



Anti-Apartheid Movement

**Annual Report
September 1971
— August 1972**

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
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Annual Report
September 1971-August 1972

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FOREWORD

The publication of the Annual Report gives all who are interested in the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement the chance to learn of the tremendous amount of work done by members of staff and committee members, by local branches and members of the Movement during the past year. And we have to remember that none of this would have been possible without the generous, continuing financial support of so many people.

Recent events in Southern Africa underline the continuing necessity for the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Indeed it is more necessary than ever before, not only by the devoted staff and the members of various committees, but even more by the branch committees and members in various parts of the country. Without increasing local activity, the necessary intensification of the Movement's work is impossible, but I am confident that this will be forthcoming.

Bishop Ambrose Reeves
Hon. President

INTRODUCTION

British Government Policy on Rhodesia

The greater part of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's public activity over the past year has been generated by the determined effort of the Conservative Government to join with the illegal Smith regime in working out proposals to confer legitimacy on the white minority ruling group in Zimbabwe and thus betray the over five million Africans. World-wide outrage at this sell-out attempt was promptly expressed, but with the visit of the Pearce Commission the oppressed African people took the initiative into their own hands and rejected the legal formulation entrenching white domination. The Smith regime has retaliated by increasing terrorism against the African people and by imposing severe restrictions on nationalist leaders and on the legal operations of the African National Council. It is at the same time working tirelessly to 'persuade' African chiefs and others to reverse their decision and to register approval for the Smith-Home proposals, so that such an arranged expression of opinion may be used at the appropriate time to enable Britain to grant independence to Rhodesia despite the findings of the Pearce Commission.

Protests within South Africa: A new phase

In South Africa the Dean of Johannesburg's trial attracted considerable international attention, as did the more recent police violence against protesting white students and their supporters. Almost for the first time white South Africa and the white world expressed vehement condemnation of police behaviour against white protesters — police violence and brutality have always been directed against the African, Indian and Coloured people but this time it was the Whites who were the major victims of official violence. It is important to recognise that the incidents which attracted this attention were themselves the result of militant action on the part of African, Indian and Coloured students against official intimidation and repression at the University of the North in Turfloop and elsewhere. The crisis in the black universities which preceded the demonstrations of the white students did not receive much attention — yet, in the context of the struggle for power by the oppressed majority it is the new militancy of black students that is particularly significant.

The Growth of the Black Students Organisation

The black South African Students Organisation (SASO) was born out of an awareness that in South Africa the oppressed people would have to produce a self-reliance which ruled out any hope of Whites being able to implement radical change since they are part of the ruling group. Although SASO is a student body, its manifesto is not limited to African education — it specifically covers the issue of dialogue with multi-racial organisations, dialogue between South Africa and African states, and the role of foreign investments in South Africa. The policy manifesto defines black consciousness as an attitude of mind, a way of life, whose purpose is to 'reject all value systems that seek to make a black man a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity'. It considers African education as 'not meeting the needs of the black community', regards overseas investment as giving stability and support to the exploitative system of apartheid, rejects dialogue with white membership organisations and between South Africa and independent African states.

The growth of this new awareness led the student body of the Turfloop University to make fresh demands, which resulted in student boycotts, the closing of the University and the expulsion of all the students. The Coloured students of the Western Cape came out on strike in sympathy with the Turfloop students and they were followed by the Indian students of Westville in Durban.

Exposure of contradictions within the Apartheid System

However, it is not only in the new black institutions of learning that such a crisis is taking place. This development is even leading Bantustan Chiefs to make embarrassing demands of the white government. The world knows that the Bantustan system is a mammoth fraud aimed at counteracting the growth of hostile public opinion, and that its leaders enjoy virtually no power. But the Chiefs are now making unprecedented demands in terms of more land and effective power over the areas of which they are supposed to be in charge. Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, once a strong supporter of separate development, has said that he has come to the conclusion that apartheid, or separate development as the South African Government terms it, is basically in the best interests of the white people. This followed a government rejection of his request for more land. Members of the Transkei government have asked for the establishment of a military centre to train soldiers, and they want Transkeians to be able to acquire firearms for the purpose of defending themselves. These demands, and the failure of the government to respond to them, have still further exposed the Bantustan scheme as an elaborate attempt to defraud the African people. Yet, in the context of the Bantustan system, the tribal Chiefs are voicing the demands of their people because of the new mood which is a major factor in present day South Africa. It is clear that the Vorster regime cannot continue to win international acclaim by sending Bantustan Chiefs on foreign tours, without having to face their demands to implement fully the Bantustan system as espoused by the white rulers. The present confrontation between Bantustan Chiefs and the white government is due to the direct challenge that Africans have made to the regime. But the government cannot simply abandon its own apartheid creation. There is no doubt that, despite the limited role that Bantustan Chiefs can play within the apartheid system, they have been voicing the demands of their people in a manner which is unexpected and embarrassing to the authorities. If these Chiefs do not tread with care the authorities will not hesitate to gag and remove them — already they have been reminded of official restrictions upon their movement within South Africa.

These Bantustan confrontations reflect growing new levels of conflict between the government and those instruments of administration it has itself created. But whilst it is significant that the government is not having it all its own way in the Bantustan scheme, we must not expect these confrontations to produce any meaningful change in the transfer of power to the oppressed people. The white group will defend its power as in the past, and any effective challenge will be met with brutal repression. All the evidence points to even more legislative and executive action to counteract the struggle of the oppressed people. The disruption of family life, mass removals of 'surplus' Africans, daily prosecution of thousands upon thousands for pass and other offences, bannings and restrictions, arrest without trial, solitary confinement and torture, and deaths under police interrogation reflect the constant battle that is being fought to maintain white supremacy in the face of African resistance.

Namibian Workers Strike

One of the most remarkable developments during the year was the massive strike of Namibian workers which started in December 1971 and which, despite the declaration of a State of Emergency and the sealing off of Ovamboland (the area to which most of the strikers were returned), still continues. Without benefits such as strike pay or indeed any financial assistance, and in defiance of law, which does not permit African workers to strike, workers from mines, railways, hotels, farms, the fishing industry and other sectors of the economy went on strike against the contract labour laws and against South Africa's continued presence in Namibia. Some were shot, some arrested and tried, others detained, yet the most recent reports indicate that the majority are pursuing their resistance to the apartheid labour laws and the South African occupation of their country.

International Developments

At an international level a notable development has been the first meeting of the UN Security Council in Africa held in Addis Ababa during January/February 1972. This special session was convened to discuss all African questions and especially those of racism and colonialism in Africa. In many ways it was a highly successful gathering but one disconcerting development was the decision to request the new Secretary-General to establish contact with South Africa with a view to settling the Namibian question. The visit of the Secretary-General to South Africa and Namibia and discussions to date have produced no meaningful advance towards the implementation of United Nations policy on this territory. Instead, South Africa is using the opportunity to mislead world opinion about its apparent reasonableness and readiness to negotiate with the United Nations on the basis of its own understanding of 'self-determination' — namely, its continued illegal presence in Namibia and the implementation of the Bantustan system. In July, the Security Council received a report from the Secretary-General and agreed to his request to appoint a special Representative to proceed with consultations and report again to the Council by 15 November.

The AAM has always maintained that it is not possible to consider bringing about freedom in Namibia or South Africa by negotiating with the South African Government. This policy has been based on the position of the liberation movements which have themselves been forced to turn to armed struggle as a result of the failure of attempted peaceful solutions. As it turned out, during the Secretary-General's visit to South Africa he was unable even to meet with Namibian political leaders who are imprisoned for their part in the liberation struggle. Any consultations with South Africa which are based on bringing about a negotiated settlement with the apartheid state are bound to fail. Moreover, such consultations serve to divert attention from the central issues in the dispute — namely that South Africa is an illegal occupying power and it is the duty of the UN to dislodge it. If the UN finds that it cannot discharge its primary responsibility towards the Namibian people, then it should concentrate on working out ways of giving support to the liberation movement rather than pursuing a diplomacy which can only impede the liberation struggle. The highly successful SWAPO conference which took place in Brussels in May 1972 pointed the way in urging peoples and governments to give direct support to the liberation struggle. It is not surprising that it is

among the majority of the permanent members of the Security Council that one finds the greatest enthusiasm for the new UN initiative. Both South Africa and her allies welcome new moves which can be used to help maintain the white power system in Southern Africa. As agreed at the SWAPO conference, grounds for negotiation with South Africa are 'solely on the basis of the transfer of power from South Africa to the people of Namibia'.

The 'Dialogue' Situation

During the past year, attempts to promote a dialogue between South Africa and independent Africa have not had very much added success. Malagasy, one of the African territories which was promoting links with South Africa, has had a change of government and these links have now been severed. However, despite the clear decision of the OAU against dialogue, those countries which have initiated links with South Africa are busy consolidating them. We welcome the decision of the OAU to invite liberation movements to participate fully in all future discussions and debates of the OAU concerning their territories. This is a further advance in the creation of better links between the liberation movements and independent Africa. The recent moves towards promoting a wider unity between the movements operating in Zimbabwe can also only serve to further the best interests of the liberation struggle.

The Liberation Struggle in the Portuguese Territories

In the Portuguese territories the forces of the regime have been resorting to ever more desperate stratagems. But neither the herding of the population into 'strategic hamlets' nor the use of chemical warfare in Angola and Mozambique have seriously hindered the advance of the liberation movements, which has continued in Angola, Mozambique and Guine. Equally, the attempts of the Portuguese to create elite groups of African soldiers, to 'Africanise' the wars, have not achieved the desired result. Increasingly, South Africa and Rhodesia are intervening on Portugal's side — particularly in Mozambique, where they see FRELIMO's advance as a direct threat to the entire white supremacist structure. South African mercenaries have been active in the use of defoliants on FRELIMO's crops in Cabo Delgado, and Rhodesian land and air forces have made frequent incursions in Tete, assisting the beleaguered Portuguese, and even massacring the civilian population. Vorster has promised South African aid for any country fighting 'terrorism', and Rhodesian Minister of Defence, Jack Howman, has openly offered to commit Rhodesian troops to Mozambique if the Portuguese ask for them. Military cooperation between Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, as the AAM has repeatedly stated, is constantly increasing, and the overt military involvement of the NATO powers is a growing threat.

FRELIMO has recently announced the opening of a new front at Manica e Sofala, a key province in Portuguese strategy to maintain control in Mozambique.

South Africa, Portugal and the EEC

With the impending entry of Britain and other countries to the EEC, South Africa and Portugal have been engaged in high level diplomatic negotiations in Brussels in order to win favourable terms within the Common Market. Developments so far are disturbing although details about South Africa's

negotiations are being kept very secret. In recent years Western Europe has considerably increased its economic engagement in Southern Africa and governments in Bonn, Paris and London are particularly well-disposed towards the requests of Portugal and South Africa. It will become a major responsibility of anti-apartheid movements, as well as the OAU and other organisations, to ensure that special concessions are not made in favour of South Africa and that those decisions favouring Portugal are reversed.

Western Investment in African Oppression

With the growth and development of the armed struggle in Southern Africa and the heavy western economic stake in the region, various novel solutions are once again being canvassed by various groups and individuals. It has always been accepted that western investment in South Africa plays a major role in stabilising the white power system, and that it also leads western governments to adopt foreign policies in defence of that system. Thus, investment from abroad props up the white regimes and comes into direct confrontation with the forces of freedom. It is because of this that the AAM has consistently demanded disengagement from Southern Africa. In recent years, with increased activity directed at companies with investments in Southern Africa, some business leaders have responded by claiming that, far from supporting the white power system, their operations in fact form an essential component of the African struggle for freedom. By paying slightly higher wages than before and improving working conditions for Africans, they maintain that they can make a direct contribution to change in the society. This lobby, aimed essentially at *legitimising* investment in African oppression, has won new converts in the past two years. Various groups claiming a commitment to help the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa are unilaterally intervening on the side of the oppressors by suggesting that the way to African liberation somehow lies in investing more in their suffering. Of course, their proposals are not all couched in the same language and the growing lobby in Britain and the United States for Polaroid-type tactical engagement in South Africa is developing into a new force. It is particularly significant that these groups which claim to have the interests of the oppressed at heart make little attempt to seek the views of the liberation movements or those who support them.

The engagement thesis is not only welcome to businessmen but also to western governments because it takes the pressure off them and at the same time gives the impression that somehow they are engaged in worthwhile activities. Nothing could be more useful in misleading public opinion precisely at a time when corporations are under specific attack for their responsibility in perpetuating racism and colonialism in Africa.

In the coming year it will be of paramount importance to give a clear lead on these issues and to maintain constant vigilance against the possibility of enormous resources being put at the disposal of those who wish to initiate alternative 'solutions' to the Southern African conflict. In this connection, we welcome the recent decision of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Utrecht during August 1972, to dispose of all its holdings and make no new investments in corporations 'directly involved in investment or trade with . . . South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau', and also 'to deposit none of its funds in banks which maintain direct banking operations in those countries'. This is a clear and appropriate lead given by the

Central Committee of the WCC. In Britain, the 1972 TUC Annual Conference decided to liquidate its investments in firms with South African interests, and this, together with the WCC decision, will act as a stimulus to the disinvestment campaign. Churches, trade unions and other groups concerned to support the African people should follow this example.

DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

British Government negotiations with the Smith regime, largely conducted by Lord Goodman followed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who arrived in Salisbury on 15 November, resulted in the publication of the Proposals for a Settlement issued as a White Paper on 25 November. African leaders were excluded from the negotiations and the settlement proposals were agreed over the heads of more than 5 million African Rhodesians — 95% of the population. Greeted in some quarters as a great advance for the African people, the settlement proposals in fact stultified all reasonable hope of majority rule or even of substantial political progress for many decades.

The proposals had still to be accepted by 'the Rhodesian people as a whole', in accordance with the fifth principle, and the British Government proceeded to appoint a commission under the chairmanship of Lord Pearce to undertake the 'test of acceptability'.

In the *Rhodesia Herald* (7.12.71) Ian Smith was reported as saying that he thought the ratification of the agreement and the lifting of sanctions would be achieved by April, and during January, at his first press conference for over a year, Smith announced that an opinion poll carried out by his government found '90 per cent support for the proposals'.

On 16 December the African National Council was launched in Rhodesia under the chairmanship of Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Included in its organising committee were several ex-detainees from the banned African political parties, ZAPU and ZANU. Its aims were:

To call on the people to realise the essential power of unity now and move on as one people for the sake of achieving the ultimate goal of freedom; and

To explain, advise and expose the dangerous implications that would result if they accepted the Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional settlement proposals.

It set about producing material and organising meetings in the period in which, according to the White Paper, 'normal political activity' would be allowed. The realities, with the State of Emergency in force, were a far cry from normal political activity.

On his arrival in Salisbury on 12 January, Lord Pearce was met by Africans demonstrating in opposition to the settlement proposals. And this was the almost universal response to the proposals by Africans throughout Rhodesia, whose thundering 'No' found its way to the front pages of most of the world's press. During the three month stay of the Pearce Commission, the Rhodesian police shot and killed 31 people after failing to disperse massive demonstrations in protest at the settlement proposals; four members of the African National Council Executive Committee were arrested, including Josiah Chinamano, ANC Treasurer, and his wife Ruth, who at the time of writing are both still in detention; Garfield Todd, a former prime minister of Rhodesia, and his daughter Judith were also arrested for speaking out against the settlement terms and Garfield Todd remains under house arrest; meetings arranged by the

Pearce Commission were cancelled, and more than 200 applications by the African National Council to hold meetings in the Tribal Trust Lands were refused by the Rhodesian authorities. In all, during this period, some 300 people were detained without trial and 1,500 or more arrested in demonstrations against the settlement proposals.

The Pearce Commission returned to London in mid-March and continued its hearings. On 4 May the final report was delivered to Sir Alec Douglas-Home and presented to the Commons on 24 May. In his conclusion, Lord Pearce stated: ' . . . In our opinion the people of Rhodesia as a whole do not regard the Proposals as acceptable as a basis for independence.'

The Smith regime accused the African National Council of intimidation but in *The Times* (20.4.72) Michael Wolfers commented: 'What stands out is not the dramatic moments of rioting and the shootings, though the lawyers are disturbed by the willingness of Rhodesian security forces to open fire on people armed with sticks and stones. The picture that emerges from the testimony of often humble men is the tawdry use of short term arrest and petty harassment to silence opposition at a period when normal political activities were supposed to be freely guaranteed by the Smith regime.' He was writing about a dossier on intimidation compiled by a London solicitor acting on behalf of the International Defence and Aid Fund.

In February, Bishop Muzorewa visited London, when he addressed a mass rally in Trafalgar Square, and then went on to the USA where he appeared before the Security Council. He urged the Council to maintain its stand in forbidding States from having economic or diplomatic relations with the Smith regime, and continued: 'The Africans accept the sanctions as a price for their freedom and declare as our enemy any person who claims on our behalf that the sanctions should be withdrawn to alleviate African suffering through the lack of employment.' He criticised the United States for breaking the UN resolution on sanctions by repudiating the ban on the purchase of Rhodesian chrome, asbestos, copper, nickel, manganese, tin and tungsten, and expressed the hope that member States would do their best to stop the emigration to Rhodesia of Europeans who continue to prop up the racist regime.

On 21 December, the UN General Assembly rejected the settlement proposals. Of the three resolutions on Rhodesia put to the Security Council, one in December 1971 and two in February this year, two were vetoed by Britain. The third, which called for the maintenance and strict application of sanctions, was passed but Britain and the US abstained.

Following the publication of the Pearce Commission report, the Smith regime proceeded to take further action against opponents of the settlement proposals and embarked on a campaign of intimidation in an effort to present the rejection of the Smith/Home proposals as having been reversed in the past months. Membership cards to be distributed by the African National Council were seized by the police and the ANC then proceeded to issue receipts for donations. Now, Africans issuing these receipts have been arrested and donors intimidated. The Rhodesia Settlement Association has been formed, which by various pressures is hoping to 'persuade' Africans that it is to their advantage to accept the settlement proposals. On 1 July, political gatherings and open air meetings were banned in the Tribal Trust Lands and African purchase areas which generally adjoin them. Also on 1 July, police arrested 40 ANC supporters, and the Minister of Law and Order announced the extension of the State of

Emergency for a further twelve months. In August, the passports of the Rev Canaan Banana and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, respectively Vice-Chairman and Chairman of the African National Council, were withdrawn.

The persecution of the Tangwena tribe, who are guilty of breaking Rhodesian law by remaining in the land of their birth, reached new levels when the Tangwena children were taken from the Nyafaru Farm where they had been living and to which their parents had access, and placed in children's homes around Salisbury. They are, in effect, being held hostage. If their parents wish to see them, they have to desert Tangwena land.

At the forthcoming (September 1972) Rhodesian Front Congress — to be held behind locked doors — demands for the full implementation of apartheid policies are anticipated.

Secret trials of captured members of the liberation forces have taken place. News of a few of these has leaked out but clearly there are many more on which it has been impossible to obtain information.

Intermittent reports of armed resistance have appeared throughout the year. Recently these reports have appeared more frequently. A goods train was blown up by a landmine, and nineteen trucks of a north-bound goods train were derailed on the line between Salisbury and Sinoia. Jason Moyo, Chairman of ZAPU's revolutionary council (which in May announced a joint military alliance with ZANU), claimed responsibility.

South African police and troops remain in Rhodesia.

Many member States of the UN have evaded sanctions; chief among them are two countries, South Africa and Portugal, which have provided a lifeline to the Smith regime and have enabled it to maintain its repressive rule.

THE CAMPAIGN

At the Labour Party Conference, emphasis was laid on the campaign against the settlement proposals and for one man, one vote in Rhodesia. Background briefing material was distributed to the platform and to delegates, and assistance given to speakers on Southern African issues. The AAM meeting at Conference, the largest yet organised by the Movement, covered developments in Southern Africa. Judy Todd spoke on Rhodesia, stressing the importance of the maintenance of sanctions and of the campaign in this country, and her speech received some coverage in the press. A petition opposing any sell-out to the Smith regime was launched and signatures, particularly of trade unionists, were collected.

At the Conservative Party Conference a demonstration, with largely student participation, was arranged to coincide with the discussion on Rhodesia. Demonstrators massed outside the hall displaying placards calling for No Independence Before Majority Rule, and One Man, One Vote. Leaflets were distributed and delegates lobbied as they entered the hall.

It was during this period that a great deal of space in the press was devoted to the negotiations taking place with the minority regime, and on 8 November the Movement placed a multi-signature letter in *The Times* stating that negotiations should take place only with representatives of all the people of Rhodesia, and calling for a universal franchise. A number of MPs were among the signatories and the letter was well-timed, in view of the renewal of sanctions legislation in the House of Commons some days later.

Also in reference to this and to the negotiations, a background briefing was sent to Members of Parliament in the early days of November, and in the same month a demonstration was organised outside Rhodesia House — participants carrying a large banner which stated 'This House must remain closed until occupied by the true representatives of Zimbabwe'. The demonstration received wide publicity in a number of newspapers.

Pressure on the issue was maintained and on 30 November a meeting was arranged at the Central Hall Westminster, with Dick Seabrook (President of USDAW), Ian Mikardo MP, His Excellency Mr Nhigula, High Commissioner for Tanzania, Byron Hove of Zimbabwe, Abdul Minty and Paul Foot. The meeting was chaired by the Rev Dr Colin Morris and the hall was filled to capacity. Speakers attacked the settlement proposals, describing them as a shameful betrayal of the African majority. Some of the speeches were covered by the weekly press and one printed in its entirety in *Tribune*. Over six hundred pounds was collected at this meeting.

On 29 December the AAM called a meeting of representatives of political parties, trades unions and trades councils, constituency Labour parties, organisations, churches, African liberation movements, student unions, black groups and the Indian Workers Association, and established the Rhodesia Emergency Campaign Committee which was throughout serviced by the Movement. The Rev Dr Colin Morris and Stuart Hall were elected joint chairmen, and a plan of campaign was worked out to cover the period of the Pearce Commission test of acceptability. More than 150 people representing some 45 organisations attended the meeting. Meetings and demonstrations were organised throughout the country, building up to a massive rally in Trafalgar Square on 13 February.

This campaign involved many sectors of the community and a wide political spectrum, which had been the hope and intention of the Movement in establishing the RECC. Leaflets, posters, stickers and badges were printed and almost half a million copies of this material were distributed. In addition, the AAM published a four-page leaflet analysing the settlement proposals and distributed the petition stating 'I am totally opposed to any settlement which grants independence to Rhodesia before majority rule' throughout the RECC network.

Contact was made with African groups in Rhodesia, and a representative speaker invited to the Rally. In January, following the establishment of the African national Council, the Movement was informed that Bishop Muzorewa would be coming to speak at the Rally and, together with other groups, arranged a programme for his stay in this country.

Over this period the Movement obtained documentation on developments in Rhodesia, on demonstrations and police intimidation during the visit of the Pearce Commission, and on the African National Council. These were submitted to a variety of newspapers and received wide coverage. The Movement was repeatedly called upon to supply background material and to suggest participants for television and radio programmes. On 26 January a demonstration was held in Downing Street in protest at the death of 32 Africans during the 'test of acceptability' by the Pearce Commission. Early in February another briefing on the Rhodesian situation was sent out to Members of Parliament, and on 8 February Bishop Muzorewa arrived in London.

Almost from the moment of his arrival, Bishop Muzorewa embarked on a heavy schedule embracing press conferences, meetings with leaders of political parties, Members of Parliament, UN representatives, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the TUC, students, press, television and radio, both national and international, and major meetings outside London — in Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham.

Some 15,000 took part in the rally on 13 February, coaches coming to London from many centres throughout the country and from almost every university and many colleges. Dr Colin Morris chaired the rally and other speakers were Jimmy Reid, Mike Terry, Michael Foot MP, Althea Jones and Stuart Hall. Dominated by a large banner on the plinth calling on everyone to 'Support the struggle of the Zimbabwe people', the Bishop described the settlement proposals as 'a constitutional fraud, a prescription for increased racial bitterness and an insult to the dignity of every African in Rhodesia'.

Following the rally a resolution condemning the settlement proposals was taken to 10 Downing Street by a deputation led by the Bishop. The crowd then marched to Rhodesia House where a Zimbabwe flag was laid, and the House rededicated to the people of Zimbabwe. The police tried to disperse the demonstrators by driving wedges into the crowd. Forty-three people were arrested and following written complaints an inquiry into police action on this demonstration was undertaken.

The campaign against a settlement with the Smith regime was also initiated at an international level. Contact was maintained with the United Nations, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and other agencies, and with Anti-Apartheid Movements in other countries. Meetings were arranged with Ambassadors and High Commissioners, and as information came to hand it was distributed.

The petition against independence for Rhodesia before majority rule had been circulating throughout the country, and at the beginning of March a replica was printed in *The Guardian* which brought in more signatures. The total numbered 80,000 and were presented at 10 Downing Street on 21 March (see *Sharpeville*).

On the return of the Pearce Commission to London, for one week a daily vigil was held outside their office, with demonstrators holding placards and distributing leaflets written for the occasion.

In May, the Movement arranged the programme for the African National Council delegation led by the Rev Canaan Banana, who visited the country for a fortnight. Following the publication of the Pearce Commission report on 24 May, a demonstration was held in Downing Street which called for negotiations with representatives of all the people of Zimbabwe and for sanctions to be maintained and strengthened. This was followed by a public meeting on 6 June at which support for the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and for the call by the African National Council for a constitutional conference was affirmed, and again the need to maintain and strengthen sanctions emphasised.

The Movement worked closely throughout with the largely churchbased Justice for Rhodesia Committee, which was also represented on RECC, and assisted with the rally arranged by this committee in the Central Hall on 25 January.

In addition to activities undertaken against Rhodesia's inclusion in the Olympic Games (outlined in the Annual Report Sept. 1970/Aug. 1971), further

efforts were made this year. The cumulative effect of this campaign, in which the stand taken by African countries was of primary importance, finally achieved Rhodesia's exclusion from the Games (see *Sport*).

In a letter delivered to Sir Alec Douglas-Home in May, the Movement urged:

- * that no further talks be undertaken with the representatives of the white minority;
- * that sanctions be not only maintained but made effective;
- * that public attention be focused both within the United Kingdom and at the United Nations on those countries which are infringing sanctions; and
- * that action be taken against South Africa and Portugal, which have openly defied the UN ruling and have rendered vital support to the Smith regime.

Plans are now being laid for a renewed campaign in the autumn — to press particularly for the maintenance and extension of sanctions against Rhodesia, and to encourage support for the struggle of the Zimbabwe people.

DEVELOPMENTS IN NAMIBIA

The South West African Peoples Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO), in a statement issued in Dar es Salaam on 21 October, stated that more than 50 South African troops had been killed in the period 24 September — 5 October. Concentrated attacks had been launched on a South African military supply and communications camp in the Okavango region of Namibia, and an enemy convoy had been ambushed in the Caprivi Strip and enemy cars destroyed.

On 13 December the strike of Namibian workers began, finally involving some 20,000. Despite harassment, arrests, detentions, the absence of strike pay, the number killed by the South African police, the strike still continues.

The contract labour system, which has been the foundation of the Namibian economy since South Africa took over the Mandate after the first world war, is a major cause of the strike, together with South Africa's continued illegal occupation of the territory. The contract labour system removes a man from his family for periods of between 12 and 18 months, pays him a starvation wage, and does not permit him to change his employer if he is dissatisfied. At no point is the worker involved in negotiations about his own working conditions or pay, and it is illegal for him to strike.

The strike severely affected the economy of the country and large numbers of workers were sent to Ovamboland, which was placed under emergency rule on 4 February and the area sealed off. South African police and troops were flown in, numerous arrests made and at least eight people killed. The strike, carried out in the face of police state methods used by the occupying power, must be seen as an integral part of the liberation struggle.

On 20 October 1971 the UN Security Council adopted a resolution on Namibia — with the UK and France abstaining. It reaffirmed that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that this responsibility includes the obligation to support and promote the rights of the people of Namibia. It condemned South Africa's establishment of Bantustans, as designed to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of the country, and declared South Africa's continued illegal presence to be in breach of international obligations. It further called on member States to refrain from any dealings with the government of South Africa implying recognition or support

of her presence in Namibia, to abstain from entering into economic and other forms of relationship or dealings with South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia which entrenched its authority over the territory, and it endorsed the International Court's Opinion that South Africa was under obligation to withdraw immediately from Namibia.

However, at the Security Council meeting held in Addis Ababa (28 January — 4 February), a resolution sponsored by Argentina was passed which called on Dr Waldheim, UN Secretary-General, to 'initiate as soon as possible contacts with all parties concerned' with Namibian self-determination and independence, and it was under this resolution that Dr Waldheim flew to South Africa on 6 March. Dr Waldheim's itinerary, arranged by the South African government, was described by Stanley Uys in *The Observer* (12.3.71) as having 'an almost comic imbalance', and that both Prime Minister Vorster and Dr Waldheim had agreed they had a common aim in self-determination — the basic difference is over whom the self-determination and independence are for. Dr Waldheim has since submitted a report on his trip and it is clear that the vast majority of the African representatives with whom he spoke insisted on South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and the establishment of one nation in a free Namibia. Dr Waldheim is to report in November on his negotiations with the South African government, but the fundamental contradictions between the UN stand on this issue and that of the South African government show clearly that there is no basis for further negotiations.

Since Dr Waldheim's visit the South African government has announced the establishment of a new 'homeland' government. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development opened the first session of the Caprivi Legislative Council in March.

A number of churchmen within Namibia, working in support of the African people and particularly in support of the striking workers, came under heavy fire from the South African government and, on 3 March, Bishop Winter of Damaraland was expelled from Namibia, together with David de Beer, Antoinette Halberstadt and the Revd Stephen Hayes. After a short time in Cape Town, Bishop Winter flew to London where at a press conference he revealed further information on the situation in Ovamboland.

Close military cooperation between South African and Portuguese troops on the northern borders of Namibia continues. An agreement which allows the duty-free movement of foodstuffs and essential goods has been signed by the South African and Portuguese authorities, and this agreement is intended 'to facilitate cooperation between Portuguese and South African armed forces in the area', according to the South African *Financial Gazette*.

It is also on this border, but within Angola, that the Cunene River Dam is to be built — evidence of further cooperation between the South African and Portuguese governments. The building of this dam carries the same vital strategic significance for the minority government in Namibia and Angola as does the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. Equally it has been denounced by the liberation movements in both countries. The scheme involves importing, from Portugal, South Africa, West Germany and other countries, 500,000 settlers into the area, thereby creating a buffer strip between Namibia and Angola to impede communication between the liberation movements. The benefits of the scheme will accrue primarily to the South African and Portuguese governments and foreign investors.

Further guerrilla activity by SWAPO in the Caprivi Strip was reported in March. In the same month the South African Minister of Police revealed that, since the State of Emergency had been in force in Ovamboland, 213 people had been arrested and detained for a combined total of 7,340 days. Reports from inside the country suggest that the number of people arrested is far in excess of this figure, more in the region of 900.

The highly successful Namibia International Conference called by SWAPO was held in Brussels in May and will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences in generating support for the struggle of the Namibian people. The final Conference Declaration stated:

' . . . Whilst United Nations' resolutions have grown steadily more emphatic and have won greater unanimity in the councils of the world body, South Africa has tightened her grip on the territory and received ever-increasing support from western powers.'

It continues:

'This political collaboration grows out of and is reinforced by the extensive stake of international corporations in the exploitation of Namibia's resources. This engagement on the side of South Africa by international capital commits the western powers even more firmly to the maintenance of apartheid-colonialism in Namibia, and leads to the obstruction of efficacious action by the United Nations.'

THE CAMPAIGN

A member of the SWAPO Executive Committee, Ewald Katjavena, spoke at the AAM meeting arranged at the Labour Party Conference in October last year. He outlined the situation in Namibia, less familiar to British audiences than Rhodesia and South Africa, and called for support for the Namibia International Conference to be held in Brussels.

Over the past year the Movement has campaigned more intensively against South Africa's occupation of Namibia and against the involvement of British companies in the territory (see *Companies*). In view of the strike in Namibia, increased guerrilla activity, developments at the United Nations and the response to the Namibia International Conference, exposing and attacking South Africa's vulnerability on the Namibian issue will be of even greater importance in the coming year.

A quantity of background material has been widely distributed and, with the announcement of the Namibian workers' strike, trade unions were alerted and several sent messages of support for the strikers (including the National Union of Mineworkers, who were at the time engaged in industrial action, and the TUC General Council). On 13 January, in solidarity with the Namibian workers, the Movement, together with the Friends of Namibia Committee, demonstrated outside South Africa House. Banners and placards calling for the end of racist rule in Namibia and the ousting of the illegal regime, were displayed and a leaflet giving the background and details of the strike was distributed. This was followed by a letter signed by leading trade unionists, including Jack Jones of the TGWU, which appeared in *The Guardian*, calling for support for the striking workers (see *Work in the Trade Unions*).

Towards the end of February and in response to a request from Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO representative in the UK, the Movement called a meeting of representatives of different organisations, individuals with a special interest in Namibia, and some Members of Parliament, to set up a preparatory committee in support of the Namibia International Conference held in Brussels from 26-28 May. With a view to their participation, the AAM contacted MPs, trade unionists and with the NUS worked to obtain substantial student representation at the conference. This, together with the SWAPO representative's initiatives, resulted in the British attendance at the Conference numbering 60 people. Work was done to publicise the Conference in advance both in the UK and abroad.

The Movement prepared a background paper for the Conference and seven members of the National Committee took part, participating in the different commissions, of which there were four — Political, Economic, Legal and Action. The campaigning emphasis emerging from the reports of the commissions were:

- * the total withdrawal of the South African administration from Namibia
- * the release of all political prisoners
- * the EEC to renounce all representations from South Africa
- * that trade union federations should agree on concerted action in support of the Namibian people
- * that governments cease their support for companies involved in Namibia and that the campaigns against these companies be maintained and intensified.

Expelled from Namibia, the Bishop of Damaraland arrived in the UK on 7 March. A press conference organised for him at the House of Commons by the AAM received coverage in most of the national dailies and five days later a meeting was held in the Central Hall. The meeting, organised jointly with the Friends of Namibia Committee, was chaired by the Rt Revd Trevor Huddleston, Bishop of Stepney, and speakers were Peter Katjavivi (SWAPO representative in the UK), Ruth First, and Alex Lyon MP, in addition to the Bishop of Damaraland. An appeal for the Namibian Strikers' Fund realised £400 and the speeches, plus the information distributed at the meeting, generated further interest in and support for the Namibian people.

Following the Namibia International Conference, meetings have been arranged to discuss future work in the UK. Posters and leaflets are being produced and two demonstrations have been held in the past month.

The first, held to commemorate Namibia Day (26 August), the day on which SWAPO started the armed struggle, took place outside South Africa House; a banner showing a map of Namibia with the words of Herman Toivo ja Toivo 'We are Namibians and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future, recognise your right to govern us . . .' was held by Bishop Winter and demonstrators held placards and distributed leaflets. At one point, Bishop Winter, together with the representatives of organisations and political parties who were present, attempted to deliver a letter to the South African Ambassador calling for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. The letter was rejected.

The second demonstration was held at the sales of Namibian Karakul (Namibia produces almost half the world supply of this fur) early in September. Known as Swakara, the three marketing organisations inside Namibia have exclusive contracts with three London based companies: Eastwood & Holt Ltd,

Hudson's Bay Company Ltd, and Anning Chadwick & Kiver Ltd. Buyers at this auction, held at Beaver House in the City by Hudson's Bay and Annings, were greeted by street theatre depicting Prime Minister Vorster auctioning Namibian lamb, placard-bearing demonstrators and the mass distribution of a leaflet with the heading: 'Doesn't the Fur Industry have enough on its conscience without entering into illegal trading?' It pointed out that both members and non-member countries of the UN have been instructed to abstain from entering into all forms of economic relationship and dealings with South Africa on behalf of Namibia. The buyers were clearly concerned about the demonstrations and much argument and discussion took place. This demonstration, organised jointly with the Omega group, is the first in this campaign.

The coming year will see tougher campaigns against British firms such as Rio Tinto Zinc, Portland Cement and others with investments in Namibia — dealing with the South African government as the authority in the territory, paying their black workers starvation wages, and implementing apartheid laws; an extension of the information and publicity material produced; and an intensification of the campaign at the UN and at trade union, student and other levels.

DEVELOPMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND GUINÉ

In the Portuguese territories it has been a year of considerable advance by the liberation movements on all fronts; and at the same time one of increasingly savage reprisals by the Portuguese.

In Angola, MPLA's westward drive, particularly in the central province of Bie, has been successfully continued despite the renewed use of chemical warfare by the Portuguese. In February, MPLA announced the opening of a new phase of armed resistance in the region of Cunene in the extreme South-West of Angola. This, their sixth region, borders on Namibia. At about the same time, disturbances occurred on the border with Ovamboland and Portuguese troops were called in to seal the border against crossings by workers on strike in Namibia. Ten thousand extra Portuguese troops were involved, and massacres of the civilian population carried out in reprisal for any losses. Small tax reforms were also introduced in an attempt to halt the MPLA thrust by coercion of the population.

In Mozambique, FRELIMO, facing the devastation of their crops and countryside by defoliants, and widespread atrocities by both Portuguese and Rhodesian troops, has consolidated its liberated areas in Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Tete provinces, and has been able to extend its military operations. A dramatic communique from FRELIMO announced the opening of military operations in Manica e Sofala on 25 July, following extensive political mobilisation already carried out in these areas. Constant press reports have testified to the extent and success of FRELIMO's military operations in Tete, which have hampered Portuguese road and rail communications both North and South of the Zambesi, especially in the area of Cabora Bassa, and are now seriously threatening the progress of cementation at the site of the dam. South African and Rhodesian papers have highlighted the situation in Tete as carrying 'grave dangers for the whole of Southern Africa', and the Rhodesian Minister of Defence has offered to send troops into Tete on an official basis,

although reports of massacres by Rhodesian troops and the evidence of Portuguese deserters confirm that they are already operating in the area. A campaign of terror pursued by the Portuguese in Tete has forced many refugees to flee into Malawi, and Portuguese planes have been shot down in the South of Tanzania. A liberated region in Tete was visited in August by members of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné.

In Guiné, a team from the UN Committee on Decolonisation made a successful visit, under the auspices of the PAIGC, to part of the territory, despite a determined attempt by the Portuguese forces, in their biggest operation of the war, to destroy or capture the mission. In its reports of the visit, the Committee of 24 announced its recognition of PAIGC as the sole representative of the people of Guiné, and called for UN Agencies to do likewise. PAIGC has continued to consolidate its position throughout Guiné, and has demonstrated its ability to mount full scale attacks on Bissau and the other major towns.

In Portugal itself, the 'fourth front' of the war has continued its activities. Explosions at the NATO base and at military and government establishments throughout Portugal have continued despite the declaration by the government of a 'state of subversion'. The strength of resistance within Portugal was demonstrated by a series of explosions which took place on 13 August in the biggest towns, Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra, as well as in two country areas. Over 20 key power-pylons were destroyed, causing water cuts and blackouts in the main urban centres just as the national TV address by President Tomaz after his re-election to a new 7-year term of office was due to begin.

In the light of the continuing successes of the liberation movements it is not surprising that we have to record new levels of activity by Portugal's allies. South African and Rhodesian troops are constantly more in evidence in Mozambique and Angola, and President Banda of Malawi made a visit to Mozambique including a trip to Cabora Bassa. America once more declared its hand with a virtual gift of \$500 million to Portugal in return for continued use of its Azores Base. In Britain, Rui Patricio made the first official visit of a Portuguese foreign minister for a decade, and plans are going ahead for the celebration in 1973 of the 600th anniversary of Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. At the same time, special arrangements for Portugal with the EEC have been supported by these same allies.

The continuing successes of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné have forced Portugal and those who support its wars of white supremacy into more desperate acts of repression. Yet, as new liberated areas are established and new military fronts opened, the final victory of the majority peoples cannot be in doubt.

CAMPAIGN ON THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

In our work throughout the year in support of the struggle for the liberation of the Portuguese territories, we have constantly worked in close cooperation with the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné.

In October, the Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, visited Britain on a speaking tour, organised by the Committee. He addressed meetings of 1500 people in London and Manchester, and smaller meetings in Leeds, Dublin and again in London. He had press and TV interviews and

meetings with leading members of the trade union movement, and the Labour, Liberal and Communist Parties. Cabral's visit was followed up in May by a speaking tour by Gil Fernandes of PAIGC's Central Committee. The Movement assisted the CFMAG in organising these events.

The official visit to Britain by Dr Rui Patricio, Portugal's Foreign Minister, took him to many appointments at government offices. Demonstrations were organised wherever he went, and the Movement also assisted in the organisation of these. During his visit, plans were made for the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in 1973, and the Movement will be working on an effective protest at these in the months ahead.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Some details of these developments, such as those relating to political trials, are given under the specific headings which follow. Many of the campaigns undertaken by the AAM are directed against apartheid in South Africa and against the implementation of the apartheid system as it is seen in education, political detentions, sport and other fields.

A vital factor, emphasised in the Movement's publications and also in campaigns relating to Rhodesia, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, is the alliance between Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa. All three are determined to maintain minority race rule in Southern Africa and are supported in this determination by western countries with massive investments in South Africa, in particular Britain. And all clearly have an interest in maintaining the status quo.

Political trials, detentions, security-police torture and the development of new levels of protest within South Africa have been the dominant news items in the past year.

The trial of 13 alleged members of the Unity Movement of South Africa, in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, which opened at the same time as that of the Dean of Johannesburg in Pretoria (2 August 1971), resulted, after numerous adjournments, in all 13 being found guilty and the affidavits on torture by the Security police, filed by 12 of the 13 accused, dismissed.

The appeal lodged by the Dean against his sentence of 5 years' imprisonment was successful and he left South Africa soon after this judgement was announced.

Another trial, of six men also charged under the Terrorism Act and alleged to be members of the banned Pan African Congress, took place at the same time in Bloemfontein. All were found guilty.

In September, the Revd Bernard Wrankmore started a protest fast against the death in detention in 1969 of the Imam Haron, and called for a commission of inquiry into the circumstances surrounding his death. This protest aroused great interest and generated a demand for an overall inquiry into security police methods of interrogation. The Revd Wrankmore maintained the protest for 67 days but the South African government rejected his request.

An extensive series of police raids was carried out in October. At least 115 people were raided and some 46 detained under the Terrorism Act. One of the detainees, Ahmed Timol, a thirty-year-old schoolteacher, was alleged to have jumped to his death from the tenth-floor window of the security police

headquarters in Johannesburg, six days after his detention on 22 October. His death, the nineteenth known to have taken place under security police interrogation, bore a horrifying resemblance to that of Suliman Saloojee, alleged to have fallen to his death from a seventh-floor window in the security police headquarters eight years earlier.

Massive protests took place inside South Africa and elsewhere against the death of Ahmed Timol and the wave of detentions. Indian leaders declared 10 November as a national day of mourning, and the Indian Congress issued a statement calling for a 'display in tangible terms of opposition to the Government in power'. In London, the offices of the African National Congress said: 'These brave patriots who are challenging the fascist regime inside South Africa are in dire need of the support and protection of every self-respecting human being throughout the world.'

Mohammed Essop, detained with Ahmed Timol, was seen by his father, in a hospital, seriously injured. A court order restraining the police from assaulting him was granted on 29 October. He was later removed to a prison hospital, where again his family were not permitted to visit him. He is now being tried, together with Yusef Hassan Essack, Indhrasen Moodley and Amina Desai. They are charged with distributing *Inkululeko*, the South African Communist Party newspaper, and with being members of the Party.

Despite medical evidence to the contrary, the magistrate conducting the inquest on Ahmed Timol found that he has not been tortured by the security police.

On 7 October Dr Ndia Koffi, Minister of State in the Ivory Coast, one of the francophone African countries leading the offensive for a dialogue with the South African government, visited South Africa and met Prime Minister Vorster. The Ivory Coast Foreign Minister subsequently told a press conference at the UN that if dialogue proved ineffective the Ivory Coast would not pursue it. Towards the end of the year, the Lesotho government, hitherto supporters of a pro-dialogue stand, intervened and persuaded the Ivory Coast not to send further representatives to South Africa. Chief Leabua Jonathan stated that this initiative was taken because the South African government was taking advantage of the countries favoring dialogue. President Fouché of South Africa paid a visit to Malawi in March, to counter the diminishing success of the dialogue policy and to give some credence to South African government propaganda indicating that this policy was producing results. But in May it met with a further setback with the change of government in Malagasy. In June, the new Foreign Minister, Commander Didier Rasiraka, announced that all relations with South Africa were now severed and that the agreement under which South Africa was to build a tourist resort on the island was cancelled.

In consequence of the South African government attempts to 'sell' the apartheid policy, the three Bantustan leaders, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Lucas Mangope and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, spent three weeks in Britain in October last year. In the *Sunday Telegraph* (24.10.71), however, Chief Buthelezi was quoted as saying: 'The white man has played God to us too long.'

In recent months, Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei has made repeated demands for more land — demands that have also been made by Chief Buthelezi over the past year. Other speeches made by these leaders exposing their lack of power have re-emphasised the hypocrisy of the Bantustan system. The government has responded by reminding the Bantustan Chiefs of a

directive which forbids them to leave their 'homelands' without permission and does not allow them to communicate with each other without government permission.

Following the cancellation last year by the Australians of the South African cricket tour, the campaign against the forthcoming South African rugby tour of New Zealand has received international publicity. Appeals by the New Zealand government for the South Africans to allow mixed trials for membership of the team have been rejected by the new Minister of Sport, Dr Piet Koornhof. He announced early in September this year that, as in the past, this would be an all-white team.

Prime Minister Vorster, at a National Party Congress in October 1971, was reported to have said that an armed party of South African police had pursued guerrilla forces into Zambia, following two landmine explosions in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia. This statement made headlines in the press but was subsequently denied by Mr Vorster, the South African government and Dr Muller, South Africa's representative at the UN. The South African government have in the past repeatedly threatened Zambia, and Mr Vernon Mwaanga, Zambian representative at the UN, confirmed the original report and listed a further 24 incidents of border and airspace violations.

South Africa continues to increase its military power. Six corvettes equipped with guided missiles were ordered by the government. It was reported that the hulls were likely to be built in Portugal and the sophisticated electronic equipment, including anti-submarine and detection devices, would be ordered from France which has already supplied Mirage fighter planes, helicopters, tanks, patrol vessels and four submarines. In December, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr Joseph Godber, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, said the contract for the supply of seven Wasp helicopters to South Africa had been signed, although it appears that work on this order has not yet been started.

A parliamentary select committee was appointed by the South African government early this year to investigate the aims, objects and activities of the national Union of South African Students, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute, and the Institute of Race Relations, all, as described by Gemini News Service, 'eminently respectable' by 'Western standards'. The South African *Sunday Express* (6.2.72) stated that these bodies were lawful organisations and as the government had been unable to charge any of them in a court of law it was intending to put them on trial before a parliamentary select committee.

The overall gap between black and white wages continued to grow. The Vice-President of the South African Chamber of Mines announced that the wage gap in the mining industry had doubled since 1944 and a survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations stated that half the Africans in Greater Cape Town were living below the poverty datum line — calculated in 1970 to be £37.41 per month for a family of six.

African bus drivers went on strike on 2 June in support of a demand for higher wages. Of the 830 on strike, 300 were arrested under the Bantu Labour Act which makes all African strikes illegal. Eventually released on bail, they are currently awaiting trial under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

On 24 July, more than 4,000 people attended a memorial service to mark the fifth anniversary of the death of Chief Albert Lutuli. The flag of the African

National Congress, of which Chief Lutuli was President and which since 1960 has been a banned organisation, was carried by men dressed in the khaki of the ANC volunteers, and a tape recording of the speech made by Chief Lutuli in 1961 when accepting the Nobel Peace Prize was played by Sonny Leon, leader of the Coloured Labour Party.

The new militant mood in South Africa was in evidence at the conference of the Labour Party Youth Organisation held recently in Johannesburg. The manifesto adopted at this conference rejected any form of representation in the current white parliament, and called for the establishment of education programmes and community schools outside government control. The youth section of the Labour Party has also called for a wine boycott in protest against the appalling exploitation of workers in the Cape vineyards.

On 1 May, student leader Abraham Tiro gave the graduation address at the black University of the North at Turfloop. He attacked the apartheid system, the Bantustan policy and all those who collaborated with it. This speech resulted in his expulsion from the university. The entire student body reacted by staging an 8-hour sit-in in protest, and were themselves expelled. Strikes and boycotts followed at the Indian and Coloured universities, and in early June white students took up the protest. Police violence against these white demonstrators swelled their numbers, bringing in a larger section of the white community, particularly from the churches. Over 500 arrests were made and the government responded by placing a ban on demonstrations until 1 August.

The black student organisation, SASO (South African Students Organisation) played a big role in coordinating these protests, and also organised support meetings in the communities from which the students came. At the SASO conference held in July, the Bantustan policy was condemned and the SASO executive instructed to have nothing to do with the 'so-called leadership' of the Bantustans. The SASO policy manifesto states: 'We accept the premise that before black people join the open society, they should first close their ranks to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism meted out by white society.'

The action taken by the black students is not only in protest against the unequal educational opportunities but against the system which relegates them to inferior universities controlled by white authorities and condemns them to an inferior life at every level under white supremacist rule.

Campaign against Investment

The continuing work of exposing the role of British companies in supporting white supremacy in Southern Africa has expanded considerably over the last year. New calls from within Southern Africa have re-emphasised the need for complete withdrawal of Western financial involvement in apartheid — in particular, the South African Student Organisation, the Coloured Labour Party and the African National Council in Zimbabwe have repeated this call.

The Movement, working closely with the Dambusters Mobilising Committee, has constantly focused attention on the **Cabora Bassa Dam** in Mozambique and on the **Cunene** scheme in Angola. With respect to Cabora Bassa, the most outstanding developments during the year have been the mounting successes of FRELIMO operations in the area and throughout Tete province.

MPLA in Angola have also made important progress by opening a new front at Cunene. The special emphasis given by the Cabora Bassa campaign to the

role of international capital in Southern Africa has contributed to a wider recognition and understanding of this form of collaboration and has expanded the general work in companies of the Movement — with which the Cabora Bassa campaign has merged.

About 20 supporters attended the Barclays Annual General Meeting, during which it was announced that the bank was no longer directly involved in Cabora Bassa and that it knew nothing of Cunene. The demonstrators asked persistent questions and tried to present a resolution about the role of the bank in Southern Africa. A banner was unfurled, and five protesters were removed forcibly from the meeting when they insisted on answers to their questions, which led to a declaration by the Chairman of Barclays International that it was the bank's duty to stay in Southern Africa. During the year, Barclays' merger with Barclays DCO was completed and their operations rationalised through Barclays International. A new subsidiary, Barclays National, was formed in South Africa with a view to issuing shares on the Johannesburg exchange. Numerous Barclays accounts, large and small, continue to be closed by supporters of the Movement, among them a Berkshire school, and the St Pancras North Labour Party has called for the closure of the Camden Council account.

The takeover of United Transport Ltd, who hold important transport contracts for the dam, by British Electric Traction has precluded any protests at their meeting, but plans have been made for next year. Future protests against ICI involvement in the scheme through supplies of explosives by its subsidiary African Explosives and Chemical Industries have also been planned.

Groups of protesters attended the annual shareholders meetings of RTZ (at which a questioner demanding a reply to his query about the legality of operations in Namibia was forced to leave), ICI and Charter Consolidated, and questions about Southern Africa were pressed at the Cape Asbestos, Turner & Newall and Lonrho meetings. These activities have continued to be well reported in the press. Pickets of ICI and RTZ formed part of the Movement's activities on March 21, the twelfth anniversary of Sharpeville, which highlighted the major points of collaboration with racism in each of the territories of Southern Africa.

The example of RTZ has emphasised the position of companies operating in Namibia in spite of the ruling by the International Court of Justice and its appeal for an end to dealings through the illegal South African government. A considerable amount of work has also been necessary to counter moves to introduce 'compromise' solutions to circumvent the necessity to withdraw. Schemes for double taxation and drives for improved conditions in no way undermine the system of apartheid or remove the fundamental support given to oppression by the presence of international companies in Southern Africa.

The conference held for South Africa Freedom Day discussed in detail Western European collaboration with Southern Africa, and the economic basis of apartheid. Examination of the nature of the demands which should be made by the Movement in the light of widespread discussion of compromise solutions to this issue re-affirmed support for the call for total disengagement from Southern Africa. The Movement held discussions with Jeremy Thorpe about his proposed campaign to involve MPs in his call for a new investment policy regarding British firms operating in South Africa.

More than 2,000 copies of the pamphlet on Cabora Bassa prepared by the Dambusters Mobilising Committee have been sold, and leaflets, stickers and

information sheets continue to be distributed. The demand for background information about companies with interests in Southern Africa grows constantly and we now hold files on nearly 100 companies. Fact sheets are compiled and distributed from time to time, and research work continues. In particular, information has been supplied for campaigns conducted against Reckitt & Colman in Hull, the Anglo-American Corporation and Roberts Construction in Nottingham, Charter Consolidated in Manchester, Slater Walker at Newcastle University and for continued work against the Polaroid Corporation. Material has also been supplied for numerous publications and articles relating to Southern Africa — in particular an 'Anti-Report' prepared on RTZ — and also for many successful church, student, labour party and trade union campaigns, throughout the country for the removal of local investments from firms with South African interests. These included the withdrawal of £150,000 worth of investments by Camden Council, the closure of Cheltenham College of Art & Design's account with Carreras/Rothmans, Newbury Labour Party's selling of its shares in Slater Walker Securities, and Manchester University's divestment of £50,000 of Charter Consolidated and £90,000 of Consolidated Gold Fields shares. Recent news reports have implicated British Petroleum in supplies through a South African subsidiary of chemicals used as defoliants by the Portuguese in Mozambique. The Movement is assisting with the background research and organisation needed for a major campaign exposing the links of the British, South African and Portuguese governments with BP in these atrocities.

Firms with interests in Rhodesia continue to expand their operations there and to press for a 'settlement', while no mention of Rhodesia is made in the company annual reports to shareholders. The presence of British companies was highlighted by teams of businessmen visiting Rhodesia during the period after the settlement proposals were made, and by African strikes at the Hippo Valley sugar estates and at an RTZ mine. The London offices of Tate & Lyle were picketed on the occasion of their AGM to call attention to this, and this hidden factor has been emphasised throughout the campaign against a British sell-out in Rhodesia. Attention was also drawn to instances of sanctions-busting by British companies, in particular a report on the operations of Bells Asbestos and Engineering.

South Africa's efforts to promote its business interests in the UK are constantly countered by the Movement. In particular, a nine-man mission from the South Africa-British Trade Association (SABRITA) which visited Britain in October met demonstrations at its engagements in London, Manchester and Southampton, hostile questions at its press conference at the CBI and an almost total boycott by MPs of a meeting for it in the House of Commons.

Current reports of the possibility of the British Steel Corporation hugely expanding its already considerable links with South Africa, by siting a new steel plant there, re-emphasise the essence of international business collaboration with apartheid. Whilst redundancies in the British steel industry are constantly mounting, a new factory in South Africa would lend support to the system of apartheid and at the same time increase the profit from this investment through the exploitation of the cheap black labour force that is central to apartheid. The Movement will fight this development over the coming months.

South Africa Freedom Day (26 June)

Britain's economic stake in Southern Africa was the theme of the meeting, held on 1 July, and the statement printed in the *Guardian* on 26 June to commemorate South Africa Freedom Day. The statement called for 'an early severance of traditional British support for the racist regimes in Southern Africa', and was signed by 129 people well known in every sector of public life. It provoked a useful reaction from readers and it is planned to print it and circulate it more widely in the UK and abroad.

For details of the meeting held on 1 July, see *Campaign Against Investment*.

Sharpeville (21 March)

To mark the 12th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, simultaneous demonstrations were held:

- outside South Africa House: calling for the release of all political prisoners
- outside Rhodesia House: calling for no independence before majority rule
- outside RTZ: attacking the firm's involvement in Namibia in defiance of UN resolutions
- outside ICI offices: condemning its involvement in the building of the Cabora Bassa Dam.

These demonstrations were held to emphasise the fact that the struggles throughout Southern Africa are linked, and the leaflet written for this occasion described the nature of the collaboration between the governments of Portugal, South Africa and the Smith regime (see *Campaign Against Investments*).

Following these protests, placard-carrying demonstrators massed at the corner of Downing Street as the petition against the proposed settlement in Rhodesia was delivered by a group of MPs (see *Campaign on Rhodesia*).

Political Prisoners

A document on detention without trial and on the nineteen people known to have died in detention was written and circulated to groups in the UK and to anti-apartheid committees in other countries. It was given to the press and used extensively in articles in the *Times* and *Guardian*.

On 29 October, following the announcement of the death of Ahmed Timol, a demonstration condemning the apartheid system, the brutality of the security police and the Terrorism Act was organised outside South Africa House and a special leaflet distributed. Horror and revulsion at the manner of his death brought a larger crowd than anticipated to this demonstration, which was organised at short notice, among them many ex-political prisoners from South Africa. Again, on 23 November, while South Africa House was being 'occupied' by exiled South Africans and a number of well known British people in protest at the death of Timol and calling for the release of the detainees, the Movement arranged a supporting demonstration outside the Embassy.

The biographical material which has been prepared on some political prisoners has now been circulated and a number of local groups have 'adopted' a political prisoner, made contact with his or her family, and are embarking on publicity campaigns in the form of meetings, letters to the press and public demonstrations calling for their release. The Movement is now planning to enlarge the number of these biographies to include Namibian and Rhodesian political prisoners.

Early in the year, personal reports given to the AAM indicated that some prisoners on Robben Island, including Nelson Mandela, were being kept in isolation and denied study facilities. This information was passed to the press and on the day it appeared the South African Minister of Justice issued a denial. The information received was subsequently confirmed, and the publicity given to the case helped to change the conditions under which the prisoners were being held.

On 10 April, following the announcement of the sentences on the thirteen Unity Movement members, who had been on trial in Pietermaritzburg and who were all found guilty, a demonstration was organised condemning their detention, torture and trial. It was at the opening of this trial, which lasted for eight months, that the *Sunday Telegraph*, quoting the South African *Sunday Tribune*, wrote: ' . . . allegations of police brutality had been occurring with sickening frequency in South Africa and the details of alleged torture methods were horrifying. A disturbing consistency of names and methods ran through the torture claims.'

The Movement is constantly on the alert to publicise and protest on behalf of political prisoners and detainees throughout Southern Africa. Information is regularly fed to the press, and a recent example is the publication in the *Guardian* on 9 September of an interview with a prisoner released from Robben Island, who described the inhuman conditions endured by himself and his fellow political prisoners.

Cultural Boycott

In October 1971, ARNOLD Wesker, one of the original signatories of the Cultural Boycott launched by the AAM in 1963 and reaffirmed in 1968, decided that he would no longer forbid the performance of his work to segregated audiences and announced his decision to the press. This created some public controversy and the Movement contacted playwrights who met, together with representatives from the Movement, for further discussion on this boycott which has been steadily maintained by most British playwrights. Harold Pinter, David Mercer and John Bowen were among the thirty playwrights who took part in this discussion and drafted a new pledge reaffirming that they would not permit the performance of their work before segregated audiences and that a clause to this effect would be inserted in all their contracts. The statement was circulated to playwrights and then sent out as a press statement with fifty signatories. The number of signatures has since increased.

When Dame Margot Fonteyn's tour of South Africa was announced early this year, the Movement wrote urging her to reconsider her decision. Information on segregation in the theatre and the meagre cultural facilities available to Africans, Coloureds and Indians was sent to her, plus information on the general political situation. This was followed by another letter a month later. On her arrival in South Africa, she was met by protest demonstrations, and her performance for Coloureds and Indians was boycotted.

Letters have also been written to Cilla Black in reference to her projected tour of Rhodesia, and news of her decision is now awaited.

Tribute must be paid to the assistance received by the Movement from the Musicians Union which has, since 1964, fully implemented the boycott against South Africa and to the ACTT which has rendered invaluable support and assistance.

Work is now being done on the situation regarding the establishment of a television service in South Africa and the application of the cultural boycott in this field.

The cultural boycott has a significance far in excess of the number of its signatories. It commands public attention and continues to make a considerable impact within South Africa.

Architects and the boycott of South Africa

Towards the end of last year the AAM called together a group of architects to discuss a campaign within the RIBA to terminate its association with the South African Institute of Architects, to withdraw RIBA sponsored courses in South Africa, and to stop granting associate membership of the RIBA to architects trained in South Africa. Architecture as a course is not available at the African, Coloured and Indian universities, and applications to study either architecture or engineering at the 'white' universities have to be submitted to the Minister, who more often than not rejects them.

Individual architect supporters of this boycott are in contact with the RIBA and though the campaign is still in its embryonic stage the Movement is planning to circulate a resolution along the lines indicated above, for submission to the RIBA annual general meeting.

During this period a vigorous correspondence has been conducted in the pages of the *Architects Journal* and in the journal of the Town Planning Institute.

Apartheid in Education

In connection with the joint AAM/NUS demonstration in solidarity with black and white students in South Africa (see *Student Activity*), Academics were also contacted: some participated in the demonstration, and almost all who were spoken to agreed to sign a letter to the South African Ambassador — opposing apartheid in education, declaring support for the demonstrators in South Africa and protesting at their treatment. Over 200 signatures were obtained. The South African Embassy, however, refused to accept the letters. The campaign gained immediate and enthusiastic support and helped to inform large sections of the British public of the inequalities of the South African education system, and will be pursued in the autumn.

Sport

Demonstrations were organised at the matches during the visit of a Coloured rugby team from South Africa — the Proteas — early in 1972. And in May, prior to their departure for South Africa, the English rugby team attended a reception at the South African Embassy and met Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstrators. These demonstrations received wide coverage in the South African press and, judging from reports, are heartening signs of support to the African, Coloured and Indian peoples within the country.

Following on the letters written to Olympic Committees and to governments early in 1971, further efforts were made to ensure Rhodesia's exclusion from the Olympic Games. Early in August cables were sent to Chancellor Brandt, and the Labour Party, with whom contact had been made, passed a resolution urging Rhodesia's exclusion.

We have been called upon by groups in New Zealand to assist in their

campaign against the visit of the Springbok rugby team, and have sent information, posters and leaflets and publicised their efforts in *AA News*. Activities in support of the campaign in New Zealand will be undertaken in the next few months. Contacts will also be made with groups in South America in reference to South Africa's readmission to the Davis Cup championships in the South American zone; and action taken against the projected South African Squash Rackets tour of Britain and Ireland planned to start in December.

Though major publicised tours do not appear to be taking place, lesser known teams in different sports are visiting South Africa and all-white South African teams are playing in this country. The Monmouthshire Anti-Apartheid Group has been very active on the issue as a number of teams from Wales have toured and are planning tours of Rhodesia and South Africa. A more vigilant eye needs to be kept on the infringement of the sports boycott if the original impact made by the cancellation of the South African cricket tour is to be maintained.

ORGANISATION

Work in the Trade Union Movement

Over the past year substantial advances have been made in trade union work. The confrontation with the government over the Industrial Relations Act has dominated the trade union movement during this period and the resulting political awareness has assisted the Movement in furthering its trade union activities. With more trade union attention being paid to the role of multinational corporations, the AAM's campaign on companies will gain an added dimension.

The TUC resolution on Southern Africa passed last year has helped to create an atmosphere more sympathetic to our activities and to give greater weight to the policies we are advocating. Offers from the Movement to make its resources available to the TUC to assist in the implementation of the resolution were not taken up, and further work will be needed if the Congress resolution is to become a reality. The resolution is still insufficiently known at shop floor level and a poster which includes the text of the resolution has now been produced for distribution to union branches.

The most important event of the year in our trade union work was the weekend residential conference at Plaw Hatch Trade Union Country Club on 18-19 March. Forty trade unionists attended the conference, of whom 25 were delegates. The following unions sent national delegates: CPSA, NUPE, AUEW (TASS), SLADE & PW and FTAT. The conference, was addressed by representatives from SACTU, the ANC (South Africa), SWAPO, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné, and the AAM. The situation in Southern Africa was studied in some depth, and plans of action for trade unionists in Britain outlined. These plans were drawn up by the discussion groups and then put to the conference for its endorsement. The final resolution adopted by the conference was sent to national trade unions and to trade union contacts. Conference participants have continued to be active in support of the Movement's work both at a national and local level. As a result of the discussions at the conference, the Movement is now in a better position to

implement its policies effectively within the labour movement. In response to a recommendation from the conference, the AAM plans to hold such conferences annually. It is also hoped to hold at least one regional conference a year.

Further general advances are reflected in the increasing consideration of Southern African issues by trade union annual conferences. At the conference of the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers, Coppersmiths, Heating and Domestic Engineers, three resolutions were tabled and adopted. One resolution was on Namibia, a territory which had previously been almost totally ignored. At the AUEW-TASS conference a series of resolutions relating to Southern Africa was submitted. And at the conference of the AUEW (which represents 1.4 million workers) held at Hastings in June, a resolution calling for an end to British investment in South Africa and supporting workers who blacked arms for South Africa, was passed unanimously. Although the Movement cannot claim that such resolutions stem directly from its activities, there is no doubt that steady work is having its effect.

Following the announcement of the Rhodesia settlement proposals by Sir Alec Douglas-Home in November, the terms were considered by the General Council of the TUC, which rejected them as a basis for a settlement. Articles on Rhodesia, written by members of the Movement, appeared in a number of union journals. In February, a meeting was arranged between Bishop Muzorewa and the Assistant Secretary of the TUC, Lionel Murray; and a further meeting was arranged when a delegation from the African National Council visited Britain in April. This delegation also met the President of the National Union of Teachers and urged his union to discourage its members from emigrating to Rhodesia. Informal discussions were held with members of the Tobacco Workers Union to consider action in the event of the government lifting sanctions. The 1972 TUC Congress, meeting at Brighton in September, adopted a motion calling for no independence before majority rule and the intensification of sanctions, and appealed to trade unionists not to emigrate to Rhodesia. The motion was proposed by Lawrence Daly of the NUM and seconded by the AUEW (Engineering Section).

The strike of workers in Namibia, which began in December, was supported by British trade unions. The General Council issued a solidarity statement, as did a number of unions including the National Union of Mineworkers. A letter which appeared in *The Guardian* signed by leading trade unionists supporting the Namibian strikers and publicising their plight, received considerable attention both nationally and internationally. Messages of solidarity were sent by trade unionists to the SWAPO Namibia International Conference in Brussels, and the message from Jack Jones of the T&GWU was read to the conference.

Action has continued on the campaign against the emigration of workers to South Africa. A leaflet on emigration has been widely distributed and a poster has now also been produced. Attempts to organise coordinated action against the South African immigration offices have as yet been unsuccessful. In the spring, teaching unions responded to an appeal by the Movement to campaign against a visiting recruiting mission from the University of Witwatersrand. In the main, unions do not advertise posts in South Africa in their journals, and do attempt to dissuade their members from emigrating, but further efforts must be made to get through to workers who are not active members of their unions or not union members at all.

No further announcements have been made by the government on the sale of

arms to South Africa. In December, Westlands stated that the South African government's order for seven Wasp helicopters had been confirmed. At the time of writing, the unions involved have reported that no steps have been taken to commence work on this order. From time to time reports have appeared in the national press suggesting that various orders for arms from the South African government were pending, and attempts have been made to build up contacts in factories where arms contracts are likely to be placed.

A delegation of South African businessmen, which included the President of the Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), visited Britain for two weeks in late September. The Movement wrote to the TUC urging them to cancel their appointment with the delegation, and the matter was also raised at the following TUC General Council meeting. Trade unionists were active, particularly in the Manchester area, in protesting against the presence of this delegation.

Progress has been made in developing support in Scotland. During a tour of Scotland undertaken by the AAM Field Officer, he addressed both Edinburgh and Dundee Trades Councils and met representatives of the Scottish TUC and Glasgow Trades Council. In April, a representative of the Movement attended the STUC Congress in Dunoon as a Visitor.

Stimulus was given to the campaign against trade union investments in firms with South African subsidiaries by the Brighton TUC Congress. A motion proposed by AUEW-TASS calling for the withdrawal of TUC investments in all such firms was unanimously adopted, and was given wide coverage in the press. The General Secretary of the TUC, speaking on the motion, told Congress: 'I hope to be able to tell you next year that we have nothing at all in these companies'. Individual unions continue to hold funds in firms with South African interests but considerable pressure is now building up within these unions for the liquidation of all such investments.

The Trade Union Action Committee has met regularly to programme work in the trade unions. There has been a further strengthening of its membership, and the Committee's minutes are also sent to those who attended the Plaw Hatch conference. John Gaetsewe, the Western Europe representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), has continued to sit on the committee, and close cooperation with SACTU greatly contributes to our work.

Three more national trade unions, with a combined membership of over 400,000, have affiliated to the Movement this year. These are the Association of Professional, Clerical and Computer Staff (APEX — formerly CAWU), AUEW — Technical and Supervisory Section (formerly DATA) and the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA). Trades Council affiliations have also increased.

At the Tenth World Congress of the ICFTU, held in London in July, delegates were addressed by Ambassador Farah, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. He called on delegates to ensure that their unions had no monies invested in firms with South African subsidiaries, to campaign more vigorously against the emigration of workers to South Africa, and to give greater attention and support to the struggle in Namibia.

At the ILO Conference in Geneva in June, the workers' members decided to hold an international conference during next year's ILO Conference to work out a common programme of action by trade unionists against the South African government's apartheid policy.

Lobbying in Political Parties

Contact is maintained with political parties both at the national and local level. In particular, the Movement has worked to develop its links with constituency and local labour parties, the trade unions, with the Co-operative movement and with political parties and groupings not represented in Parliament.

The labour movement has been the target of our concentrated effort. In addition to supplying background material and speakers, meetings are held at the Labour and Liberal Party Conferences, suggested points for inclusion in resolutions submitted to these conferences are circulated and delegates assisted with information briefings.

Regular mailings are sent to members of all political parties in the House of Commons, questions in relation to particular developments are frequently suggested to MPs, and again background information supplied. Meetings to discuss important issues such as the role of investment in Southern Africa and the case for disengagement are arranged and Members of Parliament are invited to participate in many of our public demonstrations.

As a non-party political organisation, the Movement works to generate activity over as broad a political spectrum as possible and aspects of this work are also detailed under *The Campaigns*.

AAM BRANCH ACTIVITIES

Local activity continues to be developed throughout Britain. The level of activity has been maintained and in many areas significantly increased. This work is fundamental to the Movement, for it is at the local level that the educational process must be undertaken and the relevance of Southern Africa to the man in the street illustrated. The majority of the branches run their own programmes, drawing on the office resources from time to time and acting in response to national campaigns. Although their strengths fluctuate, the continuing work undertaken at a local level is crucial.

The Movement has approximately 40 active branches, as far apart as Exeter and Aberdeen. Some of our weaker branches have experienced difficulties, and a few of these have closed down, but we are now in a position where most major towns have an active AAM branch. This is a position which must be consolidated and extended in the coming year.

During the course of the year new groups have been formed in Galashiels, Aberdeen, Sheffield, Lambeth, Eastbourne and Chelmsford. Thus, our forces in Scotland particularly have been strengthened, and Sheffield makes an important addition in Yorkshire. In London, with the founding of the Lambeth branch and the energetic activities undertaken by Barnet, it is only in East London that progress has not been made. Both West London and Hampstead branches have continued to work effectively.

The most extensive local group programme was run by the Birmingham group, particularly during the period following the Smith/Home settlement on Rhodesia and the subsequent test of acceptability by the Pearce Commission. A large meeting was addressed by Bishop Muzorewa of the ANC (Rhodesia) and a whole range of activities were undertaken and large quantities of information and publicity material, opposing the settlement terms, produced and distributed.

In Scotland the Edinburgh group was joined by others, including Glasgow, in the formation of a broad-based ad hoc committee calling itself the Scottish

Rhodesia Campaign. The main event in the committee's activities was the public meeting held in the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, on 4 March which was attended by 800 people and addressed by Guy Clutton Brock among others. John Sprack spoke on behalf of the AAM.

The Manchester group has continued its tradition as one of the mainstays of the Movement. Active on South Africa and Rhodesia, its high point this year was the organisation (in conjunction with others) of a highly successful mass meeting in October for Amilcar Cabral which was attended by 1,500 people. Mid-Sussex in a difficult area, again organised a very full and successful programme. In conjunction with the Brighton branch protests were made about a South African team participating in the World Bowls Championship held at Worthing in June. Again in a difficult area, the Exeter branch has expanded its activities, most notably with the holding of a regional conference in April. The West Wales branch has engaged in a successful propaganda attack on the local Springbok Association, and Aberdeen has been engaged in similar activities. The Mid-Herts and Surrey groups were active in opposing the racially-selected 'Coloured' Proteas Rugby team from South Africa, at the turn of the year. A week-long exhibition, organised by the Leeds Anti-Racialism Committee, successfully overcame attempts by the racist opposition to destroy the exhibits. Groups such as York, Southend, Glasgow, Derby and Nottingham have maintained a regular programme and Southampton has considerably extended its activities.

Local groups have continued to respond very positively to national calls for action (particularly in relation to the 13 February demonstration) but have not fully involved themselves in policy-making decision through their membership of the National Committee. It is often difficult for a local committee representative to attend meetings, but it remains extremely important that the National Committee is kept in close touch with the local groups and is aware of local conditions and activities.

Student Activity

During the course of the year, students and their unions have been under attack by the Government. These attacks have been warded off till now, but if successful they would considerably undermine the ability of students to act on political issues including apartheid and racism in Southern Africa. In the fight to obtain and maintain student union autonomy, students have in the main recognised the political nature of their situation, and the connection between their struggles and those of the peoples of Southern Africa.

This situation, coupled with an increasingly effective and productive relationship with the NUS, has considerably assisted in the advance of our work amongst students.

A scheme has been implemented jointly with the NUS whereby a network of student activists has been set up, covering as much of Britain as possible. Each area has such a student who is responsible for getting activities organised in the colleges and who receives regular newsletters and from time to time attends network meetings in London. Four such meetings were held during the year culminating in a student conference on Southern Africa in July, where plans for the coming session were prepared. At the same time bilateral links have been maintained with our student contacts.

The main focus of attention during the year has been the situation in

Zimbabwe. At all levels the response of the students was very encouraging. The settlement terms were widely denounced and students were often the instigators of local protest action. Students from Brighton, Southampton and London took part in a demonstration organised by AAM at the Tory Party Conference in Brighton to protest about the impending deal over Rhodesia. Excellent support was also given by students to the 13 February demonstration organised by RECC. The NUS, who were members of RECC, called on their members to support the demonstration and produced badges and posters to publicise it. At the NUS Extraordinary Conference in January an emergency motion was passed rejecting the settlement terms and calling for NIBMAR and an intensification of sanctions.

On 12 February, immediately prior to the Trafalgar Square demonstration, a meeting of European student unions called on the initiative of the NUS, was held in London. Delegates attended from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the USSR, France, Malta and the International Union of Students. Messages of support were received from Poland, Ireland and Yugoslavia. The meeting was addressed by Bishop Muzorewa and by a representative of the AAM. The delegates also took part in the demonstration the next day.

Work on Namibia has increased enormously, and was particularly stimulated by the attendance of a delegation of 10 students drawn from the NUS/AAM network at the Namibia International Conference in Brussels in May. Ideas for action emerging from the Conference were considered at a report-back meeting of the delegation, and recommendations made to the July student conference. The expertise obtained by those attending the Conference will make a valuable contribution to extending knowledge and awareness of Namibia.

The action of black students in South Africa, beginning with the expulsions at Turfloop, and the subsequent demonstrations by white students, were supported by students in Britain. Over 40 student unions sent telegrams of solidarity to SASO and NUSAS. Many union general meetings voted financial support as well. On Friday 9 June, representatives from student unions throughout London took part in a solidarity demonstration called by the AAM and the NUS outside South Africa House. Some 50 students later took part in a sit-in at the South African Airways Office in London. A similar event took place in Manchester on 26 June, South Africa Freedom Day.

Student activity on the Portuguese Territories has been organised in conjunction with the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea and is referred to in the report dealing with the Portuguese territories.

Articles on Southern Africa have appeared in student newspapers; an example is the article written by Judy Todd that was distributed to student newspapers at the time of the Douglas-Home/Smith settlement proposals.

Nearly 70 students, representing 27 colleges and universities attended the residential conference on Southern Africa held at Plaw Hatch, East Grinstead from 7 to 9 July. Speakers from SWAPO, the ANC (South Africa), the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, the AAM and the NUS addressed the conference, in addition to student activists, who also led the discussion groups. A series of recommendations emerged from these groups with three particular campaigns being given priority: a campaign on Namibia, a fund-raising programme for the liberation movements, and a concerted campaign on university investments.

Student unions have continued to affiliate to the Movement, and in his Presidential address to the NUS Spring Conference in Birmingham, Digby Jacks urged unions to affiliate to the AAM and to give it their full support.

At a local level the outstanding event of the year took place at Hull, where the student AA group carried its campaign against Hull University's investments to the mass of students. Early last session, the union told the university that it was concerned about the university's massive investments in Reckitt & Colman, which has considerable holdings in South Africa. Detailed research was undertaken and the results made available to the university authorities who failed to respond in any meaningful way. The University's refusal to take action on these shares resulted in students occupying the administrative block in a sit-in which was to last 13 days. A union meeting of some 2,500 students made the occupation official, and throughout the sit-in student participation was at a high level. Following the sit-in a committee was set up of students, staff and authorities, which reported after the summer term had finished. The authorities still remain opposed to selling their shares in Reckitt & Colman and the campaign will be taken up in the autumn.

Students continue to play a vital part in the Movement's activity. Their ability to respond immediately and vociferously to events is a powerful weapon. Many people however fall into the trap of believing that students as a whole are actively opposed to racism in Southern Africa. This is not the case, and one of our most important jobs is to activate that large body of students, who are at present waiting in the wings, supporting the AAM in principle only.

Work in Schools

The pilot scheme of the education kit being prepared with the assistance of the Movement has now completed its first academic year. The kit, consisting of teachers' notes, hand-out materials for pupils, tape, slides, overhead projector transparencies and wallcharts has been used in 27 schools and colleges and by one youth group. It has now been distributed to eight more schools and colleges for the 1972-3 academic year, and it has also been sent to a number of groups working on similar projects overseas. A new pilot scheme is being launched in Ireland for the coming year. Although there has been no public promotion of the scheme, the demand for the materials, printed in only small quantities for the trial period, is now greater than can be met by our supplies. The materials are currently undergoing major revision, incorporating ideas and criticisms for the reports of teachers involved in the pilot scheme, and the revised version will be ready for final publication at the end of the year. During the year, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution supporting the project, and a contract for it is being discussed with UNESCO.

A conference for school students, the first to be organised by the Movement, was held in London on 21-23 July and attended by a total of 45 students. The conference heard speakers on the major aspects of Southern Africa and on British involvement, and had discussions with representatives of the liberation movements and about future political activity in schools. Useful proposals were made about how the Movement could make contacts and organise in schools, co-operation with the National Union of School Students, fund-raising schemes, and specific recommendations were made about leaflets and information material needed for work in schools. The success of the conference will be particularly useful in expanding the future work of the Movement in schools.

Numerous requests from teachers and pupils for material for school projects concerning Southern Africa continue to be received, and an increasing number of speakers are supplied for meetings and classes at schools.

Speakers Meetings

The number of meetings addressed by speakers from the Movement continues to rise. Over the year, speakers were sent by the office to 253 meetings, and in addition many meetings were arranged privately by our speakers and addressed locally by AAM branches.

The largest demand for speakers was from students, who were addressed at 97 meetings. Forty-four speakers were sent to meetings organised by local committees throughout the country. Twenty-eight meetings or lessons were held at schools and colleges. Other meetings were as follows: Labour Party, Young Socialists, etc. — 22; local organisations (UNA, women's groups, young Zionists, liberals, black groups, community relations, welfare groups) — 24; labour movement, especially trade union branches — 13; Young Conservative branches — 10; Communist Party and YCL — 9; churches, peace groups, humanists — 6.

The period of the main campaign against the proposals for a settlement in Rhodesia, and immediately prior to the Trafalgar Square demonstration, saw the heaviest demand for speakers, with 89 meetings addressed during January and February alone.

Anti-Apartheid News

Anti-Apartheid News has reported the activities of local committees, moves by trade unions against apartheid South Africa, student activity on Southern Africa, and demonstrations and other activities organised directly by the Movement.

It has highlighted particular campaigns and provided information about the background to them — on the proposals for a Rhodesian settlement, on arms sales to South Africa, on Barclays Bank, and on investment, trade, and emigration to South Africa.

AA News carried detailed reports of the build-up of African opposition to the Rhodesian settlement proposals, and exposés of the British business interests that would profit from a settlement. It gave extensive coverage to the great strike of Namibian contract workers and its aftermath, and also covered the Namibia International Conference held in Brussels in May.

An important feature has been the series of interviews with leading figures in the liberation movements, including Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guiné and the Cape Verdes), Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), Daniel Chipenda, member of the Central Committee of MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary of SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples Organisation) and Bishop Muzorewa, Chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Council. It also carried a speech made by Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress on 26 June, South Africa Freedom Day.

Advertising has expanded and numerous reviews of books, pamphlets, films and television programmes on Southern Africa have been carried.

Circulation has remained steady at between 7,000 and 8,000 copies.

Finance and Fund Raising

The financial report for the year will be submitted to the Annual General Meeting and is then generally available to the membership. Both income and expenditure have increased and the resources of the staff will be heavily taxed to raise an equivalent income in the coming year.

A large part of the Movement's funds are derived from membership subscriptions — which have remained steady, sales of *Anti-Apartheid News* and literature sales, plus contributions from local Anti-Apartheid Committees. And in the past year, collections at rallies and meetings have produced more substantial amounts than in earlier years. In addition, the Movement received a most welcome contribution of £3,000 from Rowntrees Social Services Trust, which assisted in easing the financial strains.

However, at least a third of the AAM's income is raised by functions, appeals to individuals and the general appeal at Christmas made by the President, Bishop Ambrose Reeves. A raffle drawn at Christmas was launched in October last year, and in December the appeal was sent out followed by a fund-raising party held on 10 December — Human Rights Day. Early this year we printed a special leaflet for insertion in 20,000 copies of *Private Eye* — this described the work of the Movement, depicted some of our posters, urged readers to join the Movement, to subscribe to the newspaper, and asked for contributions. The return on this effort was excellent. On 16 July this year we held a major fund-raising part, at which entertainment was provided by The Scaffold, Blossom Dearie, Eleanor Bron and John Bird.

In the coming year the Movement's work will undoubtedly need to expand in response to developments in Southern Africa and this challenge can be met effectively only if there is a greater effort by members and supporters to raise the necessary funds.

The National Committee

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and in addition to individual members and local committee representatives its membership includes a broad spread of organisations and the representatives of Southern African liberation movements.

Individual members of the National Committee, which meets every three months, are elected at the Annual General Meeting, and these in turn elect the Executive Committee, which meets monthly.

Decisions taken by the National Committee over the past year have made a significant impact on our work. At the initiative of the meeting held on 7 December 1971, it was decided to form a broad-based committee to work against the Smith-Home settlement proposals, and this resulted in the establishment of the Rhodesia Emergency Campaign Committee. Important decisions taken at subsequent meetings were to give every assistance to the Namibia International Conference held in Brussels in May and to ensure that the Movement was well represented at the Conference (4 March 1972); to cable the OAU Ministerial Council meeting declaring full support for their policy on Zimbabwe (14 June 1972); and to condemn the action of the Ugandan government for its racially-inspired expulsion of Asian residents, while recognising that British policies and legislation, in particular the 1968 Immigration act, have contributed to the situation, deploring the racist attitudes developing in this country following the UK government's decision to receive its

displaced citizens and declaring AAM support for every effort made to welcome them.

Visiting speakers who addressed the Committee included His Excellency Mr Farah, Somalia's permanent representative at the UN and Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, who spoke on the role of the UN in Southern Africa. A special meeting of the National Committee plus individuals and representatives of other organisations was held for Ambassador Salim, Chairman of the UN Committee on Decolonisation (the Committee of 24), following the visit of members of his Committee to the liberated areas of Guiné.

Over the year average attendance has been 35, an increase on last year, but local committee representation, whose experience is vital to the growth and development of the Movement, has been regrettably low. Twelve local committee representatives have given reports to the Committee, others have submitted written reports due to difficulties of time and distance.

The growth of student militancy in South Africa, South Africa and the European Community, the situation in Rhodesia, Namibia, and the campaign on the Portuguese territories have been the subject of particular discussions, and special reports have been given by the Hon. Secretary on conferences abroad which he has attended.

6 INTERNATIONAL

As in the past, the Movement's international work has been limited due to its restricted financial resources. However, it has continued to keep in regular contact with movements abroad and has also provided information to national and international organisations based outside Britain. Contact has also been maintained with the various organs of the United Nations, the OAU and several Commonwealth governments.

In October 1971, the Honorary Secretary, Abdul S. Minty, travelled to Norway, Denmark and Ireland for meetings and conferences on Southern Africa. Later, in January 1972, sent by the International Defence and Aid Fund, he attended the first Special Session of the UN Security Council held away from headquarters in Addis Ababa. At the invitation of the Security Council, he addressed the Special Session and called upon the three Permanent Members of the Council — U.K. France and the USA — to declare 'themselves clearly in support of the African struggle for freedom *or* on the side of the racist and colonial regimes in Africa. It is the answer to this question which would determine whether or not the UN could play a decisive role in helping to bring about African liberation. Britain, the United States and France repeated routine statements of support for African freedom but remained determined to prevent the world organisation from undertaking meaningful action. Resolutions on the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia were tabled — a British veto was once again used over Rhodesia, and the Argentinian move to initiate contacts with Pretoria about Namibia was approved. The first Security Council meeting in Africa was a limited success but the occasion provided an opportunity for informal discussions with members of the Security Council and meetings with representatives of African liberation movements and officials of the OAU.

At the end of February the World Council of Churches organised an international consultation on West Germany on the Cunene River Scheme. The Hon Secretary was invited to give the opening address on 'The Cunene River Scheme in the context of Southern Africa'. The consultation was successful and its major recommendations, which included a call for the withdrawal of investment from Southern Africa and from firms operating there, have subsequently been adopted by the WCC.

At a two-day national conference in Washington on Investment and US Policy towards Southern Africa held in March 1972, the Hon. Secretary was again invited to give the opening address. This was a particularly important conference since the participants, numbering 300, represented active groups plus individuals with special interest in Southern Africa and came from all over the USA. Approximately half the participants were black Americans. Conference passed several resolutions, including a call for an end to overseas investment in Southern Africa, declaring opposition to the chrome imports from Rhodesia, and calling for support for the African liberation movements. In the same month, on behalf of the Movement, he attended a special session of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid on the question of apartheid and international action to counteract it. Proposals formulated at this session have since been considered by the Special Committee and several have been submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Whilst in New York, on 27 March he gave evidence to the UN Decolonisation Committee. After referring to aspects of the Southern African situation he put forward several suggestions on the procedures and methods of UN committees concerned with Southern Africa with a view to increasing their effectiveness. These proposals were received sympathetically and a document on the subject was requested.

The Movement enjoys consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and the Chairman, John Ennals, has attended several meetings during the year of non-governmental organisations.

Representatives of the Movement also attended a conference of Western European Support Groups for the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies, which took place in Lund, Sweden, in April; and a conference of the French National Union of Students which was held in Clermont-Ferrand in the same month.

In May, a number of Movement representatives took part in the International Conference on Namibia held in Brussels (see *Campaign on Namibia*).

During the year the Movement has used several opportunities to raise the question of the development of special relationships between the EEC and South Africa and Portugal. Documents and information on the subject have been widely distributed, and the Vice-Chairman, Joan Lestor MP, raised this issue at the meeting of the Socialist International in June.

In July 1972, the Movement learnt that the USA had decided to manufacture the Cactus missile system developed in South Africa in cooperation with the French government and two French firms and known in France as the Crotals. This decision was taken in consequence of an agreement made by the USA with the French Defence Minister and the two firms. South Africa will undoubtedly benefit by this circuitous arrangement which, save for one report in the London *Sunday Times*, has received no publicity. The Movement has referred this

matter to the United Nations, the OAU and to various governments. It is crucial that the international arms embargo be extended to cover the *export* of arms, ammunition, patents, etc., from South Africa so that the international community does not import or export items of military hardware or knowledge which are likely to strengthen the apartheid military machine.

CONCLUSION

It will be noted that in some cases details given in describing particular campaigns are repeated under headings in the section *Organisation*. Though this has been kept to a minimum, it was considered necessary so that the extent of work done in different areas, e.g. trade unions, students and AA committees, could be more fully conveyed.

The section on publicity has been omitted this year as some of the work done in this field has been described in relation to action taken on particular issues. All that needs to be added is that we continue to enjoy the assistance of specialist designers and copywriters, and that the posters, leaflets and other material produced by the Movement are in demand not only in the United Kingdom but throughout the world. These have made a vital contribution to AAM campaigns and to a more general awareness of the situation in Southern Africa. Contacts with the press, television and radio have been expanded and, in addition to the regular press releases that are sent out, subjects for programmes and articles are often proposed, background information supplied, and the Movement frequently called upon to suggest people to take part in television and radio programmes.

Mention must again be made of the invaluable help given to the work of the Movement by volunteers. Whether it is to send out *AA News* and newsletters, to do extra typing or filing or the many other tasks that need to be done in the office, without their assistance the work-load could not be carried.

In concluding this report, we have only to note that the coming year will demand a larger effort and a more principled stand from all in this country fighting British complicity in the maintenance of apartheid and racism in Southern Africa. The developments of the internal freedom struggle require a high level response within the United Kingdom, an alliance of all forces opposing racism, so that effective support may be rendered to the struggle for freedom throughout Southern Africa.

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