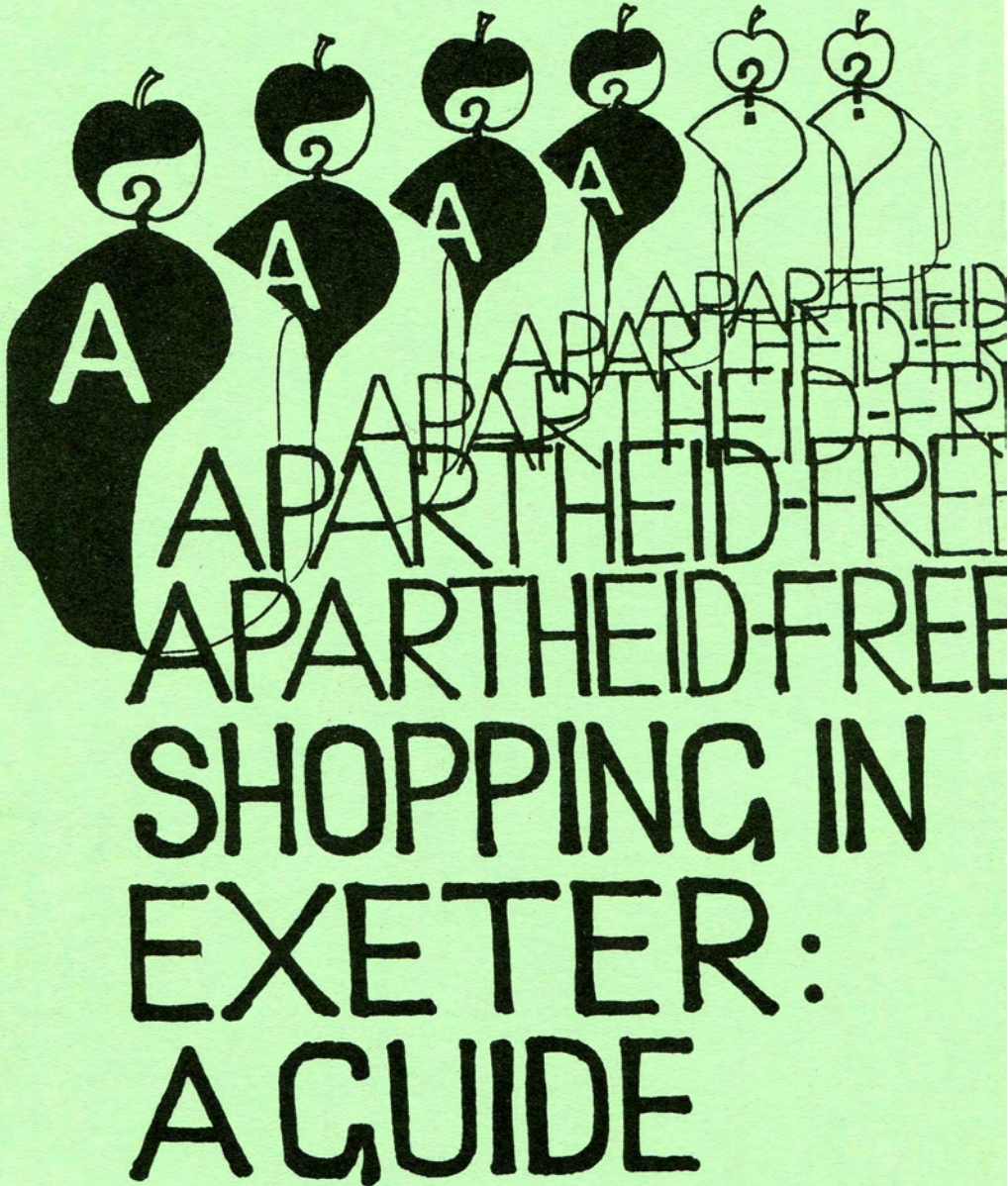




Exeter and District  
Anti-Apartheid Group



FOREWORD BY PETER THOMSON, CHAIRPERSON OF  
EXETER & DISTRICT ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP

"There is no way of excusing Apartheid. Nor is it enough, as some 'good' people do, to apologise for it. We have to get it abolished. The boycott campaign is a step towards abolition. I hope the people of Exeter will support their local Anti-Apartheid group in the most important moral struggle of our time."

WHAT THIS PAMPHLET IS FOR

The purpose of this pamphlet is to help you avoid Apartheid produce by showing you which shops in Exeter do not stock South African goods. But it is also important that you know the brand names associated with these goods so that you can both avoid them and complain to shop managers when you find them. Notice, however, that some of these brands, such as Sharwoods and John West, are not exclusively South African - so always check the label before you buy. For convenience the list is divided up by type of product.

CANNED MEATS

Apex  
Armour Star  
Union  
S & B  
Bull Brand

CANNED FISH

Glenryck  
Armour  
John West  
Puffin  
S & B

PET FOOD

Happy Pet Food

FRESH/TINNED/  
DRIED FRUIT

Cape  
Outspan  
Golden Jubilee  
Gold Reef  
IXL  
Koo  
Silver Leaf  
Del Monte  
Goddess  
John West  
Sharwoods  
S & B

Gants

Turban  
Libbys

HEALTH FOODS

Shapers  
Koo  
Rooibosch

WINES & SPIRITS

Zonnebioem  
Lanzerac  
Koopmanskloof  
Rembrandt  
SA Sherry  
SA Hock  
SA Burgundy

## THE CASE FOR SANCTIONS

In Britain today few people would disagree with the United Nations declaration that Apartheid is 'a crime against humanity'. South Africa is the only country in the world where all aspects of life are determined by race. The four and a half million people classified as white have full rights in one of the richest and most beautiful countries in the world. The twenty four million people classified as African, Coloured or Indian have almost no rights - no right to live where they wish, no right to move freely in their own country, the twenty million 'Africans' do not even have the right to vote. Every 'non-white' person has to carry a 'pass' which defines where they may / may not be - and every 2 minutes in today's South Africa a person is arrested under these infamous pass laws.

Discrimination affects every area of life from cradle to grave. Education: some £700 is spent on each white child each year, some £60 on each African child. Health: there is one doctor for every 330 whites, one doctor for every 12,000 Africans. Income: the average white wage is over four times that of blacks. Pensions: whites get £20 a week, blacks between £5 and £8. The list of injustices is endless. Perhaps an anecdote best sums up the human meaning of Apartheid. Last year, 1985, there was a major train crash in South Africa. 374 people were injured. Ambulances were quickly at the scene, but in South Africa the health service, like everything else, is segregated. These were white ambulances, taking people to white hospitals. So the whites were taken to be treated, while black people - including a pregnant woman - were left by the tracks to die.

Yet even sickening incidents such as this pale to insignificance next to the everyday inhumanity of Apartheid. Every day in South Africa, some 100 African children starve to death. In the so-called black

homelands nearly one child in two dies of malnutrition before the age of five. What makes this even worse is that these deaths are not the result of any natural disaster. South Africa is a fertile country which exports tens of millions of tons of food every year. Not just fruit either - thousands of tons of milk powder are currently being exported to Japan to feed pigs. The fact is that Apartheid views its black majority simply as fodder for the white-owned economy. Those blacks not needed to work in the economy are almost literally left to perish. So we see the spectacle of a system which prefers to export food for profit, rather than use it to feed its own starving population.

It is impossible to justify the system of Apartheid. Yet many people who genuinely oppose such inhumanity still have doubts as to whether boycotting South Africa can provide a solution. Will sanctions work? they ask. Won't the black population be hurt? And why, given the large number of oppressive regimes around the world, why pick out South Africa? The purpose of this pamphlet is to answer these questions and to show how we in Exeter can play a part in ridding the world of the evil of Apartheid.

#### Will sanctions work?

Apartheid has been rejected by the overwhelming majority of black people in South Africa, and the system can survive only by repression of democratic protest and through the militarisation of all aspects of society. So where does the technology necessary for such a militarised society come from and how is it paid for? The answer is that only through its links with Western economies does the Apartheid regime cling to absolute power.

These links take a number of forms. There are the diplomatic links through which Britain and the USA, in particular, shield South Africa from concerted international action. Time and again our country has used its veto on the United Nations Security Council to

block sanctions and to block protests against South African aggression against its neighbours. There are the cultural and sporting links through which South Africa seeks to establish itself as a respectable member of the international community. But probably most important are the economic links. These links work both ways. Through them Apartheid buys in the goods it needs to run its industry and military, but it must also sell its own goods abroad in order to earn the money to pay for these imports. These lines of trade are lifelines for Apartheid. If we look at them in detail it immediately becomes apparent that ending the links will mean an end to Apartheid.

To start with there are four crucial areas of import upon which the military and industrial functioning of Apartheid depends. The first is oil. South Africa imports 60% of its oil. Without this inflow not only would industry grind to a halt but the military machine would also cease working. This is why Apartheid government is so desperate to break any oil boycott. Secondly there are high technology goods, especially computer technology; such things as the British made ICL computer which runs the pass law system and the British Marconi-Plessey radar which is used by the South African Air Force. Thirdly there is industrial plant bought from abroad; when the Linwood plant closed in Scotland, causing large-scale redundancies, all the equipment was transferred to make cars in South Africa. Finally there are military goods themselves; the SADF is well equipped with Land Rovers, Centurion tanks, Buccaneer aircraft, Puma assault helicopters - as well as with nuclear weapons thanks to British, German and Israeli collaboration. It is important to realise that, as well as providing all these goods in disparate areas we in the West have also provided the skilled personnel to operate them. It was British atomic scientists from Dounreay who played a vital part in developing the Apartheid bomb.

But the West does not stop at providing the goods and the personnel, it also loans South Africa the money it needs to buy them. The dependence of South Africa on loans was dramatically illustrated in 1985 when world revulsion at Apartheid nearly forced American banks to stop short-term loans to the South African economy. There was a major panic, the value of the Rand fell dramatically and the stock exchange was forced to close. Clearly Apartheid could not survive a loans boycott; indeed were it not for past loans Apartheid might be a thing of history. In 1976 the black schoolchildren of Soweto mounted major demonstrations against the Apartheid education system. On the first day Hector Petersen, a 13 year old was shot dead. On the second day they were met with machine gun fire and over the following weeks the killings intensified. The final death toll has never been established; it is thought to be around 1000 children. The crisis undermined confidence in the ability of Apartheid to survive and the South African financial press bemoaned the lack of money coming into the country. Without a major injection of capital, they said, 'stability' may never be restored. At that point, with Britain taking the initiative, the International Monetary Fund organised a loan of some £700,000,000. Confidence was restored. Apartheid survived.

The only way that Apartheid can afford to buy all these goods, to pay all of these debts, is through exports. The significance of this export market is magnified by the lack of an internal market - the starving black population can little afford the wares of Apartheid. The two most significant exports are gold and coal, coal being the most rapidly expanding export sector. The EEC is a particularly important market, with imports of Apartheid coal rising from under 10% in 1979 to nearly 40% of total EEC coal imports at the present. Indeed one of the only reasons our government can afford its mine closure plan is because of the cheap supplies (based on low wages) coming from South Africa. On top of this there is uranium bought from South Africa which supplies

some 40% of the fuel for our Nuclear power program, as well as providing the warheads for Trident missiles. However the significance of consumer purchases should not be underestimated. These goods have a superficial attraction due to their low prices, but we must never forget how such economies come about; atrocious conditions, deficient welfare services, starvation wages. In 1981 the cash earnings of farm workers were as low as £3 per week! Neither should we forget those who starve while our supermarket shelves are lined with South African food. Every year, British shoppers buy some £650 million worth of South African goods, about £50 for every household in the country. This income is desperately needed for the coffers of Apartheid. A past Prime Minister of South Africa once said that every product of South Africa bought abroad is another 'brick in the wall of Apartheid'. Our shopping habits can make a difference. Refusing to buy South African goods is more than a moral gesture.

It is quite clear, then, that a consistent policy of sanctions could not be withstood by the Apartheid regime. One of two things would result. Either the economy would be unable to sustain the vast state and military machinery required by Apartheid and the whole system would collapse or else the politicians would be forced to the table to negotiate the introduction of genuine democracy. Any doubts about the power of sanctions must surely have been dispelled by the events of 1985. Three days after the announcement of the mildest of sanctions by President Reagan, the South African President Botha was forced into a humiliating U-turn and announced a number of reforms. However cosmetic the reforms were in themselves, the timing of their announcement was of the greatest significance. In the words of the South African Argus newspaper 'nearly every government move at the present is made with an eye on the disinvestment danger'. If such minor sanctions provoke so much frenzy imagine the power of a program of comprehensive sanctions.

Won't sanctions hurt the black population? There is a strange contradiction in Apartheid propaganda. On the one hand it is claimed that sanctions have no effects and on the other it is argued that black people will suffer terrible harm! Now it would be foolish of us to commit the same error. Once the power of sanctions is acknowledged it is evident that the effects will be felt by all those in South Africa. Yet it is crucial to realise that the call for sanctions was not thought up by the Anti-Apartheid movement in Britain. We are responding to an appeal made by the black people of South Africa themselves. The appeal has been made continuously for over 25 years and is eloquently expressed in a message which Nelson Mandela smuggled out of prison for the especial notice of us in Britain. Every act to isolate South Africa, he wrote, adds strength to the liberation struggle. What Mandela was saying to us is that any temporary hardship caused by sanctions is as nothing compared to the unending deprivations imposed by Apartheid. To continue our links with Apartheid is to be implicated in allowing it to survive.

As the confidence of black South Africans grows it becomes more and more evident that Mandela is expressing the views of the vast majority. It should be realised that merely to call for sanctions in South Africa is a crime which can carry a life sentence. Despite this more and more voices are joining that call. It was initiated by a Nobel Peace prize winner, Albert Luthuli, it is now echoed by Desmond Tutu another Peace prize winner. Alan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches has taken up the call along with other black leaders such as Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu. Organisations such as the United Democratic Front, representing some 5 million people and the largest ever non-racial Trades Union Federation, COSATU, publicly support sanctions. COSATU represents those very workers whose jobs are under threat. On top of all this a major opinion poll reported in the Sunday Times showed 73% of South African blacks favouring sanctions - a figure it



admitted to be an underestimate due to fears of retaliation.

Of course a few solitary voices oppose sanctions but all of them in some way linked to the South African state. This is true of the best known of them, Gasha Buthelezi, leader of the Kwazulu executive, set up by the Apartheid regime. The isolation of Buthelezi is evidenced by the fact that one of his own papers, polling in his supposed stronghold areas around Durban, found only 28% of voters saw him as their best leader. 48% opted for Mandela.

In fact the major proponent of the 'it will hurt the blacks' argument is the government itself. It is ironic that the Apartheid government should suddenly discover a concern for its black workers. In truth it is but another indication of the racism of the system in which the white leaders claim to know better than the black people what is good for them. We should not be taken in by, nor echo, this racism.

#### Why pick out South Africa?

The case may well be proven, sanctions may very well have an effect, but there are very many oppressive regimes in the world. It would be very difficult to refuse to trade with every one of them. Why then, it is frequently asked, should one single out South Africa from the rest as a target of sanctions?

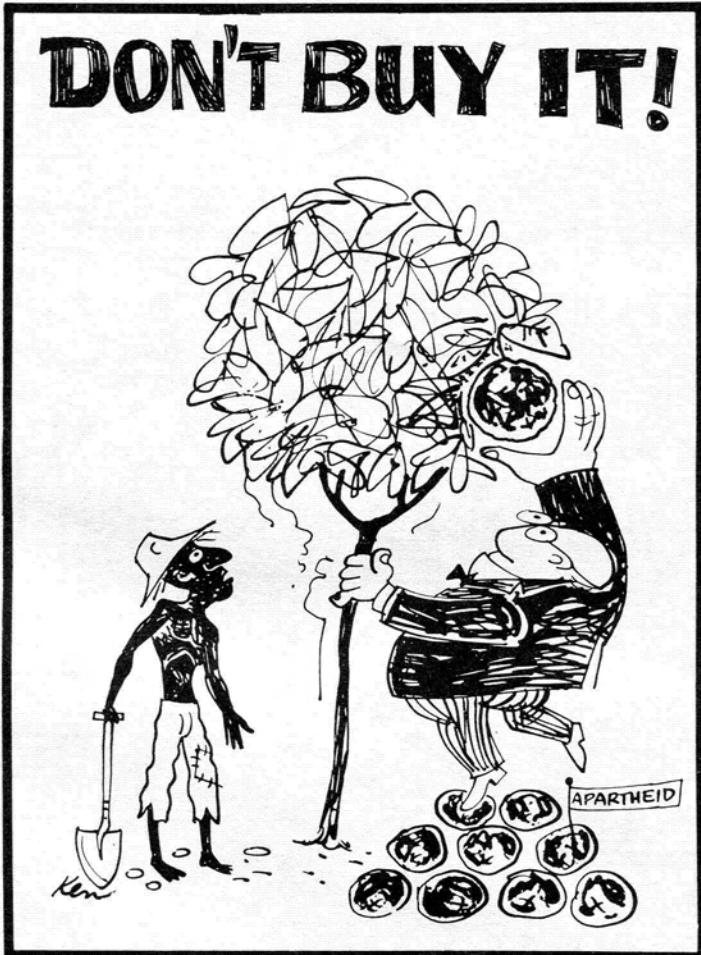
There are three answers to this question. The first is to repeat the point that the sanctions call is not an act of interference on our part but a response to the appeal of the South African majority. No comparable appeal has been made from the oppressed of any other country. The second is to remind ourselves that the form of oppression that exists in South Africa is unique. In other countries you have at least to dissent, to speak out against the regime in order to suffer. In South Africa you only have to be born black. Apartheid represents the survival of the Nazi ethic; its early leaders were Nazi sympathisers, its very constitution is

based on the Nazi Nuremberg race laws. The practical significance of this is that the existence of Apartheid provides support for racism throughout the world. In Britain, for instance, groups like the National Front have links with Apartheid organisations and hold up Apartheid as an example of their ideal society. How can we repudiate racism in Britain at the same time as accepting a society based on racism as a respectable member of the international community?

There is one more reason why Apartheid is of particular significance to us in this country; that has to do with the special responsibility that Britain has for the formation and maintenance of the South African system. Britain used to rule South Africa. It was a British Parliament, in 1909, which effectively handed over all of South Africa to the white minority. It was a British Commonwealth which, for the next 50 years, refused to intervene as one of its member states progressively removed rights from its black majority. The legacy of this involvement is expressed today in the massive economic links between Britain and South Africa. There is some £13 billion of British money invested in Apartheid - some 60% of all foreign investment in South Africa. Over half the foreign firms in South Africa are British. Every year Britain conducts some £3 billion worth of trade with South Africa. One could continue, but it is sufficient to quote the words of Colin Brand, British Consul General in South Africa: 'the constant contribution that British trade makes plays a very important role in South Africa'.

As both the South African and British governments realise, British trade constitutes a lynchpin of Apartheid. Without that trade, Apartheid could simply not withstand the majority democratic movements. We must realise that we have it in our hands to do more than express moral outrage at Apartheid. We can bring about change. We cannot hope to ignore the question of Apartheid; there is a choice that we cannot avoid. Either we do nothing and allow the trade to continue,

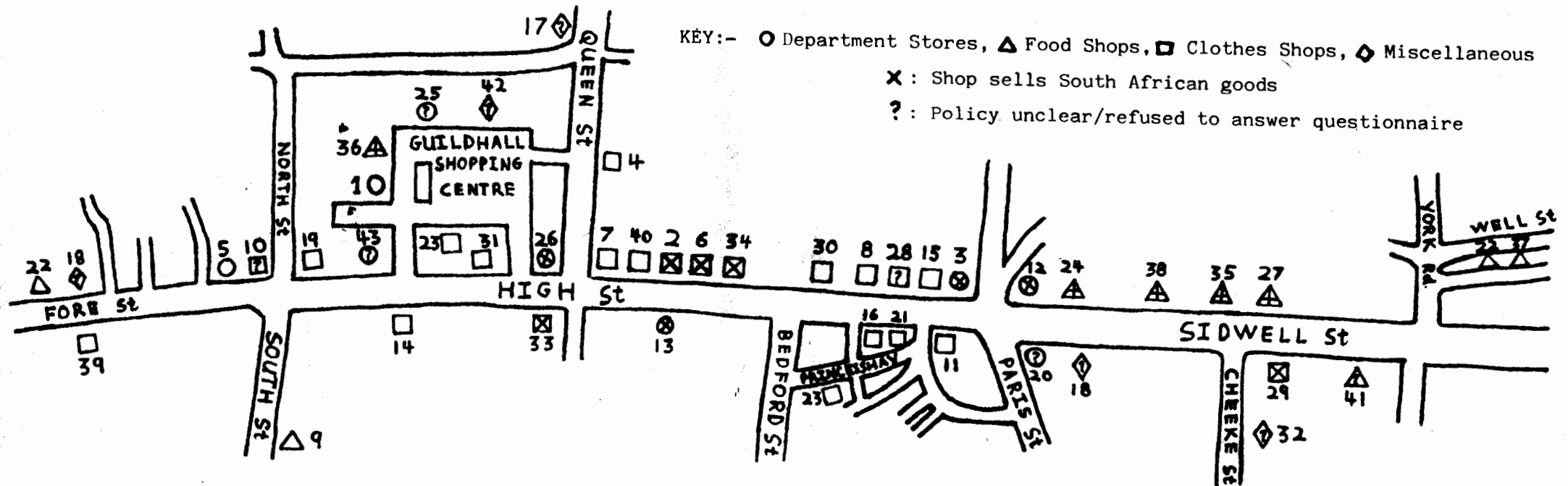
Apartheid to continue, the needless deaths to continue or else we respond to the call of the black majority to aid them in their search for justice by joining the boycott movement. THE CHOICE IS YOURS.



APARTHEID-FREE SHOPPING IN EXETER: A GUIDE TO THE SHOPS

- |                        |                |                       |                   |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Argos               | 12. Debenhams  | 23. Leaders           | 34. Richard Shops |
| 2. Austin Reed         | 13. Dingles    | 24. Liptons           | 35. Rogers        |
| 3. Boots               | 14. Dunn & Co. | 25. Littlewoods       | 36. Sainsbury's   |
| 4. Boules              | 15. Etam       | 26. Marks & Spencer   | 37. Seasons       |
| 5. British Home Stores | 16. Fosters    | 27. Mike's Fruit Shop | 38. Tesco         |

KEY:- ○ Department Stores, ▲ Food Shops, □ Clothes Shops, ◇ Miscellaneous  
 X : Shop sells South African goods  
 ? : Policy unclear/refused to answer questionnaire



- |                     |                      |                       |                  |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 6. Burtons          | 17. Habitat          | 28. Miss Selfridge    | 39. Thomas Moore |
| 7. C & A            | 18. Halfords         | 29. Moss Bros         | 40. Topshop      |
| 8. Chelsea Girl     | 19. Hepworths        | 30. Next              | 41. U-Select     |
| 9. City Ditch       | 20. House of Holland | 31. Paige             | 42. W.H. Smith   |
| 10. Cornishs        | 21. Jean Jeanie      | 32. Payless           | 43. Woolworths   |
| 11. Country Casuals | 22. Kasbah           | 33. Pinder & Tuckwell |                  |

## THE CAMPAIGN IN EXETER

One of the most significant developments in the Anti-Apartheid campaign over recent years has been the emergence of 'Local Authorities against Apartheid'. Over 100 councils up and down the country, representing well over half the British people, have declared their opposition to Apartheid and their determination to break all links with that system.

Last year Exeter City Council joined that growing list. The decision was taken after a major campaign organised by Exeter & District Anti-Apartheid Group the centrepiece of which was a petition calling for comprehensive sanctions to be imposed against South Africa. We obtained 8,000 signatures - 5,000 of which were from citizens of Exeter - and presented them to the Council. It is believed to be the largest political petition ever to be collected in our city.

At the time that the Council made its declaration we made it clear that it was a beginning, not an end to the campaign. While the Council's stand is of great practical and symbolic importance, the intention to make Exeter an 'Apartheid-Free city' can only become a reality when it is acted upon by the people of Exeter.

In particular we felt it important to look at the number of South African goods sold in our City. The attempt to build a consumer boycott has long been a focus of the campaigns of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. After some 25 years of campaigning a series of major breakthroughs were achieved in 1985. In the face of growing revulsion at Apartheid, and growing support for sanctions, a number of major chain stores decided to cease stocking all South African goods. These include the Coop, British Home Stores; Next and Harris Queensway. This means that, for the first time, it is possible for people to avoid shopping at stores which sell Apartheid goods. In this way it is possible to put pressure on the others to also

change their policy and thereby to reach a situation in which no South African goods are sold.

The truth of this was recently demonstrated by Brighton Anti-Apartheid Group. They wrote to the local Presto supermarket asking about their policy. The manager replied by saying that his shop would stock goods from anywhere as long as they sold. Over the next few weeks the group collected 1,000 signatures calling for Presto to stop stocking South African goods and presented them to the manager. He rapidly replied by letter saying that the store intended to review its buying policies. What is true of Presto is true of all shops. If enough customers refuse to buy a particular category of goods they will soon cease to stock those goods.

However, while all these shifts of policy are encouraging, we must not become complacent. Several stores, such as Tesco, Fine Fare and Sainsbury's have declared that, in principle, they intend to phase out South African goods but continue to shop them in great bulk. Even those stores which declare they have no products of Apartheid are often found with such products on their shelves - that is true of both the Co-op and BHS in the Devon area. That is why we must remain vigilant. Getting shops to declare Anti-Apartheid policy is not the end but the start of our campaigning. Once the declaration has been made we must continue to ensure that it is observed.

We decided to do research into the buying policy of shops in Exeter. Letters were sent to 50 major shops in the city and followed them up with personal visits. We spoke to managers and their assistants in order to find out whether they stocked any South African goods and whether they had any policy on the matter. The information was compiled and is presented in two forms in this pamphlet.

Firstly there is the map on the centre pages. This provides a handy summary by showing the shops and

whether or not they stock South African goods. Secondly there is a more detailed guide to the information. This is divided into four categories of shop: department store, food store, clothes store and 'miscellaneous'. Under each category we show which shops stock Apartheid goods - and what sort of things these are - and which ones have a policy of not stocking South African products. By using this guide we can exert our consumer power to reward those shops which oppose Apartheid and put pressure on those which still sell its goods. Over time we can use this power to change the face of the map!

WE ASK YOU TO DO THREE THINGS:

- 1 NEVER BUY ANY SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS.
- 2 AS FAR AS POSSIBLE USE THE 'APARTHEID FREE' SHOPS. WHEN YOU DO THIS INFORM THE SHOPKEEPERS OF YOUR SUPPORT FOR THEIR POLICY. IF, HOWEVER, YOU NOTICE ANY SUTH AFRICAN GOODS IN THE SHOP POINT THEM OUT AND ASK WHY AN 'ANTI-APARTHEID POLICY' IS NOT BEING OBSERVED.
- 3 WHEN YOU DO SHOP AT STORES THAT STOCK SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS MENTION IT TO THE SHOPKEEPER AND MAKE CLEAR YOUR OPPOSITION TO THEIR POLICY.

To help you spot South African goods here are a few guidelines:

South African goods may be labelled in a number of different ways, apart from 'Produce of South Africa' there is 'RSA' (meaning Republic of South Africa). South Africa also exports produce from illegally occupied Namibia labelled as either 'Produce of Namibia' or 'SWA'. In many cases country of origin is


disguised by using wordings such as 'produce of many countries' or 'packed in the UK for the XYZ plc'. In the case of mixed fruit and fruit juice this frequently means South Africa.


The Cape symbol is used to advertise South African vegetables, fruit and wine. Outspan is also a South African brand.


For a list of South African brand names see the list on the inside front cover.


## SHOPS GUIDE: A SUMMARY OF OUR RESEARCH

In order to help the process of shopping for those in Exeter who do not wish to buy Apartheid goods, the following summary of shops' stocks of, and policy concerning, South African goods has been divided into four sections:

Food and Fruit shops  
(marked on the map with the symbol )

Department stores  
(marked on the map with the symbol )

Clothes shops  
(marked on the map with the symbol )

Miscellaneous stores  
(marked on the map with the symbol )

If the symbol is left empty this means that the shop has no South African goods. If a cross is placed in the symbol it means that the shop does stock South African goods. A question mark placed in the symbol means that, while no South African goods were found when we visited the shop, they may be stocked at any time.



## FOOD AND FRUIT SHOPS

In this section, four shops have policies not to stock South African goods. These are:

City Ditch

Seasons

Kasbah

Southern Health Foods

(This latter chain adopted policy not to buy South African goods in November 1985, and so warned our researchers that those S.A. items purchased prior to the policy will be on the shelves until they have been phased out. Such stock is primarily diabetic canned fruit and raisins.)

It is worth noting that several shops in this category have national policies to seek alternative sources for goods which they currently buy from S.A.. Stores with such policies include

Sainsburys

Liptons

Tescos

On the map, they retain the cross in the symbol because they do buy South African goods at present. It is important, as a result, to be especially vigilant when shopping in these stores, and to make your concern known to the shop manager when you find S.A. goods on the shelves. Even more than usual, your purchasing power is effective here - these shops are shifting their buying policy and are likely to be monitoring customer response and sales of S.A. goods.

The remaining shops in the Food and Fruit category all stock S.A. goods and, at present, have no policy to seek alternatives. However, once again, it is worth making the point that several shopkeepers did indicate their willingness to stop stocking S.A. goods if shoppers stopped buying these goods. Such shops include:

Continental Food Stores  
Kendalls Fruit Shop  
Mike's Fruit Shop  
Spar (Pinhoe)  
Rogers

### DEPARTMENT STORES

Two shops in this section in this section have national policies not to stock South African goods. They are:

Argos  
British Home Stores

You will notice that three shops in this category display a question mark within the department store symbol on the map. The three are:

House of Holland  
Littlewoods  
Woolworths

Due to the nature of Department Stores, widely differing types of goods - many of them composed of assorted materials - are on the shelves. For instance a product may be assembled in Britain, and may bear a British label, while it consists of materials from other countries. For these reasons managers of the three stores listed above were not sure whether they stocked South African goods, or goods made from S.A. materials. What is certain, however, is that these stores have no policy against stocking S.A. goods. So such items may be found on the shelves. Be extra careful to check labels when shopping here, and if you find South African goods point them out to the manager. In the case of Littlewoods keep a careful eye on their wine and liquor range.

Four Department Stores definitely do stock South African goods. They are:

Boots  
Dingles  
Debenhams  
Marks and Spencers

It is useful to discuss these separately:

Boots told us that, while they have no policy against stocking South African goods, they stock 'hardly any'. In practice, however, the Boots 'Shapers' range contains S.A. goods. In general, and when in Boots in particular, watch out for all slimmers and diabetic foods - quite a few have S.A. origins.

Dingles does stock S.A. goods, especially fruit and vegetables in their Food Hall. You may find that the country of origin is not clearly marked on the fruit boxes. Check with the salesperson there. Exotic seasonal fruit of S.A. origin is stocked intermittently.

Debenhams and Marks and Spencers refused, locally, to answer our questions and referred us to their head office. In both cases there is no policy against stocking South African goods, and items from South Africa will be found on their shelves.

### CLOTHES SHOPS

It is heartening to note the number of shops in this category who do not stock South African goods. However it is useful to recognise that their motives for this may vary:

The most promising shops, for the purpose of Apartheid-Free shopping, are those shops which have a specific policy against stocking South African goods. In the case of Next this policy was the direct result of Anti-Apartheid campaigning - it shows that we

can succeed, especially in the case of image conscious fashion stores! The full list of shops is:

C & A  
Hepworths  
Next

Country Casuals (In this case some S.A. stock may be left on the shelves since the 'no S.A. goods' policy is relatively new and old stock is still being sold off)

Other clothes shops do not stock S.A. goods but have no policy against so doing. They simply happen not to buy South African goods; many of them, for instance, stock only British goods. They are:

Dunn G.A. & Co.  
Fosters  
Boules  
Chelsea Girl  
Jean Jeanie  
Paige  
Thomas Moore  
Top Shop  
Etam

Despite the fact that, at present, these shops have no S.A. goods it must be said that, in the absence of a firm policy, such goods may appear on the shelves at any time. So it is important to monitor the labels and be ready to register a complaint if they reveal a South African origin.

Among the clothes shops who do stock South African goods are:

Burtens  
Austin Reed  
Richards

However there is a big difference between them. Burtens had only one South African range - a selection of socks - and indicated their willingness to bow to customer pressure not to stock South African. Austin Reed, on the other hand, have strong South African connections and a large proportion of their

goods, suits and the 'Cue' range in particular, are likely to originate in South Africa. The case of Richards is particularly interesting. Just as Anti-Apartheid was planning a major campaign against them they suddenly announced that they were selling all their South African stock. Yet we have still to see whether this is so, certainly Apartheid products remain on the shelves.

Two shops remain in this category. They are

Cornishs

Miss Selfridges

The question mark indicates that both refused to answer questions. While our researchers found no South African goods on the day they visited these shops a refusal to respond indicates a high probability that Apartheid products will appear at some point. Check all the labels before you buy!

#### MISCELLANEOUS

All four shops in this category have question marks.

The four are

Habitat

Payless D.I.Y.

Halfords

W.H. Smith

Payless, W.H. Smith and Habitat were all reasonably certain that they have no South African goods, and, while we could find none on the shelves there is no national policy against Apartheid products. Halfords were less helpful and referred us to their Head Office, but the actual position seems much the same. No South African goods were seen on the day of visit but there is no policy against.

**this pamphlet was made with  
the help of:**

**EXETER LIBERAL ASSOC.  
EXETER LABOUR PARTY  
EXETER AND DISTRICT  
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Exeter and District  
Anti-Apartheid Group

