



ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

ANNUAL REPORT
of activities
& developments
OCTOBER 1980—
SEPTEMBER 1981

FOREWORD

I am proud to be your new President and I write these few words for the Annual Report of our Movement. The death of Bishop Ambrose Reeves, our former President, marks for me the close of a friendship of well over 20 years. During that time he has given great service to the cause of Anti-Apartheid. We all recognise that our Movement is more urgently needed than ever. The invasion of Angola, the removals at Nyanga, the continued use of detention without trial and the appalling frequency of execution by hanging all indicate that the government of South Africa, so far from reducing terror, is actually increasing it day by day.

At the same time we have to deplore the attitude of the Reagan administration and its consequences in the international field. The New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement has done magnificently in its efforts to draw world attention to the rugby tour of the Springboks. It is for us now in Britain to press forward with all the means at our disposal the campaign for sanctions against the policies of South Africa in the world community. Certainly this is our opportunity and on it will depend the freedom of African people in South Africa and Namibia. I call upon all our membership to redouble their efforts so that the coming year may truly see a united front against racism in Southern Africa.

*†Trevor Huddleston CR
President*

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Annual Report

October 1980 – September 1981

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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 12 September 1981

Throughout the last decade the Anti-Apartheid Movement warned of the gathering crisis in Southern Africa and the challenge it posed to all opponents of apartheid and colonial rule. As we entered the 1980s we expressed the conviction that this would be the decade in which the world could witness the final triumph of the cause of freedom on the African continent. Today, however, a situation exists in the region where the apartheid regime is moving towards an all-out war in an attempt to reverse the entire African liberation struggle. The invasion of southern Angola launched during the end of August 1981 was the culmination of an escalating pattern of aggression from which none of the neighbouring African states has escaped. All the indications are that the Pretoria regime is preparing to engage in even more savage acts of aggression in its increasingly desperate efforts to maintain white supremacy and domination throughout Southern Africa. Moreover, the apartheid regime's policies of racial tyranny are being imposed ever more ruthlessly onto the people of Namibia and South Africa.

Never before during our history of over two decades of persistent campaigning has the challenge to the Anti-Apartheid Movement been of such dimensions.

NAMIBIA

During the past year international attention has focused on Namibia and the intensification of the struggle to end South Africa's illegal occupation. The United Nations Plan for the Independence of Namibia through UN supervised and controlled elections, formulated by the so-called 'Contact Group' of Five (USA, France, Canada, UK and FRG), was rejected by South Africa at the pre-Implementation Meeting in Geneva in January 1981.

SWAPO, together with the front line states and Nigeria, made repeated concessions in order to be able to proceed with the implementation of the UN Plan and resolve the conflict. All these efforts were frustrated by South Africa, aware of the certainty of an overwhelming SWAPO victory at the polls. The racist rulers in Pretoria had been encouraged to display such arrogance in defiance of the United Nations and the international community by the coming to power of the Reagan administration in the United States and its declared pro-South African policies.

In response to South Africa's sabotaging of the Geneva meeting, the Western Five refused to take any effective measures to compel South Africa to implement the UN Plan and in April 1981 prevented international action by the use of the triple veto (USA, UK and France) at the Security Council when African and non-aligned states put forward a programme of sanctions against South Africa.

Encouraged by this support, the Pretoria regime proceeded to take further measures to implement its own 'internal settlement', including forced conscription of Namibians and the holding of 'tribal elections', whilst intensifying its repression of the Namibian people. At the same time South Africa is seeking and gaining support in a concerted effort to manipulate the interpretation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 with the aim of transforming the UN Plan in such a way as to create new obstacles for SWAPO and additional opportunities for the apartheid regime's puppets to increase their influence. In this process the four other members of the Contact Group have in effect permitted the USA to collaborate with South Africa in making proposals which make nonsense of the UN Plan.

However, the UN Special Session on Namibia during September clearly demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of

the members of the UN General Assembly support the original UN Plan for independence and recognise SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people.

This support is manifested equally in the growing worldwide movement of solidarity with SWAPO and the Namibian people which is reflected in Britain most significantly by the unprecedented decision of the TUC Congress to declare its support for SWAPO.

Inside Namibia, SWAPO, together with the courageous efforts of its military wing, PLAN, are intensifying the liberation struggle and confirming once more that it will be this struggle which will prove to be the decisive factor in securing Namibia's independence. Thus the necessity of rendering all possible assistance to SWAPO assumes even greater significance for the international community.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

The claims made by the Botha regime and echoed by South Africa's allies abroad that reform of the apartheid system was underway have proved baseless. After the all-white 'general election' resulted in entrenched power to the Nationalist Party, instead of the 'promised' amelioration of conditions of the oppressed people, we have only witnessed intensified repression of the black population and a further deterioration in their social and economic conditions. Confirmation of the analysis by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of these reforms has come from the mouth of the apartheid regime itself when Prime Minister Botha pledged in Parliament on 3 August that, whilst he was leader, Africans would never have national political rights and there would be no question of 'one-man, one-vote'.

In the face of mounting repression, resistance to apartheid has sharply increased and intensified. Never has opposition to apartheid been more widespread than in the nationwide boycott of Republic Day celebrations in May 1981, when the slogan 'White Republic No! People's Republic Yes!' echoed throughout South Africa. World opinion has also become much more aware of the nationwide militant campaigns and armed actions of ANC guerrillas for the people's liberation and freedom. Indeed, the rulers of South Africa have been compelled to recognise the growing effectiveness of their actions and the overwhelming influence of the ANC amongst the black people. The Pretoria regime has had to admit to the white population that 'the ANC is everywhere' and has responded by pursuing its 'total strategy' in an effort to contain the spreading revolt of the people, their trade union struggles and other forms of organised resistance. The last 12 months have seen an immense strengthening of workers' organisations, strike action and community solidarity. These activities extend beyond the demands for higher wages and trade union rights, and embrace demands for freedom and power to the people. The unparalleled unity of purpose amongst black workers against both the apartheid system of cheap labour and the efforts to curb trade union organisation have won the admiration of workers everywhere.

In a desperate effort to contain this resistance, the apartheid regime has resorted to more widespread repression, including the ever more frequent use of its defence forces to contain workers' and students' actions. Bannings, detentions and forced removals; torture and brutality: these continue to be the order of the day. Increasingly the courts are resorting to death sentences in the mistaken belief that they will intimidate the people into submission. Six ANC freedom fighters are presently on death row awaiting the apartheid noose.

There is a growing conviction, even amongst significant

sections of the white population, that the liberation struggle within South Africa has reached a stage where it is irreversible and that the crisis for the rulers of apartheid can only continue to deepen.

FRONT LINE STATES

Never before has the true aggressive role of apartheid South Africa been so clearly demonstrated. In January 1981 it invaded Mozambique and attacked ANC and SACTU residences at Matola in the capital city of Maputo and killed 14 people. A further attempted invasion followed in March. Assassinations and abductions of South African and Namibian refugees have been perpetrated in Swaziland, Lesotho and Zimbabwe, including the assassination of Joe Gqabi, the ANC representative in Salisbury, in July 1981; whilst the apartheid regime has repeatedly mounted military attacks against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana with a view to destabilising the entire region. The massive invasion of Angola by South African forces in August 1981 is now widely recognised as being aimed not only at destabilising this young republic but also creating a buffer zone on the Namibian-Angolan border.

As part of this strategy, South Africa continues to train, finance and control destabilising elements such as UNITA in Angola, MRM in Mozambique and former Muzorewa auxiliaries from Zimbabwe. Nor is such destabilisation restricted to military operations. South Africa has increasingly employed economic weapons against the front line states – in particular Zimbabwe. The African front line states have continued to bear the major burden of the increasing arrogance and aggressiveness of the Pretoria regime and tremendous suffering is being inflicted on their people, particularly in the devastating military raids against Angola.

This belligerence poses the greatest threat to international peace and security, a challenge to the authority of the United Nations and is irrefutable evidence of the need for international action to end the apartheid regime.

There is need for immediate action to defend Angola's territorial integrity and to compel South Africa and its allies to make full reparation. The front line states should be offered all material resources needed to protect themselves from South African aggression and have every right to accept such assistance in order to preserve international peace and security. The international community also needs to ensure that the front line and neighbouring independent African states are able to continue the process of reducing their economic relations with South Africa. In this context, the establishment of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference is to be welcomed, and all nations should give it their full support.

WESTERN COLLABORATION

The gathering crisis for the apartheid system and white supremacy throughout Southern Africa must have been a significant factor in the decision of the new Reagan administration to render support to the Pretoria regime and to encourage it not only to pursue its policies of racial tyranny but also to engage in aggressive armed attacks against the front line states. This was demonstrated most vividly when the USA cast its veto in the UN Security Council on 31 August 1981 to block the adoption of a resolution condemning South Africa's invasion of Angola. The enormous dangers of this major shift in US policy towards Southern Africa cannot be exaggerated. This new policy involves an open commitment by the Reagan administration to preserve and protect the stability and security of the apartheid regime and to confer upon it a regional power role. The Reagan administration is also seeking the repeal of the Clark amendment which would enable Washington to join openly with Pretoria in destabilising the sovereign state of Angola. If these efforts succeed it will represent a direct intervention in the internal affairs of an independent state and therefore set a dangerous precedent for similar external intervention in other African states.

There are ominous suggestions that evolving US and Western moves to extend *de facto* the role of NATO to the south Atlantic will result in Western dependence on at least the South African military communications system.

South Africa continues to expand its military forces with armaments, mercenaries and equipment obtained in defiance of the mandatory UN arms embargo.

Years of nuclear collaboration with the West have conferred on South Africa a nuclear weapons capability which is certain to be used to blackmail neighbouring African states. This represents enormous danger to international peace and security. The acquisition of a nuclear weapons system by the South African regime takes on a new meaning when seen in the context of the apartheid regime's playing a major security role as an ally of the US and other Western powers. Moreover, in view of this role, the threat posed to the Pretoria regime by the growing resistance of the Namibian and South African people means that we are now facing a situation where the prospect of direct and open intervention by certain Western powers in South Africa to uphold the apartheid system is not a mere distant possibility but a very close and dangerous probability.

The regime is also seeking to develop closer links with some of the most reactionary regimes in Latin America and Asia, including Chile, Argentina, South Korea and Taiwan.

Collaboration between the major Western powers continues to increase at all levels. Foreign-based TNCs are playing an increasingly vital role in the development of the apartheid economy and its war machine. Oil and finance capital continue to flow with ease into South Africa. Computers, electronic and other advanced technological equipment, as well as a wide variety of military equipment, ensure that South Africa's military machine is the most advanced on the African continent. However, the enormous dangers posed by apartheid South Africa are increased manifold by the new relationship between Washington and Pretoria. In this context, the commitment of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher 'to make progress towards an ending of the isolation of South Africa in world affairs' assumes a much greater significance. Indeed, the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, has already warned of the prospect of a new Unholy Alliance of Pretoria—Washington—London.

BRITISH POLICY

The Thatcher government has worked consistently to halt and reverse the process of isolating the Pretoria regime and to frustrate the liberation struggle. Britain's refusal to take effective measures against South Africa after it sabotaged the UN's pre-Implementation Meeting on Namibian independence in Geneva, was compounded by the use of the veto on 30 April 1981 to block sanctions. This stance, like the more overtly pro-apartheid posture of the Reagan administration, gave encouragement to South Africa to step up its aggression against Angola and delay further the implementation of the UN decolonisation plan.

Britain's abstention in the UN vote condemning the invasion of Angola was a further step along the same path. British government opposition to all moves to strengthen the UN arms embargo, and endorsement of particular deals (such as the Plessey transaction) which strengthen Pretoria's military capacity, are further indicative of the dangerous direction of present policies.

By trailing in the wake of the most bellicose and reactionary American administration of recent years, the Thatcher government is leading Britain into international isolation and disrepute, stoking the fires of conflict in Southern Africa and postponing the ultimate and inevitable day of liberation for the oppressed peoples of the region. Britain will be judged not by its protestations of sympathy for black Africa but by its actions in support of racist minority rule in South Africa and Namibia. Britain's alignment in Southern Africa is inimical to African aspirations and to the prospects of peace, genuine independence and national liberation in the area. It is a shortsighted and dangerous policy, harmful to Britain as well as to Africa, and

doomed to costly failure.

CONCLUSION

The Anti-Apartheid Movement and its supporters have never before faced such a great challenge. With the utmost clarity we have to convince the people of Britain that now is the time to choose – and that they must choose the cause of African freedom and not that of racial tyranny and aggression.

The *Isolate Apartheid South Africa: Sanctions Now!* campaign has shown the potential and has already produced concrete results. The convening of the UN/OAU International Conference on Sanctions in May 1981 was proof of the growing concern of the international community, as is the decision of the OAU to declare 1982 the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions. The tremendous activities of the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand have once again demonstrated the potential of mass action against apartheid. The tasks facing the Anti-Apartheid Movement are becoming increasingly clear:

- the dissemination of accurate information about the brave struggle of the workers, youth and students, women, and

- all peoples of Namibia and South Africa, led by their liberation movements, and the need to win sympathy and support for their cause;
- an immediate mobilisation for measures to compel South Africa to implement the UN Plan for Namibia;
- the intensification of the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions, the strict application of the arms embargo, a ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration, and the end of sport and cultural links;
- the development of effective solidarity with the front line states and independent Africa in their support for the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa;
- increased efforts to secure the release of Nelson Mandela, Herman Toivo ja Toivo and all South African and Namibian political prisoners;
- campaigning to stop the execution of captured members of the liberation movements and to ensure that they are granted Prisoner of War status.

OBITUARY

Bishop Ambrose Reeves died on 23 December 1980, after a short illness, at the age of 81. Bishop Reeves had served as President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement since 1970. On 10 December 1979, at a special gathering to celebrate his 80th birthday, tributes were paid to Bishop Reeves by the UN Secretary General, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Secretary General of the Commonwealth and, in person, by Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC. Bishop Reeves was due to be awarded the ANC's highest honour, Isitwalandwe, on 16 December 1980 by the ANC President but the ceremony was cancelled because of his illness. On 27 June 1981 the award was made posthumously at a ceremony in London and the scroll of honour and medal were received on his behalf by Mrs Reeves.

The Movement takes this opportunity to express its sincere condolences to Mrs Reeves and the Reeves family, who were a constant source of support and encouragement to him. A Funeral Requiem was held for Bishop Reeves on 2 January at St Mary de Haura Parish Church, Shoreham-by-Sea; a Memorial Service was held in St Paul's Cathedral on 23 March.

In tribute to Bishop Reeves, who gave such outstanding service to the cause of African freedom and the work of the AAM, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the new President of the Movement, says:

I can well remember the first time I met Bishop Ambrose in Johannesburg. He had arrived to take command of the most important Anglican Diocese in South Africa at a most critical time. At first he was exceedingly careful to make no pronouncement on the race issue, until he had been able to make up his mind which should be the priorities. It did not take him very long. It was during those early years of his episcopate that some of the most vicious legislation was passed by the Nationalist government. He and I were closely involved in fighting the Bantu Education Act which both of us saw as the most deliberate and determined attack on African dignity and freedom. It was his courage at that point that led the Anglican Church in Johannesburg to close all its schools rather than to submit to the degradation of a racist educational structure. But this decision was immensely costly and certainly won for Bishop Ambrose many enemies. As events moved fast and the Treason Trial, Sharpeville and all the rest took place, it was the outstanding courage and vigour of Bishop Ambrose's leadership which gave to the Anglican Church a role within South African affairs which will be remembered for ever.

It would be impertinent of me to single out any one of the many actions and interventions which so distinguished Ambrose Reeves in his Ministry. But I think I would have to say that it was his determined and unflinching commitment to the fight against apartheid when, for so many of his colleagues, this stand appeared to be both unwise and excessive; Ambrose Reeves was a compassionate man and certainly as sensitive as anyone else to the wounding words and actions of others. Nevertheless he never gave up and the Anti-Apartheid Movement has lost a wonderful President. It is a great joy to know that he had been awarded the Isitwalandwe before his death. God rest his Soul.

During the period of this report, the deaths have occurred of a number of friends and supporters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. T G Silundika, a leader of the Patriotic Front and Minister in the Zimbabwe government, died in April; William Khanyile, a SACTU leader, was assassinated in January in Maputo; Joe Gqabi, the ANC's Representative in Zimbabwe, was assassinated on 31 July; Jack Woddis, Head of the Communist Party's International Department and a member of the National Committee, died suddenly in September 1980; and David Oldham, a tireless activist and official of Surrey AA, died in January.

NAMIBIA

The campaigning work of the AAM on Namibia has been intensified against a background of major international developments. The International Conference on Namibia, convened in Paris in September 1980 (see 1979/80 Annual Report), had unanimously called for the application of mandatory sanctions to compel South Africa to implement the UN Decolonisation Plan for Namibia and for a programme of increased solidarity with SWAPO. This resulted in major initiatives both internationally and in Britain.

A delegation from this conference visited New York in October 1980 to meet the UN Secretary General, heads of state and foreign ministers. Plans for convening a meeting of the UN Security Council to impose sanctions were not proceeded with since the Secretary General had decided to send a delegation to South Africa to discuss the modalities for implementing the UN Plan. This delegation's visit in turn led to the convening of the Geneva Pre-Implementation Meeting in January 1981 where, under the auspices of the UN, direct negotiations were to take place between SWAPO and South Africa. However, South Africa sabotaged the meeting and the entire negotiating process broke down. In response, SWAPO, the front line states, the OAU and the nonaligned movement embarked on a concerted campaign to secure the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, which culminated in a meeting of the UN Security Council, at which, on 30 April 1981, the Western permanent members—US, UK and France—applied their triple veto on a series of sanctions resolutions. The Contact Group's response, in contrast, was to embark on a process of 'strengthening' the UN Plan to make it more acceptable to South Africa. In this, the new Reagan administration has played a dominant role. In April the (then designate) Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, went on an extensive African tour. Subsequently, the South African foreign minister was invited to Washington, where he was received by President Reagan. Several meetings of the Contact Group have led to the formation of a revised UN Plan, the details of which have still not been officially released. The latest meeting was on 24 September, shortly following a special session of the UN General Assembly, at which member states overwhelmingly reaffirmed their support for the UN Decolonisation Plan, for the implementation of sanctions and solidarity with SWAPO.

The AAM actively followed these developments. Abdul S Minty, the AAM's Hon Secretary, was a member of the delegation to New York, where he also addressed the UN Fourth Committee on Namibia on behalf of the AAM. He was also invited by SWAPO to serve as an adviser on their delegation to the UN Geneva meeting. *Anti-Apartheid News* carried detailed and up-to-date reports and the general campaigning in Britain was organised in such a way as to have a maximum impact on these developments.

In response to US efforts to transform the UN Plan on Namibia and the increasingly pro-South African policies of the Reagan administration, the AAM hosted a press conference in April 1981 for the Chief Representatives of the ANC and SWAPO, where they released a joint statement denouncing US manoeuvres. The press conference coincided with a meeting between Foreign Office ministers and Chester Crocker. The following evening, AAM supporters joined a mass protest at the US Embassy during a visit to London by US Secretary of State Haig. Again, on 14 May, AAM, MAGIC and NSC joined forces to demonstrate outside the US Embassy as South African foreign minister Botha was being received by President Reagan in Washington. A letter signed by MPs, trade union and church leaders was delivered to the ambassador, who did not have the courtesy to reply. Major protests were organised in the US against this visit and the black lobby organisation, Transafrica, released a series of leaked documents exposing the

real intentions of US policy. These were subsequently reproduced in the form of a centre spread in *AA News*.

The first major success over Namibia, in the sanctions campaign launched on 21 March, came in response to the triple veto of the series of sanctions resolutions proposed by the Africa Group during the Security Council debate on Namibia in April. Both the TUC General Council and the Labour front bench spokesperson on foreign affairs, Denis Healey, condemned the veto and called for sanctions. The TUC General Secretary also wrote to the Foreign Secretary especially calling for the termination of the Namibian uranium contract. However, there is much to be done if these statements are to be transformed into action.

The AAM campaigned vigorously during this period with the aim of ensuring that the British government acted to secure the implementation of the UN Decolonisation Plan and for the application of sanctions. On 21 November 1980 a delegation from the Movement and the Namibia Support Committee met the Foreign Office minister, Richard Luce, to press the case for action to compel South Africa to implement the Plan, including the cancellation of the Namibian uranium contract. Earlier, the AAM had protested at the visit of South African foreign minister Botha to London and his meeting with the Prime Minister on 12 November, with a picket of 10 Downing Street. In reply to a letter of protest Mrs Thatcher wrote to AAM on 4 December stating that 'we shall continue to urge South Africa to agree to the implementation of the UN Plan (for which Dr Waldheim set the target date of March 1981).'

On 25 November the AAM National Committee responded to the UN Secretary General's proposal for a Pre-Implementation Meeting by expressing its fear that the meeting would 'prove to be yet another opportunity for South Africa to procrastinate and delay whilst proceeding with its "internal settlement", its crimes against the people of Namibia, and its acts of aggression against Angola and Zambia'.

Campaigning on Namibia was given a special boost with the visit of a SWAPO delegation to Britain in December (see details below).

The fear expressed above was confirmed by subsequent events: South Africa's sabotaging of the Pre-Implementation Meeting coincided with the intensification of its secret war against the front line states. The AAM again called for sanctions and *AA News* carried an exclusive interview with Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO's Chief Representative, calling for intensified action. Shapua Kaukungua was a guest speaker at the National Mobilising Conference on 21 March to launch the sanctions campaign (see *Campaigns*).

Internationally Coordinated Campaign

The International Conference on Namibia called for an internationally coordinated campaign from 27 October to 10 December 1980. In Britain, a Coordinating Committee was established, primarily of the organisations which had participated in the Paris Conference. The campaign was launched with a mobilising meeting organised by the Namibia Support Committee on 25 October and a picket of South Africa House, which also highlighted the death sentence imposed on Markus Kateka (see *SATIS*), on 27 October, the fourteenth anniversary of the termination of South Africa's mandate to rule Namibia by the UN General Assembly. Also on that date, a briefing meeting was organised at the Royal Commonwealth Society by the AAM, addressed by Shapua Kaukungua and Abdul S Minty, who reported back on developments at the UN. The campaign culminated in a series of activities on 10 December, which are reported below.

During the period of the campaign, many local anti-apartheid and other organisations held meetings and fund-

raising activities for SWAPO, for example in Norwich, Bristol, Haringey, Cambridge and Barnet.

SWAPO Delegation

In December a high-level delegation from SWAPO, led by its Administrative Secretary Moses Garoeb, visited Britain as guests of the AAM, Namibia Support Committee and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. The highlight of the visit was a rally at Friends House in London, which was preceded by a torchlight march to highlight the campaign to free Namibian political prisoners. The rally was chaired by local MP Frank Dobson and addressed by Jenny Morgan of the NSC, Fennis Augustine, Grenada High Commissioner, Ray Buckton of ASLEF and the TUC, and Abdul S Minty. A most impressive contribution to the rally came from the SWAPO choir, whose dancing and singing was moving testimony of the determination of the Namibian people to win their freedom.

The delegation was received by Lord Carrington; meetings were also arranged with Labour and Liberal Party leaders Michael Foot and David Steel, with TUC General Secretary Len Murray, and with representatives of the British Council of Churches.

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma also visited Britain briefly on two occasions to meet the British government.

Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract

A central feature of campaigning on Namibia has been the

increased efforts to secure the cancellation of the Namibian uranium contract. In September 1980 a conference was held in Preston, near the BNFL plant at Springfields, for trade union activists. This was followed by a march, organised by the North-West Trade Union/Anti-Apartheid Liaison Committee, the NSC and AAM, to the plant from Preston on 14 November which was supported by a number of local AA groups and a coachload of supporters from London.

Further public activity was organised on 14 March, when the NUS, AAM and NSC coordinated a day of student action in approximately 30 different centres. This will be followed by a further day of action on 12 December 1981.

In February, a delegation from the AAM met Foreign Office and Department of Energy ministers, at which it was disclosed that the contract had been extended to 1984 and accounts for 50 per cent of Britain's uranium requirements; and that in addition other uranium from Namibia was coming to Britain for processing and re-export. A few weeks earlier, the NSC had organised a one-day event on the theme *Namibia: Britain's Nuclear Colony* which had provided an opportunity for activists to assess the campaign.

Publicity

The AAM has produced a range of new publicity material on Namibia, including a badge in SWAPO colours, a leaflet for mass distribution, a *Free Namibia Now* poster (in cooperation with NOLS) and a background paper on repression.

SOUTH AFRICA

The freedom struggle within South Africa has advanced dramatically during the period covered by this report, with very significant developments in the trade union and student movements in particular. *Anti-Apartheid News*, through extensive coverage of events and background analysis, has sought to ensure its readership has a wide understanding of the situation.

There has also been a significant breakthrough in the media's coverage of these developments and, in contrast with reporting of the former Portuguese territories, Zimbabwe and Namibia, television news and documentaries have been much more balanced. Of particular note was the Panorama programme *To the Last Drop of Blood*.

The AAM's activities in relation to South Africa itself have concentrated on exposing and campaigning against British collaboration and responding to acts of repression and related issues (see *Campaigns*).

Specific activities have included protests in relation to the appointment of the new ambassador arch-racist Marais Steyn; demonstrations during the visits of apartheid ministers; and activities in relation to particular events in South Africa, such as the SATIS demonstration on 1 June as South Africa 'cele-

brated' Republic Day.

Anti-Apartheid News has continued to provide background information and accurate reporting on events in South Africa, all of which have reflected the growing level of armed and mass resistance.

The AAM supported two major events organised in London by the ANC during this period: a meeting on 16 December to mark the anniversary of the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and South Africa Freedom Day. AAM speakers, Abdul S Minty and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston respectively, addressed the meetings.

The 1980 AGM adopted an emergency resolution condemning the visit of bantustan leader Gatscha Buthelezi to the European Parliament's Socialist Group and, in response, the Secretary of the British Labour Group wrote dissociating the Group from the visit. The AAM has continued to campaign against various activities in Britain aimed at promoting the bantustans. A Europe-Southern Africa Conference, at which a delegation of bantustan leaders was due to participate, was cancelled following the withdrawal of a number of prominent speakers.

FRONT LINE STATES

There has been a rapidly escalating pattern of aggression against the front line and other independent African states in the region, which culminated in South Africa's invasion of Angola in August. The AAM has sought to intensify its campaigning in solidarity with the front line states and to highlight the danger posed of an all-out war in Southern Africa. At the initiative of MAGIC, the Campaign to Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique (SWAM) was formed, which which the AAM has worked closely.

There have been persistent acts of aggression against Angola throughout this period. In January, the AAM Executive Secretary, Mike Terry, was able to witness the effects of this aggression when, as part of the proceedings of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist Regime in South Africa, he was flown to the southern Angolan towns of Lubango and Xangongo and then driven to the outskirts of the town of Cuamato, a few kilometres from the Namibian border, which had been the site of a fierce battle between

South African and Angolan forces immediately following the Geneva UN Namibia talks. Extensive briefings were provided by military and government officials, both on the military situation and the tremendous economic and human suffering of the secret war being waged in southern Angola. The March issue of *AA News* was in the form of a special issue focusing on this secret war.

At the same time, on 30 January 1981, South African commandos crossed into Mozambique and carried out a brutal attack on two ANC and one SACTU residences in Matola, a suburb of Maputo, which led to the deaths of 13 ANC and SACTU activists, including SACTU leader William Khanyile who had visited Britain the previous year as a guest of the AAM. British and US complicity in the raid was revealed by the fact that one of the commandos was a British mercenary and the subsequent revelation by the Mozambican authorities that CIA operatives from the US embassy had been carrying out surveillance operations on the residences just prior to the raid.

Mike Terry flew to Maputo from Luanda to attend the funeral and visit the residences. AIM, the Mozambique Information Agency, provided him with a short film of the attack's aftermath which has been used by the AAM and MAGIC to expose South Africa's aggression. A protest meeting, *Murder at Matola*, was organised on 21 March, at which this film was shown, and amongst the speakers were the ANC and SWAPO Representatives, the First Secretary of the Angolan Embassy in Paris, and Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, who attended the meeting unexpectedly and spoke briefly and movingly of the challenge posed to the AAM by South Africa's aggression.

Efforts by AAM supporters in parliament to persuade the government to condemn these acts of aggression and to take action produced a low-key response that Britain condemned violence from whatever side.

In July, the South Africans again carried out a series of acts of aggression against southern Angola, which can now be seen to have been a prelude to the massive invasion on 25 August. A protest was held at the end of July but it failed to arouse much public concern. In contrast, South Africa's invasion and occupation of southern Angola at the end of August produced an unprecedented response. The media for the first time gave extensive coverage to the situation in southern Angola, much of it relatively sympathetic. Protests organised by AAM, NSC and SWAM were well-publicised, including a march from Parliament Square to South Africa House, followed by an

impromptu rally in Northumberland Avenue. Called at 24 hours' notice during the summer holidays, it attracted over 300 participants and reflected the widespread anger in Britain. The Foreign Office itself summoned the South African ambassador and publicly called for South Africa's withdrawal. The leader of the opposition, Michael Foot, issued a strong statement condemning the invasion and blaming the new US administration for encouraging it. The TUC similarly condemned the invasion, as did the Liberal Party Assembly, when a resolution to this effect was unanimously adopted.

The AAM also assisted MAGIC in arranging a press conference for HE Luis de Almeida, Angola's ambassador to France, in the House of Commons following a meeting with Lord Carrington.

Despite this widespread response to the invasion, the British government chose to abstain on a UN Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's invasion, on the grounds that the language was rhetorical (South Africa was described as 'racist'). The US, however, in an act designed to protect South Africa, vetoed the resolution. In response, the AAM, NSC and MAGIC organised an all-night 16-hour vigil of the US embassy, which was joined by MPs, representatives of the Labour and Liberal Parties, the BCC and various trade union and other organisations.

Finally, on 24 September, the AAM and SWAM jointly published *South Africa's Record of International Terrorism* by Tony Gifford, a catalogue of the crimes of abductions, kidnappings and assassinations which the South African regime has carried out in neighbouring states. This highlighted the most recent case, that of Joe Gqabi, who was assassinated in Salisbury on 31 July 1981.

Relations between the AAM and the front line states were further strengthened during this period. An AAM delegation met the new Zimbabwe High Commissioner in July and arrangements were established for regular liaison with the High Commission. Also in June, the AAM met a Mozambican delegation in London as guests of SWAM, headed by Armando Guebuza, which provided an opportunity of exchanging views about the situation in Southern Africa and the tasks facing the international solidarity movement. On other occasions AAM has met representatives of the other front line and neighbouring states in order to exchange views.

A number of activities are planned in cooperation with SWAM further to extend this area of the AAM's campaigns.

SOUTHERN AFRICA—THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY

Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society (SATIS) serves as the umbrella organisation for mobilisation of solidarity with political prisoners in Namibia and South Africa, and involves most organisations campaigning on repression in Southern Africa. The SATIS Committee is serviced by the AAM. During this year, SATIS has concentrated on developing wider support for a number of specific campaigns and generally to win a greater commitment from organisations concerned with Southern Africa on the importance of its work. This report gives only a very superficial impression of the extent of the work carried out in solidarity with political prisoners and detainees in Southern Africa.

Namibia

Repression against opponents of the illegal occupation of Namibia has intensified. To focus attention on the situation in Namibia, SATIS organised a torchlight march through the streets of London to a Namibia rally at Friends House on 10 December 1980, the anniversary of the Windhoek massacre. The banner leading the march proclaimed 'Free Namibia's leaders, Free Namibia's people', and placards called specifically for the release of Herman Toivo ja Toivo, founder of SWAPO imprisoned on Robben Island. In April, the British Defence and Aid Fund, with the cooperation of SATIS, organised a meeting at the House of Commons for Axel Johannes of SWAPO, who gave a personal account of his experiences as a detainee and made a special appeal for solidarity with Namibian political prisoners and detainees. A protest was organised on 6 May, the third anniversary of the Kassinga massacre, to commemorate those who were killed in the raid and to call again for the release of those still held by the South Africans in the Hardap Dam concentration camp. This took the form of a mass demonstration outside South Africa House and received some national press publicity, including a lengthy article in *The Guardian*.

Nelson Mandela

The year saw a series of activities around the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela. The film *Portrait of Nelson Mandela* was widely shown to meetings and AA activists assisted in getting endorsements to the Declaration calling for the release of Mandela. Several organisations honoured Mandela, notably the Labour Party which invited Mandela and another political prisoner, Dave Kitson, to address their annual conference in 1980; the Scottish NUM which invited Mandela to their Annual Gala in June 1981; and the Glasgow City Council which awarded Mandela the Freedom of the City. The British Defence and Aid Fund placed a half-page advertisement in *The Times* which was endorsed by leading academics, trade unionists, church people, artists and politicians, calling for Mandela's release, and in March SATIS, jointly with Defence and Aid, organised a vigil for the release of Nelson Mandela on the steps of St Martin-in-the-Fields. The vigil was supported by a number of well-known public figures and received coverage in several national newspapers. The NUS, of which Mandela is an honorary vice president, organised with AAM a national speaking tour to publicise the campaign. A group of graduates of London University nominated Mandela as Chancellor of London University and, although the nomination was unsuccessful, over 20 per cent of those voting supported Mandela and there was a considerable amount of press publicity. The Declarations were collected together and presented at a ceremony in the House of Commons in April, in the presence of Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Michael Foot; David Steel; Ambassador Gbeho of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid; Dr Baldwin Sjollem of the Program to Combat

Racism of the World Council of Churches; Wilfrid Grenville-Grey of IDAF; Ruth Mompoti, Chief Representative of the ANC; and E S Reddy, Director of the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

Markus Kateka

In October 1980 SATIS received news that a 40-year-old Namibian farmworker, Markus Kateka, had been sentenced to death in Windhoek for allegedly aiding SWAPO guerrillas in an attack on his white employer's farm, by giving them food and drawing a map of the farm. SATIS immediately contacted a wide range of organisations, including trade unions, church and student bodies, and collected a series of signatures to an urgent appeal to the Prime Minister to act. His case was highlighted by a picket of South Africa House on 27 October. A postcard campaign, urging Mrs Thatcher to take action, was launched and over 10,000 postcards distributed. The case was raised within many organisations but, in spite of sustained pressure on the government, it consistently refused to take positive action, although it expressed concern at the sentence. The case was also taken up by Amnesty, and many protest letters were received by Namibian newspapers and the South African regime. There was some publicity in the British national press and a number of features in the left press. Internationally, there were similar campaigns, which ultimately paid off when news was received in July that Markus Kateka's sentence had been reduced to 17 years.

Pretoria Three

A few days after the imposition of the death sentence on Markus Kateka in October 1980, three more death sentences were imposed — on the young ANC members, Petrus Mashigo, Ncimbithi Lubisi and Naphtali Manana, for their part in a raid on a police station at Soekmekaar. An immediate protest was called at South Africa House which coincided with the return of the new South African ambassador from presenting his credentials at Buckingham Palace. The resulting confrontation received much press publicity; SATIS prepared a briefing document, a set of postcards and leaflets, which were circulated to a wide range of organisations in Britain and internationally and which have since been circulated internally by a number of organisations directly to their members. The British government's attitude has remained consistently disinterested, although it did endorse a statement made by the UN Security Council condemning the sentences. The government has failed to make any intervention on its own initiative, however, stating that it will not do so while the 'judicial process' continues. As this report goes to press, nearly a year after the sentences were imposed, there is still no news of the date of the appeal hearing.

In August news was received of three further death sentences, on ANC members Johannes Shabangu, Anthony Tsotsobe and David Moise. It was alleged that one of the three had been involved in the attack on the SASOL plant in June 1980, that they had been involved in raids on a Johannesburg police station and other targets, and all were charged with 'high treason'. An emergency picket was again held and it is planned to issue badges and leaflets to gain support for the campaign against the executions.

Prisoner-of-War Status

An integral part of the campaign against the death sentences has been the demand for POW status for captured freedom fighters. In November 1980 the ANC declared its adherence to the Protocols to the Geneva Conventions concerning the humanitarian conduct of war. As a result the ANC has publicly affirmed that it will guarantee POW status to any member of

the South African Defence Force captured in combat, and international law demands that South Africa can be obliged to do likewise. Britain also has a responsibility, as a signatory to the Geneva Conventions, to ensure that South Africa abides by them, and all publicity material on the case of the Pretoria Three, and planned material on the latest death sentences, incorporates this. SATIS is planning to seek endorsement of the campaign for POW status from members of the legal profession in Britain and is producing a fact sheet on the issue.

Trade Union Repression

Repression of trade unionists increased considerably during the year and SATIS has been involved in a number of protests in this area. The major case has been that of Oscar Mpetha, National Organiser of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and Chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association in Cape Town, who was detained in August last year and held in solitary confinement for a lengthy period before being charged with a series of offences, including murder. SATIS is of the view that the murder charges are a frame-up by the regime as a means of legitimising their detention of Mpetha and to prevent his trade union and community activities. Mpetha is aged 74 and is a diabetic. The AAM Trade Union Committee took up his case and succeeded in getting a large number of trade unions to protest to the South African regime and to urge intervention by the British government. As this report goes to press, we understand that Mpetha's trial continues in his absence, as he is now so ill that he has had to be hospitalised. Other cases taken up include those of Joe Mavi, whose case was supported in particular by the GMWU and NUPE, and of members of the Media Workers Union, who were supported by the NUJ.

Matola Raid

In January the South Africans carried out a raid on ANC and SACTU residences in Matola, a suburb of Maputo in Mozambique. Thirteen ANC members were murdered, including

William Khanyile, who a year earlier had visited Britain at the invitation of SATIS to address the SATIS Conference and a series of meetings in Britain. SATIS sent messages of condolence to William Khanyile's widow, Eleanor, and to SACTU. A protest was organised at South Africa House and SATIS protested to Lord Carrington about the abduction of three ANC members in the course of the raid.

Prison Conditions

Worrying reports were received in the course of the year of a deterioration in the conditions in which some of the political prisoners in South Africa were being held. SATIS contacted the International Red Cross to urge them to investigate these reports, and is producing a fact sheet on prison conditions, prioritising the lack of remission for political prisoners as a campaigning issue.

Other Activities

On 1 June SATIS called a protest at the South African embassy in solidarity with the boycott of the Republic Day celebrations. This was well supported and received press publicity in South Africa.

The Crossroads Action Committee organised a picket of South Africa House, with the support of SATIS, and a vigil at St Margaret's Church, Westminster, in protest against the forced removals and arrests at Nyanga township.

The Christmas List was widely circulated again in 1980 and an estimated 20,000 greetings cards were sent to the families of political prisoners in South Africa.

Pax Christi joined the SATIS Committee in the course of the year.

As this report goes to press, it has been agreed by the SATIS Committee to launch a SATISACTION scheme, to enable us to take more effective and immediate action in support of those who are detained, banned or tried by the apartheid courts. It is hoped that all AAM members will support and publicise this scheme as widely as possible.

ISOLATE APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA—SANCTIONS NOW!

On 21 March 1981, the AAM launched its *Isolate Apartheid South Africa—Sanctions Now!* campaign, which was intended to be the most significant campaign ever undertaken to secure the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. The launch came against a background of a major escalation in South Africa's aggression against neighbouring independent African states, its sabotage of the Geneva Namibia meeting in January, and the rapid build-up of South Africa's military and nuclear capability.

A strategy paper was presented to the National Committee in February, setting out the key features of the campaign and identifying particular targets for action. A further paper was published in March, together with a programme of action outlining the major activities being organised within the campaign.

The mobilising conference on 21 March, at which the campaign was launched, was addressed by representatives of SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa. The conference itself was particularly successful not only because of the number of participants (over 400) but also because of the wide variety of different organisations represented and the quality of discussion relating to practical activities which could be undertaken to win support for the campaign. The programme of action was generally endorsed by the conference participants.

Isolate South Africa

The original strategy paper recognised the key objective of the campaign as to secure from organisations at a national and local level and from the public as a whole support for and commitment to a policy of isolating South Africa. In this

respect, there were two important developments: the condemnation by the shadow foreign secretary and the General Secretary of the TUC of the use by Britain of its veto at the UN against four resolutions proposing sanctions against South Africa over Namibia on 30 April. To our knowledge, this was the first occasion, at least since the early 1960s, when the Labour front bench and the TUC have both publicly favoured a policy of sanctions. The campaign was further reinforced by the unanimous decisions of the TUC Congress and Labour Party Conference in September to call for UN mandatory sanctions. These developments occurred against a background of increasing pressure by African states and the nonaligned movement for the imposition of sanctions by the UN Security Council—pressures reflected most dramatically by statements of the Nigerian head of state during his visit to Britain in March 1981, by the confrontation in the UN Security Council in April during the debate on Namibia, and at the UN/OAU sanctions conference in Paris in May (see *International*).

The Petition Campaign

A central theme of the Campaign has been the collection of signatures for a national sanctions petition, which was also launched on 21 March. On 25 April, a Day of Action, some 40 local AA and other groups collected signatures at shopping centres. At a national level, it was decided systematically to approach all national organisations which were likely to be sympathetic to the campaign, asking them to distribute the petition to their local organisations. It is hoped that the same systematic work be undertaken by local AA and other groups

locally to ensure that the petition is much more widely distributed so that we can secure our objective of at least several hundred thousand signatures before the closing date of the petition on 21 March 1982.

Oil Sanctions

A further theme of the campaign has been to expose the role of Shell and BP in fuelling the apartheid regime and to mobilise support for oil sanctions. Two publications were produced: *How Britain Fuels the Apartheid War Machine* and *South African Mining Interests move into North Sea Oil*. These have received considerable publicity in the national press, and of particular value has been coverage in the trade union press. For example, the ASTMS journal published a series of full-page articles specifically relating to Shell and South Africa.

Public activity was largely geared to June 1981, which was declared a Month of Boycott of Shell and BP. Two new stickers, a leaflet and a poster were produced and used by local anti-apartheid groups. However, this initiative achieved only a limited impact and there is a need to consider means by which publicity to expose the role of Shell and BP can be made more effective and widespread.

The AAM's actions in relation to attempts by South African mining interests to move into the North Sea were more successful. Following effective exposure of moves already made by South African mining companies, the government stressed again the necessity for companies operating in the UK sector of the North Sea to implement the guidelines on the export of oil (which exclude South Africa as a market for North Sea oil). The Labour front bench spokesperson on energy, Ted Rowlands MP, promised that a future Labour government would prevent South African interests from operating in the North Sea. A delegation from AAM met the chairman and senior members of BP in an effort to persuade them to abandon plans to sell a stake in its North Sea interests to the Anglo American group company, Charter Consolidated. These activities produced considerable publicity in the media and provoked major political controversy in the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden because of the involvement of companies owned or controlled by these countries in the consortia in which South African mining companies were also involved.

These initiatives have made an important contribution to the international oil sanctions campaign, in which the Southern African liberation movements, the OAU, the UN, as well as solidarity movements in The Netherlands, Norway and the US, have been particularly active. A further important development has been the possible effect of the election in France on the activities of Total Oil, one of the five major oil companies operating in South Africa.

Consumer Boycott

This campaign was relaunched as one of the most effective means of winning support among the general public for a policy of isolation. On 25 April, linked to the signature collecting day, pickets were organised outside supermarkets and stores in many towns and cities. A range of material on the consumer boycott was distributed as part of the campaign. Prior to this, in response to pressure from NUPE members, Coventry Council introduced a ban on South African products.

The most dramatic results came after the May council elections. The GLC announced its intention to impose a total boycott of South African goods and review all contracts related to supplies and purchases in order to ensure that no South African goods are obtained indirectly. The leader of Derbyshire County Council informed the Movement that they were planning similar action. Sheffield Council has also adopted a Declaration committing the city to break all links with South Africa, to be presented in October 1981 to the ANC at a civic ceremony. An appeal was sent to all local authorities where Labour gained control, asking them to take similar action in terms of bulk purchasing of South

African goods.

Stop the Apartheid Bomb

The threat of South Africa's nuclear capability has been a major feature of the campaign, reflected by the campaign symbol. Since March 1981 there have been two general areas of activity. The first has been the organising of a number of joint AAM/CND meetings on South Africa's nuclear capability, which have taken place in Cardiff, Liverpool, Enfield, Hackney and Sheffield. Meetings on this theme have also been held in Oxford and Southampton.

The other area relates to the training and recruiting of nuclear scientists for South Africa. At Imperial College London an extremely effective campaign was organised by the students, academic and non-academic staff, with the support of a number of college governors. If it is possible to build on the progress made so far, there is a real prospect that this training will cease.

In the area of recruitment, most attention has been focused on newspapers and journals advertising posts either in the South African Atomic Energy Board or the Electricity Commission. The main sources have been *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Oxford Mail*, and the Institute of Physics journal. Protests have been organised either locally or nationally in relation to these cases.

Enforcing the Arms Embargo on South Africa

As reported in the *International* section, in April the Movement assisted the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa in arranging an international seminar on this subject. This was extremely valuable in gathering information about weaknesses in the implementation of the embargo. The AAM presented two papers – on British breaches of the arms embargo and on British legislation in relation to the arms embargo – which it is planned to reproduce for wider distribution in the near future.

Public campaigning activities have fallen into two categories. Firstly, a number of meetings and activities have been organised to expose South African aggression against Angola and Mozambique. The Movement has worked closely with the newly-formed Campaign to Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique (SWAM) and has also helped to distribute material published by IDAF on this matter. This work is particularly vital in bringing home to the public the extent of the war already existing in Southern Africa today.

The second category of activity concerns breaches of the embargo in which the most important campaign has been that relating to Plessey. A pamphlet, *Plessey Arms Apartheid*, was published following the initiative of the Southampton AA Group in identifying and photographing Plessey military radar equipment being loaded at Hurn airport onto a South African aircraft. The AAM immediately made representations to the government, which stated that the contract was not in breach of the arms embargo. The AAM has also promoted the Dutch AAM's pamphlet on Philips.

Protests were made by Bob Hughes MP on behalf of AAM following disclosure of the meeting between Pik Botha, South African foreign minister, and the Secretary General of NATO on 14 November 1980.

Boycott Apartheid Gold

A new initiative within the context of the campaign was launched in May 1981 following discussion at the 21 March conference in the workshop for women's activities. This aims at the boycott of apartheid gold and in particular to highlight the contradiction between gold as a symbol of love and beauty, the exploitation of cheap labour in its production and the destruction of human relationships and lives. A pamphlet, *Apartheid Gold*, was published by AAM in cooperation with the UN Centre Against Apartheid on 18 May. On the following

day the Anti-Apartheid Women's Committee picketed a major international conference in London on gold being addressed by the South African finance minister. Future initiatives in relation to this particular aspect of the campaign are currently under consideration.

Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract

The strategy paper and programme of action for the sanctions campaign recognised the need to intensify the Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract (CANUC), which is convened by the Namibia Support Committee and supported by AAM (see *Namibia* for details).

Boycott Barclays

An important contribution to this special feature of the sanctions campaign was made by ELTSA, which formed a shadow board of Barclays, including AAM Chairperson Bob Hughes. A *Shadow Report*, published just before the Barclays AGM, provided a comprehensive expose of Barclays' role in Namibia and South Africa. In September the AAM published a new leaflet on Barclays in preparation for the Day of Action planned for 15 October.

Following the local council elections in the spring, the AAM wrote to all new Labour authorities asking them to stop all banking links with Barclays. Earlier, Lambeth Council had followed Camden in withdrawing its account from Barclays; corresponding moves in Brent Council failed, however.

Transnational Corporations

Following the international seminar organised by the AAM in November 1979, the AAM has continued to campaign actively to expose the role of TNCs operating in Namibia and South Africa. The AAM was invited to assist the UN Department of Public Information in organising a symposium on TNCs in Southern Africa, held in London in November 1980. It was organised with the specific aim of involving trade unionists and among the guest speakers was the Secretary General of SACTU and Ford trade union leader Thozamile Botha. The participation of representatives of over 20 major British unions assisted the AAM in promoting deeper understanding of the need for economic sanctions.

In May the UN Centre Against Apartheid published profiles prepared by an AAM activist on 65 major TNCs operating in South Africa. The AAM was represented at the UN seminar on transnational corporations held in Geneva in July.

SPORTS BOYCOTT

The international campaign to isolate apartheid sport has once again become a major international issue. The determined and militant actions of HART/New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement in its tremendous protests against the Springboks tour have demonstrated again the true potential of anti-apartheid campaigning. The decision of the UN to compile a register of sportspeople who visit South Africa and sports administrators who promote sport with South Africa has also injected new dynamism into the campaign.

In response to requests from HART, the AAM appealed to the New Zealand government and New Zealand Rugby Union to cancel the tour and on the eve of the Springboks' departure from South Africa a delegation from the AAM, led by Frank Dobson MP, met the New Zealand High Commissioner as part of a final effort to stop the tour. The AAM also cooperated with an ad hoc group of New Zealanders who organised a successful demonstration outside New Zealand House and a further protest during the New Zealand Prime Minister's visit to London. A telegram of congratulations was sent to HART after the successful halting of one fixture.

The AAM National Committee agreed to cooperate with

the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in supplying the names of British sports men and women for the UN Register, and has continued to cooperate actively with SANROC. In May the AAM chaired a press conference at which SANROC released a list of names it was submitting to the UN.

During this period, the AAM has been reviewing the practical arrangements for the sports boycott. Peter Hain, after more than 10 years of campaigning, asked to withdraw from SART, the sports campaign committee, and in January the National Committee discussed possible new forms of campaign coordination. Currently work is carried out through informal liaison with SANROC.

The main campaign of the past year has been against the Irish rugby tour to South Africa. The AAM sought to complement the Irish AAM's campaign by focusing on the British government. In Ireland the campaign succeeded in securing support from nearly every sector of the Irish people yet, in characteristic form, the rugby authorities went ahead with the tour.

There have been local protests whenever information has been obtained about sporting collaboration, including action in the Borders area, Wales and Fylde. Intervention by the Fire Brigades Union stopped a rugby tour by South African firemen. In Gloucestershire the trades council picketed a local travel agent involved in promoting South African sport.

There were a number of important victories for the campaign. After being listed on the UN Register, the Lions rugby captain withdrew from a planned visit to South Africa. Plans for an English ad hoc cricket tour were also cancelled, as was a tour of soccer players after their arrival in South Africa.

The government's policy has continued to be in favour of implementing the Gleneagles Agreement, although in respect of sport for disabled people the Minister of Sport refused to intervene.

CULTURAL & ACADEMIC BOYCOTT

There have been a number of significant successes in the cultural boycott campaign. For the first time since the original appeal for a cultural boycott was made in 1955, the UN General Assembly adopted a comprehensive resolution on this area of collaboration, thus providing a coherent international policy.

Activity in Exeter by the local group and student activists succeeded in stopping the transfer from Aberdeen to Exeter of the International Festival of Youth Orchestras and Performing Arts. This Festival has been the centre of anti-apartheid campaigns for many years, during which it was based in Aberdeen. Following the eventual imposition of a ban on South African participation, the organisers reached agreement with the Exeter University authorities to transfer the Festival. Exeter's extremely effective campaign led the University to back down, however, and to impose a ban on South African participation from 1982 onwards. The organisers promptly responded by cancelling the 1981 Festival. The Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid sent a message of congratulations to the Exeter AA Group.

Equally successful were the efforts of the Welsh AAM in stopping two Welsh choirs from visiting South Africa in October 1981 and in exposing the role of the organisers of the Llangollen International Eisteddfod in assisting the South Africans to set up an International Eisteddfod.

A sustained effort by some elements in the Musicians' Union to reverse the existing ban preventing their members from performing in South Africa was rebuffed at the MU's annual conference in Coventry. This ban and that of Equity prevented the royal wedding from being fully shown on South

African television.

In respect of the academic boycott, there have been several discussions with activists in the Association of University Teachers (AUT) to plan work for the effective implementation of union policy.

MATERIAL AID

The AAM continues to encourage the raising of material aid for the Southern African liberation movements. Publicity for the material aid campaigns of the Namibia Support Committee

in particular has been distributed to AA members and in *AA News*, and many local AA groups have organised fund-raising activities.

Again this summer the local AA groups raised considerable funds for the ANC Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, through the organisation of Walks for Soweto.

It is recognised that much more serious efforts are needed to ensure a more adequate response from Britain to the material needs of the liberation movements, and it is intended that new initiatives be made in this area during the coming year.

INTERNATIONAL WORK

The 1980 AGM recognised the need for the AAM to increase its cooperation with other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, particularly in Western Europe and North America. There have been two main areas of cooperation: on the arms embargo and on sanctions. In addition, the AAM has worked directly with the Irish AAM and HART/New Zealand AAM over the sports boycott.

UN Arms Embargo

In September 1980 the Security Council Arms Embargo Committee presented to the Council a report with proposals for strengthening the embargo. This report showed the substantial reliance by the Committee on representations made to it by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa and several anti-apartheid organisations. Only one case was reported to it by a government, showing that no governments were bringing to the attention of the Committee cases involving other countries. Britain entered its reservations on *all* the proposals and clearly demonstrated the determination of the Thatcher government to block all efforts to strengthen the embargo. The Security Council decided to postpone its consideration of the report and still has not met to debate South Africa, partly as a result of pressure against such a meeting by the major Western countries which have argued that nothing must be done to jeopardise the Namibia negotiations.

From 1-3 April the World Campaign and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid organised an International Seminar on the Arms Embargo in London, with the assistance of the British AAM. Several expert papers were commissioned and national 'profiles' on several countries prepared by anti-apartheid organisations. The papers and report of the seminar have been submitted to the Security Council's Committee but no consideration has been given to them so far. The information provided to the seminar shows how much needs to be done at the UN to make the embargo more comprehensive; and nationally the generally weak and inadequate laws need to be strengthened to cover the many loopholes which enable the Pretoria regime to acquire so much military equipment and ammunition from abroad. Everything must be done to ensure that the Security Council's Committee resumes its work urgently, after more than a year of inaction, if the arms embargo is not to be undermined even further.

The coming to power of the Reagan administration has already seen the US embargo being weakened in several areas: the rules for enforcing the embargo have been weakened; military and other security officials have visited the US; South African personnel are to be given naval training; and Washington emphasises the so-called strategic importance of apartheid South Africa to the West.

NATO's Secretary General Luns had a secret meeting with foreign minister Botha in Brussels on 14 November 1980. When the World Campaign discovered this, it sent urgent cables to Dr Luns and NATO governments drawing their attention to written pledges by NATO that there would be no meetings between NATO officials and representatives of the apartheid regime. Dr Luns and several NATO members, including Britain, claimed that it was not an 'official' meeting and so they saw nothing wrong with it. However, Norway immediately protested at this violation of NATO policy and Denmark also conveyed its 'regret' to Dr Luns about having agreed to the meeting.

In July the World Campaign made representations to several South American and NATO members, as well as to Spain—all participants in the 'Ocean Venture 81' naval exercises which were due to begin in the south Atlantic in August and then move north to the NATO area, finishing in October. Our concern was that this effective extension of NATO southwards (which was the reason for Norway's refusal to participate), could also involve the use of the South African Advokaat naval communications system and other forms of cooperation with the apartheid regime. A few replies from NATO members simply stated that South Africa was not taking part but gave no assurances regarding the specific questions put to them. The facts are therefore still not known.

The World Campaign also supported the campaign against the Plessey military radar contract (see *Campaigns*).

Nuclear Collaboration

The organisers of the Copenhagen to Paris Peace March invited Abdul S Minty to speak about South Africa's nuclear threat at the closing meetings and rallies in Paris from 6-9 August. This provided a very good opportunity to make contact with various groups, which ordered copies of the publication *South Africa's Nuclear Capability*, which has now been published in English, French, Dutch and Finnish. The World Campaign also published a special leaflet, in French and English, for distribution in Paris.

UN Sanctions Moves

The UN Special Committee against Apartheid organised hearings in March 1981 to prepare for the UN/OAU International Conference for Sanctions against South Africa, which was due to take place in Paris from 20-27 May 1981. AAM was represented at the hearings and played a prominent role in the Paris conference. Britain, the US and several other Western countries, and Japan, boycotted the conference, which was nevertheless attended by the vast majority of UN members, including Nordic and other Western states. The South African and Namibian liberation movements were represented at the highest

level, and the conference elected the Tanzanian Foreign Minister, Salim A Salim, as President. The conference was very well attended, with a large number of representatives from anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations from all over the world. It adopted a Declaration on Namibia, as well as one on Sanctions against South Africa, and its report has been submitted to the UN and the OAU. Arising out of the success of the conference, the UN is planning to declare an 'International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions' in order to involve the widest sections of world public opinion in support of UN/OAU policy. The new French Minister of External Affairs, Claud Cheysson, addressed the conference, reflecting the new depth of French policy on Southern Africa. A meeting of anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations was held during the conference.

United Nations

The AAM has continued to work closely with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and Centre Against Apartheid, and continues to hold Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council. At a meeting of the NGO Sub-Committee against Apartheid, Racism, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism, the AAM was elected to the Bureau of the Sub-Committee. The AAM has also presented evidence and supplied information to the UN Commission on Human Rights.

At the end of August the UN organised a seminar in Berlin on the Role of the Media in the struggle against apartheid. The AAM was represented by its Chairperson, Robert Hughes MP, and Hon Secretary. The AAM was also represented, by Vella Pillay and Mr Gillman, General Secretary of SCPS, at a UN seminar in Zurich on Bank Loans. And Mike Terry and Vella

Pillay represented the AAM at a Human Rights Commission seminar on TNCs in Southern Africa.

Commonwealth

It was felt that the Commonwealth Conference in Melbourne (30 September to 7 October 1981) was bound to review the Gleneagles Agreement, in view of the Springboks tour of New Zealand. However, it is also crucial for the Commonwealth to discuss the growing threat to its members and other states in Africa being presented by the aggressive actions of the Pretoria regime, and to consider what action can be taken to make South Africa comply with the UN Plan for the Independence of Namibia. The AAM's Hon Secretary was due to visit Melbourne to make representations to Commonwealth members.

International Commission of Inquiry

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regime in Southern Africa held its Second Session in Luanda, Angola, in January 1981. The AAM was represented by Mike Terry (see *Front Line States*).

Other International Work

The Movement continues to be in frequent contact with a wide variety of organisations from abroad, as well as anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, and international bodies such as ICSA (the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa). There have been many informal visitors to the AAM Office; and in June 1981 the AAM hosted a delegation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

LOCAL GROUPS

The last year has seen a consolidation of AAM local activity and several encouraging developments, especially in Wales and Scotland. A Wales Committee of the AAM was formed in March 1981 and the Scottish Committee has continued to build on its strong labour movement base (*see separate reports on Wales and Scotland*).

There are now 49 AAM Local Groups in Britain (plus the Wales and Scottish Committees), an increase of three over last year. New groups have been set up in Dundee, South West Hertfordshire, Plymouth and Liverpool, and are being formed in Highgate (London) and Walsall. The Coventry group has ceased to exist. The AAM Office is making it a major priority to form new groups in the West Midlands, while a new London Committee was formed in September to coordinate local AA groups and other organisations in London and to stimulate anti-apartheid activity in the capital. (The Hackney and Haringey AA Groups were revived during the year.) These initiatives followed a review of AAM local activity by the Executive, which concluded that West Midlands and London were areas in need of special effort.

Local activity continues to spread across the whole range of AAM campaigns, with a concentration of effort around a number of key national dates for the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa - Sanctions Now!* campaign.

□ On 25 April, the AAM's National Day of Consumer Boycott Action, local groups organised leafletings outside shops selling South African goods and collected signatures for the Sanctions Petition in 40 centres around Britain. In a number of these there was more than one picket - in Southampton there were six - and the Day's activity attracted considerable local publicity.

□ During June local groups organised pickets outside Shell and BP petrol stations and distributed specially produced Boycott Shell and BP leaflets.

□ A number of local groups have been highly successful in collecting signatures for the AAM's National Sanctions Petition, with one group securing 600 in one week. The Petition has still not received sufficient local support, however, and will need a major push in the autumn if our target is to be reached.

□ Several groups took part in a Day of Action in March against the Namibian Uranium Contract. A further National Day of Action on this issue for all AAM supporters is being held on 12 December 1981.

□ The annual sponsored Walks for Soweto in May/June to raise funds for AAM's educational work and the ANC Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro were once again highly successful, both financially (an estimated £4,000 has been raised), and as a positive means of marking the Soweto massacre anniversary. A number of groups have arranged Walks at other times in the year too.

□ There has been considerable local activity on Namibia, particularly in the period leading up to the *Isolate South Africa - Sanctions Now!* campaign in March 1981. In December 1980 a number of local groups distributed the special AAM Freedom for Namibia Now leaflet in town centres as a contribution to the International Campaign on Namibia. This followed the Paris International Conference on Namibia and ran from October-December 1980. There was good local AA Group support for a march on 8 November to the Springfields nuclear plant near Preston, where British Nuclear Fuels processes Namibian uranium. The march was organised by the North-West Trade Union/Anti-Apartheid Liaison Committee (NWTUAAALC), AAM and the Namibia Support Committee.

The campaign to release Nelson Mandela, for which several groups have organised public meetings (*see also Scottish and Wales Committee reports*), and the Stop the Apartheid Bomb

campaign, where there have been several joint CND/AAM public meetings, have also featured prominently in local activity.

AAM local activity during the year has been strengthened by several regional meetings organised with the help of the AAM Office. Three such meetings were held prior to the launching in March of the sanctions campaign, in Leeds, Bristol and London. More than 50 activists from five South-West groups attended the Bristol meeting. Twenty-nine groups attended the meetings in all and they set a firm basis for the sanctions campaign as well as facilitating regional coordination. Further meetings are planned for the autumn.

The AAM has also organised three national meetings for local group representatives to discuss their current and planned activities together.

During the year the AAM Executive has devoted considerable time to discussion of local activities and has reviewed AAM work region by region. A questionnaire was circulated to local groups and a three-person subcommittee on local activity was formed from the Executive. Local groups were asked to prepare reports on their activities during 1980/81; the following are some examples:

Lambeth: Activities have included picket of the South African-linked firm, Roberts Construction, with local MP (September 1980); bookstall at local festival (October); leafleting, letter-writing, pickets and other pressure on Council to remove its account from Barclays, eventually successful (December); public meeting on Namibian uranium contract and leafleting (April 1981); Walk for Soweto (June); fund-raising evening for AAM (July). The Group sells *AA News* regularly and has picketed local shops selling South African goods, sent speakers to three local schools and the trades council, and circulates a local mailing.

South-West Herts was formed in August 1981. It covers Watford, Hemel Hempstead and St Albans and hopes to establish separate groups in these towns. Watford Council has been asked not to purchase South African goods, while the school and local libraries are being approached about their use of books on South Africa. Watford library has already been persuaded to withdraw several books of a pro-apartheid propagandist nature. The Group is planning pickets, film shows and exhibitions.

Canterbury has organised public meetings on South Africa's nuclear capability and Namibia, picketed several shops and petrol stations in support of the consumer boycott and Shell and BP campaigns, and raised £350 from a sponsored walk, jumble sales and a stall in Canterbury market. The Group sells *Anti-Apartheid News*, has stalls at the university, and holds monthly meetings.

Epsom and Leatherhead has organised a garden party, sponsored walk and jumble sale, leafleted petrol stations in June for the Shell and BP campaign, and organised a meeting in support of ANC. The Group sells *AA News* and makes sure that local libraries have copies.

Manchester has had an active year, organising a demonstration with Blackpool Anti-Nazi League against a South African rugby match, raising funds for SWAPO, and supporting a major rally on the theme Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique, with Armando Guebuza of FRELIMO, in May. Much of the Group's work is through its North-West Trade Union/Anti-Apartheid Liaison Committee, which produces a journal *Links*. The Committee has produced a leaflet on its work with trade unions for the use of other groups, plus a leaflet jointly with ICL shop stewards.

Southampton has organised three public meetings (on Mandela, sanctions and Namibia) and has raised well in excess of £1,000 from its Walks for Soweto, two socials and two

jumble sales. The Group raises material aid for ANC, and has campaigned successfully to stop the visit of a senior official of the Commission for Racial Equality to South Africa. It encourages the sending of Christmas cards to the families of prisoners in South Africa and Namibia. Speakers have addressed several Labour Party meetings and a joint committee has been formed to plan action for the Trade Union Week of Action in October. In March pickets were held as part of the Namibian uranium campaign, while the group secured considerable publicity with its pickets of BP service stations in June, which featured a 35 foot banner. The biggest headlines, however, were made when the group released photos of a Plessey mobile military radar system being loaded onto a South African plane at Hurn airport for despatch to South Africa, in breach of the UN arms embargo. This issue has been taken up by local MPs and labour movement bodies.

AAM Scottish Committee

Nelson Mandela: A torchlight procession was held in Glasgow on 12 December 1980, calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, with a short SACTU tour in the preceding week. Nelson Mandela was invited to speak at the Scottish Miners' Gala in Edinburgh in June 1981, and was represented there by Ruth Mompoti of the ANC. Glasgow District Council conferred the Freedom of the City on Nelson Mandela, and this was received at a ceremony in August 1981 by Dr Alex Ekueme, Vice President of Nigeria. The presentation was attended by High Commissioners or their deputies from 16 Commonwealth countries, as well as by Ruth Mompoti of the ANC and an invited audience of several hundred people. This led to a great deal of sympathetic press coverage about Mandela, as well as useful contacts with Nigerian diplomats. Dr Ekueme and Ruth Mompoti spoke at a meeting on the same day, where Nigeria's commitment to sanctions against South Africa was reaffirmed.

Namibia: Some 40 organisations have adopted specific Namibian political prisoners. In December 1980, the South African consulate in Glasgow was picketed to call for the release of Namibian political prisoners, and in August 1981 the pickets returned there to protest against the invasion of Angola by South African forces from occupied Namibia. This latter demonstration was attended by about 100 people, including the General Secretary of the Scottish TUC, the Scottish Secretary of the Labour Party, three MPs and one MEP. On both occasions letters were refused by the doorman and the consulate was closed for the duration of the demonstrations. A half day conference was held in April 1981, with Peter Manning of SWAPO and Ernie Ross MP.

Royal Bank of Scotland: The Committee wrote to all local authorities in Scotland requesting protests to the Royal Bank about its proposed merger with the Standard Chartered Bank. Several authorities did protest, as did some trade unions and other organisations. The campaign was interrupted by the referral of the proposed merger to the Monopolies Commission but will resume immediately if the merger goes ahead.

Apart from these specific campaigns, the Committee has responded to various other acts of collaboration with apartheid. There was a demonstration in Glasgow when the new South African consul was officially received by the Convenor of Strathclyde Regional Council. Several Regional councillors and a large number of Regional employees took part in the protest. A demonstration was organised in Hawick at a rugby match with the Pretoria Harlequins, which led to the officials of Hawick Rugby Club being placed on the United Nations blacklist.

A joint conference with the Labour Party Scottish Council in June 1981 attracted an attendance of about 70, including a large number of new contacts, and produced many useful suggestions for future campaigning.

The Committee also responded to numerous requests for bookstalls, speakers, advice and information on Southern Africa, including a modern studies day conference for schools

in Fife, and a highly successful local campaign in Bearsden to stop the twinning of the local Highland Games with a South African event. The sanctions petition is being widely circulated.

A new Group started in Dundee during the year, with a highly successful launching meeting, and the Aberdeen and Glasgow University Groups were also reborn, giving a total of nine local groups in Scotland, with varying levels of activity.

Welsh Anti-Apartheid Movement (Mudiad Gwrth Apartheid Cymru)

The Welsh Anti-Apartheid Movement was formed on 7 March 1981 to regenerate anti-apartheid activity in Wales and to develop a specifically Welsh identity for such activities within the framework of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

A 17-person Committee was elected, including representatives of the Wales Labour Party, Wales Communist Party, Welsh Liberal Party, Plaid Cymru, Wales TUC and South Wales NUM. The Hon President is Emlyn Williams, President of the South Wales NUM. Membership has been healthily growing over the past few months and to date individual membership stands at several hundred, and a large number of trade unions, trade union branches, Labour Party branches and trades councils have affiliated.

Since its establishment there has not been a moment's peace due to the number of campaigns which have had to be organised in response to the growing level of Welsh collaboration with South Africa.

Presidents XV v The Rest of the World: This match was arranged as part of the Welsh Rugby Union centenary celebrations. Two South Africans were invited to be included in the Rest of the World team, and WAAM wrote to the President of the WRU, Cliff Jones, urging that the invitations be withdrawn. A negative reply was received. Grahame Mourie, captain of New Zealand, declined to attend because of the South African participation. A picket of about 100 people took place at the venue of the centenary dinner, which was attended by Danie Craven and Dick Jeeps; 10,000 bilingual leaflets were distributed, together with 1,000 posters, prior to the game; a peaceful rally attended by about 250 anti-apartheid supporters took place on the day of the game. Speakers included Dafydd Ellis Thomas MP (Meirionedd), Denzil Davies MP (Llanelli), Cllr Charlie Gale and Sam Ramsamy (SANROC). A further 5,000 leaflets were distributed at the game.

Llangollen International Eisteddfod: Two officials of the Eisteddfod Committee have been assisting in the establishment of an Eisteddfod in South Africa, and press releases were issued stating our opposition to this collaboration with apartheid. Dafydd Ellis Thomas MP resigned as an honorary officer of the Committee because of this involvement. At the Eisteddfod in Wrexham, leaflets were distributed and an alternative anti-apartheid concert organised at the Wrexham Labour Club. WAAM was banned by the Committee from distributing further leaflets on the field of the Eisteddfod. Approximately 170 people turned up to support the concert to protest at this connection and the proposed tour of the Rhos Orpheus Choir (see below) to the Eisteddfod. There has been growing support in Wrexham from individuals, political parties and trade union branches.

Cwmbach Choir's planned visit to South Africa: A strong campaign was built up in opposition to the proposed visit of the Choir to South Africa, and this resulted in considerable (almost daily) TV and press coverage. About 100 miners from four local NUM lodges picketed a rehearsal of the Choir at a local school; NUPE subsequently instructed its member at the school not to open it to the Choir, which then held its rehearsals in secret. A meeting was arranged with Ioan Evans MP (Aberdare) and NUM representatives, who addressed the Choir urging them not to go. Mid-Glamorgan County Council refused leave of absence to Council employees, including the conductor, the accompanist and one of the leading singers. A public meeting, organised by WAAM and the NUM, attracted

some 200 people, including the local mayor, local councillors and trade unionists. It was addressed by local council and trade union representatives, and by two members of the Choir who had refused to go on the tour. The South African singer, James Phillips, performed at the meeting, which was followed by a rock concert. The two members of the Choir were expelled and one is appealing against the decision. A petition was drawn up against the Choir's visit and circulated among other choirs. A protest meeting at the National Eisteddfod in Machynlleth was attended by 80 people, and the main speakers were Dafydd Ellis Thomas MP, Dafydd Iwan (Welsh folk singer) and Gareth Miles (Secretary, UCAC-Welsh Teachers Union). In August, the Choir announced that it was cancelling its visit, subsequently followed by a similar decision by the Rhos Orpheus Choir.

Trade unions: Tremendous support has been given to WAAM by the South Wales Area NUM, who passed a resolution of support at its recent conference. One thousand broadsheets on *Coal-mining in South Africa* were produced in Welsh and English and circulated at the Miners' Gala in Cardiff and around various pits. A further 1,000 copies have been ordered by the NUM. Speakers from WAAM have addressed various trade union and Labour Party meetings in South and North Wales. Special broadsheets are currently being planned on the issues of oil, coal and other areas in which Welsh industry has special connections with South Africa. Contact has been made with trade union representatives in local petrochemical industries with a view to activity on the Shell/BP campaign. This area of trade union work is seen as a priority.

Soweto Walk 1981: This successful sponsored walk was organised by the Cardiff AA branch. Approximately 75 members and supporters from Cardiff, Swansea and other parts of South Wales joined in the 10-mile walk.

Future activities: These would take too long to enumerate. It is hoped to arrange a series of speaker tours with films on South Africa in various South Wales valleys and in other parts of Wales. Material has been distributed in many areas, and priority is being given to re-establishing the activists' network and eventually to setting up new branches. It is hoped to establish these in the coming year in Wrexham, Swansea, Llanelli, Aberystwyth and possibly North Wales.

David Oldham

It is with sadness that we record the death during the year of David Oldham, Secretary of the Banstead Anti-Apartheid Group and a leading figure in anti-apartheid activity in Surrey since the 1950s. He died following a heart attack in February 1981 at the age of 59. He will be remembered by many AAM activists in Surrey and far beyond for his unflinching dedication to the Movement's work.

TRADE UNIONS

Four resolutions on trade union work were adopted by the 1980 Annual General Meeting, indicating a recognition by the Movement's membership of the important contribution the trade union movement can make to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa. A great deal of progress has been made in implementing these resolutions and in general mobilisation of the trade union movement. However, it is clear that much has still to be done to secure wider support at grassroots level for the AAM's policies and especially for the total isolation of South Africa. It was with this in mind that the AAM's 1980 AGM decided to hold a Trade Union Week of Action. This will be held in October 1981 on the theme *Isolate Apartheid*, and much trade union work over the past year has focused on securing support for this Week and for the overall themes of the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa—Sanctions Now!* campaign. As this report was being written, 19 national trade unions,

including the three biggest (the TGWU, GMWU and AUEW (Engineering)), had sponsored the Week. Several have circulated the sanctions petition and 29 general secretaries have added their signatures to it. It is hoped that the Week of Action itself will see local trade union activity on a scale and of a character which will greatly reinforce this support from national trade unions.

The AAM organised bookstalls and/or fringe meetings at a large number of trade union annual conferences, including those of the NUT, NUR, SCPS, CPSA, GMWU, TGWU, ASLEF, NUPE, NALGO, IRSF and the Musicians' Union (which retained its boycott policy despite a challenge). A highly successful meeting was held at the TUC Congress. In an effort to reach ordinary trade union members who may never attend annual conferences, two regional trade union conferences were held in June, in cooperation with the relevant regional councils of the TUC, in the West Midlands and East Anglia. Two further conferences are planned for the South-West and Yorkshire in December 1981. Preparations are also in hand for a conference of shop stewards from the Shell and BP companies. This year considerable success has been achieved in boosting coverage of AAM activities and the situation in South Africa and Namibia through trade union journals: articles have appeared in the journals of the FBU, NGA, SOGAT, GMWU, TGWU, USDAW, ASTMS (three on oil), AUEW (Engineering), IRSF, SCPS, CPSA and a number of others, all on the *Isolate Apartheid* theme or on one of the sub-themes of the overall AAM campaign. Local AA groups have also extended their links with trade union bodies, with several holding public meetings, and once again local trade union affiliations to AAM nationally have increased - 38 non-national trade union bodies affiliated between October 1980 and August 1981. One national trade union, the Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union, has affiliated since the last Annual Report, bringing the total number of national trade union affiliations to 36.

Two further themes running through trade union activity in 1980/81 have been the need to stem the flow of emigrants to South Africa and campaigns on the increasing repression against trade union activists in South Africa.

The former was pointed up in March when the TUC issued a special circular to trade unions, trades councils and regional councils of the TUC, urging action to prevent emigration; and several national unions and local bodies have campaigned vigorously to ensure that their members know the facts about South Africa and do not emigrate.

On increasing repression, there has been considerable anger at the detention of at least 445 trade unionists in South Africa between January and July 1981, while the campaign to secure the release of veteran South African trade unionist, Oscar Mpetha, secured a major boost in December 1980 and then in March 1981 with the intervention of 35 union general secretaries and a mass picket of South Africa House by 100 trade union leaders and activists demanding his release.

The Scottish Area of NUM gave important support to the campaign to free Nelson Mandela, whom they invited to their Gala; and the Wales TUC and Welsh trade union bodies played an important part in the campaigns to stop sporting and cultural links with South Africa. Later in the year, the Equity and Musicians' Union policy on South Africa meant that part of the royal wedding was not seen in South Africa, because members of these unions were taking part in the service and by contract they cannot appear in broadcasts to South Africa; while the print unions created considerable protest when plans to use South African newsprint in Britain were revealed.

An even more well-publicised intervention was made by unions representing British Leyland workers in Britain, who gave high level backing to the 1,900 Leyland South Africa black employees who were sacked in May when they struck for higher wages. The support of the British unions helped to secure the reinstatement of most of the sacked workers. AAM

produced a document on the sackings; of which 4,000 copies were circulated, many through the BL shop stewards' combine and the TGWU. AAM and SACTU speakers addressed the combine in June and the meeting was followed by an examination of the steps to be taken to secure blacking action.

Unfortunately, some 500 black workers dismissed by Rowntree's subsidiary, Wilson Rowntree, in South Africa in February 1981 are still not reinstated, despite local and national trade union activity, which the AAM nationally and York AA Group locally have strongly encouraged. These are only two of the British companies which have sacked South African employees in the past year for going on strike, and in the coming year there will need to be greatly enhanced campaigning in support of black workers in South Africa as regime repression and employer action to break the resolve of black workers and their unions is sure to increase.

The repression of workers in South Africa, and the role of companies, have received major coverage in *Anti-Apartheid News*, which has also conveyed more information on the stirring resistance of black workers and their unions, and especially the massive wave of industrial militancy of the last 18 months. There have been two centre-page spreads on these themes in the past year. Thozamile Botha, leader of the 1979/80 Ford strike in South Africa, visited Britain briefly at the end of 1980 and AAM organised a London rally, at which he spoke, and a number of meetings with British Ford shop stewards.

The AAM continues to rely in its trade union work on the dedication and support of its Trade Union Committee, which now includes representatives of 28 national trade unions and two regional councils of the TUC. Links with SACTU continue to be close and fruitful, and AAM-affiliated unions have this year considerably increased their financial support for SACTU.

By far the most important development in 1980/81, however, was the unanimous adoption by the TUC Annual Congress in September 1981 of the following resolution:

Congress welcomes the development of independent black trade unions in South Africa.

This is part of the process of national liberation in Southern Africa.

Congress in particular condemns the South African intransigence over Namibia and affirms its support for SWAPO in its struggle for genuine independence.

Congress recognises that the policies of the government of South Africa pose a growing threat to international peace and security and condemns its acts of aggression against Angola and other neighbouring independent states.

Congress condemns the use by Britain of its Security Council veto power to block United Nations sanctions against South Africa. Congress pledges its support for the total isolation of the apartheid regime, including the imposition of mandatory United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa.

SWAPO has described the decision as 'historic' and without question it marks a major extension of TUC policy. It is the culmination of many years' work by the AAM Trade Union Committee and an indication of the growing support for the AAM's policies in the trade union movement. During 1981, the annual conferences of three trade unions - the TGWU, GMWU and NUR - adopted resolutions embodying support for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

This is a major and encouraging development and augurs well for AAM campaigning in the trade union movement in 1981/82. However, much more attention has to be paid to securing support for practical action by trade unionists to isolate South Africa - in the docks, harbours and transport industries, on the shop floor, in the retail industry, etc.

YOUTH & STUDENTS

The start of the 1980/81 academic year witnessed a reasonable level of student activity in support of the Boycott Barclays campaign, with the distribution of a special leaflet designed to counter Barclays' own propaganda aimed at students. This was accompanied by a leaflet produced by the NUS highlighting the extensive repression of student protests in South Africa during the preceding summer. Take-up of both leaflets was varied but a number of colleges ensured widespread distribution to their students. Several colleges organised debates between Barclays and AAM spokespersons, and in every instance Barclays' case was overwhelmingly rejected by the students.

A two-week 'Free Nelson Mandela' speaking tour, which took in meetings at 26 colleges and universities, was jointly organised by NUS and AAM at the end of October. The tour included the showing of the film *Portrait of Nelson Mandela* and speakers from AAM, ANC Youth Section and NUS. The majority of the meetings were well supported and in many cases helped strengthen anti-apartheid work in colleges. Students were urged to campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and there was resulting activity on the cases of Markus Kateka and the Pretoria Three, as well as on Mandela. The Free Mandela campaign peaked with the nomination of Mandela as Chancellor of London University. Although the nomination did not succeed, it created considerable press interest and publicity for the campaign.

The major campaign taken up by students was against recruitment by South African companies, and in several colleges there was considerable success. The University of London Careers Service agreed that it would no longer offer facilities for companies recruiting for South Africa or Namibia, after a sustained campaign led by students from LSE, and a number of other colleges agreed to reconsider their policies. Student activists organised pickets of South African companies visiting their campuses, and a number of AA groups took action against recruitment by RTZ over its connections with the Rossing Mine in Namibia. A large demonstration was organised by Leeds University students, and 13 students were arrested for organising a protest in Cambridge. Students from Coventry Technical College organised a picket of the local radio station which was advertising employment in South Africa, and succeeded in getting the ads withdrawn. We hope that this will be taken up more widely in the forthcoming year.

In March, the NUS called a Day of Action in support of CANUC, which resulted in about 30 groups around the country distributing leaflets at local electricity board showrooms urging people to support the campaign by protesting to their MPs, the CEBG and the government. Meetings on CANUC were held in most of the colleges which organised pickets, with the showing of the film *Follow the Yellow-cake Road*.

In a number of colleges the AA groups organised a Southern Africa Week of Action, with films, exhibitions, speakers and cultural events, designed to inform students about the situation in Southern Africa and to mobilise them in support of AAM campaigns. The weeks organised at Kent, Leeds and Leicester universities were very successful and all raised sums of money for material aid to SWAPO and the ANC. Other colleges have been involved with material aid projects for the ANC school and SWAPO medical kits.

AAM had bookstalls at both the NUS Conferences held during the year, and the Christmas conference was addressed by a representative of the ANC, who appealed for greater solidarity from students for the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia, and particularly called for support for the Pretoria Three.

The tenth joint NUS/AAM Student Activists' Conference took place in July at Queen Mary College, London. It was

attended by about 100 delegates from over 50 colleges and in the space of only two days managed to cover many of the issues in which students can be involved in supporting the campaign. The Conference endorsed a Programme of Action for the forthcoming year which prioritises the campaign for sanctions against South Africa and pinpoints particular areas in which students can have a special input.

WOMEN

In its first full year of operation, the AAM Women's Committee is still exploring ways of effective campaigning, both in solidarity with Namibian and South African women, and of taking up more general campaigns with women in Britain. In the course of the year, the AAMWC organised workshops at two major events – the Socialist Feminist Conference in October and the Women's Festival against Tory Cuts in May. In addition, members of the Committee helped lead the women's workshop at the sanctions conference in March, and organised a small fringe meeting at the Women's TUC, which passed the first resolution on international work ever discussed there, in support of women workers in South Africa and SACTU.

Political prisoners: The AAMWC asked the feminist paper *Spare Rib* to publicise the Christmas list and received a good response from British women wishing to send solidarity greetings to the families of women political prisoners in South Africa. In addition, there was an article in *Spare Rib* on women prisoners. The AAMWC prepared a leaflet on the conditions of women prisoners which was distributed at the Women's TUC and other meetings, and has since been contacted by a number of women's organisations wishing to 'adopt' a prisoner. The Committee wrote to the Red Cross urging an investigation of the conditions of the women political prisoners after receiving information that these had significantly deteriorated and were worse even than the conditions of male political prisoners. International Women's Day was marked by a solidarity protest at South Africa House.

Gold: Following the publication by the AAM of the pamphlet *Apartheid Gold*, the AAMWC organised a lively picket of an International Gold Conference in which South Africa was playing a key role, on the day when Finance Minister Owen Horwood addressed the conference.

Recruitment: A member of the AAMWC wrote an article for the COHSE paper on the recruitment of nurses to work in South Africa and, together with the Health Committee, has been monitoring the press for advertisements for nurses. Contacts in the nursing field have been taking up the issue.

Meetings: The Committee has sent speakers to a number of meetings of other organisations, including women's groups, local AA groups and student organisations. Liaison has been established between the Committee and the NUS Women's Campaign, Women against Imperialism, the Labour Party Women's Section and TASS Women's Section. The Committee has met SACTU, the ANC Women's Section, the SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign, and was fortunate in being able to meet Maria Guebuza of the Mozambique Women's Organisation during her visit here in June.

Fund-raising: The Committee has held two fund-raising events over the last year to enable it to produce a badge, publish a special leaflet on women in South Africa and Namibia, and launch a newsletter for women and women's organisations in Britain.

HEALTH

The AAM Health Committee is composed of AAM supporters studying or working in the health field, which aims to stimulate

support for the AAM in the health services, informing others 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's work has considerably expanded this year and it has undertaken a number of campaigns of vital importance to the AAM as a whole, including continuing its work to secure the exclusion of South Africa from the Stoke Mandeville International Games, campaigning against the recruitment of nurses by South Africa in Britain, and campaigning against the readmission of the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA) to the World Medical Association (WMA).

The Committee organised demonstrations outside the Stoke Mandeville Games. These protests were given a considerable boost when Bernard Leach, a disabled athlete due to participate in the Games, pulled out because of South Africa's involvement. He announced his decision at a press conference organised by the AAM a week before the event. The Committee produced a briefing document and leaflets for the campaign.

As the Annual Report went to press, the congress of the WMA was considering an application from South Africa and the Transkei. The Health Committee raised this issue effectively, both nationally with the British Medical Association (which came out against MASA's readmission) and internationally by writing to other WMA members and the solidarity movement and governments in those countries. The Committee made available a memorandum produced by a number of South African medical organisations on why MASA should not be readmitted, and also produced two documents of its own, *The Biko Doctors* and *MASA and the World Medical Association*.

During the year, the newsletter *Health and Liberation* was produced regularly, with a wide range of articles covering the health situation in Southern Africa and campaigning initiatives by the AAM and the Health Committee.

CHURCHES

The AAM has continued its work over the last year to publicise the liberation struggle and the AAM's activities among churches and church organisations. During the year, the Methodist Overseas Division and Division for Social Responsibility accepted an invitation to become observer members of the AAM National Committee. Pax Christi also now participates in the National Committee in this capacity. Where possible, AAM has been represented at meetings of the Methodist Task Force on Southern Africa.

On 7 June 1981, AAM jointly sponsored with CCSA and COSPEC a conference on *The Crisis for Christianity in Southern Africa*. This meeting was addressed by Dr Alan Boesak, a pastor in one of the Dutch Reformed Churches, and was attended by about 100 people. It marked an important contribution to the understanding of the situation in Southern Africa by churches in Britain.

Many prominent church leaders signed the Mandela petition in the course of the year, and it was made available for delegates to the General Synod of the Church of England at one of their meetings, as well as at a large number of other church events.

At the 21 March Sanctions Conference, a special workshop was organised for churches and other religious groups, and a number of proposals were made for future activity by the AAM within the churches.

The AAM was honoured by the presence of Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, at a ceremony in the House of Commons on 1 April 1981 which marked the culmination of the current stage of the Free Mandela Campaign.

There continues to be a debate within the churches regarding their response to developments in South Africa and

Namibia, and there appears to be growing support for the policies advocated by the AAM and the liberation movements.

BLACK COMMUNITY

Work with the black community during this period has largely been at a local level and a growing number of black activists are participating in anti-apartheid groups. At a national level, a wide variety of organisations continues to give support to campaigns of the AAM but there remains considerable untapped potential for increased solidarity with the liberation movements.

The media for the black community have helped the AAM to reach a wider audience. Two are worthy of special note: the Radio London programme, *Black Londoners*, has frequently carried interviews with liberation movement representatives and reported activities of the AAM; and *West Indian World* has also frequently featured material on Southern Africa, including AAM activities.

At the 21 March Sanctions Conference, there was a special workshop on work in the black community and anti-racist organisations, and a number of positive proposals were made. It is essential that the AAM gives serious consideration to these and other means by which the black community can be won to increased solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

PARLIAMENT

The government has come under growing criticism for its policies on Southern Africa, particularly Namibia, from within parliament. Following the sabotaging of the Geneva UN Namibia meeting, opposition MPs repeatedly pressed the government publicly to recognise South Africa's responsibility for the breakdown in negotiations. However, the most significant development was the condemnation of the UK veto of sanctions over Namibia at the UN by Denis Healey, Labour's front bench spokesperson on foreign affairs, who in an unprecedented move called for sanctions.

Relations with the Labour front bench have increased significantly. The AAM Executive met Denzil Davies MP, deputy spokesperson on foreign affairs, and SATIS met Giles Radice MP, spokesperson on Africa.

The number of individual MPs supporting AAM activities has increased during the period and contacts have been established with a number of MEPs.

A disturbing development, however, was the establishment of an all-party Namibia group which is dominated by opponents of genuine independence for Namibia.

EDUCATION

The AAM has again failed to make a major breakthrough in this area, despite its potential and significance. Large numbers of requests are received from school students for material for projects and other studies, and both nationally and locally there are constant requests for speakers.

A network of teaching contacts is maintained by the AAM Office and material is distributed from time to time. A meeting was again held at the NUT Conference and representations were successfully made to the President of the NUT not to accept an invitation to visit South Africa.

An encouraging sign, however, has been the increase in the number of school students joining the AAM and their constant support for a variety of campaigns.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The Anti-Apartheid Movement seeks the support of political parties and other political groups for its policies and campaigns. Particular attention has been given to securing wider understanding with the Labour Party. A joint conference was organised in Scotland in June 1981 and a further conference is planned for the South-West in December 1981. Discussions with the NEC of the Labour Party led to an agreement to convene a Joint National Conference on 30 January 1982. The AAM wrote to all CLPs urging them to support AAM's campaigns, to affiliate and to invite a speaker, which produced a very encouraging response.

The 1981 Labour Party Conference had the first full-scale debate on Southern Africa for five years, at which it was resolved unanimously to include in the Labour Manifesto a commitment that the next Labour government would actively work for UN mandatory sanctions and would introduce a range of unilateral sanctions.

The Liberal Party Assembly also debated Southern Africa and unanimously adopted a resolution condemning South Africa's invasion of Angola. The fringe meeting at the Assembly was well attended. The Young Liberal Movement has also stepped up its activities: its National Council adopted a comprehensive resolution urging support for the AAM's sanctions campaign, and called on Young Liberals to support the AAM.

The leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties, Michael Foot and David Steel, both participated in a ceremony at the House of Commons as the culmination of the current stage of the Free Mandela Campaign.

The Welsh and Scottish AAMs have received support from Plaid Cymru and the Scottish National Party respectively.

The AAM's activities have received considerable publicity in the labour movement press, in particular the *Morning Star* and *Labour Weekly*. The Communist Party has regularly supported the various campaigns of the AAM and contributed to its work at a local level.

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

During the year, *Anti-Apartheid News* has continued to be produced by members of the Editorial Board, in close liaison with the AAM Office and with the assistance of other volunteers, including a professional designer.

Considerable effort has been put into improving the appearance of the paper, to make it more attractive and lively to read — thereby increasing sales — while retaining its character as a campaigning newspaper, responsive to the needs of AAM Local Groups and activists and reflecting the wide range of the Movement's activities. Changes in format, layout and design which have been introduced during the year include: the introduction of a third colour, red, on the front, back and centre pages as a regular feature; a redesigned masthead and standardised headings and format for certain pages; new type face and justified column setting.

In the course of the 1980 AGM an opinion survey was conducted among the Movement's membership and Local Groups on *Anti-Apartheid News*. The responses and suggestions received were used as a guide by the Editorial Board and have prompted greater efforts, in particular, to publish contributions from Local Groups themselves. Feature articles or in-depth reports of campaigning activity have appeared in the newspaper from the Scottish and Welsh AAM Committees, from Local Groups in Liverpool, Lambeth, Camden, Sheffield, York and Exeter, and on campaigns against sports collaboration with apartheid in Ireland and New Zealand. Material has also been regularly provided by the AAM's Health, Women's and Trade Union Committees, by Southern Africa—The Imprisoned Society (SATIS); by the Namibia Support Committee, International Defence and Aid Fund, End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA), Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Information Centre (MAGIC), Campaign to Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique (SWAM), Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR), and other organisations with which the Movement cooperates.

The newspaper has endeavoured to reflect the range of views and opinions encompassed by the Movement's membership and supporters, and to publicise the positions of the liberation movements on various issues. Contributors to the paper over the year have included: Freedom Mkhwanazi, ANC, Kader Asmal, Paul Fauvet, Gerhard Cohn, Jan Marsh, Jim Radford and Colm Lyons, Revd John Johansen-Berg, Fr John Osmer and Marga Holness. Interviews or statements have been published from: Sam Nujoma (President of SWAPO); Ruth Mompoti (Chief Representative in Britain of the African National Congress); Shapua Kaukungua (Chief Representative of SWAPO in Britain and Western Europe); Thozamile Botha (South African trade union leader); Axel Johannes (SWAPO Administrative Secretary inside Namibia); Ellen Musialela (Assistant Secretary for Finance of the SWAPO Women's Council); HE Dr Robert Zwinora (first High Commissioner to Britain of the Republic of Zimbabwe); and John Gaetsewe (General Secretary of SACTU).

As a contribution to the AAM's major 1981/82 campaign *Isolate Apartheid South Africa — Sanctions Now!*, *Anti-Apartheid News* has published a series of campaigning posters on the sanctions theme on its centre pages, designed to be detached and used for display purposes.

Other centre spreads over the year have included special features for SACTU's 1980 Year of the Worker and the October 1981 AAM Trade Union Week of Action, on workers' resistance and strikes inside South Africa, and trade union solidarity.

A special eight-page supplement to *Anti-Apartheid News* was also produced in the course of the year as a contribution to the sanctions campaign, in cooperation with the UN Centre Against Apartheid. With a print run of 10,000 copies, the

supplement has been and continues to be widely distributed. It serves as an informative and action-oriented introduction to the campaign to isolate apartheid.

The normal print-run of *Anti-Apartheid News* has remained constant at 7,000 copies throughout the year. The price was increased from 15p to 20p with effect from March 1981. Like other aspects of the Movement's activities, the finances of the paper (which constitutes one of the biggest recurring outlays of the AAM) continue to give cause for concern. Efforts are being made to increase circulation and sales, including the distribution of a promotional leaflet and regular exchange of sales ideas and experience with Local Groups. The AAM is particularly grateful to those trade unions (NGA, POEU, NUR, SCPS, TGWU (Midlands and Bristol Regions), ACTT, AUEW(TASS), CPSA, AUEW(Engineering) and AUEW (Constructional)) who have supported the newspaper through placing paid advertisements in the course of the year.

PUBLICATIONS

The AAM has greatly increased the level of its own publications. Three were published in cooperation with the UN Centre Against Apartheid: *Apartheid Gold*, *South Africa's Record of International Terrorism* (jointly with SWAM), and a special supplement of *Anti-Apartheid News* for the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa — Sanctions Now!* campaign. *Plessey Arms Apartheid* was published in cooperation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

The AAM also published two reports relating to the oil embargo: *How Britain Fuels the Apartheid War Machine* and *South African Mining Interests Move Into the North Sea*.

However, the AAM continued to put the bulk of its resources into campaigning material. Badges, posters, leaflets and stickers were produced for a range of campaigns, in particular the Boycott Barclays campaign, oil sanctions, the Pretoria Three, Markus Kateka, Nelson Mandela and the Apartheid Bomb.

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 addition to sending representatives of 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 continues to be 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

Much of the AAM's activity, both nationally and locally, is aimed at securing sympathetic coverage of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, to seek publicity for the range of campaigning being organised by the AAM and to expose colla-

boration with apartheid. It is through such coverage that wider support for the activities of the AAM can be achieved.

During this period, 10 press conferences were organised, dealing with a wide range of issues including: the oil embargo; the Free Mandela Campaign, with Bishop Desmond Tutu, Michael Foot and David Steel; the sanctions campaign, at which Ken Livingstone, leader of the GLC, announced a decision of the GLC to terminate all purchases of South African goods; with Thozamile Botha, the leader of the Ford strike in South Africa; with HE Luis Almeida, Angola's ambassador to France, on two occasions (once in April and secondly during the South African invasion of Angola); with SANROC, to release a list of names to be submitted to the UN Register; on Plessey, to release proof of a breach of the arms embargo; with SWAM, to release the pamphlet *South Africa's Record of International Terrorism*; and with the Health Committee, to announce the withdrawal of a member of the British team to the Stoke Mandeville Games because of South Africa's partici-

pation.

The AAM regularly briefs interested journalists about the situation in Southern Africa and its campaigns. Many press statements were released. AAM representatives have been interviewed on television, BBC Radio, BBC World Service, Radio London, LBC and Capitol, as well as for many overseas radio and TV stations. In addition, the AAM receives much publicity for its activities at a local level by local and regional media.

A unique view of the AAM in the media was the ATV play *Out of Sight: Out of Mind*, much of which was filmed at the AAM's offices in Charlotte Street.

The AAM protested to *The Times* when for Christmas 1980 it decided to advertise a special arrangement by which readers could send Christmas greetings to relatives through *The Times* for publication in the *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg). The new Editor of *The Times* has informed the AAM that it will not be repeated.

finance and fund-raising

The Executive and National Committee have regularly reviewed the finances of the AAM during this period and decided on a number of initiatives to strengthen the financial basis of the Movement. New procedures have been adopted to secure tighter control over financial expenditure and to ensure more effective planning. A small finance committee was appointed to coordinate this, and a larger fund-raising committee has been established to plan more effective fund-raising drives.

The financial situation continues to be critical. It now costs almost £5,000 per month to meet the essential costs of running the office, paying staff and publishing *AA News*. During the financial year it has been possible to decrease significantly the difference between recurrent expenditure and income.

However, a large backlog of debts has built up over the recent period and until these have been met the Movement will be seriously constrained in the initiatives it can take.

A range of fund-raising activities and appeals has been organised and grants have been provided by the UN Centre Against Apartheid for a number of publications. In addition, two substantial grants from the International Defence and Aid Fund were vital to enable the AAM to launch a number of its major campaigns.

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 Groups. It would again like to put on record its gratitude to all those who have contributed.

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committee and SACTU concerning direct links with South African trade unions, and this was adopted as the basis for the AAM's approach to this matter. The meeting was addressed by Aaron Pemba, Chairman of the Secretariat of SACTU, who was on a short visit to London, and by the leader of a delegation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, who were in London as guests of the AAM.

The National Committee met finally on 12 September, when the Political Report and the new Constitution were adopted, and there was an initial discussion on proposed standing orders for the conduct of business at the National Committee and AGM.

During the year a number of new organisations accepted invitations to attend the National Committee as observers: the Labour Party, War on Want, the Methodist Church Overseas Division and Division for Social Responsibility, the Zimbabwe Information Group, Pax Christi, the Haldane Society, British Defence and Aid Fund, the Campaign to Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique (SWAM) and Plaid Cymru.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee, which advises the National Committee and sees to the execution of policy decided on, is the working committee of the Movement. It is elected by and from the National Committee and consists of six officers of the Movement — the Chairperson, up to two Vice Chairpersons, Hon Secretary, Hon Treasurer and Executive Secretary — and eight elected members. It can coopt up to six individuals to assist in its work. It can also appoint subcommittees and these currently are the Trade Union Committee, the Student Committee, the Health Committee, the Women's Committee, the

Finance Committee, the Fundraising Committee, as well as the Editorial Board of *AA News*. There is also a subgroup of Executive and Staff members planning work on the sanctions campaign and an International Liaison Group which coordinates the international work of the AAM.

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

AAM OFFICE

A heavy burden for the implementation of the work of the AAM falls onto the small staff working at the Charlotte Street office. The facilities remain far from adequate and it is still planned to move to better premises if the circumstances permit.

A new member of staff, Neil Faulkner, was appointed as Administrative Organiser, and Chris Child, who has worked for the AAM since 1976, was designated by the Executive as Deputy Secretary. During this period an agreement was entered into with the ACTS group representing most of the staff and contracts were drawn up for individual members of staff.

The restructuring of office responsibilities outlined in the 1979/80 Annual Report has resulted in improved servicing and more effective coordination of work. However, the small staff would be unable to keep the AAM running without the enthusiastic assistance of the many volunteers who give up their spare time, and often more, to help in the office and on the different committees of the AAM. Their willingness to help out at all times of crisis and in all manner of ways is a vital component of the AAM, without which it would be impossible for the AAM to make the impact it does.

ORGANISATION

MEMBERSHIP

One of the key questions facing the long-term future of the AAM is the need to increase dramatically both the individual and organisational membership. Current membership levels simply do not correspond to the extent of public support. Without such an increase, the AAM will have no secure financial basis and will be unable to expand its activities as the situation requires.

Although there has been considerable success in recruiting new members, there continues to be a high rate of turnover as members move or become less active on Southern Africa. Therefore, whilst every effort needs to be made to secure an increase in the number of individual members, it is also important to encourage more national and local organisations to affiliate.

During the period of this Report, the number of new individual members was 444, compared with 148 organisations. The corresponding figures for 1979/80 were 397 individual members and 90 organisations. Of the 148 organisations joining, 54 were trade union bodies; the total number of trade union bodies now stands at 155. It is interesting to note that there has been an upsurge in new members joining over the past two months. Figures for September 1981 were double the monthly average.

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. This year, as a result of a Constitutional Review, the role of the AGM has been clarified. Resolutions adopted form the framework of policy for the AAM and constitutional changes adopted by the National Committee have to be ratified by the AGM.

Every year, the July newsletter invites members and organisational members to submit resolutions to the AGM and to nominate individual members to serve on the National Committee. At the AGM itself, usually held towards the end of October, members discuss and vote on resolutions and elect 30 members to serve on the National Committee from those nominated.

At the 1980 AGM discussion focused on Namibia and trade union work. Peter Katjavivi brought a message of greetings from the Central Committee of SWAPO, and Zola Zembe, Treasurer of SACTU, also addressed the meeting. One of the main campaigning decisions was to launch a major coordinated sanctions campaign. Two resolutions relating to the Constitution of the AAM were remitted to the National Committee.

Other resolutions adopted covered work on Zimbabwe, South African war resisters, bantustans, political prisoners, economic collaboration, the sports boycott and women. A resolution was also adopted to ensure that the AAM provided creche facilities and facilities for people with disabilities.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and carries out its work within the framework of AGM resolutions. Its members comprise the President, Vice-Presidents and Sponsors, 30 individual members elected at the AGM, representatives of all affiliated Local Anti-Apartheid Groups and representatives of 25 national or regional member organisations elected annually from among such member organisations.

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

individuals may be coopted.

The National Committee met on six occasions during the year and carried out a heavy workload. Its first meeting, immediately following the AGM, elected the new Executive and other Officers of the AAM. The first full meeting was held on 25 November, when the three main items were discussion on the implementation of the AGM resolutions, proposals from the Executive for the launching of a major sanctions campaign, and an assessment of developments over Namibia. Also at this meeting, the National Committee elected a Constitutional Review Group to consider a number of matters relating to the Constitution.

The National Committee next met on 7 February; it was opened by the Chairman, Robert Hughes MP, making a tribute to Bishop Ambrose Reeves, the AAM's President, who died on 23 December 1980 after 10 years of service to the AAM and a life of dedication to opposing racialism and apartheid, and promoting peace and social justice. At this meeting a comprehensive strategy paper was presented on the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa - Sanctions Now!* campaign, and a range of proposals on campaigning activity agreed. The Chairman of SANROC, Sam Ramsamy, also addressed the meeting and a series of decisions was taken on the sports boycott campaign. Peter Manning of SWAPO gave a report back on the Namibia Geneva UN meeting, and a background paper on campaigning on political prisoners prepared by SATIS was also discussed.

On 11 April the National Committee met in Cardiff and was opened by the Revd Robert Morgan, the leader of the Labour Group on the South Glamorgan Council, in whose church hall the meeting was held. The National Committee elected Archbishop Trevor Huddleston as President to succeed Bishop Reeves. An Interim Report of the Constitutional Review Group was presented and there was a general discussion on developments in Southern Africa, with particular reference to US and British policy. An assessment was made of the sanctions campaign, and the Executive was asked to report back on the issue of links with South African trade unions following discussion with SACTU and the AAM trade union committee. The meeting discussed sporting and cultural collaboration, with special reference to Wales, and it was agreed to cooperate with the UN in drawing up registers of individuals who play or perform in South Africa.

The National Committee next met on 27 June, when a written report on the progress during the first three months of the *Isolate Apartheid South Africa - Sanctions Now!* campaign was presented and a number of decisions on the future development of the campaign were adopted. These included the calling of a national demonstration in March 1981 and a major conference to focus on South Africa's threat to peace. The Constitutional Review Group presented its report to the meeting; it covered a number of issues, in particular the relationship between the AGM and the National Committee. The Group had considered the proposal that the Annual General Meeting should be the policy-making body of the AAM and that the National Committee should be subordinate to it. However, the Group was of the view that this would require a major restructuring of the AGM to ensure the democratic representation of the different sections of the AAM: its individual activists, local anti-apartheid groups and member organisations. It instead recommended that the Constitution be revised to correspond accurately to current practice, namely that AGM resolutions form the framework for the policy of the AAM. A number of other measures to update the Constitution were also proposed. It was decided that the Executive should present a revised Constitution to the next meeting of the National Committee incorporating these changes.

The National Committee also received a report from the Executive drawn up after consultation with the trade union

