THE PHILIPS CONNECTION
military electronics for south africa

NETHERLANDS ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
The World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa was launched in London on 28 March 1979 at the initiative of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement

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THE PHILIPS CONNECTION
Military Electronics for South Africa

Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement

Foreword by
His Excellency B Akporode Clark
Chairman, United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid

Preface by
Cees N M Commandeur
Members of the Executive Board of the Netherlands Trade Union Confederation FNV

Introduction by
Sami Faltas

The Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement expresses its gratitude to those who assisted us in preparing this brochure: Philips workers, trade unionists, and friends from the solidarity movement. Special thanks are due to Ethel de Keyser and Abdul S Minty of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

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October 1980
Foreword

The mandatory arms embargo against South Africa was instituted by unanimous decision of the United Nations Security Council in November 1977 in order to curb the violent repression of the opponents of apartheid as well as to avert an escalation of armed conflict, and thereby reduce the loss of life in the inevitable process of liberation of South Africa. This embargo should be urgently strengthened and reinforced by additional measures in the light of continuing brutal violence and repression by the South African regime against schoolchildren and others resisting apartheid. The arms embargo is all the more necessary because of South Africa's repeated acts of aggression against independent African states.

South Africa has been able to obtain military equipment and technology from abroad because of the failure of several of its traditional suppliers of arms strictly to implement the letter and spirit of the arms embargo. I must make particular reference to their failure (a) to enact effective national legislation which provides for punitive deterrence to violators of the embargo; (b) to remove all licences, capital and technological assistance contributing to the growing arms industry in South Africa; (c) to prohibit export to South Africa of all 'dual purpose equipment' including electronic, communications and other equipment to the military and police forces of South Africa; and (d) to stop all transfer of military technology to South Africa.

The Special Committee has noted with satisfaction and gratitude the contribution of the anti-apartheid movements, trade unionists and journalists in uncovering violations of the arms embargo and to press for action by their national governments. I wish to commend in particular the efforts of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement in drawing attention to the continued supply of military electronic equipment and technology to South Africa. I wish them success and assure them of the full support of the Special Committee Against Apartheid.

B Akporode Clark
Chairman
United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid
Racial discrimination has a legal basis in South Africa. This discrimination is very clearly reflected in labour legislation. Countless South African laws encroach on the internationally-recognised right of trade unions and workers to organise and defend their interests freely.

The Netherlands Trade Union Confederation, FNV, in concurrence with the worldwide rejection of South African apartheid, fundamentally rejects the present system of government in South Africa. Furthermore, the FNV has no confidence in the willingness of the white rulers to listen to reason and initiate significant changes. Only the struggle of the black population and overseas pressure will enforce change in South Africa. It is in this context that the FNV calls for the complete isolation of present-day South Africa, by means of a military and economic boycott.

Netherlands companies, amongst others, support the apparatus of oppression in South Africa, directly or indirectly. The FNV strongly condemns such support. FNV unions are cooperating with the workers at these companies to obstruct any type of support for the apartheid system in South Africa. Thus in the past we prevented the supply of submarines to South Africa, and we prevented Dutch companies from participating in the construction of nuclear reactors in South Africa. There have also been — and there continue to be — discussions in industry and with boards of directors about the recognition of trade unions in South Africa and about whether or not to make new investments in South Africa. These are only a few examples.

In trade union work on South Africa, new information, as presented in this report *The Philips Connection*, is of great value. It gives trade union members new material and new inspiration to promote discussion within Philips on this type of support for apartheid. The newly-formed Working Group on South Africa of Philips shop stewards will therefore study this report. And from that level the discussion can find its way to the international trade unions' consultations on the Philips Group.

Cees N M Commandeur  
*Member of the Executive Board of*  
*the Netherlands Trade Union Confederation FNV*  

Amsterdam, September 1980
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INTRODUCTION

With the establishment of the independent state of Zimbabwe and the installation of a democratically elected government in Salisbury (April 1980), Africa has moved towards the final defeat of colonialism and racist oppression.

The freedom fighters of Southern Africa, however, still face a powerful and ruthless enemy in the apartheid regime of South Africa, which also represents a constant and growing threat to independent African states. South Africa’s recent attacks on Angola bear witness to this.

The considerable military and industrial power of the Pretoria regime has been built up and sustained largely through the support of the Western world. And, despite public condemnation of apartheid policies, that support continues through capital investment, bank loans, trade and military links.

For many years now, the international community has been working to stop the flow of arms, capital, oil and other trade to South Africa. In 1963, the UN Security Council called on all states to stop providing arms and related equipment to Pretoria. This voluntary arms embargo failed in many important respects. Western governments and transnational corporations supplied military hardware and technology to South Africa on a large scale. In order to enforce the arms embargo, the Security Council formally prohibited the supply of arms and related equipment to South Africa in November 1977.

This mandatory embargo has made military collaboration with the apartheid regime more difficult than before. But, unfortunately, several governments and transnational corporations continue to provide strategic equipment and technical knowledge for South Africa’s military build-up, in defiance of the arms embargo. Since this is now illegal under international law, such military collaboration is more carefully concealed.

In 1978 the Space Research Affair was exposed. Several Western countries were involved in a large-scale arrangement to supply the South African army with advanced 155mm howitzer shells. At least one batch, consisting of 42 crates, was carried to Durban in June 1978 by the Dutch ship ‘Breezand’, owned by the Van Es Company of the Rotterdam-based Van Ommeren Group.

In this report, we are concerned with the Philips Group, a transnational corporation based in the Netherlands and involved in arming the apartheid regime in defiance of the UN mandatory arms embargo. The Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement has repeatedly urged the Dutch government to introduce appropriate measures to prevent further violations of the arms embargo by Philips and any other Netherlands-based company. This campaign is supported by Dutch members of parliament, youth movements, trade unions, Philips shop stewards and other organisations and individuals. As yet, the Netherlands government has refused to take any decisive steps. In fact, no legislation whatsoever has been passed to enforce the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

Such military collaboration with apartheid South Africa is, of course, not an exclusively Dutch problem. There are many indications that other companies in the field of electronics are similarly undermining and violating the arms embargo.

Military electronics are of vital importance to modern armaments and South Africa is, to a very large extent, dependent on imports in this field.

In supplying strategic electronic products and technology to South Africa, the Philips Group is using its transnational structure and Philips subsidiaries and affiliates, outside the Netherlands, are actively involved.

Philips’ contribution to the arming of apartheid is revealed only partially in this report. Further research is needed, together with critical comments, suggestions and information. This study will, we trust, provoke such a response, which we hope to incorporate in a more comprehensive document.

Please write to the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement, PO Box 10500, 1001 EM Amsterdam, Netherlands

Sami Faltas
Amsterdam
September 1980
THE ELECTRONIC EMPIRE

BASIC FACTS ON PHILIPS

To many people in over 50 countries around the world, Philips is their local company making electrical consumer goods.

This is a misunderstanding.

First, no Philips company is a local enterprise. All are subsidiaries or affiliates of a world-wide transnational corporation, with a network of interests throughout the Western and Third World. Philips is the largest European-based electronics group and the fifth largest company, outside the US, in terms of sales. As a transnational, Philips manages its global interests so as to maximise total profits: moving from one market to another that is more lucrative; shifting jobs from high-wage areas to low-wage areas; avoiding the justified demands of trade unions, etc. This requires an elaborate system of corporate management and control, culminating in a small number of coordinating centres and an even smaller group of ultimate decision-makers.

The heart of the Philips system is in the Netherlands, in Eindhoven, Philips' home town. Here the parent company, NV Philips Incandescent Lamp Works, and the holding company which owns virtually all of NV Philips' shares, are registered. The shares of the holding company are traded on the stock exchanges of the world. The Philips family, which founded the enterprise in 1981, still owns a significant portion of the holding company's ordinary share capital, though the exact size of their holding is not disclosed.

What is more important is that the extended family controls the 10 priority shares, which give them control over the leadership of the group, as the holding company's directors are appointed by the priority shareholders.

At present all nine priority share controllers, all six holding company directors and both chairmen of the parent company's executive and supervisory boards are members of, or in some way related to, the Philips family. Moreover, five particularly powerful Philips men occupy between them 14 out of the 17 abovementioned key positions (see Figure 1). Finally, it is interesting to note that all group directors are Netherlands citizens, and all are men.

Despite this very powerful base in the Netherlands, Philips has managed to acquire a highly international image and is often taken for a British company in Britain, a German company in the FRG, etc. This paradox can be explained partly by the fact that, whereas ultimate power is highly centralised in Philips, the day-to-day running of the company is largely decentralised. The delegation of power takes place along geographical and functional lines.

Geographic decentralisation starts at head office in Eindhoven and ends at Philips' National Organisation in a particular country. Functional decentralisation begins at one of the group's 14 main product divisions and ends at the product manager of a particular Philips company belonging to that division.

Few people know precisely how this complex matrix structure works, but it does. All but one of the main product divisions are based in the Netherlands. They are responsible for worldwide product policy in their particular fields and they play an important part in the Philips system.

The list of main product divisions in Figure 2 clearly shows that Philips is involved in many markets. Several divisions manufacture and distribute products for use by industry, commerce, research, health services, utilities, government services, the military and the police.

Figure 2. Philips' Main Product Divisions

| LIGHTING | for consumer use and professional applications |
|AUDIO | radios, gramophones, hi fi equipment |
|VIDEO | black-and-white and colour TV, video recorders |
|SMALL DOMESTIC APPLIANCES | labour-saving consumer goods |
|LARGE DOMESTIC APPLIANCES | refrigerators, cooking appliances, washing machines, etc — based in Italy |
|ELECTRONIC COMPONENTS AND MATERIALS | parts for industry |
|ELECTRO-ACOUSTICS | professional studio and broadcasting equipment |
|TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND DEFENCE SYSTEMS | civil and military communications and navigation equipment, military electronics |
|DATA SYSTEMS | computers, peripheral equipment and services |
|SCIENCE & INDUSTRY | analytical, test and measuring, industrial and welding equipment |
|MEDICAL SYSTEMS | electronic hospital equipment |
|PHARMACEUTICAL-CHEMICAL PRODUCTS (Philips Duphar) | health products for human and veterinary use, agri-chemicals |
|ALLIED INDUSTRIES & GLASS | basic materials for manufacture and packaging, mainly in Philips plants |
|POLYGRAM | separate joint venture with Siemens (FRG), making and selling gramophone records, tapes and cassettes |

Figure 1. Philips' Power Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority Share Controllers</th>
<th>Holding Company Directors</th>
<th>Parent Company Directors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N Rodenburg</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X Chairman Executive Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H van Riemslijk</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>X Chairman Supervisory Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F le Clercq</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X Member Supervisory Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Noordhof</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X Member Supervisory Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Philips</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>— (former chairman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. There are five governors of the Dr A F Philips Foundation (Neth Antilles), which owns six priority shares, and four individual priority shareholders. Mr van Riemslijk belongs to both categories.

Source: Philips Annual Report 1978
According to Roger Facer, a civil servant at the British Ministry of Defence, "electronic equipment is now fitted into almost every kind of weapon system, and represents a constantly increasing proportion of their cost. Communications equipment of all sorts is required in ever-greater complexity to assist commanders at all levels."

In recent years, Philips has reaped considerable profits from the international arms trade, by participating successfully in the military industry and military exports of the countries in which it operates. Thus most US and French jet fighters carry Philips equipment. Most West German, Swedish and Dutch warships use Philips fire control systems. Most West European naval missiles are guided by Philips instruments. Finally, many armies and police forces communicate by Philips radios. As we shall see, the electronic empire is also doing lucrative business in helping to arm the apartheid regime of South Africa.

Figure 4. Philips' Military Equipment Plants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philips Telecommunications Manufacturing Co Ltd</td>
<td>Clayton (Victoria) and Liverpool (NSW), Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Electronics Ltd</td>
<td>Scarborough, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Telecommunications Radioélectriques et Téléphoniques (TRT), Le Plessis Robinson</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Société d'Optique, de Mécanique et de Radio (Onéza-Segid), Argenteuil</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TekDe Fernmeldedienlagen GmbH</td>
<td>Nürnberg, FRG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elektro-Spezial, Unternehmensbereich der Philips GmbH</td>
<td>Bremen, FRG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The MEI Equipment Co</td>
<td>Crawley, Sussex, Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graseby Instruments Ltd</td>
<td>Surbiton, Surrey, Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pye Telecommunications Ltd, Cambridge</td>
<td>Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pye TMC Ltd</td>
<td>London, Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyle Dynamics Ltd, Bushey, Hertfordshires</td>
<td>Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollandse Signaalapparaten BV</td>
<td>Hengelo, Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Telecommunicatie Industrie BV</td>
<td>Hilversum, Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips USFA BV</td>
<td>Eindhoven, Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van der Heem Electronics BV</td>
<td>The Hague, Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>Wadeville, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Elektronikindustrie AB</td>
<td>Järfälla, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnavox Government and Industrial Equipment Company</td>
<td>Fort Wayne, Indiana, USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5. Philips' Components Plants Producing Military Components or Capable of such Manufacture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philips Electronic Miniwaar</td>
<td>Hendon, Adelaide, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Electronicos do Nordeste SA</td>
<td>Recife, Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips SA</td>
<td>Ramos Parda, São Paulo, Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC La Radiotechnique-Compelec</td>
<td>Caen, Saint Étienne and Suresnes, France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valvo GmbH</td>
<td>Hamburg Lockstedt and Hamburg-Langenhorn, FRG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullard Ltd</td>
<td>Southampton, Blackburn, Stockport and Mitcham (London), Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newmarket Transistor Ltd</td>
<td>Newmarket, Suffolk, Gt Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic Devices Ltd</td>
<td>Kwai Chung, Kowloon, Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips SpA</td>
<td>Monza, Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsushita Electric Corp (Philips minority holding), Osaka</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaoka, Okyama, Nagaoka, Kaga, Nagaoka, Japan Signetics Corp</td>
<td>Seoul, Republic of Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronica SA de CV, Toluca, Monterrey, Mexico</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elcomar, Nijmegen, Stadschans, Eindhoven (Eumunds)</td>
<td>Heerlen, Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips USFA BV</td>
<td>Eindhoven, Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips Industrial Devices</td>
<td>Rizal, Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronica Signetics Corp de Portugal Ltd</td>
<td>Setubal, Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips E&amp;E</td>
<td>Kaohsiung EPZ, Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signetics (Thailand) Corp</td>
<td>Bangkok, Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivers Lab</td>
<td>Jakarta, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signetics Corp</td>
<td>Sunnyside (Calif) and Orem (UT), USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ampereax Electronics Corp</td>
<td>Hicksville (NY), USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Assistant director of the commercial department of Hollandse Signaalapparaten, Hengelo, Netherlands, Mr J Bosma, in the company magazine Signaal, February 1975, p 6.
DEFYING THE ARMS EMBARGO

PROUD OF ITS LONG ASSOCIATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

In 1979, South African Philips celebrated its golden anniversary and, marking its long involvement in apartheid, the company published a series of three glossy brochures for its business relations. These brochures stated: "Philips has been associated with the South African electronic industry for 50 years ... Philips is proud of its long association with South Africa. It looks forward to a future in which it will continue its service to the country by bringing the latest developments in modern technology to the Republic based on its worldwide experience."

The first Philips company was established in South Africa in 1929, and started selling imported radio sets and parts. It took up radio assembly in 1938 and, between 1939 and 1945, it supported South Africa’s war effort by manufacturing strategic items such as aircraft battery chargers. As a British Dominion, the Union of South Africa fought on the side of the Allies.

In the fifties, South African Philips’ radio manufacture expanded and other consumer products were introduced. The sixties were South African Philips’ main period of expansion. In 1965, a large Philips radio and lamp factory was opened at Martindale, near Johannesburg. After lengthy preparation, TV manufacture started in 1974. Other interests in the field of lighting are South African Philips’ participation in two local lamp factories. Philips opened a new lamp factory of its own in 1974.

In compliance with the apartheid government’s bantustan policy, the lamp plant was erected in a so-called border area, at Rosslyn in the vicinity of Pretoria. As a means of creating jobs for black bantustan labour, this project was a failure. The work force fell from 400 in 1974 to 100 in 1977; in 1978 the plant was finally shut down and production transferred to Wadeville.

Wadeville, Germiston, is the base of Philips Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd, a strategic plant at present fully owned by the Philips group. It makes PABX private telephone exchanges, mobile radio systems and security systems. Early in 1979 it took over another Philips subsidiary in South Africa, Pye Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd, at Wijnberg, Transvaal, which specialises in mobile radio manufacture. Both companies are major suppliers to the South African police.

It is also worth mentioning some of Philips’ trading activities in South Africa. In 1974, a computer company, Philips Data Systems (Pty) Ltd, was opened to market small computers, peripheral equipment and computer services. South African Philips’ Professional Products Division imports and markets a broad range of sophisticated scientific and industrial equipment. It deals with the South African government’s Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), which is deeply involved in military research.

A seemingly unimpressive operation, which may be Philips’ most strategic contribution to the arming of apartheid, is Edac (Pty) Ltd, a fully-owned Philips subsidiary in Johannesburg which imports and distributes electronic components.

This large network of Philips activities in South Africa (see Figure 6) serves consumer markets, industry, science and government organisations. As a strategic industry, South African Philips faces pressure from the Pretoria administration

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**Figure 6. Philips' South African Operation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>serving industry, inside front cover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Consumer Products Division, Johannesburg</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Consumer Service Division, Johannesburg; Professional Products Division, Johannesburg; Medical Systems Division, Johannesburg; Lighting Division, Johannesburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Philips Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd, Wadeville (telecommunications plant)</td>
<td>Wadeville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Metalpride Manufacturing Co (Pty) Ltd (plant for telecommunications boxes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Edac (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg (distribution of components)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Philips Data Systems (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Trutone (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg (record company)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Trutone Industries (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Interosnig (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Electric Lamp Manufacturers of South Africa (Pty) Ltd (ELMOSA) (lamp factory)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Associated Glass Works (Pty) Ltd, Port Elizabeth (glass factory)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The remaining 25% is owned by the South African group SANLAM
2. In 1979 Philips Telecom absorbed Pye Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd, a mobile radio plant in Wijnberg, which also belonged to the Philips group. Philips has announced that, as before, South African business will soon participate in Philips Telecom
3. The other shareholders are Thorn Electrical Industries and GEC from the UK
4. The other shareholders are Crompton Parkinson and GEC from the UK

Sources: NV Philips' Annual Report 1978; South African Philips Survey; Serving Industry; ao
to sell a large part of its share capital to South African business. Philips and other foreign multinationals have hitherto rejected this, arguing that to sell more than 50 per cent of a subsidiary would cut South Africa off from valuable know-how (particularly informal contacts) and give the overseas company less incentive to fight the cause of its South African offshoot. Philips in particular seems offended that its loyalty to South Africa should appear to be in doubt: 'If you have been in a country for fifty years and have invested $80 million, you like to think you have proved your commitment without fashionable window-dressing,' says managing director Jan Timmer.

**SERVICES RENDERED**

In the north of occupied Namibia, long rows of Mirage fighter-bombers and French-made military helicopters are lined up, ready for attack on the liberation movement's camps in southern Angola. These aircraft symbolise South Africa's military strength and the complicity of France in arming Pretoria. Apart from the French government and the companies who supplied the aircraft between 1963 and 1976, Philips is one of the less obvious accomplices.

Two Philips companies in France, TRT and its subsidiary Oméra-Ségid, supplied navigational, communications and reconnaissance equipment for these aircraft. Every Mirage, Puma, Alouette and Super Frelon delivered to South Africa is fitted with equipment manufactured by Philips (see Figure 7). Thus instruments supplied by Philips facilitate raids like the massacre at Chimoio, Mozambique, of November 1977. In fact, the Rhodesian security forces received other types of military hardware manufactured by Philips.

In April 1979, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe displayed recently-captured enemy equipment; amongst the exhibits were four different types of military radios, manufactured by three Philips companies around the world. Two came from TRT in France. These were different from the aircraft transceivers referred to in Figure 7. One came from Pye in Australia and one from Philips Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd in Wadewille, South Africa.

Philips also supplies civil products to the military in South Africa. The South African Defence College at Voortrekker-hoogte has installed Philips closed-circuit television and video recording equipment. In crossword puzzle contests organised for South African military personnel, soldiers vie for Philips colour television sets. Regularly, Philips publishes full-page advertisements in the South African Defence Force's official magazine Paratus. All this is of little strategic importance but it indicates Philips' close association with the military in South Africa.

**ARMING APARTHEID TODAY: STRATEGIC COMPONENTS**

As we have seen, electronics are vital to modern armaments. In fact, 'the capacity of a country's industry to meet its own defence needs rests more on the capability of its electronic industry than that of any other sector.' In the face of increasing embargoes, South Africa is feverishly expanding the manufacture of military electronics in the Republic. At great expense, strategic electronic industries are being developed and some data processing, communications and navigation instruments are now produced locally. However, experts admit that South Africa cannot achieve self-sufficiency in this advanced field.

Professor Louis van Biljon, head of the Department of Electrical Engineering at the University of Pretoria, told the newspaper The Citizen in October 1978: 'In spite of talk of high local content and other red herrings that are drawn across the trail from time to time, the terrible truth is that if we are not able to buy components such as diodes, integrated circuits and transistors, we cannot make anything...'

At present, the authorities in Pretoria are confident that they can continue to expand local electronics manufacture and obtain the other products they need either directly or through backdoor sources abroad.

Philips is making an important contribution to both these policies. First, it is involved in large-scale local production of mobile radio systems for the police. We shall discuss this later. Second, its Johannesburg subsidiary Edac is acting as a channel for the import of strategic electronic components and components technology originating from Philips factories in the Netherlands, Britain, France and the US (see Figure 9).

Figure 9 clearly shows that various types of military electronic components are being marketed by Edac in South Africa in defiance of the mandatory arms embargo. Figure 8 shows that Edac is a standard supplier of Philips' range of military night vision components. These are tubes which enable the military and police to operate at night and in low visibility during the day.

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1. Financial Mail, 14 July 1978, p 147
2. The Economist, 15 July 1978, p 82
3. R Facer, op cit, p 20
4. Quoted in David M Liff, The computer and electronics industry in South Africa, 1979
A Philips sales brochure for military customers lists Philips’ South African subsidiary Edac as one of the suppliers of Philips components for military night vision instruments. The enclosed items were announced by Edac in South Africa in June 1979. Philips states: ‘Our night vision components are military products.’

### Table: Philips’ Military Components

<table>
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<tr>
<th>APPLICATION</th>
<th>JOINTS/FOURS</th>
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![Figure 8. Military Night Vision Components available from South African Philips](image)

Philips makes it quite clear what the application of such components is: ‘Our night vision components are military products.’ Edac’s contribution to the development of the armaments industry in South Africa is not restricted to selling imported components. The company ‘runs a library service and laboratory with complete access to Philips’ expertise worldwide.’

General manager Jimmy Heald says: ‘With regard to the application of components, we have an application laboratory where engineers are available to advise manufacturers and industry at large on the application possibilities of our large range of components. Application information is received from our overseas suppliers and is originated in the highly developed Philips/Mullard/Ampex/Signetics research laboratories.’

Thus, as soon as one of these specialised components companies introduces a new military product, Edac can supply it in South Africa, along with the expertise necessary to apply it.

Finally, Edac is considering taking up local manufacture of components, if the Pretoria government is prepared to subsidise the development of a strategic components industry. Sufficient funding has not yet been forthcoming, although government officials are eager to stress the strategic significance of electronic components.

In 1977, Mr P W Botha — then Minister of Defence, now Prime Minister — opened a factory for the manufacture of integrated circuits. On this occasion he said: ‘Integrated circuits form part of all sophisticated weapons using electronic systems. A local manufacturer will be invaluable from the point of view of defence strategy.’

And the leading authority on telecommunications in South Africa, Postmaster General Mr Louis Rive, has stated: ‘I firmly believe that the ability to apply micro-electronic techniques over a wide spectrum of applications will determine whether South Africa remains the leader in Africa. And I’m not merely talking about the advance of telecommunications and industry and commerce — I’m talking about defence. For the mastery of micro-electronic techniques is the key to effective military strategy.’

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2. South African Philips Survey, op cit,
5. E&I, February 1979, p 47.

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2. Electronics & Instrumentation (E&I), June 1979, p 114; Serving Science, August 1979, p 25.
5. E&I, February 1979, p 47.
ARMIN APARTHEID TODAY: POLICE RADIOS

The second principal area in which Philips is breaking the arms embargo against South Africa is the manufacture of strategic communications equipment for military and police use within the Republic.

Philips has two telecommunications plants in South Africa: the Philips Telecommunications factory in Wadeville and the Ye Telecommunications factory in Wijnberg. Both manufacture mobile radio equipment and, in addition, Philips Telecom produces telephone equipment and loading coils for telephone cables as well as security systems.

The market for security systems is booming in South Africa, as a result of growing resistance to apartheid and increasing repression by the government. Some of the products marketed by Philips have been reported to be in use for strategic purposes. Philips' Microwave Fence Alarm System and Access Control System, as well as its fingerprinting equipment, are of obvious interest to the police. And, when discussing the importance of giving its South African customers reliable service, Philips says: 'Consider a closed circuit television camera monitoring fuel loading in a nuclear reactor...'. Closed circuit television equipment is one of Philips' Telecom's most successful security products.

Philips' mobile radio activities in South Africa are even more significant.

Pye Telecom started making mobile radio transmitting and receiving equipment in South Africa in 1966, shortly before the British Pye Group was taken over by Philips. One of the first major orders came from the police administration of the province of Natal, for the equipment of its vehicles and stations. With the prospect of further orders from the police in other provinces, the management of Pye Telecom predicted that 'it will not be long before the whole country is covered by a radio telephone network'.

This has proved to be the case. In 1973, a survey of the telecommunications sector of South Africa concluded: 'The rapid growth both in government (defence, police, transport etc) and private sector application of paging and radio remote systems has spawned a thriving industry dominated by Motorola with Philips and Pye ... in hot pursuit.'

Since that time, Philips and Pye have been major suppliers of mobile radio equipment, pagers, walkie-talkies, etc, to the South African government, including the police. This was in line with Philips' objective in setting up Philips Telecom. The company was established in 1963, the year in which the first UN Security Council arms embargo against South Africa was imposed, to manufacture government equipment. Its present large site was opened by the then Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr F W Haak, in 1970.

Recent years have seen some major changes in Philips' mobile radio activities in South Africa. In November 1977, the UN Security Council made the arms embargo a mandatory provision under international law. This led the US government to forbid all supplies of US-origin goods to or for the armed forces and police of South Africa. In January 1979, a South African magazine reported on the effects of recent embargo measures on South African industry: 'Motorola in the past had the bulk of the local police business for mobile radio, but it has lost out recently as a result of American legislation. This has been of considerable benefit to other companies, such as Pye and Philips, and locally-owned producers such as Transonic.'

Also in early 1979, Pye Telecom and Philips Telecom, which had been operating independently, although both belonged to Philips, merged to form South Africa's largest manufacturer of mobile radio equipment. The same magazine said that 'the recent amalgamation of the two is expected to produce a very powerful entity'.

Subsequently, Philips announced that the telecommunications operation in South Africa was being 'restructured'. As before, South African capital will soon participate in Philips Telecommunications (Pty) Ltd.

Philips Telecommunications is now one of the major violators of the arms embargo against South Africa. Far from obeying the mandatory United Nations resolution, Philips is supplanting deliveries previously made by US companies to the South African police. We have no information on the extent of Philips' manufacture for the armed forces within South Africa, but, in view of Philips Telecom's dominant position in the field of mobile radio, it is likely to be significant.

5. Electronics and Instrumentation, January 1979, p 27.
6. Ibid.
ORGANISING TO STOP COLLABORATION

Before discussing what must be done to stop Philips arming apartheid, let us briefly consider the reasons to combat this particular problem.

We are sometimes told that it is more appropriate for Philips workers in a country like the Netherlands to campaign for greater trade union freedom and higher wages in South Africa than to participate in boycott actions. We support solidarity campaigns for the workers' struggle in South Africa but we reject the view that such campaigns are an alternative to boycott action.

The UN General Assembly calls for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The UN Security Council has passed a mandatory arms embargo. In the Netherlands, the trade union federation FNV has spoken out in favour of an economic boycott. Above all, the liberation movement of South Africa, the African National Congress, as well as the South African Congress of Trade Unions, ask their overseas supporters to boycott Pretoria as completely as possible.

Hence boycott action is necessary — and it should be as comprehensive as possible. This is not to say that partial sanctions have become irrelevant. It is urgently necessary to continue striving for an effective arms embargo because:

1. South Africa remains heavily dependent on foreign supplies of military technology and military equipment, especially in advanced fields such as electronics;
2. there is a strong base in international law, in the political commitments of most governments and parties, and in public opinion, for an effective arms embargo, and this base must be utilised to the full;
3. partial sanctions will pave the way for more far-reaching measures, such as an economic boycott.

Who is to be held responsible for the military collaboration described in this pamphlet?

The collaborators in the most direct sense of the word are the company managers at Philips in South Africa, at the Philips plants exporting strategic electronics to South Africa, and, of course, at head office in Eindhoven, Netherlands. In the final analysis, the group's directors are responsible for all company policy.

It is a safe assumption that Philips' top people at Eindhoven are aware of the company's role in violating the arms embargo. They are unlikely to put an end to these activities on moral grounds. Philips has made a lot of money out of apartheid and will continue to do so as long as possible.

So far, Philips has not contested the allegation of military collaboration with South Africa. The company's director for military affairs, Mr J L P le Noble, simply states that the company obeys the laws of the countries in which it operates and carries no responsibility for, the activities of foreign subsidiaries and affiliates of Dutch companies.

This is a strange attitude for a government to take which prides itself on its commitment to the defence of human rights, its opposition to racism and its faith in international law.

As far as the first argument is concerned, it is useful to point out that the Netherlands, as a member of the Coordinating Committee (CoCom) of Western countries and Japan, has a detailed list of strategic goods, which may not be exported to any destination without a government export permit. This is intended to prevent the supply of strategic goods to socialist countries.

However, the Dutch government permits Dutch companies to supply an undefined number of these strategic items to South Africa, the only country in the world under a mandatory UN arms embargo.

There can be no question that the strategic electronic products exported by Philips from the Netherlands (and other Western countries) to South Africa are 'related materials' in terms of the arms embargo.

As regards the second argument of the Netherlands government, it may be unusual for a government to interfere in the activities of its multinationals' overseas subsidiaries, but it is not impossible.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

In a legal and political sense, the party responsible for these violations of the arms embargo is the government involved. The UN arms embargo obliges governments to ensure that the people and companies under their jurisdiction do not supply military equipment to South Africa. No government carries a heavier responsibility for Philips' sanctions-breaking than the government of the Netherlands, where Philips' parent company and head office are based. In the final analysis, Philips is a Dutch company and is therefore the responsibility of the authorities in The Hague.

Since November 1977, when the mandatory embargo was passed, the Netherlands government has done nothing of any significance to implement the ban. Its policy concerning the arms embargo has remained the same, based on two measures: a statement that no export permits shall be awarded for the supply of arms to South Africa from the Netherlands, and 'gentlemen's agreements' with business to prevent the transport of arms or the transfer of military technology to South Africa.

The government, like Philips, does not deny the allegation that Philips is arming South Africa. However, it states:

1. that export permits are awarded for the supply of certain strategic goods from the Netherlands to South Africa which are not considered arms or related equipment in the sense of the arms embargo; and
2. that the Netherlands government has no influence on, and carries no responsibility for, the activities of foreign subsidiaries and affiliates of Dutch companies.

Shareholders, consumers and public opinion can also play a part in applying pressure on the company to obey the embargo.

US legislation on the arms embargo, though imperfect, shows that a certain measure of control can be exercised on companies' foreign subsidiaries. Under US law, American-based firms are obliged to ascertain that all the goods or unpublished technical knowledge they export are not passed on to the South African military or police by their trading partners, whether these are subsidiaries or not. This makes circumvention of the US arms embargo via overseas subsidiaries more difficult and it helps to stop US companies assisting the development of the South African arms industry by the supply of parts and technology.

Not surprisingly, the government's 'gentlemen's agreement' with business concerning the transport of arms and the transfer of military technology to South Africa has proved ineffective. In 1978, a Dutch vessel, the 'Breezand', carried 52 crates of 155mm howitzer shells to South Africa, and suffered no penalty as a consequence.

Moreover, there are many indications that the transfer of strategic technology (including nuclear) to South Africa is hardly obstructed by any government controls. Nuclear and military experts are known to have travelled between South Africa and the Netherlands, and a transnational corporation like Philips uses its own channels to transfer the advanced technology South Africa needs from the Netherlands (or other Western countries) to Johannesburg.

SOLIDARITY

The legitimate spokesmen of the majority population of South Africa are unanimous in calling for our solidarity in terminating all connections — military, economic, cultural and sporting — with the Pretoria regime. It is therefore spurious to argue that Philips' activities in South Africa provide jobs for black South Africans and should not be opposed.

This kind of argument is typical of attempts by management to divide workers amongst themselves.

These are not particularly easy times for Philips workers. On an international level, automation is creating redundancies, dismissals are increasing amongst blue-collar as well as white-collar workers, and there is a growing feeling of job insecurity. In this situation, international solidarity becomes a threat to management policy, as it becomes ever more important to the workers. A practical example is the case of runaway industries, attracted by the relatively weak position of the trade unions in some developing countries. This reallocation is harmful to the interests of the workers at both ends. In the first country, mass dismissals are likely to occur; and in the second country, the establishment of industries based primarily on the absence of trade union freedom will reinforce the pattern of underdevelopment. The workers in the West should therefore defend their jobs whilst at the same time supporting the struggle for trade union freedom in the Third World. In the case of Southern Africa, the downfall of the apartheid regime and the eradication of racism and colonialism will constitute not only a great liberation for the workers and population of the region, but also a victory for international solidarity and the international workers' movement.

Our experience is that many Philips workers are willing to support their brothers' struggle against apartheid in South Africa. And there would be much more opposition on the shop floor to Philips' collaboration if the workers received more information about the activities of their company. The shop stewards and trade unions at Philips in Holland are cooperating with the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement to provide the necessary information.

This pamphlet is an attempt to spread the information more widely to Philips workers and other interested parties around the world. We are confident that the Philips workers will play an important part in ending the Philips company's collaboration with the apartheid regime.
Philips’ major subsidiaries supplying military electronics

AUSTRALIA
Philips Telecommunications Manufacturing Company Ltd: Radio Division — PO Box 105, Clayton, Victoria 3168; Telephone Division: PO Box 269, Liverpool, New South Wales 2170. Philips Industries Holdings Ltd: Elcoma Division — 67 Mars Road, Lane Cove, New South Wales 2066.

BELGIUM
Manufacture Belge de Lampes et de Matériel Electronique SA: 80 rue des Deux Gares, B1070 Brussels.

CANADA
Philips Electronics Ltd: 601 Milner Avenue, Scarborough, Ontario M1B 1M8.

FRANCE

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

GREAT BRITAIN
The MEL Equipment Company: Manor Royal, Crawley, Sussex RH10 2PZ. Pye Telecommunications Ltd: St Andrews Road, Cambridge CB4 1DP. Pye TMC Ltd: Malmesbury, Wiltshire SN16 9NA. Mullard Ltd: Mullard House, Torrington Place, London WC1E 7HD.

HONG KONG
Philips Hong Kong Ltd: Elcoma Division, 15/F Philips Ind Building, 24-28 Kung Yip Street, Kwai Chung.

INDIA
PEICO Electronics and Electricals Ltd: Ramon House, 169 Backbay Reclamation, Bombay 400020.

ITALY

JAPAN

REPUBLIC OF KOREA
Philips Electronics (Korea) Ltd: Elcoma Division, Philips House, 260-199 Itaewon-Dong, Yongsan-ku, CPO Box 3680, Seoul.

NETHERLANDS

NEW ZEALAND
Philips Electrical Industries Ltd: 2 Wagener Place, St Lukes, Auckland.

SOUTH AFRICA

SWEDEN

UNITED STATES
Sources


Electronics and Instrumentation, Johannesburg.

Financial Mail, Johannesburg.


Nachrichten für den Aussenhandel, Frankfurt am Main.


Philips' Elcoma booklets on night vision components: Proximity Focused Lightweight Image Intensifiers, undated, printed in England; First in Night Vision Components, undated, printed in England.

Philips Koerier, Philips Netherlands company newspaper, Eindhoven.

Philips Violates the Arms Embargo Against South Africa, Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement, Amsterdam, 1979.


Signaalfiltsen, company newspaper of Hollandse Signaalapparaten BV, Hengelo, Netherlands.
Infrared detectors for military applications

For effective night vision systems choose from a purpose designed component range

Image intensifiers
Intensified Silicon Vidicons
Pyroelectric Vidicons

Our night vision components are military products. They meet military quality standards. We have factories in four countries. They are each approved to the highest quality level obtaining in their country. Three have DEFSTAN or Stanag approval, the fourth is in the U.S.A. and delivers to U.S. Government requirements.

First in Night-Vision Components

Electronic Components and Materials

Price: 50 pence / 1.20 US dollars / 2.50 Hfl
Amsterdam, 18 december 1980

Betreft: THE PHILIPS CONNECTION
Military electronics for South Africa

Hierbij biedt de Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland u een exemplaar van zijn nieuwste rapport 'The Philips Connection' aan. Het rapport werd in samenwerking met 'The World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa' gepubliceerd. Het rapport is bedoeld voor distributie binnen internationale organisaties als de Verenigde Naties, binnen vakbondsorganisaties en voor de Philipsarbeiders binnen en buiten Nederland.

In de tijd dat het rapport gedrukt werd vonden er enkele gebeurtenissen plaats die hier kort genoemd moeten worden.

Op internationaal niveau deed de Veiligheidsraadskommissie Zuid-Afrika belangrijke aanbevelingen om het wapenembargo te versterken. Als deze door de Veiligheidsraad zouden worden aangenomen en door de lidstaten zouden worden uitgevoerd zou dit eraan meehelpen om het soort kollaboratie dat in dit rapport beschreven wordt te beëindigen.

In Nederland beloofde de Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, Van der Klaauw, dat Nederland haar embargo-wetgeving onmiddellijk zou herzien als het VN-embargo gewijzigd zou worden. Bovendien nam de Nederlandse regering twee Sanktiebeschikkingen aan: één om het vervoer van wapenen naar Zuid-Afrika te verbieden, en één om de overdracht van militaire technologie aan Zuid-Afrika te verbieden.

Deze beschikkingen vormen de eerste belangrijke Nederlandse maatregelen om het verplichte wapenembargo uit te voeren en als zodanig worden ze door de Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland toegejuicht.


ERRATA
Helaas zijn er enkele ongelukkige fouten in het rapport geslopen die korrektie behoeven:
Binnenkant omslag, 5e regel m.z.: "the back page lists Philips South Africa..."
p.7, 1e kolom, 3e paragraaf m.z.: "The Philips family, which founded the enterprise in 1891"
p.8, tabel 3: Omzet: $ 16.578 miljoen
Winst-vóór-Belasting: $ 637 miljoen
Netto-Winst: $ 359 miljoen.

Pim Juffermans,
1ld Dagelijks Bestuur Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland.