



A GUIDE TO THE CAMPAIGN TO

BOYCOTT SHELL



International Union, UAW
8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48214

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) is a particularly appropriate target** because Royal Dutch/Shell 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 Organization for Women, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and many other groups.

This booklet explains in more detail why we are boycotting Shell and what you can do to help.

UAW President Owen Bieber and 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 up 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,



A South African miner is fingerprinted before being taken to his quarters.

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. . .

Employers have total control since the apartheid government tells workers where they can work and live. Millions of workers are forced to live in heavily guarded barracks like these, separated from their families.



Apartheid: AFFECTING AMERICANS

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

Who benefits from that trade and investment?

Black South Africans don't, because foreign trade and investment keeps the apartheid sys-



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.



tem 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.

"International pressure... including disinvestment or the threat of disinvestment is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime and we support it."

—Statement adopted by the elected rank-and-file delegates who on December 1, 1985 formed COSATU (the Congress of South African Trade Unions)—the largest union federation of black South Africans.

Citizen 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. investments 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...

THE WASHINGTON POST

Shell Boycott Plan Boosts Tutu's 'People' Effort

By Karlyn Barker and Keith Harriston
Washington Post Staff Writers

Pinning his hopes on American "people power," South African Bishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday he has come to the United States to publicize apartheid atrocities and drum up more support for pressuring the Reagan administration and corporate America to take a tougher stance against white minority-ruled South Africa.

Tutu's campaign to get Americans to open their hearts and pocketbooks on behalf of his antiapartheid struggle got a boost yesterday when leaders of protests outside the South African Embassy announced the start of a boycott against Shell Oil Co. products.

In widening their antiapartheid campaign to include Shell, organizers of the boycott said they too are counting on the American people—to flex their muscles as consumers.

The boycott will start Monday.

Tutu has been in close contact with organizers of the embassy protests and met with them Wednesday. His work in South Africa, according to Randall Robinson, a chairman of the Free South Africa Movement, has been an inspiration to apartheid foes for years.

Tutu's United States itinerary includes Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, Los Angeles and San Francisco. He also will be traveling to Atlanta to help observe the first celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday as a federal holiday.

"I want to talk to the people because it has been the people who have forced the administration's hand," Tutu said in an interview with Washington Post editors and reporters.

The 54-year-old Anglican bishop of Johannesburg also credited "people power," including the year-long series of embassy demonstrations, with getting Congress "to change, quite completely really, in its attitude toward sanctions" against South Africa.

Robinson said he is seeing a very interesting development as the vast

human rights. "Now I would just hope... that the decent people of the United States will say to your government that that's not how you handle things."

"Shell and other corporations which support South Africa and profit from her system of semi-slave labor must be persuaded by the full force of international revision at apartheid to cease doing business there until that evil system is destroyed," Robinson said.

At a news conference announcing the boycott, Robinson was flanked by prominent labor union, women's movement and congressional leaders.

Owen Bieber, president of the 1,000 UAW staff Workers union, said that nearly 1,000 UAW staff members already have cut their Shell credit cards in half and mailed them to the union's headquarters for forwarding to Shell. Leaders of several other unions said they plan to ask their members to do the same.

Robinson said the boycott would continue until American firms in South Africa "come home."

Tutu has long criticized the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement," or "diplomacy with the South African government," which he said is a "disaster."

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1986

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

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.

apartheid to undercut American jobs.

In the 1970s, 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.

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 Riet-spruit 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.

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 • Shellyne • 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).

After the firings, a company spokesman labeled the fired miners "hard core trade unionist" and said "we're glad to see the last of them."

Shell often tries to deflect protests by pointing out that it has signed "codes of conduct" for labor relations drawn up by corporations doing business in South Africa.

In fact, a confidential report prepared for one of Shell's American subsidiaries in 1983 admitted that codes such as the Sullivan Principles and the EEC Code of Conduct are "an essential tool for responding to domestic critics. . ."

Even if Shell were observing those codes, which call for equal pay for equal work and so on, the need for the boycott campaign would remain.

Shell's importance to apartheid comes from the essential fuel and investment it provides. No one would praise a company that sells deadly gas to a concentration camp even if it did treat its employees well. And no one should buy Shell products as long as it props up South African apartheid.

**Stop Apartheid,
Boycott Shell:**

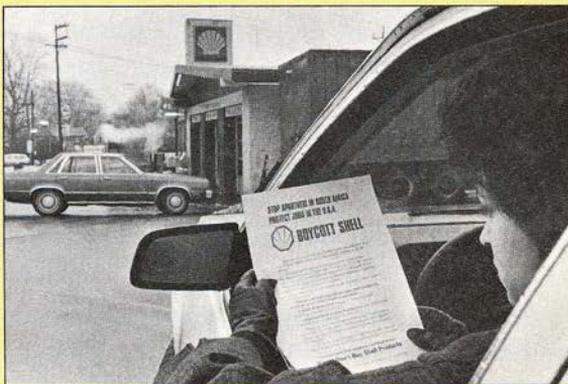
WHAT YOU CAN DO

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

Shell Boycott Campaign Materials

Order Form

QUANTITY	MATERIAL	COST
	Bumper sticker: <input type="checkbox"/> # _____ "Stop Apartheid, Boycott Shell" <input type="checkbox"/> # _____ "Save U.S. Jobs, Stop Apartheid, Boycott Shell" 50¢ for 1-200, 15¢ for over 200.	
	Buttons: "Stop Apartheid, Boycott Shell" 50¢ for 1-200, 30¢ for over 200.	
	Wallet-size "Discredit Card": A reminder of your commitment to boycott Shell products. \$2.50/hundred.	
	Basic 16-page booklet: Gives the basics on apartheid, why Shell is a boycott target, and Shell's involvement in South Africa. 75¢ for 1-100, 50¢ for over 100.	
	Basic leaflets: <input type="checkbox"/> # _____ A leaflet to use while picketing explaining the campaign. <input type="checkbox"/> # _____ A leaflet for particular use in labor meetings and conferences. <input type="checkbox"/> # _____ A leaflet for outreach to sympathetic general audiences. \$5/hundred.	
	Campaign slide/tape show: A 9-minute show featuring boycott leaders and the president of the South African National Union of Mineworkers. Also available in video format. \$100 each to buy, \$50 to rent.	
	Workplace stickers: "Stop Apartheid, Boycott Shell" 10¢ for 1-100, 5¢ for over 100.	
	Poster-size "Discredit Card": \$5 each. (Free with orders of \$250 or more.)	
	Poster for stores: "No Shell Products Sold Here" and why. 50¢ for 1-200, 15¢ for over 200.	
	"Protect Our Jobs" brochure: How the Shell campaign helps preserve coal jobs in the U.S. \$5/hundred.	

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____
 Organization _____
 Phone _____

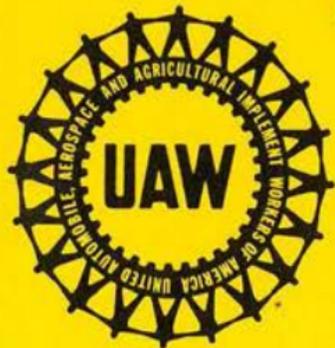
Make checks payable to Boycott Shell Campaign and send c/o 900 15th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone: (202) 842-7350.

\$ _____ Total Amount Due

Please add 25 percent for postage and handling.

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