been made to the Foreign Office on the ANC Six.

SATIS was able to obtain the addresses of the families of the six condemned men and, as part of the campaign, people were urged to send them messages of support. In March the *Road Daily Mail* carried an interview with one of the mothers, who spoke of the support she had been receiving in letters from all over the world, among them letters from British trade unions, MPs, and other individuals and organisations. As the campaign to stop the executions proceeded, this became an increasingly important part of it, as the families themselves began addressing meetings inside South Africa calling for clemency for the six.

In May the AAM carried the ANC Six campaign as the front page of *AA News* and further support was generated. Plans for a large picket of the South African embassy on the eve of 16 June, to publicise the case of the ANC Six and to mark the Soweto anniversary, were rapidly changed by the announcement on 6 June by the South African regime that it was commuting the death sentences of the Treason Trial Three (to life imprisonment) but that it intended to carry out the execution of the Moroka Three at dawn on 9 June. The AAM laid all its resources at the disposal of SATIS in final efforts to save the lives of the three. SATIS immediately sent out a mailing to all those who had supported the campaign, asking them to send telegrams of protest to the South African authorities and to the Foreign Office seeking immediate government action. Major efforts were made to interest the press and, despite the General Election on 9 June, the issue at last began to receive major press coverage. SATIS called for a 24-hour vigil from 8.30am on Wednesday 8 June to 8.30am on Thursday 9 June. SATIS was able to contact many supporters to seek further action, and unprecedented international appeals from governments, the EEC, other inter-governmental organisations such as the ILO poured into South Africa. The UN Security Council carried an emergency resolution calling on the South African regime to exercise clemency. In response to increasing calls for action in Britain, Foreign Secretary Francis Pym made a personal intervention.

On the morning of 9 June, despite hopes of a last-minute reprieve, the South African regime carried out the act of judicial murder and took the lives of Jerry Semano Mosololi, Marcus Thabo Motaung and Thelle Simon Mogoerane. Condemnation of this act was immediate and widespread. SATIS organised a memorial service for the three at St Martin-in-the-Fields at midday on 9 June, which ended with the 200 present standing in angry defiance at the locked gates of the South African embassy, as the ANC choir sang *Nkosi Sikeleli-Afrika* and wreaths bearing portraits of the three and in ANC colours were tied to the gates of the embassy.

Following the executions there were memorial services in many South African towns and cities, and the executions created not the demoralisation and fear hoped for by the

apartheid regime but a renewed determination on the part of the people of South Africa to continue the struggle.

SATIS sent letters of condolence to the families of the three and circulated a letter to all those who had supported the campaign suggesting that they send similar letters. Several people reported receiving replies to their letters.

In August the South African Prisons Department said that in future executions would not be announced as had previously been the practice. A regime spokesman said that this was to avoid giving 'prominence to the event'.

Nelson Mandela

The campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela has made considerable progress over the year. The AAM's petition has been circulated in a number of countries, including Portugal, West Germany, Australia, Iceland and Canada, although much work needs still to be done both in Britain and internationally to secure further support. Archbishop Huddleston's Declaration for the release of Nelson Mandela has been circulated by UN information centres around the world, and in April the UN released an initial listing of over 3,000 names. In Britain the declaration has been signed by many well-known figures, including politicians, actors, trade unionists and writers. SATIS has forwarded these to the UN. The declaration has been translated into all the UN official languages.

On 11 October, International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the petition and declaration were launched at a ceremony at Congress House, TUC headquarters, and that evening SATIS organised a well-attended torchlight vigil outside the South African embassy. A sponsored Free Mandela Cycle Ride was also held to raise funds for the campaign and gain publicity, with all the cyclists wearing Free Mandela T-shirts. A Free Mandela meeting was held in the House of Commons on 24 November, addressed by Abdul S Mloty and E S Reddy, director of the UN Centre against Apartheid. Following discussions with the ANC, the AAM and SATIS agreed to initiate the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign Coordinating Committee, to bring together the wide range of organisations which have contributed to the campaign and to encourage other organisations to take up activities. The chairperson of the committee is Trevor Phillips, former NUS president and producer of Channel 4's *Black on Black*. Among the organisations participating in the committee are the British Defence and Aid Fund, the YWCA, National Peace Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Church of England Board of Social Responsibility, NUS, United Nations Association, Indian Workers Association, and several trade unions, including AUEW (TASS), CPSA, IRSF and the TGWU Agricultural Workers Association. The formation of the committee was also welcomed by the TUC.

The committee agreed to seize the opportunity of marking Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday on 18 July and encouraged organisations to undertake activities on or near this date. Many activities took place, including:

- Free Mandela Concert at the Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, on 26 June, organised by AAM to raise funds for the campaign. The artists were cellist Felix Schmidt and pianist Ingrid Jacoby.
- The Festival of African Sounds - A Celebration of Nelson Mandela's Birthday, on 17 July at Alexandra Palace, London. This event attracted over 3,000 people and several of the performers wrote new music dedicated to Mandela, whose daughter Zenani was able to be present at the event.
- An exhibition of paintings by Artists Against Apartheid at the Royal Academy from 18-30 July, organised by BDAF and AAM in cooperation with the UN Centre against Apartheid. The exhibition was opened by Sir Hugh Casson and Archbishop Huddleston and attracted considerable interest.
- AUEW (TASS), one of Britain's major trade unions, held a special ceremony on 18 July to rename their executive committee room the Nelson Mandela Room. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the ANC, SATIS and AAM.
- Harlow district council renamed First Avenue, Harlow,

Mandela Avenue at a ceremony on 18 July at which Zenani Mandela was present.

- The London borough of Greenwich awarded Nelson Mandela the Freedom of the Borough on 20 July at a special meeting of the council.
- Hull city council, as part of the commemoration of the anniversary of Wilberforce's death and the abolition of slavery, named gardens in Hull the Nelson Mandela Gardens at a ceremony attended by Ruth Mompoti, chief representative of the ANC.
- A special early day motion was initiated in the House of Commons to call for Mandela's release and send him greetings on his birthday.
- The coordinating committee held a meeting to mark the day at the Royal Commonwealth Society, which was addressed by Archbishop Huddleston, Ruth Mompoti and Mary Benson. Hugh Masekela and John Matabhiza produced a poetry reading with music at the meeting.

In addition, SATIS produced a postcard from a design by Ken Sprague, of which about 4,000 were distributed. Many local AA groups organised events to mark the birthday and organisations and individuals were encouraged to send greetings to Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Six large cards were produced from a design by Camden AA member Karin Gretton, and signatures were collected from MPs, trade union leaders, musicians and other leading figures. The cards were presented to Mandela's daughter.

Internationally, the most significant award was the Simon Bolivar Prize for Liberation, given by UNESCO, which was jointly awarded to Mandela and King Juan Carlos of Spain at a ceremony in Caracas on 24 July. The campaign received some news coverage over this period, including on television news, but the committee was disappointed with the response of the media to such a range of activities. Channel 4's *Black on Black*, however, gave the campaign excellent coverage based around the African Sounds Festival, and coverage locally was quite good.

A number of other initiatives were taken in the course of the year. Both Warwick University and South Bank Polytechnic Students Unions named rooms in honour of Mandela, and Sheffield City Polytechnic renamed their Students Union building. In Hackney, the borough council named a block of flats after Mandela. Students at Lancaster and Manchester Universities proposed Mandela for honorary degrees. The Labour Party invited him to their 1983 conference.

Activities by local AA groups and other organisations have contributed to a situation where Nelson Mandela is now much more widely known and recognised as a leader of the South African people.

The London borough of Camden proposed to the GLC that the new home of the AAM, Selous Street, should be renamed Mandela Street. This was agreed by the GLC after some controversy, promoted by the *Standard* and *Daily Mail*, and it is hoped that the formal change will take place in the near future.

In April Mary Benson, the exiled South African writer and a longstanding friend of the Mandelas, received a letter from Winnie Mandela concerning conditions at Pollsmoor Prison, where Nelson Mandela was moved in April 1982. From this it appeared that, far from being an improvement on conditions at Robben Island, as had been hoped, conditions at Pollsmoor were very poor, and the privileges that had been won by Mandela, Sisulu and other long-term prisoners on Robben Island had been lost. Mary Benson made a statement to the UN Human Rights Commission when it visited London in May, appealing for action by the UN; copies of her statement were circulated by SATIS internationally, and the UN Centre against Apartheid responded by urging the International Committee of the Red Cross to investigate. As the South African regime keeps its prisons shrouded in secrecy, it has been difficult to establish the current position, but it appears that there has been some improvement recently in the physical conditions in which Mandela is held.

Other SATIS activities

A number of campaigns were organised by other groups for particular prisoners or detainees. SATIS and the AAM publicised and supported these activities, which included the Alliance of Radical Methodists' petition campaign for detainee Cedric Mayson; the Kitson family picket for David Kitson; and the SWAPO Women's Solidarity Committee petition campaign for the release of Ida Jimmy. Cedric Mayson, a former Methodist minister and a member of the banned Christian Institute, fled South Africa whilst on bail facing charges under the Terrorism Act, and since his arrival in Britain has given a press conference and written for *AA News*.

With the bulk of SATIS resources being taken up by the ANC Six and Mandela campaigns, it was not possible to undertake the range of activities that SATIS would have wished. However, several other events and activities were promoted by SATIS, including a demonstration on the anniversary of the Kassinga massacre (4 May) for which a poster and leaflet were produced. The demonstration was well-supported, and a letter from AAM and NSC was delivered to Downing Street urging the government to take steps to obtain the release of the Namibians kidnapped from Kassinga. New information on these detainees was received in August and appears to indicate that their conditions have improved. Some of them are now able to study through correspondence courses and some have been able to receive visits from their families. Reports, however, confirm earlier information about the brutality and torture experienced by the detainees immediately following their abduction: some of the detainees are physically disabled by this treatment and have been fitted with artificial limbs. The continued detention of these Namibian refugees remains a matter of great concern and SATIS, following discussions with SWAPO and NSC, is launching a new campaign for their release as part of the Namibia Week of Action 1983.

Shortly after the execution of the Moroka Three, the apartheid regime announced a further death sentence — on Malesela Moloise. Information on this case has been extremely limited and SATIS has been consulting with other organisations on how to mobilise to save his life.

In May the UN Human Rights Commission Ad Hoc Working Group on Southern Africa visited London to take evidence on

abuses of human rights in South Africa and Namibia. SATIS arranged for evidence to be presented to the commission by Mary Benson (see above), Tony Holiday and Siphon Pityana. Tony Holiday arrived in London in November after completing his prison sentence and spoke at a well-attended press conference organised by SATIS, together with Khosi Mbatha, who spoke of her experiences in detention. Siphon Pityana, who had been detained on several occasions for his trade union activities, has spoken at a number of meetings.

The Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR) which is represented on SATIS has been running a campaign against the persecution of those refusing to do military service in South Africa, and produced a leaflet jointly with SATIS on the cases of Billy Paddock and Peter Hathorn, who are both serving jail sentences for refusing military service.

The case of Oscar Mpetha, which dragged on for over two years, finally resulted in Mpetha being acquitted of the murder charges against him but found guilty of charges under the Terrorism Act. He was given a statutory minimum five-year jail sentence but was released on bail of R1 pending appeal against conviction. The appeal was turned down but Mpetha remains, at the time of writing, bailed pending an appeal against sentence. His health after over two years in prison while the trial proceeded remains very serious; he had to have an operation to have a leg amputated in August as a result of complications of his diabetic condition. The trade union movement has shown a great deal of concern about this case, and developments are being watched closely. Should the outstanding appeal against sentence be unsuccessful, SATIS will be calling on all its supporters to take urgent action to secure Mpetha's freedom. Oscar Mpetha was elected co-president of the UDF at its founding meeting in August.

Another co-president of the UDF, who has a long personal experience of the repression meted out to opponents of apartheid, is Albertina Sisulu, who was arrested in August and charged with furthering the aims of the ANC. SATIS immediately wrote to the British government expressing grave concern for her well-being and urging intervention. A reply from the government indicated that the Foreign Office is following her case closely.



MATERIAL AID

Once again there has been considerable interest from AAM supporters in campaigns for material aid for the liberation movements. The AAM has publicised the activities of the Namibia Support Committee (NSC) in this field, especially for health care for SWAPO refugees and for women in SWAPO camps. The AAM Women's Committee has encouraged street collections for the ANC creche, which have been well-supported by members of the public. Several local AA groups have organised collections, which have proved popular events with local group activists. A national day for collecting basic materials such as soap, sanitary towels and toothpaste is being held on 15 October and has generated considerable interest, not only from local AA groups but also from women's organisations and trade union branches. The ANC made an urgent appeal to AAM for such items in May, and large quantities of material arrived in response to appeals in the Members' Newsletter and the Women's Committee Newsletter. Several organisations sent donations of money in response to the appeal. The Health

Committee has continued to express a special interest in undertaking material aid work, and held a special workshop in June to discuss this further. Recommendations from the workshop are currently under discussion by the Movement's Executive. Substantial funds were again raised by Soweto Walks organised by many local AA groups. Several student groups organised fund-raising events for the liberation movements, and NUS made donations to the ANC and SWAPO from its Southern Africa Liberation Fund.

The Mozambique Angola Committee has organised appeals for specific projects, including slide rules and scissors, which have been publicised by AAM.

There remains a problem of transporting material collected outside London to the offices of the liberation movements so that they can arrange despatch to the refugee settlements. Plans are being drawn up to try to overcome this difficulty, and it is hoped that AAM will be able to arrange collection from points outside London with a van, providing finance can be arranged.

INTERNATIONAL WORK

During the period covered by this report, the AAM has had a series of varied opportunities to strengthen its relations with other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, as well as inter-governmental organisations concerned with Southern Africa, in particular the United Nations.

United States policy

Special efforts have been made to increase coordination between anti-apartheid organisations in the United States and Britain in response to the pro-South African policies of the Reagan and Thatcher administrations. In April 1988 a group of US anti-apartheid activists toured Western Europe and their programme in London was organised by the AAM. This visit provided an opportunity for an extensive exchange of views about campaigning work in the two countries and provided a sound basis for future cooperation. During the past year, vice chairman Vella Pillay, hon secretary Abdul S Minty and deputy secretary Chris Child all visited the United States and were able to meet a range of organisations. Chris Child's visit to Washington was to attend a seminar on Namibia organised by the American Committee on Africa.

United Nations

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, was honoured by the United Nations when he was awarded a gold medal for his contribution to the international campaign for sanctions against South Africa, at a ceremony on 7 November 1982. He addressed the UN General Assembly, and the text of his address was reproduced in a UN pamphlet. The ceremony coincided with the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the first resolution by the General Assembly calling for sanctions against South Africa. The UN Special Committee against Apartheid marked its own 20th anniversary the following April, and Abdul S Minty and Vella Pillay participated in a special session of the Committee to mark this occasion.

In January 1983 the appointment was announced of Mr E S Reddy as Assistant Secretary-General of the UN, and the AAM sent a message of congratulations to Mr Reddy, who has been tireless in his efforts to promote international action against the apartheid regime. Mr Reddy accompanied the chairman of the Special Committee, Alhaji Yussuf Maitama-Sule, to the

new headquarters of the AAM in February 1983, where he addressed an informal gathering to mark the move into new premises. Representatives of the Special Committee and of the Centre Against Apartheid have visited Britain on several occasions and every opportunity has been taken to discuss cooperation on a range of issues relating to the struggle against apartheid.

Special mention must be made of Ambassador Gbeho of the Special Committee, who represented it at the Sheffield local authorities conference and the *Scotland and Apartheid South Africa: The Time to Act* conference in May 1983, as well as the UN symposium in Sheffield in November 1982. His active participation in the activities of the AAM serves as a great encouragement to our supporters.

The AAM was represented at a number of UN conferences and meetings during the past year. The honorary and executive secretaries attended the international conference on Namibia in Paris from 26-29 April; the hon secretary attended a conference on Israel and South Africa held in Vienna in July; and the hon secretary and vice chairman participated in a conference on Latin America and South Africa in Caracas, Venezuela, in September 1983.

European Economic Community

The European Assembly has considered issues relating to Southern Africa on a number of occasions, in particular when it debated the so-called Scott-Hopkins report. Prior to this debate, the AAM's president sent an open letter to all European Assembly members arguing the case for effective measures against apartheid South Africa. The UN sponsored an initiative to coordinate parliamentary action at a Western European level which took place at the Hague, Netherlands, from 25-26 November 1982. The sole British parliamentarian present was Stanley Clinton-Davis MP. Abdul S Minty was an invited guest.

Regular contact has been maintained with a number of Euro-MPs in order to brief them on developments relating to Southern Africa. The AAM protested to the European Commission over proposed revised tariff agreements with South Africa which included new arrangements for the export of categories of guns to South Africa. The agreements were approved by the Council of Ministers despite protests. Labour Euro-MPs succeeded in disrupting a visit to Strasbourg of the chairman of the pro-apartheid South African Olympic Committee.

International coordination

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has participated in a series of meetings with other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements. These include the Leyden seminar convened by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa (April 1983), the Namibia NGO workshop following the Paris Namibia conference, and the Geneva conference (July 1983) convened by the UN NGO Sub-Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Racial Discrimination and Colonialism, to review the UN Decade against Racism. Informal meetings of anti-apartheid movements took place during many international meetings. The AAM was also represented at the Lisbon conference on the front line states (which is reported under the *Front Line States* section of this report) and at a number

of national events: for example, Abdul S Minty at the Nigeria Committee against Apartheid seminar on sanctions against South Africa (Jos, December 1982); Lorna Edwards at the Dutch AAM's culture and resistance conference (Amsterdam, December 1982); and Abdul S Minty at the Asian Students Association regional conference on Southern Africa (Hong Kong, December 1982).

There are frequent visits to the AAM HQ by activists and representatives of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements from all over the world. Several mailings have been sent out by the AAM during the period of this report giving details of AAM campaigns, in particular in relation to the Nelson Mandela campaign.

AREAS OF WORK

LOCAL GROUPS

Local groups and local activity continue to remain the basis and heart of the Movement's work. There are at present 54 functioning local groups, plus the London, Welsh and Scottish committees, and to cater for these local groups and the need to further their activity this area of responsibility is the major area of work of one full-time member of staff of the Movement.

New groups have been established in Ipswich, Colchester, Clacton, Durham and Bradford; and there is potential and interest for groups to be formed in Eastleigh, North Devon, Stoke-on-Trent, Clitheroe, Milton Keynes, Torbay and Godalming/Guildford. Only one group has folded during the year and that is Scarborough AA. Particular areas to be concentrated upon are the West Midlands and South London where the number of local groups is nowhere near sufficient to cover the regions involved.

During the past year the local AA groups have been involved in many nationally-coordinated campaigns -- such as the Namibia Week of Action in October last year -- incorporating a National Day of Barclays picketing; this ran in conjunction with a very successful speaking tour by the ANC and AAM to local groups up and down the country.

In March this year the *Southern Africa - The Time to Act* campaign was launched in a successful run-up to the General Election, when local groups distributed thousands of questionnaires to all potential parliamentary candidates in their regions asking for their responses to issues dealt with in the publication *Southern Africa: The Time to Act - A Manifesto for Action*. The response to these questionnaires was excellent. Also at this time local groups involved themselves in a very intensive campaign, organising messages of protest from individuals and organisations in the area to P W Botha to stop the execution of the ANC Three.

Local groups have also worked in close liaison with local authorities throughout the year in asking their local councillors to attend the Sheffield conference on local authorities breaking links with apartheid, and following up issues raised at this conference.

Local groups have also held fund-raising events, material aid collections, and collected a large number of signatures for the Mandela petition.

The Wales Committee of the AAM has continued successfully to regenerate anti-apartheid activity in Wales. There are now four local groups firmly established there -- Cardiff, Swansea, Wrexham and Gwent -- and student groups in University College Cardiff, University College Swansea, and the Polytechnic of Wales, with the possibility of groups being established in Bangor and Aberystwyth.

The Wales Committee has continued in the intensification of campaigns against cultural collaboration by protesting against South African participation in the Llangollen Interna-

tional Musical Eisteddfod -- and staging their own alternative carnival. They also gained a victory in obtaining a statement from Welsh singer Tom Jones's agent that he does not intend to return to South Africa to perform in the future. This campaign gained considerable publicity in Wales and generated a lot of public awareness on the issue of the cultural boycott.

The Welsh AAM held their AGM in May 1983 attended by a variety of individuals and organisations; and prior to this publicised a list of Welsh companies involved in South Africa. They have also created specialised areas of work, including industry, trade unions, sport, culture and students.

The Scottish Committee of the AAM has continued to strengthen its links with the community and labour movements, with the aid of its network of nine local and student groups.

In February this year the Scottish Committee hosted a very successful speaking tour addressed by Jacob Hanna, Deputy Representative of SWAPO, who discussed the Namibian issue with a wide range of trade unions, church bodies, student bodies and the general public.

In March the Scottish AAM held an extremely successful one-day conference in Glasgow entitled *Scotland and Apartheid: The Time to Act*, which was the largest and most representative gathering ever held in Scotland on the Southern Africa issue. Speakers included the Lord Provost, HE James Gbebo, Ghana's Permanent Representative to the UN and chairman of the UN sub-committee concerned with sanctions against South Africa, Ruth Mompoti of the ANC, Peter Manning of SWAPO, Stanley Clinton Davies MP, the then opposition spokesman on Southern Africa, and Mike Terry from AAM. Other valued contributions included those from representatives of the Scottish TUC, SACTU, the Church of Scotland Women's Guild, the shop stewards committee at Anderson Strathclyde, and the Scottish Education and Action for Development. The conference adopted a *Declaration for Action against Apartheid*, based on the AAM's *Manifesto for Action*.

Prior to the conference the Scottish Committee worked on producing a number of papers on Scotland's links with apartheid including profiles of Scottish-based companies Anderson Strathclyde and Coats Paton.

Another interesting and welcome development instigated in Scotland was a campaign by the Scottish Women's Guild which called on all its members to refrain from buying South African products.

Scotland has also been in the forefront of awarding honours to Nelson and Winnie Mandela, including the Freedom of the City of Glasgow to Nelson Mandela.

The London Committee has now become firmly established and has continued to strengthen the work of London's organisations and AA groups.

It has been very successful in working with the GLC for participation in the GLC Anti-Racist Year, 1984. Other activities have included the staging of a very successful fund-raising benefit in January this year which raised over £1,000 for the headquarters appeal; the holding of a one-day conference in March on *Southern Africa: The Time to Act*, and a full day of petitioning for the release of Nelson Mandela, coordinated throughout London by the London AA groups.

The London Committee is also continuing its campaigning against the advertising of South African products on London Transport, and looks forward to increased activity and fund-raising in the coming year.

Some impression of the variety and scope of activities organised throughout other parts of Britain are as follows:

Barnet AA, recently rejuvenated after a period of inactivity, have held a number of public meetings throughout the year, including a meeting during the Namibia Week of Action last October and, more recently, during the Finchley Peace Week on *Stop the Apartheid War*.

Bradford AA, a newly-formed AA group, have made a great impact on the local community by holding successful Barclays pickets, Mandela petitioning, and a public meeting to launch *Southern Africa: The Time to Act*.

Brent AA have worked to secure Brent local authority declaring itself an anti-apartheid authority.

Brighton AA have continued in their campaigning against visiting South African sports teams.

Bristol AA held a very successful inquiry into RTZ which gained considerable media coverage. A south-west trade union group was set up following a regional conference, to further anti-apartheid campaigns.

Cambridge AA have continued to do very useful work on the academic and cultural boycott campaigns. They have also made contact with 12 major shareholders in RTZ to try to persuade them to disinvest.

Camden AA, besides their political campaigning, have raised a substantial amount of funds totalling well over £2,000 for the AAM.

City AA have collected over 10,000 signatures for the Nelson Mandela petition as well as holding regular Friday evening pickets outside South Africa House calling for the release of all South African political prisoners.

Croydon AA had a very successful sponsored Mandela Cycle Ride in March of this year.

Durham AA, a newly-formed anti-apartheid group, has made its main event the renaming of one of the Student Union rooms after Ruth First who used to be a lecturer at Durham University.

Epsom & Leatherhead held a successful third annual garden party with a speaker from the ANC, raising £160.

Exeter AA supplied the ANC with a new banner, and have continued to work with the local CND group in highlighting the *South African Nuclear Bomb*.

Hackney AA have held a number of events throughout the year including a recent public meeting with NSC on *Namibia: A Century of Resistance*.

Haringey AA have concentrated a lot of their work in aiming to get Haringey to declare itself an anti-apartheid authority, as well as holding material aid street collections.

Leeds AA, amongst their various other activities, did an immense amount of work on the campaign to stop the execution of the ANC Three.

Leicester AA held a very well attended meeting on the theme of *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace* with a speaker who had recently returned from Lesotho.

Manchester AA have continued to strengthen their links with the trade unions and in cooperation with AUEW (TASS) held a vigil and petitioning on Kitson, Mandela and other South African political prisoners.

Merseyside AA, amongst other activities, have continued to strengthen their educational work by researching into company links with South Africa, and held a well-organised AGM.

Nottingham AA have had quite an active year organising various meetings and fund-raising events.

Richmond AA held a series of public meetings during the March week of action and held street petitioning for the release of Nelson Mandela.

Sheffield AA continued their close liaison with Sheffield city council in organising the extremely successful local authorities conference in March and instigating, through the Sheffield declaration, the growing number of anti-apartheid authorities. They also sent a telegram to P W Botha, signed by prominent local people to call for the release of Nelson Mandela on his 65th birthday.

Southampton AA, besides holding a number of public meetings throughout the year, have also taken issue with the Advertising Standards Authority over what seemed to be an attempt by Fords to pass off their P100 pick-up truck as British-made.

South London AA, with the immense task of covering the whole of the South London region, have collected for the ANC creche in Tanzania and held public meetings on political prisoners, South African aggression, and on making South London an apartheid-free zone.

SW Herts AA have continued on their work for the anti-apartheid books campaign which has gained a lot of publicity this year, and on organising a conference for teachers in the region to discuss the issue of South African propaganda in textbooks.

Teeside AA, a newly-formed group, worked very hard during the election campaign and look forward to a successful year of campaigning.

West London AA held a successful public meeting in March and have held various petitioning sessions, as well as collecting for the SWAPO women's literacy campaign.

York AA have done a lot of work on material aid, including a collection which raised over £100.



TRADE UNIONS

The work of the AAM within the trade union movement has continued to develop during the period of this report. A particular effort has been made to consolidate the support for the policy of economic sanctions which was adopted unanimously at the 1981 TUC Congress.

Isolate Apartheid trade union conference

On 27 November 1982 the AAM convened a conference for trade unions on the theme *Isolate Apartheid* at the University of London Union. The keynote address was made by Len Murray, TUC General Secretary, and four members of the TUC General Council participated in the work of the conference: Clive Jenkins, General Secretary, ASTMS; Ken Cameron, General Secretary, Fire Brigades Union; Ken Gill, General Secretary, AUEW-TASS; and Gerry Gilman, General Secretary, Society of Civil and Public Servants; as well as Dick Pickering, chairman of the GMBATU. A total of 264 trade union delegates participated, including representatives of 19 national unions.

The conference was chaired by Jack Jones, vice president of the AAM and former General Secretary of the TGWU, and speakers included Abdul S Minty, Francis Meli of the ANC, Jacob Hannai of SWAPO, and Thozamile Makheta and Ron Press of SACTU.

In his address to the conference, Len Murray reaffirmed the TUC's commitment to a policy of sanctions against South Africa and the role of trade unions in the campaign to isolate South Africa. These issues were discussed at length in five workshops on the following subjects: military and nuclear collaboration; trade and exports; investment; imported South African goods; and emigration. Special papers had been commissioned for these workshops.

The conference represented a major advance for the AAM in its trade union work, and it was followed up by the publication of the conference report, of which 5,000 copies have been distributed, as well as widespread circulation of the conference papers.

The Trade Union Committee has given serious consideration to the follow-up of the conference, including the organisation of a series of sector conferences for trade unionists from particular industries.

A special priority has been the campaign against emigration to South Africa. A paper by Chris Child, entitled *The Emigration of Skilled Personnel to South Africa*, originally prepared for the Sheffield UN symposium in November 1982, was reproduced in the UN Notes and Documents series and has been widely distributed within the trade union movement. A number of trade union journals have included articles arguing the case against emigration to South Africa.

Trade unionists have been actively involved in a number of specific campaigns: for example, opposition to trade missions to South Africa; the Anderson Strathclyde take-over by Charter Consolidated; the campaign against the Namibian uranium contract, etc. Of particular significance was the prompt action of unions in organising the betting shop trade who opposed the planned introduction of South African races twice weekly in British betting shops, including live transmissions. SOGAT instructed its members not to handle the new service and this forced the management to withdraw it. However, a move to commit the banking union BIFU to a policy of sanctions failed, although the debate at the union's annual conference prompted an important discussion among trade unionists employed in Barclays and other banks involved in South Africa.

Rowntree-Mackintosh

The 1981/82 annual report considered in detail developments both in South Africa and internationally arising from the dismissal of 500 African employees of Rowntree-Mackintosh's South African subsidiary Wilson-Rowntree in February 1981. There have been no fundamental changes over the past 12 months. It was reported that plans were in hand for a meeting between the British trade unions organising at Rowntree's and the management, and this took place in January 1983. The

same month a meeting took place between the South African management of Wilson Rowntree and the leadership of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). This would have provided an opportunity to resolve the dispute which had then lasted almost two years. SAAWU adopted a constructive attitude by proposing that instead of all the dismissed workers being reinstated immediately half should be re-employed and the remainder taken back as and when vacancies occurred. In addition, it was agreed to meet representatives of the Sweet Workers Union, which the company had repeatedly suggested.

The response of the South African management was negative and they subsequently wrote to SAAWU rejecting its proposals for re-employment. Moreover, the SWU declined to meet SAAWU so that they could discuss how to solve the issue of recognition. The management has continued to insist that dismissed employees could only be re-engaged individually, through normal recruiting procedures as and when vacancies occurred.

SAAWU naturally rejected the management's reply, insisting that preference should be given to the dismissed employees in filling vacancies since they had been unjustifiably dismissed by the company in the first place. These dismissed workers are placed in an extremely difficult position, since without work they can be endorsed back to the 'homeland' (in this case the Ciskei) and then will find it impossible to gain employment because the Ciskei labour bureaux which control all recruitment of labour there operate an effective 'black list' of known trade union activists.

It is unclear how Wilson Rowntree are implementing their policy in practice because, in March, it was reported that 48 of the dismissed workers had been re-engaged. In another development, Wilson Rowntree wrote to the South African authorities expressing concern at the detention without trial of trade unionists.

The January meeting between representatives of the three major British trade unions with organisations at Rowntree Mackintosh (TGWU, GMBATU and USDAW), including the TGWU General Secretary and representatives from the TUC international department, and Kenneth Dixon, chairman of the parent company and other senior management representatives, was the culmination of a long campaign by the TUC and the three unions to secure the reinstatement of the dismissed workers and the recognition of SAAWU. At the meeting the case was presented for these demands as well as the right of SAAWU to be granted facilities to contact its members at the plant and to recruit without fear of intimidation.

The TUC and trade union representatives concluded the meeting by expressing their dissatisfaction at the response of the management, saying that SAAWU had sought an agreed solution without obtaining any equal willingness on the part of management. They urged again that the company should take steps to re-employ the dismissed workers in cooperation with SAAWU, and should make stronger efforts to persuade the SWU to comply with SAAWU's request for a meeting.

This continues to be the policy of these unions and the TUC. During this period the AAM has continued to distribute the broadsheet prepared for the June 1982 week of action and a duplicated document with more up-to-date information has been produced.



The AAM has continued to involve the trade union movement in its general activities. Affiliated trade unions responded most generously to the special financial appeal for the new AAM headquarters; they have taken up both the Marconi contract and the use of South Africa as a staging post for the Falklands air base; and they have been actively involved in a number of political prisoner campaigns, including the Mandela and ANC Six campaigns and the case of Oscar Mpetha.

AA News continues to cover trade union issues extensively. There was a special centre spread in October 1982 and interviews with British and South African trade unionists.

The AAM has organised meetings at a number of trade union conferences, including the TUC and Scottish TUC, and many requests are received for speakers from the trade union movement at all levels.

The AAM continues to benefit from the advice and support of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), one of whose representatives sits on the AAM Trade Union Committee, a body composed of individual trade unionists and 29 representatives of the national trade unions affiliated to the AAM.

Thirty-five national trade unions are now affiliated to the AAM. However, the Movement continues to draw much of its active trade union support largely from the non-manual trade unions and it is hoped that special attention can be given to securing more support from the big general workers and industrial unions at a local level. It is planned that the AAM will produce a leaflet for trade unionists arguing the case against emigration to South Africa.



YOUTH AND STUDENTS

The AAM's servicing of student groups was not as extensive over the past academic year as in previous years. However, several new groups were formed, and the groups at Birmingham and Southampton Universities were revived, with an intake of new students eager to carry out AA work.

Numerous AAM and liberation movement representatives addressed student meetings. Ruth Mompoti, chief representative of the ANC, and Des Starrs, chairperson of SATIS, visited a number of colleges as part of their autumn speaking tour, and Ruth Mompoti received a standing ovation when she addressed the National Union of Students at their annual conference in Margate in December. A collection from delegates for the ANC school in Tanzania raised over £120. SWAPO Women's Council representative Frieda Williams visited a number of colleges and universities during her speaking tour and was well received.

Disinvestment from companies with interests in South Africa and Namibia has remained an important area of campaigning in some colleges, notably at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, but the effects of government cuts have placed many universities in difficult financial circumstances, making disinvestment campaigns more difficult to win.

The AAM assisted in the organisation of a tour by the Ujamaa Ghazania Theatre Group with a play called *Gold and Fire - Steve Biko*, which visited about 20 colleges. Reports coming back to AAM were varied but it was felt that the idea of promoting tours by theatre groups was a good one which should be pursued. Several colleges were visited by other theatre groups with plays such as *The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs*, which proved useful in mobilising students in support of AA group activities.

AA groups, including those at Newcastle, Leicester, Sussex and St Andrews Universities, were involved in campaigns to raise material aid for the liberation movements, and other groups have expressed particular interest in taking up this campaign. The NUS made donations to both ANC and SWAPO from its Southern Africa Liberation Fund, which is made up of contributions from individual students unions.

Most AA student groups were active in support of the Nelson Mandela campaign, with collections of signatures to the petition and meetings on Mandela. Sheffield City Polytechnic Students Union, with the support of Sheffield city council, renamed its SU building the Nelson Mandela Building. The students unions at Warwick University, South Bank Polytechnic and Leicester University named rooms in his honour and he was nominated for honorary degrees by the students unions at Manchester and Lancaster. Leicester University AA group held a benefit to raise funds to help Winnie Mandela visit her

husband, and over £150 was raised.

Warwick University Students Union published a pamphlet on apartheid as a contribution to the *Southern Africa: The Time to Act* campaign, and Exeter University AA group also published a pamphlet on apartheid and the activities of the group, which is to be distributed to all first year students.

The campaign against recruitment of graduates by South African companies again received support and publicity. NUS prepared and circulated a briefing document on the campaign and pickets were held by AA groups of South African companies visiting their campuses. Some companies, in an effort to avoid protests, moved interviews off campus, but vigilant AA groups, as at Leeds University, were able to discover the venues and organise demonstrations. At St Andrews University the AA group reached an agreement with the Careers Service that all applicants to firms recruiting to South Africa will receive a letter informing them about apartheid and the role that they would be expected to play if they went to South Africa.

Support for the ANC Six campaign was good: student AA groups were very active and many student unions where there is no AA group sent letters to their MPs and the British government urging intervention. Students at Newcastle University produced their own stickers for the campaign and at Bristol University a petition was organised.

The AAM student conference, which has been a regular event since 1972, did not take place this summer and instead is being combined with the AAM activists' conference at Goldsmiths College on 24 and 25 September. It is planned to follow this up with a revival of the AAM Student Network, with termly one-day meetings of student activists. There is also an increasing number of ANC and SWAPO students studying at colleges and universities in Britain, and AAM is liaising with the ANC and SWAPO Student Committees to ensure that students who are members of the liberation movements are fully informed of AAM student campaigns.



LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The rapid growth of anti-apartheid activity at a local level by city and county councils and other local authorities represents one of the most significant steps forward in British support for the total isolation of South Africa. This growing support was compounded when 120 representatives from 55 councils attended a local authorities conference in Sheffield in March of this year. Representatives came from authorities all over Britain, comprising 18 English counties and districts, 10 London boroughs, 20 metropolitan counties and districts, four Scottish districts and three Welsh districts.

At this conference an impressively long list of authorities related action already taken to break links with apartheid,

which previously was unknown outside the particular local authority, and plans for extending this work. A provisional steering group was set up by the conference to look at different aspects of work, eg, education, pension funds, etc, with a remit to convene a further conference next year to put the campaign onto a more permanent basis.

Six local authorities have now declared themselves anti-apartheid authorities - Sheffield, Brent, Newcastle, Tower Hamlets, Harlow and the Wrekin district council.

Since the conference the United Nations has agreed to sponsor a survey of action taken by local authorities which it is hoped will be published in 1984.



WOMEN

The Women's Committee has worked throughout the year to mobilise support from women, both for the AAM and in solidarity with the women in South Africa and Namibia engaged in the national liberation struggle.

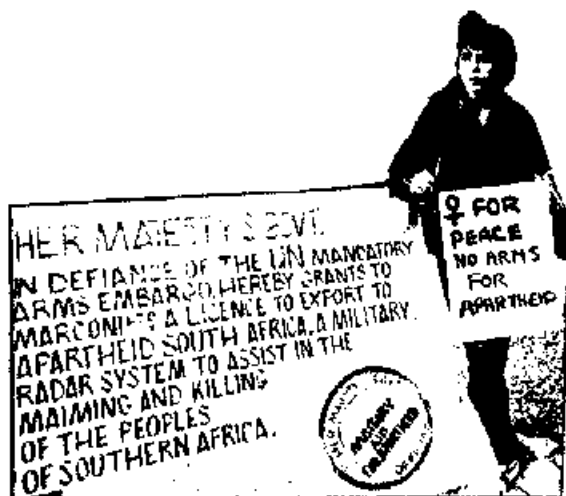
Various efforts have been made in the past to establish links with women in the trade union movement and at the AAM's trade union conference last year women were able to come together at a special session organised by the Women's Committee to discuss ways of furthering solidarity work. Amongst other developments, this led to an invitation from ASTMS to speak on *Racism and the specific oppression of women at one of their schools*.

At the beginning of the year the Women's Committee organised a lively and enthusiastic workshop for women involved in the AAM. Attended by over 80 women, it highlighted the role of women in the liberation struggle, examined the role of women within the AAM and discussed ways of strengthening solidarity work.

At present there are two very interesting projects underway. In cooperation with the ANC Women's Section, the Women's Committee is helping to organise a public meeting on the subject of removals in South Africa, which will take place on 19 November. The second project is working with Women in Entertainment on a multi-media production depicting the liberation struggle against apartheid. The Women's Committee welcomes this valuable support from Women in Entertainment for the AAM.

The Women's Committee has contributed to mobilising support for AAM campaigns, in particular for the Save the ANC Six campaign and military and nuclear collaboration. Together with the SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign, the AAMWC organised a demonstration outside the Department of Trade to protest against the granting of a licence to Marconi to export military radar equipment to South Africa. By participating in events for International Women's Day, International Women's Day for Peace, and in the launching by Virago Press of the book *Over Our Dead Bodies*, the issue of apartheid South Africa as a threat to world peace was raised. The Women's Committee and SWSC are also organising a joint action during the forthcoming Namibia Week of Action to highlight the role played by the CEEB in its illegal importation of Namibian uranium.

The Material Aid campaign, which began as an initiative of the Women's Committee, has been very successful. Local groups have organised street collections and others have made both material and financial contributions to the liberation movements. A huge collection was made recently at the meeting to



commemorate South Africa Women's Day.

The Women's Committee welcomes support received from the Church of Scotland Women's Guild for the Material Aid campaign, from Brixton Black Women's Group for the Save the ANC Six campaign, and from Shaba Feminist Publications in their decision to boycott sales of their books to South Africa.

The Committee continues to publish a bi-monthly newsletter. The print-run of 300 is small but a new, more professional format should ensure that circulation increases. Steady coverage has been given to Women's Committee initiatives by *Spare Rib* and *Outwrite* newspaper. Regular articles focusing on the role of women in the national liberation struggle appear in *AA News* and special mention should be made of the centre spread in the July/August issue which featured women and resistance in Southern Africa. It is hoped that this will be reproduced as a poster.

The Women's Committee is pleased to note that the ANC has designated 1984 as the Year of the Women and hopes that special efforts will be made in mobilising support from women in Britain for the year itself and for the Anti-Apartheid Movement.



HEALTH

The AAM Health Committee has continued to strengthen its links with the health service community in this country, informing interested people in this area of work about apartheid and its effects on the health of the people in Southern Africa, and in campaigning against any collaboration with Southern Africa in the health field.

The major activities carried out by the Health Committee this year have included a very well attended action day school in May 1982. Issues covered included apartheid and health, medicine as a tool of oppression, women and health, and workshops on emigration, material aid, disabled sport and political prisoners. From this conference people expressed a lot of interest in the various areas of work of the committee, and in particular in material aid.

CHURCHES

Further contact has been established with the churches over the last year, at both local and national level, in particular with relation to campaigns against repression in South Africa and Namibia, although other areas of work have been raised.

At a national level, the Church of England Board of Social Responsibility undertook circulation of both the Free Nelson Mandela petition and of the *Manifesto for Action*. The Church of Scotland, which has previously given active support to some of the AAM's campaigns, gave considerable assistance with the circulation of the Mandela petition to its presbytery clerks and there has been a good response to the petition from congregations. The campaign for the ANC Six received support from a range of church organisations, and in Lewisham and Ashford special services were held to inform congregations about the abuse of human rights in South Africa. In the course of the ANC Six campaign, SATIS received important assistance from the rector of St Martin-in-the-Fields, who allowed vigils to be held on the steps of the church and assisted in the organisation of the memorial service for the Moroka Three held in St Martin's on 10 June. A number of church organisations, including the YWCA and Church of England Board of Social Responsibility, are participating in the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign Coordinating Committee. The YWCA is holding a seminar on human rights which will include a workshop on Southern Africa to be addressed by Ruth Mompoti of the ANC.

In July the AAM was invited to speak at a meeting of the British Council of Churches Southern Africa Group, which provided a useful opportunity for the Movement to explain its general view of the situation in Southern Africa and to seek support for campaign activities.

Disabled People against Apartheid and the Health Committee organised another successful demonstration at the Stoke Mandeville games this year, where once again a South African team participated. One notable success of the work achieved by DPAA was the withdrawal of Canada from the games because of the presence of the South Africans.

The Health Committee also produced comprehensive but concise documentation on the case for South Africa's expulsion from international psychiatry, entitled *If we gave them shoes ... they would kick their fellow patients*. This was presented to an international psychiatry conference in July.

Health and Liberation has continued to be produced on a regular basis and the committee has worked closely with the Namibia Support Committee in raising money and materials for SWAPO medical kits, and intends to participate in a weekend conference on health in Namibia in mid-October.

Further local activity reported to the AAM headquarters includes the circulation of the Christmas list of families of political prisoners by the north-western synod of the United Reform Church and activity by church people in Sheffield in support of the ANC Six. In particular, this led to a telegram being sent to P W Botha appealing for clemency which was signed by the leaders of all the major Christian denominations, including the Catholic and Anglican bishops of Sheffield. Other leading church figures have endorsed Archbishop Huddleston's declaration for the release of Nelson Mandela.

There has been further liaison with Christian Concern for Southern Africa: a number of seminars on sanctions were held by OCSA, to which the AAM was invited; and a special seminar to mark the ordination of Barney Pityana took place in Milton Keynes, to which the AAM sent representatives.

The Alliance of Radical Methodists continued its campaign in support of Cedric Mayson, the former Methodist minister who was detained in 1981, and were able to welcome him to Britain when he fled South Africa in April. The BCC organised a press conference for him on his arrival.

An important development arose when representatives of the Free Nelson Mandela campaign met the Indian Workers Association, who not only agreed to assist in translating the Mandela petition into the major Asian languages but also to assist in circulating the petition to temples and mosques.

Once again, at a local level, whilst a number of local AA groups are actively involving local church communities much more work needs to be done in this area to build a stronger base of support for the Movement's policies within the churches at a grassroots level.

EDUCATION

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has continued to work on strengthening its campaign to expose pro-South African propaganda in books, in schools, colleges and libraries. An increasing number of books have been investigated, and the AAM has considerable information on the results of these investigations, which help cope with the queries on this issue received on a day-to-day basis. This campaigning work has resulted in certain books being withdrawn from library shelves, and a substantial number of schools and resource centres have purchased examples of the literature available at AAM headquarters.

An article by Beverley Naidoo in the autumn/winter 1982 issue of an NCRCB publication *Dragon's Teeth*, entitled

'South Africa: Whose Reality?', gave considerable publicity to the campaign, as did the AAM's participation in a conference on multi-cultural education for geography teachers at the London Institute of Education this year.

There is still much to be done by the Movement in expanding this area of work on a national basis, not only to teachers and lecturers, but also to local authorities and publishers, etc. To help achieve this objective, the Movement is hoping to participate in a conference being organised by the British Defence and Aid Fund and the Inner London Education Authority later this year, and by the formation of an Education Committee to give priority to this area of work.

BLACK COMMUNITY

There has been a growing number of initiatives by group's within Britain's black community in solidarity with the liberation struggles in Southern Africa.

Sport has been a crucial area of campaigning. The Black British Standing Conference against Apartheid Sport was founded at the initiative of the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association; it spoke out particularly vigorously against the pirate tour of West Indian cricketers to South Africa, as did many other British-based Caribbean organisations, such as the West Indian Standing Conference. The Standing Conference against Apartheid Sport also contributed towards the success of the international conference on sanctions against apartheid sport by ensuring the participation of black British sportsmen and women, as well as giving a tremendous amount of organisational support.

For the first time the AAM was effectively represented at the Notting Hill Carnival, with a Free Mandela stall: signatures were collected for the petition and large quantities of campaigning material distributed to a very receptive audience.

Support for the liberation struggle has also grown within Britain's Asian community. The AAM was invited to address the annual conference of the Indian Workers Association and, at a subsequent meeting between the officers of the IWA and the AAM and SATIS, arrangements were made to translate the Mandela petition into the main Asian community languages and to ensure the petition's distribution.

PARLIAMENT

Southern Africa has again not been a major issue in parliament and the efforts of the AAM to ensure that it was an important issue in the General Election campaign proved ineffective.

Efforts to promote discussion and debate in the House of Commons have depended on the hard work and determination of a comparatively small number of MPs, and one effect of the election was to reduce this number significantly. These MPs, mainly backbenchers, repeatedly raised questions both on the floor of the House and through written questions, as well as by seeking to intervene in debates. For example, repeated criticism by MPs of the failure of the Prime Minister to condemn sporting tours of South Africa must have been a factor in persuading her to appeal in the House to the MCC not to tour South Africa.

With a significant change in the composition of the House of Commons the AAM needs to make new efforts to involve MPs of all parties in its parliamentary work. Special thanks need to be expressed to the AAM's chairperson Bob Hughes for his tireless efforts in parliament on behalf of the Movement and its campaigns.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Considerable efforts have been made during the period of this report to secure increased support from the major political parties. *Southern Africa '83: A Manifesto for Action*, which the AAM published to launch the *Southern Africa: The Time to Act* campaign, was sent to the leaders of all Britain's major parties and meetings were arranged with the Labour, Liberal and Social Democratic parties to discuss their response to the proposals for British government policy in the 1980s. However, the calling of the General Election prevented these meetings from taking place, and it is now planned to reactivate them in the light of the policies being pursued by the Conservative administration.

Local councillors from the black community have been particularly active in promoting 'apartheid-free zones' within their local authorities, and several of the few black candidates in the General Election were prominent in support of the AAM.

Special thanks should again be expressed to *West Indian World*, *Caribbean Times* and *Black Londoners* for their constant support by giving publicity to the AAM and its campaigns — in sharp contrast to most of Fleet Street and the broadcasting media. The Channel 4 programme *Black on Black* also deserves special mention for its coverage of events in Southern Africa and solidarity campaigns.



One positive development was the fact that both the Labour Party and the Liberal/SDP alliance were pledged in support of sanctions against South Africa at the General Election. The Labour Party's policy was included in its manifesto, the first occasion when a major British political party has included an undertaking to support UN mandatory economic sanctions in its election manifesto. The policy of the Liberal/SDP alliance was spelt out in a joint statement issued by the leaders for a meeting organised by the Scottish Committee of the AAM during the election campaign.

INFORMATION

ANTI APARTHEID NEWS

This year we are very pleased to report that the circulation of *Anti-Apartheid News* increased from 7,000 to 9,000 copies. For the January-February issue in particular, circulation peaked at 11,000 copies, due to a special promotion to the trade union movement.

About one-third of this total goes to members as part of their subscriptions; one-half is sold on the streets, at meetings and events, by local groups and activists; and many of the rest are sent abroad, to individuals, libraries, governments and organisations. The letters which *AA News* receives from readers in Britain and all over the world confirm its value as the most important publication of the AAM.

As reflected in the 1983/84 budget, a concerted effort is being made to increase the advertising revenue of the newspaper. Paid advertisers during the year included International Voluntary Service, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, War on Want, the Namibia Refugee Project, and Onyx Press.

PUBLICATIONS

The AAM has published three new pamphlets during the past year and also launched *Apartheid's War against Angola* on behalf of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

The three pamphlets were *Sheffield and Southern Africa*, which was jointly published with Sheffield city council and includes the texts of the main addresses to the UN Sheffield symposium; *Solidarity with the Southern Africa Liberation Struggle* by the chairman of the UN Special Committee

The range of contributors to *AA News* has continued to grow. Guest writers have included Ronald Segal, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR, Basil Davidson, Gavin Laird, Sylvester Stein, John Conteh, Janev Buchan MEP, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, Tony Holliday, Bob Hughes MP, Marga Holness, Robert Archer, Ann Harris, Fr Michael Lapsley, Phyllis Altman, Cedric Mayson, Ron Press, Pam Zinken and Pragasen Naicker.

AA News has interviewed Frieda Williams of SWAPO, HE Victor Gbcho of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Thozamile Makheta of SACTU, Khosi and Alex Mbatha, former workers of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference; Siphon Pityana of the independent trade union movement in South Africa, Councillor Ben Bousquet of the London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, Trevor Phillips, chairperson of the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign Coordinating Committee, Roger Barton, chairman of the Sheffield city council's working group on Southern Africa, and Hugh Masekela, exiled South African jazz musician.

against Apartheid, Alhaji Yusuf Maitama-Sule; and *Sanctions against South Africa*, the report of the AAM trade union conference.

The AAM continues to produce extensive campaigning and briefing material and there has been considerable demand for papers published by the AAM. These include the background papers for the AAM trade union conference, the memoranda to the Home Secretary on South African intelligence operations, and two memoranda presented to Foreign Office ministers, one on

Regular correspondents include Jan Marsh, Keith Somerville, Mark Hollingsworth, Andrew Tyler, Barbara Konig, Brian Bolton, Elaine Unterhalter, Paul Fauvet and Rita Sanderson.

Special thanks are due to Ken Sprague and Olga Miller, both of whom have donated graphics to the newspaper. A number of Ken Sprague's drawings have since been used for a postcard set published by SATIS.

The editorial board of *AA News* continues to exercise collective responsibility for the paper's content. Production takes place largely outside the headquarters using volunteers. Special thanks are due to Margaret Ling and Nancy White.



Namibia and the other on Southern African policy in general.

Papers prepared or commissioned by the AAM have been reproduced in the UN Notes and Documents series. These include a paper by the AAM's chairperson Bob Hughes MP entitled *International Policy Options*, and another by Chris Child on emigration.

Once again special thanks should be expressed to Judy Groves, David King, Ian Denning, Christabel Gurney and Nancy White for their assistance in layout and design.

SERVICES

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has had to cope with an ever-increasing demand for speakers to a wide variety of organisations, including colleges, local groups, local political parties, trade union branches, church groups and others.

At times this has proved a difficult

task, especially where speakers are required to talk on specialised issues. To help overcome this problem in the future, proposals are in the pipeline to produce comprehensive speakers notes on these specialised issues. The Movement has at the moment a wide variety of material available for speakers.

All requests to the AAM for films and videos are referred to the International Defence and Aid Fund and other distribution agencies, particularly Concord Films. The Movement also produces a special catalogue of films on Southern Africa.

THE MEDIA

The AAM continues to expend a considerable amount of effort on the media with the twin objectives of securing wider and more sympathetic coverage of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and of seeking publicity for the campaigns of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Media bias against the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is manifesting itself as it did at the height of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. This is particularly the case in relation to South Africa's war against Angola and other front line states; in its presentation of the regime's so-called 'reform' policy; and in its general dependence on the Pretoria regime as a news source. To counter this the AAM works actively to influence the national media and to protest at the most blatant examples of pro-apartheid bias.

Coverage of the AAM's own activities continues to be uneven. A number of issues, such as the sporting and cultural boycott and South African intelligence activities, attract special interest, and the actions of the AAM are extensively reported. However, most of the media ignore less 'glamorous' campaigns such as the ANC Six campaign except, in this case, when the three men were to be executed. Despite these obstacles, the AAM sends out frequent press releases, organises press conferences, and its representatives have been interviewed extensively on radio and television. The overseas press, particularly in Africa and the rest of the third world, continues to report extensively on our activities.

A number of young people involved in the AAM, SWAPO and the ANC were successful in persuading Channel 4 to allow them to prepare a programme in the 'What do you want' access series for young people. The programme was widely acclaimed; the South African ambassador protested and he was promptly given the 'right of reply' slot the following week.

A special mention should be made of the *Observer* for its persistent reporting of South African intelligence activities in the UK in the autumn of 1982, which prevented a cover-up from taking place following the arrest of a South African spy in September 1982. The labour movement and black community press have continued to be supportive of the AAM and its work.

finance and fund-raising

The annual accounts of the Movement, which will be presented to the Annual General Meeting, will show that expenditure is now in the region of £100,000 per annum. The National Committee has adopted a budget for the current financial year providing for a similar level of expenditure. The task of raising this amount will place a heavy responsibility on the office, the Executive and the membership alike. The level of campaigning work which the AAM can reach is heavily dependent on the raising of sufficient funds. A resolution calling for the establishment of a special campaign fund will therefore be proposed by the Executive to the AGM.

The fund-raising committee has continued to meet regularly. Its most successful function was the concert, held at the Queen Elizabeth Hall on 26 June, when Felix Schmidt and Ingrid Jacoby very kindly performed for the Movement's benefit. In April, an Indian music concert was staged at the Logan Hall by Derry Barbour. The annual Walks for Soweto were held in many areas. Fund-raising efforts by local AA groups were again very uneven. Some made outstanding contributions but others continue to fall short of the minimum target of £100 per annum. On a current day-to-day basis, the production of greetings cards, prismatic badges and earrings have brought in small regular amounts of money. Bookstalls have been held at as many functions as possible to increase revenue, and collecting boxes have been purchased for use at events and by local groups. Many trade unions continue to support the Movement generously. Our members and sympathisers responded very well to the special appeal for the new headquarters and two very generous anonymous donations were made by individuals. The Movement must again record its gratitude for the annual grant of the International Defence and Aid Fund, and the grants towards specific projects made by the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

Future fund-raising activities planned by headquarters include a 'Free Nelson Mandela' sponsored cycle ride, a popular music concert at the University of London in November, an annual raffle and a sustained week of fund-raising by local groups during the March month of action as part of the *Southern Africa: The Time to Act* campaign.



ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP:

Membership subscriptions for the year 1982/83 show the growing level of individual and organisation support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Every section of the membership has seen an increase in total figures for this year but even more so in the case of individual memberships, from an average of 36 new members per month during 1981/82 to an average of 49 new members now, giving a total number of new members for this year of 587. This has led to an increase in the total membership figures, which now stands at around 3,000 individuals and member organisations.

There are now 231 national trade unions, trade union branches and trades councils affiliated, with 118 political branch affiliations, mostly CLPs. Groups like Community Relations Councils and Councils for Racial Equality have also affiliated, increasing our potential support from ethnic minorities and other community organisations.

With the computerisation of the membership and AA News mailings, the Movement can be assured that more time will be available to increase even further the membership drive.

Local groups have enormous potential for increasing our membership as most local activists are still not national members of the AAM.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting is the major opportunity during the year for AAM members to play a part in formulating the activities of the Movement for the year ahead. Resolutions adopted form the framework of policy for the AAM, and constitutional changes adopted by the National Committee have to be ratified by the AGM.

Every year, the July newsletter invites members and affiliates to submit resolutions to the AGM and to nominate individual members to serve on the National Committee. At the AGM itself, usually held towards the end of October, members discuss and vote on resolutions and elect 30 members to serve on the National Committee from those nominated. A three-person Standing Orders Committee, elected by the AGM, is responsible for the conduct of business.

At the 1982 AGM discussion again focused on trade union work, with five different resolutions adopted. The AGM also adopted resolutions on Namibia, the front line states, Bophuthatswana House, military and nuclear collaboration, the sports boycott, the cultural boycott, the Nelson Mandela campaign, South African trade union political prisoners, the ANC Six, 'apartheid-free zones', health and apartheid, education and apartheid, and the general campaigning priorities of the AAM.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and carries out its work within the framework of AGM resolutions. Its members comprise the president, vice presidents and sponsors, 30 individual members elected at the AGM, representatives of 25 national or regional member organisations elected annually from among such member organisations.

The Southern African liberation movements attend the National Committee in a special category of observer status, and observers are also invited from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to 10 individuals may be coopted.

The National Committee met on six occasions during the year and carried out a heavy workload. Its first meeting, immediately following the AGM, elected the new Executive and other officers of the AAM. The first full meeting was held on 11 December, when plans were drawn up for the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the AGM. In addition, in view of the pending move of premises, it was decided that the planned week of action for March 1983 should be planned as the launching of the campaign on the theme *Southern Africa: The Time to Act*. The meeting on 12 February considered detailed plans for this new campaign, in particular a *Manifesto for Action*, although these in turn had to be revised by the 14 May meeting because of the pending General Election. The main discussion at this meeting concerned how the AAM could ensure that Southern Africa became an important issue during the election. Plans were drawn up for the circulation of a questionnaire to candidates and the distribution of a package of briefing material to local AA groups. This meeting also adopted a policy statement on the cultural boycott.

The National Committee met again on 9 July, following the General Election. Serious consideration was given to the probable direction of British policy following the return to power of the Conservative government. The meeting adopted revised plans for the *Southern Africa: The Time to Act* campaign, as well as for the Namibia week of action from 27 October to 2 November, and for an autumn campaign on the theme *Stop the Apartheid War*. The meeting also decided that the Executive should seek an urgent meeting with the government to press for a major review of British policy.

The National Committee met again on 10 September, when the major matter under discussion was the adoption of the political report, which serves as the *Introduction* to this report.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee, which advises the National Committee and sees to the execution of policy decided on, is the working committee of the Movement. It is elected by and from the National Committee and consists of six officers of the Movement — the chairperson, up to two vice chairpersons, hon secretary, hon treasurer and executive secretary — and eight elected members. It can coopt up to six individuals to assist in its work. It can also appoint sub-committees and these currently are the trade union, student, health, women's, finance and fund-raising committees, as well as the editorial board of *AA News*. A new committee has been formed to plan campaign work on sanctions, and there is also an international liaison group which coordinates the international work of the AAM.

The Executive Committee meets at least monthly but can be called upon to meet more often if the necessity arises.

HEADQUARTERS

The AAM moved into new headquarters at 13 Selous Street, London NW1, on 14 February after almost 20 years at Charlotte Street. The new premises are leased from Camden council and an estimated £20,000 was spent to modernise and equip the new premises. Individual members and member organisations responded most generously to the appeal which was launched to raise funds for the move. Particular appreciation is expressed to the World Council of Churches, the GMBWU, NALGO and NUPE for most generous donations towards this appeal, and to SCPS, NGA, CPSA, TGWU and AUEW TASS for making interest-free loans to provide the funds to undertake the building work immediately. Camden council also made an interest-free loan repayable over a three-year period.

This response allowed the AAM to undertake the necessary modernisation of the premises so that the AAM has, for the first time in its history, a more than adequate headquarters. It is impossible to name all the many individuals who made this move possible, but particular thanks are owed to Rusty Bern-

stein and Dominic Tweedie. New equipment at headquarters, including storage facilities, printing and duplicating machines, and a modern telephone system, should all lead to a marked improvement in the AAM's service to its members and supporters.

Over the May Day bank holiday weekend the new premises were burgled by South African agents, and quantities of documents stolen, including some membership and financial records, address lists and campaign files. As a result, it has been necessary to expend additional funds on improving the security of the building, and this was an important factor in deciding that the membership records should be computerised.

There have been further staff changes. As reported last year, Chris Child, the Movement's deputy secretary, left the staff at the end of November 1982, and Beverley Howe, who was appointed as a campaign organiser to fill the vacancy, joined the staff in January 1983. David Smith, who had been employed as a campaign organiser since the summer of 1980, left in February 1983 and was replaced by Mick Gavan.

OBITUARY

CANON JOHN COLLINS



Canon L John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, died on 31 December 1982, at the age of 77. As a tribute to his life and work, we reprint extracts from the sermon given by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston at the memorial service held at St Paul's Cathedral, London, on Wednesday 23 February 1983.

Having had the privilege of John's friendship and trust for nearly thirty years it would be possible to say much about him at the personal level. But I feel that on this occasion I must speak primarily of the meaning of his life for the people of these turbulent post-war years. Turbulent, of course, as a result of the cataclysm of the second world war. Still turbulent because the issues that provoked the war — unbridled nationalism, ideological passion, sadistic racialism, are still with us. And, in addition, the scientific and technological advances in nuclear physics and in a thousand other subsidiary developments which have created the threat and the fear of universal destruction.

Was there ever a moment in history when the words of the prophet Micah ... seemed less likely of fulfilment?

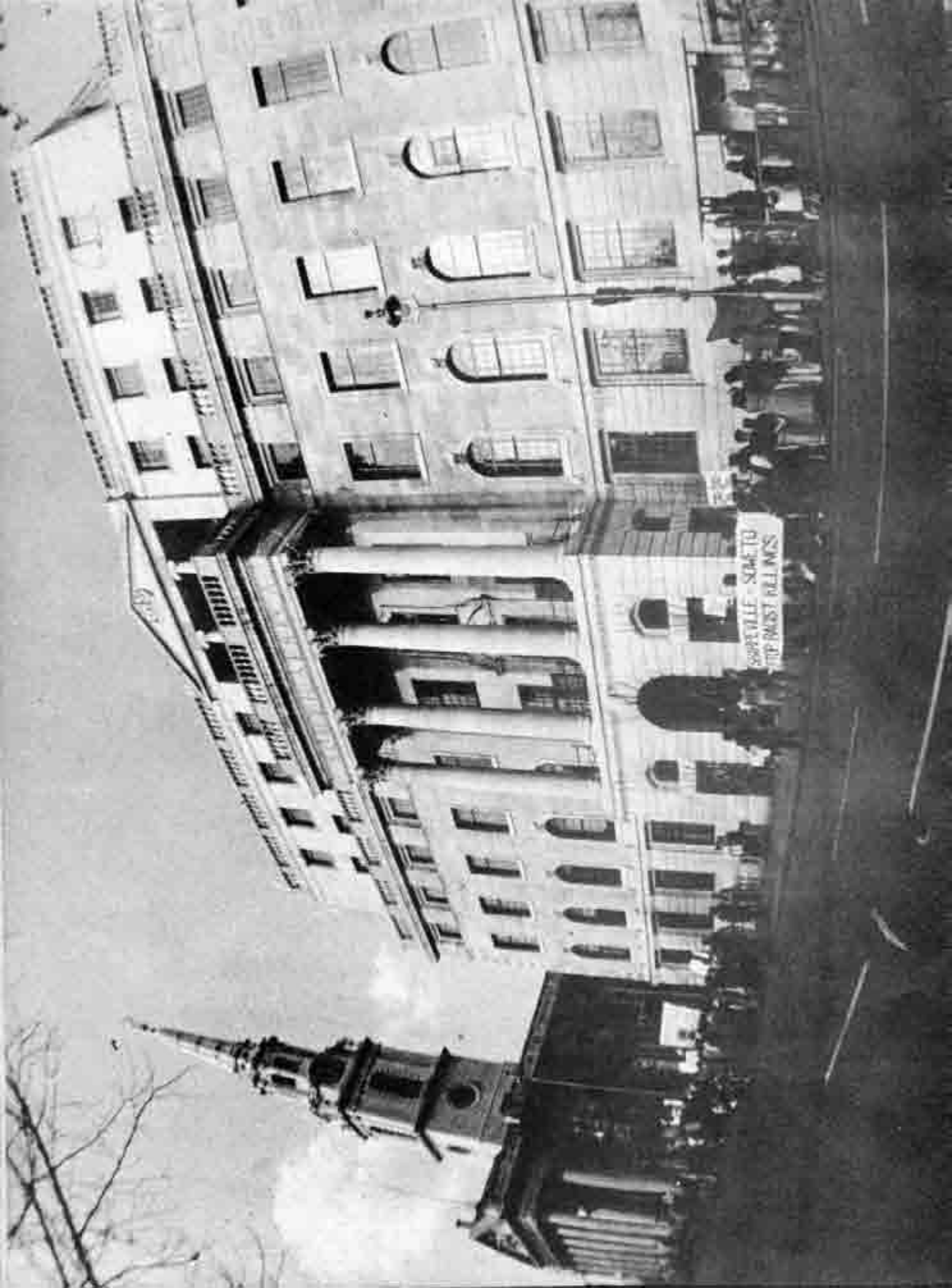
*Nation shall not lift up sword against nation
Nor ever again be trained for war
And each man shall dwell under his own vine
under his own fig-tree undisturbed...*

For the Lord of Hosts himself has spoken...

Well — has he? And if he has who is listening? Above all — who will act? Remembering the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament it is necessary first of all to remind ourselves that it is now a quarter of a century since those tremendous days when John began his chairmanship of CND, and the Aldermaston marches and the Trafalgar Square rallies and all the rest first stirred and mobilised the people of this land to a realisation that here was a threat to humanity so vast and so unpredictable in its consequences that it must be met head on...

When he visited South Africa in 1954, in spite of all that was done (and I was there and witnessed the attempt) to persuade John that the racist philosophy of apartheid was simply a transient phase of Afrikaner nationalism — the inevitable backlash of a history belonging solely to South Africa and nowhere else — he was not deceived. He was not deceived either by that kind of double talk and hypocrisy so greatly to the liking of British, American and European governments to this day. Namely that the evil of apartheid can be overcome by diplomacy, the gentlemanly approach, the patient, if time-consuming, government to government 'rapprochements' involving huge investment, secret trade agreements in arms and all the other squalid deals with which we are so sadly familiar. John saw apartheid for what it is: a total denial of human rights and human dignity, and an offence to God. And, in the launching of Christian Action (of which he was the president from 1959 until his death) he forged a weapon with which to fight it on all fronts. I quote from his book Faith under Fire: 'If I pray for peace, I must go out and try to make peace, if for justice I must set about the task of trying to see that justice is done, if for forgiveness I must forgive, and if I pray 'Thy kingdom come' then I must be ready to do anything in my power to ensure that God's will is done, not just in the church, not just within the context of private and personal relationships, but within the whole of human society.'

It was out of Christian Action that, in 1964, the International Defence and Aid Fund came into being. And perhaps of all the activities associated with his name this should be regarded as his finest memorial. Its title alone expresses what it aims to be. 'International' — bringing together all nations of goodwill who pledge themselves to fight for justice, for the defence of those who, living under tyranny, cannot defend themselves, for aid to those who, living in dire poverty as a consequence of that tyranny have not the resources even to sustain the lives of their families, their children, their homeless, stateless relatives living in exile in the refugee camps of the world...



SOPPEVILLE - SOME TO THE BEST WILLING