



SHELL SHADOW REPORT

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Introduction

The international campaign against Shell's involvement in South Africa and Namibia, launched in 1986, is poised for a major escalation. Far from bowing to a decade of patient protest and pressure against its role in fuelling the racist regime's war machine, Shell is rapidly and substantially increasing and diversifying its involvement in the apartheid economy.

The January 1987 decision of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain to campaign for a boycott of Shell products starting on 1 March 1987 marks a turning point in the campaign. Shell will increasingly come under the sort of direct pressure from the public and from institutional customers and shareholders that finally compelled Barclays Bank to announce in November 1986 its withdrawal from South Africa.

This Shadow Report outlines Shell's multifarious role in South Africa and Namibia, and shows why Shell's complete withdrawal would be a critical blow against the regime, adding to its international isolation and crippling its capacity to sustain its illegal occupation of Namibia and its war of aggression and destabilisation against neighbouring states in Southern Africa.

This is the second, revised English edition of the 'Shell Shadow Report' originally produced in Holland by the Southern Africa Committee, the Working Group Kairos, and Pax Christi.

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The struggle against the apartheid regime intensifies. Barricades against the police and army on the streets of Athlone, South Africa.



The Present Situation in South Africa and Namibia

Many Western companies in South Africa have become alarmed by the recent developments. In the past, the apartheid regime provided social stability and cheap Black labour, thereby helping these companies to reap profits which were much higher than in other parts of the world.

However, the economic climate in South Africa has taken a turn for the worse. The economic crisis which affected the Western world, was felt more acutely in South Africa. While other countries are experiencing an economic recovery, South Africa is sinking into an abyss.

In addition, the country is witnessing an upsurge of resistance on the part of the oppressed peoples. The business community predicts an intensified struggle because of the fact that so-called reforms in no way address the demands of the oppressed peoples. This view was also expressed when members of the business community met with representatives of the apartheid regime. Needless to say, concrete results have yet to emerge. In the meantime, a number of companies have introduced mild social reforms. The opposition to the apartheid regime is grouped around the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). In many townships, "liberated areas" have made their appearance. In these areas, little or no rents and taxes are paid to the appointed puppets of the regime. The police can only gain access to these areas with the aid of armoured vehicles. On their departure, control is regained by the neighbourhood councils.

Recent developments show that an increasing number of whites are joining the opposition. This is also illustrated by the fact that the white students' organization, National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), followed in the footsteps of the churches, industry and the trade unions by sending a delegation to meet the African National Congress (ANC) leadership, in Lusaka. They expressed their support for the demand of one man-one vote in an undivided South Africa. The NUSAS delegation received its mandate from its membership after a series of discussions, held on university campuses, in which 10 000 students voted in favour of a motion to meet the ANC. Only a few hundred were opposed to the meeting. At a recent meeting, held in Johannesburg and attended by 2 000 whites, the former leader

of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Van Zyl Slabbert, appealed to those present to participate in the building of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It is important for the business community in South Africa to take note of the growing support for economic sanctions. In a recent survey, 75% of the urban Black population expressed their support of disinvestment. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), consisting of 500,000 members, expressed its support for disinvestment, thereby showing that it was in favour of the call made by the South African Council of Churches. Towards the end of March 1986, Bishop Tutu categorically stated that only sanctions in conjunction with disinvestment can prevent a bloodbath. We are witnessing a situation in which Western investors will come under increased pressure to disinvest.

The international campaign for economic sanctions has already resulted in a number of companies distancing themselves from South Africa. Banks have decided not to extend current loans to South Africa, or not to make new loans available. The disinvestment campaign will direct its activities against Shell, in many countries. By increasing the pressure in this manner, it seems likely that Shell will eventually have to take the decision to disinvest.



Bishop Desmond Tutu believes that only sanctions in conjunction with disinvestment can prevent a bloodbath.

...by making a worldwide organisation available.

"Shell's diverse business and technological expertise is supported by the international resources of the Royal Shell Group which makes it possible for Shell South Africa to react competitively to the rapidly changing situation in the fields of oil, mining and the chemical industry."

(Shell South Africa Social Report 1983).

The activities of Shell are of vital importance to the South African economy. The significance of the refinery, the mine and the chemical and metallurgical industries becomes even more apparent when one views them against the backdrop of the global structure of the Royal Shell Group. Shell South Africa has access to the central research, know-how, the laboratories, financial resources, administrative departments, the logistical support and the contracts and contacts of the Royal Shell Group and its subsidiaries all over the world.

...branch of the Shell Group

By virtue of the fact that the refinery, the mine and the chemical and metallurgical industries are not merely South African companies but subsidiaries of the Royal Dutch Shell Group, it follows that:

- knowledge related to technological and economic matters flows to and from South Africa;
- it is possible to produce goods and services which are of military and strategic importance in South Africa, thereby making it unnecessary for the regime to acquire the said products via devious methods, and at exorbitant costs, elsewhere;
- that Shell South Africa and its allied companies show a growth rate which exceeds that of strictly South African companies.

In its annual Social Report (1984), Shell South Africa states: *"The support of Shell's international resources stimulate the growth of the Chemical Division in South Africa."*



A "Shell" station in South Africa

International transfer of information from the Shell Group to Shell South Africa

The flow of Shell patents to South Africa

The registration of new patents provides us with the means to discover in which countries the technical knowledge of Shell is developed. In 1984 the Royal Shell Group registered 239 new patents. Of these 221 came from Shell laboratories in Europe (especially Great Britain and the Netherlands) and the United States of America. The registration of existing Shell patents in certain countries provides information as to where this knowledge is being applied. In 1984 Shell registered 86 existing patents in South Africa:

- 12 related to **plastics** (polyisoprene; polyurethane; etc);
- 24 patents related to **pesticides**;
- 41 patents related to the **oil sector** (coal-gas 14; gas-fuel for vehicles; production of fuels 10 from oil distillation; various oil patents 11);
- 9 patents to other technological discoveries of Shell.

From the applications of existing patents we learn that Shell sees oil-related activities as one of the most important fields in South Africa. Another important field is that in which a large number of patents related to coal-gas activities and the processing of gas to motor fuels occurs. Of the 86 patents registered by Shell South Africa in 1984, approximately 43 were developed at the Royal Shell laboratory in Amsterdam.

Other examples of the transfer of Shell knowledge to South Africa

At regular intervals employees of Shell South Africa visit the Amsterdam laboratory (K.S.L.A.) or do in-service training for various periods. Highly-skilled employees of the Shell laboratory in Amsterdam visit Shell South Africa at regular intervals or are transferred there for lengthy periods in order to provide technical assistance. In 1976 a high-vacuum distillation unit was built by Shell in Durban after all the research had been done at the laboratory in Amsterdam. The knowledge and technological support for the production of synthetic resins in South Africa, is obtained from the Shell laboratory in Amsterdam. At the Shell experimental plant in Amsterdam used for the processing of coal-gas various types of South African coal have been thoroughly investigated.

Source: **De Toestand** 14 Sept. 1985. 29 Nov. 1985; publication of the Dutch union (KSLA).



"Shell" in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia

...by breaking the international oil embargo against South Africa

Without the continuing supply of crude oil, the white minority regime could not survive. Lack of fuel would cause the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the Navy to grind to a halt. It would be impossible for the armed forces and the police to enter and occupy black suburbs and townships. Lack of oil would make the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African army impossible. Without oil, the regime's forces would not be able to carry out raids and bombings in Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Lesotho.

Furthermore, it would be impossible to supply the terrorists in Angola and Mozambique, supported by the apartheid regime, with arms and ammunition. Last but not least, the lack of oil would lead to the breakdown of the apartheid economy.

Oil-Apartheid's Achilles Heel

Although it spends millions of rand in oil exploration, South Africa has not discovered commercially exploitable oil reserves. It remains dependent on outside suppliers. South Africa's vulnerability to a cut-off in oil supplies has caused all major oil exporters, led by the OPEC countries in 1973, to determine that their crude oil should not be sold to South Africa. This Oil Embargo has been backed by the United Nations General Assembly. South Africa has managed to survive the oil embargo by producing around 25% of its needs from its hugely expensive oil-from-coal (SASOL) conversion plants, and by maintaining supplies of crude from companies that consciously flout the policies of the oil-producing nations. The nature of the world oil market is such that oil contracts can be drawn up in secret, and ownership of cargoes can change hands several times in quick succession. Customs documents are often forged and tankers transfer oil on the high seas or enter South African ports bearing code names. The origin of South Africa's oil supplies is often untraceable.

Twenty-three Shell tankers

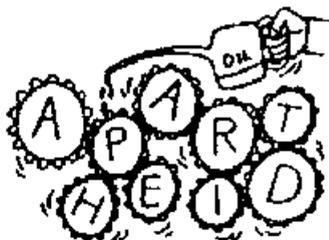
Intensive research by the Shipping Research Bureau in Amsterdam led to the discovery that 23 Shell tankers were involved in the transport of crude oil to South Africa during 1979-1982. These vessels delivered approximately 4.5 million tons of crude oil. Other multinationals were not prepared to break the oil embargo on a similar scale, despite the fact that the South African government introduced a measure by which a bonus of \$8 would be paid for every barrel of crude oil. The Observer estimated the value of the bonus for 1980 at \$200 million.

The Brunei Connection

By the end of 1980 Shell's breaches of the oil embargo had become common knowledge. The company began searching for new ways to continue the supply of crude oil to South Africa. The ultimate aim was to make Shell's involvement invisible. One of the ways Shell sought to cover its tracks was by making use of intermediaries.

The Shipping Research Bureau was recently able to expose one of these complex supply routes. From 1979-1986 the SRB identified 56 deliveries of oil to South Africa from Brunei oil industry in partnership with the Brunei government. Brunei Shell Petroleum first sold crude to Marubeni Corp. (Japan). Marubeni then sold it to Marc Rich, a Swiss-based oil trading company well-known for its embargo breaking activities, which finally delivered the oil to South Africa. Shell has denied any involvement in this supply but as the SRB conclude:

'It is unlikely that Shell was not conniving at the continuing crude oil deliveries to South Africa from Brunei. Especially so as the company operates at both ends of the contract: the sale of Brunei crude oil and the import of the crude oil into South Africa.'



Breaking the oil embargo: A Shell Tradition

The board of directors of the Royal Shell Group has repeatedly stated that they have never been involved in the export of oil, falling under the embargo, to South Africa. When asked to name the countries from which South Africa was getting its oil, Shell insisted that its head-office lacked the information. Furthermore, it was claimed that South African legislation prohibits Shell South Africa from supplying its head-office with the relevant information. How reliable are these statements?

Ten years ago, during the period of white minority rule by Ian Smith in Rhodesia, a mandatory oil embargo was instituted by the U.N. Security Council. However, crude oil still reached Rhodesia. When questioned about this state of affairs in 1976, the President of Shell said: "No company in which Shell has interests, delivers oil to Rhodesia." A year later the Royal Shell group sought refuge behind the South African 'Official Secrets Act' and declared that it was impossible to divulge information relating to transactions between Shell South Africa and Shell Rhodesia.

In 1979, it was revealed that Shell had supplied its Rhodesian branch with oil and that in so doing had consciously broken the mandatory U.N. embargo. The transactions were shrouded in a veil of secrecy. Furthermore, detailed information concerning the transactions between Shell South Africa and Shell Rhodesia, was discovered at the Shell head-office in London.

SHELL FUELS APARTHEID....

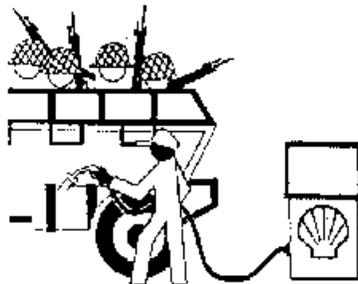
...by investing in the oil and chemical industry

Shell South Africa is involved in the processing and the sale of oil products, chemicals, coal and metals. It has a turnover of approximately £1400 million. The company employs about 7,000 people from all population groups (49% white). The Durban refinery (50% Shell and 50% BP) has a capacity of 200,000 barrels a day. The £1400 million turnover for Shell South Africa represents about 2% of the global turnover of the Royal Dutch/Shell group. Shell's investments in South Africa have more than doubled from R430 million in 1981 to over R1000 million in 1985. Its profits are estimated to be running at around £30 million a year. († Rand = approx: 30 pence - 1986)

Oil refining

The oil division is responsible for the purchase of crude oil. In view of the fact that almost all the oil reaching South Africa is under embargo, Shell's purchasing activities are shrouded in secrecy.

Shell is joint owner and manager with BP South Africa of SAPREF, the largest refinery in South Africa, situated outside Durban. Surrounded by watch towers and security fences, this processes illegal oil to obtain products such as petroleum, diesel, methanol, lubricants, and bitumen. SAPREF's production capacity is equivalent to about two-thirds of the country's daily requirements, and it is capable of processing a wide variety of crude oils.



Off-shore Platform

On account of the fact that the Durban harbour is too shallow to allow supertankers an offshore platform is used to pump oil from the tankers via a pipeline to the offshore installation is used by Shell, BP, company knows exact amounts as well as countries of origin of the crude oil being delivered to South Africa.

Petrol-stations

Shell sells petrol, diesel oil, etc. to consumers via more than 900 petrol-stations in South Africa. This amounts to approximately 18% of the market.

Petro-chemicals

The chemical division "Shell Chem" produces industrial chemicals (solvents; chemicals used in the mining industry, detergents), chemicals for the agricultural industry as well as chemicals used in the field of zoology.

In addition, Shell has interests in the production of lubricants for civil, industrial and military purposes, including shares in asphalt and bitumen-producing companies. In the synthetics industry, Shell plays a role in the production of polystyrene, polypropylene, polyethylene, polybutylene and synthetic rubbers. In 1934 Shell South Africa applied for patents for polyisoprene and polyurethane.

Shell Chem (South Africa) and the Dieldrin Scandal

"Dieldrin is a Shell product and is used as an insecticide. It is cheap and effective because it is extremely lethal and can be used for lengthy periods (months)"

(John R. Wilson, pres. dir. of Shell South Africa in the Rand Daily Mail, 4 March 1985).

Shell Chem (South Africa) produces dieldrin. In most Western countries and in South Africa the use of this product is prohibited because it is harmful and does not break down into non-toxic substances easily. It accumulates in the foodcycle (fish, birds, mammals including humans). Dieldrin is lethal for all insect life. Early in 1985, South African environmental organisations discovered that Shell South Africa was exporting large amounts of dieldrin to the neighbouring states, including Botswana where problems had already surfaced. It was also ascertained that South African farmers were crossing the border in order to purchase supplies which were illegally put to use in South Africa. Wherever dieldrin is used, the empty barrels serve for the transportation of water by the labourers.

Environmental organisations fear that the ecology of the whole of Southern Africa will be adversely affected. Therefore, they insist that Shell stops with the production of dieldrin products. A number of large consumers of Shell fuels reiterated their demand. All of the reasons used by Shell to justify the production of dieldrin were refuted by the environmentalists: e.g. there are 29 other insecticides which can be used to combat the tsetse fly. The most effective of these is too harmful to the foodcycle.

Shell refused to pay attention to the demands of the environmentalists.

In order to circumvent the wave of negative publicity, Shell announced the following measures:

- improved supervision of its clients involved in the purchase of dieldrin;
- a recycling of empty dieldrin barrels;
- a recall of farmers' supplies and destruction of them.

Nevertheless, Shell South Africa continues to produce and export dieldrin.

...by mining and exporting South African minerals

"The Rietspruit coalmine is a joint venture of Shell South Africa and Barlow Rand. Barlow Rand is responsible for the management of the mine, in which 1240 people are employed (300 whites)."
(Shell Venster, March 1986).

Coal

Shell South Africa owns 50% of the shares in the Rietspruit mine in the Eastern Transvaal. More than 5 million tons of anthracite is mined annually, all of which is exported. The export of coal is the second largest source of foreign currency for South Africa.

The export of coal, from the Rietspruit mine is controlled by Shell. In addition, Shell is also responsible for the export of coal from a mine owned by the Anglo-American conglomerate, at Klenkopje. The coal is exported from the Richard Bay Coal Terminal in which Shell owns 15% of the shares. Bulk carriers transport the coal to Europe and the Far East. A growing number of European countries are stopping the importation of coal from South Africa. For over a year black mineworkers at the Rietspruit mine have expressed their utter dissatisfaction with the manner in which they are dealt with by the owners, Shell and the South African industrial corporation, Barlow Rand.

Coal in exchange for oil

South African mining companies have expressed their disapproval about the fact that Shell is allowed to export vast quantities of coal at their expense. In 1979 the minister of Economic Affairs stated that the amount of coal allowed to oil companies was part of an agreement based upon the condition that the supply of oil to South Africa was guaranteed. Failure, on their part, would result in a revision of the coal quota. In 1985 Shell was allowed to export 5.5 million tons of coal.

Metals and Minerals

"We are mainly interested in metals such as zinc, lead, copper, tin, tungsten and nickel. Two promising projects are currently being investigated. One is a tungsten-tin reef in Uppington and the other is a zinc-lead deposit in Vryburg. Both of these towns are located in the Northern Cape Province."
(Shell South Africa Social Report 1984).

In September 1986 Shell announced the opening of the zinc-lead mine at Pering. Shell has invested R65 million (£20 million) in the project which will make South Africa self-sufficient in certain base metals. Shell now claims to be producing 35,000 tons of zinc and 7000 tons of lead a year, a significant contribution to the regime's requirements for strategic metals. The discovery of tungsten is of particular importance to the South African arms industry. Some of the research work associated with the development of the mine was carried out by a Shell subsidiary in the Netherlands, a fact that merely goes to emphasise the technical support which Shell South Africa receives from the parent company.

Other interests

In the magazine 'SA Leadership' a Shell advertisement boasted of its contribution to the South African economy. As well as oil and petrol, lead and zinc, it stated:

'Shell companies will produce a million primus stoves this year, and twenty percent of South Africa's household gas. A Shell subsidiary will make over 50% of the country's candles this year. Shell chemicals will be used throughout agriculture and industry. And Shell technology will double the yield of almost six thousand hectares of prime South African forest'.

Further new investments have included the opening of fifty new petrol stations and the acquisition of the Valvoline Oil Co.

...by providing supplies for the armed forces and the police

The S.A.D.F. daily uses 30,000 barrels of oil products. Shell's share of the market is estimated at 18%. It seems plausible that Shell also supplies the armed forces with 18% of its needs, approximately 5,000 barrels daily. In May 1980, the former managing director of Shell, De Bruyne admitted that Shell did not differentiate among its clients and supplied schools, the armed forces and the police with oil products. In 1983 this was reaffirmed during the shareholders' meeting.

Shell has found a good alibi in the South African "National Supplies Procurement Act", in support of its deliveries to the S.A.D.F. The Act orders oil companies to supply all solvent clients with oil products. The apartheid regime created this piece of legislation in order to make it impossible for companies to introduce a conditional sales policy, which could lead to the termination of deliveries to the armed forces and the police.

However, American oil companies, Mobil and Caltex, have told their shareholders that they would do everything possible to prevent oil products imported by South Africa from being sold to the army and police. Although it is not clear whether these assurances have been translated into action, Shell has refused even to attempt to implement such a policy. Shell continues to import products and services which are in turn supplied to the army and the police both in Namibia and South Africa.

Strategic Shell products

Which products does Shell make available to the S.A.D.F. and the police?

Various oils needed for the effectiveness and mobility of the armed forces of the apartheid regime are supplied by Shell.

They include:

- petrol and diesel oil for the vehicles, tanks and tracks of the police and the army;
- methanol for the jet-fighters and helicopters of the S.A.D.F.;
- fuel and bunker oil for the South African Navy.

Chemicals used for military purposes are also supplied. They include:

- raw material for napalm, an oil-based weapon, especially in Namibia and Angola;
- defoliation substances and crop-destroyers;
- raw materials for nerve-gas (South Africa has an army unit specialized in chemical and biological warfare);
- soon tungsten will be supplied to the armaments industry (at present South Africa imports 800 tons per year).

Finally, various other products which are of vital importance to the military infrastructure, are supplied by Shell. They include:

- asphalt and bitumen for roads, air-strips etc;
- lubricants for vehicles, aeroplanes, weapons, artillery etc.;
- fuel for machinery in military camps.



S.A. Riot Police patrol a funeral in Alexandra township, Johannesburg. Shell supplies fuel for vehicles and tanks used by the police and army.

Close ties with the army.

In 1980, the "National Key Points Act" was introduced. Amongst other things, it stated that strategic industries were under obligation to take preventive measures against possible acts of sabotage. The security personnel or militia of these industries have the authority to apprehend people and to use firearms. In addition, the companies concerned could be ordered by the S.A.D.F to stockpile weapons and communication materials. Shell has appointed its own armed security personnel at its various plants. Their task is to protect these strategic installations from attacks by the liberation movements. The militia work closely with the S.A.D.F. In the event of 'labour unrest' they are used to restore 'law and order'. Furthermore, white employees of Shell receive financial compensation while doing national service in order to maintain their level of income. In so doing, Shell supplies the apartheid regime with satisfied soldiers and subsidises the army. These are the people responsible for the atrocities inflicted on the Black population.

Sandfix

Shell in South Africa has recently been advertising a product with mine detecting applications called Sandfix. A Shell promotional leaflet explains how it can be applied to dirt roads in rural districts and will indicate any land mines by changing colour around the disturbed area. "It certainly looks interesting and if it lasts it could be a great help" a major in the SADF is quoted as commenting.

Shell in Namibia

Shell also has operations in Namibia which is illegally occupied by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations' decision in 1966 to revoke South Africa's mandate to administer the Territory. Over 100,000 troops are stationed in Namibia, making it one of the most militarised countries in the world.

All the oil used in Namibia comes via South Africa and is therefore subject to the oil embargo. Shell Oil South West Africa, runs a full chain of petrol outlets in Namibia and provides the occupying forces with fuel they require for the highly mobile war against SWAPO and its armed wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). It has been estimated that up to half the oil used in Namibia is consumed by the armed forces. The repeated invasion of Angola by ground and air forces, and South African raids such as that which in 1978 resulted in the murder of over 600 Namibian civilians in the Kassinga refugee camp, are made possible by the continuing supply of oil.

The United Nations has called on all foreign firms to withdraw from Namibia and not to collaborate with the South African regime there. Shell's refusal to do so along with its specific operations make it an accessory to South Africa's illegal occupation. Shell in Namibia has also been involved in oil and metals exploration via its subsidiaries, activities which defy United Nations decrees designed to protect Namibian natural resources from exploitation and depletion.



SADF on border patrol in Namibia. Shell Oil South West Africa provides the occupying forces with fuel required for the war against SWAPO.

Workers Fired at Rietspruit: Shell is Exposed

"Shell's trade union policy acknowledges the right of employees to organise themselves in a union of their own choice. A union whose composition is representative of a broad category of employees will be acknowledged."

"When judged on the basis of common practice in South Africa, Rietspruit can quite rightly claim to operate on a high level, in compliance with stringent national and international standards – in some cases even surpassing them."

"The circumstances at the Rietspruit colmine, by far, surpass the level advocated in the E.E.C code of conduct."

(Shell South Africa Social reports 1982, 1983, 1984.)

A final tribute: teargas, rubber bullets and 86 men fired

In February 1985, a serious labour dispute arose at the Rietspruit mine in South Africa. Shell owns 50% of the shares in this mine which employed 1350 people at the beginning of 1985. A year later, the number of workers had dropped to 1240.

The dispute arose after an accident on 11 February 1985, in which two Black labourers lost their lives. Alpheus Makhaya and Abraham Nkosi died after falling down a mine-shaft in which they were repairing a cable. Fellow workers wished to pay them a final tribute visiting their families in order to extend their condolences. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), organised a prayer meeting which was at first approved by the mining authorities but subsequently turned down. The majority of workers attended the prayer meeting. The management thereupon, decided to fire two shop stewards and issued warnings to two others. As a result the workers went on strike and demanded that the two shop stewards be reinstated.

86 workers fired; people evicted from their homes.

During the strike, 86 people were fired by the management of the mine. Incidents broke out in which the militia used teargas, fired rubber bullets and forced mineworkers to resume work, at gunpoint. The shop stewards and a number of workers were arrested and detained for two days. The shop stewards who had lost their jobs, were evicted from their homes, along with their families. The same treatment was meted

out to some of the other workers who had lost their jobs too. Under pressure from the management of the Rietspruit mine, the strike was called off on 19 February 1985. Some of those fired were from neighbouring states. They were promptly expelled from South Africa.

A spokesman for the administration labelled those who had been dismissed from their jobs and homes, 'radical union activists' and added, 'We are glad to have seen the last of them'.

Protests against Shell

From all corners of the globe a storm of protest reached Shell. It was directed at the intimidation of the workers and the brutality of the Rietspruit management. The Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (F.N.V.), also sent letters of indignation to the board of the Royal Shell Group. Although six sacked miners have now been re-employed, the decision to fire the shop stewards and other workers and their subsequent eviction was **not** rescinded.

"If Shell is convinced that the Rietspruit mine is a model, then the company has been misinformed and led up the garden path. Almost all our workers were fired. I do not think that this would have been the case if the company maintained high standards."

Elijah Barayi, former chairman of the N.U.M. with 180,000 members and at present chairman of C.O.S.A.T.U. (De Tijd, 21 February, 1986)



International Protests against Shell's presence in South Africa



The campaign escalates. The Anti-Apartheid Movement and Embargo launch a total boycott of Shell. U.K., March 1987.

Australia

The Unifying Church of Christ organized a consumer boycott against Shell's ties with the Apartheid regime. The Australian government has forbidden Shell and other oil companies to transport oil and oil products from Australia to South Africa. The extremely active Australian Seamen's Union has recently been controlling all oil tankers leaving Australia.

Great Britain

In Great Britain where one of the two founding companies of Royal Dutch Shell is situated, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the British churches have long put pressure on Shell to withdraw from South Africa. The question of Shell's support for the Apartheid Regime was first presented at a Shell shareholders meeting in 1979 by prominent church people. The GLC (Greater London Council) gave its support at a later shareholders meeting.

Netherlands

For years Dutch society has urgently requested the Shell Board to withdraw itself from the land of Apartheid. In June 1976 Kairos (Christians against Apartheid) published the report 'Shell out of South Africa', written by the eucumenical research bureau OSACI.

Together with Pax Christi, Kairos demonstrated at shareholders meetings against Shell's presence in South Africa. They were quickly joined by other organizations, such as the Southern Africa Committee and the organization NOVIB.

In March 1979 the Southern Africa Committee and Kairos decided to mount a big nationwide campaign: 1,300,000 copies of the pamphlet "Shell Helps Apartheid" (a pun on Shell's own advertising slogan "Shell helps"!) were distributed. A brochure was distributed at Shell stations, with contributions from well known Dutch artists, which explained why Shell must withdraw from South Africa.

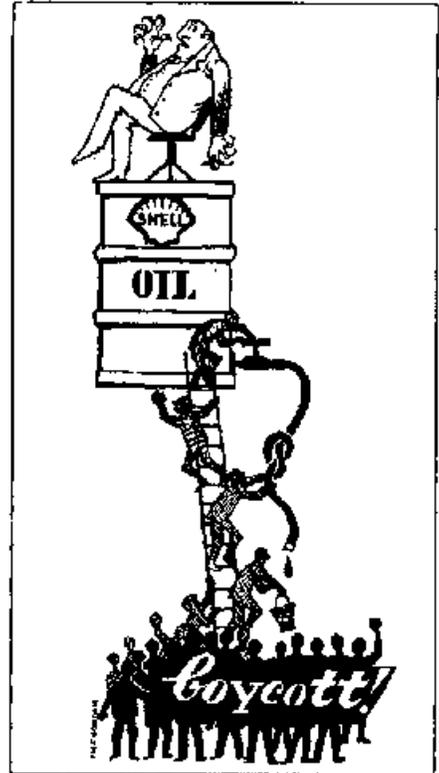
United States

The Southern Africa movement and the union movement began a consumer boycott against Shell's presence in South Africa in January 1986. A great number of unions are participating in the US campaign, among others the AFL-CIO, the mineworkers (UMWA), civil servants (AFSCME & AFGE), the teachers union (NEA), building union, the national women's organisation (NOW), metalworkers union, seamen's union, actors union, union of rail and air personnel. Shell credit cards are publicly cut up; all Shell products such as fuel, motor oil; other auto products and household articles are boycotted. Delivery contracts with Shell are being terminated. The disinvestment campaign by Southern African groups in the USA had already been a great success. Now, public utilities, municipalities, universities and funds are being asked to shed their shared in Shell and other companies with interests in South Africa.

Latest developments

By the end of 1986, the campaign against Shell's activities in South Africa and Namibia had spread to over ten countries including the United States, the Netherlands, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Australia, Belgium and Portugal, along with the United Kingdom. Several International days of Action drew support from all corners of the globe. In Sweden the owners of Shell petrol stations have lobbied the company over its involvement in Southern Africa. In the Netherlands, weekly demonstrations have been held outside the Shell headquarters in the Hague and many municipal councils have come out in support of the boycott. The annual general meetings of the company held simultaneously in London and the Hague were the focus of large protests. In Denmark and Norway, groups are concentrating on organising boycotts of bulk supplies of Shell heating fuel. In the USA, one station operator was even persuaded to change the brand he sold. The campaign against Shell in the UK has in 1987 become a total boycott of Shell products initiated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the specialist campaign group, EMBARGO. The escalation of the campaign followed two separate months of action in 1986 which were supported by local authorities, trades unions, churches, and a wide spectrum of community groups. Shares worth over £4 million were sold during 1986 and in January 1987 the Inner London Education Authority announced it would be cancelling a contract worth £11

million a year. Shell has been targeted for disinvestment and boycott action by a number of other local authorities.



Boycott against Shell South African coal

Shell with big investments in the Rietspruit coal mine and the Richards Bay Coal Terminal will experience increasing difficulties with the export and discharge of its South African coal. Although the EEC ministers failed to agree on including coal in their package on sanctions, port workers in Wales and England have refused to unload coal from South Africa. In 1986, Denmark stopped the import of South African coal with a value of \$185 million. Electricity

generating companies in the Netherlands agreed several years ago not to burn any more South African coal. The use of South African coal has decreased in the Netherlands.

In Sweden also, coal importers decided a few years ago to abandon the use of South African coal at the great insistence of the Ministry of Energy. Nevertheless, Shell was recently caught selling various boatloads of South African coal to Swedish companies. The coal was first transported from South Africa to Rotterdam, there stored for some time, relabeled and then transported in a different ship to Sweden.

International Organisations

In 1984 the World Council of Churches was co-publisher of "Fuelling Apartheid: Shell and the Military", informing associated churches in the whole world about Shell's role in South Africa.

IVVV has spoken out against the activities of Shell and other multinationals in South Africa. IVVV called for an action week in March 1986.

The significance of oil companies such as Shell for the continuation of Apartheid is recognized at various levels within the United Nations. The contribution of Shell and other oil companies to the illegal exploitation of Namibia's natural wealth has been examined by the UN Council on Namibia.

The military suppression of Namibia is impossible without a constant supply of fuel and lubricants to the occupying South African army.

A great deal of material on Shell's role in South Africa has been assembled by the UN Centre Against Apartheid and the UN Centre on Multinational Enterprises.

The UN General Assembly proposed a resolution that was carried by an overwhelming majority.

"An embargo on the supply of crude oil, oil products and other strategic materials is an essential addition to the compulsory weapons embargo against South Africa."



ANC president Oliver Tambo speaking at the opening session of the 1985 Maritime Unions Against Apartheid Conference in London. Also on the platform, from left to right, Maj. Gen. Joseph Garba, Chair of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Moller Hansen, President of the Danish Seamens's Union, and Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party.

ANC and SWAPO

In September 1986, the ANC and SWAPO issued a joint statement expressing their support for the international campaign against Shell:

"SWAPO of Namibia and the African National Congress welcome and support the international campaign to persuade Royal 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 multinational/transnational corporations remove themselves forthwith from South Africa and Namibia.

Shell is actively engaged in supporting apartheid and is directly aiding Pretoria in its illegal, racist and brutal occupation of Namibia, its aggression in Southern Africa, and its repression and brutality against the South African people.

It does so by collaborating in the evasion of the oil embargo imposed by producer countries, processing crude oil and selling products to the racist military and police forces, and providing research assistance to the regime's oil from coal production, thereby helping to ensure the supply of fuel for apartheid.

Further it assists the regime by supplying the raw material for napalm, defoliants, nerve gas and other chemical weapons, as well as minerals 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 installations in regional defence systems and by making voluntary payments to its white employees conscripted to serve in the racist armed forces.

Shell should heed the call from the people of Namibia and South Africa, supported by the international community and withdraw totally from any involvement in South Africa and Namibia."

National Union of Mineworkers

In an interview with a Dutch magazine, Cyril Ramaphosa, Secretary General of the South African National Union of Mineworkers and a prominent member of COSATU added his voice to those calling for Shell to withdraw from South Africa and Namibia:

'In the field of apartheid and union-busting activities Shell has built up a bad record. Yes, we want this company to leave the country.'

Besides oil and petrol, Shell supplies a wide range of chemical products used by the South African police and army, including the raw materials for napalm and nerve gas.



APPENDIX 1

SHELL TANKERS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Crude Oil Supplied

The following is a list of Shell-owned, managed, or chartered tankers that supplied crude oil to South Africa between 1979 and 1982:

Tanker	Flag	Arrived in South Africa
Philippine Star	Pi	February 1979
Energy Progress	Liberia	March 1979
Myrtea	France	March 1979
Berge Septimus	Norway	June 1979
Energy Process	Liberia	June 1979
Litiopa	France	June 1979
Berge Brioni	Norway	July 1979
Polyscandia	Norway	July 1979
Alva Sea	France	September 1979
Litiopa	UK	September/October 1979
Alva Sea	UK	October 1979
Limatula	UK	December 1979/January 1980
Salem*	Liberia	December 1979/January 1980
Mytilus	Neth.	January 1980
Mytilus	Neth.	February 1980
Berge Septimus	Norway	April 1980
Macoma	Neth.	April 1980
Latirus	Neth.	May 1980
Macoma	Neth.	July 1980
Eastern Mobility	Liberia	August 1980
Berge Septimus	Norway	September 1980
Macoma	Neth.	November 1980
Eastern Mobility	Liberia	January 1981
Karama Maersk†	Dan.	November 1979
Garden Green†	Liberia	November 1980

* Shell stated that the discharge of the Salom cargo in South Africa was done without knowledge or approval of Shell.

† The Garden Green loaded a full cargo and the Karma Maersk a part cargo of crude oil at the Shell Terminal in Rotterdam Europoort prior to sailing to South Africa.

Source: Shipping Research Bureau *Shipping Companies Breaking the Oil Embargo Against South Africa*. 30/31 October 1985.

Other Shell tankers identified as delivering oil to South Africa are:

Tanker	Flag	Arrived in South Africa
Andros Aries	Greece	April 1981
Fossarus	Liberia	October 1980
Latirus	Neth.	March 1980
Latirus	Neth.	February 1981
Liparus	UK	May 1980
Liparus	UK	August 1980
Litiopa	UK	May 1980
Mytilus	N. Antil.	July 1980
Mytilus	N. Antil.	December 1980

Source: New Statesman 18 June 1982.

APPENDIX 2

SHELL'S INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

Royal Dutch/Shell's corporate investment in South Africa has been estimated to be R1.000 million (£400 m). The company operates a refinery, and 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/day. It employs 1300 people of whom 500 are white, and produces a wide range of petroleum products, including gasoline, paraffin, diesel, aviation fuel, marine fuel, lubricants, and bitumen.

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 African Railways). The company markets its products at 900 gasoline stations in the country with approximately 17.5 percent of the market.

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". 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. These figures do not include workers employed at the Rietspruit coal mine or Abecol (Pty.) Ltd.

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:

- 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;
- 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 Asphalte (Pty.) Ltd., located in Durban, Isando, Benoni, Bloemfontein, Vanderbijlpark and Evander.

Abecol also owns 50 percent equity in Denso 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", 7 are Asian, and 48 are white. It operates four subsidiaries (the percentage of equity held is unknown):

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

Other Shell operations in South Africa are:

- Shell Eksplorasi Suid-Afrika (100% equity), oil exploration;
- Shell & BP South African Manufacturing Co. (25% equity), refining;
- Trek Beleggings (17.5% equity), oil marketing;
- Shell Chemical South Africa (100% equity), chemicals;
- Unifoam Industries (100% equity), chemicals;
- Stryochem (25% equity), chemicals;
- Dragon Gas Service (100% equity), gas;
- Chemico (15% equity), lubricants;
- South Africa Lubricants Manufacturing Co. (25% equity), lubricants;
- Billiton Exploration South Africa (100% equity), metals exploration.
- In Namibia: Shell Oil South West Africa (100% equity).

APPENDIX 3

SHELL OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA CAMPAIGN SUGGESTIONS

Aim: To compel Shell to withdraw completely from South Africa and Namibia.

The campaign will assume a permanent and prominent place in AAM's overall work, as has that on Barclays bank.

Tactics: 1. To expose Shell's role in South Africa/Namibia and put direct pressure on its management by letters to the press, to Shell HQ etc.

2. To promote a boycott of Shell products by individuals and organisations/institutions.

3. To encourage institutions and individuals holding Shell shares to sell them in protest at Shell's role.

TYPES OF ACTIVITY

1. The predominant activity that suggests itself for the Boycott of Shell is that of picketing Shell stations and leafletting passers-by and customers.

2. Action against bulk buying of Shell products is equally important. Lobby your Local Authority and any other fleet customers, such as Health Authorities, taxi firms, delivery companies, Education Authorities, etc, to ensure a commitment from them not to buy Shell petrol. Already the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) is planning to cancel a contract worth £11 million a year. Local Authorities that don't have contracts with Shell should be asked to disinvest from Shell.

3. Urge institutional shareholders to disinvest from the company on account of its presence in South Africa and Namibia. Already shares worth over £4 million have been disposed of for this reason. Lobby local shareholders if possible to sell their holding. The investments of organisations are listed somewhere, so make enquiries to discover if your church, your Health Authority, your company, pension fund, or your union has holdings in Shell. If they do, urge them to sell.

SUSTAINING THE CAMPAIGN

It is most important to keep the public profile of the campaign reasonably high. Try and secure a regular flow of press coverage throughout this period and try to consider any eye-catching stunts or publicity-generating material and angles which may occur locally. Regular, well-publicised events are of enormous value. Weekly pickets, a public meeting, a local share-holder meeting are all useful for maintaining the momentum of the campaign and reaching an ever wider audience.

On pickets, perhaps new celebrities could be invited to attend at various points during the month, or a whole council might be persuaded to spend half an hour giving out leaflets. Contact local MP's too. Certain constituencies of people could each take on a different picket eg women, students, trades councils.





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