



ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

**annual report
of
activities
and
developments**

**october 1979 -
september 1980**

BISHOP AMBROSE REEVES

In December 1979, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, celebrated his eightieth birthday. To mark the occasion, the AAM organised a special meeting in London, which heard speeches and messages from distinguished leaders around the world, including tributes from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo. Bishop Reeves' contribution, said Mr Tambo, had been such that it made him one of the 'great giants' of the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa.

In June 1980, this tribute was underlined by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress, who, speaking on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, told the South Africa Freedom Day Rally in London that the National Executive of the ANC had decided to bestow on Bishop Reeves the title of *Isitwalandwe*. *Isitwalandwe* is the highest award and honour which the ANC can bestow and has been awarded to only a handful of others.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Bishop Reeves' election as President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, we take this opportunity to add our own tribute to Bishop Reeves and his wife, Margaret. Together they have made a unique contribution to the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Their tireless support for the cause of freedom in Southern Africa is an inspiration and example to us all. We send them both our sincere thanks and good wishes.

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Annual Report 1979

October 1979 – September 1980

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INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the Political Report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting on 9 September 1980

After a long and bitter struggle, the heroic people of Zimbabwe have finally achieved their freedom and national independence this year. On 18 April 1980, the hoisting of the new Zimbabwe flag marked the end of yet another phase in the struggle of the people of Southern Africa to rid the region of white domination and colonialism.

Southern Africa after Zimbabwe's independence can never be the same. Just as the victories of the people of Angola and Mozambique changed the balance of power in Southern Africa, so has that of the people of newly-independent Zimbabwe. Today, two of the original three members of the 'unholy alliance' have been drastically transformed: South Africa is now very much alone and growing in desperation as the struggle in Namibia and in South Africa itself reaches new heights. The apartheid regime has never before been so isolated.

The growing capacity of the front line states to defend themselves against aggression, the major victories scored by the SWAPO freedom fighters, as well as the massive national upsurge of resistance and armed confrontation inside South Africa, are a clear demonstration of the fact that the initiative has passed decisively to the African people.

However, the enormous nuclear and military capability of South Africa, combined with its economic strength, means that no country in Africa, and in particular in the region, can achieve complete freedom and independence until the oppressive system of apartheid is destroyed.

NAMIBIA

Following the independence of Zimbabwe, international attention has focused on Namibia. SWAPO and the front line African states have taken new initiatives to secure the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. However, the response of the apartheid regime has been to reject all demands for such changes. South Africa is instead resorting to ever more destructive and brutal retaliatory measures in order to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the international territory of Namibia.

In particular, it has set out to delay and obstruct the efforts of the United Nations to implement Security Council resolutions 385 and 435, despite the constructive approach of SWAPO and the front line states. At the same time it is accelerating the implementation of its own 'internal settlement' and seeking to mobilise international support for the 'Democratic Turnhalle Alliance' and other elements, in order to establish a client state.

Within Namibia, South Africa has intensified its military build-up, embarked on new levels of repression against opponents of South Africa's illegal occupation, while there has been a marked acceleration of the rate of plunder of Namibia's mineral resources.

Despite the defiant action of the apartheid regime, the so-called 'Contact Group' in which Britain plays the most active role refuses to confront South Africa but instead seeks to manipulate the United Nations negotiations in favour of South Africa in order to frustrate the will of the Namibian people.

SOUTH AFRICA

The combination of defiant mass action and the military activities of the African National Congress, as exemplified by the successful attack against the SASOL oil installations, are challenging the apartheid regime with dramatic effect.

The mass resistance which reached new heights during the

South African winter of 1980 demonstrated the growing unity of the oppressed people, as workers and students, urban and rural communities, African, Indian and Coloured people together acted to challenge not only the regime but also those from the black community who have chosen to collaborate with it, in particular the bantustan leaders.

The action of black workers has been of special significance. The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which in 1980 marked its 25th year of struggle against apartheid and exploitation, proclaimed 1980 the Year of Mobilisation of the Workers of South Africa, and this it has proved to be. In every region of South Africa and in all sectors of industry, African, Indian and Coloured workers have organised, demonstrated, boycotted and gone on strike. The response of the apartheid regime and individual employers, including British and other transnational corporations, has been to use the apparatus of repression of the apartheid system to seek to crush the resistance of the black workers, but in so doing it has fully exposed the myth of so-called 'reforms'. This growing power and strength of non-racial and black trade unions should prove to be a decisive factor in the entire liberation struggle in South Africa.

This new spirit of resistance is reflected in the nationwide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, around which thousands of people from all walks of life have been mobilised. The release of these national leaders is seen as an indispensable part of the process of eliminating the system of apartheid and establishing a new democratic South Africa.

The 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter was marked on 26 June 1980. It is becoming increasingly clear that the noble principles of the Freedom Charter are a source of inspiration to the people of South Africa and that the African National Congress itself is making the major contribution to the freedom struggle.

These growing struggles for freedom in Southern Africa have created a new crisis for the apartheid regime, which in turn has brought into the open divisions within the ruling Nationalist Party. Prime Minister Botha has embarked on a series of constitutional and political changes designed to consolidate his own power and that of the military. The appointment of General Malan as Defence Minister reflects the extent to which the military now effectively controls the apartheid regime, thus enabling it to take any measures it deems necessary in its 'total strategy' to confront the so-called 'total onslaught' against the apartheid system.

THE FRONT LINE STATES

The African front line states, which have so courageously borne the retaliation of the racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa in order to assist the African liberation struggle, continue to make a substantial contribution to help liquidate colonialism and apartheid from the African continent.

Faced with the steady advance of African freedom in the region, the Pretoria regime is resorting to increasing use of armed force in an attempt to bring about the surrender of neighbouring African states to its policies. The failure of the Botha regime to reverse the process of African liberation in the area is resulting in its expanding its military forces further and increasing its brutal attacks against neighbouring African states, particularly Angola and Zambia, and generally adopting a more menacing and aggressive posture. During the past year the attacks against Angola and Zambia have been on an unprecedented scale and reflect a new policy of actually

occupying foreign territory for weeks on end – without any serious response from the United Nations – because of the role of the major Western powers, and particularly that of the veto powers, in blocking all effective action against South Africa.

Whilst the Pretoria regime relies on the threatened use of armed attacks against the front line states, it is also increasing its attempts to destabilise the neighbouring governments in an effort to replace them with its own surrogate groups. At the same time, a limited measure of success has been achieved by apartheid South Africa in developing economic and other links with certain African states further to the north. All this forms part of the total strategy to expand and cement the dominance of the apartheid regime, not only in the Southern African region but also throughout the African continent. This whole problem of the aggressive policy of the apartheid regime towards the entire African continent is not recognised very widely, despite the enormous danger that it poses for the peace of Africa and the world.

No country in Africa can be at peace and truly devote its resources to economic development and nation-building until the system of apartheid in South Africa is finally destroyed – its very existence constitutes a grave and increasing danger to the peace and security of independent Africa.

The acts of aggression and destabilisation policies of the Botha regime in Southern Africa must be seen in the context of its declared ambition to dominate the region directly through the creation of a so-called 'constellation of states'.

The independent African states in the area have taken some initiatives to reduce their dependence on South Africa but they face very serious difficulties in implementing these policies without substantial political, economic and other assistance.

There can be no real peace and security for all Africa until the apartheid system is destroyed and therefore this should become the major priority for all those committed to freedom and democracy.

WESTERN COLLABORATION

South Africa's policies become even more threatening because of the enormous military might acquired by the Botha regime as the result of close cooperation with its external allies. Despite the arms embargo, South Africa is able to acquire virtually all the armaments and ammunition it requires, as well as licences and technology for local production of military and related equipment. As the decisions of the United Nations have become stronger over the years, the conspiracy to keep South Africa supplied with its military needs through direct and indirect means has also deepened.

Besides the enormous military build-up, the Botha regime has expanded its nuclear weapon capability dramatically in recent years, largely as a result of the support and assistance which it has received from several Western countries and Israel. All the available evidence of the 22 September 1979 nuclear explosion in the sea around South Africa points to its having been conducted by the Pretoria regime – but the major Western powers are determined to look for every possible alternative explanation rather than point to South Africa, in order to avoid taking action against the Pretoria regime.

These powers continue to claim that they are in favour of peaceful change in Southern Africa, whilst at the same time they are actively involved in helping to bolster the apartheid regime by providing it with every resource that it needs for survival. It is these powers which are responsible for having created the enormous danger that exists today in Southern Africa. It is through their actions that the conflict in the region has escalated to new levels and threatens to develop into a global confrontation with grave implications for the future of Africa and the world.

In this situation, the outside world must redouble its assistance for the African liberation movements and the front line states, so that the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa is intensified. But at the same time the international community has to recognise that the turning point reached in

Southern Africa requires that the world acts decisively to help destroy the apartheid system. Thus the major demand must now be for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa by the UN Security Council.

CONCLUSION

In 1979 the Anti-Apartheid Movement warned that the election of the Conservative government was a political expression of a growing trend in the West in favour of an even more open alliance with South Africa. This has been confirmed by the actions of the British government, which has repeatedly acted in support of South Africa. In a major policy statement in New York in December 1979, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher spelt out British policy: 'In this context I want to say a particular word about South Africa. There is now a real prospect that the conflicts on South Africa's borders, in Rhodesia and Namibia, will shortly be ended. This combined with welcome initiatives on South African domestic policies, offer a chance to defuse a regional crisis which was potentially of the utmost gravity, and to make progress towards the ending of the isolation of South Africa in world affairs.' The Anti-Apartheid Movement therefore faces a tremendous challenge created not only by the urgency of the situation in Namibia and South Africa but also because its work is being carried out with a government in power in Britain which is totally hostile to the cause of African freedom. Leading figures in the Conservative Party are directly involved with British companies operating in South Africa and funds for the Conservative Party come from such companies, including the notorious Consolidated Goldfields.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has to intensify its efforts to win all-round support for its campaigns. In particular:

- The UN mandatory arms embargo must be strictly enforced through the introduction of comprehensive legislation, including effective penalties, and it must be extended to include a total ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa.
- The embargo on oil supplies which has been imposed by most major oil exporting countries must be enforced and made mandatory by the UN Security Council. Campaigns must be intensified to expose the role of BP, Shell and other oil companies which conspire to fuel apartheid, as well as action to prevent any supplies of North Sea oil to South Africa.
- The imposition of mandatory, total and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa must become the major priority of the AAM's work, including:
 - action to expose the role of transnational corporations operating in South Africa
 - action to stop the exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, including uranium
 - intensified campaigns for the consumer boycott, against banking links, etc.

These campaigns will require the AAM to work more effectively to mobilise all sections of the population, although particular efforts need to be made amongst trade unionists employed by the TNCs in order to secure their support for action by the British government as well as direct action by trade unionists themselves. Renewed efforts should also be made to increase international cooperation with anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, as well as with governments committed to international action against apartheid.

But, above all, full support must be given to the Namibian and South African liberation movements, as well as to the front line states, for it is the struggle of the people of Southern Africa which will ultimately destroy apartheid and colonialism and create the conditions for peace and freedom on the continent of Africa.

ZIMBABWE

The new flag of Zimbabwe was raised on 18 April 1980, thus symbolising the victory of the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for independence.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement was privileged to be among those from all over the world who were invited to Salisbury to celebrate Zimbabwe's independence and was represented by its Chairman and Honorary Secretary.

On the eve of independence, the AAM with the Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee (ZECC) organised a 'Zimbabwe Freedom Rally' at Westminster Central Hall, the venue of numerous meetings, since UDI, held in solidarity with the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. AAM members also joined in the celebrations organised in Britain by the Patriotic Front parties.

This annual report covers the period of the Lancaster House conference, Lord Soames' 'interim administration' and the elections. It was a period of intense campaigning for the AAM, both organising its own activities and providing most of the resources for the ad hoc Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee. This tested the AAM and highlighted many of the problems which must be overcome as the struggle intensifies in Namibia and South Africa.

LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE

The Lancaster House conference was formally opened on 10 September 1979. From the outset it was clear that the British government was determined to do everything possible to prevent a genuine transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe. The crucial issues proved to be: agreement on a democratic constitution; transitional arrangements which would guarantee both that the transfer of power was irreversible and that 'free and fair' elections were ensured; and the arrangements for and implementation of a ceasefire.

Both ZECC and AAM sustained a wide variety of campaigning activity during the course of the conference, aimed at demonstrating public support for the Patriotic Front and winning understanding and support for their negotiating position.

Among these activities were the massive welcome organised by ZECC for the Patriotic Front delegation on 10 September, including a day-long picket of Lancaster House, a march through central London and a packed rally at Westminster Central Hall addressed by the Secretary Generals of ZANU and ZAPU.

A further rally was held on 19 September by ZECC; a speaking tour for members of the Patriotic Front delegation was organised by the NUS for ZECC; and these and other activities culminated in the ZECC national demonstration on 11 November - the fourteenth anniversary of UDI.

In addition to these public demonstrations of support, ZECC reproduced the main documents of the conference, in particular the proposals of the PF delegations, and produced leaflets and other campaigning material for nationwide distribution.

The AAM made a major contribution to the discussions on the transitional arrangements and ceasefire by publishing *Fire Force Exposed*, the only comprehensive documentation on the military forces of the illegal regime. In addition to extensive factual information, the publication argued the case for an impartial international force to supervise the transitional period.

The AAM also sought to rally parliamentary opposition to the Conservative government's actions. Two well-attended meetings for MPs were held at crucial stages in the talks, the first being addressed by Joshua Nkomo and the second by Robert Mugabe. Other briefings were organised by the AAM,

for parliamentarians, trade unionists, overseas solidarity groups, etc, and numerous other meetings were addressed by members of the PF delegation.

A special focus of attention was sanctions. Support was sought for a special 'Statement of Intent' by which trade unionists pledged to maintain UN sanctions. In addition, when in early November the Conservative government announced that it did not intend to renew the sanctions orders, both the AAM and ZECC protested vigorously, as did a variety of other organisations, including the TUC, the British Council of Churches, as well as the parliamentary opposition.

The AAM's National Committee met during the final stages of the conference and it was addressed by two leading members of the PF delegation: Eddison Zvogbo (now Minister of Local Government and Housing) and T G Silundika (now Minister of Road Traffic, Posts and Telecommunications). A statement from the Executive Committee, which was endorsed by the National Committee, warned that the most dangerous threat to a genuine transfer of power was apartheid South Africa, and identified a number of crucial issues for future action by the AAM during the period of the 'interim administration'.

BRITISH INTERIM ADMINISTRATION

Lord Soames arrived in Salisbury on 12 December 1979, thus formally ending over 14 years of UDI. The interim administration over which Lord Soames presided was characterised by the most blatant collusion with the structures of the illegal regime and with apartheid South Africa. Lord Soames failed to implement the most crucial sections of the Lancaster House agreement, in particular the withdrawal of South African troops. Both the military forces of the regime and the 'auxiliaries' were responsible for widespread intimidation. Lord Soames refused to release numerous political prisoners and detainees. These are some examples of the obstacles placed in the paths of the parties of the Patriotic Front.

In Britain, despite widespread publicity for these actions, the only major change in policy was in relation to the South African forces, some of whom were formally withdrawn on 30 January 1980, just as the UN Security Council was due to meet to consider a resolution on this condemning Britain from the Africa Group. (The press subsequently reported further South African troop withdrawals *after the elections*.)

Both the AAM and ZECC organised protest activities. On 10 January the AAM picketed 10 Downing Street and also published a memorandum detailing the extent of South Africa's military presence in Rhodesia. ZECC called a national day of action on the Saturday prior to the elections, during which there was local leafleting in several towns and cities and a mass picket of the Foreign Office and a rally in the evening in London.

On the eve of the elections the AAM received information through COSAWR that key units of the South African army had been placed on emergency alert, for which the only explanation could be a planned intervention in Rhodesia. A protest was made immediately to the Prime Minister and to the UN.

Immediately following the results of the elections, the AAM sent messages of congratulations to Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo.

In a statement released on 18 April, entitled *Southern Africa after Zimbabwe Independence*, the AAM called on its supporters to act in solidarity with Zimbabwe and, in particular, called for international aid to enable Zimbabwe to begin the process of nation-building.

SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER ZIMBABWE

This was the theme of a major initiative launched by the AAM following the victory of the parties of the Patriotic Front in the Zimbabwe elections. Such a campaign had become imperative following the statement by the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, following the agreement reached at Lancaster House, that there was now a chance 'to make progress towards an ending of the isolation of South Africa in world affairs'.

The AAM issued a policy statement entitled *Southern Africa after Zimbabwe Independence*; convened a National Action Conference on this theme on Saturday 31 May; and called for a fortnight of nationwide activity from 16-30 June on the theme *Forward to Freedom in South Africa and Namibia*. The final event of this fortnight was 'Southern Africa in Struggle' at the Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre, during which there were films, discussion forum and workshops with speeches on campaigning and by representatives of the liberation movements.

The purpose of these activities was to ensure that action against the apartheid regime was intensified, and so particular attention was focused on Namibia, nuclear collaboration, the Free Mandela Campaign and the Consumer Boycott.

The AAM's National Committee met on 10 May and discussed details of proposals for action from the Executive Committee. These in turn were presented to the National Action Conference on 31 May, which was attended by over 400 people. Unfortunately, at the very last moment, the main guest speaker, Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, was unable to attend because a special meeting on Namibia was convened by the front line states. The main addresses to the conference were given by Francis Meli, editor of the ANC journal *Sechaba*, Shapua Kaukungua, Chief Representative of SWAPO in Western Europe, and Ambassador B A Clark, Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

Details of the response to these campaigns are reported elsewhere in this report.

NAMIBIA

There has been considerable progress during the period covered by this report in mobilising support for SWAPO, exposing the role of Britain and other members of the Western 'Contact Group' and winning support for sanctions against South Africa, including the cancellation of the Rossing uranium contract.

The 1979 AGM adopted a series of resolutions, which provided the basis for the AAM's campaigns, and identified a number of crucial issues as the focus for campaigning on Namibia.

SWAPO SPEAKING TOUR

The AAM organised a two-week speaking tour in February for Lucia Hamutenya, SWAPO Secretary of Legal Affairs, who fled Namibia in the autumn of 1979. Ms Hamutenya addressed the SATIS conference (see p 9) and then spent a week in Scotland and a week in England and Wales. The tour proved a very effective means of securing publicity at a local level on the situation in Namibia, as Ms Hamutenya addressed numerous meetings and other activities. A particular focus of the tour was the repressive measures of the South African regime in Namibia and the need to step up campaigning for the release of Namibian political prisoners. Other initiatives on Namibian political prisoners are reported elsewhere in this report. The tour of Scotland made an important contribution to the formation of a Namibia Committee of the AAM in Scotland.

SOUTH AFRICA'S UDI

South Africa has speeded up the implementation of its 'internal settlement' in Namibia and has been involved in extensive efforts to seek international recognition for its illegal administration.

In April 1980, Gerrit Viljoen, the 'Administrator-General of South West Africa' and head of the Broederbond, came to London on what was described as a private visit but during which he was received by Lord Carrington and had extensive talks with Foreign Office ministers. The AAM and NSC organised an effective picket of the Savoy Hotel, where he addressed a dinner given by the South Africa Club. A further picket was held outside the Foreign Office.

Another effort to gain respectability for the illegal administration was a visit to the European capitals of three of the five members of the 'Contact Group': Bonn, Paris and London, by Dirk Mudge, head of the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. At very short notice a demonstration was organised outside the Foreign Office when it was discovered that Mudge was to meet Foreign Office minister Richard Luce.

THE 'CONTACT GROUP'

A number of initiatives have been taken to expose the role of Britain and other members of the so-called 'Contact Group' in seeking to manipulate the UN plan in favour of South Africa.

In November 1979 the AAM and NSC hosted an informal meeting of anti-apartheid and solidarity movements in London which was convened to discuss the possibilities of coordinated action in the countries of the 'Contact Group'. This was followed by a picket of South Africa House on 12 December and the presentation of letters to the Foreign Office and the embassies of the other members of the Five. A meeting was held in the evening to discuss action in Britain.

Anti-Apartheid News has frequently published information on the actions of, and developments in relation to, the Five.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA

At the request of the SWAPO President, the AAM, together with other anti-apartheid movements in Western Europe, investigated the possibility of convening an International Conference on Namibia in the autumn of 1980. This Conference was convened from 11-13 September at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris and the AAM played an active role in the preparations as a member of the International Preparatory Committee. The Conference successfully mobilised over 500 participants and provided a basis for increased coordination of international action. A delegation from the AAM participated actively in the Conference: Abdul S Minty was the Chief Rapporteur and Bob Hughes was Chairman of the Political Commission. The organisations participating from Britain have formed a Coordinating Committee to promote activity in support of the decisions of the Conference and, in

particular, an internationally coordinated campaign from 27 October to 10 December 1980.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NAMIBIAN URANIUM CONTRACT

There have been a number of important developments in the work of CANUC, which have resulted in the contract's becoming a major political issue. A nationwide screening of a documentary produced by World in Action exposed the entire issue of the contract. This was followed by the publication of *The Rossing File* by CANUC, which described the inside story of Britain's secret contract for Namibian uranium. Then, in July, the UN Council for Namibia held a series of hearings on the contract in New York, which were addressed by members of CANUC, as well as Abdul S Minty for the AAM.

Within Britain, activists have been encouraged to sign the CANUC petition, and resolutions condemning the contract

were tabled for the Scottish TUC and Labour Party conferences. In the North-West, a number of important initiatives are being planned, as this report goes to press, particularly focusing on Springfield, near Preston, where the Namibian uranium is first processed on its arrival in Britain.

NAMIBIA SUPPORT COMMITTEE

The AAM continues to work closely with the NSC and to publicise its events and campaigns, as well as taking initiatives together. AAM members and local groups have actively supported the various material aid programmes organised by NSC for SWAPO

The AAM has produced a poster in cooperation with the National Organisation of Labour Students, based on a centre-spread in *AA News*, which provides general information on Namibia and details of resource material.

SOUTH AFRICA

During the period covered by this report, there have been tremendous political developments within South Africa. The AAM has sought to respond actively to these developments, whilst *AA News* has aimed to keep its readership abreast of events. At the same time, it has been recognised that it is necessary to ensure a deeper understanding of these developments.

Considerable efforts have been made to ensure this. For example, to prepare for increased escalation in armed resistance, the AAM published *The Battle for South Africa* at the end of May, which listed all reported incidents of armed confrontation within South Africa since Soweto. Other material, in particular in *AA News*, has sought to counter the propaganda of the South African authorities and their allies that apartheid is being 'reformed'.

It is not possible to itemise here all the activities on South Africa by the AAM and some, including, for example, the Free Mandela Campaign, are detailed elsewhere in this report.

The AAM initiated a number of actions in solidarity with the mounting resistance of workers and students in May and June 1980. In particular, immediately following the events in Cape Town when the police were ordered to 'shoot to kill', and did so, the AAM organised daily pickets of South Africa House from 20-27 June. In addition, attention was focused on the British government: on 14 June, the UK delegation joined in an unanimous vote in the UN Security Council which adopted Resolution 473, which *inter alia* reaffirmed that 'apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind'. However, despite this vote, the government remained effectively silent, even following the shootings in Cape Town. The AAM sought an urgent meeting with the government and a delegation led by Bob Hughes met Richard Luce on 26 June. The delegation included representatives of the student movement, trade unions and churches. The government subsequently replied in detail to a memorandum submitted.

On 28 June there was a small march through London, during which a letter of protest was handed in at 10 Downing Street.

This year, 1980, has proved to be crucial in South Africa's history. The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) declared 1980, the 25th anniversary of its foundation, the Year of the Worker and it has certainly proved to be so with massive strikes by different sections of the working people, frequently with the active support of the wider community. It was also declared by the ANC to be the Year of the Charter, to mark the 25th anniversary of the Congress of the

People at Kliptown on 25 and 26 June 1955, at which the Freedom Charter was adopted. To mark this anniversary, the ANC in London established a South Africa Freedom Day Committee and invited a number of organisations to join in preparations. The AAM played an active role in this Committee. The main event was the South Africa Freedom Day Rally on 26 June at the Camden Centre, at which the main speaker was Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC of South Africa. At this Rally it was announced that the ANC had awarded its highest honour, the Isitwalandwe Medal, to Bishop Ambrose Reeves, President of the AAM, and to Goven Mbeki, imprisoned ANC leader on Robben Island. To popularise the Freedom Charter, the AAM distributed thousands of copies of the text and, in addition, produced a pictorial centre-spread in *AA News* which was reproduced as a poster.

Earlier in the year, the AAM marked the 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960 with a nationwide distribution of a leaflet focusing on the level of repression in South Africa and publicising the major campaigning issues.

During this period there has been considerable press coverage of the activities of South African intelligence officials in Britain. In August, Bob Hughes, AAM Chairman, wrote to the government seeking assurances that there was no collaboration by the government with South African spying operations in Britain.

WAR RESISTERS

An increasing number of war resisters — deserters and draft evaders — from South Africa have continued to arrive in Britain, and those with legitimate cases have been given de facto refugee status by the Home Office.

The AAM is in close liaison with the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR), which is an organisation of war resisters exiled in Britain. COSAWR assists resisters with advice regarding resistance, accommodation, etc, and involves them in discussion groups and seminars on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, as well as in anti-apartheid work in Britain. The Committee also does research into the apartheid military and resistance to it, and publishes the bi-monthly bulletin *Resister*, which is widely distributed.

In consultation with the AAM and SATIS, COSAWR has been campaigning for the release from military detention barracks of all imprisoned war resisters in South Africa. The

campaign focused on the case of Peter Moll, who took a strong public stand against conscription on the grounds that he was being called upon to defend a system of 'fundamental injustice' and was imprisoned for a year.

At the time of call-up in South Africa, in January and July, meetings and pickets were organised in solidarity with war

resisters and to protest at the role of the South African Defence Force in brutally repressing the people of Southern Africa. During the Zimbabwe elections in early March, COSAWR exposed the mobilisation of 7,000 South African troops and publicised the possibility of a South African invasion.

OBITUARY

SIR SERETSE KHAMA

Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana, died on 13 July 1980 after a long illness.

President Khama gave unswerving support throughout his life to the principle of non-racialism and he often spoke of the abhorrence he felt for the apartheid system. A man of peace, he was one of the first African leaders to warn the world of South Africa's threat to peace and as the years went on he saw his country being increasingly drawn into that major conflict in Southern Africa of which he had warned many years before. With the intensification of the freedom struggle in Zimbabwe, the illegal regime became increasingly desperate and Botswana was attacked many times by Rhodesian troops and received threats from South Africa.

Yet President Khama did not waver in his support for a free Southern Africa. Possessed by a strong humanitarian commitment, he provided shelter in Botswana for many thousands of refugees from Zimbabwe and South Africa. He ensured that his country gave as much support as it could to the liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and under his leadership Botswana came to play an increasingly important role in pressing for international action to end racist rule in Southern Africa. Within the Commonwealth, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations, he attracted admiration and respect for his principled stand and, although his country was one of the most vulnerable in the region, he had no hesitation in actively coordinating with the other Presidents of the front line states enhanced support for the freedom struggle.

In 1980 President Khama's hopes for Southern Africa were partially fulfilled with the creation of an independent Zimbabwe. But he was already ill. He died a few months later. He was a major figure in the struggle for a non-racial and free Southern Africa. His death is a great loss to that struggle.

SOUTHERN AFRICA-THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY

The year covered by this report has seen a further increase in repression in both South Africa and Namibia; in addition, the first six months of the report cover the final stages of white minority rule in Zimbabwe and continuing attempts to crush opposition to it.

ZIMBABWE

During the Lancaster House talks, the SATIS Committee highlighted the continuing repression in Rhodesia and, in particular, campaigned for the release of Bencharad and Leavit Katumba, two teenage brothers who were taken from their home in the Sifolipo district and summarily 'tried' for having assisted guerrillas by a military court. The two were found guilty and sentenced to death. A concerted campaign, aimed at saving the two brothers and at focusing attention on the continuing use of the death penalty against political opponents in Rhodesia, was launched and was very successful. The Katumba brothers had their sentences commuted and, after independence, were freed.

SATIS also campaigned throughout the period of the Lancaster House talks and during the pre-election period for the release of all political prisoners in Rhodesia.

SATIS CONFERENCE

In February, SATIS held a conference at the Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre on the theme *Repression and Resistance in Southern Africa*. There were sessions on Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and workshops included discussions on activity for youth and student groups, churches, women, trade unions, professional bodies (eg lawyers and journalists) and local activists. The conference was addressed by, among others, M D Naidoo, the ANC representative on ICSA and a qualified lawyer, the SWAPO Secretary for Legal Affairs, Lucia Hamutenya, who came to Britain especially for the conference, and William Khanyile (also making his first visit to Britain), a member of SACTU and one of the Pietermaritzburg trialists. Three papers were specially prepared for the conference.

The conference was a considerable success and attracted many not normally involved in the AAM's work. It thus created an important basis for activity on political prisoners over succeeding months and this was demonstrated by the response to the campaigns on the Kassinga detainees, James Mange and, in particular, Nelson Mandela.

JAMES MANGE

The most sustained campaign of the year was to stop the execution of James Mange, 24-year old ANC freedom fighter sentenced to death in November 1979 at the ANC Treason Trial. The imposition of the death penalty brought immediate protests in South Africa and a major campaign rapidly developed.

The campaign in Britain was led by the ANC Treason Trial Defence Committee, which produced leaflets, briefings, petitions and postcards protesting against the sentence. The campaign received widespread support from the trade union movement, church groups and student organisations, with over 25,000 signatures to the petition being collected. The case was also taken up by Amnesty International as part of their urgent action campaign, and telegrams urging Lord Carrington to intervene were sent from trade unions, trades councils, CLPs,

student unions and AA groups. The Committee organised monthly pickets of South Africa House and a torchlight vigil. The campaign was taken up internationally by groups in France, Canada, the US, Australia and elsewhere, and the Chairman of the UN Committee against Apartheid made a special appeal for action. In addition, many messages of support went to James Mange's wife, Pauline, who herself had been detained for over a year. James Mange was given leave to appeal against the sentence in January and eventually his appeal was upheld in September and the sentence commuted to 20 years. This was a great triumph for solidarity movements and clearly shows the importance of campaigning against such barbaric sentences.

Arising from the campaign, SATIS has decided that a major priority for the future must be the campaign to get prisoner-of-war status for captured freedom fighters, in accordance with the protocols to the Geneva Conventions.

KASSINGA DETAINEES

SATIS took up the case of the Kassinga detainees after SWAPO published reports that at least 137 people were still being held by the South Africans almost two years after they were kidnapped from the refugee camp at Kassinga in southern Angola following the massacre in May 1978. A demonstration was organised outside South Africa House on 2 May, with people holding placards naming the detainees.

The picket was supported by a number of MPs and other prominent individuals but failed to achieve the press publicity hoped for. However, the campaign has achieved some success since, initially, the South African regime had denied any knowledge of the detainees. Following pressure on the British government to investigate, the South Africans admitted to holding 118 people. The campaign will continue and SATIS plans to question the 'disappearance' of at least 19 people from the original group detained, and press for the release of all detainees.

Following her address to the SATIS Conference, Lucia Hamutenya undertook a strenuous speaking tour, which resulted in new activity being organised at a local level. The tour also resulted in a number of articles in local newspapers, which helped in getting the issue of repression in Namibia across to a wider audience. Lucia Hamutenya also had meetings with youth and student groups and with trade union leaders during her stay in London.

ESCAPE FROM PRETORIA PRISON

Just before Christmas 1979 news reached the AAM of the escape from Pretoria's top security prison of Stephen Lee, Tim Jenkin and Alex Moumbaris. The escape showed clearly that the regime is indeed more vulnerable than it would like to admit for, not only did the three manage to escape from the prison, but they were able to cross South Africa's border to freedom. SATIS organised a public meeting to welcome them to London, and both Tim Jenkin and Stephen Lee have addressed a number of meetings since their return.

STUDY RIGHTS

SATIS was very concerned about the continuing decision of the regime to withhold study facilities from political prisoners, particularly as this affects large numbers of people imprisoned in the aftermath of Soweto who were students at the time of

their detention and who wished to continue their education. The implications for long-term prisoners were obvious.

In South Africa a wide range of protests was initiated against the denial of study rights. The campaign was taken up in Britain, particularly by AUEW TASS and the NUS, both of whom circulated briefing documents, and NUS prepared a petition. With protests from Britain, the UN and other countries, the regime was forced to relent and prisoners are now in the position where study facilities may be accorded to them. This is not, however, a right and remains a privilege that could be withdrawn at the whim of a prison governor, and the campaign to make study facilities a right of all prisoners must continue.

GREETINGS CARDS

Once again a list of political prisoners, detainees and banned persons was prepared, giving addresses of families, and AA members and supporters were urged to send greetings to them. Several recipients have sent their thanks indirectly to the AAM.

FREE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

In response to a massive campaign in South Africa for the release of Nelson Mandela, AAM launched a campaign in Britain which continues as this report is being prepared. The oppressed people of South Africa, inspired by the victory of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, have made it clear that they regard Mandela and others imprisoned on Robben Island as their leaders. This in spite of the fact that Mandela has been

imprisoned for over 16 years and may never be quoted. The AAM produced leaflets, posters, postcards and badges and stickers, and a declaration calling for Mandela's release. The campaign has received considerable press publicity, with a major article in the *Daily Mirror*.

To date the Declaration has received the support of many organisations, with signatures including Tom Jackson for the TUC, Ron Hayward for the Labour Party, David Aaronovitch for the NUS and representatives of the TGWU, GMWU, AUEW, Tobacco Workers Union, Textile Workers Union, IRSF, National Union of Seamen, NALGO, Amnesty International and many other organisations.

Over 6,000 badges have been sold and thousands of leaflets distributed in the campaign. A highlight of the campaign was the receipt of a statement from Nelson Mandela himself, which was smuggled out of Robben Island, calling for unity in the struggle against apartheid. The AAM cooperated with the ANC in releasing this at a press conference in London.

OTHER CAMPAIGNS

In addition to the specific campaigns mentioned above, SATIS has been involved in numerous other cases, including the detention of students, the kidnapping of Victor Matlou, the trial of Renfrew Christie and the detention of Zubeida Jaffer.

The AAM was again invited to submit evidence to the Ad Hoc Working Group of the UN Commission on Human Rights when it visited London.

Details of initiatives on trade union political prisoners are reported under the trade union section of this report.

MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

The implementation of the UN mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, including the adoption of measures to close all loopholes, and its extension to include all forms of nuclear collaboration continues to be a major priority for the Anti-Apartheid Movement. This work is undertaken both by the AAM itself and by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, whose director is the AAM's hon secretary Abdul S Minty.

The main priority during this period has been measures to stop South Africa's nuclear weapons programmes. The 1979 AGM adopted an emergency resolution following reports that a nuclear device had been exploded off South Africa in September 1979. The AAM therefore actively cooperated in the World Campaign's activities. A campaign conference was organised in London on 3 February and, later that month, the World Campaign published *South Africa's Nuclear Capability*, by Dan Smith, a former Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain. This pamphlet has been actively promoted in Britain and translations have been arranged into French, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, German and Japanese. The World Campaign also published a poster, stickers and prepared a Declaration for endorsement by scientists.

In Britain a press conference was held at the House of Commons to launch the pamphlet. This was addressed by Dan Smith. Details were given of the AAM's campaign in Britain, which has centred on a special petition campaign. Copies of the petition have been widely distributed, in particular by the Labour Party to all CLPs and by the AUEW (Engineering Section) with each edition of its journal. Following the launch of the pamphlet, meetings were held by

AA groups in a number of towns and cities. Other efforts have been made to promote interest in the campaign through articles in sympathetic journals. Special mention should be made of Imperial College: the AAM obtained copies of an advertisement in the South African press which indicated that scholarships were available from ESCOM for reactor physics courses; action by staff and students eventually led to Imperial College publicly dissociating itself from the advertisement. However, it refused to deny entry to the course by South Africans, despite the fact that this is in clear defiance of the relevant UN General Assembly resolutions.

In addition to this action on the nuclear campaign, AAM has continued to press for the strict application of the arms embargo. A document on Plessey was published for an international seminar in order to maintain pressure against the Plessey radar contract (see 1978/79 *Annual Report* for details). Similarly, the AAM has continued to promote its special pamphlet on ICL which exposes that company's role in providing computers to the South African police and military.

The decision of the UN Security Council in June 1980 to call upon member states to enact effective national legislation to enforce the arms embargo provides a new opportunity for initiatives to be taken in Britain in this area.

The UN Security Council Committee on the Arms Embargo has presented a report of its work to the Security Council, which was due to debate South Africa before 30 September 1980. The report is largely based on evidence submitted by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa and anti-apartheid groups.

ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

The first appeal for economic sanctions and the boycott of South Africa was made 21 years ago by Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the African National Congress, when, speaking on behalf of his people, he said:

'the economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay.'

It is an appeal which has since been taken up around the world, endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly as long ago as 1962 and reinforced since. Yet Britain continues to ignore this call from the people of South Africa and the massive and growing body of international opinion in support of the total isolation of South Africa. The British government has again this year expressed its opposition to this policy, while British companies and the government itself have acted to intensify economic collaboration with South Africa.

The government's policy was spelled out most recently by Cecil Parkinson, Minister of State at the Department of Trade, when in June he addressed a meeting of the UK-South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA) and reiterated government support for continued trading and other economic links with South Africa. That statement, and others by government ministers since the election in 1979, has indicated a shift in government policy back to the position of the mid-1970s when the then Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan, stated that 'in matters of civil trade and where international obligations do not conflict, it is not the policy of Her Majesty's Government that commercial trading relations with other countries should be based on considerations of their internal or external policies. So far as normal trade and investment are concerned, firms remain free to carry out existing or future contracts with South Africa.' Indeed, this government has gone further, setting the tone of its policy by Mr Parkinson's May 1979 House of Commons statement in which he referred to British trade with South Africa as of 'central importance' to the British economy and said that it should be 'maintained and developed'. This government appears to have scrapped the undertaking given by the previous government that Britain would not promote trade with Namibia while South Africa maintained its occupation of that territory.

Accordingly, British economic links with South Africa and Namibia continue to expand and the past year has seen a number of new involvements by British companies. The AAM has responded with several initiatives, including the relaunching of the consumer boycott campaign. But there remains a need to secure much more effective campaigning to end economic collaboration of all forms and an enhanced understanding of the role that trade and investment in particular play in sustaining apartheid.

However, there have been two developments during the past year which give grounds for optimism. In November 1979 the Assembly of the British Council of Churches declared that the policies of the Pretoria regime constitute a threat to world peace and that economic sanctions should be imposed. The Assembly called for immediate measures to effect economic disengagement, including a ban on all exports of technology to South Africa, an end to trade credits, the withdrawal of commercial staff from the British and other Western embassies there and an oil embargo. This followed months of discussion at all levels within British churches. In October 1979 the Labour Party took its policy further by deciding that a future Labour government should 'make the widest possible use of domestic legislation' to prevent any new investment in South Africa and discourage economic and other links with South

Africa; and the draft manifesto which is due to be discussed at the Labour Party Conference this year calls on a future Labour government to support total sanctions. The AAM is currently reviewing its work on economic collaboration, in view of these and other recent developments, in order to ensure more effective campaigning for sanctions.

Other positive developments include some successes in the student campaign against investments by colleges in companies with interests in South Africa; and a decision by the Liberal Party to discourage banking with Barclays because of their South African operations.

International Seminar on the Role of TNCs

At an international level the AAM made an important contribution to the campaign against the involvement of transnational corporations in South Africa, with an international seminar organised in cooperation with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. The seminar, on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, was attended by 150 delegates, including representatives of international and national organisations, as well as experts and observers from several governments. The seminar considered various aspects of the operations of TNCs, produced a wide and valuable range of papers, and pinpointed the role of TNCs in making 'a crucial contribution' to South Africa's military and nuclear capability. The seminar proposed action at all levels to deny such assistance to the apartheid regime, end oil supplies, finance and trade to South Africa (in the context of total sanctions) and rejected 'codes of conduct'.

Consumer boycott

One of the most important developments in Britain, however, was the re-launching of the consumer boycott campaign, in line with a resolution at the AGM. South African products have recently been particularly noticeable in British shops and several are currently being heavily promoted. This will clearly demand an even more vigorous campaign in the future and, in the Co-operative movement in particular, the campaign has a long way to go, with most Co-op retail societies continuing to sell and even promote South African goods. Nevertheless, the campaign, which has enjoyed considerable support at a local level for a number of years, was given a major boost by the production of new material, including a leaflet, sticker, background briefing and list of products, and during the fortnight of action in June there were pickets all over the country outside shops selling South African goods. This campaign was one of three which were particularly emphasised at the AAM National Action Conference in May and it has been taken up enthusiastically in the trade union movement in particular.

Banks

In September an international day of action against Barclays Bank drew support in the form of pickets not just in Britain but also in seven other countries. And in March 1980 local anti-apartheid groups held pickets in 37 towns and cities around Britain in protest at the decision of Barclays to support the rights issue made by SASOL to finance the construction of SASOL-3. A picket in Westminster organised by the AAM and ELTSA attracted considerable national publicity and the support of MPs. A special national leaflet was produced.

ELTSA also organised shareholder protests at the AGMs of Hill Samuel, Standard Chartered and Barclays Banks.

Oil embargo

AAM supporters picketed the AGM of Shell, in parallel with another demonstration in the Netherlands at the annual general meeting of Royal Dutch Shell. Both pickets formed part of an

international day of action for an oil embargo against South Africa. The oil boycott has been a major international issue this year, with the Dutch government narrowly averting its fall on the issue, and an international conference in Amsterdam which was attended by the AAM. Shortly before the publication of this annual report, the AAM launched a major campaign against a deal by British Petroleum which will help South Africa beat existing international oil embargoes: BP has taken over Selection Trust, the mining finance house, in a £413 million deal with the Anglo American Corporation, which opens the possibility of direct access by South Africa to BP's North Sea oil interests; BP managing director Robin Adam was reported as saying that this might involve developed or undeveloped interests in the Forties, Ninian or Magnus fields. The AAM has produced and widely circulated a background document on the deal and its implications, and protested to the government.

The more general campaign against the activities of the oil companies in supplying oil to South Africa remains at a relatively low level and the AAM is currently considering this in the context of an intensified campaign in the autumn and during 1981 for total economic sanctions against South Africa.

British companies

The urgent need for sanctions has been emphasised this year by the activities of several British companies in supplying major requirements of the apartheid regime. Shell, together with Anglo American and the South African subsidiary of ICI, AECL, announced in September 1980 their participation in a R650-million project to expand South Africa's production of methanol, a diesel substitute, by one billion litres a year. This will involve the construction of a R200-million coal mine. Perkins Diesel of Northampton has been one of two principal companies designing a major project to manufacture South Africa's own range of diesel engines (to lessen its dependence on foreign supplies); British Leyland is also participating in this 'Atlantis' project and has also resumed production in South Africa of the mini car, begun an expansion of its dealer networks there, and introduced a new range of trucks (there were also rumours during the year that world MG production would be transferred to South Africa). Meanwhile, in the biggest-ever deals of their kind, GEC and Babcock & Wilcox announced multi-million pound turbine generator deals with ESCOM for its new power station near Johannesburg.

Although the South African economy has been greatly strengthened by the massive increase in the gold price over the past year, South Africa still needs loans to finance spending on long-term military and infrastructure projects, and to reschedule debts arising from the economic problems of the mid-1970s. Many loans made then at high rates and for a short term are due for renewal in 1980 and 1981.

Only one British company - Briden - withdrew from South Africa in the period under review.

British companies have also been involved in promoting South Africa through the establishment in Britain of a charity counterpart of the South African Urban Foundation, which will raise funds for 'self-help' projects in African townships in South Africa. Among the directors are leading figures from some of the companies most involved in South Africa, such as Barclays Chairman Sir Anthony Tuke. Earlier, in October 1979, the new British Ambassador to Pretoria, J Leahy, told the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, at a lunch in his honour, that South Africa must 'help us help it' by producing the sort of modifications to apartheid that would make it easier for Britain to defend South Africa and continue with its massive trade and investment.

Trade missions

In line with government efforts to maintain and expand trade, substantial support has continued in the form of export credit provision and guidance and financial assistance for businessmen. In the case of Namibia, it emerged during the year that,

contrary to government policy statements in 1974, Britain maintains a trade correspondent in Namibia to facilitate economic links with Britain, especially trade, and the Department of Trade has published a handbook for businessmen so that they can better take advantage of trading opportunities in Namibia. Meanwhile, trade missions continue to receive the support of the British Overseas Trade Board. Since the last AGM, 22 such trade missions have been announced, the highest annual figure so far. Trade missions from Britain to South Africa in the first six months of 1980 accounted for three-quarters of all such missions to Africa as a whole and included missions organised by the Development Corporation for Wales and chambers of commerce in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Coventry, Dundee, Bristol, North Staffs, Worcester, Sussex, Nottingham, and the Thames Export Club. There were also more missions from industry associations, including those representing companies in printing and publishing, toolmaking, engineering, ceramics, stationery and office products. The Scottish Council for Trade also made a further visit this year. Protests were forthcoming, for instance, from the AUEW (Engineering Section) and MPs, but they did not succeed in stopping any of these missions or even in creating a major controversy about this continued support for the extension of British economic links with South Africa.

The British government has also continued to provide financial assistance for British exporters attending trade conferences in South Africa. One example was the Electrical and Mining Exhibition which took place there in September 1980.

EMIGRATION

South Africa has never been without some need of immigrants, people who, as Vorster put it while Prime Minister, 'come to stand by South Africa in her time of need'. In the early seventies, indeed, that need was very great and as many as 20,000 Britons emigrated to South Africa every year. More recently, there has been a considerable decline in British emigration to South Africa and some of the most recent statistics have recorded a net outflow from that country. The picture is beginning to change again and not only in terms of numbers. South Africa is now interested in the most skilled and highly qualified immigrants, partly because those who have left the country recently have often been professional and skilled personnel. The economic expansion of South Africa after the mid-seventies recession (South Africa now enjoys an average growth rate of 6 per cent per annum) and the gold-led boom currently has underscored traditional problems arising from the apartheid policy of largely confining training and advanced education to whites. Once again South Africa is critically short of the skills it needs to run its economy, and again it has turned to Britain.

One reflection of this has been a determined recruitment campaign through the advertisement columns of national and local newspapers. This has not been confined to mass circulation papers alone, although the emphasis has been on engineering and other crafts. South African state corporations such as SASOL, ISCOR and ESCOM have been among the major advertisers and one SASOL advertisement even appeared in a trade union journal - that of the Electrical and Power Engineers Association (the EPEA later confirmed that this had been a mistake). Of particular concern also were the advertisements in the *Observer* and *Daily Telegraph* in October for ESCOM, appealing for nuclear engineers and reactor staff.

The AAM has drawn these advertisements to the attention of the TUC, which has for many years opposed emigration to South Africa, and to a number of individual trade unions. Newspapers themselves have in most cases refused to ban such advertisements, even when placed by bantustan 'authorities', although the *Morning Star*, *Tribune*, *Labour Weekly*, *Time Out* and *New Society* do maintain a total ban.

The seriousness of the South African skill shortage was underlined in February when it emerged that British tool-makers and setters were being flown to South Africa on private contract work, with the terms including generous pay and overtime, housing and return air fares; and in September when there were press reports that ISCOR was recruiting among redundant steelworkers in Consett, Co Durham. Determined efforts have also been made in the past year to recruit new graduates but they have met powerful opposition from AA student groups, especially in Swansea where one recruiting officer confirmed that he was recruiting whites only 'in accordance with South African law'. Other companies recruiting there for South Africa include Roberts Construction - again whites only. NUS Wales has asked the Commission for Racial Equality to mount prosecutions under the Race Relations Act. To aid efforts by South African employers to recruit skilled personnel abroad, Alwyn Schlebusch, Minister for the Interior, has relaxed immigration laws.

The AAM last mounted a national campaign against emigration to South Africa in 1974/75, when special leaflets were produced for trade unionists and students. The National Committee has recently discussed the need for a renewed campaign on this issue.

SPORTS BOYCOTT

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has been faced during this period by a concerted effort by South Africa and its friends to secure the re-entry of South Africa into international sport. This started with the Barbarians rugby tour in the autumn of 1979. The tour took place, despite the opposition of the Conservative government and a range of organisations, including the Sports Council, the TUC, the Labour and Liberal Parties and the British Council of Churches. The Stop All Racist Tours committee (SART) organised a meeting of activists and organisations on 16 September 1979 to plan action against the tour. Demonstrations were subsequently organised at Heathrow, all seven venues and at several hotels where the team stayed. The tour was originally planned as two matches in each of the four home country unions. However, the Irish government banned the tour and finally only seven matches were played, the extra match in England being played in Coventry. Although the tour did not produce the mass protests of the 1969/70 Springboks tour, it did face repeated obstacles. The choice of venues by the organisers was designed to cause maximum difficulties for opponents of the tour. Despite this, local groups in Cornwall, Exeter and Coventry, together with the Scottish AA and the South Wales Campaign Against Racist Sport, succeeded in organising effective protests at each match.

Mobilisation against the tour, however, did reveal a number of weaknesses which will have to be overcome if the British authorities persist in inviting a Springboks side to tour Britain.

Following the Barbarians tour, the Four Home Countries touring committee announced that the British Lions had accepted an invitation to tour South Africa. This tour went ahead, despite the opposition of the British government and a variety of other organisations. The Anti-Apartheid Movement's President, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, made a final appeal to the team to abandon the tour on the eve of its departure and, while the team was in South Africa, many appeals were made for it to return, especially following the widespread police violence against protesting students in June.

However, a more serious development was the decision of the Sports Council to send a delegation to South Africa. The delegation spent its time primarily with the racist sporting organisations and government officials. The non-racial sporting

organisations in South Africa were opposed to the delegation and mainly refused to meet it. The report of the Sports Council was published on its return from South Africa and consisted mainly of favourable accounts of the cosmetic changes taking place in apartheid sport. The Sports Council subsequently took various steps towards securing the re-entry of South Africa into international sport.

The AAM has worked during this campaigning period with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, as well as with the UN Centre against Apartheid.

In March the AAM was represented by Frank Dobson MP at a special UN hearing on sport and South Africa.

CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC BOYCOTT

The past year has seen a number of successes for the cultural boycott - but the problems referred to in previous annual reports remain.

Despite representations from the AAM, Cliff Richard visited South Africa twice during 1980, although he stipulated that he would play only to mixed audiences on this, his twentieth visit to South Africa. Leo Sayer and the British rock group Fumble were amongst others to have visited South Africa.

The removal of the ACTT cultural boycott policy in 1976 has had a damaging effect on the overall boycott, and its restoration is urgently needed. During the year, two South African-made films - *Zulu Dawn* and *Game for Vultures* came to Britain. While the former was released nationally, the latter (by far the more distasteful of the two films: it concerned the war in Zimbabwe and sanctions-busting) lasted only 10 days in London. In the case of *Zulu Dawn*, it was revealed that African extras playing 'Zulu impis' were paid less than a dog employed on the film. There is at least one major film in production in South Africa at the moment and likely to be shown in Britain on completion.

The most serious blow to the boycott, however, came as a result of the visit to Britain by a choir of teachers from Soweto. The choir met protests, including cancellation by Lambeth Council of a planned performance. But more seriously, after the choir had performed at the Llangollen Eisteddfod, the chairman and secretary of the Eisteddfod agreed to give advice and aid on the proposed staging of an international musical eisteddfod at Rodepoort, South Africa, in September 1981. This was announced by the conductor of the white Johannesburg male voice choir, which accompanied the Soweto choir to Llangollen. The plan has aroused considerable local opposition: Wrexham Labour Party, for instance, has withdrawn its financial contribution to the Llangollen Eisteddfod and urged other organisations to do the same.

On the more positive side, attempts by members of the Musicians Union to weaken the total boycott of South Africa upheld by that union since the mid-1950s were defeated and the position remains that members of the union are not allowed to play in South Africa. Again, despite the efforts of Stuart Weaving, the prestigious Morriston Orpheus Choir decided not to accept an invitation to sing in South Africa. Protests were also made against the Jewish Male Voice Choir of London which planned to visit South Africa, and the performances of *Ipi Tombi* which is still touring the country.

Previous annual reports have referred to the campaign in Scotland against the South African-linked International Festival of Youth Orchestras. This has now moved from Aberdeen, following a total ban on South Africans, and transfers to Exeter in 1981. The AA group there has already

threatened a major campaign should any South African group be invited to participate.

An extremely important breakthrough for the Anti-Apartheid Movement was the decision of the Association of University Teachers (AUT) to support the academic boycott of South Africa. This was adopted at the AUT Council meeting in May. *The Times Higher Education Supplement* responded to this decision with a critical editorial and this has promoted much interest in academic circles. Supporters of the AAM in the AUT and other academics are currently discussing with the Movement how this matter can be pursued further.

The last AGM adopted a resolution on the activities of the British Council in relation to South Africa, as a result of which further research has been carried out. The AAM's opposition to the activities of the British Council in South Africa has apparently given rise to considerable concern amongst British Council staff.

MATERIAL AID

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has again been actively involved in encouraging support for the material aid campaigns of the liberation movements.

ZECC (the Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee) made substantial contributions to the two parties of the Patriotic Front from funds raised at meetings it organised and, in addition, large sums of money were raised for the Patriotic Front by organisations involved in ZECC both during the Lancaster House talks and the election campaign.

The AAM has also promoted the various material aid campaigns of the Namibia Support Committee, and publicity for these has been circulated to all AAM members and local groups.

Local AA groups were again active this year in raising funds for the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Mazimbu, Tanzania, through the Walks for Soweto. Members of the AA Health Committee liaised with the ANC in preparing the Thames TV 'Help' programme, which made a special appeal for ANC refugees.

INTERNATIONAL WORK

The main initiative of the Anti-Apartheid Movement internationally during the period of this report was the convening of the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, which was held in London from 2-4 November 1979. The seminar attracted a very high level of participation from the United Nations and its specialised agencies, from the Southern African liberation movements, from the front line states and from anti-apartheid and solidarity movements. The work of the seminar was greatly assisted by the many individuals who prepared documents for the seminar and led the discussion on the different agenda items.

The Declaration and Report of the International Seminar have been widely distributed, both by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the UN. The rapporteur for the seminar, Bob Hughes MP (AAM's Chairman), was invited to the UN headquarters, where he formally presented the report to the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and met the UN Secretary General and President of the General Assembly.

The International Seminar was organised in cooperation with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, and the AAM would like to place on record its appreciation for all the assistance it received from both the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid. Many of the documents have been reproduced by the Centre and are proving to be an invaluable source of information on the activities of TNCs in South Africa.

UNITED NATIONS

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has continued to work closely with various UN bodies, especially the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid. The most important development for the AAM at the UN level was the unanimous adoption on 13 June 1980 by the Security Council of Resolution 473, which recognised the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and urgently called on the South African regime to release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. This was the first resolution adopted by the UN Security Council on South Africa since 1977 and reflected the renewed determination of the international community to act collectively on South Africa. This resolution also recommended that measures should be taken to close all loopholes in the

arms embargo. On two occasions, 5 March and 10 July 1980, the AAM's Hon Secretary, Abdul S Minty, presented evidence on breaches in the arms embargo to the UN Security Council Committee on the Arms Embargo.

The AAM has also worked closely with the UN Council for Namibia. It met a mission of the Council which visited London, and Abdul Minty gave evidence to the hearings it held on Namibian uranium. The AAM again gave evidence to the Working Group of the UN Human Rights Commission on Southern Africa.

UN NGO CONFERENCE

In July 1980 the UN Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) Sub-Committee on Apartheid, Racism, Colonialism and Racial Discrimination convened an international conference on Sanctions against South Africa at the ILO headquarters in Geneva. The AAM was represented by a delegation consisting of Bob Hughes, Abdul S Minty and Mike Terry. The conference decided on a number of measures designed to intensify the international campaign for sanctions.

ICSA

The AAM has continued to work closely with the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA), which has its headquarters in London. The third session of ICSA was held in Sweden in April 1980 and the Movement was represented by Chris Child and Abdul S Minty. The session agreed on a number of initiatives to intensify international solidarity with the liberation movements and the front line states.

OTHER INTERNATIONAL WORK

The Movement has continued to encourage liaison between other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements. Contacts have been maintained with many organisations, both at international conferences and through the many visits of groups to the AAM headquarters in London. The AAM also attended several other international meetings, including the ISMUN seminar in Sweden in May, the oil seminar in Amsterdam in April and an international meeting on bank loans at the World Council of Churches headquarters in July.

LOCAL GROUPS

Active, representative and effective local groups are the backbone of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the past year has seen a further expansion in both the amount and range of activities which they have undertaken. Nevertheless, there remain many areas of the country where there is no anti-apartheid activity, where glaring examples of collaboration with apartheid go unopposed and where little is done to provide information to the public on what apartheid means and how Britain is supporting the regime. The creation of a genuinely national spread of local anti-apartheid activities and groups remains an unfulfilled, and crucial, objective of the AAM if it is to continue to be an effective *movement* rather than a London-based pressure group with occasional support elsewhere. The central task of the AAM – mobilising its members and supporters into effective action in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa – will increasingly hinge on our capacity to develop more and deeper local support.

That such support has grown during the past year is not immediately apparent from the number of local anti-apartheid groups, which has fallen. This, however, is the product largely of the closure of a number of branches which had been inactive for some time. There are now 45 local groups, with Ipswich, Cranbrook, Brighton, Hastings, Old Trafford, Aberystwyth, Rugby and Bradford having folded during the past year. New groups have been formed in Richmond, East Kilbride, Basingsstoke, Borders, Peterborough and Somerset, while the Bristol group has revived and groups are in the process of being formed in Hackney, Brent, Uxbridge, Leamington Spa and Liverpool. There are now local Anti-Apartheid Groups from St Austell to Aberdeen, and the Scottish Committee of the AAM continues to play an important role in coordinating the six groups in Scotland. This Committee has been particularly active recently in raising funds for the ANC school in Tanzania, and has formed a Namibia Committee with the intention of adding a range of campaigns on Namibia to its already well-established campaigning activities on South Africa.

Local group activity is so various that it defies generalisation either as to its range or its success. The past year has seen a particular emphasis on bringing home national campaigns at a local level, but there have still been a number of campaigns initiated in response to local developments and quite independent of the London office, as reflected throughout the year in *Anti-Apartheid News*, which continues to be an important means of communication between groups. During the past year, for instance, Southwark AA has been pressing the local council to transfer its account from Barclays, several groups have protested outside BBC offices at unbalanced coverage on Southern Africa, and Southampton AA have picketed a lunch between the Mayor and Ambassador Dawie de Villiers. Similarly, the Glasgow AA Group picketed a lunch organised by the Lord Provost of Glasgow for the South African ambassador and attempted to hand in a rugby ball illustrating the proportion of land in South Africa allocated to white and black South Africans. The group also protested against Radio Clyde's request programmes linked to South Africa. The Swansea AA Group and other supporters in South Wales helped to convince the Morriston Orpheus Choir not to visit South Africa. Lambeth AA achieved national publicity with their campaign to get the council there to cancel contracts with the South African Roberts Construction company. Edinburgh AA mounted a special play about apartheid produced by the Broadside Company Theatre, and Barnet AA collected over £400-worth of medical equipment for the ANC. Tyneside AA protested at efforts by ISCOR, the

South African state iron and steel corporation, to recruit redundant Consett steel workers. Manchester AA was active in promoting local opposition to the RTZ uranium contract. Both Aberdeen and Exeter AA Groups protested against the International Festival of Youth Orchestras, which announced in July that it would be transferring the South Africa-linked concerts to Exeter after the success of the Aberdeen campaign had led to a permanent ban on South African participation. Oxford AA mounted a city centre open air exhibition in June to mark the fourth anniversary of the Soweto massacre. There are many other examples.

Much local activity in the past year, however, was grouped around six nationally coordinated activities: the Zimbabwe campaign, the Barbarians tour, the Namibia speaker tour, the Boycott Barclays campaign, the Walks for Soweto and the fortnight of national action in June.

The fortnight of action focused on three campaigns – against nuclear links with South Africa, the consumer boycott and the Free Nelson Mandela campaign. Special material for local use was produced centrally and there were many meetings throughout the country on the different themes. In Edinburgh, for instance, the AA Group and Edinburgh CND organised a joint half-day conference on the South African nuclear threat, and Dan Smith, author of the booklet *South Africa's Nuclear Capability* (published by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa), addressed similar meetings in London, Birmingham, Southampton, Cardiff and other centres. Groups have had a particularly encouraging response to the petition produced for this campaign.

The consumer boycott campaign was even more enthusiastically supported locally, with pickets of shops selling South African goods throughout the fortnight, as well as before and after. The pickets are now being followed up with approaches to local authorities and other bulk purchasers asking them to boycott South African goods. Several authorities, including Strathclyde, have already agreed not to buy South African. A number of local meetings were also held as part of the campaign to Free Nelson Mandela, for which Barnet AA, which produces AAM T-shirts for national use, made a special Free Mandela T-shirt. The fortnight of action also saw local activity on the part of many other organisations, including trade unions, political parties, student and church groups.

The Walks for Soweto – now in their third year – were once again successful in providing a means of marking the anniversary of the Soweto massacre in 1976 in a positive way and succeeded in a number of cases in involving many – especially children and young people – in the wider campaigns of the AAM. A smaller number of Walks were held this year (about 20) but they raised almost as much as last year (some £4,000) and several were organised in places where there is no AA group by teachers and others who had heard about the Walks through the national publicity they attracted. The proceeds from the Walks will, as in previous years, be divided between the AAM and the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Mazimbu, Tanzania. It is hoped that the Walks will be a major focus for the activities of all local groups in 1981, when they will mark the fifth anniversary of Soweto.

The Boycott Barclays campaign has received considerable support this year from student groups locally (see *Youth and Students*) but much of its impetus continues to come from local AA groups, 35 of which participated in pickets around Britain in protest at the decision of Barclays to purchase shares in the SASOL oil-from-coal project. There has, however, been some dropping off of local support for pickets and this may mean that the forms of action to be adopted in the Barclays

campaign will have to be reconsidered.

However, it was the Zimbabwe campaign run by the AAM and ZECC in the period up to the election in March that stimulated the highest level of local activity, even though many of the major campaign rallies and demonstrations took place in London at Lancaster House or the hotel used by the Smith-Muzorewa delegation. Several local ZECC committees were formed and, although few of these were in places where there was hitherto no AA local group, they provided an important stimulus to the national leafletings and other activities that were held at the time of the Lancaster House talks. Towards the end of the talks, a Patriotic Front delegation toured Britain and addressed a number of meetings organised by AA Groups. In Scotland, a special Zimbabwe campaign committee was established under the auspices of the Scottish Committee of AAM with the initial objective of stopping recognition of the Muzorewa regime, and this committee continued until the election in Zimbabwe, bringing together Zimbabweans living in Scotland and church and other Scottish organisations in support of the Patriotic Front. The Scottish Zimbabwe committee, ZECC and AA local groups were particularly active in securing support from trade unions for the ZECC Statement of Intent when it appeared that the British government might 'lift' sanctions before an agreement had been reached which was acceptable to the Patriotic Front, and the support of British trade unions might be needed to ensure that UN sanctions against Rhodesia were maintained. Aside from the speaker tour, a number of groups organised well-attended public meetings to support the Patriotic Front at critical stages of the talks and to get over the issues to the public.

Probably the most successful series of local meetings, however, were those organised by the AAM for former SWAPO Secretary for Legal Affairs, Lucia Hamutenya. Anti-apartheid groups in Southampton, Cardiff, Oxford, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, the Borders, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen organised 15 public meetings for Lucia Hamutenya on her two-week tour of Britain, an impressive series of press and local radio interviews, as well as meetings with various local organisations. The tour provided a major boost to local campaigning on Namibia, especially work in support of the campaign against the RTZ uranium contract and for the release of political prisoners and detainees in Namibia, and it is hoped that a similar tour will be organised again in the coming year.

It was the Barbarians tour which saw the greatest degree of demonstrative activity on the part of AAM members outside London and local groups were central to the organisation of the demonstrations. The Barbarians rugby team, selected on a racial basis but designed to weaken the boycott, met demonstrations which (where comparisons allow) were as big as those of 1970. In Coventry, 2,000 demonstrators were organised into a mass picket by the local AA Group; Exeter AA organised the first demonstration; St Austell AA and other supporters in Cornwall produced the county's biggest demonstration for years when the team visited Camborne; while South Wales AA groups secured the support of 1,000 for the Llanelli game and a smaller protest at Newport; and the Scottish Committee of AAM organised demonstrations at Galashiels and Hawick which made national TV news. Altogether, the protests led the police to spend £107,000 on special protection for the apartheid team. They also led Cardiff City Council to withdraw a £17,000 rate subsidy from Cardiff Arms Park because the Wales Rugby Union supported the tour. (See also *Sports Boycott*).

The AAM has continued to keep local AA groups informed with monthly mailings providing information on forthcoming campaigns, national and international developments and new material. A one-day conference for local group representatives was held in May but it was poorly attended and underlined the problems in getting far-flung groups together to discuss local campaigning. Two similar meetings were held for London groups and the first proved to be extremely useful, resulting in

a coordinated London leaflet distribution in support of the campaign to stop the execution of James Mange, a campaign which also drew considerable support outside London. There remain, however, major problems in ensuring that the AAM's London membership (over half of national membership) is adequately mobilised. A planned weekend conference for local group activists was postponed but a well-attended one-day national meeting was held in February and provided a valuable opportunity both to hear 'feedback' from local activists and to provide an opportunity to brief them on developments across a wide range of campaigns. As a result of these various meetings, a clear need has emerged for additional resources from the London office to be devoted to local activity and, with this in mind, local group work has been made one of the responsibilities of the new AAM staff member, David Smith. It is hoped that the extra campaigning capacity that his appointment will give will allow the AAM office considerably to strengthen and expand its local support in the coming year.

Finally, it should be noted that local groups continue to undertake a vital range of activities which rarely make even local headlines. It has been due to the generous and vigorous response of several anti-apartheid groups, for instance, that the AAM has been able to overcome some particularly difficult financial problems in the past year (although the majority of groups still contribute nothing to the central finances of the AAM). Similarly, local groups have in many cases undertaken important lobbying work of MPs and branches of national organisations, and it is often as a result of work of this nature that resolutions are adopted by national political parties and other organisations. It also has particular potential amongst the churches.

The liberation movements have benefited from persistent fund-raising efforts by groups throughout the country to raise material aid for refugee, medical, educational and other projects. It is this work which has helped to produce the progress reported elsewhere in this report and which has, in particular, helped to create a national climate which is broadly sympathetic to the AAM. In the same way it will be intensified local work which will be decisive in shifting public attitudes more firmly in favour of active support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa in future, and in particular for the total isolation of South Africa.

TRADE UNIONS

Previous annual reports have shown how the Anti-Apartheid Movement devotes considerable resources to its work in the trade union movement and how it benefits from widespread support from trade unionists. This is still the case. During the course of the past year, the AAM has in particular had some success in securing trade union support for the three campaigns which were the focus of the fortnight of action in June (the Free Mandela campaign, the campaign against nuclear links with South Africa and the re-launched consumer boycott). There was valuable, if not particularly spectacular, support for the AAM's work on Zimbabwe, notable involvement in campaigns on behalf of trade unionist detainees and prisoners and some widening of the traditional trade union concern with South Africa to encompass Namibia. We have also been able to deepen existing support with the publication of a number of articles in trade union journals, bulk purchases of *Anti-Apartheid News*, mass leaflet circulations by a large number of national unions and a further increase in trade union affiliations.

At the same time there remains a pressing need to transform the often generalised support for AAM into effective action in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, to convey more adequately the scale and significance of developments there and to secure wholehearted support from the British trade union movement for an end to all forms of collaboration

with the apartheid regime and the total isolation of South Africa.

This was recognised in discussion at the 1979 Annual General Meeting, which adopted two resolutions on the AAM's trade union work. One identified a need to campaign more vigorously against the Code of Conduct approach, to expose the true nature of the Wichahn proposals and subsequent developments, and strengthen campaigning against the operations in South Africa of British and other transnational corporations. The wealth of material produced in November for the AAM's International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa has proved invaluable for use in the trade union movement, but there remains a need for further, brief, campaigning material on companies. A new list of British companies with interests in South Africa has been prepared and other material is planned. The AAM has also attempted to secure wider distribution of SACTU and UN Centre against Apartheid material on the EEC Code of Conduct and the Wichahn Commission and subsequent developments. Nevertheless, the AAM still needs to supplement this with its own material and has made plans accordingly.

In line with further decisions of the AGM, the AAM circulated a document in early 1980 to affiliated trade union bodies at all levels, and to local AA groups, outlining its strategy in trade union work, and promoted the Statement of Intent produced by ZECC calling for the imposition of UN mandatory sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian regime by trade unionists themselves should the British government 'lift' sanctions before a settlement acceptable to the Patriotic Front was agreed. There was an encouraging response to this Statement, although, since a settlement acceptable to the Patriotic Front was agreed within a short period of the British government's refusing to renew the sanctions order in November 1979, the support of the trade union movement on this point was never fully tested. Amongst indications of support for the AAM and ZECC policy was an important statement by Ron Todd, National Organiser of the Transport and General Workers Union, speaking at one of the major ZECC rallies in London during the Lancaster House talks, when he said that, should the government not continue to uphold UN mandatory sanctions against the illegal regime, trade unionists themselves should do so. During this time, the TUC also made a number of public statements confirming Congress policy that sanctions should remain until there was a settlement acceptable to the people of Zimbabwe and the international community, and General Secretary Len Murray made a strong protest at the Conservative government's action in refusing to renew the sanctions order before such an agreement was reached.

The AGM also agreed to encourage the formation of networks of AAM supporters in companies with South African links. It is hoped that such networks will be established following the sector and regional conferences for which that AGM also called. One such conference, for transport workers, took place during 1980 but was poorly attended. Plans are in hand for a regional conference in the West Midlands in early 1981 and for one in Scotland; a number of Regional Councils of the TUC have agreed to sponsor such meetings in other parts of Britain. It is also planned to hold a conference for petrochemical workers in February 1981. These conferences have become even more important in view of the absence of action by shop stewards committees and other trade union bodies in connection with renewed collaboration by several major British companies during the year (see *Economic Collaboration*) and the low priority which trade unions have attached to the mounting of campaigns to sever economic links with South Africa. While the 1979 AGM called for active support from the AAM for shop stewards committees and AAM supporters in trade unions campaigning for 'sanctions in the workplace', few such approaches have been made along these lines and this suggests that more initiatives must be taken by the AAM. However, lack of financial resources and staff

time prevent this being undertaken effectively by the AAM nationally. Local AA groups and trade unions at all levels will need to be further encouraged to promote such campaigns against the involvement of particular companies in South Africa and for the ending of economic links as a whole.

It is difficult to gauge the true extent of local trade union involvement in the work of the AAM. The period when this was most noticeable was up to and during the two international weeks of action in 1977 and 1978. The absence of similar international trade union initiatives since then has deprived the AAM of a useful opportunity for a major nationwide intensification of local trade union action. Nevertheless, a number of local groups continue to work closely with trade union bodies and local trade union support has been forthcoming for several of the AAM's national campaigns.

In the London area, trade union bodies have played an important part in the establishment of three new local groups. In Wales and Scotland they were active participants in the campaign against the Barbarians rugby tour, and in Scotland and the North West of England trade unions have been active on Namibia. The Scottish AAM Committee organised a number of meetings for SWAPO official Lucia Hamutenya with trade unionists, including the Clyde shipyard shop stewards, during her tour of Scotland in February (and were again able to organise a series of similar meetings for a representative of SACTU), while Preston Trades Council has organised a conference and supported plans for a march against the RTZ uranium contract. Several meetings in different parts of Britain were organised for Stephen Lee, one of the South African political prisoners who escaped from Pretoria jail in 1979, by the union to which he belonged when he lived in Britain (the Transport and General Workers Union), while the AAM also arranged for SACTU official, William Khanyile, to meet a number of trade unionists in the South East during a short visit to Britain in early 1980, including senior shop stewards and convenors at the Fords Dagenham plant (at the time of the arrest of the leaders of the strike in the Ford plant in Port Elizabeth). Generally, there has been a noticeable increase during the year in requests from trade union bodies for speakers, and SACTU has been invited to a number of major shop stewards and other local trade union meetings. The AAM, in addition to sending speakers to trade union meetings, has participated in some trade union schools.

National activity continues to be uneven. During the course of the year, the TUC has protested to the South African regime over its continued detention and imprisonment of trade unionists and workers, strike-breaking and general efforts to control and weaken genuine independent African unions. It has also protested to the British government over its renewed encouragement of further economic links with South Africa, insisting that such efforts should be ended, and urged trade unions to deny facilities to the Barbarians rugby tourists. It has continued to urge affiliated trade unions to press British companies to extend trade union rights to workers employed by subsidiaries in South Africa. However, this has been done in the context of support for the EEC Code of Conduct. Partly as a result of this, the Code of Conduct approach retains some credibility in certain sections of the trade union movement. The TUC still does not support SACTU as effectively as it might, and Congress has not yet adopted a resolution firmly committing the TUC to support for the imposition of total economic sanctions against South Africa. Despite the support for the AAM shown by a large number of national trade unions, there has been little change for several years on these three matters and, as the situation in Southern Africa becomes more critical, this assumes an even greater significance. This situation prevails because Southern Africa is not the priority that it should be for British trade unionists, which was reflected at the TUC Congress in Brighton this year when, for the first time in a number of years, there was no discussion or debate on Southern Africa and no resolution was adopted,

despite the efforts of the AAM's supporters.

Another disturbing development was the decision by the trade unions represented within GEC factories in Britain to send two officials to visit South Africa under the auspices of the GEC management.

On the positive side, there has been support for a number of AAM campaigns across a broad range of unions. NATFHE, for instance, has urged its branches to press local education authorities to boycott South African goods; the Society of Civil and Public Servants has pressed the same policy on the civil service; USDAW, the shop workers union, declared its renewed support for the consumer boycott campaign; and the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers has been prominent amongst some other unions which have supported this campaign by promoting it strongly with their own membership and in the wider trade union movement. The AUEW (Engineering Section) and a number of other unions have urged support from branches for the campaign against nuclear collaboration with South Africa and circulated the campaign petition. But the greatest interest has been shown in campaigns against repression in Southern Africa. The visit by SACTU official William Khanyile provided a major boost to this campaign. Mr Khanyile was one of the SACTU activists who stood trial in Pietermaritzburg in 1977 and his visit coincided with the appeal of the nine who were convicted, attracted considerable publicity in the trade union press and led to the TUC General Council and several individual unions making representations to the regime for the release of the trialists. Despite this, however, the appeal was turned down and all the sentences (including five life terms) were confirmed.

A number of national unions joined the campaign to secure the release from detention of the many trade unionists and other workers who suffered at the hands of the regime. AAM made a special effort to secure the release of the Ford strike leaders; those detained during the meatworkers' three-month strike; Joe Mavi, President of the Black Municipal Workers' Union in Johannesburg (who at the time of writing has been charged with sabotage); Oscar Mpetsha, National Organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers Union; and Leon Mqhakayi, Organising Secretary of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union. Trade unions at all levels have also given support to the Free Mandela campaign and the NUM has made it a national issue, with press advertisements and an invitation to the Mandelas to attend the 1981 Scottish Area NUM Gala. There was also a large measure of support for the campaign to stop the execution of James Mange, culminating in September, shortly before the result of his appeal, when 13 General Secretaries made a last-minute appeal to Lord Carrington to intervene. Several unions also appealed to Mrs Thatcher to secure the release from house arrest of leaders of the National Union of Namibian Workers.

Other important developments were the decision of the National Union of Teachers to urge members and branches to support the ANC Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, the adoption by the Association of University Teachers of policy opposing academic contact with South Africa, and the campaign of the National Union of Journalists for the release of detained journalists. Meanwhile, SOGAT and other print unions threatened industrial action against national newspapers importing South African newsprint.

In all these activities the AAM has continued to work closely with SACTU, for which 1980 has been an important year. In March SACTU marked the 25th anniversary of its formation with a public meeting in London and the publication of its official history, *Organise or Starve*. SACTU designated 1980 the Year for the Mobilisation of the Workers of South Africa and by far the most important development for SACTU this year has been the massive wave of strikes and protest of all forms by South African workers. The past year

has seen a massive stoppage of 11,000 municipal workers in Johannesburg (the biggest strike against any single employer in South Africa) and its ruthless suppression by the City Council, which deported and sacked strikers enmasse and, with the regime, forced others back to work. Many were arrested and intimidated by the open intervention of police in battledress. This strike came after the three-month meatworkers' strike and related meat boycott, the successful Fattis and Monis dispute, and other major strikes by car workers, construction men, textile workers, journalists, miners, bus drivers, agricultural workers and many others. Initiatives taken by SACTU in solidarity with these strikes included the launching of a Strike Fund to ensure that workers in disputes in South Africa received speedy and maximum financial support from British trade unions.

There were protests from shop stewards and national unions in Britain when car components were flown into South Africa in an attempt to break one of the car factory strikes, and valuable support from the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers in the textile dispute.

There has also been a growing interest in Namibia, with a number of unions attending the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris in September and, also in September, 14 unions urging Margaret Thatcher to cancel the RTZ uranium contract and desist from using the veto at the UN Security Council to block economic sanctions over Namibia.

There are now 35 national trade unions in affiliation with the AAM and 26 of these send representatives to its Trade Union Committee. Five national trade unions have affiliated during the year (NGA, NATSOPA, UCATT, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers and the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers). The AAM has been fortunate in securing still further financial support from trade unions and a substantial amount of space in trade union journals, with important articles in the journals of the TGWU, NUAAW, FBW, COHSE, SCPS and others. The AAM also continues to enjoy a close relationship with several Regional Councils of the TUC.

The AAM has been present, with bookstalls and/or fringe meetings, at the Trades Union Congress (where the meeting was chaired by Tom Jackson, Chairman of the TUC's International Committee) and the annual conferences of more individual trade unions than ever before, including those of ASTMS, NUR, ASLEF, NUM, IRSF, National Union of Sheet Metal Workers, SCPS, NALGO, COHSE, NGA and GMWU. The GMWU and NUM were, however, the only unions to adopt new policy this year and this points up a problem of increasing importance since most unions have not adopted policy for several years. The AUEW-TASS Kitson Committee again held a packed meeting attended by all but a handful of the delegates to the union's annual conference.

At a national level there are now few major unions which we can realistically expect to affiliate which have not already done so. However, there remain many local trade union bodies which are not affiliated and the AAM has this year made a major effort to secure more affiliations here, with some 32 non-national trade union bodies affiliating during 1980 alone, including 10 trades councils. Some national unions have made efforts to secure more affiliations by their branches, most notably the SCPS which distributes *AA News* to each of its 650 branches. Bulk orders for *AA News* have also been placed by several other unions but there is great scope for further sales.

The AAM decided during the year to expand the resources devoted to trade union work by making a further staff member, David Smith, responsible for trade union work, and this has greatly expanded the capacity of the AAM to respond effectively in this area. We hope it will make it possible to undertake further initiatives in the year to come.

YOUTH AND STUDENTS

The beginning of the year was marked by another successful assault on Barclays Bank, with over 20,000 leaflets being distributed to new students urging them to Boycott Barclays, and once again the vast majority of student unions barred Barclays from Freshers' Fairs.

In November the AAM, jointly with NUS, organised a speaking tour of colleges with representatives of the Patriotic Front. The tour took place during the Lancaster House talks and did much to dispel the bias of national media reporting and gain support for the Patriotic Front. The tour included not only meetings in colleges but also public meetings and interviews with local press. A further speaking tour, with Lucia Hamutenya, SWAPO's Secretary for Legal Affairs, included a number of college visits during February and early March.

Regional conferences were held in October and January, which gave priority to the material aid campaign. NUS produced a leaflet and poster on the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and a number of student unions contributed to the NUS Southern Africa Liberation Fund, of which £500 was donated to SWAPO and £550 to the ANC.

In addition, several unions sent money and materials directly to the liberation movements.

The early part of the Spring Term saw a concerted campaign in some unions against recruitment of prospective graduates by South African companies. In particular, the Swansea Anti-Apartheid students group were successful in stopping interviews by Roberts Construction completely. The Student Committee intends to make this area of work a priority for action in 1981.

A number of student unions took up the cases of political prisoners, supporting the James Mange campaign with telegrams to the Foreign Secretary, and Warwick and Sussex universities both took up the cases of detained students from their universities.

Disinvestment campaigns continued in a number of colleges, with a notable success at Sheffield University, which agreed to withdraw investments on the casting vote of the chairman of the University Court. Kings College Cambridge are continuing with their campaign after a long rent strike in support of their demands. As a result, a donation of over £1,000 was very gratefully received by the AAM.

Students were active in opposition to the Barbarians tour at the start of the Autumn Term, with Exeter University, Cardiff Poly and Cardiff, Swansea and Aberdeen Universities playing major roles.

The annual NUS/AAM Conference was held in July at Coventry Polytechnic and, although attendance was slightly down on the previous year, the delegates reported a stimulating conference that points to a year of increased activity in colleges and universities. A major priority established by the conference was the setting up of new student AA groups, and the Student Committee has laid plans for developing this. A number of new groups were set up over the year, at Bath, Leicester and Lancaster Universities.

The Student Committee, in its first full year of operation, was able to assist the Student Organiser in planning activities and is at the time of writing considering taking up more regional campaign activities.

The AAM held bookstalls at both of the NUS Conferences over the year. At the National Conference in April, Leo Mugabe, Robert Mugabe's nephew, received a rapturous welcome as a guest speaker.

Further progress has been made with youth groups and liaison with the Student Christian Movement, UNA Youth Council and Young Christian Workers has helped AAM to reach a wider group of young people. In addition, several

meetings have been held with the British Youth Council, who have expressed a desire to take up the cases of young political prisoners in South Africa.

SCHOOLS

This continues to be an area in which the work of the AAM requires considerable expansion. Many local groups do important work in sending speakers to schools, and the national office also advises teachers who are interested in dealing with Southern Africa in their classes. However, the opportunities which work in and with schools provide have scarcely been approached by the AAM and there has been no national initiative in the last year to alter this situation.

Useful contacts continue to be made through the AAM's work in the National Union of Teachers. A joint meeting between AAM and the Brent Teachers Association again this year resulted in a number of invitations to speak at schools around the country and further additions to the Teachers' Network which provides the AAM with a means of occasional contact with sympathetic teachers should there be a need for speedy action. The Walks for Soweto have led to the creation of many new opportunities for involving school students in the wider work of the AAM and much of the support for other material aid projects has continued to come from school students. A particularly good response in this area was, for instance, noticeable following the 'Help' programme appeal on Thames TV for refugee assistance to ANC. The AAM has also benefited from informal contact with the London area of the National Association of Multiracial Education, which has publicised AAM events and publications.

The AAM has not produced material for use in schools since 1978 but the set of five posters (on land, labour, health and housing, education, and law and order) produced then continue to be popular for use in schools, while IDAF's *This is Apartheid*, SARAT's *Children of Soweto* and the UNESCO leaflet *Apartheid in Black and White* are useful publications and are well used in this area.

The South African Embassy continues to distribute its schools information pack and other material to teachers and individual school students, thus assiduously promoting their racist policies in Britain. This and other aspects of the developing situation concerning Southern Africa may certainly require a more active AAM response in the coming year.

PARLIAMENT

Zimbabwe has been the main issue in Parliament in relation to Southern Africa. During the Lancaster House talks several briefings for MPs were arranged; in particular, two well-attended meetings addressed by the Presidents of ZAPU and ZANU. MPs of the opposition parties played a major role in challenging the Conservative government's policies during the talks. Working in close collaboration with the Patriotic Front and through the distribution of background and other material, the AAM sought to ensure that there was an informed debate about the issues at stake.

In addition, the AAM has continued to supply material to MPs and encouraged them to take up various issues — either in debates or through questions — and to respond to other enquiries.

A large number of MPs continue to give support to the AAM, both on the general issues as well as supporting local activities of the AAM. We take this opportunity to express our appreciation for this assistance.

WOMEN

In the spring of this year, several women closely involved with the work of the AAM began discussions over the possibility of setting up an AA Women's Committee. It was felt that a number of issues could be taken up by the group and that in this way it would be possible for AAM to work more effectively with women's organisations in Britain.

Several discussion meetings were held, which pointed to the possibility of sufficient support to make the Committee viable and its establishment was agreed by the AAM Executive in the summer.

The aims of the Committee were defined as follows:

1. to research and disseminate information about the position of women in South Africa and Namibia, and their role in the liberation struggle
2. to mobilise support among women and women's organisations in Britain for women in South Africa and Namibia, and for the liberation struggle as a whole
3. to campaign on particular issues in relation to the oppression and struggle of women in South Africa and to mobilise support for AAM campaigns.

The Committee has held a fund-raising event to finance its initial work and successfully organised a picket of South Africa House to mark South Africa Women's Day on 8 August.

BLACK COMMUNITY

One of the features of the 1979 Annual General Meeting was discussion on the need to secure greater support from the black community in Britain and for a number of years the AAM has regarded this as an area which needs special attention.

The level of support for the AAM from the black community has not changed significantly in the past year. However, there have been some encouraging developments. A number of local groups have made special efforts to involve black groups in campaigning and, at a national level, there has been particular interest in the campaign to Free Mandela, with *West Indian World* making it a major feature of its expanded coverage of Southern Africa, including a front-page appeal for support for the campaign. Similarly, the Lancaster House talks aroused considerable interest amongst black groups in the ZECC and AAM campaigning activities. *West Indian World* and the 'Black Londoners' programme on Radio London both featured material from AAM on the main points of the campaign in support of the Patriotic Front, and publicised the demonstrations and other activities in London.

The most important development, however, was the commitment of a number of black organisations to the campaign to stop the Barbarians tour. In a statement issued shortly before the rugby tourists arrived, the Indian Workers Association (GB), the Indian Workers Association (Southall), the West Indian Standing Conference, and organisations representing Pakistani and Bangladeshi workers in Britain pledged their complete opposition to the tour and called on their members not to attend the matches. The same organisations also agreed to circulate AAM material on sport in South Africa. On this and other campaigns the AAM continued to receive valuable support from Caribbean Labour Solidarity.

However, it remains the case that the AAM's work does not make a significant or lasting impression on either the West Indian or Asian communities and, despite the encouraging developments of the last year, there is a need for more work in this area, especially at a local level.

CHURCHES

In the 1978/79 Annual Report, attention was drawn to the report of the British Council of Churches entitled *Political Change in South Africa: Britain's Responsibility*. This report was debated within the member churches of the BCC and at the BCC Assembly in November 1979, at which a resolution was adopted committing the BCC to a policy of economic disengagement from South Africa. During the Assembly a meeting was convened jointly by the AAM, ELTSA and the Namibia Support Committee to which all participants were invited and which was addressed by representatives of the Southern African liberation movements.

Internationally, the World Council of Churches, following the criticism which had been generated within certain churches in the West in opposition to the Programme to Combat Racism, held a series of international consultations. As a result, the WCC reaffirmed its support for the Programme and its Special Fund. The AAM again received a grant from the Special Fund.

The churches in Britain continue actively to support different aspects of the AAM's work. For example, churches were well represented at the SATIS Conference in February 1980, Pax Christi prepared a special action leaflet on South Africa which specifically mentioned AAM campaigns, leaders of the Methodist Church supported the Nelson Mandela Declaration and the Young Friends published a report listing investments by the Society of Friends in companies operating in South Africa.

The church press continues to give considerable publicity to events in Southern Africa.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's work with political parties and other political groups in Britain is an important aspect of its overall activities to secure enhanced support for the liberation struggle and the isolation of apartheid South Africa.

A large number of branches and constituency bodies are affiliated to the AAM and, during the course of the year, the AA local groups have worked closely with many of these on a wide range of campaigns. Political parties continue to be the main source of requests for speakers and a number of valuable local contacts have arisen from AAM fringe meetings which have again been held this year at the Labour Party Conference and Liberal Assembly.

At a national level, the AAM continues to work with the Labour Party International Committee, with which the AAM Executive met in June 1980. The Labour Party has again this year circulated AAM campaign material, including the petition against nuclear collaboration with South Africa. During the Zimbabwe election, the Labour Party NEC launched a special appeal for financial support for the parties of the Patriotic Front, and later in 1980 invited political prisoners Herman ja Toivo, Dave Kitson and Nelson Mandela to the 1980 Party Conference. The Free Mandela campaign also received support from the Leader of the Labour Party, James Callaghan, in a strong message to the South Africa Freedom Day Rally on 26 June 1980 in London. Although only two resolutions on Southern Africa were submitted for discussion at the Labour Party Conference in 1980, the 1979 conference called on the British government to seek mandatory UN sanctions against South Africa. It is hoped that this support for sanctions can be consolidated in the coming year.

One of the most encouraging developments this year arose from a decision of the Liberal Party, which has resolved at national level to support the campaign to Boycott Barclays. The Liberal Party decided to support the withdrawal of accounts from Barclays in protest at the bank's links with

South Africa. The AAM's liaison with the Liberal Parliamentary Party continues, as does support from the Young Liberals and the Union of Liberal Students especially.

As noted in the 1978/79 Annual Report, a number of political parties and groups participated in the work of ZECC, and the Labour Party, Communist Party and International Marxist Group all sent representatives to the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris in September 1980.

The AAM's activities receive publicity in and support from the Labour movement press, in particular the *Morning Star*, although this is an area where there is great scope for further work.

HEALTH

The last annual report recorded the formation of the Anti-Apartheid Health Committee for Liberation in Southern Africa, a committee composed of AAM supporters studying or working in the health field. During the past year the committee has continued to stimulate support for AAM in the health services, informing others in the health field about apartheid and its effects on the health and provision of health care for the people of South Africa, and campaigning to sever links between Britain and South Africa in the health field.

The committee held a small conference in London in early 1980. This was addressed by representatives of SWAPO and the ANC, and it is hoped that this can be followed up in the coming year with further such conferences in other parts of the country.

The committee has produced two further issues of its

occasional bulletin, *Health and Liberation*, and has publicised appeals by the Southern African liberation movements for medical assistance. During the last few months of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, the committee made particular efforts to secure such assistance for the parties of the Patriotic Front. Later the committee helped the ANC prepare an item for Thames TV's 'Help' programme on the needs of South African refugees. Amongst a number of ventures to raise funds for the health clinic at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, the committee organised a successful fund-raising party at Charing Cross Medical School, and promoted the SWAPO Health Care Appeal.

The major focus for the Committee's work against collaboration with the apartheid regime was action to stop South African attendance at various medical and dental international conferences.

However, the bulk of the committee's work this year has been concerned with the campaign to support Maggy Jones, a disabled sportswoman, who was banned by a tribunal of the British Paraplegic Sports Society from competing at the European Paraplegic Table Tennis Championships at Stoke Mandeville in October 1979 for handing out Health Committee leaflets to fellow competitors at the games. The leaflets pointed out the discriminatory nature of health care in South Africa. Ms Jones, who had represented Scotland and Great Britain since 1968, was also banned from any participation in national or international disabled sport. The British Paraplegic Sports Society also encouraged the Scottish Paraplegic Association to extend the ban to Ms Jones' local activities. The Health Committee organised a campaign to reinstate Maggy Jones and this drew considerable support from the trade union movement, MPs and sportsmen and women. However, the ban remains.

INFORMATION

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

Anti-Apartheid News has continued to appear throughout the year, despite staffing difficulties. Following the resignation of its Editor, Christabel Gurney, after an incumbency of more than 10 years, a number of issues have been produced by a group of volunteers. Negotiations are in progress to find a permanent replacement.

The newspaper has given prominent coverage to major campaigning events over the year, such as the Free Mandela campaign, Stop the Barbarians Tour and solidarity with SWAPO and the people of Namibia. A centre-spread was devoted to political prisoners in Southern Africa and the text of Nelson Mandela's message to the world from Robben Island, released by the ANC during the year, was reproduced in full. Centre-spreads on Namibia and a pictorial reproduction of the Freedom Charter, produced to mark the 25th anniversary of the Congress of the People, have been reprinted in the form of posters.

During the period of the Lancaster House conference and the Zimbabwe independence election campaign, *AA News* carried a number of feature articles explaining the Patriotic Front's negotiating position and exposing the policies of the British government, notably on the issues of South African troops in Zimbabwe and economic sanctions.

Attacks on the front line states have also received considerable attention, including two centre-spreads. The paper has endeavoured to convey the spread and scale of the mounting resistance inside South Africa through the schools boycott campaign, industrial action and guerrilla attacks.

Efforts have been made to introduce and improve a number of regular features, notably campaigning in the British trade union movement, the role of women in the liberation struggle, biographies of political prisoners, student and local group action and daily life under apartheid.

The newspaper has contained several interviews with representatives of the liberation movements, including the ANC Director of Internal Propaganda, Victor Matlou; SWAPO's Secretary for Legal Affairs, Lucia Hamutenya; Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO Representative in UK and Western Europe; William Khanyile and John Gaetsewe of SACTU; T G Siliundika, Secretary for External Relations of the Patriotic Front (ZAPU); Jane Ngwenya, PF(ZAPU) National Secretary for Women's Affairs and Welfare; and Comrade Njobe, headmaster of the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania. The death of the Angolan President, Agostinho Neto, was marked by a special tribute. There was also an interview with the Angolan Foreign Minister, Paulo Jorge, on the South African attacks.

Guest writers who have contributed to the paper have included Hilda Bernstein, Greg Lanning, Christopher Hitchens, Mary Benson, Kees Maxey, M D Naidoo, Chris Easterling, V L Allen, Alan Brooks and Jan Marsh.

As a result of a special fund-raising and publicity campaign within the trade union movement, a number of leading trade unions (TGWU, AUEW Engineering, Fire Brigades Union, AUEW-TASS, GMWU, COHSE, UCW, POEU, Scottish TUC, SCPS, ACTT, NUR, NUM, USDAW, Tobacco Workers Union)

have placed advertisements in *AA News* expressing support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the struggle against apartheid.

The price of the newspaper was increased during the year in the face of rising costs. At 15p it compares favourably with other publications of a similar nature. Circulation remains steady at around 7,000.

Special mention must be made here of the work of Christabel Gurney, who resigned from the editorship of AA News after some ten years of voluntary work in this capacity. Her efforts over the years in getting together the various articles and news items, and meeting deadlines in order to get the monthly editions 'to bed' on time are incalculable and, as has been proved, she will be difficult to replace.

PUBLICATIONS

There has been one major new AAM publication during the year covered by this report: *Fire Force Exposed*, a detailed study of the military forces of the illegal regime in Rhodesia, which was published in early November 1979, with the aim of providing evidence to sustain the case for a peacekeeping force in any interim arrangements for the transfer of power in Zimbabwe.

A second publication which the AAM has been actively promoting is the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa's pamphlet, *South Africa's Nuclear Capability*, by Dan Smith, which was published in February 1980.

During the year numerous campaigning items have been produced. Two posters, reproductions of *AA News* centre-spreads, one on the Freedom Charter and the other on Namibia, were printed. A range of campaigning material on Nelson Mandela — a postcard, leaflet, poster and very popular badge — were produced. A new sticker and leaflet were produced for the consumer boycott campaign and the poster 'Look before you buy' is being reprinted. A new badge, 'Fight Apartheid — Isolate South Africa' has also proved to be a good seller. Special campaigning material for the James Mange campaign was produced, including leaflets and postcards.

A new development has been the production of Campaign Briefings which have been produced especially for activists to provide background information and ideas for AAM campaigns.

The AAM continues to promote the publications of the UN Centre against Apartheid and the International Defence and Aid Fund. The UN Centre, in particular, published most of the papers prepared for the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations which the AAM hosted in November 1979. This has enabled a number of important studies to be made more widely available.

SERVICES

Over the year AAM sent speakers to a wide variety of organisations, including trade unions, schools, colleges, local groups, church groups and others. In a special effort to mobilise opposition to the Barbarians tour, the AAM sent speakers to a series of meetings where matches were planned.

In addition, two major speaking tours, with Patriotic Front representatives in the autumn and SWAPO's Lucia Hamutenya in the spring, were organised; as were smaller tours for SACTU member William Khanyile, and for Stephen Lee and Tim Jenkin, two of the three prisoners who escaped from Pretoria Prison in December. In addition to sending representatives of the AAM to address meetings, the Movement has helped put local groups and other organisations directly in touch with representatives of the liberation movements.

The AAM is frequently asked to provide films: due to the expense of such a service, it is not possible for us to keep films but we have been able to direct enquiries towards IDAF and other organisations. There has been particular interest in the film *Portrait of Nelson Mandela*, which has been, and still is, in great demand. There have also been many requests for the IDAF photographic exhibitions and local groups have made approaches to public libraries and community centres to display exhibitions with leaflets and bookstalls.

THE MEDIA

Considerable efforts are undertaken by the AAM to influence the media in relation to events in Southern Africa. The basic task of the AAM is to try and secure sympathetic coverage of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and to seek publicity for its own campaigns and activities.

The AAM regularly briefs interested journalists about aspects of the situation in Southern Africa, as well as organising press conferences and issuing press releases. Amongst subjects for which press conferences were organised were the publication of *Fire Force Exposed* and *South Africa's Nuclear Capability*; and, in cooperation with the ANC, to release the statement of Nelson Mandela smuggled out of Robben Island and for Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC.

AAM spokesmen have been interviewed on television and on BBC, LBC and Capital Radio, as well as for many overseas radio and TV stations.

The national press frequently attend AAM press conferences and other activities but the level of coverage indicates the extreme difficulty which confronts the AAM in seeking to obtain publicity.

finance and fund-raising

The finances of the Anti-Apartheid Movement were reviewed at the National Committee meeting on 10 May, at which a detailed report was submitted. This report revealed that income from subscriptions accounted for only one-third of the income necessary for the basic running costs of the AAM. It was therefore, reluctantly, decided to increase the basic subscription by £2.50 and other rates accordingly.

Fund-raising activities during the year have included a raffle, the Walks for Soweto and several special appeals. Grants have been received from the World Council of Churches, the United Nations Centre against Apartheid and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa for different

projects. The WCC and the Methodist Church Division for Social Responsibility made special grants to meet the cost of publishing *Fire Force Exposed*. A number of trade unions made substantial contributions during this period and the students of Kings College Cambridge were able to make a very generous donation as a result of their Rent Strike during the investment campaign.

The AAM continues to be able to sustain its activities through the generosity of its members and supporters, as well as the activities of local AA groups. The AAM would again like to take this opportunity to express its gratitude to all those who have contributed.

ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP

Whilst overall membership figures remain more or less unchanged, there has been a slight increase in new members over the past year: 397 individuals and 90 organisations have joined the Movement, as compared to 364 individuals and 64 organisations last year. Since membership figures have never reflected the amount of real support the Movement has, an attempt was made at the beginning of the year to increase membership figures through a recruitment campaign. Although not a huge success, it has helped to boost figures. Affiliation within the trade union sector continues to increase: out of the 90 organisations affiliating this year, 40 are from trade union bodies. There are now 148 national trade unions, trade union branches and trades councils contributing to the Movement.

The large turnover of members remains a problem but efforts have been made to ensure that new members are put into contact with local groups where possible and are encouraged to participate more actively in the work of the Movement. This should result in greater personal involvement and fewer lapsed membership subscriptions.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting is the major opportunity during the year for AAM members to play a part in formulating the activities of the Movement for the year ahead. Every year, the July newsletter invites members and affiliated organisations to submit resolutions to the annual meeting and to nominate individual members to serve on the National Committee. At the AGM itself, usually held towards the end of October, members discuss and vote on the resolutions and elect the 30 individual members from those nominated.

The 1979 AGM was well-attended and took place during a crucial stage of the Lancaster House talks. T G Silundika, now Minister of Road Traffic, Posts and Telecommunications, addressed the meeting on behalf of the Patriotic Front delegation.

Resolutions on major areas of AAM work, for example, Zimbabwe, Namibia, trade union work, etc, were debated and new procedures ensured there was sufficient time for all resolutions to be debated.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement. Its members comprise the President, Vice-Presidents and Sponsors, the 30 individual members elected by the AGM, representatives of up to 20 national organisations affiliated to the Movement and representatives of local Anti-Apartheid Groups. The National Committee also invites observers to its meetings from Southern African liberation movements and from organisations or groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to 10 individuals may be coopted to the Committee.

The National Committee met on six occasions during the past year. The first meeting following the AGM elected the new Executive and other officers of the AAM. The first full meeting was held at the House of Commons on 11 December where detailed proposals were submitted by the Executive for campaigning and to implement the AGM resolutions. A

statement on Zimbabwe was submitted by the EC and endorsed by the National Committee. The meeting was addressed by Eddison Zvogbo, Patriotic Front (ZANU) Secretary for Publicity, and T G Silundika, Patriotic Front (ZAPU) Secretary for Foreign Relations. Further meetings were held on 1 February at the National Liberal Club in London, on 10 May in Birmingham, on 8 July at the House of Commons and on 9 September at University College London.

It was at the Birmingham meeting that a detailed report with proposals was submitted by the Executive on the theme 'Southern Africa after Zimbabwe' and at which a series of campaigning initiatives were agreed. The Political Report of the AAM (the Introduction to this report) was adopted at the meeting on 9 September.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee, which advises the National Committee and sees to the execution of policy decided on, is the working committee of the Movement. It is elected by and from the National Committee and consists of seven officers of the Movement — the Chairman, two vice-Chairmen, Hon Secretary, Joint Treasurers and Executive Secretary — and eight individual members. It can coopt up to six individuals to assist in its work.

It meets at least monthly but can also be called upon to meet more often should the need arise. In addition, the Executive Committee calls occasional meetings for in-depth discussion on particular aspects of the situation in Southern Africa.

AAM OFFICE

Plans to move the AAM headquarters from Charlotte Street, as reported in last year's Annual Report, have not been pursued because of the lack of suitable alternative accommodation at a rent which the AAM can afford. The staff have therefore been obliged to continue to work in far from satisfactory conditions.

There have been two major changes in the office staff: Charlotte Sayer, after a period of over a year as Clerical Secretary, indicated that she wanted to leave and her place has been filled temporarily by two voluntary workers, Francesca Klug and Amanda Sokour, whose assistance has been invaluable. After discussion, the AAM Executive decided not to seek to make a direct reappointment but instead to restructure the office staff responsibilities and create the post of Administrative Organiser. Applications for this post are currently being considered and it is hoped to make an appointment in the near future.

The second major change has been to appoint an additional member of staff with responsibility for trade union and local group work to enable more effective support for these two crucial areas of the AAM's work. David Smith was appointed to this post and started work in June 1980.

The small staff at Charlotte Street would simply be unable to respond to the numerous and varied demands on it without the tireless assistance of the many volunteers who regularly give up their spare time to help in the office. Their willingness to help out at all times and in all manner of ways is a vital contribution to the AAM as it struggles to make a meaningful contribution to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa.

