



BOYCOTT SHELL

—A GUIDE TO THE CAMPAIGN—

The Next Step Against Apartheid: BOYCOTT SHELL

Millions of Americans are putting new pressure on the apartheid system in South Africa by boycotting Shell.

As this booklet explains in more detail:

- **Apartheid is the concentration camp-style system in South Africa** which forces the black majority to live and work without the most basic human rights.

Apartheid not only enslaves South Africans but also affects Americans as corporations have chosen to invest there to take advantage of cheap black labor instead of investing in American jobs. They then export products which unfairly undercut American goods in the world market.

- **Pressure on multinational corporations has proven to be an effective way to demand an end to the apartheid system** because those corporations are crucial to apartheid's survival. As a result, the independent black organizations in South Africa are calling on Americans to step up that pressure.

- **Royal Dutch/Shell (Shell Oil's parent company) supplies fuel to the South African military and police and to the apartheid economy.**

South Africa does not have its own oil supplies. Without companies like Royal Dutch/Shell, apartheid could not survive.

In addition, Royal Dutch/Shell co-owns the Rietspruit coal mine where striking South African miners have been forced to work at gunpoint and union supporters have been fired.

In response to requests from the National Union of Mineworkers (the largest black union in South Africa), Royal Dutch/Shell and its subsidiaries have been targeted by the World Council of Churches, Free South Africa Movement, AFL-CIO, United Mine Workers, NAACP, National Organizations for Women, International Confederation of Free Trade Union, and many other groups.



Leaders of major civil rights, labor, and women's groups announced support for the Shell boycott campaign at a Washington news conference called by the Free South Africa Movement, AFL-CIO, and United Mine Workers.

Apartheid: **CHEAP LABOR FOR THE CORPORATIONS**

Apartheid is a tightly organized economic system which maintains a supply of cheap black labor.

Although five of every six South Africans are black, they...

- **Cannot freely choose where to live or work**, but are forced instead to live in remote reservations ("homelands"), guarded barracks totally controlled by their employers, or isolated townships without basic services such as electricity or paved roads.

Millions of black workers are forced to live separated from their families for all but a few weeks per year.

- **Cannot own property** outside the barren "homelands" set upon on 13 percent of the country's land.

- **Cannot vote or hold public office**, so they have no way to change the system through the political process.

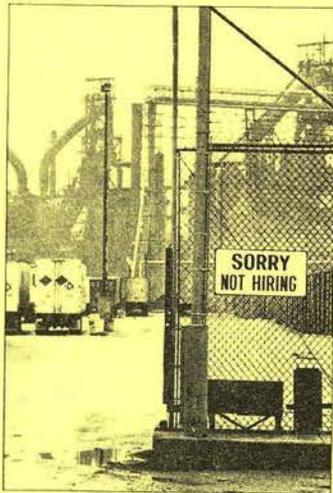
Trade unionists, church leaders, students and others who organize protests or strikes may be gunned down, jailed without trial, tortured, confined to house arrest, or fired from their jobs and forcibly banished to the "homelands" reservations, where there is little likelihood of finding work.

Not surprisingly, employers, including multinational corporations from the U.S. and other countries, take advantage of this system to pay black workers slave wages, often with virtually no benefits, job rights, or health and safety protection. That in turn means that apartheid has a direct impact not only on South Africans but also on people in the United States . . .

**Apartheid:
AFFECTING AMERICANS**

Many of the world's largest corporations including more than 300 U.S. companies, have operations in South Africa.

Hard times in America have been made worse as companies have invested in countries like South Africa instead of in American jobs and have undercut American farm and industrial products with goods produced overseas under cheap labor conditions.



Who benefits from that trade and investment?

Black South Africans don't, because foreign trade and investment keeps the apartheid system going, while U.S. companies employ less than one percent of the black workforce.

The American people don't either, because . . .

1. American corporations have invested in South Africa instead of in American jobs. Attracted by apartheid, direct U.S. corporate investment in South Africa has increased nearly 10 times during the past two and a half decades, while companies were failing to develop and modernize operations in the U.S.

2. South Africa exports products to the United States. Taking advantage of the apartheid system, multinational companies export billions of dollars worth of products to the U.S. each year.

For example, while our industrial communities are wracked with unemployment, U.S. bank loans have helped South African steel exports to the U.S. grow 50 times greater since 1975.

3. South Africa sells products to countries that normally buy from the U.S. For instance, South African coal sales to potential U.S. customers in Europe and Asia have increased by more than 10 times since 1975.

4. Profits made in South Africa can finance corporate attacks on American workers. Bolstered by profits made under apartheid, companies like Royal Dutch/Shell, Phelps Dodge, and IBM can afford to fight workers in the U.S. who demand respect for their rights.

5. Lower labor standards in countries like South Africa help create a climate for employers to demand a lower standard of living for Americans as well.

Cutbacks and jobs lost in America's private sector mean a smaller funding base for public services, which hurts public workers and all Americans.

For all these reasons, many Americans have realized that it is in our self interest to help end apartheid and to help workers in countries like South Africa to improve their conditions. . .

**Stop Apartheid:
PRESSURING THE
CORPORATIONS**

In recent years, opponents of South African apartheid in the U.S. and around the world have proven that pressure on the corporations works.

Why does it work? Because South Africa's apartheid economy needs foreign investment and foreign markets.

South Africa does not have its own oil supply, so it needs oil provided by the multinational corporations. It needs technology. It needs computers. It needs cars and trucks. . .

It needs foreign loans, and it needs markets to sell its minerals, agricultural products, and other exports.

In short, **without support from multinational corporations, apartheid cannot survive.**

That is why it is an act of treason under South Africa's Internal Security Act to advocate "disinvestment" or other action withdrawing economic support for apartheid.

It also is why black South Africans have risked arrest to call on Americans to support disinvestment campaigns.

Responding to their call, churches, civil rights groups, unions, students, and others have won passage of legislation in cities and states throughout the U.S. that withdraws public funds from companies that do business with South Africa.

Citizens protests that brought legislative action in Congress in turn forced President Reagan to announce sanctions (limited though they were) against apartheid.

Multinational companies have begun to weigh the combined cost of international protests and economic disruption in South Africa. Many have decided to stop new investment, and some have pulled out.



According to John Chettle, director for North America of the South Africa Foundation and one of the leading spokespeople for apartheid's interests, "In one respect at least, the disinvestment forces have already won. They have prevented—discouraged, dissuaded, whatever you call it—billions of dollars of new U.S. investment in South Africa."

Now, the next step is to focus on one multinational corporation and make an example of it. For a number of reasons, anti-apartheid groups have focused on Royal Dutch/Shell as that company.

Stop Apartheid:

WHY SHELL IS THE TARGET

Royal Dutch/Shell (hereafter called "Shell") is one of the most important suppliers of crucial materials to the South African government and the apartheid economy.

1. Shell supplies fuel to the South African military and police. South Africa has no oil of its own. If companies like Shell didn't supply oil and petroleum products, the South African government could not continue to keep more than 80% of the population herded into designated living areas and reservations, confined to approved jobs, and separated from other family members.

Shell's cooperation with the South African government to maintain the oil supply apartheid needs to survive is reflected in agreements and actions such as the following:

- In 1967, Shell agreed, as a condition for continued operation in South Africa, to make its refineries available to process crude oil from any source, and to be prepared to produce specialized strategic products if needed.

- Shell has agreed to abide by laws passed in 1977, 1979 and 1985 which allow the apartheid government to take over the company's operations in the event of a national emergency and which prohibit the company from disclosing the facts about how much petroleum it supplies to the South African government and for what purposes.

- Shell obtained the right to export coal from South Africa by promising to maintain oil supplies, according to a 1979 statement by the South African Minister of Economic Affairs.

Under South African law, oil supplies are considered "munitions of war."

By providing oil to the South African government, Shell is helping to make the battle to end apartheid longer and bloodier.

Rather than working for peaceful change by *joining* the movement to put economic pressure on apartheid, Shell is making it more likely that millions of South Africans, black and white, will be victims of violence.

2. Shell supplies fuel to the apartheid economy. Without imported oil, transportation—which is essential to any modern economy—would grind to a halt in South Africa.

Similarly, Shell provides chemicals which are needed by South African industrial and agricultural operations, which in turn export products to the U.S. and to potential American customers around the World.

Shell also co-owns or operates:

- South Africa's largest oil refinery.
- The offshore station through which most of South Africa's imported oil is delivered.
- An oil pipeline operated with the government.
- More than 800 gasoline stations inside South Africa.

3. Shell exports goods produced under apartheid to undercut American jobs.

In the 1970's, Shell helped finance the massive Richards Bay coal export terminal in South Africa. Because of the terminal, annual coal exports from South Africa to potential U.S. customers in Europe and Asia are now 10 times greater than in 1975.

Shell itself exports 6 million tons of apartheid coal per year to Europe and other international markets, where it "competes" directly with American-mined coal.

WHAT IS ROYAL DUTCH/SHELL?

Royal Dutch/Shell (Shell Oil's parent company) is a truly multinational company with substantial American ownership.

It is a partnership of Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., based in the Netherlands, and Shell Transport and Trading Co., based in Great Britain.

At least 20 percent of the combined stock is owned by American interests.

Royal Dutch/Shell, the largest corporation in the world in terms of assets, produces and sells products under the names of more than 300 subsidiaries, including Shell Oil in the United States and Shell South Africa.

The products of all Shell subsidiaries are targets of the boycott campaign.

ROYAL DUTCH/SHELL: REFUSING TO LISTEN

Royal Dutch/Shell (or "Shell") has repeatedly refused to stop supplying the apartheid system.

- Shell told stockholders in 1984 that refusing to supply oil to the South African military and police "would constitute interference in the internal affairs of that country. . ."

- Shell also told stockholders that the corporation's "guiding principle" is that each subsidiary should manage its affairs "within the laws of the country within which its operations are conducted"—even though in South Africa today that means within the apartheid system.

- Although the United Nations General Assembly has since 1963 called on all nations to stop supplying oil to South Africa, Shell told stockholders that it does not have to comply because there is no legally enforceable embargo.

• Shell claims to be a model employer in South Africa and to be contributing to "developing a free trade union movement."

Yet, Shell is a 50 percent owner of the Rietspruit coal mine, where in February, 1985, 86 miners were fired in a dispute which arose when miners attempted to hold a memorial service for a worker killed in a mine accident.

The company defeated the workers' protests by using armed guards to force miners to work.

**Stop Apartheid,
Boycott Shell:**

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Start with yourself. Don't buy Shell products until Royal Dutch/Shell withdraws from South Africa. Carry a Shell Discredit Card, which contain that pledge.

2. Talk to family, friends, and neighbors. Order copies of this booklet to distribute.

3. Get local organizations involved. Specialized leaflets for particular audiences and a general campaign slide show are available for meetings of church or civil rights groups, unions, student groups, or other organizations.

4. Leaflet Shell stations. Ask consumers not to buy Shell products. Order leaflets designed for this purpose.



5. Target local stores. Ask them to agree not to sell Shell home and automotive products. Order signs for them to post in support of the boycott campaign. Leaflets are available to educate customers about the Shell boycott.

6. Meet with businesses and government agencies that use Shell products. Organize a community delegation to ask them to stop issuing Shell credit cards to employees, to stop buying Shell heating oil, etc.

7. Encourage institutions and individuals to also boycott stock of Royal Dutch Petroleum and Shell Transport and Trading Co.

DON'T SHELL OUT FOR APARTHEID

Until Royal Dutch/Shell withdraws from South Africa, please don't buy Shell products, such as:

Gasoline Products: Piba (additive) • Shell Dieseline • Shell of the Future • Shellydyne • Silver Shell, SU 200, Golden Shell (lubricants).

Motor Oils: Mysella • Aeroshell • Rimula • Rotella • Shell Super X • Fire and Ice • Shell X-100.

Automotive Products: Comfort Ride, Shell Radial Ride, Shell Radial II, Shellride, Super Shell Aramid, Super Shell Snowshoe (tires) • Meridyne (radios) • Sentinel (batteries, repair service) • Shell Superlife (batteries).

Home Products: Heritage (furniture polish) • Shell Flea Collar • Home Freshener (room deodorizer) • Child Protector Tops (safety lids) • Citrus Blossom, Open Air, Wild Flower (solid air fresheners) • Tegon (roofing).

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