



SUPPING WITH THE DEVIL

Scotland's Apartheid Connection

The Freedom Come-All-Ye

*Roch the wind in the clear day's dawin
Blaws the clouds heelster gowdy ow'r the bay.
But there's mair nor a roch wind blawin'
Through the great glen o' the world the day.
It's a thocht that will gar oor rottans -
A' they rogues that gang gallus, fresh and gay -
Tak' the road an' seek ither loanins
For their ill ploys tae sport an' play.*

*Nae mair will the bonnie callants
Mairch tae war, when oor braggarts crouselly craw,
Nor wee waens fae pit-heid an' clachan
Mourn the ships sailin' doon the Broomielaw
Broken families in lands we've herriet
Will curse Scotland the Brave nae mair, nae mair;
Black an' white, ane til ither mairriet
Mak' the vile barracks o' their maisters bare.*

*O come all ye at hame wi' freedom
Never heed whit the hoodies croak for doom;
In your hoose a' the bairns o' Adam
Can find breid, barley bree an' painted room
When Maclean meets wi's freens in Springburn
A' the roses an' geans will turn tae bloom,
And a black boy frae yont Nyanga
Dings the fell gallows o' the burghers doon.*

HAMISH HENDERSON

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Photo: Paul Weinberg, Afrapix/Network

"I was standing at a bus stop one morning with about five other women. A police van drove up and stopped in front of us. The policeman, who was about half the age of the women, demanded to see our passes. One woman started to cry, which I found very strange. Black women never cry in public, especially not in front of a Boer! She was sobbing and asking if she could go home and produce her pass which she had in another handbag. Also she had a three-month-old baby at home who needed to be breastfed. Please could she go home: he could come with her to see she was telling the truth. The arrogant young man moved so swiftly. Before we could stop him, he ripped open the woman's blouse and pulled at her breast, to see if she was actually lactating! Of course we all jumped at him - but he blew his whistle and other policemen came and bundled us into a van and off to prison."

JENNY SWEET, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
SPEAKING AT A CONFERENCE ON HOMELESSNESS
JOINTLY ORGANISED BY SEAD, SHELTER SCOTLAND
AND EDINBURGH COUNCIL FOR THE SINGLE HOMELESS

In 1985 SEAD Campaigns published "Scotland's Apartheid Connection" examining Scotland's links with South Africa. Today, in 1990, the need for such a book still exists.

As the 90's begin, white South African politicians claim that they have started to dismantle apartheid and anticipate an end to their international isolation. The British Government urges a policy of encouragement and gentle pressure in recognition of President de Klerk's "reforms". But black leaders, detained and free, in South Africa and overseas, have reiterated their appeals for the intensification of international pressure. Until there is a clear commitment by the South African Government to release all political detainees, lift the ban on black political activists and organisations, withdraw troops from the townships and repeal all discriminatory and repressive legislation, the apartheid regime must remain isolated. It is premature and dangerous to welcome recent events in South Africa as proof of fundamental and irreversible change. Black South Africans still have no rights of free speech, peaceful demonstrations are brutally crushed, hundreds remain in detention and there are at least sixty political prisoners on death row.

For too long individuals, organisations and businesses in Scotland have been happy to "sup with the Devil" by supporting, directly or indirectly, the apartheid regime. This book aims to provide the facts about Scotland's apartheid connection. It will enable people to challenge those in Scotland prepared to reap the rewards of apartheid and it suggests ways of targetting action against those implicated.

To sustain pressure, both in Scotland and beyond, is the least we can do to bring about - sooner rather than later, peacefully rather than violently - the destruction of the evil which is apartheid.

Apartheid: What has it got to do with us?

"The Commonwealth is determined to contribute to efforts to wipe out the intolerable historical legacy that sustains the notion that some human beings are inherently superior to others."

COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT, 1989

The Government of South Africa is not just another repressive regime. It is internationally shunned not simply because a small minority enjoys an artificially high living standard at the expense of the poor majority. It is regarded as a pariah state not just because it turns its armed forces on its people - men, women, children, old people - time and time again. Nor has it earned worldwide condemnations solely because of its cynical control of human labour, forcing families apart in order to survive. South Africa is held in contempt because, out of all the nations on earth, it alone is governed by racism enshrined in its

national constitution, through the system of Apartheid.

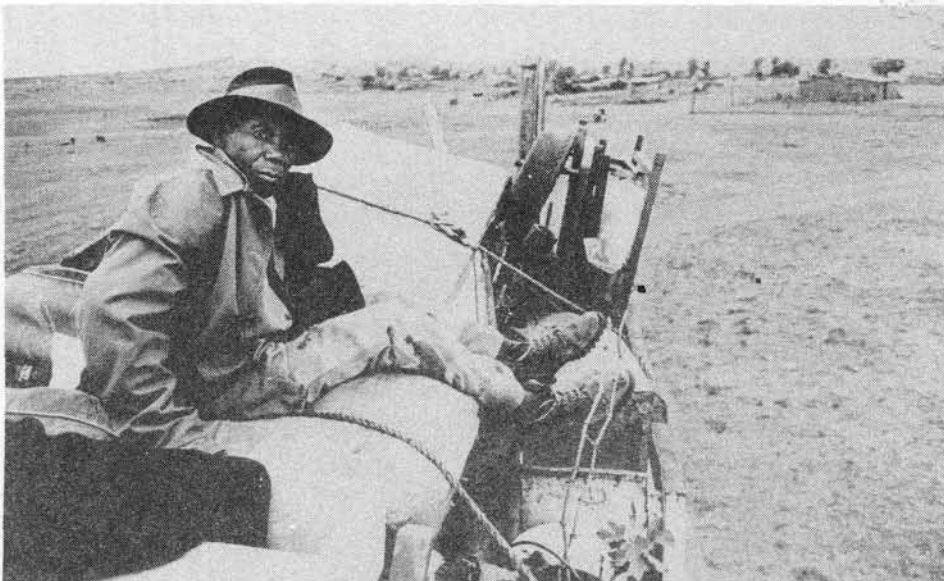
Apartheid was first introduced by the British in Natal Province in the 1870's as part of a "Native Reserves" policy. Once established, white monopoly power stretched on into the twentieth century, surviving intact after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In 1948 the Nationalist Party came to power promising to tackle the "problem" of a rapidly expanding and increasingly organised black workforce. The "solution" was Apartheid.

In spite of recent changes, the foundations of apartheid remain intact. The majority of black people

are still not recognised as South African citizens: they are deemed to belong to one of the so-called tribal "homelands". These homelands make up 13 per cent of the least fertile, remote and underdeveloped land in South Africa. Malnutrition and poverty are common among the elderly, the women and the children who, as non-workers, are effectively exiled there. Most black Africans have no personal and often no historical connection with the homelands.

In "white" South African cities black people are tolerated as a pool of cheap labour but, as non-citizens, they have no vote, inferior access to health care and education,

Photo: Afrapix/OXFAM



The elderly, women and children, economically useless to the apartheid state, are exiled to the remote 'homelands'

Photo: Laurie Sparham, Network



**Sonny Ramphal,
Secretary General of the
Commonwealth, 1989**

poor housing and discriminatory working conditions. The affluence of white South Africans rests upon apartheid.

In Scotland too, we reap the benefits of apartheid. Oranges and apples, wood and textiles, gold and diamonds pour into Scotland from South Africa. Scottish companies profit from cheap labour in South African subsidiaries. In the nineteenth century Scots agricultural labourers were recruited to work for British settlers in Cape Colony. Today their descendants enjoy a far higher standard of living than their

cousins in Scotland. Thousands of Scots fly to South Africa each year - some for holidays, some to visit relatives, some to build a new life for themselves.

Other, more positive, links do however exist. Scots traditionally identify with the oppressed, the colonized and the dispossessed. This may stem, in part, from the historical experiences of Scots themselves. Grim episodes in Scotland's not so distant history saw families forced from their homes to scratch a living on barren patches of land. Scots workers too formed a mass pool of labour upon which was built the wealth of the nation. Access to decent housing, education and health care was won with a struggle which sometimes, as in South Africa today, was met with state violence. Perhaps this has resulted in a willingness on the part of Scottish churches, trade unions, local authorities, aid agencies and thousands of private and public individuals in Scotland to take action to end apartheid.

This book aims to be another peaceful weapon in the fight against apartheid. By highlighting Scot-

land's links with South Africa, naming the companies, organisations and individuals who implicitly or explicitly condone apartheid, it will enable people in Scotland to target their actions more effectively. It also details the escalation of anti-apartheid activities throughout Scottish society over the years and suggests ways in which people can contribute to the fall of apartheid.

Apartheid is a shameful legacy of Britain's colonial past. To fail to condemn apartheid is to deny the historical role of Scots (willing or not) in the establishment of the racist state. Silence is not an option - to say nothing is to implicitly condone racism as a legitimate form of social control. To do nothing is a betrayal, not only of black South Africans, but also of fellow Scots who are not white.

The myth of racial superiority is an evil which cannot go unchallenged. By taking action against apartheid in South Africa and by tackling racial intolerance in Scotland today, we can help "to wipe out the intolerable historical legacy that sustains the notion that some human beings are inherently superior to others."

Racism rears its head - Neo Nazis Eugene Terre'Blanche in South Africa and John Tyndall in Scotland

Photo: Anna Zeiminski, Afrapix/Network



Photo: Gerry McCann



The Sanctions Debate

As the situation in South Africa has deteriorated, international support for sanctions has grown, and the debate generated by the issue of sanctions has intensified. In Britain in particular, given the importance of Britain's economic links with South Africa, and given the opposition of the British government to sanctions, it is a fiercely contested issue.

It is also undoubtedly an issue of great complexity. There are many sincere opponents of apartheid who also oppose sanctions, as well as those who oppose sanctions out of economic self-interest. Opinion as to their effectiveness is divided, and predictions as to the outcome vary. Nonetheless, there has been a shift in favour of sanctions in recent years, both from opponents of apartheid within South Africa, and internationally.

The call for sanctions against South Africa was first made in 1959 when the African National Congress supported moves in Britain to boycott South African goods. In the early 1960's Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the ANC, issued calls for the economic isolation of South Africa.

Support for sanctions from the international community has been greatest at times of crisis within South Africa. The repression which followed the Soweto uprising in 1976 led the United Nations to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Several further attempts by the UN General Assembly to pass resolutions supporting mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa have been vetoed by the USA, Britain and France. Hence the UN has been limited to supporting only voluntary economic sanctions, although full support has been given to sports and cultural boycotts.

The British Government

Britain has a long and close relationship with South Africa, historically, politically and economically. Trade with South Africa and investment in the South African economy remain of considerable significance. This has made successive British Governments reluctant to impose strong measures against South Africa. The current Conservative Government while condemning as "repulsive and detestable" the institutionalised racism of apartheid, is nonetheless totally opposed to comprehensive mandatory sanctions and, although the Labour Party now supports sanctions, it refused to apply mandatory sanctions while in power. (See policy statements in Appendix I).

Because of the nature and extent of Britain's economic links with South Africa, it is often argued that we should not support sanctions, because of potential job losses in Britain. However, estimated numbers of jobs which might be lost vary considerably. The UK South Africa Trade Association, who clearly have an interest in opposing sanctions, estimate potential British job loss at 250,000. A figure commonly quoted is 120,000, but this appears to rest on the assumption that there would be no other changes in Britain's trading arrangement to compensate. Other commentators have estimated figures ranging from 26,000 to 10,000. For example, the Fabian Society have suggested that British job losses resulting from total trade and economic sanctions would not be greater than 26,000 in the worst period immediately after imposition of sanctions, and within four years this figure would have fallen to 4,500. Much would depend on what measures trade and industry took to develop alternative markets. There could be an opportunity here to strengthen economic links with the front line states, which would serve the dual purpose of creating trade for Britain and helping front-line states to decrease their economic dependence on South Africa.

However, the British Government's opposition to sanctions is not based on the impact of sanctions in the UK but on the belief that,

Photo: Scotsman Publications Ltd



"We remain opposed to punitive economic sanctions... They would promote violence and confrontation rather than reconciliation. They would also damage our own economy to no avail"

FROM
'BRITISH POLICY
TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA'
CONSERVATIVE PARTY CENTRAL OFFICE,
1989

The poverty of apartheid: victims of malnutrition in a black hospital

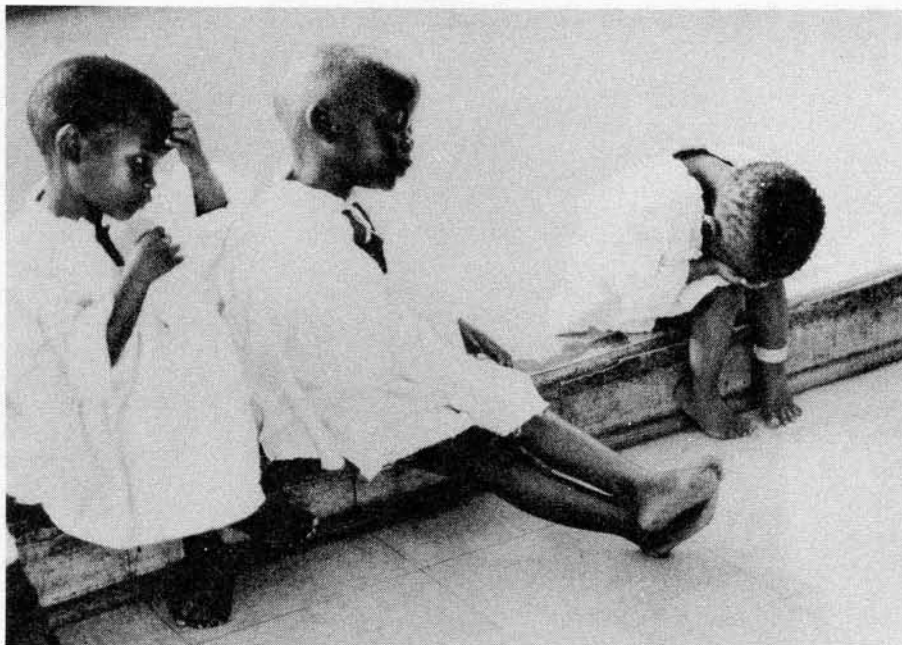


Photo: IDAF

a) sanctions do not work, b) they would stiffen, rather than weaken, resistance to change and c) they would hurt most, those they were designed to assist, namely black South Africans. Britain has therefore effectively vetoed mandatory economic sanctions at the United

Nations, the European Community and the Commonwealth. It has been criticized by black South Africans for its refusal to heed the pleas of the black South African population themselves. (For a complete list of sanctions implemented by Britain see Appendix II).

The EEC

The Declaration of a State of Emergency in 1985 gave rise to renewed support for sanctions within the international community. In September 1985, the EEC agreed to abide strictly by the UN arms embargo, ban exports of paramilitary and sensitive goods, terminate all forms of nuclear co-operation, and end oil exports. In October 1986, the EEC imposed a ban on imports of iron and steel products, on gold coins, and on new investment in South Africa. Some European countries have gone further than this in imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. For example, Denmark and France have imposed bans on new contracts for imports of coal from South Africa.

The impact of the completion of the Single European Market in 1992 on EEC sanctions has yet to be assessed. It could force the UK to monitor and apply sanctions more rigorously. On the other hand South Africa need only establish one point of entry for its exports to gain access to all the Community nations. It is important that the relationship with South Africa is not overlooked when the small print of the Single European Market is being determined.

Political Parties

All the main political parties in Scotland condemn apartheid.

The Conservative Party is, however, at odds with the others over sanctions and disinvestment. The record of the Conservative Government is dealt with elsewhere but it consistently argues that sanctions will hurt South African blacks, stifle the growth of the South African economy, which they claim is necessary for whites to accept change, and will succeed only in entrenching opposition to ending apartheid among whites.

The Labour Party in Scotland, in a resolution passed at its 1989 conference, called for "intensified pressure for mandatory comprehensive sanc-

tions against South Africa" as well as increased assistance to Frontline states.

The Scottish National Party also calls for economic sanctions and support for Frontline states and urges its own members to support consumer boycotts.

The Green Party supports sanctions and, in its 1987 General Election manifesto stated that a Green Party Government would not award Government contracts to firms with South African connections.

The Scottish Liberal Democrats are committed to economic sanctions as a means to peaceful change in South Africa "before war becomes inevitable." (Full party policy statements are contained in Appendix I).

The USA

In the USA, despite former President Reagan's support for the policy of 'constructive engagement' opinion has hardened against South Africa. Supporters of 'constructive engagement' argued that persuasion was better than condemnation and withdrawal, and that a positive economic and diplomatic presence could encourage reform. Companies supporting this position argued that it could lead to better conditions and pay for black workers. In 1977 the 'Sullivan Principles', a voluntary code which asked US companies in South Africa to desegregate facilities, pay equal wages to blacks, improve job training and advance-

ment, and the quality of workers' lives, was introduced. As pressure built up in the mid-eighties for legislation on sanctions President Reagan was forced to take over some parts of the Sullivan code by signing an executive order imposing some sanctions. This action was undertaken to forestall a congressional Sanctions Bill, and it compelled American firms with twenty-five or more employees in South Africa to desegregate the work place and to give equal pay for equal work. A year later, however, faced with stronger legislation on sanctions being imposed by Congress, Reagan exercised the presidential veto. This

veto was subsequently overridden by Congress, in what has been described as 'the biggest foreign policy defeat of the Reagan presidency'.

The Bush Administration is committed to adjusting US "actions towards South Africa to reflect the progress or lack of progress made towards the establishment of a non-racial democracy"¹. In October 1989 Congress received a report which stated that "there had been no apparent progress over the last twelve months or since 1980" (when the US Anti Apartheid Act was passed). It concludes that US sanctions should remain as they are at present.

The Commonwealth

The Commonwealth, from which South Africa was expelled in 1961 because of apartheid, has also demonstrated support for sanctions, though mandatory sanctions have been consistently blocked by Britain. In 1986 the Commonwealth sent an Eminent Persons Group to South Africa to promote the following demands: the dismantling of apartheid; ending of the State of Emergency; the freeing of Nelson Mandela and others jailed for opposing apartheid; lifting of the ban on the African National Congress and other political organisations; and the beginning of a dialogue to establish a non-racial and representative government.

However, despite their attempt to make some impact on the thinking of the South African government, the Commonwealth Head of Government agreed to impose a further set of sanctions measures: a voluntary ban on new investments in South Africa; a voluntary ban in the promotion of tourism to South Africa; and the implementation of EEC decisions to ban the import of coal, iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa.

The 1989 meeting of Commonwealth Heads of State of Kuala Lumpur again saw the UK Government at odds with all other member nations. Having signed a joint statement noting that there had been "no action to indicate that the new South African Government was prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid" Britain then issued its own statement expressing the view that "there have been important and positive changes in South Africa..." It also opposed the establishment of an independent agency to "review and report on South Africa's international financial links on a regular basis, and to gather and publicise factual information on financial flows to, and policies towards, South Africa." Instead Britain undertook to "contribute an equivalent amount for additional help to black South Africans". The UK "view" was condemned by Commonwealth leaders and black South African representatives alike as a clear message of support to the De Klerk Government. (Full text of Kuala Lumpur Statement and The British View appears in Appendix III).

Tighter sanctions agreed by Commonwealth leaders (except Britain) at Kuala Lumpur, 1989

To develop new forms of financial pressure on the Pretoria regime by seeking to intensify and extend financial sanctions, in particular by;

- calling on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher conditions on day-to-day trade financing, specifically through reducing the maximum credit terms to 90 days; and
- calling on relevant governments to make trade credits harder to get by taking South Africa 'off cover' with official government agencies for official trade credit and insurance purposes;
- and agreed that their Chairman should communicate these decisions to the relevant financial institutions and to other governments.

To support the initiative developed by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa to strengthen the arms embargo, and continue to pursue it at the United Nations in the 421 Committee.

The Frontline States

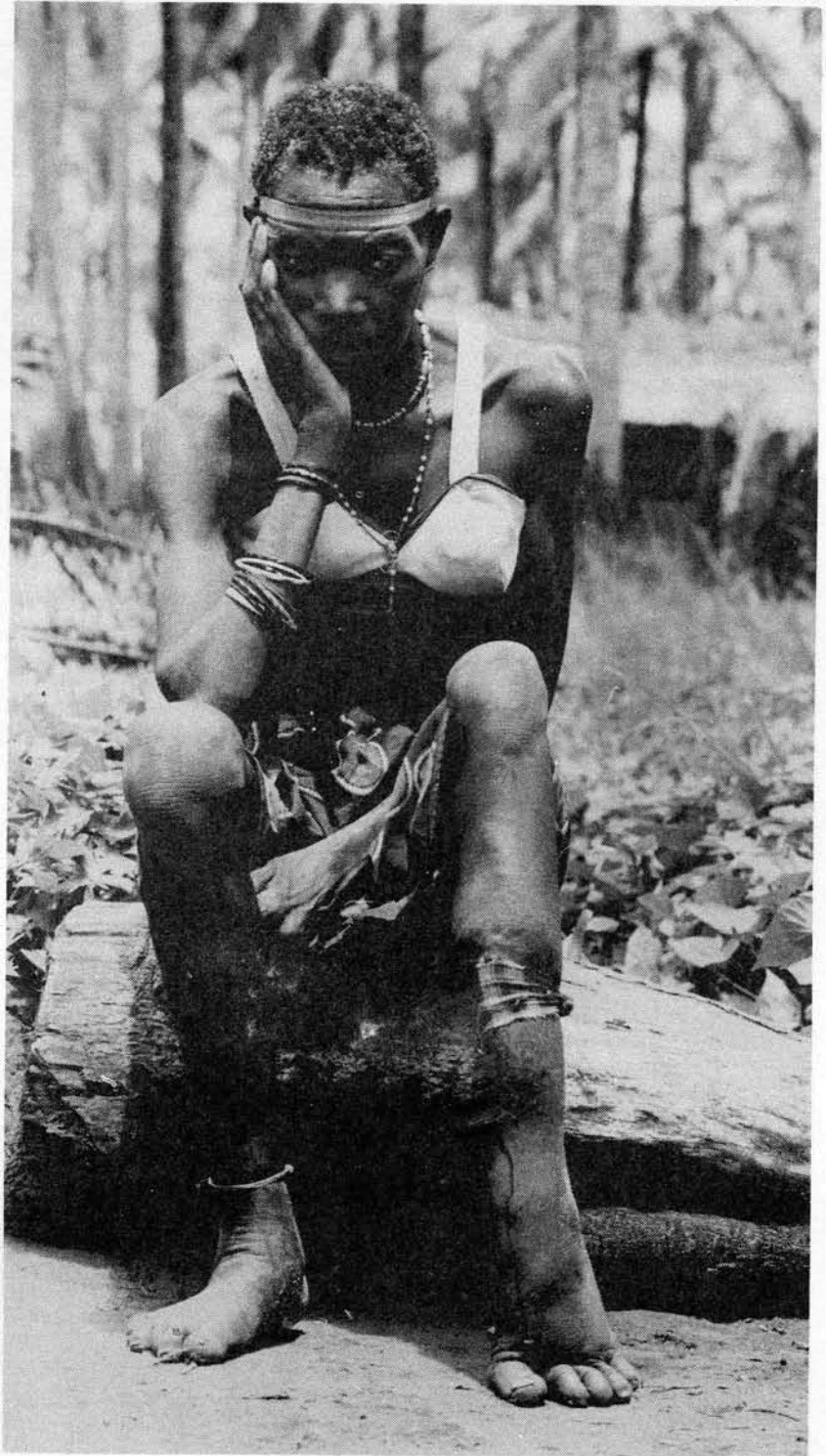
Despite the economic dependence of the front line states on South Africa, and despite the fact that they themselves will suffer from sanctions, their support for sanctions is strong. They are already paying a high price for apartheid. In order to maintain the system of apartheid South Africa not only carries out systematic repression against black people in South Africa, it also carries out a policy of aggression towards majority rule states on its borders through destabilisation, and, until recently in the case of Namibia, through illegal occupation. Angola and Mozambique, where South Africa has backed forces fighting against the governments established after independence in 1976, have been the major victims of this policy of destabilisation. But South Africa has also carried out raids in Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland. It has been established that South Africa's undeclared war on its neighbours has cost more than £10,000 million and more than 100,000 lives since 1980². It has also turned millions of people, particularly in Angola and Mozambique into refugees.

In order to attempt to counteract the economic dependence of Southern African states on South Africa, in 1980 the nine majority rule states of the region - Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Angola - formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), with the aim of co-operating to promote economic development. Peter Mmusi, Vice President of Botswana and Chairman of SADCC's Council of Ministers, stated at the SADCC annual conference in 1986,

"We know sanctions will impose a hardship on us. We accept such hardship, as does a woman in labour, knowing that it will bring forth new hope."³

As an argument to discredit sanctions it has sometimes been said that those calling loudest for sanctions are not prepared to implement them themselves. It has to be recognised that for some of the SADCC countries implementation of sanctions would be extremely difficult, in particular for Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. For others implementation of comprehensive sanctions will also prove difficult. Nonetheless the

Photo: K. Bernstein, OXFAM



commitment to take whatever action is possible is clearly there, and the leaders of the frontline states have consistently called on the international community to impose sanctions.

**Bereft and bewildered:
a Mozambican refugee
displaced by the
South African backed
MNR**

The Black South Africans

Within South Africa itself perhaps the most significant convert to sanctions is Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who, whilst persistently criticising apartheid, opposed sanctions until 1986. In a statement issued in April 1986, Archbishop Tutu called on the international community to apply punitive sanctions against the South African government to help establish a new non-racial, democratic, participatory and just South Africa.

"Most western countries have rejected economic sanctions because we are told that they would hurt blacks most of all. I hope that those who use this argument will just drop it quietly and stop being so hypocritical. It is amazing how everybody has become so solicitous for blacks and become such wonderful altruists... over 1200 blacks have died since August 1984. Blacks are killed mainly by the security forces, almost as if they were flies. Children are detained. Children are killed... I have heard hardly a squeak from the whites who claim they are concerned for black suffering.

"We face a catastrophe in this land and only the action of the international community, by applying pressure can save... so I call upon the international community to apply punitive sanctions against the government to help establish a new South Africa which is non-racial, democratic, participatory and just. This is a non-violent strategy to help us to do so."

(Quoted in the War on Want leaflet, 'Why Sanctions?')

While there remains some black opposition to sanctions (most notably from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu, who argues that sanctions will hurt black people) sanctions are now supported within South Africa by most organisations which represent black people. These include the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the United Democratic Front, all the black churches, the South African Council of Churches, most black trade unions and the largest federation of black trade unions, the Confederation of South African Trade Unions.



Photo: Alan Wylie

"What Mr de Klerk has been doing up to now is the beginning of change. It is the result of pressure... especially... sanctions. It would therefore be a serious mistake to let up on the pressure on the (South African) government at this stage"

THE REV. ALAN BOESAK
IN A LETTER TO SOUTH AFRICAN
BLACK LEADERS,
OCTOBER 1989

The White South Africans

White South African supporters of sanctions include Dr Beyers Naude, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, a predominantly white women's group concerned with civil liberties. The Anglican, Catholic, and Methodist churches - representing more than 1.2 million whites and 4.8 million Africans, 'Coloured' and Indians - have also joined the call for sanctions.

Whilst, as one might expect, white supporters of apartheid oppose sanctions, there are also white opponents of apartheid who oppose sanctions. The best known of the latter are the former Leader of the Opposition, Frederik van Zyl

Slabbert, and Helen Suzman, of the Progressive Federal Party. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert argues, amongst other things, that sanctions and the threat of sanctions have made the government more obdurate and obstinate, and that sanctions can put pressure on the South African economy to become more efficient in certain sectors, as has happened in the case of arms production.

Helen Suzman has argued that sanctions could produce economic chaos, with totally unpredictable consequences. She has also argued that loss of jobs to black people through disinvestment reduces their ability to take effective action against the government through withdrawal of their labour.

However the results of the South African General Election in 1989 actually demonstrated a shift towards those who promote a move towards the dismantling of apartheid. This has certainly been widely interpreted as a measure of the success of sanctions in persuading the white community of the need for meaningful reform.

What you can do

- Lobby your local Councillors, Member of Parliament and Member of the European Parliament in favour of mandatory economic sanctions.
- Lobby your Member of Parliament in support of better Government monitoring of existing sanctions.
- Write to the Press in support of sanctions.

References

1. Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid act 1986, Section 101(c)
2. See Joseph Hanlon and Roger Ormond, 'The Sanctions Handbook' p95 Penguin, London 1986
3. Ibid p96-7

Investment and Trade

In many ways the arguments over disinvestment parallel those on sanctions. Ultimately it is a question of whether western investors in South Africa can play a progressive role in promoting reform of apartheid, or whether they only serve to bolster the system of apartheid by contributing to the development of the South African economy.

If and when western companies disinvest, then the assets they leave behind will fall under the control of South African businessmen. The consequence of this is likely to be lower pay and worse conditions for black workers. Disinvestment can also cause job losses for black workers. Some western com-

panies also put money into developing facilities in black communities, and this support would be lost.

On the other hand, while many outside companies have a better record than indigenous business in relation to black employees this record is hardly inspiring. While some degree of desegregation may have occurred, there is no genuine equality of opportunity for black workers. Rates of pay for black workers are frequently on or only just above the poverty line. In addition, given that many western companies tend to be in fields of greater technological sophistication than South African business, the numbers and proportions of black workers employed are relatively low.

The presence of western multinationals does help the white minority to maintain its affluent life style, but more significantly a number of companies operate in areas of strategic significance to South Africa, both economically and militarily. Though there is an embargo on the export of arms to South Africa, the supply of oil, certain types of vehicle, computers and information technology can all have applications of a military or policing purpose. Thus in some cases companies are directly assisting state and military repression against blacks in South Africa and in neighbouring countries who have been the victims of South African aggression.

South Africa's Leading Trading Partners 1986/87

Country	Value of exports to SA (US \$million)		Value of imports from SA (US \$million)	
	1986	1987	1986	1987
USA	1144	1253	2476	1320
Japan	1357	1882	2248	2455
Federal Republic of Germany	1940	2545	1255	1248
UK	1250	1556	1226	1088
Switzerland	243	272	87	266
totals:	5934	7508	7292	6377

SA statistics cover the SA customs union including Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

1. South Africa has not published overseas trade statistics since 1985 in order to inhibit sanctions monitoring. Data must be collected from individual trading partners and may not, therefore, be entirely compatible.
2. Gold bullion transactions are excluded from these figures.

Source: 'Apartheid in Crisis: A compilation of information on trade and investment in South Africa' Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Mandela Street, London NW1, May 1989.

British Trade and British Investment

Britain's economic links with South Africa are of considerable importance, both in terms of trade and investment. The following table shows the value of exports to South Africa, and imports from South Africa, for 'their leading trading partners', of which Britain is the fifth largest.

The UK Government is actively encouraging the growth of trade with South Africa. The British Overseas Trade Board published advice to those wishing to do business in South Africa. While outlining the "international commitments" restricting prospective traders, Government literature stresses that such measures "are not intended to deter legitimate civil trade with South Africa or in any way influence those with existing investments there. "Advice on the precise impact and interpretation of these measures is available, on a confidential basis, from the DTI¹. It also points out that, with the exception of Government funding for trade mission, "there are no constraints on the advice and support the DTI offers exporters to South Africa".

It is clear from DTI publications that UK industrials, investors and other business people will be given all possible Government assistance to strengthen and develop their ties with South Africa. This is nowhere more blatant than in the commissioning of professional consultancy studies to "identify prospects for UK companies" in the field of petrochemicals and mining. A major project destined to ease the



Photo: IDAF

UK companies supply the apartheid police and military

effects of the oil embargo is being developed off the South African coast at Mossel Bay. According to the DTI "UK companies have won a substantial share of the contracts for the offshore side of the project." Scottish-based RGC Offshore PLC of Methil in Fife and John Brown, both now part of Trafalgar House, have benefited from major Mossel Bay contracts. Thus the UK Government is directly helping South Africa beat the oil embargo.

UK companies have been, and continue to be, important in crucial sectors of the South African economy. British Petroleum owns 100% of BP South African which is one of the biggest and most important industrial concerns in South Africa with substantial interests in oil, coal

and mineral production. BP, along with Shell, has provided a life line to South Africa by helping it to circumvent the international oil embargo.

Barclays Bank has been the target for one of the most intense and well publicised boycott campaigns which has been organised against a company with South African interests. In addition to owning the major share in South Africa's biggest bank - Barclays National Bank which accounts for about 25% of South Africa's banking system - Barclays has been one of the major sources of foreign loans to the apartheid economy.

The loss of business brought about by the campaign led to Barclays' decision to reduce its holding in Barclays National Bank down to 40.4%. However this reduction was achieved through an increase in the Bank's equity rather than by the disposal of shares by Barclays and therefore it still has a controlling share in the South African subsidiary.

Another British bank, Standard Chartered, owns a controlling share of South Africa's second largest bank, Standard Bank Investment Corporation. Standard Chartered has also reduced its holding in its South African subsidiary in recent years, however it also has maintained a controlling share.

South Africa a billion pound market again

In 1988 the UK's exports to South Africa were over the billion pound mark for the first time since 1985. The £1,075m total for the year showed an increase of 13.3% over the figure for 1987. Imports from South Africa also increased by 22.2% from £658m in 1987 to £804m.

The government remains committed to the South African market.

DTI: BRITISH OVERSEAS TRADE BOARD COUNTRY PROFILE, SOUTH AFRICA

Major elements of South Africa's vitally important mining industry are controlled by British companies. Consolidated Gold Fields administers companies which in mid-1988 employed a total of 95,000 employees in South Africa. It is one of the five major mining houses which control all of South Africa's mining industry. Two other British firms, Rio Tinto Zinc and Lonrho also have significant interests in South African mines.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has reported that in the period 1986 to the end of March 1988, fifty-five British companies disposed of their South African subsidiaries and a further nineteen substantially reduced their South African holdings. Around 200 British companies still have investments in the South African economy.

The UK employers with the largest numbers of employees have been targeted for campaigning by the Local Authority Joint Action Against Apartheid group and the Pension Investment Resource Centre. These are listed here:

British American Tobacco
 BET (British Electric Traction)
 British Oxygen Company
 British Petroleum
 BTR (Birmingham Tyre and Rubber)
 Consolidated Goldfields
 Courtaulds
 GEC-Marconi
 Great Universal Stores
 Imperial Chemical Industries
 Lonrho
 Metal Box
 Northern Engineering Industries
 Pilkington
 Rio Tinto Zinc
 Shell
 Trafalgar House
 Unilever

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has identified Shell as their particular target as Shell is a major offender in breaking the oil embargo. Other companies have also been identified as appropriate targets on account of their involvement in areas of strategic significance for South Africa. For example, Tower Hamlets International Solidarity has identified the following:

Photo: Afrapix/OXFAM



International trade provides high living standards for white South Africans

British Leyland vehicles used by police and army.

British Petroleum has helped regime dodge OPEC sanctions: operates in Namibia in contravention of international law.

Consolidated Goldfields operates in Namibia; low pay, high accident rate, anti-union.

GEC-Marconi has supplied high technology equipment used for defence purposes.

Hill-Samuel has arranged large loans to South African government and its agencies.

International Computers Limited has supplied computers to the police and the Bank Administration Department, who use them to enforce controls on blacks' movements.

Plessey has supplied radar equipment which could be used for defence purposes.

Rio Tinto Zinc operates illegally in Namibia; low wages and brutal repression against black workers.

Shell has helped regime dodge OPEC sanctions.

What you can do

- Lobby your Member of Parliament in support of cutting trade links with South Africa.
- Lobby your Member of Parliament about the role of the Department of Trade and Industry in encouraging links with South Africa. Ask for closing down on the South Africa section of the British Overseas Trade Board.
- Write to local offices of UK Companies operating in strategic areas of the South African economy asking them to withdraw from the country and to seek alternative markets in the Front-line states.

References

1. Department of Trade and Industry British Overseas Trade Board, 'Country Profile: South Africa'

Scottish Companies in South Africa

In attempting to highlight the involvement of Scottish companies in South Africa two problems arise. The first lies in defining what constitutes a Scottish company, the second in identifying such companies. Since the 1980's Scottish industry has declined, both in terms of output and employment. This decline has been accompanied by loss of control and ownership to multinational companies.

The Scottish Business Insider magazine takes 'a fairly liberal view of what constitutes a Scottish Company.' Eleven of the companies in their 1990 list of the top 200 Scottish Companies are actually subsidiaries of multinationals, which appear on the UN list of transnationals with South African or Namibian subsidiaries.

These companies do, of course, contribute to the network of links between Scotland and South Africa, but these links are relatively indirect. Attempts to influence the policies of major multinational conglomerates, such as Johnson and Johnson, through their Scottish subsidiaries are unlikely to be very successful. It seems more relevant in a Scottish context to concentrate on Scottish companies on whom pressure for disinvestment from South Africa may be put directly. For this reason the following definition of a Scottish company is used in this book. A Scottish company is taken to be a company which is registered in, controlled from, and based in Scotland. That is, a company, which has its roots in Scotland, and whose decision-makers are still in the main, based in Scotland.

There are companies with South African links which do not fit this definition, but which still have substantial operations in Scotland. For example, Burmah Oil, though having its origins in the Bathgate shale oil company, and registered in Scotland, is now controlled from England, and mainly operates there. Burmah Oil owns various subsidi-

Scottish Companies with Parent Companies that have South African Subsidiaries:

'SCOTTISH COMPANY'	PARENT COMPANY
Barr and Stroud	Pilkington Brothers
Briggs Amasco	Tarmac
Ethicon	Johnson and Johnson (USA)
Devro Ltd	Johnson and Johnson (USA)
Invergordon Distillers	Hawker Siddley
United Agricultural Merchants	Unilever
United Distillers	Guinness
Seagram Distillers	Seagram's (Canada)
Life Association of Scotland ¹	Nationale-Nederlanden (Netherlands)
Hiram Walker ²	Allied Lyons
Wm. Teacher ²	Allied Lyons

1. Subsidiary operating in Namibia but not South Africa

2. Has announced intention to dispose of South African interests

UK Visible Trade with South Africa (UK/£m)

YEAR	1985	1986	1987	1988
UK visible exports to South Africa	1010	851	949	1075
UK visible imports from South Africa	990	829	658	804
Balance in favour of UK	+20	+22	+291	+271

Source: Overseas Trade Statistics of the United Kingdom. 1988 figures are provisional.

aries in South Africa. Coats Patons, a Scottish company until its 1985 merger with Ventona Viyella, also owned subsidiaries in South Africa. A number of major British companies operating in South Africa also have factories and subsidiary operations in Scotland, for example, GEC, British Petroleum, Rio Tinto Zinc, and Lonrho. Rio Tinto Zinc owns 29.8% of the London and Scottish Maritime Oil Company, which is involved in oil and gas exploration and production.

Lonrho, through its control of the holding company Scottish Universal Investments, has substantial interests in Scotland. These include Whyte and MacKay Whisky Distilleries, Holmes and MacDougall, and Scottish Universal Newspapers, which owns twenty-one local newspapers. Lonrho also owns the majority shareholding in the Glasgow Herald and the Glasgow Evening Times through its 80% stake in George Outram & Co., the

owners of the Observer Newspaper.

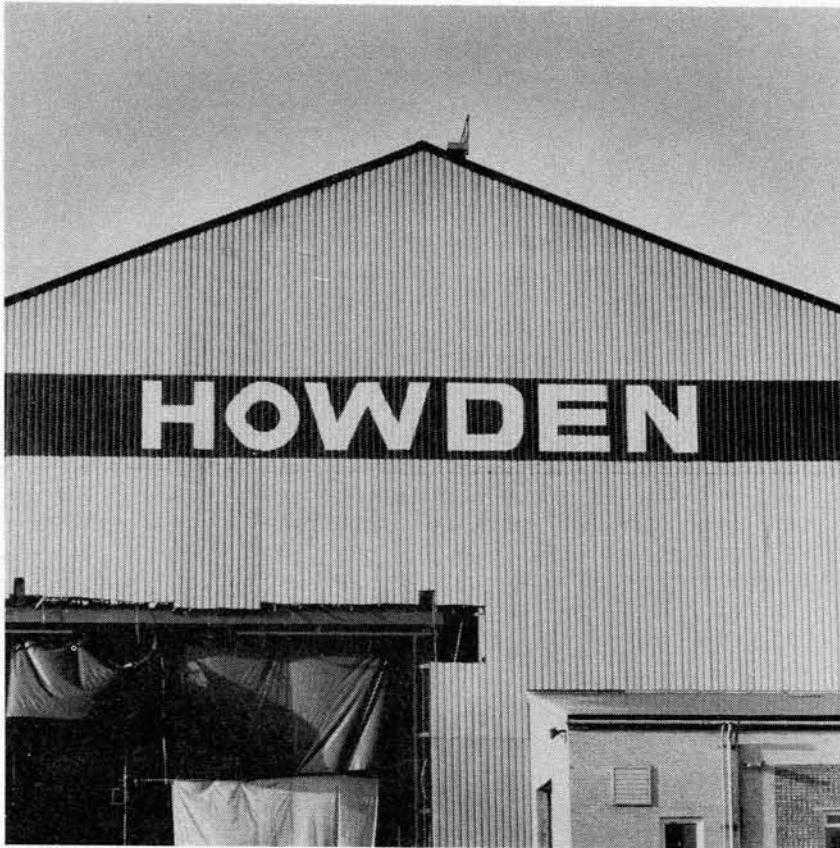
There are also Scottish companies that export products to South Africa, but the lack of detailed information about Scottish exports has precluded an analysis of these companies being carried out.

Smaller Scottish companies may also have links with South Africa. Since some of the small companies that trade with and in South Africa are either private or unregistered concerns there is often very little public evidence of their South African connections. It is therefore impossible to list comprehensively all the links between Scotland and South Africa, but it is possible to give details of the biggest companies, with the most significant links.

There are now only three Scottish companies with South African subsidiaries: The Howden Group, Low and Bonar and General Accident.

The Howden Group

Photo: Gerry McCann



Howden - profits from South African mining industry

The Howden Group is a Glasgow based company specialising in the design, manufacture and installation of air, gas and fluid handling equipment and systems for energy efficiency, and environmental and pollution control. It is the world leader in wind turbine technology. Howden also manufactures essential components for military aircraft, naval vessels and military vehicles. Howden has eight operating units, five of which are product orientated, and three of which operate on a territorial basis. Of the latter one operates in South Africa.

The Howden Group's main bases in Scotland are at Scotland Street in Glasgow and at its works in Renfrew. These factories accounted for about £50m, about one-third, of the Group's total turnover in 1986/87. However the problems it had faced with a major wind park project in California have been overcome and this along with extra orders, including two contracts for

the Channel Tunnel have brought Howden back to profitability with pre-tax profits for 1987/88 reaching £10.2m.

Howden's South African subsidiaries are an important part of Howden's International operations. They employ approximately 12% of total worldwide workforce of about 4,000 and account for around 10% of its turnover (£16m in 1986/87). The profits from its South African subsidiaries were extremely important to Howden's in 1986/87 when the Group's overall profits fell to only £0.14m as a result of the exceptional payments associated with the Californian wind park. According to Labour Research, in 1986/87, "The Howden Group suffered a fall in sales on all markets apart from Africa where their substantial interests in South Africa made a satisfactory profit contribution."¹

"James Howden South Africa made a satisfactory profit contribution. The Kendal and Lethabo power

station contracts continued on schedule. Orders received exceeded expectations with further contracts for the company's gas cleaning products. Howden Safanco improved its profit performance and new orders included hydraulically driven mine ventilations fans for Sasol and further fan orders for Majuba power station's dry cooling system. Our other South African companies did well, a highlight being a significant order for an underground cooling system at Anglo Vaals Hartebeesfontein Mine."

In 1988 Howden re-organised its South African companies, and now has the following subsidiaries: James Howden Holdings, Ltd.; Howden Attach (Pty) Ltd; Howden Weir (Pty) Ltd; GEA Howden (Pty) Ltd.; Davidson Africa (Pty) Ltd.; Davidson Engineering (Pty) Ltd.;

The Davidson Group companies were acquired in January 1988 from the South Africa company Abercam. This acquisition increased Howden's turnover in South Africa to about £29 million. Despite the acquisition of the Davidson companies, however, Howden's annual report for 1988 states "No additional investment has been made in South Africa, bearing in mind the British Government's guidelines on this matter".

The 1988 report also noted a number of successful bids in South Africa for mine ventilation plant. It also won substantial contracts for cooling plants in gold and platinum mines, in a joint venture with Gas Aircooled Systems.

The Howden Group's South African subsidiaries are therefore heavily involved in strategic areas of the apartheid economy. It provides vital components to South African power stations, oil from coal plants, and the mining and defence and armaments industries. Howden's South African companies are part of the industrial sector that forms the backbone of the South African economy. If anything Howden has strengthened its South African connections in recent years, going against the general trend.

Howden did not respond to a request for an EEC Code of Conduct Report so it is not possible to give details of their employment practices for black employees.

Low and Bonar

Low and Bonar is a growing international textiles, plastics and packaging group listed 20th in the Scottish Business Insider's Top 200 companies in 1990. From its base in Dundee, Low and Bonar now controls nearly 50 companies in Britain, Europe, the USA, Canada and Africa.

Since 1985 Low and Bonar has been reducing its links with South Africa. By 1989 its South African workforce had reduced from 563 to 401 people. The company's 1986 Annual Report noted that "world disinvestment and sanctions had their impact on the (South African) economy."

While the rundown of its South African interests has reduced the number of employees, Low and Bonar have increased the profits reaped from operating in the apartheid economy. In 1986, with assets of £2.65m, Bonar Industries had after tax profits of £139,000. By 1988 assets stood at £2.2m while profits had risen to £636,000.

Low and Bonar produce an annual report under EEC Code of Conduct Guidelines. According to the Code of Conduct Report to 30 June 1989, Low and Bonar "aims to conduct its business in a style which combines delegation of responsibility with accountability in an environment of objectivity, expansion, open and fair mindedness, regardless of race, sex or creed."

Low and Bonar had five trading operations in South Africa to June 1989. The company recognises trade unions and has agreements with the National Union of Textile Workers (ACTWUSA), the Steel Engineering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa and the Garment Workers Union. Bonar Filters (pty) Ltd in Johannesburg employs only 28 people (21 are black) who have not sought trade union representation.

Low and Bonar does not appear to adopt a positive policy towards support for black businesses nor does it consistently support projects designed to benefit the black



Photo: Gerry McCann



Low and Bonar - no support for South African black businesses

community, except through the membership, by the Chief Executive of Bonar Sinvar Plastics Division, of Rotary International.

Some non-whites do hold supervisory posts but the company policy is to recruit according to qualification for the job with no positive action to compensate for poor black educational opportunity by recruiting and training black workers.

Segregation exists within two workplaces in toilet facilities, otherwise premises are not segregated.

EEC code of conduct

The EEC introduced guidelines in the late 1970's for companies with a 50% holding (or more) in South African companies. Under the code of conduct, companies with subsidiaries in South Africa employing more than 20 black South Africans are asked to voluntarily submit annual reports covering wages, working conditions and trade union rights for black employees.

General Accident



Photo: Gerry McCann

General Accident - underwriting civil disorder in South Africa

General Accident, with its international headquarters in Perth, is one of the United Kingdom's largest Insurance and Life Assurance companies. It was 1st in Scottish Business Insider's Top 200 Scottish Companies for 1990. It is involved in a very important sector of the South African economy providing insurance in a country which is suffering from civil disorder and unrest.

1985 was the company's Centenary Year and it therefore produced a very attractive brochure detailing how General Accident has grown into a major international insurance firm. The brochure proudly boasted that General Accident "has spread to 14 countries and is one of the four companies of its kind in South Africa offering virtually the entire spectrum of short-term insurances in both the public and private sectors."

General Accident owns a controlling share in General Accident Insurance Company South Africa Limited. Until 1981 this company was wholly owned by the Scottish parent company but in that year it acquired the Southern Insurance Association and through this acquisition 29% of General Accident South Africa fell into South African ownership. The Scottish company's holding now stands at 51%.

Despite being in its centenary year, General Accident did not perform well in 1985. General Accident in South Africa appears to have been

affected badly by the civil disorders and troubles in that country. The 1985 Annual Report states that, "In difficult trading conditions a series of large claims produced an underwriting loss in South Africa." There was an improvement in the situation in 1986 due, according to the company's 1986 Annual Report, "to a firmer market and to stringent underwriting action implemented during the year," and in 1987 and 1988 General Accident South Africa's performance continued to improve.

General Accident's Report under the guidelines of the EEC Code of Conduct for companies with subsidiaries in South Africa is produced annually on a voluntary basis. How useful this report will be in future is hard to say as the company stopped classifying staff on the basis of race at the end of June 1989.

General Accident's stated policy is to operate workplaces where all employees are fully integrated, have equal access to training, education and promotion, and are paid according to the job they do, not according to race. They will not use migrant labour and give support to black business and black charitable organisations.

Being largely a white collar company most employees are white, reflecting the poor educational opportunities available for black people in South Africa. While non-whites do hold supervisory posts, there is

no stated policy of positive action to either recruit or promote more non-whites into senior positions.

While General Accident clearly takes responsibility for desegregation within the company, its operations in South Africa are, as it points out in the Report, "subject to local requirements". Its presence in the apartheid state, regardless of its record towards its own employees, condones the system of Government. Neither in the Annual Report, nor in the EEC Code of Conduct Report, is there any statement against apartheid.

Although Howden did not make available their EEC Code of Conduct Report, they too operate "subject to local requirements" in South Africa and likewise, by their presence, accept "government by racism".

There is no evidence in the companies' Annual Reports to suggest that any of the three Scottish companies are taking seriously the role of "constructive engagement" by which international business claims to be actively pressing for an end to apartheid.

What you can do

- Write to the named Scottish companies which have South African subsidiaries asking them to withdraw from South Africa.
- Write to UK or multinational companies with operations in Scotland and South Africa expressing disapproval of their South African connections.
- Write asking what the companies above are doing in South Africa to press for an end to apartheid.
- If you are insured with General Accident (or any other insurance company with South African links), change companies and let them know why.

References

1. Labour Research Fact Service, 5 November 1989

Financial Investment in South Africa

The Scottish economy is linked to the South African economy not only through the subsidiary operations of multinational companies, but also through financial investment. Even if the average person is not a direct investor in either the shares of multinationals, or in investment trusts and unit trusts, it is quite likely that their money may be available for investment in South Africa, through banks, insurance companies and pension funds.

Investment Trusts

Investment Trusts have played an increasingly large role in the British financial world during the 1980's. They are particularly important in Scotland, where they own and control a very large share of the Scottish financial market, and of Scottish investment. Investment trusts buy stocks and shares on the stock markets in Britain and abroad. They are a convenient way for individuals and institutional investors to invest, since investment is spread through a number of channels, and thus the risk is also spread. All trusts have clearly defined investment policies, which

outline the criteria for investment decisions, which may be, for example, on a geographical, or industrial sector basis.

There is a clear trend since 1984 for investment trusts to sell off or reduce their direct investments in shares in South African companies.

The number and size of South African shareholding held by Scottish investment trusts has declined in line with this trend. In 1984 13 Scottish trusts held investments in South Africa. By 1989, this had declined to 5. The political and economic situation in South Africa over the last four years

has undoubtedly been a major factor in this disinvestment process. South Africa is perceived as being incredibly risky in economic terms.

Thus direct investment in South Africa by investment trusts has now shrunk to a very small proportion of their investments. However, many trusts have sizeable shareholding in companies which have interests in South Africa, such as Shell, British Petroleum, Imperial Chemical Industries, and British American Tobacco. Indirect investment in South Africa is therefore likely to still be of considerable significance.

Unit Trusts

The essential difference between unit trusts and investment trust is that unit trusts are not quoted on the stock exchange, and 'units', as opposed to shares, can be bought direct from the fund manager. Unit trusts are normally linked to individual pension plan schemes, and it is through this link that there has been a substantial growth in unit trusts in the 1980's.

There appears to be no direct investment in South Africa by Scottish unit trusts, but as with investment trust, many hold shares in companies with interests or subsidiaries in South Africa or Namibia.

Trusts continuing to invest in South Africa¹

TRUST	% INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
Atlanti• Assets Trust	1.1
Independent Investment Co.	3.2
The Scottish National Trust *	0.3
The Edinburgh Investment Trust	0.2
Shires Investment plc	4.0

* Not to be confused with the conservation organisation The National Trust for Scotland.

Banks

Given the nature of the international money markets, the way in which trade with South Africa is financed through Bank Credits, and the difficulty of ascertaining details of bank lending portfolios, it is not possible to absolve any "Scottish" Bank from having indirect links with South Africa. However it is possible to highlight whether there are any direct links between "Scottish" Banks and the apartheid economy.

There are three Banks which have their headquarters in Scotland and which are thought of as being Scottish, although even the ownership of these banks is not clearly Scottish - The Royal Bank of Scotland, the Bank of Scotland and the Clydesdale.

According to the ELTSA report, "British Banks' Interests in Apartheid,"² neither the Royal Bank of Scotland nor the Bank of Scotland have direct interests in South Africa or Namibia. The amount of these banks' loans exposure to South Africa is not known but is thought, by ELTSA, to be relatively small. Neither bank participated in credits or bonds issued between 1982 and 1984. However, both banks are thought to have been among the 333 creditor banks that agreed and took part in the debt rescheduling that ended the South African financial crisis in March 1987.

ELTSA reports that the Bank of Scotland "possibly has correspondent banking relationships with South African banks and almost certainly finances trade with South Africa." The Royal Bank of Scotland does finance trade with South Africa although it has stated, "our current policy would be opposed to any increase in our South African exposure."

Whilst the Clydesdale Bank was owned by the Midland Bank it was heavily linked with South Africa. However Clydesdale Bank's new owners are not amongst South Africa's major creditors and, unlike the Midland Bank, does not appear on the United Nations list of Transnational Companies with interests in South Africa or Namibia.

It is almost impossible to guarantee that money which is deposited with any bank is not in some way linked with South Africa. Even if the bank does not lend

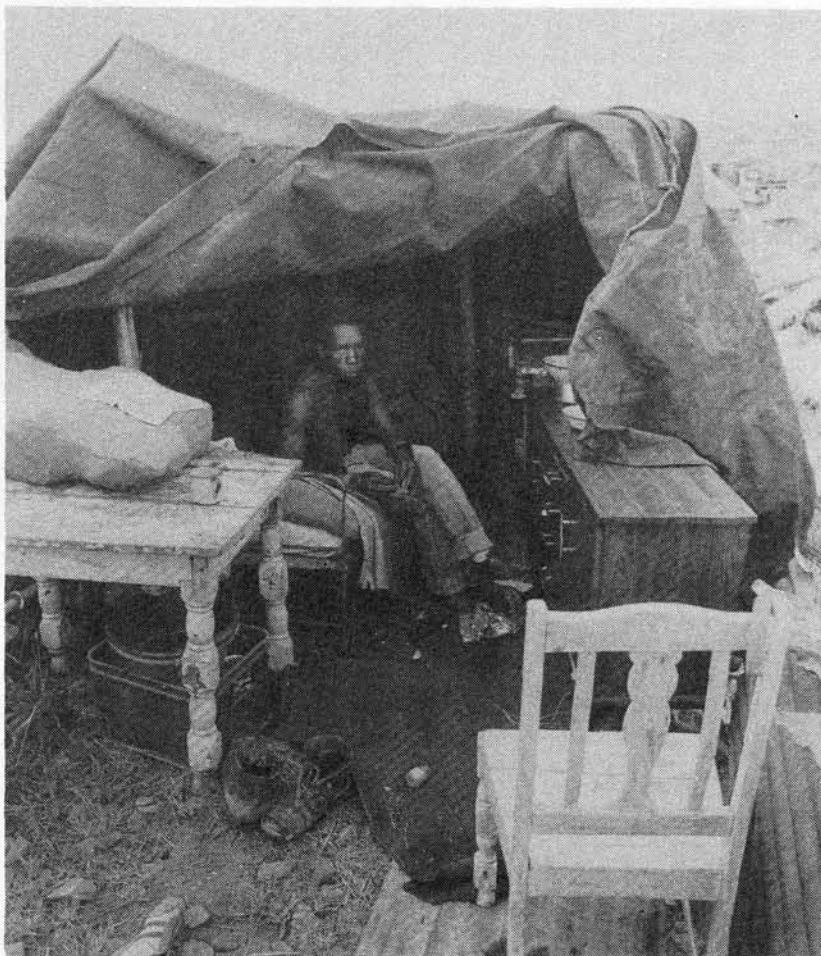


Photo: Paul Weinberg, Afrapix/OXFAM

Housing in the homelands - most black Africans have no personal or historical connection with the homelands

directly to South Africa or provide bank credits for trade with that country it may provide financial services, including loans, to companies that invest in or trade

with the South African economy. Further, since banks also invest in shares, they will undoubtedly own shareholdings in companies that have South African subsidiaries.

Insurance and Life Assurance Companies

One of the commonest ways in which individuals save and invest money for their future needs is through private pension or life assurance schemes. Life assurance companies based in Scotland have a very large part of this important financial market. The Edinburgh based company Standard Life is the largest mutual life office in Europe, with assets of almost £12,000 million in 1987.

We have already referred to the role of one Scottish general insurance company, General Accident, in South Africa. None of the Scottish life assurance companies have direct interests in South African companies, although a substantial proportion of their investments are held in the shares of multinational companies that have South African subsidiaries.

Pension Funds

Many Scottish workers contribute to Pension Funds and thereby own shares through the investments made on their behalf by the Pension Fund managers. The amount of control that contributors to Pension Funds have over their investment varies between funds. Trade Unions usually have representatives on the Boards of Trustees of Pension Funds but they seldom have much real say in how the Funds are managed. The Board of Trustees of Local Authority Pension Funds include elected Councillors as well as representatives of local authority trades unions and may therefore be more likely to support the Funds having particular investment policies.

Local Authority Pension Funds are important because of their sheer size. They make up a substantial part of the total amount of money invested on the Stock Exchange. At the end of the financial year 1986/87 the total market value of Local Authority Pension Funds in the UK was £30 billion. The largest fund is Strathclyde Regional Council's which stands at nearly £2 billion.

Apart from local authority pension funds, other major public bodies, such as Health Boards, invest substantial sums of money ei-



Photo: OXFAM

South African Trade Unionists are vocal in their demands for withdrawal by foreign investors

ther through pension funds, or as trustees for endowment and trust funds. Greater Glasgow Health Board, for example, has a policy of not investing in companies involved in the tobacco industry, but has no policy on investment in South Africa. In 1988 the Board held shares in BP, Shell, Consolidated Goldfields, Coats Viyella, and Rio Tinto Zinc, all of whom have interests in South Africa. By contrast Lothian Health Board's policy in relation to its Endowment Fund, states "that

investments in South Africa should be avoided whenever possible as long as this was not detrimental to the fund."³ If professional advice is sought, and if trustees can show they believe they are acting in the interests of the beneficiaries, they can decide to disinvest from companies with South African interests. Fife Regional Council, for example, does not invest in South Africa pointing out that "there are...sound commercial reasons...on the grounds of political instability."⁴

Local Authority Pension Funds: Investments and Policies

AUTHORITY	POLICY	SOUTH AFRICAN LINKED MULTINATIONALS INVESTED IN
Strathclyde	No direct investment in South Africa.	Probable, but details not known as portfolio is not made public.
Lothian¹	No direct investment in South Africa. No investment in any company which obtains more than 50% of its gross profits from South Africa.	ICI, BTR, Shell, BP.
Fife	No direct investment in South Africa.	No information publicly available.
Central	No direct investment in South Africa.	No information publicly available.
Tayside	No investment in companies having a substantial operating base in South Africa.	No information publicly available.
Grampian	No direct investment in South Africa. No investment in companies with major interests in South Africa.	No information publicly available.
Dumfries & Galloway	No direct investment in South Africa.	RTZ, BTR, Shell, BP.
Orkney Islands	No policy.	No information publicly available.
Shetland Islands	No policy.	No information publicly available.

1. Information from Annual Report for year ending March 1987

The trends towards disinvestment

These bodies examined above responsible for investment policies in Scotland show an overall tendency to move away from investment in South Africa. In some cases this move will have arisen from purely economic considerations, in other cases from sensitivity to public pressure, and to political and moral considerations. Nonetheless, many of the above bodies retain substantial holdings in major multinational companies which have subsidiaries in South Africa.

However, there is now a growing movement towards ethical investment in Britain, and there are now several funds that use ethical criteria to guide their investment policies. Such

criteria include not investing in companies involved in the production of arms, alcohol, and tobacco, nor in companies with a bad

record in environmental effects, nor companies with South African connections.

Funds which do not invest in companies connected to South Africa are Stewardship Friends Provident, Fellowship (Buckmaster and Moore), Ethical Investment Fund, N M Schroder Conscience, and Abbey Life Investment. Ethical Investment Funds have performed well when compared to the Stock Exchange as a whole. For example, between its launch in June 1984 and November 1986, the value of units in the Stewardship Trust, run by Friends Provident, rose by 11.5% more than the Financial Times Ordinary Index.⁵

The growth in demands for information about ethical invest-

ment has given rise to two organisations which provide information and advice to investors. The Ethical Investment Research and Information Service (EIRIS) was launched in 1983 with the support of church and charitable bodies including Quakers, Methodists, and the Rowntree Trusts. The Pensions Information Resource Centre (PIRC) was set up in 1986 to provide co-ordination for local authorities wishing to use their pensions funds more positively.

These organisations can provide advice and information not only for the individual investor, but also for people who wish to influence the policies of their local authority, their

union, their church, or whichever institutional investor to whom they may in some way contribute. This may in turn

lead to action designed to influence the policies of major multinationals, either through disinvestment, or alternatively, through shareholder companies. For example, a joint committee of councils, mainly in London, in conjunction with PIRC, has targeted the top twenty UK employers in South Africa. They have used the combined shareholdings of supportive shareholders to raise questions at the annual general meetings of six companies - ICI, BP, BTR, Unilever, BAT Industries and GEC. Whilst this joint action is unlikely to win enough votes to bring about disinvestment, it provides adverse publicity for the company, and it can take up a disproportionate amount of directors' time.

*...there is now a
growing movement
towards
ethical investment
in Britain*

What you can do

- Using building societies instead of banks. They invest exclusively in domestic property, do not lend to foreign governments, do not participate in foreign exchange or credit dealings nor do they buy shares in companies with South African interests.
- Seek advice and information from EIRIS and PIRC before you invest.
- Invest in one of several Ethical Investment funds being offered today.
- If you discover that your money is being invested in apartheid, move your funds but make sure that you inform the bank, investment trust, etc. why you are doing so.
- Use your position as a trade unionist to ensure that your pension fund is not investing directly or indirectly in apartheid.
- Use your position as a poll tax payer to pressurise your local authority to adopt an anti-apartheid investment policy. If necessary tell them that civil unrest in South Africa makes investment there unwise. (Local authorities may need to justify such a move on these grounds.)

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1. 'Investment Trust Yearbook 1988', Association of Investment Trusts
2. 'British Banks: Interest in Apartheid', End Loans to South Africa, 14 February 1986
3. Letter from Treasurer of Lothian Health Board, 4 July 1988
4. Letter from Chief Executive of Fife Regional Council, 5 December 1989
5. 'New Statesman', 21 November 1988

South African Links with Scotland

The economic links between Scotland and South Africa are not just one way. South Africa also has business interests in Scotland.

The 1970's were a period in which there were very high levels of outward investment by South African business. The boom in the price of gold and diamonds in the mid 1980's, as a result of world economic uncertainty and very high levels of inflation led to super-profits being made by the South African mining industry. The South African mining conglomerates such as Anglo American and Barlow Rand were keen to invest these profits in Europe and the United States for several reasons. Firstly, the opportunities for investing within South Africa were relatively limited. Secondly, foreign investments were safer than South African investments. Thirdly, the independence of Angola and Mozambique and the liberation struggle in Rhodesia had cut off these areas of possible investment. Finally, investment abroad had the double benefit of increasing links with the 'outside world' and also, of allowing the transfer of information about technology which was being stifled by sanctions.

The transfer of information about technology is a two way process. Some South African mining firms are world leaders in mining technology and are therefore interested in investing in other mining firms throughout the world. On the other hand some sectors of South African industry have undoubtedly suffered from the partial sanctions that have been imposed against South Africa. Investing in foreign companies is one way of trying to break these sanctions and transferring information and technology.

The Anglo American Corporation which controls the majority of the South African mining industry also owns about one-half of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock

Photo: Scotsman Publications Ltd



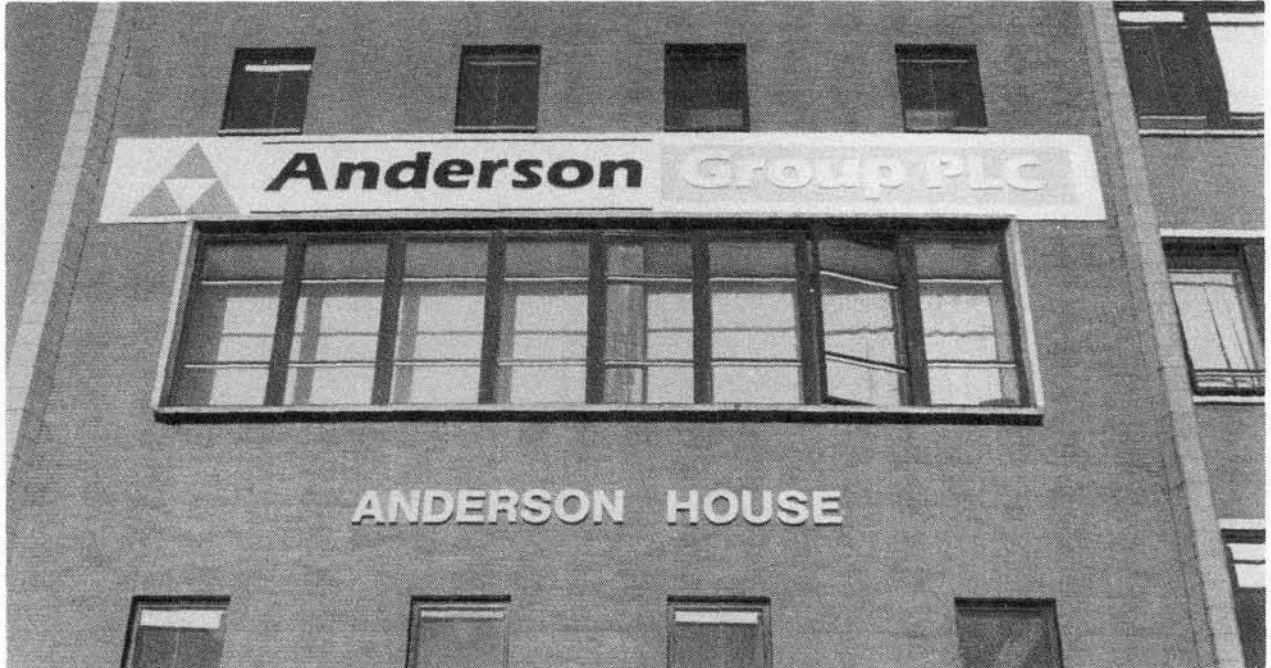
The end of the road for Bilston Glen Colliery - low wages and dangerous conditions in South Africa's mines have depressed world coal prices and accelerated the decline of the British coal industry

Exchange. This conglomerate has developed into one of the world's leading multinational companies. Anglo American's foreign interests are held through a company which was previously registered in Bermuda but which is now registered in

Luxembourg - Mineral and Resources Corporation (MINORCO). The South African company has a controlling 32% stake in MINORCO. MINORCO in turn owns 36% of a London based company, Charter Consolidated.

The Anderson Group

Photo: Gerry McCann



The Anderson Group - worldwide suppliers to the mining industry

It is through Charter Consolidated that South Africa has several links with Scottish Industry. The main one is through the Glasgow based Anderson Group (formerly Anderson Strathclyde) which was taken over by Charter in 1983. The British Monopolies Commission had recommended that the sale should be stopped because of the very large share of the mining equipment market which would be controlled by Charter. However, the Government rejected this advice and allowed the sale to proceed. The Anderson Group is therefore now 100% owned by Charter Consolidated. Although its Scottish based management continues to control its day to day affairs, decisions about strategy, appointment of directors and a large scale investment have passed ultimately to the parent company.

The Anderson Group is principally engaged in the design and manufacture of underground mining equipment which it supplies along with other mining products to a worldwide market. It is one of the leading companies in this market. Charter's ownership of the Ander-

son Group gives it a dominant position in this sector of British industry and also means that Anglo American has direct or indirect control of a large part of the mining industry and mining equipment industry throughout the world.

One of Scotland's surviving

major engineering concerns, the Anderson Group has operations in Motherwell, Bridgeton and East Kilbride. It also has subsidiaries working worldwide including the South African company Anderson Mavor at Germiston in the Transvaal.

Solaglas CDW

Edinburgh based glazing firm, Solaglas CDW is owned by a London based company Solaglas Holdings which is a subsidiary of a South African parent company, Plate Glass and Shatterprufe Industries (Pty). Solaglas Holdings is the largest glass merchanting, processing and glazing company in Britain. Although Solaglas CDW appears to operate autonomously from its South African parent company it is nevertheless linked to the apartheid states through this connection.

Pilkington

Over 95% of all glass used in Britain is produced by Pilkington Brothers, a company which has very considerable interests in South Africa. Indeed Pilkington's actually has links with Solaglas' South African parent. Pilkington also has an interest in many glazing companies in Britain. It is therefore virtually impossible to obtain glass from a company which is not linked in one way or another to South Africa.

Thomson T-Line

One other notable South African interest in Scotland has been identified. It comes via a small Falkirk company, Thomson T-Line. In 1985 two South African businessmen bought a controlling 61.5% share in the struggling caravan manufacturer and timber merchants for about £500,000. The two South Africans who were backed by financial institutions including Scottish Amicable and FS Insurance, have used the Falkirk company as a shell for the purpose of taking over a number of other companies. Thomson T-Line now comprises electronics assembly, distribution of electrical cables, industrial fasteners and engineers' supplies,

For South African business, investing in foreign companies is one way of trying to break these sanctions and transferring information and technology

chemical manufacture and distribution and flexographic printing. Thomson's acquisitions have included the Aberdeen based Aberthorpe Oilfield Services which employs 60 people in the distribution of rotary

and pile handling equipment for the drilling industry.

Its biggest and most prominent acquisition came in February

1988 when it paid £90m for the football pools giant, Vernons. The acquisition was not only of the pools business but also of Vernons' printing, distribution and related businesses. This includes its database of three million names and addresses and the network of 36,000 collectors.

Barlow Rand

Barlow Rand is one of the principal industrial conglomerates in South Africa with about 7% of the shares in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. One of its largest overseas investments is an 86% holding in the British company J. Bibby and Sons plc. Bibby's is a holding company controlling a number of subsidiaries in various industries: animal feeds and agricultural seeds, hospital and laboratory glassware, disposables and services, materials handling and paper products.

One of Bibby's main interests is in Barlow Handling Ltd which has branches in Aberdeen, Cumbernauld and Dundee. It also owns Hamlyn Milling Ltd (previously the Angus Milling Co) which supplies animal feeds, horticultural products and cereals to local authorities, amenity bodies and garden centres.

Coal

In the aftermath of the 1985 miners strike South African mining companies succeeded in recruiting many miners, some of them from Scotland. Yet South African coal is partly to blame for the demise of the Scottish coal industry. The world price of coal is set by the South African reference price. Black miners are paid one sixth of white miners' wages so the international price of coal is artificially low. Overseas coal produced by cheap labour in South Africa, Colombia and other Third World countries, and sold, sometimes at below the cost of production, to countries such as the UK has contributed to the closure of pits all over Scotland. It is not Scottish miners who have "priced themselves out of a job" but the exploitation of fellow miners, particularly in South Africa, which has dealt a body blow to the British coal industry.

South African NUM members have consistently called upon their British counterparts for sanctions

on South African coal. It is a call which has been taken up by the NUM nationally. South African coal does enter the UK. Although the SSEB has a policy not to use South African coal almost 20 thousand

It is not Scottish miners who have "priced themselves out of a job" but the exploitation of fellow miners, particularly in South Africa, which has dealt a body blow to the British coal industry

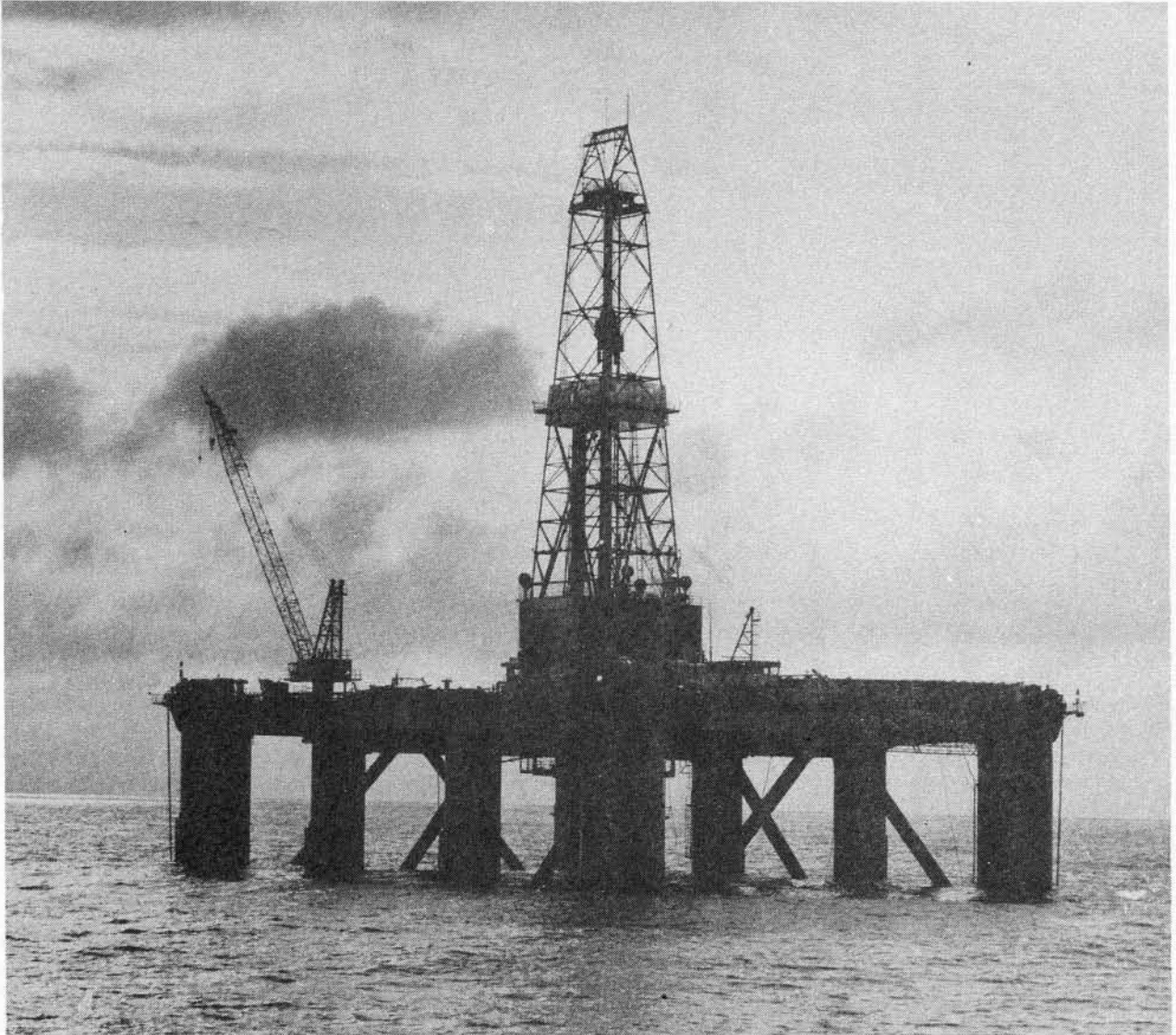
tonnes were brought into Scotland in 1986 and in 1987 3,766 tonnes of anthracite were landed at Dundee. More commonly, South African coal is shipped into Holland where it is mixed with other coal and re-exported to the UK and other countries as "Dutch" coal.

Gencor, a South African company with North Sea interests is one of the leading mining corpora-

tions in South Africa. At the end of 1987 Gencor was one of three South African companies invited by a group of Conservative MP's to visit Britain to explore the opportunities arising from the privatisation of the British electricity industry. Gencor's Executive Director, Bernard Smith, has claimed to "support fully the desire to permit all our employees to expand to the greatest level of their capabilities."³ In 1986, 177 miners were killed in a disaster at Gencor's Kinross gold mine. In the following twelve months a further 280 perished in Gencor mines. Stated policy is clearly detached from the reality of apartheid. Howden and Anderson Strathclyde, through their South African subsidiaries are propping up an industry which not only lies at the economic heart of South Africa but is also, with its heavy reliance on migrant labour and scant regard for safe working conditions, one of the most inhuman and dangerous in the apartheid state.

Oil

Photo: BP



North Sea oil has fuelled the apartheid machine despite the embargo

In 1981 the Anti Apartheid Movement produced a report revealing that South African companies were partners in several North Sea oil exploration licence consortia. Since then little research has been systematically carried out into South African companies' North sea operations. However the South African Gencor group has interests specifically in the Alba oilfield in the North Sea. It is unlikely to be alone in this as South African companies have been seeking to expand internationally.

Gencor has also been trying to combat a skills crisis in their own operations in the Mossel Bay petrol-from-gas project off the Cape by bringing in Scottish welders from the North Sea. Mossel Bay will help cut South Africa's dependence on imported oil and cannot be developed without the technology and expertise developed in off-shore oil and gas fields such as the North Sea. Both John Brown and the Howden Group are said to be involved in the Mossel Bay project and the DTI is actively encouraging the involvement of British firms.

Another Scottish link to South Africa via the oil industry is the case of the *Almare Terza* which, according to the oil monitoring organisation, Embargo, "transported Shell produced North Sea oil to South Africa in Spring 1980, in violation of the UK Government guidelines",² from Sullom Voe in Shetland. The UK Government refused to follow up the work of the UN group set up to monitor oil shipments to South Africa so although it has agreed to support the oil embargo at an EEC level there is in practice no means of ensuring that it is enforced.

Tourism and Emigration



Sea and sand - a 'good life' for whites is assured by apartheid



Photos: (left) Afrapix/OXFAM (right) John Burn, OXFAM.

Tourism is very important to South Africa both economically, because of the need to generate foreign exchange earnings, and politically, due to the need to present a good image to the world. However the State of Emergency and continuing civil disturbances as well as the ban on direct flights to South Africa from the United States have obviously had an effect in reducing tourism to South Africa.

The South African authorities have substantially increased their efforts to market South Africa as a tourist attraction, with marketing campaigns for South African Airways, promotion of holidays in South Africa and advertising South Africa as a beautiful country. There are a number of Scottish travel companies that offer flights or holiday packages to South Africa. Amongst these are Scotia Air Holidays of Glasgow, which offers a whole range of holidays to South Africa using South African Airways. Scotland is a particularly good market for the South African tourist industry because of the relatively large number of Scots who have relatives in South Africa. Two-thirds of immigrants to South Africa come from Britain.¹

South Africa has always depended on European immigrants, not only to boost the numbers of the white minority, but also to provide much needed skilled labour. Given the lack of higher education for black South Africans and the colour bar on skilled jobs the strategic sectors of the South African economy have relied on skilled white immigrants. There are now very high levels of emigration from South Africa and therefore there is still a great need to attract skilled white immigrants to the new technology, science-based and mining industries.

References

1. 'Profiting from Apartheid', Labour Research Department, 1986
2. Embargo Newsletter No. 7, Autumn/Winter 1988/89
3. Quoted in 'Energy: A Survey', supplement to (South African) Financial Mail, 18 August 1988

What You Can Do

- Lobby your local authority against using firms with a South African parent company.
- Lobby your MP/MEP against the import of South African coal into the UK. Call for effective monitoring of the movement of South African coal.
- Seek assurances from the electricity companies that they will not use South African coal.
- Write to your MP and the DTI calling for an end to UK collaboration in undermining the oil embargo. Call for effective monitoring of oil shipments by the UK Government.
- Boycott travel agents which deal with South African Airways and write to the relevant travel agencies objecting to their involvement.

Photo: Alan Wylie

Scotland: Action against Apartheid

Apartheid is an issue in Scotland today. It is an issue not just for politicians and anti-apartheid "activists" but for thousands of men and women who in their own way seek to hasten the end of the illegitimate Government of South Africa.



Mandela's 70th Birthday March in Glasgow,
June 1988

The Churches in Scotland

The churches have always played a very important part in the campaign against apartheid, both within South Africa and outside it. It is the generally accepted view of most of the world's churches that apartheid should be condemned as heresy.

The Church of Scotland has become increasingly vocal and militant in its condemnation of apartheid. Over the last decade the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has consistently urged its own financial bodies to consider taking shareholder action against companies with South African interests. There has been some resistance to this policy by the Church of Scotland Trustees, who have argued that it would inhibit pursuit of a proper investment policy. Nonetheless, the General Assembly has insisted that the Trust review its investment policy, in order to ensure that the Church does not de-

rive profit from companies with a substantial stake in the South African economy.

The Church of Scotland has also consistently called on the British Government to take action against apartheid by supporting the mandatory arms embargo and economic sanctions against South Africa. As long ago as 1978 the General Assembly called for "full and effective British implementation of the UN arms embargo on South Africa". It also called for the British government "to take effective action to reduce outside economic support for South Africa." It suggested a ban on new investment and on bank lending to South Africa, as well as an end to government assistance to trade with South Africa. This resolution also asked individuals and organisations within the Church of Scotland to support the boycott of South African goods.

The Church of Scotland's current position is that there should be "immediate and comprehensive sanctions" against South Africa, and that support and aid should be given to the front-line states through SADCC.

The Women's Guild of the Church of Scotland has also actively demonstrated its opposition to apartheid, through support for consumer boycotts.

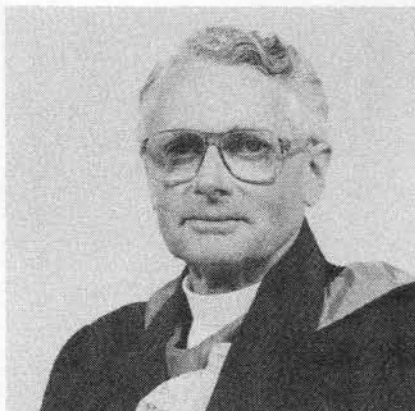
In 1989 Archbishop Thomas Winning, President of the Scottish Catholic Bishop's Conference and Bishop John More, President of the Justice and Peace Commission returned from a fact-finding mission in South Africa. In a joint statement issued on their return they concluded that "Apartheid is intrinsically evil. Nothing can justify it... it is an ideology based on hate, not the Christian values of love, dignity and respect for human beings." They

called on all people in Scotland "to protest to our Government about their continued support for the Apartheid regime."

This statement reinforced an earlier call by the Scottish Roman Catholic Bishops' Commission to South Africa in 1985 which urged church members to boycott South African goods, to discourage emigration to South Africa, to question personal financial involvement through indirect investment, and to dissociate themselves from all social, cultural and sporting links with South Africa.

The Scottish Episcopal Church, which has had a long-standing relationship with the Church of the Province of South Africa, and which has devoted a significant proportion of its overseas aid funds to this church, has also expressed its opposition to apartheid. The church has expressed support for the victims of apartheid, and its General Synod voted by a large majority to accept a policy of disinvestment of all funds admini-

Photo: Church of Scotland



(left) The Rt Rev Dr Bill MacDonald, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1989/90

stered by or on its behalf. The motion acknowledged that it was impossible to have completely 'clean hands', and to disentangle investments completely, but emphasised that the church had a clear duty to act "with all attainable integrity" in investing its funds.

Other churches in Britain have also taken a stand against

Photo: SCIAF



(right) Archbishop Thomas Winning, President of the Scottish Catholic Bishop's Conference

apartheid. The Methodist Church supports the call for sanctions, and has actively disinvested from companies with South African interests. The Church of England's General Synod has also resolved to review the Church's portfolio of investments with a view to cutting to a minimum investment in any firms that have dealings with South Africa.

Trade Unions

Trade Unions have made a major contribution to the campaign for sanctions and disinvestment against apartheid South Africa. Many trade unions have adopted policies condemning apartheid and advocating support for sanctions, disinvestment and action in support of the struggle against apartheid. Over thirty national trade unions, representing over 95% of the TUC's total membership, and 600 regional and local organisations, are affiliated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In 1987 the STUC unanimously adopted a resolution which encompassed the various anti-apartheid policies of the different Scottish unions.

Individual trade unions in Scotland have supported the anti-apartheid struggle in many ways - fund-raising for their South African counterparts, producing educational

material, participating in boycotts, supporting sanctions and disinvesting pension funds.

The NUM has close links with the South African NUM with British miners raising £20,000 in 1987 for their striking brothers in South Africa.

NALGO and USDAW both publish material on South Africa to educate their members. Most unions support mandatory economic sanctions and some trade unionists have even imposed their own with T&GWU members in Aberdeen refusing to handle South African goods and ACTT members at Grampian TV blocking ads for South African Airways.

However there are trade unionists working in firms which supply South African industry. When the choice is between work on a South African linked project or no

work at all, Scottish workers are in no position to refuse. Kevin Dunion, OXFAM's Scottish Campaign Organiser, recently suggested to a meeting of trade unionists that workers in this position could contribute, via a payroll deduction scheme, to black trade unions in South Africa. This would not only divert funds back to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, but would also send out a clear anti-apartheid message in Scotland. If sterner sanctions are adopted at some time in the future and if disinvestment increases, trade unionists in Scotland may be hit hard in the short term. It is vital that the unions prepare for that possibility and it is equally crucial that pressure is brought to bear by all of us on firms heavily dependent on the South African markets to seek new customers, particularly in the Frontline states.

Local Authorities

Scottish Local Authorities representing in total about 90% of the Scottish population, have approved anti-apartheid policies and taken some action in pursuit of these policies. These Councils - six Regional Councils, one Island authority, the four District Councils that cover Scotland's four major cities, and sixteen other District Councils - (see list below) have passed motions condemning apartheid and outlining a range of actions in support of this policy. These resolutions have usually been based on the model declaration of local authority action against apartheid (See Appendix IV).

Local authorities have pursued their anti-apartheid policies in a variety of ways. Most boycott South

African goods and some have participated in specific campaigns against companies such as Rowntree Macintosh and Shell. Disinvestment from companies with South African interests has also gathered pace.

A number of local authorities have funded and supported conferences, exhibitions, videos and events to raise awareness about apartheid and to foster good race relations in their own areas. Streets, buildings, etc. have been named after leading opponents of apartheid and Freedom of their Cities granted to Winnie and Nelson Mandela by Glasgow and Aberdeen. Some councils have also taken positive steps to support the Frontline states by using their purchasing power and by

twinning with Frontline towns and cities. Edinburgh successfully persuaded its Canadian twin city Vancouver to disinvest from South Africa. Some councils have denied use of cultural and sporting facilities for events with South African participants.

Since 1985 the Scottish Committee for Local Authority Action Against Apartheid has co-ordinated councils' anti-apartheid activity. Many local authorities now participate in the "Ten Days of Action Against Apartheid" each summer.

The few Conservative councillors who have accepted expenses paid "fact-finding" trips to South Africa have been widely condemned for accepting the hospitality of the apartheid regime.

Photo: Franki Raffles



Mother and Child statue, Festival Square, Edinburgh - Edinburgh District Council's tribute to the victims of apartheid

Scottish Local Authorities with Anti-Apartheid Policies

Regional Councils

Central
Fife
Grampian
Lothian
Tayside
Strathclyde

District Councils

Aberdeen
Clydebank
Cumbernauld & Kilsyth
Dumbarton
Dundee
East Kilbride
East Lothian
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Hamilton
Inverclyde
Kirkcaldy
Midlothian
Monklands
Motherwell
Nithsdale
Renfrew
Stirling
Strathkelvin
West Lothian

Island Councils

Shetland

Universities

The issue of opposition to apartheid has been prominent in student politics since the late 1960's, when many students demonstrated against the South African rugby tours, and campaigned for disinvestment by their institutions. Currently, both the National Union of Students, and the Association of University Teachers, have policies opposing apartheid, and supporting boycotts and sanctions.

Glasgow University has twice shown its support for the struggle against apartheid by electing prominent anti-apartheid campaigners as Rectors. Chief Albert Luthuli was Rector of Glasgow University from 1962 to 1965 and Winnie Mandela was elected to this prestigious position in 1987. Glasgow University students have also supported the anti-apartheid cause by providing a

South African scholarship - The Luthuli Scholarship which was established in 1967. As the Students' Representative Council has stated, "We believe that providing an education for a victim of apartheid is one concrete way to help the liberation movement."

Edinburgh University students have been less successful in their attempts to support the anti-apartheid struggle. In 1988, Albertina Sisulu was defeated in the rectorial election, and their attempt to set up a scholarship has met with obstacles. This scholarship was to be different from the Glasgow one in as much as the fees were to be covered by the University itself. The student was to be a South African, either living outside South Africa or an ANC or SWAPO exile who would be recommended by the

World University Service. However this scholarship was abandoned because a prospective student was on two successive years refused a passport to leave South Africa.

A campaign to set up another scholarship for Edinburgh University was initiated in early 1987 by 'South Africa Concerns You', an anti-apartheid organisation of the Asian community in Scotland. The Dadoo-Naicker-Zuma Scholarship is named after three former leaders of the liberation struggle who themselves studied in Edinburgh. The aim of the supporters of the scholarship is to raise enough funds from public subscription to cover the fees, accommodation costs and subsistence for South African students associated with South African and Namibian liberation movements.

A Scot's experience of detention

"From the time I arrived in South Africa in January 1987 to study on a church youth work course I started to learn that detention without charge or trial for indefinite periods is the major tool of repression used by the state security against all those who are considered a possible threat to the regime.

This is because some of my own friends who were active in improving their communities had experienced occasional days or long spells in detention. My own stay was in the end cut short by my detention for six days under the Internal Security Act and the threat of deportation.

I was held under the Prevention of Terrorism Section and accused of everything imaginable mainly to do with the ANC. Detention in solitary confinement is a very dark experience which goes beyond fear or the initial shock of being arrested, assaulted and dragged by the hair.

In fact, it is a feeling of utter powerlessness and anguish because you have no defence from the humiliating and inhuman treatment, and there is no saying how long they will decide to go on with it.

You are aware that the intention is to weaken, damage, or even destroy your physical and mental strength. I personally underwent four sessions of interrogation; one lasting 18 hours through the night including being stripped, blindfolded, tied and given electric shocks periodically, while further threats were made.

A friend of mine was detained at the same time and released only after another nine weeks; as a coloured South African he suffered the same routine brutality but more intensely and for longer periods. When this kind of treatment can go on for weeks and months it is, according to these victims and their families, only total faith in the struggle for liberation and belief in a suffering God of justice, which strengthens a person enough to remain hopeful, dignified and courageous in spite of these humiliations, agony and pain."

TESTIMONY OF A YOUNG SCOT WHO WAS DETAINED IN SOUTH AFRICA
EXTRACT FROM SEAD BRIEFING ON SOUTH AFRICA

Anti-Apartheid Movement



The nationwide Anti-Apartheid Movement 'Mandela Freedom at 70' march sets out from Glasgow

Photo: Alan Wylie

The Anti Apartheid Movement, founded in 1958, has seen a rapid growth in membership over the past five years. It now has a permanent, staffed office in Glasgow.

Anti-Apartheid campaigns in Scotland in recent years have included the picketing of shops selling South African produce and of sporting events with South African participants, petitioning against death sentences on black South Africans as well as targeting multinational companies such as Shell.

The consumer boycott promoted by the Anti Apartheid Movement has offered individuals a simple and direct way of taking action against apartheid. Thousands of Scots have supported this activity by refusing to buy South African goods. It is not always easy to find alternatives and sometimes the country of origin label is deceptive: grapes from Botswana are likely to be South African - Botswana grows no grapes.

Loss of customers and public distaste for apartheid has prompted some major retailers to stop stocking South African goods. Littlewoods, British Homes Stores and the Co-op have taken such decisions and in 1985 Tesco issued a statement that because of increasing pressure to boycott the sale of South African goods it had instructed its buyers "to purchase as little as possible from South Africa and then only when there are no alternative sources of products of suitable quality." Some retailers have been made more aware of importers trying to avoid the boycott through labelling products and have tried to take action against them. The marketing director of Gateway told *The Anti-Apartheid News* that "if the chain catches any suppliers misrepresenting goods, it will immediately de-list them."

Several major retailers have continued to stand out against the pressure to boycott the sale of South

African products. Prominent amongst these are Presto, Safeway and Marks & Spencers which continue to sell South African fruit and vegetables. The D-I-Y giant B & Q and Texas Homecare sell South African timber products. Although the South African company Rex Trueform no longer sells its fashion clothes through the NEXT chain of shops it has found other outlets such as Country Casuals.

The boycott of South African goods has been extended in some cases to the boycotting of adverts for South African products. For example, the magazine *Elle* has agreed to stop carrying adverts for Cape Fruit and the bus shelter advertisers Adshell are also considering banning Cape Fruit adverts.

The most recent Anti Apartheid Movement list of South African brand names and stockists is in Appendix IV.

Sport

According to the UN Centre Against Apartheid which monitors international links with South Africa, more British sportsmen and women have participated in events in South Africa than any other nation except the USA. This shameful list contains a number of Scots including golfers Sandy Lyle and Sam Torrance, rugby players David Leslie, Jim Renwick and Andy Irvine, ex-Rangers footballer, Gordon Smith, and jockey, Willie Carson.

Anti-apartheid campaigners have been vigilant in maintaining pressure on sporting authorities, events organisers and participants to honour the Gleneagles Agreement which obliges the Government to take "every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa."

The Scottish Rugby Union refused, even after a letter of protest from Secretary of State, Malcolm Rifkind, to discourage players from Scotland from participating in the centenary celebration matches of the South African Rugby Union in the summer of 1989. To their credit no prominent Scots players joined the team of international players which did attend.

The stance of the Scottish Rugby Union caused a storm of protest throughout Scotland and resulted in Scots pop group Simple Minds moving a major concert from the SRU's Murrayfield stadium in Edinburgh to the District Council owned Meadowbank stadium. In a press release explaining the decision, Jim Kerr of Simple Minds referred to the "integrated" sports teams in South Africa and said that the group believed it was "the duty of all free people and their governments to protest strongly to a country that says, 'You can play in my rugby team - but you're too black to vote!'"

In 1988 the Scottish Federation of Sea Anglers came under racist attack from their English colleagues who accused them of worrying unduly about money when they ob-

jected to the presence of a South African team at the European Boat Sea Angling Championships in Plymouth. The English Federation justified its decision to invite South Africa on the grounds that its constitution permits "no bar on the grounds of race, creed or religion." Scotland's threatened withdrawal, backed up by other national teams forced the invitation to South Africa to be withdrawn. It has also been reported that Scottish anglers took part in a sea angling competition in South Africa. The Scottish Federation of Sea Anglers was not involved in this event.

Cricket, although not so widely popular in Scotland as in England, has also come under fire for its links with apartheid. In 1988 a cricket match was organised with the blessing of the Scottish cricket authorities between the official Scottish team and an invitation South African team. This was clearly in contravention of the Gleneagles Agreement. According to the UN,

Clive Rice of South Africa was made captain of the Scotland cricket team in 1988.

A number of South Africans hold UK passports which enable them to dodge the Gleneagles Agreement. The most notorious in recent years was athlete Zola Budd. Her presence as a "British" athlete at Meadowbank stadium in 1985 caused ITV to drop television coverage at the last minute, not because of its anti-apartheid stance but because of the presence of Edinburgh District Council's "Edinburgh Against Apartheid" banner in full view of the cameras above the scoreboard.

Edinburgh played host to the Commonwealth Games the following year and was at pains along with other Scottish local authorities and organisations to distance itself from the British Government's refusal to support sanctions. The Government position on sanctions caused a major boycott of the Games by black Commonwealth nations.

Meadowbank Stadium, Edinburgh - ITV objected to the City Council's anti-apartheid banner

Photo: Scotsman Publications Ltd



The Arts

A number of Scots appear on the UN list of entertainers and performers visiting South Africa since January 1981 including singer Stuart Gillies. However there are only a few and no prominent Scottish artistes appear on the list.

In contrast there are many Scottish performers who have publicly declared themselves in opposition to apartheid. Most notable has been Jim Kerr of the band Simple Minds who was one of the driving forces behind the hugely successful Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday concert in London in June 1988. The concert was screened in sixty countries and reached an estimated 400 million viewers worldwide.

Photo: Alan Wylie



Jim Kerr of Simple Minds - "Protest strongly to a country that says, 'You can play in my rugby team but you're too black to vote!'"

What you can do

- Boycott South African goods.
- Write to local branches and head offices of chain stores which stock South African products asking them to stop.
- Support anti-apartheid activities in your church, union, local community, etc.
- Write to prominent people with apartheid links explaining why you object to their position.
- Write to prominent people who have spoken out against apartheid in support of their stance.
- Write to the press condemning prominent Scots who make money from apartheid and support those who publicly oppose it.
- Support organisations which help black South Africans and the Frontline states (eg. Christian Aid, Oxfam, Save the Children Fund, SEAD, Scottish War on Want).

Conclusion

As the 1990's begin there is a glimmering of hope that change is coming to South Africa. 1990 seems likely to see the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC. However, now is not the time to relax the pressure on the South African Government. As the Commonwealth Heads of Government agreed at the end of 1989, "That would have to await evidence of clear and irreversible change."

Until there is a firm timetable for the extension of the franchise to

all South African adults, along with a commitment to the ending of apartheid in all its forms, people in Scotland have a duty to oppose those individuals, companies, organisations and governments which benefit from the oppression of the black South African majority.

This book is intended to enable you to play your part in hastening a peaceful end to apartheid.

Looking Forward

"I left South Africa in the late 60's following my parents into exile in the UK.

I remember those times well.

The People's Movement, the ANC, was banned in 1960 and a state of emergency was declared. There were thousands of arrests of political activists and a spate of trials and convictions.

Then in July 1963 came the Rivonia arrests and subsequent trial of Nelson Mandela and seven co-accused. The State was triumphant, claiming that the whole leadership of the national liberation movement was now captured. Headlines in the newspapers screamed with the news that the High Command of the ANC had been taken together with detailed plans for the launching of armed struggle.

Throughout the country there prevailed an air of political lull. All became quiet.

Looking now at 1988, 25 years since those arrests, six of whom are still incarcerated in apartheid's gaols, one clearly sees that the People's Movement has not crumbled, but indeed using the words of the regime itself - "The ANC is everywhere."

The Movement has consolidated to prove itself a formidable force enjoying overwhelming support inside as well as outside the country. Together, under its political leadership, the armed struggle is escalating daily under the most trying conditions of repression, torture and murder of political activists and supporters by the apartheid state police, military and vigilante bandits.

The 1980's saw the emergence of countless numbers of mass-based community, student and women's organisations and consolidation of the trades unions into centres of mass resistance and militancy of unprecedented heights. The majority of these organisations have now been banned and put out of effective open functioning by the states of emergency since 1985.

But the momentum of resistance is unstoppable. New organisations are still being formed. The people are responding to the new conditions and finding new ways of struggle.

The most recent exposure of the 142 white youths willing to court imprisonment rather than face conscription into the racist armed forces is a further example of the crumbling of the apartheid state machinery and all of this is a clear indication of people's power in the making.

So if there was a lull in the late 60's, the closing of the 1980's indicates a rising storm. A storm of resistance to put an end to racist exploitation forever and to establish a free and democratic South Africa for all its peoples.

We shall return home in our lifetime."

TESTIMONY OF A BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN EXILE
EXTRACT FROM SEAD BRIEFING ON SOUTH AFRICA

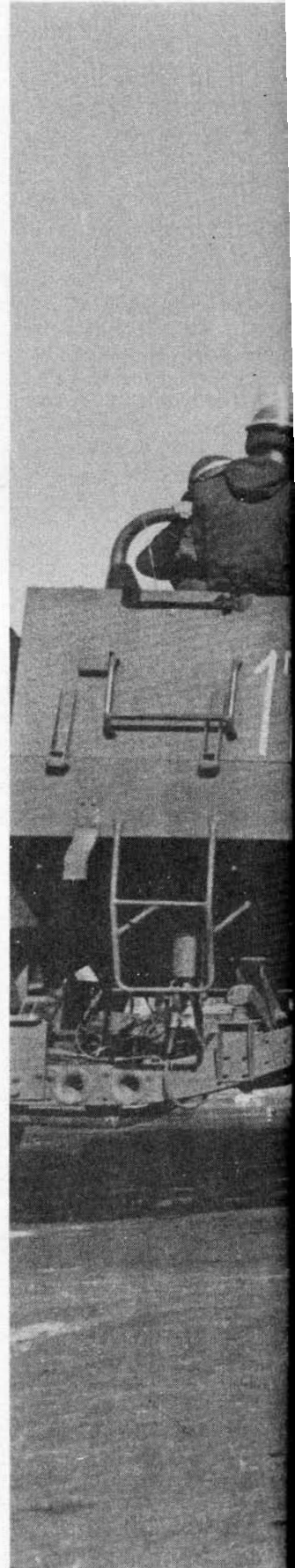


Photo: Afrapix/Network



Policy Statements by the main political parties in Scotland on South Africa

The Labour Party Scottish Council

"Labour stands firmly alongside the oppressed majority of South Africa in their struggle for liberation, and supports comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime. Labour will do everything possible to help bring about a non-racial democratic and united South Africa and support a free and independent Namibia.

"The apartheid regime continues to dominate events in the region. Its states of emergency, bannings, detentions, tortures and hundreds of killings; its repeated military attacks on independent neighbouring states; and its obstruction of independence for Namibia have all strengthened the case for sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

"The ruling Nationalist Party remains committed to the maintenance of

a white-controlled racial power structure. The liberation movements, particularly the African National Congress, have stepped up their pressure. The trade union movement, led by the Confederation of South African Trade Unions, has become a vigorous and sophisticated opponent of the regime, despite the restrictions on their freedom. The Churches, the boycott campaigners and the women's, youth and student movements in the United Democratic Front, have all been firm opponents of the racist regime. We give them all our firm support.

"Labour's five point plan is to:

- support vigorous United Nations, Commonwealth and EC action against apartheid;
- support the frontline states, which have

been victims of South Africa's military and economic destabilisation, including an emergency aid programme to newly independent Namibia;

- ensure the full and effective implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 to bring about a free and independent Namibia;
- give assistance to further the social and political objectives of the democratic movement in South Africa, including the African National Congress;
- support the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa."

*Labour Party Policy Review,
1989*

The Scottish Conservative Party

"The Prime Minister describes apartheid as "repulsive and detestable". We utterly condemn it and we wish to see it ended as soon as possible.

"South Africa is not the only country where there is racial discrimination and abuse of fundamental human rights. But apartheid is unique because South Africa is the only instance of a society which has institutionalised racial discrimination in the constitution at almost every level of society and government. This is particularly unacceptable in a state which regards itself as firmly part of western society and upholding civilised, Christian values. Despite the reforms of recent years which we have welcomed, the basic structures of apartheid remain intact.

"We remain opposed to punitive economic sanctions; these would make South Africa's problems harder to solve. They would stiffen the resolve of those South African whites who are opposed to change. They would promote violence and confrontation rather than reconciliation. They would also damage our own economy to no avail, and those of the neighbouring states.

"The Government are pursuing policies designed to promote internal forces for change which will have a positive, practical influence. Our Embassy in South Africa and Ministers and officials in London are actively involved. Sometimes our actions are public. Sometimes

our representations are more effective when private. Against this background:

- we shall continue to make clear our abhorrence of apartheid and call for its total abolition;
- we shall urge both sides to seek areas of compromise and to show readiness to take into account the legitimate interests and concerns of all South Africans, black and white;
- we shall encourage informal contacts between South Africans of all races with the aim of promoting mutual understanding;
- we shall press the South African Government to take a lead in changing the system. We shall also urge them to continue the process of legislative reform;
- in the Commonwealth and with our European and other Western partners we shall keep policy under review, against the time when opportunities for constructive external mediation may recur;
- in this connection, we shall continue to support the concept of matching reciprocal commitments identified by the Eminent Persons Group and to press the South African Government to take the necessary preliminary steps;
- we shall continue to implement faithfully the limited restrictive measures against South Africa which we have

previously agreed to take as a political signal of our earnest desire for progress;

- we shall continue scrupulously to implement the international embargo on arms sales to South Africa;
- we shall continue to make representations as often as may be necessary to the South African Government against repression and abuses of human rights, such as detention without charge and forced removals of people;
- we shall continue to give practical and financial assistance to black South Africans, in education and training, and in community projects. We shall encourage British companies to do likewise;
- we shall continue our substantial programmes of economic and security assistance to South Africa's neighbours, to improve their transport communications to the Indian Ocean and to reduce their dependence on South Africa;
- we shall continue to oppose South Africa's destabilisation of some of the neighbouring countries, and to call for the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola."

*From statement 'British policy
towards South Africa',
Conservative Party Central Office,
1989*

The Scottish Green Party

"The situation in South Africa requires urgent action, and the Green Party would impose immediate and full sanctions on trade with South Africa. It would be a condition of any government contract that the contractor has no trading links with South Africa."¹

"The Green Party urges the Government to take all possible steps to end the oppressive regime of apartheid in South Africa. To bring this about we demand that full and effective economic

sanctions should be applied immediately, and remain in effect until such time as the black population of South Africa asks that they be lifted."²

"The Green Party renews its call for immediate, full and effective sanctions against the increasingly brutal regime in South Africa. We deplore the current inaction on the part of the UK government and its implied support for the policies of apartheid. We pledge our support for the people of that country

who are working for freedom and justice in increasingly difficult circumstances. Conference instructs Party Council to convey this to the government."²

1. *From the Green Party's 1987 General Election Manifesto*
2. *Green Party conference resolutions from 'Manifesto for a Sustainable Society', 1989*

The Scottish Liberal Democrats

"Sanctions of various kinds, including the Commonwealth sports boycott, have proved themselves to be one of the most useful levers that the West has in putting pressure on the South Africans to dismantle apartheid.

"Whilst of course political initiatives will be required finally to end apartheid, economic pressures are one of the necessary means by which we can encourage the South African government to take such initiatives.

"The influence that Britain and the United States possess cannot be denied. In part, it is undoubtedly economic. Both have substantial investment in, and trading links with, South Africa.

"Economic pressure may take a variety of forms. Not all may be appropriate, and some might be counter-productive. But we do the people of South Africa a disservice by pretending that our motives are concern for their welfare rather than the economic advantage we derive from uninterrupted trade and investment with South Africa. If the real issue is the suffering of the black majority, then we should contemplate using economic levers which can help keep that period of suffering to the minimum. We should therefore institute specific sanctions against South Africa without delay. The first of these might be a ban on air traffic.

"Our next task must be to take action on the political and cultural front as well. Our influence must be used to assist the process of peaceful change, for the South African regime will not survive the process of internal disintegration that has now begun. The job of the civilised world is to use its power and influence in a co-ordinated, precise and wholehearted way to accelerate the pace of change and minimise violent upheaval."

*Statement of
Liberal Democrats policy on
sanctions and South Africa,
December 1989*

The Scottish National Party

"This Conference condemns the British Government for its hypocrisy in claiming to be opposed to apartheid while failing to join other members of the international community in exerting direct political and economic pressure on the Republic of South Africa to change the oppressive nature of its regime.

"The Scottish National Party recognises that the Scottish people have responsibility for the developing situation in South Africa through their long historical, social and economic ties with that country, and that it is in the interest of all Scots to seek to ensure that South Africa becomes a democratic, multi-racial society that bars all forms of discrimination on the grounds of race, creed or sex.

"The Scottish National Party calls for:

1. effective economic sanctions against South Africa to continue until its

government dismantles apartheid, bans racial discrimination, frees Nelson Mandela and other recognised leaders of the black and coloured communities, and take positive steps towards the creation of a democratic society.

2. all members of the Scottish National Party to boycott South African goods and services, and also the goods and services of UK businesses who operate branches in South Africa which pay their black and coloured workers wages below subsistence level.
3. a package of Commonwealth and international aid for the African front line states to reduce their dependence on the South African economy: this aid to be particularly directed at Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.
4. the provision of defensive military

assistance from the Commonwealth to the front line states to deter the incursions of South African military units as happened in recent times in Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

5. joint international action to bring about the independence of Namibia based on internationally supervised free elections.
6. the granting of diplomatic status to the ANC as the only available international representatives of the majority of the South African population.
7. Scottish trade unionists to black the handling and transportation of goods produced in South Africa."

*Scottish National Party conference
resolutions,
Annual National Conference, 1986*

Restrictive measures implemented by Britain

1. Measures agreed at the meeting of EC Foreign Ministers, September 1985.

- i. A rigorously controlled embargo on exports of arms and para-military equipment to South Africa;
- ii. A rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms and para-military equipment from South Africa;
- iii. A refusal to co-operate in the military sphere;
- iv. The recall of military attaches accredited to South Africa and refusal to grant accreditation to military attaches from South Africa;
- v. Discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it; and freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting and security spheres;
- vi. The cessation of oil exports to South Africa;
- vii. The cessation of exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces of South Africa;
- viii. The prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector.

2. Measures agreed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Nassau, October 1985.

- i. The strict enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa;
- ii. The re-affirmation of the Gleneagles declaration of 1977 which called upon commonwealth members to take every practical step to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa;
- iii. Agreement upon and commendation to other Governments of the adoption of the following further economic measures against South Africa:
 - a) A ban on all new government loans to the government of South Africa and its agencies;
 - b) A readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of Kruggerands;
 - c) No government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa;
 - d) A ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military forces, police or security forces;
 - e) A ban on new contracts for the sale and export of nuclear goods, materials and technology to South Africa;
 - f) A ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa;

- g) A strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and para-military equipment from South Africa;
- h) An embargo on all military co-operation with South Africa;
- i) The discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it.

3. Measures which the UK agreed to implement following the Commonwealth Review Meeting, Marlborough House, August 1986.

- i. A voluntary ban on new investment in South Africa;
- ii. A voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa;
- iii. The implementation of any EC decision to ban the import of coal, iron and steel and of gold coins from South Africa.

4. Measures agreed at the EC Meeting of Foreign Ministers, September 1986.

- i. A ban on imports of certain South African iron and steel;
- ii. A ban on the import of certain South African gold coins;
- iii. A ban on certain new investment in South Africa.

Southern Africa: the Way Ahead

The Kuala Lumpur Statement

South Africa

1. Heads of Government continued to view the system of apartheid in South Africa as a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth and reaffirmed that its total eradication remained their shared responsibility and common goal.
2. Heads of Government reviewed the situation in South Africa against the possibility that significant changes in approach on the part of the South African regime, for which the Commonwealth had striven for so long, may yet prove to be within reach. In recent weeks, the regime had accepted a degree of peaceful political activity by the black majority and on the eve of this Meeting had released from prison eight political leaders.
3. However, they noted that the state of emergency remained in force; the ANC, the PAC and many other organisations remained banned; Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remained incarcerated; many more continued to be detained without trial; and executions in political cases had not stopped. There had also been no action to indicate that the new South African Government was prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid, especially the Group Areas Act, the population Registration Act, the Bantustan 'homelands' policy and the system of separate education.
4. Heads of Government agreed that such encouraging signs as there had been were very much the product of a combination of internal and external pressures. In this context they welcomed

the role now being played by the Mass Democratic Movement in its sustained, disciplined and peaceful opposition to apartheid. They attached importance to acceptance of peaceful demonstrations and political manifestations as a test of the sincerity of the new Government and its professed desire for change.

5. In considering the way forward, Heads of Government reiterated their preference for negotiated and peaceful settlement and in this context reaffirmed the continuing validity of the EPG's 'Possible Negotiating Concept'. Among other measures, that Concept calls for

On the part of the (South African) Government:

- (a) Removal of the military from the townships, providing for freedom of assembly and discussion and suspension of detention without trial.
- (b) The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees.
- (c) The unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the permitting of normal political activity.

On the part of the ANC and others;

Entering negotiations and suspending violence.

They noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement also inherent in the 1989 Harare Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organisation of African Unity on southern Africa endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement at its Belgrade Summit last month. It is agreed on all sides that the South African Government and the au-

thentic representatives of the majority population should come to the table prepared to negotiate the future of the country and its people in good faith, in an atmosphere free of violence from either side.

6. Heads of Government had recognised in their Nassau Accord that the constitutional system was a matter for all the people of South Africa to decide. They continued to believe that the Commonwealth's role in this regard was essentially to facilitate the opening of negotiations between the South African authorities and authentic black leaders.
7. They agreed that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change. Their purpose was not punitive, but to abolish apartheid by bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table and keeping it there until that change was irreversibly secured. In this respect Heads of Government noted that leading personalities in the South African Government had themselves acknowledged the increasing pressures on the South African economy, and that those pressures would not be diminished until fundamental political change had taken place.
8. Heads of Government, other than Britain, also acknowledged that the impact of sanctions had begun to influence the policies of the South African regime. The effectiveness of sanctions in this regard had also been demonstrated by the Report on Sanctions commissioned by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern

Africa and prepared by a group of independent experts which was before the Meeting. They considered that the Report had made a significant contribution towards public understanding of the issues, and that its recommendations would need to be considered in the light of developments in South Africa and the region.

9. In considering what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations, Heads of Government expressed the view that this was not the time to consider any relaxation of existing sanctions and pressures. That would have to await evidence of clear and irreversible change. In the meantime, they agreed that all existing sanctions and measures should be maintained, and they called upon the wider international community to do likewise.
10. They also agreed, with the exception of Britain, that such measures should be tightened, and decided in this context:
 - (a) to develop new forms of financial pressure on the Pretoria regime by seeking to intensify and extend financial sanctions, in particular by;
 - calling on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher conditions on day-to-day trade financing, specifically through reducing the maximum credit terms to 90 days; and
 - calling on relevant governments to make trade credits harder to get by taking South Africa 'off cover' with official government agencies for official trade credit and insurance purposes;
 - and agreed that their Chairman should communicate these decisions to the relevant financial institutions and to other governments; and
 - (b) to support the initiative developed by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa to strengthen the arms embargo, and continue to pursue it at the United Nations in the 421 Committee.
11. Heads of Government recognised the importance of South Africa's

dealings with the international financial community and therefore, with the exception of Britain, endorsed the establishment of an independent agency to review and report on South Africa's international financial links on a regular basis, and to gather and publicise factual information on financial flows to, and policies towards, South Africa. They welcomed the offer of the Government of Australia to provide substantial initial funding.

12. Heads of Government noted that the longer apartheid remained in South Africa, the greater the challenge that would face a future government in rebuilding the South African economy. In particular they noted that the resumption of international lending to South Africa would not be automatic and that an international effort to assist in the mobilisation of resources would probably be necessary. They agreed to ask appropriate international financial institutions, in particular the IMF, to examine now how resources might be mobilised upon evidence of clear and irreversible change.
13. Heads of Government welcomed increasing instances of dialogue among South Africans across the racial divide. They were encouraged by the proposals for negotiations, many elements of which reflected Commonwealth concepts, which had been advanced by leaders of the black majority. In this regard, they agreed to continue, individually and collectively, to take advantage of all opportunities to promote dialogue among South Africans.
14. They agreed that the Commonwealth should continue to provide support to the victims and opponents of apartheid within South Africa. Of importance were educational programmes, including in particular the Nassau Fellowships, legal and humanitarian assistance to detainees and their families, support for the trade union movement, and economic and social development programmes including low-cost housing projects.

15. They attached importance to the work of the newly established Commonwealth network of non-governmental organisations, 'Skills for South Africa', to provide high-level training and work experience for victims of apartheid and so contribute both to the process of change in South Africa and the development of the skills required in a post-apartheid society. They undertook to provide support and resources to assist in the implementation and co-ordination of this work.

16. Heads of Government reaffirmed the continuing high priority of the Commonwealth effort to expose the truth about apartheid and to counter South African propaganda and censorship. They welcomed the Commonwealth strategy prepared by the Working Party set up as part of the Okanagan Programme of Action. They noted that a number of countries had already implemented and funded national action plans. They stressed the particular importance of the support being given to the embattled alternative press and other groups in South Africa resisting censorship.

Namibia

17. Heads of Government welcomed the implementing of Resolution 435, and looked forward to the holding of free and fair elections leading to the emergence of a genuinely independent Namibia. They reaffirmed their full support for the United Nations Secretary-General, and the UN's efforts to ensure the integrity of the Settlement Plan. Heads of Government looked forward to welcoming a free Namibia into the Commonwealth.
18. They noted that the Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group on Namibia had identified a number of areas of urgent need if an independent Government emerging from the Resolution 435 process was to be able to govern effectively. They accordingly called for the provision of a special and enlarged multilateral package of assistance in addition to bilateral aid. To this

end they requested the Commonwealth Secretary-General to send a small team of experts to Namibia as soon as practicable after the elections to advise on possible Commonwealth assistance.

19. Heads of Government also noted that the Report drew attention to what the group had viewed as moves by the South African Government to retain a continuing ability to destabilise an independent Namibia, and they were of the view that any steps taken by South Africa to this end would inevitably call into question its declarations of good faith in respect of these and other matters, and particularly its expressed desire now to seek peaceful co-existence with its neighbours.
20. Heads of Government called on all the parties to the Resolution 435 Settlement Plan and all political groups within Namibia to fully meet their respective responsibilities and obligations, including full co-operation with the UN authorities, to conclude the process of bringing into being a free, independent and stable Namibia.
21. Heads of Government expressed their concern that a post-independence Namibia be able fully to realise its economic potential and contribute to the development of the larger southern Africa region. In this respect, they expressed the hope that the early re-integration of Walvis Bay into Namibia in accordance with Security Council Resolution 432 (1978) would be able to be achieved, noting that compliance with this by South Africa would be a convincing demonstration of its good faith and commitment to the long-term viability of its newly independent neighbour.

Other Developments in the Southern African Region

22. Heads of Government noted that notwithstanding international condemnation, South Africa's campaign of destabilisation against its neighbours had re-

sulted in untold misery and destruction and was graphically documented in The Destabilisation Report.

23. Despite some welcome improvement in the security situation in the south-west of the African continent, Heads of Government observed that the MNR's murderous activities continued on a major scale in Mozambique and elsewhere; and destabilisation remained a major factor in the region's security crisis. Heads of Government unreservedly condemned South Africa's support for the MNR and other acts of destabilisation. Heads of Government reiterated the view, however, that only the eradication of apartheid in South Africa would enable the region to develop in peace.
24. Special efforts were needed to strengthen and develop the economies of Southern Africa so as to relieve them of South African economic domination. Heads of Government considered that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), deserved particular support and encouragement. To that end, they mandated the Secretary-General to carry out an Action Plan in consultation with SADCC, the AFRICA fund, the Preferential Trade Area and the interested states in the region and elsewhere, to promote trade and investment in the Frontline and neighbouring states. In the provision of assistance of SADCC countries, efforts should also be made, where possible, to purchase capital goods and services from within the region thus stimulating regional production, employment, trade and transportation.
25. Heads of Government identified a continuing need for assistance to the Front-Line States. While there had been significant contributions in this area by a number of Commonwealth and other governments, much remained to be done to meet the security needs identified in the special report by General Olusegun Obasanjo, commissioned by the Vancouver Meeting.

26. Heads of Government welcomed the successful establishment of the Special Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique, which had augmented bilateral contributions from Commonwealth countries including those of the Front-Line States. Heads of Government recognised the importance of continuing contributions to the Fund in view of Mozambique's key geographical position and its role in Southern Africa.

Continuing Review

27. With the exception of Britain, Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers established by the Okanagan Statement for its reports, and agreed that it should continue with its work, under the chairmanship of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs; that the Foreign Minister of Malaysia be added to its members; and that it report again when Heads of Government next meet. They expressed the wish that it reconvene in April, some six months after the new administration in Pretoria took office.

*Commonwealth
Heads of State Conference,
Putra World Trade Centre,
Kuala Lumpur,
22 October 1989*

Southern Africa: the Way Ahead

Britain's View

The following is the text of a joint statement issued by the British Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Kuala Lumpur on Sunday 22 October 1989.

Britain is fully at one with the rest of the Commonwealth in utterly condemning apartheid and wishing to see its total eradication so that all the inhabitants of South Africa can live in dignity and play a full part in the political life of their country.

Britain welcomes the recognition in the Kuala Lumpur statement:

- That change is underway in South Africa;
- That sanctions should not be punitive and that the international community will need to respond to clear and irreversible change; and
- That both sides should come to the negotiating table in an atmosphere free of violence from either side.

But Britain believes the Commonwealth can help a new South Africa to emerge in much more positive ways than those set out in the Kuala Lumpur statement.

In Britain's view there have been important and positive changes in South Africa since the last meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Vancouver. Seventy per cent of white South Africans voted for change in the recent elections and there is now a Government firmly committed to the concept of negotiations. Peaceful political activity by the black majority has been accepted and eight of the political prisoners whose release has long been a goal of Commonwealth countries have been set free.

In this new situation, Britain believes that the Commonwealth should concentrate now on encouraging change rather than on further punishment. Whatever their intention, the effect of sanctions is punitive. All the evidence is that they bear hardest on the poorest and weakest members of South Africa's black population, depriving them of the dignity of jobs and the ability to care for their families. South Africa's population is growing very rapidly and the country needs economic growth to provide a decent standard of living for its people. Sanctions, in

particular financial sanctions, have the effect of deliberately depriving South Africa of access to the funds which it needs in order to grow. They thus put out of reach the possibility of improving living standards for all South Africans. Sanctions contribute to poverty and misery in South Africa, whereas Britain's efforts are directed to helping relieve poverty and misery throughout Africa as a whole.

Moreover, virtually every opinion poll - recent examples being those in the Independent newspaper and on ITN - shows a clear majority against sanctions when it is made clear that they would involve loss of jobs. Even the recent book "Sanctions against Apartheid" shows that 78 per cent of those asked did not feel sanctions would be worthwhile if many blacks were to lose their jobs as a result.

Britain does not agree that sanctions have the political effects claimed for them. While they certainly weaken the South African economy, the political effect of sanctions is to increase resistance to change rather than encourage change. There seems to be a clear correlation between the imposition of additional sanctions by the US Congress and the Commonwealth and the strength of extreme right-wing parties in South Africa utterly opposed to change.

Britain believes in a constructive way forward in South Africa. The first step is to implement the concept developed by the Commonwealth eminent persons group, to open the way to serious negotiations to start about the future of South Africa. This requires:

- Release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners;
- Lifting of the state of emergency;
- Unbanning of political organisations;
- All against the background of suspension of violence.

South Africa has taken the first steps down this road and must be encouraged by all possible measures of peaceful persuasion to proceed further. As and when South Africa does take the necessary steps then it would be right to lift some of the measures imposed by the international community, so as to reward progress and encourage South Africa to continue further down the road of

reform. The aim should be to secure positive influence with the South African Government rather than add to the sanctions which have been largely fruitless.

At the same time, Britain will continue its substantial programme of positive help for black South Africans and neighbouring countries. This includes expenditure of some ten million pounds a year on measures in South Africa itself:

- To finance nearly 1000 black South Africans in higher education;
- To contribute substantially to a scheme to create more low-cost housing for black South Africans;
- To support nearly 300 rural projects;
- To bring relief to refugees from Mozambique; and
- To support Operation Hunger, which already provides food for 1.3 million black South Africans, including many children.

At the same time Britain will continue its very substantial programme of assistance to the front line states, which already totals some 1.1 billion pounds since 1980. Rather than contribute to the cost of the independent agency proposed by the rest of the Commonwealth to review and report on South Africa's international financial links, and of the continuing work of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa, Britain will contribute an equivalent amount for additional help to black South Africans.

Britain also gives its unequivocal support to the United Nations Secretary-General in securing the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 in Namibia. It will be for him and his representative alone to judge whether the elections are fully free and fair. It will not be for any other group or body to pronounce on this or attempt to qualify or vary in any respect the provisions of the United Nations plan. At the same time, Britain is ready to provide financial assistance to an independent Namibia as well as, if asked, military training for Namibia's armed forces after independence as we have done for Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other African countries.

Britain believes that recent developments in Southern Africa show that progress can be made by peaceful negotiation, whether it be in Namibia, in Angola, or in Mozambique. While the future of South Africa itself must be for the people - all the people - of that country to decide, Britain wants to see the Commonwealth and the international community as a whole re-double their efforts to support peaceful change and enable the new South Africa to inherit a strong economy. This will more likely be achieved by the positive and constructive steps set out in this statement than by tightening sanctions and the imposition of new punitive measures as proposed by the rest of the Commonwealth.

Brand Names of South African Produce

Products sold under these names are always South African or Namibian

Fresh/tinned/dried fruit

Cape, Outspan, Shelford, Kat, Kit, Koolkat, Jardin du Cap, Silver Leaf, Copper Leaf, Gold Reef, Golden Glory, Sweet Nell, Gants, IXL, Safari

Tinned meat & fish

Apex, Bull Brand, Puffin, Lucky Star

Stationery

Creative Stationery

Wines & spirits

KWV, Zonnebloem, Lanzerac, Koopman Skloof, Rembrandt, SA Sherry, SA Hock, SA Burgundy, Stellenberg

Kitchen & hardware

Silver Star, Pointerware, Harvest Gold/Bright, Kitchens Pride, Rand Rocket, Extrufix, Jenny Wren

Timber/DIY/furniture

Realwood, Viking, Vynawood, Makaframe, Pinecraft, Realcraft, Solvella, Spacecraft, Everglade, Country Pine, Quality Pine, Pine Brand, Hunter, Gracious Living, Goldline

Health food & misc.

Koo, Rooibosch (tea), Noogy bars, Pakco (spices), Pot O Gold, Solaglas, Master Maths, Beacon

Juices & beverages

Koo, KWV, Juicy Lucy, Cap D'or, Southern Sun, Divec, Lemax, Citruséal, Pot O Gold, Natur Fruit, Valor, Liquifruit, Cermin

Textiles

Swakara fur, Rex Truform/Slax, Pat Shub, Miss Cassidy/Cassidy's, Jogger, Francois Villon

Products sold under these brand names may cloak apartheid produce

Fresh/tinned/dried fruit

Tambor, Sunfresh, Del Monte, Goddess, John West, S & B, Golden Jubilee, Princes, Pendant/Peabody, Summer Pride, Turban

Tinned meat

Armour Star, Union, S & B

Tinned fish

Glenryck, Armour, John West, S & B, Princes

Frozen food

Chef's Choice

This list is not exhaustive - contact the Anti-Apartheid Movement for further information.

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LONDON N1 7AF
(01) 354 0883

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Ethical Investment Research and
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9 Poland Street
LONDON W1V 3DG
(01) 735 1351

ELTSA
End Loans to South Africa
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56 Camberwell Road
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IDAF
International Defence Aid Fund
for South Africa
Canon Collins House
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International Labour Reports
PO Box 45
Stainborough
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*I smile
for I have listened to comrades talk about our future
they made me nostalgic for peace
I smile
for every day so many people in the world agree
that our bloody battle is just,
I smile
for daily the oppressor and exploiter
goes mad and madder
I smile
for our red hearts are daily
with each falling comrade
a symbol of hatred for oppression and exploitation
how can I not smile
when I look at the Africans
Coloureds
Indians
whites
and know that one day we shall be one people
South Africans
with power in our hands, using it to build peace?*

EXTRACT FROM 'A TOUGH TALE' BY
MONGANE WALLY SEROTE

SUPPING WITH THE DEVIL

Scotland's Apartheid Connection

"We are convinced that the apartheid regime will never enter into genuine negotiations with legitimate leaders unless pressurised to do so. Negotiation in South Africa will be the outcome of heightened pressures and not a substitute for them. To relieve pressure at this point would be an historic and strategic mistake, a tragedy for our country."

EXTRACT FROM A STATEMENT BY
REV DR FRANK CHIKANE
MOST REV ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU
RT REV BISHOP DR STANLEY MOGOBA
REV DR ALLAN BOESAK
JAY NAIDOO
PHIROSHAW CAMAY
DR BEYERS NAUDE
FATHER SMANGALISU MKHATSHWA

This book aims to be a peaceful weapon in the fight against apartheid. By highlighting Scotland's links with South Africa, naming the companies, organisations and individuals who implicitly or explicitly condone apartheid, it will enable people in Scotland to target their actions effectively to help end apartheid.



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