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Commander A Cunningham
New Scotland Yard
(Special Branch)
Broadway
LONDON SW1

Your reference

Our reference

QPE/67 107/1/7

Date

23 November 1970

Dear Mr Cunningham

I enclose a copy of a report of the Annual General Meeting of the Anti-Apartheid Movement sent to Lord Windlesham's private secretary by the Griffin Press Bureau, which Mr McQueen discussed with you the other day. The more detailed report referred to in the covering letter has not yet materialised.

Yours sincerely

R A Sterlini ✓

Mr. McQuinn

Do you think I should
send this to Box and/or SB?

If so, I ought to bill you something
five.

Box
12/11

Ray

Can you have a word pre?
I have a hazy recollection of
seeing something on S.B. about
this meeting.

Ray
12/11

1. MEETING OPENED AT 10.30 HOURS, a total of 74 attended from 11.00 hours until meeting closed.
2. PLATFORM
 - 1). CHAIRMAN: John Snnals Chairman AAM since October 1967, vice-President World Federation of United Nations Association, Director-General U.K. United Nations Association.
 - 2). SPONSOR: Lord Collison, accompanied by his wife, both of whom left the meeting at 12.30 hours.
 - 3). FULL-TIME EXECUTIVE SECRETARY Miss Ethel de Keyser.
 - 4). HON. TREASURER: Mr. Anthony O'Dowd.
 - 5). HON. SECRETARY: Mr. Abdul Minty.
 - 6). FULL-TIME ORGANISING SECRETARY: Mr. Alan Keith Brooks, Rhodesian-born.

IN CHARGE CREDENTIALS

- 7). FULL-TIME MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY Mrs. Stephanie Sachs, wife of South African-born, Mr. Albie Sachs.
- 8). FORMER AAM OFFICE WORKER: Mr. K. Dar (no longer lives in Britain).

IN CHARGE REPORTS & LITERATURE

- 9). FULL-TIME SECRETARY TO MISS ETHEL DE KEYSER: Miss Nancy White.

IN ATTENDANCE

- 10). Mr. John Cox
Seventy-year-old secretary Communist Party's International Department in its London King Street headquarters.
- 11). Mr. John Filby
A communist employee in London's Bank of China and one of the founder members of A.A.U. A national committee and executive member.

- Mr. Peter Hain
Of 21a, Gwendoline Avenue, London, S.W.15 a leading Young Liberal, Chairman "Stop the Seventy Four Committee" existing AAM national committee.
- 22). Mr. Walter Hain
National committee member (father of Peter Hain).
- 23). Mrs. Adelaine Hain
National committee member (mother of Peter Hain).
- 24). Mr. Peter Hellyer
Of Brighton, a member of AAM national committee for three years, co-opted to executive 1967-69, member Southern Africa Solidarity Committee.
- 25). Mrs. Peter Hellyer
- 26). Miss Christobel Gurnoy
- 27). Mr. Jonathan Rosenhead
- 28). Miss Patricia Taves
Voluntary helper in office, active in AA work.
- 29). Mr. Terence Richards
Founder member Bourne-mouth AAM, active AA worker.
- 30). Mr. Peter Jones
Secretary, Wembley/Harrow AAM active member Trade Union Action Group of AAM, actively involved in AAM since 1960: and convener of its Trade Union Action Group. Member of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers (AEF).
- 31). Mrs. B. Northedge
Publicity Secretary Wembley/Harrow AAM, voluntary worker at AAM headquarters.
- 32). Miss Ruth Harrison
Active supporter and regular voluntary helper at AAM headquarters on the accounts and elsewhere as needed.
- 33). Miss Jean Hyams
Member Hampstead Labour Party, Association of Broadcasting Staffs (ABS) and Movement for Colonial Freedom.
- 34). Mr. Paul Pentney
South African-born student at King's College, London, and member of its editorial board publishing "Senate".
- 35). Mr. Hugh Bosch
Chairman "Reading Joint AAM Committee" national secretary "Stop the Seventy Four Committee".

- Miss Janice Bauer Secretary & Press Officer Southern Africa Commission of Liberatarians.
- 37). Mr. Peter Kellner Policy vice-President of United Nations' Student Association recently graduated from Cambridge. Research journalist on staff of "Sunday Times"
- 38). Mr. Michael Gerrard Member AAM national committee, chairman Epping Constituency Labour Party, active AAM member since 1962.
- 39). Mr. Andrew Neale AAM national committee, active Communist and AAM representative in student and trade union circles. Member Young Communist League and Association of Supervisors, Technicians and Managerial Staffs.
- 40). Mrs. Dorothy Robinson Author AAM pamphlet "The Collaborators" Active in the office and outside in the anti-apartheid cause since 1960. A national committee member.
- 41). Mr. Kenny Parker Lecturer, active in AAM work as well as African National Congress (ANC).
- 42). Mr. Dave Shipper Free-lance journalist. National committee member, AAM representative in Cardiff, regular contributor to "AA News".
- 43). Miss Marion Friednan National committee member
- 44). Mr. Roy Heath Southern Africa Commission member AAM Trade Union Action Group member. Member Civil Service Union.
- 45). Mr. Bob Davidson National committee member, member Union of Post Office Workers.
- 46). Miss Margaret Stokes Secretary of newly formed Westminster & Chelsea AAM. and part-time worker in AAM office.
- 47). Miss Doris Lessing Authorress.
- 48). Mr. Peter de Wit
- 49). Mr. John Sprack National committee and executive member and assistant editor of "AAM News". An exiled white South African and Fleet Street journalist.
- 50). Mr. David Logan Vice-President of the National Union of Students. The first to be appointed full-time as from July 1 1969. Mr. Logan is training at the Didsbury College of Education.

51). Miss Ruth Bundy

Committee member of the National Union of Students, responsible for dealing with overseas student matters and reading at the University of Kent.

DISCUSSION

(number in brackets key to above).

1. In the debate on British capital investment in Southern Africa and Rhodesia, the following took part:

Mr. Kenny Parker (41), Miss Doris Lessing (47), Mr. Albie Sachs (19), Miss Ruth First (12), Miss Jean Middleton (17), Mr. Paul Hodges (20) and Mr. Peter Kellner (37).

The latter made the most interesting contribution and said that as a research journalist on the staff of the "Sunday Times", he was responsible for its feature article on the Cabora Bassa project, and had interviewed Lord Nelson, chairman of the General Electric Company, who made it clear that he did not want any adverse publicity which might possibly prevent him getting the contract for supplying "transmission terminals". It was decided to word a motion on the whole of this subject and Mr. Kenny Parker (41), Miss Doris Lessing (47), Mr. Albie Sachs (19), Mr. Peter Kellner (37) and Miss Ruth First (12) were asked to go into committee and bring back to the meeting a suitably worded motion. This they did, and 30 minutes later the following motion, moved by Miss Ruth First (12), and seconded by Mr. Albie Sachs (19) was passed unanimously.

This AGM, concerned at the close convergence of South African and international capital in the bolstering and expansion of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa; convinced that the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Mozambique represents not only an attempt by the Portuguese government to harness the force of international capital in its war against FRELIMO, but also a major threat to world attempts to isolate the Smith regime in Rhodesia; notes that Lord Nelson, Chairman of GEC, has committed his company to applying for the contracts to supply transmission terminals for the dam project, after the Swedish firm ASEA had been forced to withdraw; calls upon HMG to prevent any British involvement in the project; and further instructs the National Executive:

- (1) to campaign against the supply of British capital equipment and skills, as a breach of UN sanctions against Rhodesia;
- (2) to campaign generally - by direct action if necessary - against the involvement of international, including British capital, in the support and consolidation of the regimes and economies of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia.

"STOP THE SEVENTY TOUR"

Dealing with the Anti-Apartheid's Movement's activities in sport, Mr. Paul Hodges (10), spoke of the formation of "Stop the Seventy Tour" and said that detailed plans had already been made to harass the Springbok's Rugby Tour that was due to start at Oxford on November 5. He said he appreciated that the Anti-Apartheid Movement could not be linked officially with the protestors because of the possibility of its leaders being charged with conspiracy to commit a public disorder.*

He also said that while he would welcome them serving a prison sentence for a sit-down strike, or some other peaceful form of protest, he would not expect them to face similar penalties for being engaged officially in the sort of protest he and his friends were organising. But, he emphasised, the officers of the AAM were aware of their plans and, later in the debate, in answer to a question from the floor, the chairman, Mr. John Ennals (1), stated that they were aware of planned activities to stop the Rugby Tour, but it was important that there was no publicity on the issue from the meeting, involving the AAM. (In view of the chairman's remarks, it is of interest that for the first time for many years, a report of the AAM's 1974 general meeting did not appear in the "Morning Star", the Communist daily newspaper. In addition, the name of Mr. Alan Brooks (6), the AAM's full-time organiser, was crossed out on the agenda from the names of those sponsoring a motion on this subject and circulated among delegates prior to the meeting.

Among other speakers, Peter Hellyer (14) appealed to young people to assist them in the public disorder planned for the next few weeks, saying that you just cannot wait for other people to take part, you must help to create it yourself. Miss Ruth Bunday (51), said that this sort of activity should increase membership and the National Union of Students were officially supporting the "Stop the Seventy Tour" committee. Miss Ethel de Koyser (3) said that they were fully aware of the activities planned and would be discussing them at the next meeting of the AAM executive committee.

Of the 74 who attended the meeting, it was obvious that the following were the core of the coming protest movement.

Mr. John Sprack (49), Miss Christabel Gurney (26)
Mr. Peter Kellner (37), Mr. & Mrs. Peter Hellyer
(22/25), Mr. Paul Hodges (20), Mr. Alan Brooks (6)
Mr. Jonathan Rosenhead (27), Mr. Peter Hain (21)
and Mr. Roy Heath (24).

* The Director of Public Prosecutions constantly finds he cannot take action against demonstrators because there is no person or group of persons who can be identified as charged with the offence. All of these on a demonstrative claim equal guilt and that they have spontaneously decided to protest. So when demonstrations develop into anything else other than "peaceful", there is no agreement with leaders to be charged.

Mr. Paul Hodges (20) then moved the following two motions which were seconded by Mr. Peter Hellyer (24) and carried unanimously.

- (1) This Annual General Meeting, aware of the effectiveness of direct action in the sphere of sport, urges an extension of this kind of activity to other fields.
- (2) This AGM of the AAM-believes that the continuation of sporting ties between Britain and South Africa bolsters the morale of the apartheid regimes and their supporters. It notes that the visit by the Wilfred Isaacs XI in July and August and the Davis Cup match were disrupted by anti-apartheid demonstrators and that the Springbok rugby team has been routed before its first match. It emphasises that the campaign against sporting links with South Africa must grow. It therefore:
 - (1) calls upon members of the AAM and others opposed to apartheid to take action against the Springbok rugby tour this winter;
 - (2) calls upon the MCC to cancel its invitation for a South African cricket team to tour in 1970 and upon the officers of the AAM to put pressure on the MCC to this end; and
 - (3) warns the MCC that if it does not withdraw the invitation the matches will inevitably be disrupted.

WORK WITHIN TRADE UNIONS

Discussing the AAM's work within Britain's trade union movement, Mr. Roy Heath (44) said that more would have to be done to alert dockers and those who handled South African goods. Mr. Peter Jones (30) said that the Trade Union Action Committee held regular meetings and he appealed to other trade unionists to go along to their meetings. Mr. Andrew Neale (39) said that they should not be disheartened by the right wing trend of trade union leaders because the recent Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Conferences showed a swing in the other direction - towards a new left.

Miss Joan Hyams (33), said that she was very active in the Movement for Colonial Freedom and knew the apathy within the trade union movement, due to right wing leadership, but, she said, there was a change coming. Mr. Dave Shipper (42) thought that the AAM should be in direct contact with the ICPFU and thereby help to influence trade union international policy. Mr. Peter de Wit (43) drew attention to a speech by Mr. Tom Jackson, the Left-wing general secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW), at the annual congress of the Postal, Telegraph and Tele-communications International (PTTI) held in Frankfurt in July.

A report of Mr. Jackson's speech appeared in the August issue of the UPW's bi-monthly journal "Post", in which it was stated Mr. Jackson appealed for postal and tele-communications staffs to break contact with Rhodesia and Southern Africa if sanctions fail. It was then suggested that a motion be put before the meeting on this question, and the chairman asked Mr. Roy Heath (44), Mr. Andrew Neale (39), Miss Joan Hyams (33), Mr. Peter Jones (30), and Mr. Peter de Wit (42) to go into committee and formulate a motion along these lines. This they did, and subsequently the following motions were carried unanimously, after being moved by Mr. Peter de Wit (42) and seconded by Mr. Peter Jones (30)

- (1) This meeting welcomes the recent speech of Mr. Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers to the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International 20th World Congress, and:
 - (a) demands that HMG suspend all postal, radio and tele-communications with the illegal regime in Rhodesia, and raise the matter in the appropriate form in the Universal Postal Union and the International Tele-communications Union;
 - (b) appeals to the Union of Post Office Workers and all other workers affected to support this demand in every possible way.

- (2) The AGM of the AAM welcomes the resolution on South Africa adopted by the 1969 Trades Union Congress and calls on all members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement to undertake more action within the Trade Union Movement at local, national and international level and at the level of shop steward committees, and to prepare pamphlets relevant to different industries, wherever possible.

9. MEMBERS TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1966/70

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Votes</u> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--|
| * Miss Ethel de Keyser (3) | 73 | |
| * Mr. Alan Brooks (6) | 72 | |
| * Miss Ruth First (12) | 70 | |
| * Mr. John Enhals (1) | 69 | |
| * Mr. Abdul Minty (5) | 66 | |
| * Mr. John Sprack (49) | 66 | |
| * Mr. Peter Kallner (37) | 64 | |
| * Mrs. Stephanie Sachs (7) | 63 | |
| Mr. Peter Hain (21) | 63 | |
| * Miss Anne Darnborough | 57 | Journalist on "The Sunday Times", Editor the AAM's monthly journal "AA News" and active with AAM since 1964. |
| * Mrs. Sonia Bunting (14) | 57 | |
| * Miss Jean Middleton (17) | 57 | |
| * Mr. Anthony O'Dowd (4) | 56 | |
| * Mr. Peter Hellyar (24) | 56 | |
| Mr. Idris Cox (10) | 56 | |
| Mr. Frank Judd, M.P., | 56 | Left-wing Labour M.P. for Ports- mouth, West, former Secretary- General Internal Voluntary Service |
| * Mr. Peter Jackson, M.P. | 55 | Left-wing Labour M.P. for High Peak, Yorks. |
| Mr. Raymond Kunene | 53 | Black exiled South African and an official of the exiled African National Congress (ANC). Was attended Moscow-inspired international Communist front conferences. |
| Miss Nancy White (9) | 51 | |
| * Mr. Vella Pillay (11) | 51 | |
| Mr. Douglas Merchant | 50 | |
| Miss Caroline de Crespigny (16) | 50 | |
| Mr. Dave Shipper (42) | 49 | |
| Mrs. Dorothy Robinson (40) | 47 | |
| Mr. Paul Hodges (20) | 46 | |
| Mr. Dr. B. Gosh (35) | 43 | |
| Mr. Peter Jones (30) | 41 | |
| Mr. Michael Gerrard (37) | 41 | |
| Miss Joanine Arnold (13) | 39 | |
| Mr. Bob Davidson (15) | 37 | |
| * Mr. | 10 | |

Soon after the close of the meeting, the newly-elected national committee met for 15 minutes to elect a 12-member national executive. Those marked were the members elected to the national executive 1969/70.

+ Communist or pro-Communist.

OBSERVATIONS

Contrary to comments one hears from time to time, the Anti-Apartheid Movement cannot be classed as a "front organisation" for the exiled South African Communist Party, many members of which now live in Britain, but, as will be seen from the biographical details listed in this report, Communist Party members do play a considerable part in its deliberations. Having said this, one must appreciate the gulf between a British Communist, who has been overtly politically active in a democracy, and a South African Communist who has had to operate in a more intolerant state. In fact, the mechanics of the exiled South African Communist Party makes those of the British Communist Party look like a "vicar's tea party".

Although the recent AAM's annual general meeting was attended by only 74 compared with the last six years which averaged some 350, from their point of view this year's was more qualitative. Said one official after the meeting: "We had a much better discussion this year and for the first time the Africans didn't dominate the debates. The members who attended the meeting arrived at decisions which would involve them rather than leave activities to the officers and the national committee".

Perhaps the most interesting development is the involvement of young people in direct action. The next few months will see this grow considerably, especially among students, for two reasons. The National Union of Students has agreed to be directly associated with the AAM and accept "observer status", and secondly, with the demise of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (the "Sun" said in a leader that it "had grown middle-aged") the AAM is a ready-made platform for those large numbers of youth who find they must take part in some form of protest.

Another interesting point is the progress the AAM is now making with the trade unions which, although at present rather small, could develop alongside student interest. Apparently Mr. Jack Jones, the Left-wing general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, has told AAM officers that although their union rules will not allow them to affiliate, he is prepared to allow the union's executive to accept "observer status" and he will make donations from time to time.

To end on an amusing note. The Communist "Morning Star" stated on Thursday November 6, that the photograph that appeared in many daily newspapers of a man who ran onto the rugby pitch at Twickenham the day before in an attempt to interrupt the Springbok's match, was "60-year-old Surrey engineer, Bill Laithwaite". While the name, age and residence is correct, he is, in fact, a leading Surrey Communist and the senior partner in a firm of consulting civil engineers: Laithwaite and Partners, consulting engineers, 121, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.