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S.B. No. Plain)

METROPOLITAN POLICE

Special Report }

INDEXED
Date 3.2.70 Initials [redacted]

SPECIAL BRANCH

17th day of November 1970

SUBJECT

Anti- Apartheid Movement

1. On Sunday, 1 November 1970 the Annual General Meeting of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was held at the National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, SW1. It was split into two sessions, the morning started at 10 am and finished at 1 pm, and in the afternoon it resumed at 2 pm and ended at 5.30 pm. About 200 persons were present during the day, the morning session being better attended than the afternoon.

Reference to Papers

400/70/154

2. John ENNALS was the Chairman throughout and on the platform with him were:-

- Abdul MINTY ✓ - Hon Secretary
- Anthony P O'DOWD ✓ - Hon Treasurer
- Ethel De KEYSER ✓ - Executive Secretary
- Vella PILLAY ✓

3. The meeting was opened with a short address from the Chairman, John ENNALS, who welcomed the delegates, especially the newcomers, who had raised the attendance by 20% on the previous year. He read a letter of apology for absence from the President, the Rt Rev Ambrose REEVES. ENNALS said that the conference was meeting in an atmosphere of success of its 'Stop the 70 Tour' earlier in the year and in the midst of its current campaign to stop the sale of arms South Africa. Members were to be congratulated on the magnificent turn-out at the rally organised by the Movement the previous weekend, which showed the depth of feeling on the sale of arms issue among the general public in this country. He rejoiced in the support given to the freedom fighters in Southern Africa by the World Council of Churches, and felt that this was a tremendous boost to the fight against racism and apartheid.

4. Abdul MINTY then gave the political report of the previous year which, in effect, was a summary of the annual report, a copy of which is submitted. The demand for copies of the annual report was greater this year than ever before, he said, and was not just confined to requests from this country. Following the resignation of [redacted] Privacy as organising secretary, it had been decided to split the functions of this post and it was now being covered by Sarah DARLING as projects officer, and Roger TRASK as field officer.

5. The opening period of the afternoon session was taken up with the elections, and a full list of the officers and national committee are given below:-

President

Rt Rev Ambrose REEVES ✓

Vice-Presidents

- Basil DAVIDSON ✓
- Sir Dingle FOOT QC MP ✓
- Rt Rev Trevor HUDDLESTON ✓
- Rt Hon Jeremy THORPE ✓

Sponsors

Lord Fenner BROCKWAY ✓
Lord COLLISON ✓
Thomas HODGKIN ✓
Jack JONES MBE ✓
Reg PRENTISS MP ✓
David STEEL ✓
Angus WILSON ✓

Officers:

Chairman John ENNALS ✓
Vice-Chairman Peter JACKSON ✓
Hon. Secretary Abdul MINTY ✓
Exec. Secretary Ethel De KEYSER ✓
Hon Treasurer Anthony O'DOWD ✓
Projects Officer Sarah DARLING ✓
Field Officer Roger TRASK ✓

National Committee (30 members)

Privacy

Joan LESTOR MP (Active AA campaigner) ✓

Privacy

Christobel GURNEY ✓ (AAM & Dam Busters Mobilising Comm.)

Peter HAIN ✓ (Young Liberal)

Privacy

Privacy

6. There was a tie between three for the 30th place, and it was left to the National Committee to choose one person. It was anticipated that the other two would be co-opted on to the committee. The three who tied were:-

Privacy

7. The following were proposed but not elected to the national committee:-

Privacy

8. [Privacy] was the only member of the National Committee for 1969/70 who was not re-elected. The following six members for that year did not stand for re-election:-

[Privacy]

* * * * *

9. The Treasurer, Anthony P O'DOWD, then gave the financial report for the year 1969/70, a copy of which is attached. He stated that the deficit as shown, £2,022 11s 1d, had been made good by the receipt of the generous donation from the World Council of Churches.

10. The resolutions that had previously been submitted to the Executive Committee were then proposed, discussed and voted on.

11. Abdul MINTY proposed: This AGM condemns her Majesty's Government's proposals to resume the sale of arms to South Africa as a hostile act against the African majority in Southern Africa and their struggle for liberation, as a threat to independent African states and to the multi-racial character and unity of the Commonwealth, and as a reckless defiance of UN Security Council resolutions; and therefore calls for the widest possible alliance of democratic forces in Britain

- (a) to campaign actively against this grave threat, and to struggle with urgency and effectiveness to frustrate in all possible ways the Government's intentions; and
- (b) to mobilise British opinion against the continued flow of British investment capital to South Africa in view of the latter's pernicious role in bolstering the apartheid system and enabling South Africa to create an indigenously-based armaments industry.

12. This proposal generated a great deal of discussion and among the speakers was [Privacy], who spoke of the difficulty experienced in gaining the support of the trade union movement. This movement was now as militant as at any period since the first World War and the AAM were failing to canvass it. It was essential for success in the campaign against the sale of arms that the capacity and strength of the trade unions be harnessed to join the efforts of the AAM.

13. [Privacy] stated that the campaign against the sale of arms and the whole issue of apartheid in South Africa was an extension of the Vietnam war problem and the AAM must see themselves as an umbrella movement to co-ordinate all the organisations engaged in the struggle.

14. [Privacy] (phonetic) from Bournemouth was very critical of the left-wing image that the AAM was now associated with and he was firm in his opinion that it would never obtain the mass support from the

British public until this image was changed.

15. Other comments were made by [Privacy] from 'Liberation' and [Privacy] of 'Voice of the Unions'.

16. The second resolution was proposed by Peter De WIT, of the Bromley Anti-apartheid committee and read: This AGM instructs the National Committee to encourage French students etc, to initiate a campaign designed to:

- (a) highlight the role of France as the chief supplier of arms to South Africa in the last decade;
- (b) to bring maximum pressure on France to end this trade in arms, by which means it maintains the South African regime as the strongest power in Africa.

[Privacy] said that it was better to concentrate on this country rather than get too involved in promoting activities in other countries. Ethel De KEYSER explained that an approach had been made by sympathetic groups in France for assistance in forming an organisation similar in concept to the AAM and in fact representatives had already visited this country and discussions had taken place with officials and advice given.

17. Tony O'DOWD proposed that: This AGM welcomes the growing international recognition of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and increased support for the right of the African peoples to pursue their legitimate aims by whatever methods they deem appropriate for the final victory of freedom on Southern Africa; and applauds the concrete expressions of support for African liberation movements made by certain social democratic and labour organisations in Western Europe, by church organisations including the World Council of Churches, and by student organisations. This was carried unanimously without discussion.

18. Vella PILLAY proposed that: This AGM (1) warmly greets the liberation movements of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau, presently engaged in bitter struggles to mobilise their peoples, gain territory, create viable base areas, and advance towards the final overthrow of the racist and colonialist regimes; (2) believes that fundamental social and political change in these territories will only be achieved through the struggle of the liberation movements; (3) conceives the essential task of the Anti-Apartheid Movement as playing mainly a supporting role to the liberation movements by bringing about a political climate, both in Britain and internationally, which is more favourable to the conduct of this freedom struggle; (4) therefore requests the National Committee to publicise the struggles of the liberation movements, to continue giving help to their representatives in their efforts to win moral and material support in Britain, and to consult closely with them at all stages of AAM activities. Again little discussion took place and it was carried unanimously.

19. The resolution proposed by a representative from the Bristol anti-apartheid committee read: This Annual General Meeting instructs

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the National Committee to consider opening a special fund to collect money and materials for the guerrilla movements in Southern Africa who are fighting against apartheid. Stan NEWENS MP spoke on behalf of 'Liberation' and dealt with the class war in Africa, not only South Africa, and urged support for it claiming that although it was not strictly anti-apartheid it was ancillary to it.

20. [Privacy] feared apartheid in reverse, and hoped that efforts would be made to ensure that in the event of any change in circumstances in the South African situation the same system would not be applied to the white minority.

21. [Privacy] said that contact must be maintained with the guerrilla movements in Southern Africa and that any assistance that they require from the AAM should be freely given.

22. Further contributions were made by [Privacy] [Privacy] [Privacy] and a Portuguese with the name of [Privacy] (phonetic).

23. This AGM (1) notes with alarm the new change in British policy towards Rhodesia introduced by the Conservative Government, in particular the preparation for negotiations which are already under way and are designed to lead to an "agreement" with the illegal Smith regime and the abandonment of sanctions;

(2) notes further that without consulting Parliament the Government has already begun easing the legal and administrative restraints formally imposed upon Rhodesia, and that the visit of Lord Alport to Rhodesia may serve to open the door to formal exchanges;

(3) condemns Her Majesty's Government's policy of seeking an "agreement" with the Smith regime as a betrayal of British responsibility, and a real threat not only to the interests of the oppressed African people of Zimbabwe, but to the unity of the multi-racial Commonwealth;

(4) warns that any arrangement which falls short of African majority rule, whether or not it accords with the so-called five principles, will serve only to entrench white supremacy and condemn the African liberation movement to a more bitter and protracted struggle to achieve its legitimate aims;

(5) calls for a sharp response to this development from the labour movement and all anti-apartheid forces, and a broad campaign to stop a British sell-out to Smith.

The above was proposed by John SPRACK and passed unanimously with little discussion.

24. Miss Polly GASTER proposed: The Anti-Apartheid Movement reaffirms its support of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea in their struggle against Portuguese colonial rule; applauds the successes achieved over the past year by the liberation movements - MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC respectively, in advancing the economic reconstruction in the liberated areas; condemns the ever-closer alliance between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal Rhodesia regime and believes that, without this support and the assistance she receives from her Western allies, Portugal would be unable to continue her colonial wars. In solidarity with the liberation movements, the AAM commits itself to increased activity in Britain:

(a) in campaigning energetically against British economic collaboration with Portugal, particularly against any involvement in the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique and the Kunene river dam project in Angola, and similar schemes designed to perpetuate white minority rule in these territories; (b) in opposing Portugal's use of NATO weapons and equipment in the colonial wars; (b) in raising the level of material support for the liberation movements. Again this was carried unanimously and following the vote an immediate collection was held for the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, which realised £28.

25. Peter HELLYER then proposed: This AGM (1) notes the decision of the UN Security Council to refer the status of Namibia to the International Court of Justice and deems this more dangerous when considered as a substitute for effective action to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African government; (2) condemns Shell, British Petroleum, Rio Tinto Zinc and other British firms involved in illegally exploiting natural resources which rightly belong to the people of Namibia; (3) deplores the actions of the last Labour Government in encouraging and arranging for Rio Tinto Zinc to mine uranium in Namibia; (4) instructs the National Committee and the Executive Committee to campaign, by means including direct action if necessary, for the disengagement of British firms, and the British Government, from South Africa's occupation of Namibia. This resolution was not controversial and passed unanimously.

26. The next proposition was made by Peter KELLNER and read: This AGM (1) welcomes the policy initiatives taken by the OAU Heads of State Conference held in Addis Ababa in September and by the Non-Aligned Nations Conference held in Lusaka in September; (2) notes in particular that the Lusaka Conference called for (a) an effective trade embargo against the Southern African regimes, (b) the refusal of landing and port facilities to all countries whose aircraft and ships ply to and from South Africa, (c) retaliatory action against countries infringing the arms embargo and, above all, (d) assistance for the Southern African liberation movements; (3) notes also that several African States are penalising British firms with interests in South Africa, and that the possibilities of African and Asian withdrawal from the Commonwealth should the Tory Government flout the arms embargo have become stronger; (4) therefore calls on the Anti-Apartheid Movement to disseminate these important conclusions widely, and to secure support for them from all British organisations. This again was passed unanimously.

27. Christobel GURNEY proposed: This AGM (1) condemns the building of the Cabora Bassa Dam in the Tete province of Mozambique since it will - (a) strengthen the Portuguese colonists in their war against the people of Mozambique by enabling the settlement of large numbers of whites in Tete Province, (b) assist Rhodesian businessmen to erode sanctions, thereby contravening United Nations sanctions against the illegal Smith regime, (c) increase South Africa's influence in the region - (2) in particular we are concerned at the growing involvement of British capital in the project and note - (a) the commitment by Barclays Bank DCO, a subsidiary of Barclays Bank, to provide a guarantee for a customer involved in the dam's construction,

(b) the formation by GKN of a Mozambique subsidiary with the purpose of supplying equipment for the project, (c) the involvement of United Transport Overseas Ltd through one of its South African subsidiaries, which holds three contracts for the transport of equipment from Johannesburg to the Cabora Bassa site, (d) the involvement of ICI through AB&CI (a major South African company in which it has a substantial holding) and which is supplying explosives for the project - (3) therefore instructs the Executive and National Committees - (a) to intensify pressure upon HMG to ensure British compliance with UN Security Council sanctions resolutions, (b) to continue full support for the Dambusters Mobilising Committee, (c) to mobilise branches and affiliated organisations of the AAM in pickets and other activities against the British firms involved in Cabora Bassa and in particular for a series of sit-ins to be held towards the end of 1970, (d) to canvass the trade union and labour movement in an effort to ensure that British firms do not continue their participation in the project, (e) to secure the presence of people opposed to the project at the AGMs of Barclays, Barclays DCO, United Transport, GKN, ICI and other British firms that become involved, and (f) to help in the international campaign against Western involvement in the dam, by co-operating with the relevant groups in other countries. There was little discussion and it was passed unanimously.

28. The Mid-Sussex committee of the AAM proposed: The Committee of the Mid-Sussex Anti-Apartheid Group views with grave concern a report of hidden associations between Great Britain and South Africa, such as extending training and other facilities in Great Britain to South African police officers, prison officials, army personnel, etc, and asks the Central Office of the AAM to undertake research into such associations. The Central Office and branches are further requested to extend research into firms that are subsidiaries, associates or parts of other firms and companies with operations in South Africa, and to send to groups such information that will enable them to detect local firms, which may be operating under different names or other guises but which nevertheless are parts of such subsidiaries, associates, etc. This was also passed unanimously after a contribution from Privacy who emphasised some of the earlier comments on the necessity of obtaining the support of the trade union movement.

29. There was no representative present from the Edinburgh Anti-Apartheid committee who had proposed: The Edinburgh Branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Scotland urges the Anti-Apartheid Movement to make a central point in its campaign the important economic arguments adduced by Miss Barbara Rogers in her paper of 1 September 1970 published in THE GUARDIAN, with special reference to the anomalous treatment accorded South Africa by the British Government with regard to Commonwealth Preferences, Sterling Area Privileges, Tariff Agreements and connected matters. It was decided that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee for their consideration.

30. During the discussion on the next Resolution proposed by Mike WALKER, Privacy spoke of the difficulties in finding a full time editor for the AAM news. He also urged an increase in activity at branch level and at the universities. This Resolution read:

Epsom and Leatherhead Anti-Apartheid Committee urge that every effort be made to extend the circulation of ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS, so that it shall become a means of winning new members and have as great an influence as possible in the anti-apartheid struggle. This Committee believes that these aims would be greatly facilitated if the paper contained more articles of direct interest as regards the racial situation in Britain and articles clearly explaining the reasons why the Southern African situation is of immediate relevance here in economic and social fields.

31. The last Resolution, proposed by Peter de WIT, that: This AGM instructs the National Committee to initiate a campaign for the exclusion of South Africa from the forthcoming "Miss World" contest, as the South African entrant for this contest is chosen on a racial basis. In addition, the Executive Secretary is instructed to write to all interested Ambassadors and High Commissioners urging them to boycott the contest, unless it is held on a non-racial basis. This provoked a lively discussion on the pros and cons of such action by the movement and this was the only resolution that had a narrow voting result; it was eventually passed 38 votes to 36, with many abstentions.

32. After the discussion on the Resolutions the closing address was given by Abdul MINTY in the absence of the Rt Rev Ambrose REEVES. He felt that the conference had been a very important one and then reminded the members of some of the major issues in which the movement was actively involved. The fact that there was no resolution regarding the question of political prisoners caused him some surprise as it was in this field that tremendous work had been done in recent years and more would be demanded in the future.

33. On South West Africa (Namibia) the movement was faced, once again, with action at the United Nations. Western Governments had persuaded the majority of members of the Security Council to refer the matter back to the International Court. Whilst the AAM was not against International Courts, the Security Council must be warned, that reference to such bodies and studies by United Nations' agencies, was no adequate substitute for action.

34. Rhodesia, a subject that had been discussed in Whitehall and considered by the Conservative Government, had not received the public attention it deserved, partly because of the 'Arms' campaign. The AAM had a duty to draw attention to this problem.

35. With regard to the Portuguese colonies, it had been clearly stated in discussion how the real war was being waged in that area and it was a sign how involved the movement was that the meeting had been so generous in its contribution to that cause. This was an issue, on the economic side, for the movement's direct work on British investments in Southern Africa.

36. MINTY spoke of the discussion he had held with similar groups in West Germany who were campaigning against the Cabora Bassa Dam project. These groups had asked that demonstration be mounted against West German embassies in Britain; consequently one of the actions planned by the AAM was to demonstrate outside embassies of those countries that were engaged in exploitation in Southern Africa.

37. The 'Arms to South Africa' issue was one on which the movement was heavily involved, supplying speakers at the many meetings held up and down the country and lobbying MPs and influential organisations. This work must be carried on. The 'Arms' campaign was, in a sense, the campaign of the AAM, which had been supported by other organisations. It was the duty of the movement, and the rally of the previous weekend was a good start, to make the campaign everybody's campaign - trade unionists, students, individuals and organisations. Even when the government made their decision, the problem still remained of the manufacture and delivery of the arms, and if the movement worked hard and diligently it could ensure that, despite a decision to sell the arms, the manufacture and delivery of weapons could be made an impossible burden on the government.

38. The Chairman, John ENNAIS, then closed the meeting with a vote of thanks to the staff at the headquarters of the movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1, especially the Executive Secretary, Ethel De KEYSER.

39. Apart from those already named in this report, the following persons were present during the meeting:-

[Redacted list of names]

Privacy

Inspector

Submitted

[Redacted signature]

[Redacted signature]

CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT



the Anti-Apartheid Movement

89 Charlotte Street London W1P 2DQ Tel 580 5311

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE : 1 OCTOBER 1969 - 30 SEPTEMBER 1970

<u>Receipts and Income</u>			
<u>1969</u>			
£			
4723	Donations		5682.17.10
1487	Subscriptions		2107.10.10
846	AA NEWS Sales, literature, badges and pens		1636.15. 3
1254	Miscellaneous: meetings, rallies and fund-raising events		1681.18.11
			<hr/>
			11109. 2.10
<u>Payments and Expenditure</u>			
914	Rent, rates and services	900. 4.10	
3807	Salaries	4084.16. 9	
	General Office expenses, incl: postages (general and AA NEWS), telephone, petty, travelling & sundry expenses	3314. 6. 3	
1587	Bank charges	35.16. 8	
36		<hr/>	
		8335. 4. 6	
	AA NEWS printing & general printing, leaflets, posters & stationery	3669. 7. 1	
1759	Advertising, publicity & meetings	658.12. 9	12663. 4. 4
457			<hr/>
8559			
	EXCESS EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME		1554. 1. 6
	Deficit as at 30.9.1969		468. 9. 7
			<hr/>
			2022.11. 1
	Liabilities	2226. 1.10	
	Less Bank Balance	203.10. 9	
		<hr/>	
	Deficit as above	£2022.11. 1	

No provision has been made for amounts due by debtors in respect of literature, badges, pens, etc., or literature and stationery stocks in hand.

Certified a true and correct statement of the Accounts of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Privacy (Auditor)

26 October 1970

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APPENDIX 'A'.

The following is a comprehensive list of all persons mentioned in the report, with their Special Branch records' references:

Privacy

BROCKWAY, Fenner (Lord)

Privacy

COLLISON, Lord. ✓

Privacy

DARLING, Sarah ✓

Privacy

De Wit, Peter ✓

Privacy

DAVIDSON, Bob ✓

Privacy

2.
X 'A' continued:

De KEYS, Ethel

Privacy

ENNALS, John

Privacy

FOOT, Sir Dingle (M.P.)

Privacy

GURNEY, Christobel

GASTER, Polly

Privacy

HAIN, Peter

Privacy

HELLYER, Peter

Privacy

HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Bishpp of Stepney

HODGKIN, Thomas

Privacy

JACKSON, Peter

Privacy

JONES, Jack

APPENDIX 'A' continued:

Privacy

Privacy

KELLNER, Peter ✓

Privacy

LESTOR, Joan M.P. ✓

Privacy

MINTY, Abdul ✓

Privacy

NEWENS, Stanley, M.P. ✓

Privacy

O'DOWD, Anthony P. ✓

PILLAY, Vella ✓

PRENTICE, Reg. M.P. ✓

APPENDIX 'A' continued.

Privacy

ROGERS, Barbara

Privacy

REEVES, ✓ Rev. Ambrose

Privacy

STEEL, ✓ David M.P.

Privacy

TRASK, ✓ Roger

THORPE, ✓ Jeremy M.P.

Privacy

WILSON, ✓ Angus

WALKER, ✓ Michael

Privacy

Appendix 'B'

The following are the organisations affiliated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

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Africa Bureau	400/55/12
Association of Scientific, Technical & Managerial Staff.	400/68/48
British Caribbean Association	400/59/94
British Overseas Association	
Campaign against Racial Discrimination	400/67/198
Chemical Workers Union	400/52/10
Draughtsman's and Allied Technicians Association	400/70/195
Fabian Society	300/UNC/930
Movement for Colonial Freedom	400/69/173
National League for Young Liberals	400/70/61
Society for Graphical & Allied Trades	400/66/12
Student Christian Movement	400/65/187
Tobacco Workers Union	400/51/52
Union of Liberal Students	400/67/151
United Nations Association	400/70/26
United Nations Student Association	400/47/60
International Defence and Aid Fund	400/64/146

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Appendix 'C'

The following are the organisations with observer status only :-

Amnesty International	400/67/91
Anti-Slavery Society	400/61/109
Christian Action	400/66/34
Comm. for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guinea Bissau	400/68/222
Co-operative Womens Guild	400/53/186
Equity	400/41/27
London Co-op. Society Political Committee	400/68/127
National Peace Council	300/UNC/939
National Union of Students	400/70/214
Pressure for Economic and Social Toryism	Mentions
Transport and General Workers Union	400/70/3
United Nations Association Youth	Mentions
War Resisters International	400/70/63
Womens International League for Peace and Freedom	301/AFAW/308
Womens Liberal Federation	400/69/172
World University Service	400/43/5
Young Communist League	400/69/70
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants	400/67/190

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Southern African organisations with observer status :-

African National Congress	400/67/194
Coloured Peoples Congress	400/64/179
Pan African Congress	400/69/140
South African Indian Congress	400/46/19
South African Students Association	400/50/205
South West African National Union	400/66/63
South West African Peoples Organisation	400/67/114
Zimbabwe African National Union	400/64/175
Zimbabwe African Peoples Union	400/67/123

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