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. (ANGOLA COMITE) HOLLAND COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

'International Cam ai n "Shell out of South Africa and Namibia".

'During 1985 at different occasions discussions took place between representatives of antiapartheid organisations in Western Europe and the United States about an international campaign against Shell. Through the supply of oil, by refining that oil and providing it to Pretoria's police and militaryi Shell . is a major sustainer of the apartheid system in South Africa. The aim of the international campaign is to force Shell out of South Africa and Namibia, and for Shell to cut all ties with these countries. i

The American organisations were the first to start the campaign. In January 1986; boycott committees were established in ten major American cities, since then this number has increased. The American Campaign is backed by the Free South Africa Movement; the trade union Xfederation AFL-CIO end a variety of other national organisations. '

The next countries to join in the campaign were Holland and Great Britain, where the mother companies of the Royal Dutch/Shell are based. In Holland the Working Group Kairos ("Christians against Apartheid") together with Pax Christi started in 1973 with its pressure on Shell. After the Holland Committee on Southern Africa joined the campaign, it grew out to a real national issue. Also in Britain the Anti-Apartheid Movement campaigned for years for Shell's withdrawal. On 21 March 1986 the British and Dutch organisations delivered a letter to Shell in London and The Hague, announcing to join the campaign if Shell would not announce their withdrawal from South Africa and Namibia at their annual . shareholders' meeting in May. In Britain the campaign is organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the organisation Embargo. In Holland there are four organisations taking the lead: Kairos, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Pax Christi and Novib. In both countries a large number of national organisations and local groups support the campaign.

Since then Sweden, Norway and Denmark have decided to make the Shell campaign their main activity for the future. The boycott campaign in these countries is mainly directed at municipalities, firms and households to stop buying heating oil from Shell. In Australia pickets of Shell pumps have started. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement will join the campaign in November. In a common statement ANC and SWAPO "welcome the international campaign to persuade Royal Dutch/Shell to break all economic links with apartheid. -

The organisations in these countries decided to make 15 November, 1986 an international day of campaigning against Shell. Posters and stickers will be printed in German, French Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Greek and Arab. This material will be available at:

Holland Committee on Southern Africa, O.Z. Achterburgwal 173,  
1012 DJ Amsterdam, Holland, tel. 020-270801.

All material in English can be ordered from:

Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Mandela Street,  
London NW1 ODW, tel. 01e3877966.

Shell Suggiies Crude Oil to South Africa.

Of the oil majors doing business in South Africa, Shell is the only one that has been a major supplier of crude oil to South Africa in violation of the oil embargo. The Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau has identified Shell-owned, managed, or chartered tankers delivering at least 23 cargoes of crude oil to South Africa between 1979 and 1982, totalling approximately 4.5 million tons. This is second only to Transworld Oil in the number of deliveries during this period. (1)

The London Observer revealed last year that Shell was paid almost \$200 million in secret "incentives" by the South African government in 1980 to break oil sanctions. The newspaper based its story on a censored South African government report presented to the South African parliament in July 1984. In its effort to obtain oil after the fall of the Shah of Iran, Pretoria's main oil supplier, the South African government repaid international oil companies \$8 for each barrel of crude oil imported. In 1980, Shell tankers delivered 22 million barrels to South Africa, becoming the main beneficiary of this program. (2)

The company has denied receiving a premium but has not commented on suggestions that the payments were routed to London through its South African subsidiary, saying that "we have no knowledge of its business." (3)

Since 1981, the company has claimed that it has banned direct crude oil sales to South Africa. However, company officials acknowledge that middlemen may sell Shell-owned oil to South Africa. Furthermore, company officials in Europe disclaim responsibility for how their South African subsidiary obtains the oil it refines, saying it is free to "make its own purchase agreements." (4)

In fact, the London Observer reports, Shell has worked out an agreement with another oil trader, whereby Shell supplies the trader with "free destination" oil from Oman for "resale" to Shell South Africa, despite the fact that Oman officially embargoes its oil to South Africa. The Observer also reported that Barry Hutchings, Shell's man in South Africa responsible for securing supplies, met in March 1984 in London with executives from Marc Rich, an oil company responsible for very large numbers of crude oil deliveries to South Africa. (5)

Shell Has Significant Investments in South Africa.

Royal Dutch/Shell's corporate investment in South Africa has been estimated to be R1.000 million; (6) The company operates a refinery, an oil pipeline, gasoline stations, chemical plants, and coal mines inside South Africa.

Royal Dutch/Shell owns a 50 percent interest in SAPREF, South Africa's largest oil refinery, in Durban. British Petroleum (BP) owns the other half. The refinery has a productive capacity of 200,000 barrels a day. It employs 1300 people, of whom over 500 are white, and produces a wide range of petroleum products, including gasoline, paraffin, diesel, aviation fuel, marine fuel, lubricants, and bitumen. (7)

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The company also owns jointly with Mobil, BP, and the government-owned SASOL, the off-coast buoy (Single Buoy Mooring Point) at Durban where the vast majority of South Africa's imported oil is discharged. Royal Dutch/Shell also operates an oil pipeline with the government-run SATS (South Africa Railways). The company markets its products at 853 gasoline stations in the country with approximately 17.5 percent of the market. (8)

Separately, Shell South Africa (Pty.) Ltd. has extensive operations in the chemical industry, an industry Shell Chemical's South African manager has admitted is a "strategic investment." (9) Based in Cape Town, the subsidiary has 70 branches. It employs a total of 2590 workers, of whom 734 are African, 290 are "Coloured", 172 are Asian, and 1394 are white. (10) These figures do not include workers employed at the Rietspruit coal mine or Abecol (Pty.) Ltd. (see below).

Abecol is 50 percent owned by Shell South Africa. Located in Isando (Johannesburg), it employs a total of 992 workers, of whom 596 are African, 58 are "Coloured", 60 are Asian and 278 are white. It manufactures bitumen, emulsions and paints.

Abecol operates a number of wholly-owned subsidiaries, including:

- 1 Abecol Management Services (Pty.) Ltd., located in Isando; ;
- African Bitumen Emulsions (Pty.) Ltd., located in Isando; Jacobs, Epping, Port Elizabeth, East London, Boksburg and Bloemfontein;
- 1 Dundee Road Products (Pty.) Ltd., located in Wasbank;
- Petrocol (Pty.) Ltd., located in Isando, Durban, Maitland, Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein and Hectorspruit; and
- Protea Asphalt (Pty.) Ltd., located in Durban, Isando, Benoni, Bloemfontein, Vanderbijlpark and Evander.

Abecol also owns 50 percent equity in Denos South Africa (Pty.) Ltd., located in Boksburg and Durban.

Another subsidiary (wholly-owned) of Shell South Africa is Cera Oil SA (Pty.) Ltd.; located in Boksburg (Johannesburg). It employs a total of 136 workers, of whom 81 are African, none are "Coloured", seven are Asian, and 48 are white. It operates four subsidiaries (the percentage of equity held is unknown):

- Honeylub (Pty.) Ltd., located in Boksburg and Witbank;
- Transvaal Oil Refinery (Pty.) Ltd., located in Boksburg;
- Care Transport and Leasing Co. (Pty.) Ltd. located in Boksburg;
- Cera Properties (Pty.) Ltd., located in Boksburg.

Shell also owns 36 percent equity in Price's Candles located in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Price's employs a total of 200 workers, of whom 138 are African, 36 are "Coloured", and 138 are white. (11)

Other Shell operations in South Africa are:

- Shell Eksplorasie Suid-Afrika (100 percent equity), oil exploration;
- Shell & BP South African Manufacturing Co. (25 percent equity), refining;
- Trek Beleggings (17.5 percent equity), oil marketing;
- Shell Chemical South Africa (100 percent equity), chemicals;
- Styrochem (25 percent equity); chemicals;
- Dragon Gas Service (100 percent equity), gas;
- Chemico (15 percent equity). lubricants;
- South Africa Lubricants Manufacturing Co. (25 percent equity), lubricants;
- Billiton Exploration South Africa (100 percent equity), metals exploration.

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Shell Fuels the Military and Police.

Evidence that Royal Dutch/Shell supplies the South African military and police can be found in South Africa's laws and in company management statements. According to South Africa's National Supplies Procurement Act and the Petroleum Products Act, Royal Dutch/Shell must; as a condition for investing in South Africa, supply oil to the military and police.

Furthermore, according to the Official Secrets Act, the company is prohibited from disclosing how much oil it sells to the military and police. (13)

Shell's top management has claimed that it is powerless to cut off these supplies. According to Shell Transport's former chairman, Sir Peter Baxendell, Shell's South African subsidiary "is free to manage its own business affairs within the laws of the country within which its operations are conducted"

(emphasis added)-e that is, within the laws of apartheid. (14) To impose trading restrictions because of apartheid "would constitute interference in the internal affairs of South Africa and Shell South Africa," he stated. (15) Dirk de Bruyne, Chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors for Royal Dutch/Shell in the Hague, also admitted that the company makes no distinction between clients, supplying schools as well as the army and police. (16) Furthermore, the company is restricted from even discussing these matters because, according to Baxendell, "oil is a security subject covered by the security laws" of South Africa. (17) Baxendell has also made the point that Shell is breaking no laws in providing oil to South Africa due to the Voluntary nature of the oil embargo. This, however, is a curious statement coming from a company that was cited for illegally providing 50 percent of the oil to Rhodesia's white minority regime in violation of a mandatory embargo from 1966 to 1980. (18)

A more truthful account of the company's attitude toward its South African business came from Shell's Michael Pocock at the 1978 annual general meeting. "We have no reason to feel ashamed of the record and action of our subsidiary in South Africa," he said. "I feel proud of them." (19)

Shell Exports Coal from South Africa.

Shell South Africa also owns 50 percent equity, with the South African company, Barlow Rand, in the Rietspruit Opencast Services (Pty.) Ltd., a coal mine in eastern Transvaal. Its total output is 6 million tons of coal, which is exported through the Richards Bay Coal Terminal Co. Ltd., of which Royal Dutch/Shell owns 15 percent equity. Shell also exports the output of the Kleinkopje coalmine, owned by the Anglo-American Corporation. Rietspruit employs a total of 1243 workers, of whom 942 are African and 301 are white.

Royal Dutch/Shell was granted a 5.5 million ton export quota for coal in 1985 (20) Like the other oil multinationals which own shares in Richards Bay, Royal Dutch/Shell is given this quota because and for as long as it continues to supply oil to the South African government. This was confirmed in May 1979, when the South African Minister of Economic Affairs, Chris Heunis, said that the coal quotas of Shell and other companies would be "reviewed" if the companies stopped supplying oil, and- that the coal concessions had only been given on the understanding that the oil companies would continue to fulfill their obligation to supply oil to South Africa. (21)

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Royal Dutch/Shell operates in Namibia.

Shell South Africa has three subsidiaries (all of which are wholly owned) in South African-occupied Namibia, giving sustenance to Pretoria's military presence. Shell Oil South West Africa distributes oil products, including to the South African military. Shell Eksplorasie Suid-wes Afrika has been involved in oil exploration, and Billiton Exploration South West Africa, has been involved in metal exploration. (22) Shell contends that it stopped mineral exploration in Namibia in 1972. Oil or mineral exploration in Namibia would be a direct violation of United Nations Decree Number One which prohibits such resource exploration or development until Namibia is independent. Indeed, the U.N. General Assembly has prohibited all foreign corporate investment in the disputed territory.

NOTES.

- (1) Shipping Research Bureau. West European Companies Breaking the Oil Embargo against South Africa: Public Hearings on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia, United Nations, 13 September 1985.
- (2) London Observer. 5 August 1984.
- (3) London Observer. 12 August 1984.
- (4) Wall Street Journal. 26 April 1985.
- (5) London Observer, 12 August 1984. ' '
- (6) Shipping Research Bureau, op.cit.
- (7) Shell South Africa Social Report 1984: Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movements. Transnational Corporations in South Africa: The Role of Shell, Public Hearings on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia, United Nations, 13 September 1985.
- (8) Financial Mail, 22 July 1977: Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movements, op. cit.: Christians Concerned for Southern Africa, Oil and Apartheid, London 1982.
- (9) Martin Bailey, Shell and BP in South Africa, London, 1978.
- (10) Investor Responsibility Research Center, Foreign Investment in South Africa, Washington D.C. , 1984.
- (11) Ibid.? Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Working Group Kairos, The Role of Shell, 13 and 14 November 1980.
- (12) Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Working Group Kairos, op. cit.
- (13) See, "The Oil Trade with South Africa."
- (14) Shell response to shareholder resolution, May 1984.
- (15) Ibid.
- (16) Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Working Group Kairos, op. cit.. from the May 1980 annual general meeting.
- (17) Martin Bailey. Fuelling Apartheid: Shell and the Military, London, 1984.
- (18) Martin Bailey, Oilgate, London, 1979.
- (19) Statement by Shell, 1980.
- (20) Working Group Kairos, Transnational Corporations in Southern Africa: The Importance of Coal, Public Hearings on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia, United Nations, 13 September 1985.
- (21) Economist, 26 May 1979.
- (22) Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Working Group Kairos, op. cit. ' --6 \_ ?.

KOMITEE

(ANGOLA COMITE)

ZUIDELIJK 0.2. ACHTERBURGWAL 173

1012 DJ AMSTERDAM

TEL. 020-270801 TELEX 17125 comsa n

AFR. K A POSTGIRO 600657

Amsterdam, 24 October 1986.

Dear Friends,

The international anti-apartheid movement has declared the 15 November 1986, a 'Day of Action' against the activities of Shell in South Africa and Namibia. A few months ago, anti-apartheid groups, trade unions, Churches and other organisations, launched a massive campaign for the withdrawal of the Anglo-Dutch Shell Group from South Africa and Namibia.

An increasing number of American companies are leaving South Africa. In the course of this week General Motors, Warner Brothers and the computer concerns, Honeywell and IBM announced their withdrawal from South Africa. Shell, the largest West European company in South Africa, has repeatedly stated that it has no intention of leaving South Africa and Namibia. As a matter of fact, fairly recently, reports have indicated that Shell intends to increase its investments in South Africa. However, it appears that within the Shell concern, a number of people are of the opinion that Shell should cut its links with its South African subsidiary. Last Saturday, the president of Shell South Africa, Wilson, announced that if the international pressure on Shell to withdraw from South Africa were to increase and if it were to result in 'serious economic damage, Shell would be forced to withdraw'. This statement should be seen as an invitation to anti-apartheid groups to redouble their efforts in putting Shell under pressure to withdraw.

On the 'International Day of Action' against Shell's presence in South Africa and Namibia various activities will take place in a number of countries: demonstrations at Shell headquarters, pamphleteering at Shell petrol-stations and manifestations. In the Netherlands, activities have been organised in at least 10 cities, including Alkmaar and Rotterdam.

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HOLLAND COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

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As a contribution towards the international anti-Shell campaign, the Holland Committee on Southern Africa has produced a poster in eight languages bearing the text: "Stop Apartheid, Boycott Shell". The poster will appear in German, Spanish, Portugese, Italian, Dutch, Greek and Arabic. A sticker, bearing the same text and design, will appear in German, French, Spanish, Portugese and Dutch. In the United Kingdom, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has produced both the poster and the sticker in English. The English version can be ordered from the A.A.M., 13 Mandela Street, NW1 London, United Kingdom. The other eight versions can be ordered from the Holland Committee on Southern Africa, O.Z. Achterburgwal 173, 1012 DJ Amsterdam, The Netherlands. (postage to be paid) We hope that you will be able to contribute towards the 'Day of Action' in order to make it a success. Other initiatives on your part will also be appreciated. On 21 March, Commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre, another 'International Day of Action' will be organised against the activities of Shell in South Africa and Namibia. We shall keep you informed.

If you require any information regarding the 'International Day of Action' and the anti-Shell campaign, feel free to contact the Holland Committee on Southern Africa, tel. 020-270801.

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Yours sincerely,

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Deny de Jong

on behalf of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa.



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0.2. ACHTERBURGWAL 173

ZU I DELIJ K 1012 DJ AMSTERDAM

TEL. 020-270801 TELEX 17125 comsa nl

AFRI K A POSTGIRO 600657

(ANGOLA COMITE) '. HOLLAND COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Amsterdam, September 15, 1986

Dearvfriends,

. Saturday, November 15 was chosen y anti-apartheidgroups in the Scandinavian countries, in the US, Holland and he U.K. as International Day of Action against Shell's involvement in Sout Africa. We sincerely hope you will join that day of action by putting p ssure on Shell in your country.

At the other side of this letter we pr'nt the appeal by ANC and Swapo to support the Shell campaign. .

We have asked the U. N. Special Committee against Apartheid to finance the international campaigning material. We pro ose to print posters and stickers in Holland in different languages that can be used for your campaigning activities. We propose the following quanti ies:

German 500 (Germany, Austria, northern part f Switzerland)

French 500 (the campaign in France is against Total, so for French speaking part of Switzerland, Belgium, French eyeaki 3 countries in Africa)

Portuguese 500 (Portugal, Angola, Mozambique, B aswl)

Spanish 500 (Spain and Latin America)

Italian 500

Greek 500

Arab 500. .

. For stickers (6,5 by 9,5 cm) we propose the same qu tities. All English language material will be distributed by AAM in Loud n, so this will not be included in our printing.

Could you react on this yroposal ? If the U.N. will no pay the eosts, we hope everybody will contribute. It is much cheaper to int posters etc.

in three colours in-large numbers that for everyone sep ely. The emblem on the poster will be as printed below, in yell\$bggnd red (the Shell colours), as slogan we propose STOP APARTHEID, BO T SHELL.

Could you inform us about the Vcorrect spelling of this slogan in ' your language ?

Hoping to receive your rection,

18.27

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attention bosgne.

joint enc/swapo statement on sheLL campaign.

ewapo of namibia an the african nationat congress weLcome and support the international campaign to persuade royat dutch/sheLL to break aLL economic and other Links with apartheid.

the caLL from the peopLes of namibia and south africa for comprehensive mandatory sanctions includes the demand that multi-national/transnational. corporations remove themselves forthwith . . from south africe and namibie. .

sheLL 18 actively engaged in supporting apartheid and ls directly aiding pretoria in its lLlegaL, racist and brutal occupation of hamibia its aggression in southern africa, and its repression and brutality against the south african people.

it does so by coLLaborating ln the evasion of the 01L embargo imposed by producer countries, processing crude 01L and seLLing products to the racist miLLitary and poLice forces, and providing research assistance to the regime's 01L from coat production, thereby heLping to ensure the supply of fuel for apartheid.

further it assists the regime by supplying the raw materiat for napaLm, defoLiants, nerve gas and other chemical weapons, as weLL as mineraLe vital for the arms industry. sheLL coLLaborates with the regime by financing industrial miLitia and providing them with 'counter insurgency and riot controL' training, by incorporating its instaLletions in regional. defence systems and by making voLunt. payments to its white employees conscripted to serve in the racist armed forces.

sheLL shouLd heed the caLL from the people of namibie and south africa, supported by the international community and withdraw totaLLy from any involvement in south africa and hamibia.

september 10th 1986.

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Komizee Zuidelijk Afrika

c/o Sletse Bosgra

0.2. Achterburgwal 173

1012 DJ Amsterdam Bonn. September 22, 1986/KK

Dear Sletse.

Thank you for your letter of 15.9.86.

The slogan of STOP APARTHEID: BOYCOT SHELL in German is STOPPT APARTHEID;  
BOYKOTTIERT SHELL.

We wish you every success with your project.

Best Regards

Tony Seedat

Chief-Representatlve ANC

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0.2. ACHTERBURGWAL 173

ZUIDELIJK 1012 DJ AMSTERDAM

TEL. 020-270801 TELEX 17125 comsa nl

AFR. KA POSTGIRO 600657

(ANGOLA COMITE) HOLLAND COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mr Tony Seedat

Representative ANC

Bonn

. Amsterdam, September 30, 1986

Dear friend,

Thank you for your positive reaction on the proposal for an international day of action against Shell. Details were discussed last week in London at a meeting, where also Frene Ginwala and N.D.Naidoo were present for ANC.

Would it be possible for you, to contact the German groups and ask them to support the international day of action, or could you send us the names and addresses of the groups in Germany, Austria and German-speaking Swiss, so that we can contact them. We hope to find groups to use the German language posters with your help.

. All the best,

Sietse Bosgra

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Siestse Bosgra.  
Holland Committee on Southern Africa.  
0.2. Achterburgwal 173.  
1012 DJ Amsterdam.  
HOLLAND.  
16.10.86.

Dear Friends.

Thank you for your letter of September 30th. We think it would be best if you contacted the various Anti-Apartheid movements yourself so as to be able to coordinate your activities with the various organisations concerned.

The following are the organisations you require to contact:

(1) Anti-apartheid Bewegung F.R.G.

Blucherstrasse 14.

5300 BONN 1.

F.R.G.

(2) Anti-apartheid Bewegung Austria.

Postfach 146,

1061 Vienna.

Austria.

(3) Anti-apartheid Bewegung Schweiz.

Postfach 1022.

Dubsstrasse 33.

8036 Zurich,

Switzerland.

We wish you every success in your campaign!

Best Wishes.

Yours sincerely:

4. Z&'

Tony Seedat.

(Chief Representative.)