THE ALLIANCE

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THE BONN-PRETORIA ALLIANCE

MEMORANDUM

of the Afro-Asian Solidarity

Committee of the

German Democratic Republic

The Expansionist Policy of the Federal Republic of (West) Germany in Southern Africa and its Basis in the Republic of South Africa

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Twenty years after the Second World War the (West) German monopolies have again built up their power in the Federal Republic of (West) Germany and are again taking up the pursuit of a policy of expansion and conquest.

Since the formation of the Kiesinger/Strauß government and the entry into that government of some right-wing Social Democratic Party leaders, the tactics-but not the aims-of the West German revanchists, militarists and neo-colonialists have changed.¹

They still wish to cancel out the results of their defeat and to regain what they lost under Hitler by means of economic, diplomatic and military pressure. But above all, they want to incorporate the first peaceloving state in German history, the German Democratic Republic, into the sphere ruled by West German imperialism.

They aspire to bring Western Europe under their hegemony by means of economic and military force. The German monopolists were rescued from the ruins of their Hitlerite Reich and brought back into power in the western part of Germany, the present Federal Republic of (West) Germany, with the help of the USA. Now, through hegemony over Western Europe, they aspire to develop from a junior partner to an ally of the USA on a basis of equality and to be in a strong enough position within the alliance to carry through their expansionist plans.

Since imperialist Germany was crowded out by stronger imperialist powers in the colonial distribution of the world, they now want to acquire a suitable share in the neo-colonialist plundering of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In this Memorandum we present to the peoples of Europe threatened by West German militarism and revanchism proofs that those in power today in the Federal Republic of (West) Germany have partners and allies in South Africa with whom they are producing and testing

important military raw materials, atomic weapons rockets and poison gases.

THESE PARTNERS AND ALLIES ARE THE WHITE RACISTS WHO RULE THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

We present to the peoples of Africa threatened by the South African racists proofs that the Apartheid Republic of South Africa, in its efforts to dominate the whole of Africa,

has for decades had firm allies and partners in Western Europe.

THESE PARTNERS ARE THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS NOW IN POWER IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (WEST) GERMANY.

This alliance between the South African racists and the (West) German imperialists has always-for very good reasons-been camouflaged. After German imperialism had lost the second world war for a re-distribution

Introduction

1 For detailed evidence of this renewed expansionist policy of the West German monopolies see the "Grey Book" on the Expansionist Policy and Neo-Nazism in West Germany. We shall be add to supply copies

We shall be glad to supply copies of this book on request. AASC of the GDR of the world and was able to set up its rule in the Western part of Germany only-with US help-it had to proceed cautiously, in South Africa because of its imperialist rivals, and also because the independent countries of Africa rightly regard any ally of the South African racists as their enemy.

The groups in power in both countries now consider themselves strong enough, with the help of their combined economic strength, diplomatic double-dealing and military force, to proceed to an openly expansionist policy in Africa, too, carrying on the old plans for conquest with new methods.

We must make use of the often cynical and impertinent frankness with which the new conquerors of Africa now speak of their plans to expose the total adventurousness and the great danger of this imperialist expansionist policy which aspires to old aims by new methods.

It threatens the liberty of the peoples of Africa, the security of the peoples of Europe and the peace of the world!

We consider it our national duty and an act of international solidarity to struggle against this expansionist policy.

Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic

Berlin, May 1967

OLD ACQUAINTANCES

The first official visitor to the new government of the Federal Republic of (West) Germany was Diederichs, Economics Minister of the Republic of South Africa, who arrived on 10 January 1967 for lengthy negotiations in Bonn. His most important negotiating partners were the banker Abs, Finance Minister Strauß, and the new Economics Minister Schiller.

Dr. N. DIEDERICHS is one of the oldest and most reliable South African liaison men of German monopoly capital and of German fascism. He is of German origin and studied at the Universities of Munich, Cologne and Berlin. He is one of the leaders of the "Afrikaner Broederbond".

During the Second World War Prime Minister Smuts ordered a thorough police investigation of the activities of the Afrikaner Broederbond, which at that time was working closely with the Nazis, and which today controls the composition of the South African Government and its basic policy. In the secret report of the South African police to General Smuts, dated 29 March 1944, of which we have a photostat copy, Diederichs is the most frequently named Nazi agent. The report states, for instance:

"In the meantime the AB (Afrikaner Broederbond) ever since the arrival -circa 1933-of the first Nazi agents camouflaged as scientists, educationists etc., had become immensely interested in the Nazi system. Broers Dr. N. Diederichs and Dr. van Rendsburg both visited Germany to study the Nazi system at first hand and became ardent admirers and adherents of National Socialism . . . Both of them qualified as quislings in the Nazis' Anti-Komintern training school." (pp. 7, 8)

Diederichs' main activities were in the economic field. This economic activity brought Diederichs into contact with Abs at an early date. After the Second World War he was actually one of Abs' employees, as director of "Labour Construction Ltd.", which was largely financed by the Deutsche Bank. (The South African Financial Year Book, 1958, p. XXIII.) His main activity in the leadership of the AB was however the systematic expansion of the Boer grip on the economy, and after the AB had taken over the Government, the expansion of the state concerns. Since 1958 Diederichs has been Minister for Economic Affairs and Mines.

All this time he remained in close contact with Abs, whom he visits regularly.

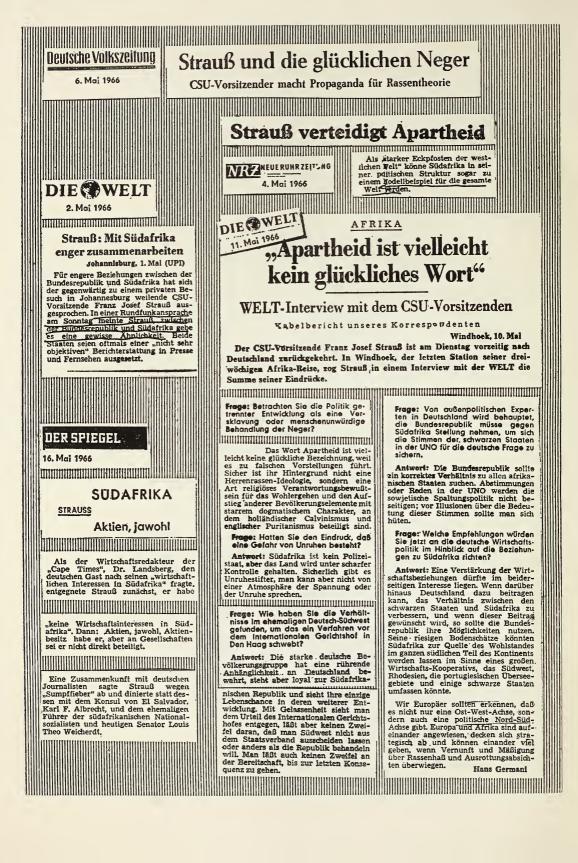
After his return from West Germany, Diederichs was appointed Finance Minister in the South African Cabinet in February 1967.

Hermann Josef A B S is head of the leading West German monopoly capital bank and, according to the US Department of Justice in 1945, one of the big financiers and industrialists who exercised the strongest influence on the orientation of Hitler's policy.

In all the previous governments of the (West) German Federal Republic, Abs remained the most important man in the background. He played an important part in the formation of the present government under Kiesinger, who was made Chancellor despite the fact that he was a member of the Nazi Party from 1933 to 1945, and acted as liaison man between the Foreign Ministry under Ribbentrop (hanged as a war criminal at Nuremberg) and the Propaganda Ministry under Goebbels (who committed suicide with Hitler in 1945 and thus escaped the gallows).

The "strong man" in Kiesinger's government, Franz Josef Strauß, became Finance Minister with Abs' aid and is regarded as his choice for next government head, despite the fact that he was involved in corruption scandals some years ago when he was Defence and Atomic Science

I. The Old Song to a New Tune





The genial former West German Foreign Minister of Defence, Dr. Franz Josef Strauss (left), chats with the Sonth African Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. N. Diederichs, during a visit to the Union Buildings, Pretoria, recently, Dr. Strauss was in Sonth Africa on a three weeks' visit to study Black-White relations in the Republic at the invitation of the South African Foundation.

"FALSE VIEW" OF S. AFRICA ABROAD - West German M.P.

THE good land in South Africa is in the hands of the Bantu (Blacks), according to Dr. Franz Josef Strauss, former West German Foreign Minister of Defence and chairman of the West German Christian Social Union political party. Dr. Strauss is on a visit to South Africa.

"I have confirmed that \$5 per cent of the land in South Africa is indeed in the hands of the Whites, and 15 per cent in the hands of the Blacks, but the White areas are principally a kind of steppe land where there are far fewer sheep, while the Blacks have good land," declared Dr. Strauss.

of need,

"The good earth — according to World, Food Organisation standards — is in the hands of the Blacks," reiterated Dr. Strauss, He had gamed an impression from many reports abroad that the Black population would like to leave South Africa in order to escape 'oppression', "Now 1 find that, on the contrary, the South African Government has difficulties in closing its frontiers against Blacks wonting to get in," said Dr. Strauss,

Better living

^aDespite this there is large scale illegal munigration from states to the north of South Africa. They seek work and better living conditions. I found that the South African Government is making impressive efforts to promote training and create jobs.^a Dr. Stranss believes that many West German films, books, and newspapers are giving a tabse picture of the situation in South Africa. He said this in an interview with the correspondent of the West German Simday newspaper Welt am Sounday, in Johannesburg. Distortion

He had been told, said Dr. Stranss, that Sonth Africa holds friendly feelings towards the German people, but there were many complaints that in present-day Germany all kinds of publications and films were guilty of gross distortion about South Africa, South Africans do no! expect Boun to discriminate against their country, said Dr. Stranss. In the past South Africa had helped Germany in times

7

Minister: he had to resign his post after lying in open session of Parliament.

Under Hitler, Strauß was a Nazi instructor (Führungsoffizier) in the Luftwaffe Flak Training School No. IV. These officers taught racial theory and prepared young soldiers to carry out every order-no matter how bestial-blindly, and to fight fanatically to the bitter end. (See "Offiziere des Führers", 1941, No. 5, and "Schnelldienste des Chefs des NS-Führungsstabes"- required reading for Nazi Führungsoffiziere.)

Economics Minister SCHILLER (one of Diederichs' negotiating partners) is the representative of Abs in the Social Democratic Party of West Germany. He was an active member of the Nazi Party. After the collapse of the Hitlerite Reich he manoeuvred himself into the Social Democratic Party. When he applied for public office in 1946, the British Military Government rejected him on the grounds of his Nazi activities. Today Schiller is Social Democratic Economics Minister in the Kiesinger/ Strauß government which is largely dominated by Abs.

Schiller's first, more important, action as a member of the government was the provision of financial assistance to the Krupp armaments trust which, as a result of unrestricted neo-colonialist expansion (especially in the atom business in South Africa and in the Angolan iron-ore mines, covered in Parts III and V of this memorandum) had got into difficulties with payments. Schiller provided government backing for a credit of 300 million marks and appointed Abs to its administrative board; Abs is now in control of Krupp.

The "Frankfurter Allgemeine", leading organ of the West German monopolies, praised Schiller after his first few months in office for "the new ideas and eye-catching slogans" with which he continued the policy of his predecessor. This policy had "now here been basically changed". It was also to Schiller's credit that the Social Democratic Party had "jettisoned ideological ballast in recent years", i.e. abandoned socialism. In particular, it was thanks to Schiller that the SPD had been "converted to the idea of market economy", i.e. to monopoly capitalism. ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 16 and 18 March 1967.)

The negotiations between Diederichs and Abs, Strauß and Schiller were alleged to be connected with difficulties arising in the South African economy as a result of Britain's efforts to enter the EEC (European Economic Community). But as Diederichs himself stated fairly plainly to the press in Cologne, the real subject of discussion was how, under the new governments in West Germany and South Africa, the close collaboration between the Afrikaner Nationalist and State capital groups in South Africa, and the West German big banks and monopolies, could be stepped up through joint expansion of the new West German-South African enterprises in South Africa; and how best to co-ordinate the transition from a policy of restoring West German monopoly capital to an expansionist policy both in Europe and Africa. ("Süddeutsche Zeitung", Munich; "Industriekurier", Düsseldorf; "Neues Deutschland", Berlin, 1 January 1967; "Rheinischer Merkur", Koblenz, 20 January 1967, etc.)

"NEW" ORDER IN EUROPE ...

Strauß announced the aims of his government in Europe in the form of a programme shortly before Diederichs' arrival, in an interview with the news magazine "Der Spiegel". These aims were to achieve a Europe which had overcome "the anachronistic organizational form of the existence side by side of nations of medium size", and reached "a level in science, technology and industry relatively equal to that of the Great Powers (Soviet Union and USA), especially in atomic power and space transport"; and which had escaped the danger both of becoming "a US satellite" and of being "to a certain extent under French leadership such as de Gaulle envisaged". (Der Spiegel, 3 January 1967.)

In short, a Europe in which the economic and military strength which the West German imperialists have regained, through their alliance with the most reactionary US imperialist groups, had asserted itself and been built up into a hegemony.

... AND IN AFRICA...

A "Europe" of this kind would of course dominate Africa. Here, too, Strauß has definite ideas. After his South African tour in April–May 1966, he said in an interview with "Die Welt" (the most important newspaper belonging to the Springer chain which is closely linked up with Abs) that "We Europeans" should recognise that "there is also a political North-South Axis", and that "Europe and Africa are very much dependent on each other, can protect each other strategically and give each other a great deal." ("Die Welt", B issue, 11 May 1966.)

Strauß also has suggestions as to how to arrive at this "North-South Axis": "The Federal Republic should exploit its opportunities to improve relations between the black countries and South Africa... in the direction of a big economic cooperative" which could "include (apart from South Africa) South West Africa, Rhodesia, the Portuguese overseas territories and some black countries." ("Die Welt", 11 May 1966.)

With these proposals Strauß linked up directly with older plans of the South African racists "which do not halt at the present political frontiers but envisage the expansion of the Union of South Africa into a Greater South African state, whose "natural" sphere is measured very broadly by many politicians. The economic side of these aspirations to expand the sphere of domination of the Union of South Africa is the idea of founding a big, unified South African economic area." (Dr. Hildegard Mühlhoff: "Basis and Problems of German-South African Trade Relations on the Principle of Mutuality". ("Grundlagen und Problematik der deutschsüdafrikanischen Handelsbeziehungen unter dem Gegenseitigkeitsprinzip".) Colonial Economic Series No. 3, Friedrichsen, de Gruyter and Co., Hamburg 1941 (written in 1939); page 98.)

This study, worked out at the Colonial Institute of the Hanseatic University, is based first and foremost on the South Africa Report of an economic study commission of the Reichsgruppe Industrie on a visit to the Union of South Africa in 1938.

... AT TIMES BY WARLIKE MEANS...

This study group worked out, on behalf of the Hitlerite government, a thorough analysis of the possibilities of strengthening Hitlerite Germany's position in South Africa through co-operation with the Boer Nationalists. Following up this train of thought, Mühlhoff inquires to whom the colony of German South West Africa is to belong, and points out that everything depends upon the form-peaceful negotiations or armed conflict-by which the problem is cleared up. (Mühlhoff, p. 100.)

When Mühlhoff's study was published in 1941, the clearing up of the problem, amongst others, of who should own Africa was already in full swing-through armed conflict.

Hitler's fifth column in South Africa-Hertzog, Malan, Verwoerd, Vorster, to name a few, men who were Prime Ministers of South Africa as Vorster is today-did its utmost to help win Africa for the German fascists and their masters, the German monopolists. Bargaining was already going on behind the scenes as to the distribution of the spoils.

Hertzog, who had dealt with the Hitlerite German study commission in 1938 in his capacity of Prime Minister, had to resign in 1939 because he was not prepared to fight on England's side against Hitlerite Germany. Negotiations on the division of Africa went on in secret. A contact-man of Hitler's Foreign Office reported on this:

"General Hertzog strongly stressed that his party would very much welcome Germany as a neighbour in Africa... With regard to future relations between blacks and whites in South Africa, the Nationalists would be very much in favour of Germany taking over control of a region in Central Africa which stretches from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. They would regard this region as a welcome barrier against other ideas on racial policy." (Foreign Office, Office of the State Secretary, Documents on Africa, VI, I, London P.R.O., Washington D.C., Bonn Ser. No. 540, p. 240626.)

Dr. Malan, head of the Nationalist Party and later Prime Minister of South Africa, received a direct communication from Nazi Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, stating that Nazi Germany did in fact claim South West Africa, but that it had nothing against an expansion of South Africa, which it regarded as the "leading white state in the Southern African living space". (Brian Bunting: "The Rise of the South African Reich", London 1964; p. 89.)

The defeat of Hitlerite Germany put an end to, or more accurately interrupted, all these projects.

... AND AT TIMES BY SOFTENING UP.

Verwoerd began years ago, shortly after he became Prime Minister, to propagate the old plans once again in a new form which accorded with the changed power relations both in Africa and also between South Africa and West Germany. With the return of Strauß to the government, at the latest, these plans again became part of official West German government policy.

Social Democrat Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski², the new Minister for Development Aid in the West German government, in a basic article on "Tasks and Possibilities of a West German Africa Policy", also expressly speaks of "encouragement of regional unions" in Africa, in addition to "training of elite leaders" and "further stepping-up of the use of international development aid organizations". These regional unions are intended to create a "field of operation for classical diplomacy" in Africa for West Germany, and are at the same time acclaimed as the way which will "open up unlimited possibilities for the future for the Africans together with Europeans". "The aim is a common future" for both Africans

2 Wischnewski, who has quite falsely gained the reputation of being a triend of the Arab and other Airican peoples, hastened to state, as soon as he entered the Kiesinger-Strauss government, that there would be "no basically new trend in the (West) German government's development policy" under him. (Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, Bonn, 29 December 1966.)

20 Determined 1966.) On another occasion Wischnewski said that he would "continue the policy of his predecessor Scheel" and in particular "maintain and build up his good relations with industry..." ("Christ und Welt", Stuttgart, 23 December 1966.)

Wischnewski spoke most openly to the Industriekurier, the West German monopolies' paper. For him, West German development aid meant above all "a contribution to considerably improving the market position (of West German industry) through increased delivery commitments". ("Industrickurier", Düsseldorf, 22 December 1966.) This means in fact that Wischnewski promised the real rulers of West Germany to be a good Minister for Neo-Colonialism, like his predecessor. and Europeans – Wischnewski's title to this section. ("Internationales Afrika-Forum", Bad Godesberg – Munich, No. 3, p. 146; March 1967.) The "Industriekurier", leading West German economic paper, explains these aims in detail. In a supplement "Trade Partner South Africa" (14 March 1967), in an article headed "South Africa and Black Africa", a "contribution derived from South African government circles", it writes:

"In the course of de-colonization the African countries received their independence over-hastily. The fact is that the young African states do not know what to do either with the form of government left them or with modern economic methods." Instead of trying "to free the South African Bantus² from the yoke of white colonialism, the countries of black Africa would do better to collaborate with South Africa and accept economic aid from South Africa."

"HEALTHY ECONOMIC THEORIES"

The "Industriekurier" states in a commentary that South Africa is the "leading economic country on the continent", that it has taken on the task of "planned development of the entire continent" with the help of "healthy economic theories". "Three hundred years in Africa have trained this western nation for the task."

The Reserves set up by the Apartheid laws, which are called the "black hinterland" of South Africa, are expressly given as examples of these "healthy economic theories" and this "training". Their border industries "bring profits to white owners and provide work for the blacks... On this basis South Africa is continuing its co-operation across its own frontiers with the independent black states." ("Industriekurier", Düsseldorf, 14 March 1967; Supplement.)

CLOSEST CO-OPERATION BETWEEN BONN AND PRETORIA...

Two weeks later the "Industriekurier" congratulated South African Prime Minister Vorster, in an interview, on the "first trade treaty between South Africa and a black African state, Malawi", which had just been signed.

Vorster replied: "More will follow. This is only the beginning of our relations with African countries."

He took the opportunity to express thanks for the aid given in establishing such economic relations and said: "We have had good relations with the Bonn Government in recent years. There is no reason why these very friendly relations should not be further expanded."

Finally, Vorster promised "the closest co-operation" between Bonn and Pretoria. ("Industriekurier", 27 March 1967.)

Vorster gave this significant interview "in connection with the visit of Federal Minister of Interior Lücke to South Africa".

... IN THE MATTER OF EMERGENCY LAWS...

Lücke is the West German expert on emergency legislation. He visited South Africa from 12 March to 23 March 1967: "... this country with the most perfect system of emergency laws and with men in the government 3 "Bantu" is the name used by the South African racists, who call themselves Afrikaner, for the vast majority of the South African population-the real Africans. 4 See Part IV of this Memorandum.

5 See Part III of this Memorandum.

6 Here Lübke expressed the opinion which has since become notorious: "The problems of the natives are in good hands in South Africa... In other parts of the continent (Africa) this experience could be put to good use." ("Information aus Südafrika", published by the South African Embassy in Cologne, April 1959.) who once praised Hitler as leader and model". ("Deutsche Volkszeitung", Düsseldorf, 24 March 1967.)

In long talks with Vorster and with Minister of Interior Le Roux, Lücke made a study of the South African police laws which represent a further development of Hitler's emergency laws⁴, with a view to using them in West Germany and also with an eye to the revised expansionist policy of the West German imperialists in Europe.

...ATOM PLOTS...

West German arms industrialist Krupp travelled with Lücke. Both had talks with the newly-appointed Atomic Science Minister of South Africa, Dr. Carel de Wet, and visited the Hartebeesport atomic research centre. These negotiations were for the purpose of co-ordinating joint action against the non-proliferation treaty and adjusting government agreements on atomic co-operation to the changed conditions of ownership of the Krupp concern, which is one of the firms mainly concerned in this atomic co-operation.⁵

... D I P L O M A C Y ...

Finally, Lücke invited the new Defence Minister Botha to visit the Federal Republic of (West) Germany in spring 1967, to negotiate on further development of the joint South African-West German nerve-gas rockets, boastfully called a "secret weapon". The negotiations took place in Bonn in mid-April⁵.

Thus in recent years the following have visited the Federal Republic: South African Economic and Atomic Science Minister Diederichs (six times since he became Minister); Finance Minister Dönges (now President); former Defence Minister Fouché; Immigration Minister Trollip, etc. etc.; in addition a number of State Secretaries, Supreme Commanders of the armed forces Grobbelaar and Hiemstra, economic leaders like Rupert, Presidents of the Chamber of Trade and Industry like Fischer (Johannesburg) and so on.

Those who visited South Africa from West Germany include the Head of State Lübke (then Minister of Agriculture)⁶; Federal Chancellor Erhard (then Economics Minister); the long-time Minister of Transport Seebohm; present Finance Minister Strauß; and Lücke, Minister of the Interior. In addition a large number of Provincial Ministers, including Kienbaum (Ruhr area), Schedl and Stain (Bavaria), and last but not least repeated visits by such real rulers of West Germany as super-banker Abs and big industrialist Krupp.

... AND A NEW EXPANSIONIST POLICY

This "diplomacy", by means of which Development Minister Wischnewski would like to open up a "field of operations" throughout Africa by encouraging "regional unions", had firstly the aim of taking up once again the "relations between (West) Germany and South Africa" which "had only been interrupted by the world wars" (Industriekurier Supplement 14 March 1967); establishing continuity, expanding co-operation in new fields (atomic and rocket research), and adjusting to new international conditions. The West German pavilion at the Rand Easter Show in 1967, opened by Lücke, had as its motto: "Tradition and Progress in German-South African Relations"; in addition to "exhibits from past centuries and modern exhibits" it presented a detailed survey of "diplomatic links between the two countries going back over more than half a century". ("Industriekurier", 14 March 1967.)

Since Diederich's visit to Bonn and Lücke's visit to Pretoria, new forms of the linking-up with old expansionist plans are also coming to the fore in South Africa: here "many parallels with developments in the Federal Republic" emerge, as "Die Welt" wrote on 4 April 1967. Like the Federal Republic, South Africa is also embarking "on a new course", a characteristic of which is its "elasticity, greater capacity to adjust itself and greater flexibility".

The main weapon in this "new course" is its offer of economic co-operation, which Malawi has accepted. In order to make it acceptable to others, Apartheid is now preferably refered to as "the policy of separate development" (without making the slightest real change in it), "and partnership between the various parts of the population and partnership with other African countries". Representatives of black African states are accommodated in hotels "otherwise reserved for whites". The South African government hopes that as a result of this "softening-up" policy "the frost of the Black African states will not forever remain stiffly against South Africa". ("Die Welt", Hamburg/West Berlin, 4 April 1967.)

The "Frankfurter Allgemeine", leading West German paper, describes this new policy of "softening-up", which is "intended to lead South Africa out of moral and political isolation", as "open to the North, more liberal internally". But apart from increased economic pressure on the North, called "economic necessity for the northern neighbours", it can only produce insignificant examples of "a more liberal policy": such as the "serious consideration" which is being given in South Africa to "permitting mixed South African sports teams in future at the Olympic Games or other sports meets outside South African frontiers". (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 7 April 1967.)

In South Africa the campaign for a "new course" in the attitude to the North which, according to Vorster, aims at "leading South Africa back into the international world" ("Industriekurier", 27 March 1967), is based primarily on economic considerations; for example, on the necessity to build up a joint electricity grid for nine countries in Southern Africa, of course under white South African management and control. A "philosophy of partnership" is offered as trimming for neo-colonialist expansionist plans; this is propagated especially by big industrialist Rupert and it can clearly be shown to originate in West German neo-Nazi circles⁷. ("Teknikon", journal of the "Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns", April 1967; "Star", Johannesburg, 1 April 1967.)

The parallels between this neo-colonialist softening-up policy in South Africa and the softening-up policy of the Federal Republic of (West) Germany in relation to the socialist countries of Europe, especially the German Democratic Republic, extend to identity of methods and political reasoning⁸: it is an expression of organized co-operation and mutual assistance. This makes the policy doubly dangerous both for the peoples of Europe and for the African peoples. An investigation into the real forces behind these irresponsible plans in South Africa is therefore urgently necessary.

7 See Part V of this Memorandum.

8 See the Grey Book.

II. The Economic Basis

9 Leading paper of the West German monopolies.

10 On a visit to the German-South African Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Johannesburg.

MISLEADING STATISTICS

At a first glance the economic position of the West German banks and trusts appears to be weak in South Africa and to be insignificant compared with that of the USA and Britain.

The following authoritative figures are taken from the "Industriekurier", Düsseldorf:

"England, with 61 per cent, is the biggest foreign investor in South Africa. The USA follows with 11 per cent, France with 6 per cent, Switzerland with 4 per cent. The Federal Republic has only very recently commenced larger-scale export of capital to South Africa. Its share is so far only 3 per cent." ("Industriekurier", 12 February 1966.)

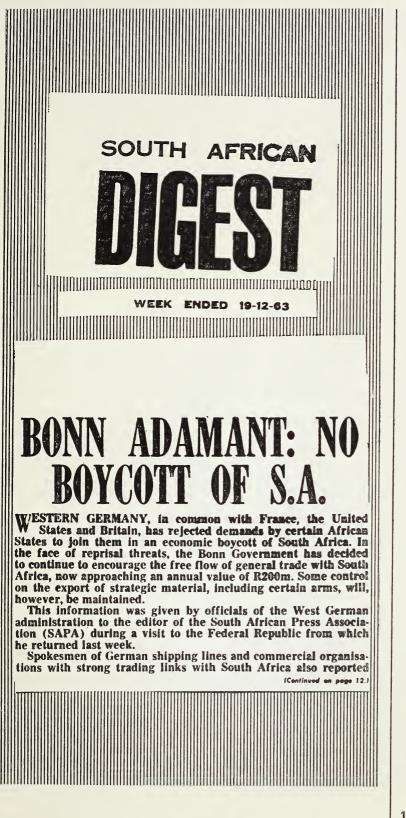
Since total foreign investments in South Africa are given as 20,000 million marks, the West German share would be about 600 million marks. However, in the same month, Dr. O. Schedl¹⁰, Economics Minister in the provincial government of Bavaria, West Germany, stated that West German investments in South Africa amounted to about 16 million rand (about 85 million marks); and Dr. D. G. Jantzen, Vice-President of the South African Reserve Bank, said in a speech at the opening of a new branch of the West German Kloeckner trust in Klerksdorp near Johannesburg-also in February 1966-that West German investments were "round about 60 million rand", that is, about 330 million marks. (Both statements from "Monatsbericht aus Südafrika", published by the South African Embassy in Cologne, No. 8, March 1966, p. 2.)

Many more such conflicting statements on West German investments in South Africa could be given. Clearly all of them are incorrect. GDR economist Eberhard Czaya pointed out as early as 1961 that:

"All these figures should be used with the utmost caution ... Apart from the fact that West German investors are doing their best to keep their activities quiet, a considerable proportion of their export capital goes through third countries; it may emerge partly as of British, French, US or Swiss origin. Other West German capital ... is administered by dummies living in South Africa. And finally, the capital of South African citizens of German origin does not count as foreign capital, although it is often closely entangled with West German capital." (Eberhard Czaya: "Achse zum Kap" ("Axis to the Cape"), Berlin 1964, pp. 93, 94.)

Günther Windrath, head of the foreign department of the Commercial Bank, the third biggest West German bank, explains that this concealment is part of a deliberate policy of the big West German banks. The West German banks are more interested than others, for example US banks, in making use of foreign institutions for their own purposes and they now, in contrast to earlier times, conduct most of their foreign business this way, states Windrath. Sometimes they operate through direct participation in foreign partner firms; sometimes they make use of special institutions like the Société Financière pour les Pays d'Outre-Mer (SFOM) in Geneva, which specialises in African business, and through it work with the Bank of America (the biggest bank in the world), the Banque National de Paris and the Belgian Lambert Banque. They are in general, too, more interested in an internationalization of their investment business. ("Industriekurier", special issue "German Industry throughout the World", December 1966.)

These concealment tactics are made use of in very special measure in South Africa. The African National Congress of South Africa wrote in a pamphlet that West Germany had in the past five years been very much



11 Resolution 1761/XVII: The Apartheid Policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. (Re-translated from the German.)

4. In accordance with the Charter, the General Assembly requests member states to take the following measures, individually or collectively, to cause South Africa to abandon this policy.

a) To break off diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa, or not to take up such relations;

b) to close its ports to all ships which carry the South African flag;

c) to pass laws forbidding their ships to dock at South African ports;

d) to boycott all South African products and to cease the export of goods to South Africa, including arms and munitions of all kinds;

e) to refuse the right to land or fly over their territory to all planes of the South African Government or of companies registered under South African laws.

The Federal Government did not act in accordance with these decisions. Finance Minister Strauss even called a formal embargo on arms "childish". West German arms tirms treat the embargo in this way.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic has for years strictly adhered to these boycott decisions.

12 All these figures are based on the official statistics of the South African Republic on direct trade with West Germany. Generally speaking, West German statistics give other figures which include in-between trade, especially via Great Britain, according to which the West German trade surplus is somewhat lower. But no one seriously disputes the fact that especially since the imposition of the UN and OAU boycotts and, in the past few years, the need to camoutlage deliveries to Rhodesia via South Africa, there has been considerable interest in covering up the origin of goods from and for South Africa. Nevertheless, the West German figures according to countries of origin-less accurately given in this case-also show a surplus of over 3,000 million marks in West Germany's favour during the past ten years.

13 On the open international participation and not that given in the official figures; for which Dr. Lang gives as an example the important participation of the Deutsche Bank in opening up the huge copper resources of Palabora in the Transvaal. concerned with making a good impression on the independent African countries. It was therefore not surprising that the government was in no hurry to reveal the extent of its present engagement in the suppression of the Africans in the South. ("Great Power Conspiracy", Chap. V: "The Secret Ally"; p. 31, June 1966.)

It is possible to be more frank in the industrial press. In the special issue of the "Industriekurier" in honour of the fifth anniversary of the Republic of South Africa, Government Counsellor Rolf Howald openly ridiculed the "official figures" issued by the West German Economic Ministry on West German capital investments in South Africa.

"The actual German investments are certainly much bigger," he wrote. "In view of the favourable conditions for investing foreign capital in South Africa, a further increase in German investments can be expected." ("Industriekurier", special issue on "South Africa", 22 March 1966.)

CAMOUFLAGED CAPITAL EXPORT

Howald bases this hope on West Germany's favourable trade balance with South Africa.

Here the Federal Republic is taking advantage of the boycott imposed on South Africa by the United Nations¹¹ and the Organization for African Unity. Trade between South Africa and West Germany has increased by leaps and bounds, and West Germany's trade balance has also become even more favourable. The total since 1954 is over 4,000 million marks; the figure for 1964 alone was 478.4 million marks and for 1965, 595.3 million marks.

In 1966 West German exports to South Africa actually declined by 4 per cent, because the South African Government imposed some import restrictions on the grounds of market policy. But if this decrease of 4 per cent in West German exports to South Africa is compared with the overall decrease of $15^{1/2}$ per cent in total South African imports, it is clear that West Germany has further built up its market position in South Africa during 1966¹².

The "big three" amongst the West German banks (Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank) and the regional and private banks linked up with them "control at least 80 per cent of the rapidly growing foreign trade" of West Germany. ("Industriekurier", special issue 15 December 1966.)

This position, which closely approaches a foreign trade monopoly, is also being used by the big West German banks-in close co-operation with the Federal Government-to quietly build up a strong economic position for West German monopoly capital in South Africa. In another special issue of the "Industriekurier", Dr. Erich Lang, Government Counsellor in the Federal Economics Ministry, writes:

"German exporters have also granted South African enterprises¹³ substantial credits for the purchase of investment goods. These credits are backed by the Federal Government through sureties and guarantees." ("Industriekurier", special issue "Trade Partner South Africa", 23 March 1965.)

Such credits are used either at once for capital investments or after a certain period transformed into silent partnership, as both Czaya "Achse zum Kap" ("Axis to the Cape", p. 85) and Lang state.



In 1965 South African imports from West Germany were valued at over a thousand million marks. About 60 per cent of this was investment goods (machines, electric and electronic equipment and transport vehicles). The West German trade surplus totalled 595.3 million marks. Unlike the trade surplus of other countries, for example Great Britain, only a part of this flowed as gold (from S. A. mines) and convertible currency into the West German Federal Bank treasury. Everything else increased West German investment, camouflaged in the way described by Lang.

To sum up: West German monopoly capital investment in South Africa, conservatively estimated, is many times bigger than the highest official figure of 600 million marks: it amounts to at least twice that figure and is probably more than that.

But it would still be well within the framework of "normal" monopoly capitalist investment policy and would still leave West German investments far behind those of the British. The full significance of the economic position of West German monopoly capital in South Africa emerges only after a closer examination of the South African partner and the political aims underlying West German investments.

THE NEW ECONOMIC POWER

A process which has completely changed the economic face of South Africa since the Second World War and the extremist National Party's rise to power, in 1948, is the rise of Afrikaner (Boer) Nationalist capital and complete domination of State capital by Boer Nationalists, until they are the strongest factor in the South African economy.

The old picture-Boer agriculture, British industry with US participation, and controlled by Oppenheimer's gold and diamond empire-no longer reflects the facts.

By 1960 South African experts estimated "the total assets controlled by State capital in 1960 as somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,500 million pounds sterling. And if the assets controlled by subsidiaries and firms in partnership with State capital were added, the total would be considerably higher. By comparison, the assets of the Oppenheimer . . . total 1,000 million pounds sterling. The total of foreign capital invested in South Africa is approximately the same as the total of State capital, but because it is split up among many institutions, its political and economic impact is by no means as great as that of State capital, which is wholly under the control of the Nationalist government." (Brian Bunting: "The Rise of the South African Reich", London 1964; p. 287.)

Added to this there are the big Boer bank, the "Volkskas"; the biggest insurance company in South Africa, the SANLAM; the "Federale Mynbou", an instrument of Afrikaner Nationalist penetration into the Oppenheimer empire; and other institutions; whose total value was estimated in 1962 at about 313 million pounds sterling (Bunting, 292); all are controlled directly by the Nationalist Party.

And finally there are the private Boer enterprises, headed by Dr. Anton Rupert's huge Rembrandt trust (tobacco, liquor) with a capital of over 55 million pounds. ("Handelsblatt"¹⁴, Düsseldorf, special issue "South Africa", 28 November 1966; Bunting p. 292.)

This constitutes a very considerable degree of economic power. Bunting sums it up in these words:

"The bulk of farming capital, an expanding sector of private industrial

14 Important West German economic paper. and commercial capital, and a complete monopoly of State capital-these constitute the economic basis of Nationalist political power. It is a power-ful weapon, directed purposefully and ruthlessly by men whose ideology includes State direction of the country's economy in the interests of Afri-kanerdom¹⁵ and the maintenance of White Supremacy." (Bunting, p. 292.) In recent years, realists at the head of the Anglo-American Corporation¹⁶ and other Oppenheimer enterprises have drawn their own conclusions and admitted leading representatives of Boer and State capital to the boards of directors of the old trusts; they are steadily increasing co-operation with the appropriate Afrikaner or State enterprises. (See "Business Reports" of the Anglo-American Corporation, 1964, '65, '66; Amalgamation of the General Mining and Finance Corporation and Federale Mynbou, "Rand Daily Mail", Johannesburg, 29 January 1965; etc.)

Parallel with this, the political representatives of Anglo-American and Boer capital, who now determine the entire political life of the white upper strata in South Africa, have also been approaching each other further. What is important for the purposes of this Memorandum is the fact that it is a matter here of a further strengthening and stabilising of the economic and political power of Boer Nationalist big capital, to which Bunting drew attention in its early stages (pp. 279–294).

THE STATE TRUSTS

This power, which is subject to no political restrictions and is also becoming more and more decisive in the economy, is closely linked up with those in power in the West German Federal Republic. These links have been built up especially in the past ten years, since Diederichs became Economics Minister and thus head of the State trusts and in control of import licences¹⁷.

STEEL

The ISCOR steel trust with its present production of over 3 million block tons, which covers more than 75 per cent of home requirements and has infiltrated strongly into the Oppenheimer empire, has from the very first draft and the first step in building as far back as the 1920s, been developed with the constant collaboration of the "Gutehoffnungshütte" (Oberhausen) and "Demag" (Duisburg), both in the Ruhr area of West Germany.

Iscor's first technical and office personnel came from the Ruhr area. Its South African engineers were trained in the Ruhr area. Down to the present day, the "Gutehoffnungshütte", "Demag", and other West German blast furnace firms deliver the SM furnaces, rolling mill trains and everything needed for further expansion of Iscor. Technical innovations, such as the rotor process developed in the "Gutehoffnungshütte", are also placed at Iscor's disposal on the basis of contracts. ("Handelsblatt", Düsseldorf, Special issue "South Africa": "From Diamond Country to Industrial State", 27 July 1964.)

Iscor is now working closely with the West German Kloeckner trust in building the South African Kloeckner Ferromatik Ltd in Klerksdorp near Johannesburg which, in particular, provides Oppenheimer's gold and uranium mines with up-to-date mining equipment. ("Rand Daily Mail", 24 October 1966.) 15 The South African racists call themselves Afrikaners, and the real Africans they call Bantu.

16 Corporation covering the whole of the Oppenheimer trust.

17 Imports to South Africa are subject to import licences; so the tabulous increase in the West German trade surplus and camoutlaged import of capital must not only be guaranteed by the West German government: it also requires the organised co-operation of the South African government.



The Iscor-Kloeckner team are also putting up such strong competition to British firms (which hitherto dominated the market) in the expansion of the South African cement industry, that the British firms have already been compelled to start co-operating with them. ("Handelsblatt", 1 August 1966; "Africa Post" [fascist German settlers' paper], Pretoria, September 1966.)

Iscor is also the State trust with which Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation came to an agreement. The Deutsche Bank under Abs also supported Iscor in a transaction of this kind with Oppenheimer by granting a credit of 50 million marks. (Business report of the Anglo-American Corporation, 1964.)

POWER

The State power trust Escom produces 80 per cent of the country's electricity. This cheap power has played an important part in enabling gold and rare metals like platinum and vanadium to be mined economically. ("Handelsblatt", 27 July 1964.)

Escom is financed primarily by the well-tried method of equipment delivered on credit which is then transformed into silent share capital. The West German AEG (one of the two giant West German electrical industry trusts) has already provided most of the generators for the Escom power plants and in 1965 alone it built equipment for Escom valued at 30 million rand-138 million marks ("Monatsbericht aus Südafrika", Cologne, No. 5, December 1965.)

Escom's contracts with Siemens, the other giant electrical industry trust in West Germany, are also being constantly expanded. Siemens' big South African enterprise, which was founded in the 19th century, already had shares in Escom's predecessors and is today primarily involved in a tremendous expansion of Escom, both through hydro-electric and heat and atomic power stations. ("Industriekurier", 30 September 1965¹⁸.)

Projects of this kind cost enormous sums which have to be obtained through loans. The advances obtained by Escom¹⁹, to a considerable extent with the help of the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner Bank, totalled 696 million rand-about 3,900 million marks-by the end of 1964. ("Industriekurier", special issue "Trade Partner South Africa", March 1965.)

In the meantime others have been obtained, including a 50 million mark loan from the Dresdner Bank ("Industriekurier", 30 September 1965 and 7 October 1965; "Rand Daily Mail", 1 October 1965), and a 20 million dollar credit from the World Bank, the international bank for reconstruction and development. ("Neue Zürcher Zeitung", Zürich, 19 August 1966.) This bank, which Abs prefers to use in camouflaging financial operations (in collaboration with big US banks), is intended to help the developing countries. But it has so far granted South Africa alone, and primarily Escom, twelve loans totalling 262 million dollars. This has led to strong protests from S H A K L O V, Soviet delegate to the UN Commission against Colonialism. ("Star", Johannesburg, 17 September 1966; "Spotlight on South Africa" [news magazine of the African National Congress of South Africa], 30 September 1966.)

CHEMICALS

The build-up of the Sasol chemical trust began early in the 1950s with a huge coal liquifying plant working on the basis of the Fischer-Tropsch

18 In recent years Siemens have doubled the size of their works in Koedoespoor near Pretoria, and are now setting up a big new works in Isando near Johannesburg. Siemens built one of the biggest office buildings in South Africa in 1965, in the Braamfontein suburb of Johannesburg: it is much too big for the present known staff and suggests that Siemens are to share in Escon's atomic expansion plans. (See copy of photo from "Afrika Post", etc.)

19 Most of these loans were obtained in the country; re-investments of profits whose transfer presented difficulties played an important part here. Other loans came from international, in particular "Swiss", bank consortiums, in the inconspicuous organization of which Abs is a past master.

20 Prentzel began his career during the Nazi period, in the office for Foreign Relations, the notorious IG-Farben industrial espionage office. After 1949 he became Ministerial Director (deputy state secretary) in the Federal Economics Ministry. Prentzel is now a member of the board of directors of IG-Farben i. L. (a society which is mainly intended to look after the interests of West German monopoly capital enterprises, which were expropriated in the GDR); he is also Director-General of the Degussa Atom Trust and a member of the administrative council of the Otavi Mining Company, the biggest West German colonial company with steadily growing involvement in South Africa. All these companies are controlled by the Deutsche Bank, i.e. by Abs.

21 Characteristically, Zimmermann wrote his enthusiastic article on South Airica under the pseudonym "Ferdinand Fried", which he used during the Weimar Republic when serving up Hitler's economic theories. process. 85 per cent of the machines and technical equipment came from West Germany. Licences came from the Ruhrchemie AG and the Lurgi Society for Thermal Technology (Frankfurt/Main), which alone planned and built more than a third of the Sasol works. (Czaya, p. 85; Beerman's "Financial Yearbook of Southern Africa", 1963, Vol. 1, p. 597.)

Initial obstruction from US and British chemical and oil trusts was overcome with the help of the Deutsche Bank's connections with an international finance consortium, and through the inclusion of licences of the Kellogg Company, New York.

The experts came from West Germany, including poisen gas specialists and rocket fuel specialists. Dr. Felix Prentzel, Ministerial Director in the Federal Economics Ministry, acted as organizer, adviser and liaison²⁰.

Early in the 1950s there wer difficulties in setting up the Sasol works. Prentzel called upon his chief Erhard, at that time Economics Minister and later Federal Chancellor, for assistance. The "Africa Post", Pretoria, reported on this in November 1956 (p. 5):

"When the South African Government wished to buy the steel necessary for the construction of the Sasol works, this proved extremely difficult under the conditions prevailing at the time. Only after the intervention of the Federal Economics Minister, who took an interest in the matter and wished to make it possible for South Africa to build this giant works to operate with the German Fischer-Tropsch process, were the necessary quantities allocated from German production and placed at the disposal of South Africa."

Today the town of Sasolburg, which has grown up around the Sasol works, is a big centre of the chemical industry, and-in addition to benzine, its main product, oil, etc.-it supplies raw materials for the synthetic rubber industry, for plastics and especially for the biggest explosives works in the world, the African Explosives, which is part of the Oppenheimer trust. ("Rand Daily Mail", Johannesburg, 16 June 1965.)

"THE MAGIC WORD PALABORA"

This is the expression used by Zimmermann²¹, former Nazi journalist, now head of the economic section of "Die Welt" (a Springer trust paper), in writing about the giant industrial complex which has grown up around the huge copper deposits in Palabora in the Northern Transvaal. ("Die Welt", Hamburg, 7 January 1965.)

Most of the production of this largest copper-mine in Africa, an open-cast mine, is destined for West Germany. At the head of the international consortium which finances Palabora stands the West German Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau, with 108 million marks (Abs is chairman of the board of directors). West German participation is guaranteed by the Deutsche Bank, also under Abs, and the West German Federal Government.

As early as 1963 the Norddeutsche Raffinerie AG, Hamburg (a Degussa group under Abs and Prentzel), concluded an agreement on this basis for the delivery of, initially, "630,000 dry short tons of blister copper" from Palabora. ("Financial Yearbook of Southern Africa", Vol. II, 1963, p. 263.) With the expansion of Palabora, "the Federal Republic would in this way gain a certain amount of influence on the (world) copper market and a new source of electrolyte copper at producers' prices." ("Handelsblatt", Düsseldorf, 10 November 1964.)



Der Richtum des Landes an mineralischen Bodenschätzen stellt eine vorrügliche Grundlage für den Aufbau eines Fächers von Primärindustrien dar. Deren Produkte sowie die lierischen usd pflanzlichen Erzeugnisse der Landwirtschaft liefern eine ausgezeichnete Rohatoffbasis für die Errichtung von Sekundärindustrien. Die Energiepreise sind ungewöhnlich niedrig. Die Tonne Steinkohle kostet 9-13 DM, Die Arbeitsmarktsituation dürfte manchen deutschen Unternehmer besonders anreizen, Südafrika als Ausweichsstandort für seine Johnintensive Produktion zu wählen. Von den 18,3 Mill. Einwohnern des Landes sind 3⁴s. Mill. Weiße und 12.5 Mill. Bantus, Letztere stellen zahlenmäßig bescheidenes Arbeitskräftepotential dar. Wenn auch die Lohne der ungelernten schwarzen Arbeiter in den letzten acht Jahren um ungefähr ein Drittel gastiegen sind, liegen sie doch heute immer noch bei durchschnittlich etwa zwölf DM pro Tag. Die Regierung bemüht sich durch großangelegte Erziehungs- und Ausgildungsprogramme

Solche Industrien (Border Industries) genießen zahlreiche staatliche Vergünstigungen, z. B. Steuerermäßigungen, größere Abschreibungsraten, verbilligten Strom und ermäßigte Eisenbahntarlie. In den letzten führ Jahren sind. In dem Grenzgebieten 88 Unternehmen gegründet worden, in denen 115 000 neue Arbeitsplätze für Bantus geschaften wurden. Mit dem Ausbeu von Grenzindustrien wird gleichzeitig eise erwünschte Enballung der großen Industriezentren in der Nähe der Städte erreicht.

22 Vanadium, indispensible in the atomic and rocket industry, is at present a very scarce strategic raw material. Financial Times experts calculated that Palabora would be one of the lowest cost producers in the world and, with an equity capital of 14,148,250 pounds sterling, could make about 15 million pounds a year gross. (Quoted in the "Star", Johannesburg, 1 January 1966.)

A similar venture is the "Highveld project"; the biggest vanadium works²² in the world is now being built on the Highveld financed by an international consortium headed by the Deutsche Bank. The entire electrical equipment for this works, which will operate with electrosmelting furnaces, is being supplied by the West German AEG. ("South African Digest", 18 March 1966; "Industriekurier", 3 November 1966; etc. etc.)

A SUCCESSFUL TOBACCO MIXER

Dr. Anton Rupert's Rembrandt Trust is operating with increasing success in quite another field. It is based on the good, cheap South African and Rhodesian tobacco. Its headquarters are in the old Boer centre of Stellenbosch. Young Rupert studied under Prof. Verwoerd, later Prime Minister of South Africa, at Stellenbosch University. The Rembrandt Trust now has an equity capital of over 2,000 million marks, and 30 branches in 19 countries on all five continents. Its most-quoted slogan is therefore "The fragrance of the great wide world".

How has it been possible for it to develop into an international trust in the short span of years since the Second World War?

"Finished with his studies, and with ten pounds in his pocket, he (the young Rupert) started mixing tobaccos as a hobby, alongside his work as an editor's reader, and out of this a world trust worth 2,000 million marks has developed in 25 years," according to a sentimental success story printed in the "Handelsblatt", Düsseldorf, 28 November 1966.

It is true that as a result of his hobby the penniless young student from South Africa got in touch with the Reemtsma family in Nazi Germany while he was studying there. Reemtsma is known as the biggest German cigarette trust (it had 75 per cent to 85 per cent of the market in its hands in the Nazi period), as one of the main financial supporters of Himmler's SS, and as the biggest single shareholder in the Deutsche Bank. So that in 1945, when both Reemtsma and the SS were in difficulties with their property, young Rupert had certain other funds at his disposal apart from his own 10 pounds.

His Rembrandt firm, newly founded, took over all the Reemtsma connections throughout the world, expanded them, and still remains joint owner of the two original firms.

The Reemtsma-Rembrandt Group, which has in the meantime also bought out the British firm of Rothmans, is today one of the biggest cigarettemaking enterprises in the capitalist world. (Reports of the German Economic Institute, Berlin, No. 15/16, 1963.)

"PARADISE FOR INVESTORS"

Ferdinand Fried, alias Zimmermann, the above-mentioned Hitlerite fascist "theorist", inspired by all these possibilities in the land of the South Africa racists, concluded his report on its economic growth with the statement that in this respect "South Africa can not only take its place alongside the

other modern industrialised countries of the world, but may even surpass them." ("Die Welt", Hamburg/Berlin, 7 January 1965.)

Fried was by no means alone in his propaganda for West German participation in the South African economy.

In July 1966, when Dr. J. E. Fischer (director of the South African–German Chamber of Industry and Commerce) returned to Johannesburg from a visit to West Germany, he immediately informed a Rand Daily Mail reporter that:

"The attitude to South Africa has changed considerably in the past year . . . There is a greater interest in the economic possibilities of the country." ("Rand Daily Mail", 21 July 1966.)

And it is a fact that propaganda for investment in South Africa has suddenly become much stronger in West German industrial papers. At the end of 1963 the "Industriekurier" had called South Africa "a paradise for investors", and began publication of regular special issues on South Africa. Its competitor the "Handelsblatt", and the economic sections of the leading papers, followed with articles under headlines such as "Good Investment Climate in South Africa" ("Handelsblatt", 23 September 1965); "Branches in South Africal", "Every German Firm a Branch in South Africa!" ("Industriekurier", 23 March 1965); "Capital in South Africa Profitably Invested" (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 June 1966); "Where There is Still Scope for Business Enterprise" ("Industriekurier", 10 November 1966); and a quotation from South African Economics Minister Diederichs himself: "There are still golden opportunities on the South African coast" (Handelsblatt, 28 November 1966).

"Nowhere do coloured people have it so good as in South Africa" is the headline over the first article of a whole series published in Springer's newspaper "Die Welt" (24 June 1966), written by neo-Nazi H. Germani, who has since written one enthusiastic article after another on conditions in South Africa, both in "Die Welt" and in West German parliamentary president Gerstenmaier's paper "Christ und Welt".

"Serious" weeklies have also begun to take part in the West German press campaign to boost South Africa's image; these include the "Rheinischer Merkur", well-known as having been close to former Federal Chancellor Adenauer; in an article headed "Black and White Souls in Africa", this paper explained that the "racial segregation experiment" in South Africa was a measure suited to saving the souls of the black Africans. (16 December 1966)

And the West German intellectuals' weekly "Die Zeit" (Hamburg) philosophised on 30 December 1966, in an article headed "The Well-to-do-Pariah", on the problem "Can prosperity replace freedom?"-thus passing on all the propaganda of the South African racists, including the historical falsehood that the Whites were in South Africa before the Blacks, one of the main historical arguments used to support the policy of Apartheid.

WORKSHOP OF WEST GERMAN INDUSTRY ...

From the very outset the propaganda campaign had a definite aim. In the afore-mentioned interview with the director of the South African–German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Dr. Fischer said:

"South Africa can become a workshop for West German industry." German industrialists had great difficulties with their workers, and escalating production costs, and they would have to go abroad for cheaper manu-





facture, which could be re-imported at lower costs than German-made goods. 30 to 35 businessmen had inquired daily at the Information Office of the S.A.-German Chamber at the Hanover Trade Fair in April–May 1966, about opportunities in South Africa. ("Rand Daily Mail", 21 July 1966.)

Among firms which are already carrying out such plans, the press has mentioned:

The Schering AG, West Berlin, which is transfering an increasing proportion of its production to its South African subsidiary company, and is also placing an increasing number of hire-contracts with its partner-firm, Noriston Laboratories in Silverton near Pretoria ("Spandauer Volksblatt", West Berlin, 17 September 1966);

Delivery firms of the Kaufhaus AG, especially in foodstuffs and textiles ("Rand Daily Mail", 1 October 1965; "South African Digest", 22 April 1966).

... AT ATTRACTIVE PRICES...

Further, and especially significant:

The Rosenthal Porcelain company (Selb, in Bavaria) bought up the only South African porcelain factory in 1963 and founded the Huguenot Porcelain (Pty) Ltd, with H. K. Jeuthe (one of its own officials) in charge. With the help of the government Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, a highly up-to-date porcelain factory was built on the border of the African "reserve" in Rosslyn, 20 miles north of Pretoria. 60 per cent of the equipment came from West Germany, as well as 15 West German managers, department heads and instructors. "Bantus" were trained for all other work. ("Industriekurier", 22 March 1966.)

What goes on there is described by Ania Francos, a French woman who visited the factory, in her book "L'Afrique des Afrikaners" (René Juillard, Paris 1966):

"The Germans had four hundred young people of mixed blood (some of them not even fifteen years old) working there. Their children's fingers work with incredible speed. "They're good little workers," said one of the instructors. "A White wouldn't even begin to grasp in a year what they learn in three days." (p. 122)

In another workshop Africans are making plates. To earn 5 rand a week $(2^{1/2}$ pounds) they have to produce 5,000 plates a day. "In addition they have free quarters in the compound, like the miners on the Witwaters-rand," the fat German added. (p. 123)

"At Rosenthal's in Bavaria (West Germany) a worker earns as much in two hours as a Bantu earns here in a week," the man from Silesia explained. "So it's a very big saving for us. In this way we can offer very attractive prices. We are also putting up a factory in Pretoria which will be twice as big as this!" (p. 123)

Not only are the prices attractive; the quality is so good that there are plans to "double capacity at the end of 1966 and beginning of 1967" and then to begin exporting Rosenthal porcelain to Australia and Canada. ("Industriekurier", 22 March 1966.)

The porcelain workers in Selb can figure out for themselves when exports to West Germany will begin.

Another pace-maker in these developments is the Volkswagen works. Its steadily growing branch in South Africa was run by Baron Detlef von Oertzen, former member of the board of the Wanderer works and the Auto Union, which were expropriated in the German Democratic Republic in 1946 and are now nationally owned. Oertzen is a car export specialist. (Czaya, p. 120)

... AND WITHOUT WAGE LAWS...

The connection between the West German employers' attacks on workers' wages and these South African plans, emerges even more clearly in the case of the Ruhr area. In spring 1965 Kienbaum (CDU), at that time Economics Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia (Ruhr area), made a study tour of South Africa. As he said in an interview, his object was "to find ways to make it possible to transfer medium, small and large German enterprises to South Africa", especially in lines of production "which were simply no longer profitable in West Germany because of the costs, and which could be transfered to the South African border industry areas."²³ In West Germany "labour power is constantly becoming dearer, and tariff increases and social welfare laws which increase costs follow each other at an ever-increasing tempo." ("Industriekurier", 4 February 1965.)

W. P. Kahrass (Johannesburg representative of the Commerzbank) who accompanied Kienbaum, explained at the end of the tour that it had been mainly a question of investigating the possibilities of exploiting the low cost of South African coal and steel, of transfering the first stages of production to cheap South Africa, and of sending mainly semi-finished products to West Germany. This would be more profitable. ("Rand Daily Mail", 16 July 1965.)

A year later the same paper reported the following items in quick succession:

that the Bochumer Eisenhütte was preparing to transfer to Brakpan in South Africa an ever-larger part of its mining supplies of various kinds, and to expand considerably its branch there ("Rand Daily Mail", 28 September 1966);

that Demag would hand over to its branch works in South Africa important export orders which were normally attended to in the Ruhr area, and that it was building a big new works in Boksburg North in South Africa ("R.D.M.", 7 November 1966, "Star", 18 February 1967);

that Rheinstahl (second biggest West German steel firm, controlled by Abs, employing 100,000 workers) had come to an agreement with the Federale Mynbou-General Mining Group to join the group, to place its South African works in Boksburg and Wadeville under the Group, and in future to conduct its South African business through this joint enterprise. The report includes a long list of what is now to be produced in South Africa: pumps, valves, sluice gates, etc., down to Henschel trucks. Dr. Thomas Müller of West Germany will be in charge. ("Rand Daily Mail", 11 November 1966.)

The Lurgi Company too, according to whose patents the S.A. Sasol Chemical Trust operates, recently founded a subsidiary in South Africa which is to attend to the filling of its big contracts for Iscor, Escom, Sasol and the Highveld works. The report on its foundation suggests that the production of electrostatic precipitators for steel and cement works, gas cleaning plants, sinter plants, and plants for low-temperature carbonization, pelletising and chlorine recovery, are to be transfered step by step 23 The "border industries" are built up on the tringes of the African "reserves" with government assistance.



FEGOTIATIONS are at an advanced stage for South African companies to make a number of engineering and pharmaceutical products under licence from a large German group, it was learned yesterday.

Mr. Eric Horvitch. local repre-sentative of the Quandt group, sad yesterday that his principals were prepared to make large cies, which imports goods from manufacturers who were pre-bably have a stake in the equity pared to manufacture? Quandt products. The German company, how-ever, would not make a direct investment in South African. Countries, engaged in the elec-trompanies, he said, and preferred to lamat admarkit. Mr. Horvitch said the group lo lamas against plant and machi-were present to south african. Countries, engaged in the elec-trical, metal working, chemical, were in companies and the loc-tron the said and preferred to lamat against plant and machi-were the source of the source of the source of the source of these new companies. Source of the source of the

to loans against plant and machinery.

a number of pharmaceuticals -

RAND Daily 🏰 Mail

14. September 1966

Mr. Horvitch said the group was prepared to supply local manufacturers with every type Mr. Horvitch said that if the of plant and equipment from its nerotiations. were successful — own resources, ranging from and they embraced motor com machinery for light engineering posents, sectors of the metal in shops to installations for chemi-dustries and the manufacture of cal plants. cal plants.

But financial assistance would only be made available under stringent conditions. There would have to be a full-scale investiga-tion into a company's potential, and a market survey; with re-ults acceptable to the Quanda roup.



to this subsidiary. ("Industriekurier", 7 March 1967; "Star", 2 February 1967.)

The above list, which is clearly connected with developments on the West German labour market, could be considerably extended.

... JUST LIKE AUSCHWITZ²⁴

The Kiesinger/Strauß government intends to step up the developments still further. The first page of the supplement to the "Industriekurier" of 14 March 1967 is headed by an article in which Dr. Erich Lang (promoted to Senior Government Counsellor under the new Social Democrat Economics Minister Schiller), the South Africa expert already mentioned, explains the necessity of proceeding to a new investment and trade policy between West Germany and South Africa.

Deliveries to the enterprises transfered to South Africa, and to an even greater extent the cheap deliveries of raw materials from South Africa, are reducing the trade surplus, although total trade is growing even more rapidly than before. West Germany's imports from South Africa increased from 1965 to 1966, according to West German figures, by 45 per cent-in a single year-to a total value of 831.6 million marks. Cheap copper from Palabora already heads the list of imports: between January and November 1966, copper to the value of 141.8 million marks was imported.

In place of concealed export of capital through the trade surplus, therefore, open direct transfer of enterprises will have to be stepped up.

Lang writes in this connection: "A good start has been made, and in the past year various (West) German firms set up works in South Africa; others allied themselves to South African firms through licence agreements." ("Industriekurier" Supplement, 14 May 1967.)

In spring 1967, the above-mentioned pacemaker in these developments in the Ruhr area, Gerhard Kienbaum (former Economics Minister of Rhineland-Westphalia), very successfully organized an agency with branches in South Africa which works as expert advisor and promoter of transfers of enterprises and investments to South Africa. ("Industriekurier", 14 May 1967.)

According to the same paper, Schiller and Diederichs reached an agreement by which investment of West German capital is to be made easier and encouraged by providing that profits need only be taxed in one country, as a general rule of course, on the basis of the considerably lower South African taxes.

Exactly a week later, the same paper-fully in accord with this arrangement-reporting on the Rand Easter Show (the South African trade fair), wrote that Demag, Daimler-Benz (Mercedes), Volkswagen and many other firms were no longer exhibiting as German but as South African firms.

Ania Francos comments on all this in her book mentioned above:

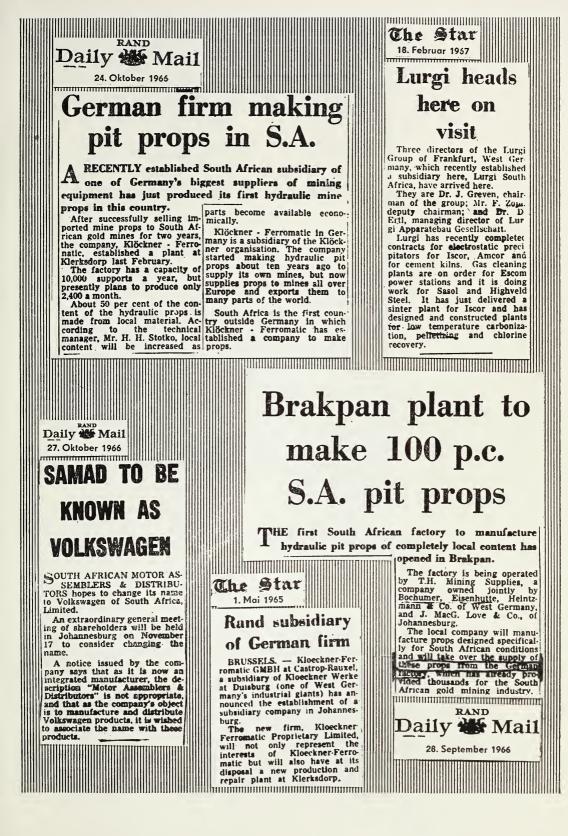
"Our German industrialists' eyes gleam at the prospect of a South Africa full of German factories, with these 'reserves' and all these compounds which remind one of Auschwitz . . ."

To s um up: the complicated interweaving and partnership of Boer Nationalist and State capital with West German monopoly capital, is so close that this West German monopoly capital (thogether with its South

24 Auschwitz was the biggest labour camp and death camp of the Nazis. Millions of people were worked to death and murdered in the factories of the IG-Farben trust connected with it. The gas used to kill them was delivered by IG-Farben.









African partners) takes a dominant place in many decisive fields of the South African economy. More and more rapidly, it is catching up with British and American capital and already dominates politically. The West German position is further strengthened by close co-operation in the fields of atomic research, poison-gas production and rocket research, as well as in the organization of the economy on a war footing.

Atom Weapons, Secret Weapons, War Economy

25 Centre of South African atomic research.

26 Memorandum of the AASK of the GDR on the military and atomic co-operation of the Federal Republic of Germany with the Republic of South Africa; Berlin, September 1964.

27 Leading West German atomic firm controlled by Abs.

A D M I S S I O N ...

"Dr. Paul Lücke, Minister of the Interior of West Germany, who is on a short visit to South Africa as a guest of the government, visited Pelindaba²⁵ recently to see South African progress in nuclear research. Close co-operation between West Germany and South Africa in the peaceful application of nuclear energy has grown steadly in recent years. South African nuclear scientists and technologists have been and are being trained at research establishments in West Germany, while others frequently pay visits to such institutions when they come overseas."

This statement appeared in the "South African Digest", Pretoria, the official organ of the Information Department of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, 23 March 1967.

Thus the close co-operation between West Germany and South Africa in atomic research, revealed in a memorandum by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in 1964–which at that time rightly aroused considerable attention–has for the first time been officially admitted ²⁶.

These links began in 1958 in direct connection with Diederichs' assumption of the leadership of the Atomic Energy Board. At that time Roux was the head of the South African delegation to the International Atomic Conference in Geneva. On 29 September 1958, he visited the chiefs of Degussa²⁷ and offered to supply uranium concentrate. Roux stated frankly that the Atomic Energy Board was having difficulty with the main customers for South African uranium, the Anglo-American firm "Combined Development Agency". Degussa, which had long been looking for a "free" source of raw materials for its own atomic experiments, immediately took up the offer. After lengthy negotiations agreement was reached for the supply of 100 tons of uranium oxide U³O⁸.

... OF "PEACEFUL" CO-OPERATION

Like all atomic questions, co-operation with West Germany comes under the Official Secrets regulations of the Atomic Energy Act in South Africa; the law stipulates that passing on "certain information" may be punished with a fine of up to 10,000 rand (5,000 pounds sterling) and 20 years imprisonment. (Year Book of the Republic of South Africa, Ch. 36, p. 185–188; Year Book and Guide to Southern Africa, 1963, p. 185.)

The "certain information" which is protected by such draconic threats of punishment concerns the military side of co-operation.

In West Germany there are even stricter official secrets regulations, which place the whole matter under high treason sections, which are deliberately kept elastic and capable of various interpretations, and carry the threat of lifelong imprisonment.

This is the peaceful nature of the so-called "co-operation in peaceful application of atomic energy".

Roux repeatedly declared that for political and ideological reasons he and his friends would prefer to co-operate with West Germany rather than any other country in the fields of atomic research and atomic technology. He made proposals for close co-operation. On the instructions of the Atomic Commission of the West German Federal Republic, negotiations on these questions were conducted by Ministerial Director Karl Kaissling,



A picture taken during the inauguration at Pelindaba, near Pretoria, of Safari 1, South Africa's first nuclear reactor. The ceremony took place on August 5. The directorgeneral of the Atomic Energy Board, Dr. A. J. A. Rour, addresses the gathering in the reactor hall.

EAR REACTOR COULD **BENEFIT AFRICA**

SOUTH AFRICA can develop power stations which will suit its own purposes and which will also be of great benefit to the other nations of Africa. We believe we have a contribution to make not only to the advancement of South Africa but also to the advancement of the rest of Africa." With these words the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd,

underlined the particular importance which the Atomic Energy Board's first nuclear research reactor could have for the whole of Africa. Dr. Verwoerd inaugurated the reactor on August 5.

Dr. Verwoerd said the question could be asked why South Africa had gone to the enormous expense of establishing a nuclear research reactor. The Government had to give due regard to the practical aspects of every step it took. Apart from the tremendous value this reactor had for research purposes, the Government was also fully aware of its practical value in the fields of cheaper electricity, the possible desalination of sea water and cheaper transport.

South Africa was one of the foremost uranium-producing countries in the world. It was the duty of South Africa to consider not only the military uses of the material but also South Africa's duty to do all in its power to direct its uses for peaceful purposes. It was not only a commodity which could earn money for South Africa in world trade, but it was also a commodity which could be used more profitably in the interests of peace, the Prime Minister said (Continued on area 12)

ment de la militaire ération et Pretoria centre Bonn

PRETORIA : La « Sie-mens IA » sud-arricolas, una filicita de la firma oussi-aria m servico, dens la premiéra semeine de sourabre, de nouvelles installations de son uoine destronique de Ros-dessport près de Prétoria, destinai ansi la casacité de production de cette entrepri-se dont les products revé-tent una grande importance pour la construction d'en-pins nucléaires et de fusées du régime Verword. La « Siemens EA » qui

La « Simmers EA » qui posside déjà à Johannes-bourg une usine de grande importance prim l'armement entamera bientit,/en raison de la coopération militeire avec Prétoria, la construc-tion d'une traisième usine d'une troisième terme de legado. L'agrandis-mt de l'usine de Ros-mès de l'usine de 14 ort a coté près de la de marks.

faits ont did m in the second se considé « Electro Articola » lore de A & KON

Labors toujours plus diroito. ment cost « Sismans » et es-tretient des conlects sprace-sants cove « l'Atomis Baer-oy Board ». Il et cinal inté-ri lei-mise jour comme la lirme « Siemens » dans l'ac-cord entre Bonn et Prétorie ser la coopérsion subligires et neclécire et la mise, en service commune d'une pro-duction en gros de machinese fusibles pour bombes ato-miques. miques.

miques. Paite au détriment en peuple sud-africain, ostis sorte de coopération n'a mé irre objet que de renjor-tre objet que de renjorpetiple sud-grazam, was sorte de coopération si a mit autre objet que de renjor cer la runi-mise impériali-te en Arrives de Bad : l'Arri-la publique idéstit al alimacu-de por ce déji lande à l'Arri-que cot entires, méj-tés acid-sale convertions internation Malgré la décision de l'O UA de concert eves l'arpo-risation des Nations unies, d'appliquer le Deycott éco-romiques envers la républi-que racités de Présarie, Jann poureut éte sintern-ura tendess à fishe pier le majorité arrivaire évoait une minorité jacités.



head of Department III (Nuclear Research) in the West German Atomic Ministry.

West Germany, where those in power are doing their utmost to gain possession of atomic weapons, has almost no uranium deposits. All attempts to obtain uncontrolled enriched uranium from the USA or Canada have so far failed because these allies of West Germany require that the plutonium remaining after the use of uranium for peaceful purposes be returned or submitted to a check. ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 25 February 1967.)

But there are also difficulties in obtaining "normal" uranium. For the reactor and atomic power station plans now running, "about 25,000 tons of metallic uranium will be needed up to 1975. The Federal Research Ministry will probably take over 75 per cent of the costs, which will be several thousand millions." ("Neue Ruhr-Zeitung", Essen, 28 February 1967.)

South Africa is to be the main source of supply. It produces 20 per cent of the uranium of the capitalist world and has the largest known deposits of uranium ore.

"The Federal Republic of (West) Germany is now negotiating for the purchase of a thousand tons of South African uranium ore, which is to be delivered within the next three months," reported the "S.A. Financial Gazette" on 3 February 1967, according to AFP (official French news agency). Some of this uranium is to be used in the existing reactors and atomic power stations; some of it is to be "stored for strategic reasons".

The South African uranium is remarkably cheap, since it is a by-product of gold-mining, but there have so far been two disadvantages. It was only produced in an impure form, not suitable for normal reactors and certainly not for bombs; and it was originally at the disposal of an Anglo-American company, the above-mentioned Combined Development Agency, on the basis of contracts. Both sides have been trying for years to escape from this situation through co-operation.

West Germany delivered the data for producing and processing uranium into fissionable end-products, which could be transformed either with the help of reactors into atom bomb plutonium, or by means of isotope separation into highly-enriched uranium 235, which can be used for military purposes.

South Africa built the pilot plant near Johannesburg, which is comparitively free from unwelcome control and, with US assistance, its first atomic experimental reactor; things have since developed very rapidly.

On 2 March 1965 Minister for Mining Haak, who headed the atomic authorities from 1964 to 1966, told the Senate that the Atomic Energy Board was not bound by old contracts in new developments, but had the right to set up its "own companies for the exploitation of discoveries and inventions resulting from atomic research by the Atomic Energy Authority".

Such companies would now be set up within the framework of CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research). ("Rand Daily Mail", 3 March 1965.)

Immediately after this announcement by Minister Haak, Defence Minister Fouché announced at a public meeting that the government of South Africa had obtained a licence "from a Western Government" to produce "one of the most modern types of bomb". ("Star", Johannesburg, 27 March 1965.) The late head of government was equally frank. On 5 August 1965 Verwoerd said at the opening of the "Safari" (South African Fundamental Reactor Installation), the first South African atomic reactor (in Pelindaba), that it was "the duty of South Africa to consider not only the military uses of the material but also to do all in its power to direct its uses for peaceful purposes". ("South African Digest", Pretoria, 13 August 1965.)

On the same occasion Atomic Minister Haak announced that the pilot plant of the National Institute for Metallurgy had succeeded in producing uranium of a very high grade of purity, and could also produce nuclear grade uranium and other compounds. The uranium oxide at present being exported was a relatively crude product of about 90 per cent purity. (S.A. Digest, 13 August 1965.)

"UNECONOMIC REACTORS"

Despite the statements of the Prime Minister, Atomic Minister and Defence Minister, all published in the official government organ, Prof. Alfred Boettcher (director of the Nuclear Research Establishment at Julich in West Germany) who was invited to South Africa for the opening of Safari I, told the press a few days later that South Africa could not produce atom bombs. It did not yet have the necessary equipment. In particular, it was not producing highly-enriched uranium 235 or bomb-grade plutonium, which is produced in highly uneconomic reactors. ("Rand Daily Mail", 11 August 1965.)

But the West German atomic expert did not mention the fact that he and his Institute in Julich were working feverishly in active co-operation with the Institue for Metallurgy of the CSIR to create the conditions for the moment not yet present.

After successful further development of the West German Ellweiler process for uranium at the Johannesburg pilot plant, preparations are now being made to introduce the further developed process throughout the entire South African uranium industry, and to set up further nuclear power stations in co-operation with the Atomic Energy Board, the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom) and the South African Railways. ("S.A. Digest", 25 February 1966.)

For this purpose the Atomic Energy Board has been commissioned to design a new type of reactor especially suited to South African conditions. The Board will probably be ready with a design for a pilot reactor by the end of 1967 or early in 1968. ("Southern Africa News Features", 26 September 1966.)

Natural uranium reactors like the Research Reactor 2 (FR 2) and the multipurpose research reactor M 2 FR in Karlsruhe, for example, can be operated and can produce plutonium using the South African natural uranium produced according to West German methods.

A process is also being developed in strict secrecy in Jülich, West Germany, by which the plutonium from normal reactors and nuclear power stations could be purified to bomb-grade plutonium. This was revealed by the two well-known atomic research experts, Prof. Klaus Fuchs (deputy director of the nuclear research centre in Rossendorf, Dresden) and Prof. Max Steenbeck of Jena, leading expert on the gas centrifuge process which is used in Jülich, in the winter of 1965–66. ("Neues Deutschland", Berlin, 9 September 1965, 11 November 1965, 2 February 1966, etc.)

The same principles underlie the South African developments.

KRUPP AND SIEMENS

The South African Atomic Energy Board works closely in these fields with the West German Krupp and Siemens trusts, which lead in reactor construction in the West German atomic industry and have their own laboratories for investigating problems of reactor construction at the Nuclear Research Establishment in Jülich. ("Industriekurier", 27 March 1965.)

Krupp-Brown-Boveri and Siemens also build reactors on the basis of thorium, which is mined in large quantities in South Africa and from which nuclear grade uranium 233 (especially important for hydrogen bombs) is obtained. ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 4 February 1967.)

The Commissioner-General of the Krupp trust, Beitz, negotiated in South Africa on reactor construction in November 1964 with Diederichs and Haak, past and present South African Atomic Ministers.

These negotiations were brought to a conclusion by Alfred Krupp²⁸ himself in November 1965, on a visit to South Africa. His talks with Diederichs and Haak were strictly confidential. Krupp issued a denial that he had discussed atomic weapons. (AP, 2 December 1965.) The denial was true. He had had talks about the reactors regarded as the next necessary step to free both sides from dependence on enriched uranium from the USA.

When Krupp got into financial difficulties early in 1967, the Siemens concern at once sent Prof. Heinz Goeschel, its director responsible for atomic matters, to Pretoria. Goeschel is a member of the Atomic Commission of the Federal Republic and of the Presidium of the Atomic Forum of West German industry.

Goeschel was to try as far as possible to take over the responsibilities which had clearly been too much for Krupp. He stressed at once, publicly, the continued interest which the Federal Republic had in "co-operation with the South African Republic in the nuclear research field, in which South Africa (need not) lag behind the rest of the world". (AFP, 23 February 1967.)

Goeschel also negotiated on regular purchases of South African uranium for the nuclear power station at Obrigheim on the Neckar, West Germany, in the construction of which the Siemens trust has a leading part. (AP, 10 April 1967.)

Krupp was so concerned about these activities by a rival firm that, after the Krupp trust affairs had been attended to by Abs and Schiller²⁹, he at once paid another visit to Pretoria together with Minister of Interior Lücke and, with his help, assured the South African government that Krupp would adhere punctually to their agreements on nuclear reactors²⁹.

To camouflage co-operation (which must remain secret as long as possible if it is to be successful), the official Atom Power programme, and public stress on co-operation with British, USA and French firms, will continue to be used, as it has been since the agreements between Abs and Diederichs in 1963, by means of a whole series of misleading statements.³⁰

WHAT DOES THE BOMB COST TODAY?

In addition, both in West Germany and South Africa, the argument put forward by Prof. Boetcher that the production of bomb-grade plutonium

28 Especially since his widespread arms trust has been rescued repeatedly from financial difficulties by the big banks and with the help of government credits, Krupp has become very closely linked with Abs' Deutsche Bank as well as with the Dresdner Bank. Like Abs, Krupp is a convicted war criminal. After four years in prison, he was excused the remaining 8 years by the US military authorities. All of his huge trust was returned to him. Despite the penetration of the big banks into the Krupp trust, he is still one of the most important men in West Germany. His director Stoltenberg is also Minister for Scientific Affairs in Kiesinger's government, and chairman of the West German Atomic Commission. Krupps have shares in the West German Nuclear Research Establishments in Karlsruhe and Jülich.

29 See Part I of this memorandum.

30 There are of course representatives of other interests, especially of British and American interests, among those in power in South Africa. Alongside them, French and Japanese interests are pushing strongly. But what is decisive is the fact that in the government, the economy, and in science, leading Nationalists are systematically building up co-operation with West German monopoly capital, to a position of predominance. This is especially true in the adomic industry. in reactors is uneconomic-as if this were not true of all military projectsis played up and underlined by means of exaggerated figures.

The South African press named the figure of 500 million pounds (reported in "Southern Africa News Features", 26 September 1966); and West German Science and Atomic Minister Stoltenberg, former Krupp director, even spoke of 45 to 50 thousand million marks over four or five years, in order to "keep step with other leading countries in the world" in research (which is now 80 per cent to 90 per cent armaments research in West Germany.³¹ ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 27 December 1965.)

In fact, according to Prof. Glenn Seaborg, chairman of the US Atomic Commission, countries with a certain amount of experience in nuclear energy can rise to the position of atomic powers with an expenditure of 25 to 50 million dollars. (UPI, 3 March 1966.)

Seaborg also bases upon this fact the need for a sharper control of the peaceful use of atomic energy than has hitherto been exercised either by Euratom³² or by the International Atomic Authority. (DPA, 10 March 1966.)

RESERVE POSITION AGAINST NON-PROLIFERATION

Characteristically, West Germany objects strongly to a stricter control through a treaty on non-proliferation, and is absolutely in favour of a continuance of the inadequate Euratom checking.

Just in case the treaty on non-proliferation cannot be torpedoed, despite all intrigues and manouevres, the West German imperialists are building up their "reserve positions" in South Africa as quietly as possible. They even have a "juridical" argument, such as they use so frequently in their attacks on the GDR, ready for this event. It is well known that the Federal Republic renounced production of atom weapons in the Paris Treaties of 1954³³, and their representatives do not tire of stressing this. The West German weekly "Die Zeit" wrote in this connection:

"In 1954 the Federal Republic expressly renounced production of atom weapons on the territory of the Federal Republic. They did not renounce the possibility of producing such weapons abroad or buying or hiring them from other powers." (23 September 1966.)

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger stressed this "legal aspect" in a television interview on 17 February 1967, and stated that West Germany had so far only "renounced production of atom weapons on our own territory". He then polemicised against a new treaty which would make it impossible "to produce atom weapons on the territory of other countries or together with these other countries or other country".

In addition, he said, the present renunciation was valid only within the framework of Western European treaties, and in relation to West Germany's own allies. In the event of a new treaty "we should enter into obligations to the Soviet Union too, for example." (West German Television I, Report programme, 17 February 1967.)

Thus the head of the West German government is attempting to use even this "juridical" argument to keep the way open to the reserve positions in South Africa. This is not only true for atom weapons but for rockets too.

On this point the Soviet government statement of January 1967 says: "By giving priority to developing far-reaching atomic research those in 31 "The Federal Ministry of Defence has, unlike the corresponding Ministries in all other countries, set up no research stations of its own. Co-operation has been established with the existing research establishments and institutes in the entire field of defence research." (Federal Report, Research I, Bundestags-Drucksache N/2936, 18 January 1965.) In this way, for example, the Federal Defence Ministry can take a direct part in all atomic and rocket research but can, when necessary, deny all partici-

32 Euratom is the joint atomic organization of the Western European countries, in which West Germany plays an important role.

pation.

33 With the Paris Treaties, the West German Federal Republic was admitted to NATO. With these treaties West German remilitarisation was started, and also cloaked the violation of the Potsdam Agreement which officially ended the Second World War and which expressly forbade any remilitarisation. One of the terms for the transformation of a defeated imperialist opponent into an ally was the promise to rely only on US atom weapons (later also British and French) and not to produce its own. It is to some extent too, regard for these treaty obligations (which the treaty partners of 1954 would not renounce out of hand) which causes West Germany to resort to manoeuvring and denials in its atom bomb preparations.

34 "BDI Memorandum on the allindustrial importance of air and cosmic flight technology" ("Handelsblatt", Dusseldorf, 11 November 1966). power in the Federal Republic are also trying to achieve 'independence' in the field of nuclear weapon carriers. In the recently adopted so-called Rocket Memorandum³⁴, the leading West German monopolies openly announced that they were steering towards developing the production of the most up-to-date types of weapons, and developing rocket technology with the means they have at their own disposal; and in fact they demanded that the entire economy of the country be subordinated to meeting the steadily increasing demands of the military clique in Bonn."

In its statement to the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva on 7 March 1967, the GDR pointed out that:

"Efforts to set up a material-technical basis for its atomic and rocket industry are already far advanced in the Federal Republic.

"Extensive work of a military character is being done in the fields of atomic, rocket and cosmic technology.

"Expenditure for these purposes has increased many times over in the past few years."

In this field South Africa also serves the West German imperialists as a reserve position.

HARP ROCKETS

US news agency AP reported on the development of South African rockets as far back as November 1965. After ten years' preparatory work, South Africa intended in the near future to send up its first research rocket, Harp I, which should reach a maximum height of 90 kilometres. (AP, 12 November 1965.)

About the same time SAPA, the South African news agency, reported that work was already under way on a much more powerful rocket, Harp 3, on the testing ground near Pretoria, in collaboration with the University there. ("Star", 6 November 1965.)

The Harp rockets are being developed in close co-operation with West German experts of the Waffen und Luftrüstungs AG, Hamburg, and the Hermann Oberth Company, Bremen³⁵. Staats, the president of the Hermann Oberth Company, announced in November 1964 that, since there had been some international trouble connected with rocket tests in the Wattenmeer in the North Sea, the company's two-stage rockets which were then being developed would be tested abroad. ("Neues Deutschland", 15 December 1964.)

A year later the two-stage Harp I was ready to start in South Africa.

In April 1967 Prof. Hermann Oberth himself travelled to South Africa to inspect the progress of the work on the spot. Oberth travelled with a delegation of the neo-Nazi NPD, of which he is a member. This party has especially close contacts with the Bundeswehr. ("Neue Zürcher Zeitung", 10 April 1967.)

It is significant that this well-known West German rocket expert visited South West Africa as part of his "lecture tour".

It was still possible to carry out the tests on Harp I on the testing-grounds of the Institute for Rocket Research of the University of Pretoria, which were constructed in 1963. But the long-range Harp 3 and its furtherdeveloped successors needed a more remote control station. The ionosphere and rocket station at Tsumeb in South West Africa serves this purpose.

35 Hermann Oberth, well-known German rocket research pioneer under Hitler.

MYSTERIOUS TSUMEB

The West German constructors of this station have repeatedly claimed that it is for the purposes of scientific research into the ionosphere. What is not clear, however, as Luis Nelengani, Vice-President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), pointed out in an interview with ADN, is:

why the same type of station built by the same West German firm on Sardinia is also-in addition to the ionosphere research necessary for long-range rockets-used to test these rockets;

why the station is headed by leading South African rocket expert Dr. Theo Schumann and West German Prof. Wolfgang Dieminger, who from 1934 to 1943 was a scientific co-worker at the Nazi Luftwaffe testing station in Rechlin;

why the station was set up on land belonging to the Otavi concern, the biggest West German colonial company, whose director is Dr. Felix Prentzel, the man responsible for transporting IG-Farben rocket fuel and poison-gas experts to Sasolburg³⁶;

why the entire project is to a very large extent financed by the West German Defence Ministry, which is certainly less interested in weather research in South Africa (the official purpose of the station) than in rocket research (since testing long-range rockets is difficult in thickly populated Western Europe). (ADN-Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst; 1 October 1965.)

Tsumeb is probably used for ionosphere research, all the more so since this is needed for the development of long-range rockets. But the main purpose of the Tsumeb station is its co-operation in testing the long-range rockets which are being built together with West Germany in South Africa.

An incident in the West German Bundestag indicates how far co-operation goes. In January 1967 a commission of the South African air and space travel industry toured the Federal Republic and other European countries in search of experts. Its huge recruiting advertisement caused public comment, and it was forbidden "because the Federal Government fears difficulties with the African countries". (AP, 27 January 1967.)

But persons recruited were not forbidden to emigrate. On the contrary, the West German air and space travel industry released the necessary engineers, technicians, etc. Genscher, Free Democratic Party Member of the Bundestag, thereupon tabled three urgent questions on what the government intended to do "to prevent emigration of highly-qualified experts in the air and space travel industry". Secretary of State Schöllhorn replied drily that the matter did not lie "within the competence of the Federal Government". ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 16 February 1967.)

BOTHA'S SECRET WEAPON

When South African Defence Minister Botha visited Schröder in Bonn in April 1967, the main subject of negotiations was the adjustment of the secret military agreement of 1961 between South Africa and West Germany to the barely concealed military alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal¹³. The necessary preliminary talks with Portugal had already been conducted by Botha, who came to Bonn direct from Lisbon. 36 See Part IV of this Memorandum. But there was a second, no less important subject of discussion in Bonn: the secret weapon. Botha had for months been dropping mysterious hints about such a secret weapon, which "South African scientists-among others-have been developing, and we shall be prepared to share it with friendly people who are willing to work with us". ("Rand Daily Mail", 17 December 1966.)

As Defence Minister Fouché and Prof. le Roux (Vice-President of the National CSIR) let slip as far back as 1963, experts in the South African Defence Research Council are working on a combination with long-range rockets of Tabun, Soman and Sarin, which are particularly virulent poison gases which are colourless, odourless and tasteless. (Reuters, 11 November 1963; "New York Herald Tribune", 8 November 1963; "Times", 28 October 1963, etc.)

These most poisonous of all poison gases, invented by IG-Farben trust experts towards the end of the Second World War, were not ready in time to be used as Hitler's "miracle weapon".

The creator of these chemical means of warfare, a certain Dr. Schrader, was taken over after 1945 by one of the successor firms of IG-Farben, the Ludwig Bayer AG (Leverkusen, West Germany), together with his closest co-workers Dr. Walter Lorenz, Dr. Gross, Dr. Hecht and Dr. Kückenthal. The group was able to continue research work and developed still further the nerve-gas based on organic esters of phosphoric acid, into the still more poisonous "Gas V".

Contact with the Bundeswehr was taken over by the same Prof. Wolfgang Wirth who had inspected this research work in his capacity of head chemist and General Staff Medical Officer of the Nazi Wehrmacht under Hitler. The camouflage name used for this research was also retained. As under Hitler, it was called "Research in the Field of Production of Plant Protection Means and Insecticides".

"Cyclon B" was also such an insecticide: it was a by-product of Schrader's research work. The Nazis murdered millions of people in the concentration camp gas chambers with Cyclon B.

Further development of Cyclon B was left to the USA; it has been used by them in their war of aggression against Vietnam, disguised as a plant protection substance and insecticide.

Former Cyclon B experts have gone to ground in South Africa, with the help of the West German Höchst Dye Works; for the most part they are in the chemical factories of Sasolburg.

The nerve-gas researchers remained at first with the Bayer firm. In 1961 Dr. Verwoerd sent his personal scientific adviser, Dr. Moning, to Bayers. Moning suggested an exchange. Bayer and Co. should transfer their nerve-gas research and production experiments to South Africa and give the S.A. government a share, and the S.A. government would see that Bayers received control of the rich resources of chromium ore near Rustenburg, which can be mined cheaply, and thus be able to build up their international monopoly in chromium. Bayers accepted the offer. The firm became co-owner of the South African chemical firm "Norichem", and in 1962 began building a factory "for plant protection substances and insecticides" in the framework of "FBA Pharmaceuticals, Johannesburg", which belongs to Bayer.

The factory, which has in the meantime been completed, is now in fact producing plant protection substances and insecticides.

Experts estimate that production could be switched over to Gas V in a matter of hours.

("Revolution Africaine", Algiers, No. 186, 25-31 August 1966; "Eastern World", London, July-August 1966; "Neue Zeit", Moscow, No. 50, 1964; and others.)

"These poisons" said Prof. le Roux (Vice-President of the National CSIR) at a scientific conference in Pretoria in 1963, "could be sprayed from the air from planes or rockets like insect powder. They would have an effect similar to an atom bomb of 20 megatons but would be considerably cheaper." (Reuter, 7 November 1963; "New York Herald Tribune", 8 November 1963.)

Such gases would not only be cheaper, but more humane, wrote "Die Welt" of Hamburg, one of the Springer papers; the paper made fun of the "general outcry" when the US aggressors tried out means of warfare of this kind in Vietnam.

"With weapons which kill and destroy, one also destroys one's own future property and sows the seeds of revenge. This endangers one's own future security... The transition to chemical arms would at least... offer a better alternative..." ("Die Welt", Hamburg-West Berlin, 31 March 1965.)

Possibilities of this kind, of a cheap and radical destruction of mankind without much destruction of property or "endangering of one's own property", have certainly contributed to making these poisons attractive to men like Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha. Their factories can today produce several tons of "Gas V" daily. A gramme of Tabun is enough to kill 400 people. Serin and Soman are considerably more poisonous. All three are very much less powerful than "Gas V" and the further developments of it. ("Revolution Africaine", No. 186, 1966.)

The South African factories which produce these "humane" substances are regularly inspected by a private person: Prof. Wolfgang Wirth, who has since been pensioned off. His superior, Defence Minister Dr. Schröder, was therefore fully informed when Botha came to Bonn in 1967 to negotiate on further developments and the date on which revelations about the joint "secret weapon" would be most effective.

"WEHRWIRTSCHAFT" ON THE NAZI MODEL

Atomic research, rocket development, poison-gas production, and with it all a huge machinery for suppression of the vast majority of the population—any state which is to manage all this must have a tightly organized industry. There is a suitable model for this, too: the Nazi "Wehrwirtschaft".

In an analysis of the South African "Apartheid Economy", P. Tlake wrote in 1964 about a "purposeful pursuit of economic policies not very different in content to those employed by Hitler in the 1930s to reconstruct and organize the German economy along fascist lines ... The Wehrwirtschaft has added a new dimension to the scope and scale of state/private capital co-operation ... That these economic policies should be based on the Nazi pattern is no accident ... only by a fuller-scale use of the fascist techniques of economic control and direction is it now possible for the Verwoerd regime to maintain untrammelled the vast system of colonial-type exploitation that goes by the name of apartheid." ("African Communist", No. 18, 1964, pp. 49–50.)

The demand put forward by C. J. Pitts, chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, that a Defence Council be set up to deal with the



economic aspects of defence policy, and that trade and industry be represented on it, shows how correct this analysis was. ("Southern Africa News Features", London, 26 September 1966.)

This in fact means that the Nazi "Wehrwirtschaft" with its War Economy Council and "Wehrwirtschaftsführer" is to be imitated.

The new head of the South African army, Commandant-General Hiemstra, showed himself fully in agreement with this idea when he said:

"Every industrial concern in the country is potentially a member of the Defence Force and every worker a soldier in civilian clothes." ("Star", Johannesburg, 12 February 1966.)

It is perfectly clear where this comes from.

IV. The German Contribution

37 The Höchst Dye Works is a successor company of the biggest German chemical trust, the IG-Farben trust. The other two successor companies are Bayer, Leverkusen and the Badische Anilinund Sodafabrik; Abs is chairman of the Board of directors of both these firms. The IG-Farben trust made huge sums out of plundering Eastern Europe during the Second World War, but especially from the concentration camps. Millions of prisoners were forced to work until they dropped, and were then sent to the gas cham-IG-Farben delivered the bers. gas. The three successor companies of the IG-Farben, which co-operate closely, are today the strongest group within West German monopoly capital. Their share capital has more than tripled compared with pre-war days (in part through realization of war-time profits).

38 The German-South African Society was once one of the most influential propaganda organizations of German monopoly capital under the Nazis. It was refoundet in 1952 with the assistance of Kurt Weigelt, experienced colonial expert and director of the Deutsche Bank, and many other members from the Nazi period; chairman was the Duke of Mecklenburg, former Governor of the German imperial colony of Togo. Re-organized in 1965, it is today the propaganda centre for the South African racist regime in the Federal Republic. (See also the conclusion of this section of the Memorandum.)

39 See Part I of this Memorandum.

40 In September 1966 the international economic press published sensational reports by the "Sunday Times" and the "Star" of Johannesburg, that the Quandt group headed an international consortium which intended to enter South Alrican economic life with "hundreds of millions of pounds". Erich Horwitsch, Johannesburg representative of the Quandt group, explained that it

LINKING UP WITH THE PAST

"With Abs at their head, 87–less than one hundred-managers control the greater part of West German industry." ("Der Spiegel", No. 45, 1965") One of the men very close to Abs is Prof. Karl Winnacker, chairman of the board of directors of the Höchst Dye Works³⁷, chairman or important member of the boards of many chemical works, of the Dresdner Bank, the Degussa atom trust, deputy chairman of the Atomic Commission of the Federal Republic etc. etc.

Together with the German-South African Society³⁸, this man Winnacker sent out invitations to a conference on 19 February 1965 in Frankfurt-Main. Among those in political, economic and press circles interested in South Africa who attended the conference were Scheel (at that time Minister for Development Aid), and Heinrich Gattineau, who was a member of the "Reichgruppe Industrie" Study Commission for South Africa in 1938³⁹, head of IG-Farben, and an SS Standartenführer. The SS, which also administered the concentration camps, was declared a criminal organization by the Nuremburg International Tribunal in 1946.

Today this man Gattineau is chairman of the board of directors of WASAG-Chemie (Essen), part of the Krupp concern, and of the Guano Works (Hamburg), which has for a long time had nothing to do with guano but is simply a liaison firm between Krupps and the Quandt group, an influential West German economic and financial group⁴⁰ which today plays an important part in the West German armaments industry.

Speaking to this group of experts, which included several former Hitlerite war-economy leaders and condemned war criminals, Winnacker called for a stronger linking-up with the past in relations with South Africa. The successor firms of IG-Farben were "very well equipped to do this" and had "much useful experience from earlier years" he said. (Winnacker: Platform speech on behalf of Höchst Dye Works; in "Auslandskurier", No. 2, 1965, p. 7)

BROTHER DIEDERICHS

This useful experience of organized co-operation between West German monopoly capitalists and Afrikaner Nationalists, which goes back to the days of the Boer Republics, comes mainly from the years of Hitlerite rule in Germany, when the Nationalist Boers had seats in the government for the first time. At that time (the mid-30s) "Broer" (brother) Diederichs was sent by the Afrikaner Broederbond⁴¹, the South African racists' Ku Klux Klan, to Nazi Germany. There he learned how to win economic power by fascist means. On his return to South Africa he became the financial expert of the AB. He took over the management of the Reddingsdaadbond, originally a relief work society for poor whites, and built this up on the model of the Nazi "Winterhilfe" into a cheap source of funds for the Boers' Volkskas bank.

Everything was co-ordinated: from the Boer insurance company Sanlam and the sales co-operatives of the farmers and small tradespeople, to the maternity stations and hospitals and the Boer funeral insurance company (AVBOB); and used as a source of funds for setting up Boer trusts.

"Everything is provided for, that the Afrikaner needs, from the cradle to the grave," the South African Police informed General Smuts in 1944 in a

Sudaf ~ ika

Vom 19-11 1958 - 54059 -

Bericht der wirtschaftlichen Studienkommission der Reichsgruppe Industrie über ihre Reise durch die Unich von Südafrika im Frühjahr 1938.

I. Aufgabe und Arbeitsweise der Kommission.

Die Beobachtung der deutsch-südafrikanischen Handelsbeziehungen seit 1934 ließ es den zuständigen deutschen Regierungsstellen sowie den am Südafrikahandel hauptsächlich beteiligten Wirtschaftsgruppen wünschenswert erscheinen, durch eine besondere Kommission in Südafrika selbst

Wege zu einer Steigerung des Handelsvelumens zu suchen, Hommungen, die unserm Handel dert entgegenitchen, festzustellen und, wenn möglich, zu beseltigen, sowie durch persönliche Fühlungnahme mit südafrikanischen Regierungs- und Wirtschaftskreisen unsern amtlichen Vertretern Hilfsstellung zu leisten.

Die Kommission hat diese Aufgabe in ihrer 8wöchigen Reise durch die Union dadurch zu lösen versucht, daß sie überall gerade da ihre Tätigkeit einsetzte, wo sie mit Hilfe after und guter Geschäftsfreunde Einblick in bisher von Deutschland aus u. übersichtliche Zusammenhänge gewinnen, Störungsfaktoren ermitteln und beseitigen, besonders aber Slützpunkte für unsern Handel begründen und ausbauen konnte. Sie hat bei ihrer Arbeit alle persönlichen und geschäftlichen Freunde der einzelnen Mitglieder eingesetzt, die diese aus langjähriger Verbindung in Ein- und Verkauf sowie aus der Zusammenarbeit in internationalen Kartellon in Südafrika besitzen. In zohlreichen Einzelbesprechungen und Besuchen sowie Vorträgen vor Industrie- und Handelskammern, Farmerverbänden, Wollbroker- und Wollkäufervereinigungen, Wein- und Fruchtgenossenschaften konnten wir über unseren Wert als Käufer sowie über unsere Wünsche für Zoll- und Handelserleichterungen aufklärend tätig sein. Diese Aufklärung hatte die angestrebte Wirkung, im Lande Helfer für unsere handelspolitischen Forderungen zu gewinnen. Unsere amtlichen Vertreter können nun darauf rechnen, daß ebenso, wie dies 1934 geschehen ist, auch diesmal politisch einflußreiche Kreise zugunsten unserer Forderungen auf die Regierung einwirken. Sollte der von uns ausgelöste Druck nicht ausreichen, so kann er jederzeit erneuert und gogebenenfalls durch zeitweises Abbremsen unserer Käufe verstärkt werden.

in Wollfragen, sondern vor allem gelegentlich eines Frühstucks im Parlamentagebäude zu Kapstedt, zu dem wir vom Wirtschaftsminister eingeladen wurden und an dem außer dem deutschen Gesandten der Ministerpräsident General Hertzog, fünf Minister und sieben Staatssekretäre teilnahmen. Auch zu dem an Bord der "Windhuk" von uns gegebenen Abschiedsempfang erschienen eine große Zahl für uns wichtiger Minister, Staatssekretäre und führender Wirtschaftler des Landes mit ihren Damen.

Die Kommission besuchte in den wichtigsten Plätzen Johannesburg, Pretorie, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth und Kapstadt, zahlreiche Minen und Industriebetriebe, die uns alle bereitwilligst und gründlichst geneigt wurden. Auch auf dem Lande hatten wir in mehreren Bezirken Gelegenheit, die Betriebsverhältnisse zu studieren. Als Beispiel für die wissenschaftliche Förderung der Viehzucht zeugte man uns eingehend die mustergültigen Anlagen von Onderstepoort. Überall waren führende Persönlichkeiten bemüht, uns wirklich Einblick zu verschaffen. Ein Mitglied der Kommission. Dr., Gattineau, hatte noch Gelegenheit, die Diamantminen in., Kimberley sowie das Wirtschaftsgebiet Windhuk zu besuchen (vergl. Südwest-Sonderbericht Anlage 1:, während die Kommission weisungsgemäß Südwestafrika offiziell nicht besucht hat. Die für die deutsche Wirtschaft mittelbar sehr wichtige Verbindung zu den Kreisen der Wissenschaft wurde für uns geschaffen durch eine Einladung des Rektors der Universität Stellenbosch.

Mit den deutschen Firmen und größeren Kreisen des Deutschtums hatte die Kommission überall engste Fühlung. Bei Veranstaltungen der Partei, der DAF, und deutscher Vereine konnten wir mehrfach die Wünsche unserer Afrikadeutschen ent gegennehmen und hatten zugleich Gelegenheit, in zahlreichen Vorträgen über die Heimat zu berichten.

II. Wirtschaftsstruktur der südafrikanischen Union.

Zur Beurteilung der Wirtschaft Südafrikas ist die Struktur des Landes sowie die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung und deren weitere Entwicklungsmöglichkeit von wesentlicher Bedeutung.

Die verschiedenartige Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung ergibt eine mit erheblichen Schwierigkeiten verbundene Bevölkerungspolitik der Regierung. Als neues Problem ist die Frage der Judeneinwanderung aufgetaucht. Die jüdische Bevölkerung macht von der europäischen ungefähr 12% aus, sie könzentriert sich fast ausschließlich auf

die Städte, insbesondere auf Johannesburg. Der in den letzten Jahren stärker einsetzenden Einwanderung von Juden ist ein gewisser Riegel vorgeschoben, da sie als nicht erwünscht angesehen wird. Auch in diesem Lande zeigt sich eine antijüdische Bewegung in wirtschaftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Beziehung, die dadurch zum Ausdruck kommt, daß in den ersten Klubs des Landes.Juden nicht mehr als Mitglieder aufgenommen werden.

Eine ernste Sorge bereitet der Regierung das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen Weiß un f Schwarz, das sich in den letzten Jahren nicht zu Gunsten von Weiß entwickelt hat. Die Vermehrung der europäischen Bevölkerung erfolgt fast ausschließlich durch Geburten und zwar pro Jahr mit 27000 Menschen Überschuß, während die Einwanderung nur von geringer Bedeutung ist.

In etwas stärkerem Maße vermehren sich die schwarzen Eingeborenen, und wenn sich auch das Verhältnis I zu 3 nur in geringer Weise zu Gunsten von Schwarz verschoben hat, so bedeutet doch die nuzzerische Überlegenheit der schwarzen Bevölkerung für die Zukunft eine ernste Gefahr für die weiße Rasse.

Eine zielbewußte und klare Eingeborenenpolitik besteht zurzeit nicht. Obwohl sich des Klima in den größten Teilen des Landes für eine körperliche Arbeit von Buropäern eignet, ist Landwirtschaft und Industrie auf die billige schwarze Arbeitskraft angewiesen - Die Regierung sucht daher einen Ausweg in ihrer Eingeborenenpolitik.

Diese hauptsächlich von der Seite der Buren betriebene Politik steht nicht ganz im Einklang mit der amtlichen Londoner Auffassung, die mehr auf eine kulturehe und wirtschaftliche Hebung der Eingeborenen abzielt. Eine klare Linie besteht wie gesagt noch nicht, wird aber, wenn man den Vorrang der weißen Rasse gegenüber dem Eingeborenen aufrecht erhalten will, gezogen werden müssen. Die einzuschlasende Eingeborenenpolitik bildet wohl eins der schwierigsten Probleme die die Regierung in der Union zu lösen haben wird. Die großen Kohlenlager in der Union stud eine der Voraussetzungen für die Gewinnung der Bodenschätze (besonders Gold und Diamanten) und die Industrislisierung des Landes. Gleichseitig mit dem Ausbau der Geldproduktion imilie daher die Aufschließung der Kohlenlager erfolgen, denn die mit billiger schwarzer Arbeits-

iraft gewoni....on Nakke int eine wesentliche Vorausseizung für eine Weitbewuchtfähigkeit der Goldpruduktion.

1938 gab -s in der Union 30 Kohlenminen mit folgenden Arheitskräften: Weiße 1 800, Farbige 29 000, Verhältets 1:16.

Die Löhns in den Kohlenminen betrugen 1336 für Europäer sul queläfizierten Poston pro Schicht

im Transveel sh 23/7, in Netal sh 20/9.

Die Farbagen erhielten ab 40 his eh 60 hei I siem Quartier und freier Verpflagung auf den Monat berechnet.

Für die deutsche Industrie käme eine Beteuligung bei der gegenwärtigen Devisonlege nur in der Weise in Betracht, daß der Wert der gelieferten Einrichtungen als Anteil in Anrechnung kommt.

c) Elektroindustris.

Auf der Besis der billigen Kohle hat sich eine umfangreiche Elektrizitätserzeugung entwickelt. Sie stieg vom Jahr 1232/33 von 2,6 Millionen Kilowatt im Wert von 2.6,5 Millionen auf 3,2 Millionen Kilowatt im Wert von £.7,3 Millionen im Jahr 1934/35.

Zur einheitlichen Entwicklung der Elektrizitätorrzeugung hot der Staat eine Gesellschaft gegründet, die Rioetricity Supply Commission. Sie unterstehl dem Stoctricity

2. Die Industriepolitik der Regierung.

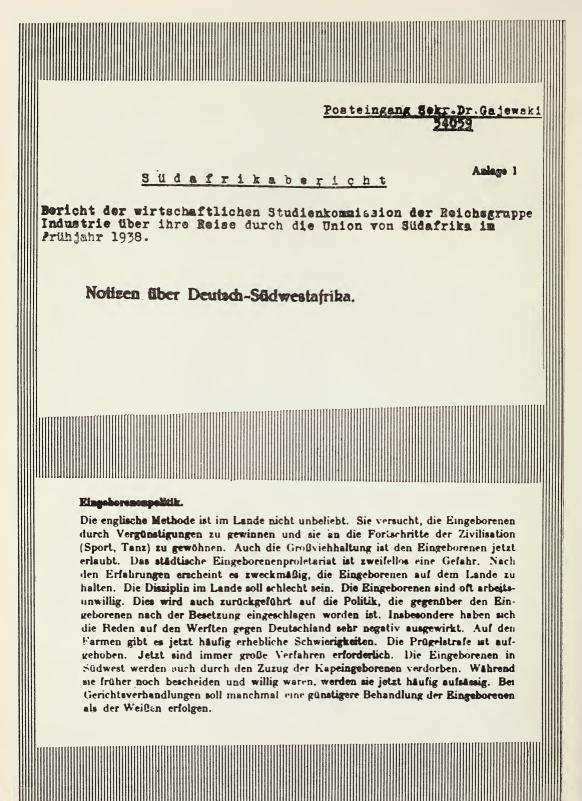
Die Grundtendenz, von der sich die Regierung in ihrer Industrialisierungspolitik leiten läßt, ist die Schaffung der Beschäftigungsmöglichkeit für Weiße und die Erschließung der Bodenschätze des Langes. Dazu kommt die Absicht, aus militärischen Grinden auf bestimmten Gebieten eine eigene Wirtschaftsgrundlage zu besitzen

Die Regierung wendet daher ihre Aufmerkssmikeit in erhöhtem Maße der Entwicklung der Schlüsselindustrien zu, wie Eisenerzeugung und -verarbeitung, Zellstofferzeugung, Zementerzeugung, Benzingewinnung aus Köhle. Projekte, die in dieser Richtung liegen, werden nachdrücklich gefördert. Dazu kommt für die Besnerung die Notwendigkeit, aus rüstungspolitischen Grunden gewisse Betriebe der weiterverarbeitenden Industrie zu entwickeln.

Projekt der Benzinerzeugung aus Kohle.

Die Anglo Transvaal betreibt ein Projekt, in Südafriks eine Anlage für Herstellung von Benzin nach dem Fischer-Tropsch-Verfahren zu errichten. Um der Gründung Aussicht auf Erfolg zu geben, ist besbaichligt, Dr. van der Bijl zum Chairman der neuen Gesellschaft zu mechen. Gegen die Pläne der Anglo Transvaal wenden sich sehr starke Kräfte im Lande, wie die Imperial Chemical Industries mit den African Explosives sowie die Organisationen der Shell und Standard. Die Hegierung steht auf dem Standpunkt, daß die Frage nicht ausreschend gepröft ist, ob das Ferner bestehen noch folgende Projekte:

Plan zur Verwertung der bei der ISCOR anfallenden Nebenprodukte bei der Verkokung der Kohle.



DAS RASSENRECHT IN SÜDAFRIKA

EIN RECHTSPOLITISCHER ÜBERBLICK AUF RECHTS-GESCHICHTLICHER GRUNDLAGE, ZUGLEICH ANWENDUNG EINER NEUEN SYSTEMATIK DES KOLONIALRECHTS

VON

Dipl.-Ing. Dr. jur. HEINRICH KRIEGER 1944

JUNKER UND DÜNNHAUPT VERLAG / BERLIN VORWORT

Dies Buch ist zur Erfüllung eines vom Rassenpolitischen Amt, RL., angeregten, von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft im Jahre 1937 erteilten Auftrages geschrieben. Ich habe damals außer längeren Vorstudien einen einjährigen Aufenthalt in verschiedenen Teilen Südafrikas vorgesehen und dann auch verwirklicht. Dieser Überseereise fügten sich Aufträge in Südwestafrika und Brasilien an, deren Ergebnisse inzwischen erschienen sind. Den vielen südafrikanischen Freunden und Helfern danke ich

Den vielen südafrikanischen Freunden und Helfern danke ich nochmals herzlich, ohne sie jetzt nennen zu dürfen. Besonderen Dank für das Lesen der Urschrift und Korrekturen schulde ich meinem Vetter, dem Oberkirchenrat Hauptmann Ludwig Schuster.

Im Felde.

Das Rassenrecht in Südwestafrika

Der Verfasser.

Vergleichende Darstellung' des deutschen Rechts und des Rechts der Mandatszeit, zugleich Entwurf und 2mwendung einer neuen Systematik des Kolonialrechts

Von

Dipl.-Ing. Dr. jur.

Seinrich Arieger

Mitarbeiter des Auffenpolitischen Amtes, A.L.

Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag / Berlin

would be mainly a question of expansion credits and of deliveries of equipment for engineering and chemical enterprises. ("Sunday Times", 13 September 1966; "Star", 11 September 1966.)

41 The AB is the organizational centre of Afrikaner power; it determines who is to be a member of the government, who is to head the state-owned enterprises, who are to be Chancellors of Afrikaans universities, heads of their churches, chairmen of cultural and sports organizations, and so on. (Bunting, pp. 47-53; AASC Memorandum 1964.)

42 See Part I of this Memorandum.

43 The "Kautmännischer Ausschuss", members of which were heads of the chemical trust, was responsible for IG-Farben's foreign relations. The espionage agency in Berlin, NW 7, with which Prentzel had been connected, was also under the control of the "Ausscluss".

44 Today a nationally-owned GDR enterprise "VEB Filmtabrik Wolfen", famed for its Orwo products.

45 The "Ossewa Brandwag" was re-organised by van Rensburg along the lines of the SA, after he and Diederichs (today Economics and Finance Minister) had been trained at the Nazi Anti-Comintern School, and was used in the Second World War to prepare for armed uprising in co-operation with the Wehrmacht Afrika-Korps. General von Mellenthin, at that time Rommel's espionage expert, acted as liaison. Now secret adviser to the South African Armed Forces, he is ostensibly Commissioner-General of the West German Lufthansa in Johannesburg. For further details see Bunting, pp. 53–55, 74, 81–84, 99-100; AASC Memorandum 1964; and Part V of this Memorandum.

secret report on the financial power of the AB⁴², which acted as Hitler's fifth-column.

As early as 1934 confidential representatives of the German monopolies, such as the agent Landwehr, who had "exceptionally good personal contacts", and IG-Farben representative Bueb, functioned as advisers and liaison men. (Report of the "Kaufmännischer Ausschuss"⁴³ of IG-Farben on 11 November 1938, published in "Die IG-Farben stossen nach Afrika", Dr. J. Schmelzer, Bitterfeld-Wolfen, 1965, p. 30.)

A SENSATIONAL FIND

Dr. Schmelzer made a sensational discovery during his investigations. In the archives of the biggest IG-Farben factory (the former Agfa in Wolfen⁴⁴) he found among the papers of its director, Gajewski, who had held a top post in IG-Farben under Hitler, a copy of the report of the Economic Study Commission of the "Reichsgruppe Industrie", which visited the Union of South Africa in 1938 on behalf of the Hitlerite government.

The Commission had the task "with the help of good old business friends, to gain an insight into the matters which have hitherto not been clearly visible from Germany, to detect and remove obstacles, but especially to found bases for our trade, build these up and, through personal contacts with South African government and economic circles, to provide assistance to our official representatives." (p. 1)

Reporter for the Commission in the "Kaufmännischer Ausschuss" and author of the Report was Gattineau, SS Standartenführer and IG-Farben director.

Included in the negotiations were the Prime Minister of South Africa at the time, Boer General Hertzog, who refused a year later to fight against Hitler; Defence Minister Pirow, an open admirer of Hitler; and the State Secretary of Justice J. F. H. van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the "Ossewa Brandwag"⁴⁵.

The report of the Commission was a regular stock-taking of the South African economy.

This unembroidered report contained not only analyses on the build-up necessary in the Iscor state trust (Steel and Iron, p. 21) and Escom (Power, p. 22), which were then still in their infancy; it also contains plans to set up a big chemical industry on the basis of IG-Farben's Fischer-Tropsch method of liquifying the cheap S. A. coal (p. 27). Plans are even mentioned for exploiting the big deposits of rare ores, which are only now being carried out near Palabora, and on the Highveld (p. 18–19). Possibilities of penetrating into the strongholds of "British-Jewish capital" in the gold and diamond mines are also discussed (p. 16).

It is suggested, finally, that the main method of procedure in the build-up of state trusts and Boer industry (as in Iscor etc.) should not be through open participation but through the delivery of investment goods through normal trade channels, after which care should be taken to see that "the value of the goods delivered is reckoned as shares". (p. 22)

It is striking with what consistency the South African racists have adhered to the plans worked out with the representatives of German monopoly capitalism in 1938, since they returned to power in 1948 after the interval caused by the Second World War.

THE ORIGIN OF APARTHEID

This is true not only in the case of the build-up of South African stateowned industry (which so clearly recalls Göring's Reichswerke), but equally so in the solution to the racial question. The expert for racial and "native" problems in the "Reichsgruppe Industrie" Commission was Gattineau also. In a special report on South West Africa he wrote:

"There are often considerable difficulties on the farms now. Flogging has been forbidden. A big fuss is made about it now. Whereas they (the Africans) used to be modest and willing, they are now often rebellious." (S. W. A. Report, appendix to the Report by the Study Commission of the "Reichsgruppe Industrie")

The main report itself states: "There is at present (1938) no clear and consistent policy on the natives," but such a policy would have to be worked out "if the supremacy of the white race is to be maintained." (p. 12–13)

The Report also repeatedly states that the racial problem is primarily a matter of keeping "cheap black labour" cheap and willing. (p. 15–16)

On his return to Germany, SS Standartenführer Gattineau saw to the working-out of "a purposeful and clear policy on the natives", so as to help the South African "partner" to solve what was "probably its most difficult problem". (p. 13)

Inquiries were made on behalf of the Nazi Party Office for Racial Policy, with a view to determining "the future legal position of the natives", and "preparing later measures" both for the big colonial empire which the German fascists intended to establish and for their partners and political allies in South Africa. Legation Counsellor Dr. Gustav Strohm, head of the Colonial Department of the Nazi Foreign Office, was in charge of this. (Letter from the Office for Racial Policy, Reich Office, signed Dr. Frerks, to Legation Counsellor Strohm at the Foreign Office, Berlin, 28 February 1938; in the Central Archives at Potsdam, Reich Colonial Office No. 7540, p. 76 f.)

This Dr. Strohm gathered round him experts like "racial research expert" Dr. Heinrich Krieger, who went to South Africa to collect material for his book "Das Rassenrecht in Südafrika" ("Racial Law in South Africa") on behalf of the Office for Racial Policy, and was therefore in close touch with the leading Boer Nationalist theorists, whom he expressly thanked for their assistance in the preface to his book.

Another of Strohm's experts, SS propagandist Wahrhold Drascher also thanked South African racial theorists for their help, in his book "Die Vorherrschaft der Weissen Rasse" ("The Dominance of the White Race"), which appeared in 1936. Drascher expressed these thanks in an article published in 1960 in which he repeats the ideas of 1936; the editors of the SS journal in which it was published remark that these ideas are "timely and fully valid today". (W. Drascher, "Schuld der Weissen?" ("The Whites to Blame?"), Tübingen 1960, "Nation Europa", Coburg 1960, No. 9, p. 46.)

COLONIAL SADIST STROHM

Strohm himself described what he considered to be a clear policy on the Africans in 1940, when he was transfered to Addis Abeba, then under Italian fascist domination, in preparation for the huge colonial empire of which the fascists dreamed. In a letter dated 20 April 1940 to Kurt Weigelt, Colonial expert and director of the Deutsche Bank⁴⁶, he wrote:

46 The letter was found in the archives of the Deutsche Bank, the central office of which was in what is now the GDR capital. Weigelt had passed it on to Abs with a marginal note: "Frank and sarcastic", and the remark that Strohm was "a clever observer of colonial relations". "Here, under the blessings of a European administration, the natives have become so disreputable, fat, lazy and unwilling that one might feel quite desperate if it were not for the comforting thought that a hundred years hence fewer blacks will play around here than there are Indians chasing buffaloes in the streets of Chicago today. This is in fact a comforting certainty.

"To put it briefly, here too the central problem is: how do I get the natives to work?! Nobody here knows the answer to this either. But how are we silly sentimental Europeans to wield the whip or chop off hands or brand people? Apparently this has to be learnt, too." (Horst Kühne, "Faschistische Kolonialideologie und zweiter Weltkrieg" (Fascist Colonial Ideology and the Second World War), Berlin 1962, pp. 177–179.)

... A M B A S S A D O R I N P R E T O R I A

When these German racialist plans were prevented by the victory of the Soviet Union and its allies, and the African people thus saved from a terrible fate, the German monopoly capitalists preserved their rule in the western part of Germany, with the help of their American business friends, and set up the Federal Republic of (West) Germany. The man who was appointed Ambassador to South Africa was-Strohm⁴⁷. Here he met old friends again, the leading racial theorists of the Nationalist Party who had co-operated in working out fascist racial laws. The most important of these were Dr. Eiselen, Secretary of State for Bantu Affairs, and Prof. Verwoerd, Minister for Bantu Affairs and later Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa.

Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, son of a German missionary, studied ethnology in Hamburg and, as early as 1938, made the first experiments under Hertzog's government towards introducing the basic principles of racial segregation in South Africa. He is still known as the "father of apartheid" in South Africa.

Verwoerd also studied in Germany, where he qualified for co-operation in the work of drafting the fascist racial laws. This team–Strohm, Eiselen and Verwoerd–took up in the 1950s the principles worked out in Nazi Germany and introduced "racial law" into South Africa. There is a striking resemblance, even in details, between the Nazi plans and the South African laws.

There is a report in the "Activities Report of the Office for Colonial Policy of the Nazi Party, 1 July 1941", on suggestions made by Secretary-of-State Syrup of the Reich Economics Ministry, "on labour questions of the natives in the African colonies". His suggestions included introduction of special identity passes, restrictions on residence, employment only in lower-grade work, "recruitment" of forced labour, separate living quarters, etc., in fact all the main features of the Apartheid operating in South Africa today.

GLOBKE'S EXAMPLE

This parallel comes out even more clearly in the directives worked out by Ministerial Counsellor Globke⁴⁸, Nazi expert on racial law, for occupied Poland and France. The great majority of Poles were "Schutzangehörige" without legal rights and subject to barbarous criminal code regulations. The regulations for occupied France state:

47 Strohm was the second Ambassador of the Federal Republic in South Africa. The first, a harmless "liberal" named Holzhausen, was manoeuvred out of his post after a short period, and Strohm took his place.

48 Globke provided the "juridical" explanation for the murder of more than 6 million people of "alien race", especially Jews, Gypsies, Poles, etc., the notorious Nuremberg Laws. In the Federal Republic, under Adenauer, Globke was State Secretary in the Federal Chancellory and thus the highest official of the state. For more than fifteen years he decided who was to occupy leading posts. He was at the same time chief of all the secret service agencies in the Federal Republic of (West) Germany. The appointment of leading Nazis to important government posts is primarily his work.

"a) The permanent settlement of coloured persons (Negroes, Madagassy, Indo-Chinese, Mulattoes, etc.) in France cannot be accepted in principle . . . Insofar as coloured persons are at present resident in France, they must be sent, within one year at the latest, to that extro-European colonial territory of France which accords with their racial ancestry.

(b) Marriage, and extra-marital sexual relations between coloured persons from France or the French colonies and Aryans of any nationality, shall be banned and made punishable both in France and in any colonies remaining to France." (See "Globke, the Bureaucrat of Death", a Documentation, Berlin 1963, pp. 177–193, 212–213.)

The South African apartheid laws are to a great extent derived from Globke's directives and drafts, suitably revised and adapted to South African conditions.

''OLD COMRADES''...

Another transaction was effected during Strohm's period of office which has had a not unimportant influence on the political atmosphere today. With the help of the Rupert trust the SS not only transfered a great part of their ill-gotten property to South Africa, but also arranged the transfer of many SS men from Argentina. Otto Skorzeny⁴⁹, notorious SS Obersturmbannführer, organized this; he now leads the illegal international SS organization known as "The Spider" in Madrid, and travels regularly as a "businessman" to South Africa.

On a visit to Rupert in April 1965, when he was introduced to the South African parliament by L. T. Weichardt, former leading Greyshirt and present Senator and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, there was much discussion in the South African press about how big the secret SS population of South Africa actually was, and how many of them were living under false names and even occupying important government posts. ("One Land", 23 April 1965; "Sunday Chronicle", 4 April 1965, etc.)

It is a fact that in all German clubs, newspapers and other German institutions in South Africa, "former" SS men call the tune. Pastor Niemöller, President of the World Council of Churches, said that he felt as if he were back in the world of Hitler during a visit to South Africa. ("Spandauer Volksblatt', 14 September 1965.)

Finance Minister Strauß appears to have had a similar impression when he visited South Africa, although it aroused different feelings. He did not miss the opportunity, as former indoctrination officer in the Wehrmacht, of speaking before "old and new comrades". The "Afrika-Post" reported that he spoke before "German ex-soldiers of the First and Second World Wars", and was praised by S. Rathke, chairman of the "Kameradschaft", as a "brilliant speaker and politician of high quality", and presented with the badge of honour of the Kameradschaft. ("Afrika-Post", Pretoria, June 1966, p. 13)

This "Kameradschaft" attracted public attention for the first time when it held a "Vintners' Fete" in Pretoria on 29 October 1965. Among the guests were "Ontje-Interneerdes", South Africans who had been interned as Fifth Columnists during the Second World War. ("Afrika-Post", November 1965, No. 8) 49 Skorzeny, one of the most bestial SS nurderers, is known especially for his rescue of Mussolini with the help of parachute troops. His last post under Hitler was as Group Leader VI S of the Reich Security head office, where he was responsible for building up a secret service which was to save the property, personnel and ideas of the SS after the war.

. . . IN A NEW FUNCTION

50 Thadden's mother and most of his relatives lost their landed property in Pomerania (now in Poland) alter 1945 and went to South Atrica. Here von Thadden regularly visits them. ("Rand Daily Mail", 26 November 1966.) In the meantime, the old comrades have got together in a new way. After a visit by Adolf von Thadden⁵⁰, head of the West German neo-Nazis, they founded a movement to support the NPD, called the "Deutscher Arbeitskreis volkstreuer Verbände" (German working-group of nationalist associations in South Africa). Selected South Africans, individually invited, were admitted. ("Star", Johannesburg, 7 March 1967; "Times", London, 8 March 1967.)

From time to time some of these people emerge in public under their own names-like former SS Obersturmbannführer Dr. Souceck, a war criminal condemned to death, who was brought to South Africa by Skorzeny and found refuge in a book-shop owned by an SS comrade, Dr. Karl Häusler. This book-shop is called "Veritas", and has elegant premises in the Boer insurance company building; it sells Hitler's "Mein Kampf", "Myth of the 20th Century" by Rosenberg (Hitler's "theorist"), and the memoires of former high-up Nazis. Souceck was expelled from South Africa, under his own name, only because he had dipped too far down into the shop's till for his own purposes. ("Vorwärts", Cologne, 22 July 1964)

Another case is that of Karl Schröder (secret agent No. Q403) who worked under the name of Reuther for Vorster's secret police and, together with agent provocateur Ludi (secret agent No. Q018), son of a Nazi immigrant, spied in a most despicable way against South African democrats and communists. ("Sunday Times", Johannesburg, 21 February 1965, etc. etc.)

Vorster uses these unsavoury characters unscrupulously in his persecution of leading white South African patriots like the famous barrister Bram Fischer (who was sentenced to life imprisonment) as well as of his black comrades Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and many others who devote their lives to the struggle against the apartheid regime.

THE ROLE OF THE ''GERMANS''

But in his far-reaching plans for co-operation with West German monopoly capital the present Prime Minister of South Africa is concerned with much more than Nazi propagandists and scribblers. What he needs is a broad ideological mass basis. He has been working on this, too, for a long time.

In 1964, for example, Vorster called upon South African historians "to investigate the role played by the Germans in forming the country, for there are so far too few works on the German immigrants who have added their characteristic thoroughness and discipline to the South African way of life." ("Südafrika von Woche zu Woche", 1 October 1964, predecessor of the "Monatsberichte der Südafrikanischen Botschaft", Cologne.)

The first results of these investigations are now available. The Ambassador of the Republic of South Africa in the Federal Republic is now sending out large numbers of a pamphlet: "The German Contribution to the Development of South Africa", which is printed in Pretoria. It is a German translation of the same pamphlet widely distributed under the title: "Die Duitse Bydrae tot die Ontwikkeling van Suid Afrika".

This piece of official propaganda states that the white South Africans are in fact half-German. More Germans came with the legendary founder of the Cape Colony, Jan van Riebeeck, than has hitherto been supposed.

The German share in this ancestry, especially as a result of the many German soldiers who served in the East India Company, has since then in-

creased considerably. "Many South Africans who think their ancestors were Dutch would discover on further investigation that they were Germans." (p. 3)

After producing an endlessly long list of such German ancestors the pamphlet states that Prof. D. B. Bosman, "after detailed research", has calculated that the "blood of South Africans is 28 per cent German".

But even such calculations are still inexact "because the Dutch and the Germans were so closely allied at that time". (p. 4)

Afrikaans, too, the language of the Boers in South Africa, is said not to be a corrupted Dutch, as was hitherto claimed, but a language which, under the influence of many Germans, had moved away from Dutch and approached the German language. This is said "not to have been thoroughly enough investigated by our language experts". (p. 9)

In addition, as Prof. Bosman states, it is not so much the number of immigrants that counts, but rather their influence on their new fatherland. There follows page on page of names, positions and achievements, with details that purport to show that numerous national heroes and political, military, ideological, scientific, artistic and (last but not least) economic leaders in South Africa are of German origin. Even the customary antisemitism takes a back seat and it is expressly stressed that Ernst Oppenheimer, founder of the huge gold and diamond trust, immigrated to South Africa from the German town of Friedberg in Hessen.

The final section of this propaganda pamphlet points out that direct cooperation with Germany from the days of the German Empire and the Boer Wars down to the Nazi period and the Federal Republic has played an important part in the rise of South Africa.

It concludes with a long list of prominent people in the government, the economy, science and culture who studied in Germany (many of them during the Nazi period) and whose sons are now studying in West Germany.

KEY POSITIONS

A closer scrutiny of this list of names, and especially of the activities of the "German experts", reveals some significant facts.

To start with, the decisive posts in South Africa's state-owned trusts are almost without exception occupied by men who come either direct from the West German monopolies or were trained in them. Most of them have also become thoroughly accustomed to their "German ancestry" through attendance at German universities during the Nazi period.

Chairman of the board of the Iscor steel trust is Dr. F. Meyer, its Director-General is Dr. D. M. Kruger, and Dr. T. Jordan is head of the research and development department. All three are German experts trained in the West German partner monopolies.

The German professor Dr. R. L. Strassacker, who studied in Berlin, heads the Escom power trust; his right-hand man for many years was the German senior engineer Jacobs, who studied in Berlin and had expert training in AEG and Siemens.

Dr. P. E. Rousseau, a South African who had special training in enterprises of the German steel and chemical monopolies, heads Sasol. Production chief of Sasol is the German chemist Dr. H. J. Thomas, who has a whole group of leading West German specialists under him.

The entire financial management of Sasol (as with Iscor and Escom) is in

the hands of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), one of the main instruments of South African economic policy, all of whose shares are state-owned. IDC President is Dr. H. J. van Eck, who studied in Berlin and Leipzig. But the actual management and power of decision in this key organization lies with Dr. G. S. J. Kuschke, German financial expert and Director-General of the IDC; he is also in charge of basic research into the nccessity and practicability of new projects, of mobilising personnel, material and financial resources, and so on.

During the past ten years, there has hardly been a single large South African enterprise founded in which the IDC or its daughter company Bonuscor (whose director is also a German expert Dr. P. R. Rörich) has not had an important share.

The example which should first be noted here is the extensive Escom construction programme of coal, water and atomic power stations, with strong international participation, which is controlled by the IDC. Among other new enterprises built up by the IDC are the amalgamation of S. A. shipping interests in "Safmarine" (deputy chairman: Kuschke); the beginnings of a South African airplane industry in the "Atlas Aircraft Corporation" (Director: F. C. Malan, Kuschke's deputy director in the IDC); and the amalgamation of oil interests in "Soecor" (chairman: Kuschke).

The AASK Memorandum of September 1964 already noted that confidential representatives of the West German monopolies have infiltrated into the S. A. atomic power board. The board's most important expert is Prof. Dr. Heinz Verleger, who worked in the Reich Technical-Physical Institute under Hitler; he is a direct representative of Abs and liaison man with the West German government.

Prof. S. M. Naudé heads the Scientific and Industrial Research Council (CSIR) of IDC and the atomic authority. He studied in capitalist Germany, is a member of the West German Physical Society, and still publishes his scientific works in German. Almost all important departments of CSIR are headed by German experts. Dr. M. D. Kranz heads the patents department, Dr. F. Schweigart the chemical department, Dr. Skawran the personnel research department, and so on. One of the biggest institutes of the CSIR is the National Institute for Metallurgy of Atomic Energy, which is headed by the German expert Dr. Jacob D. Hugo.

("South African Digest", 3 June 1966; "Die Aussenwirtschaft", Cologne, 10 June 1966; "Monatsbericht aus Südafrika", October 1966; "Perspective", London, March 1965, etc.)

Jürgen von Bülow⁵¹, former Mecklenburg Junker, heads the fast-rising Palabora project with its hundreds of millions of basic capital. Bülow has in the meantime been naturalised and is regarded as a South African. H. E. Bachem, the direct representative of the "Deutsche Bank", the inevitable Kuschke of IDC, and Ernst G. Blohm, trustee of the Hans Merensky Trust in which West German and US interests (Morgan) merge, assist him as directors.

Three German experts, T. F. Müller, G. W. Schumann and P. R. Rörich, share the management of the "Federale Mynbou Beperk", the spearhead in penetration into Oppenheimer's empire. A colleague of Kuschke, IDC director A. von Maltitz, maintains the link with the IDC.

This list could be doubled and trebled in the South African economy alone, if the South African "Who's Who", Berman's "Financial Yearbook of Southern Africa", and similar sources are examined.

If attention is concentrated on the key posts it becomes very clear how consistently and successfully the West German monopolies have followed

51 Mecklenburg was the most backward province in the German Reich. Here the Junkers, the big feudal landowners, ruled and ruthlessly exploited their farmworkers. Today Mecklenburg belongs to the GDR, the Junkers have been expropriated and driven out, and the land belongs to the peasants and farmers who have joined together in flourishing co-operatives run on modern lines. the advice of Erhard, former Economics Minister and later Federal Chancellor, to join in "exploiting the enormous labour power potential" of the S. A. economy, and to "establish themselves in key positions" in South Africa, which is "more attractive than almost any other country to enterprising German initiative". ("Informationen aus Südafrika", December 1959, Erhard's interview with Dr. C. R. Metzler.)

Of course the other monopoly capitalists, especially the British, have not simply let themselves be pushed aside, and even today maintain important strongholds in the South African economy against increasing West German, US, French and Japanese⁵² influence. An account of this rivalry, in which in particular the West German monopolists and US monopolies are both allies and rivals, lies outside the scope of this Memorandum.

AGENTS IN POWER

Decisive for the building-up of the power of the West German monopolies in South Africa and for the penetration into dominant positions was and remains their political influence on the state power, and especially on the government. Here, since Vorster's accession to power, tried agents of West German monopoly capital are moving more quickly than before into key positions of state.

During the Second World War Vorster himself was not only a General of the Ossewa Brandwag (the military organization of Hitler's fifth-column in South Africa), but also of the Stormjaers (the South African SS), as his friend Hans van Rensburg revealed in his memoires. In September 1942 Vorster was interned as a result of active espionage for Hitler and sent to the Koffiefontein internment camp as prisoner number 2229–42. He stated publicly at the time:

"We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you like. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism." (Bunting, p. 88)

Like Hitler's successors in West Germany who today misuse Christianity– the present Federal Chancellor, veteran Nazi Kiesinger, calls himself a Christian Democrat and Strauß calls himself Christian Social–Vorster now calls himself a "democrat".

But when he was questioned in Parliament in 1965, Vorster said he was not ashamed of his past and would do the same again if placed in similar circumstances. ("Sunday Times", Johannesburg, 23 April 1965)

After his election as Prime Minister, Vorster demonstratively invited former co-internees to a dinner at the Groote Schuur, the government "palace". Lieutenant-General van den Bergh, who had been interned for pro-Hitler sabotage, had already been appointed Chief of Police by Vorster. At the funeral of his friend van Rensburg, van den Bergh gave the fascist salute, an action which elicited indignant protests in a few South African newspapers. ("Rand Daily Mail", 4 October 1966)

M. C. Botha, "leader of the extremist clique" in the Nationalist Party, has become Minister for Bantu Administration, a post which Verwoerd held earlier. His friend Dr. Hertzog⁵³, who publicly proclaims his hatred of England and his sympathy for the West German neo-Nazis, is Minister for Posts and Telegraphic Communications.

Defence Minister under Vorster is the "rising star" of the Nationalists, Pieter Botha. He began his activities by introducing anti-communist courses 52 According to South African law, the Japanese are considered as White, while the Chinese, Mongolians, Malayans, Indians and Arabs are regarded as non-White. Here too the South African racists follow the Nazi example. The Nazis labelled as "honourary Aryans" the economically powertul "alien races" like the Japanese with whom they co-operated.

53 Son of the former Prime Minister who collaborated with Hitlerite Germany. for all soldiers, following the example of the Nazis. His first foreign tour led him to Portugal and West Germany, and had the purpose of re-inforcing the secret military pacts existing between these three countries. ("Star", Johannesburg, 5 November and 12 November 1966; "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", 8 April 1967.)

At the head of the South African army stands Lieutenant-General Rudolph C. Hiemstra, an officer "who attracted attention in 1939 by his refusal to fight against the Axis powers". ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 21 July 1965)

Hiemstra continues systematically to appoint friends of close co-operation with the West German Bundeswehr to leading posts in the army and the war economy: Lieutenant-General J. F. Biermann is at the head of the Ground Forces, Vice-Admiral H. H. Biermann heads the Navy, and General C. H. Hartzenberg is head of the Armed Forces Administration. ("South African Digest", 17 December 1966)

"Anti-Apartheid News" (published in London), the monthly journal of the Anti-Apartheid movement, expressed grave concern in November 1966 at what has been happening since Vorster took over government, in an article headed: "South Africa's Nazis come into the open". But "Die Welt", West German paper belonging to the Springer chain, praised Vorster, calling him "the man with iron in his soul". ("Die Welt", Hamburg, 17 September 1966)

JOINT PROPAGANDA APPARATUS

Skorzeny, head of the illegal international SS ring, who regularly visits South Africa and inspects Rupert's Rembrandt trust to see that all is going well, is a genuine twin soul of Vorster's. Vorster praised his friend Skorzeny in an interview with the "Industriekurier" because he made no secret of the fact that he was a Nazi and acknowledged a German past "which was a part of history". ("Industriekurier", Düsseldorf, 27 March 1967)

These admissions by iron souls are a part of the big propaganda campaign for linking up South Africa and West Germany-a campaign which is steadily increasing in intensity.

The South African Foundation, the Afrikaans-Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft and the above-mentioned German-South African Society, which was reorganised in 1965 and has 25 regional branches in West Germany and 11 in South Africa, are in charge of this campaign. The German-South African Society is recognised as "useful to the community" by the authorities, and is assisted from public funds by the West German Foreign Ministry.

Its immediate predecessor in the Federal Republic was the "South African Studies Society", among whose prominent members were Otto Dietrich, former Reich press chief under Hitler, and Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, who came from South Africa and was head of the Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party. ("Hannoversche Presse", 13 March 1951)

Its Munich branch, headed by the well-known feudal Nazis Prince Moritz zu Ratibor and Prince zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürt, specialised in smuggling to South Africa former Nazis who were in danger of arrest.

The Afrikaans-Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft provides the framework for carrying out the cultural agreement between South Africa and West Germany.

The German Committee of the "South Africa Foundation" is especially active. It has its West German seat in Munich and is headed by Count Christoph von Dönhoff. During the Nazi period Dönhoff worked in the Foreign Office under Strohm, in the Expert Commission on Labour Questions, on drafts of colonial laws. Today he appears on West German television as an Africa expert, and edits "Post aus Südafrika" on behalf of the South Africa Foundation: this is a press service which above all provides West German provincial papers with a flood of reports, reportages, photos and other propaganda material free of charge. ("South Africa Digest", 25 November 1966)

In South Africa, the German Committee of the South Africa Foundation is headed by Ernst Georg Blohm, a South African who strongly stresses his German origin. Blohm is also trustee of the Hans Merensky Trust (Palabora, Highveld, etc.), director of the South African Volkswagen works (average dividends in the past five years 40 per cent, according to Handelsblatt, 14 March 1966), director of the Thorer Group, a fur company formerly in Leipzig, which has a monopoly of the Persian lamb from South West Africa (a business which runs into the hundred millions), and dreams of returning to Leipzig, to the Brühl, which is the biggest international fur market, now in the German Democratic Republic.

...FOR THE "BIG BROTHERHOOD"

This man Blohm, on behalf of the South Africa Foundation, also financed (among other undertakings) the South African tour of West German Finance Minister Strauß, during which he again and again found new "common interests" between South Africa and West Germany. (S.A. and West German press, April-May 1966)

West German Minister of Interior Lücke also found such "common interests" when he visited South Africa in March 1967. "Die Zeit" wrote in this connection:

"Mr. Lücke assured his hosts that their country, which was on the way to 'solving well' its 'special problems', could contribute a great deal to peace in the world . . . He also discovered here common interests (between West Germany and South Africa). Both countries wanted to assure 'the security of their citizens' and to see that 'the sun of freedom never sinks'." ("Die Zeit", Hamburg, 14 April 1967)

Lücke made it quite clear at the same time whose "security" and whose "freedom" he was thinking about. In the speech which he made as official representative of the West German government at the opening of the West German pavilion at the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg, he stressed that "a quarter to one-third of the South African population⁵⁴" were of German origin, and expressed his thanks, hinting at the large numbers of SS criminals and Nazis who were smuggled out to South Africa immediately after the war, that South Africa "opened its doors to my countrymen who had lost everything in the fateful war. A friendship which has survived the most bitter want and despair will not be forgotten." ("Rand Daily Mail", 14 March 1967; "Industriekurier", 21 March.)

A few days later Vorster returned the compliment in an interview with the Industriekurier:

"There is no reason why these very hearty relations (with the Bonn government) should not be expanded further. A large proportion of our people are of German origin and more Germans are constantly coming to South Africa... We owe the Germans a great deal of thanks... It is not yet fully recognised how great has been their and their descendants' share in the development of our country." (Interview "in connection with the 54 We note only in passing the racist arrogance with which Lücke, in common with Vorster, thinks only of the white minority when he speaks of the "population of South Africa". recently ended visit of Federal Minister of Interior Lücke to South Africa", "Industriekurier", Düsseldorf, 27 March 1967.)

In order to increase this knowledge, memorials "in memory of German immigration" or even "in gratitude to the German people" are being erected all over South Africa.

When the "Memorial to German Immigration" was unveiled in King William's Town, Dr. Anton Rupert himself intended to speak. Since he was prevented from doing so, his brother J. P. Rupert read the speech "in memory of the German ancestors who had come to South Africa as legionaries and missionaries"-including Rupert's ancestor, Johann Rupert, who had played the violin in the military orchestra. He then read out a long list of German immigrants who had made valuable contributions to the development of South Africa, for example Hans Merensky (founder of the Trust), G. Kuschke (the financier), T. E. Donges (today State President) who comes from Potsdam, and so forth. ("Afrika Post", No. 10, January 1967, p. 15.)

The second man in Vorster's government, Finance and Economics Minister Diederichs⁵⁵, had already celebrated the close relations between the ruling strata in South Africa and West Germany when he unveiled a similar memorial in Pretoria:

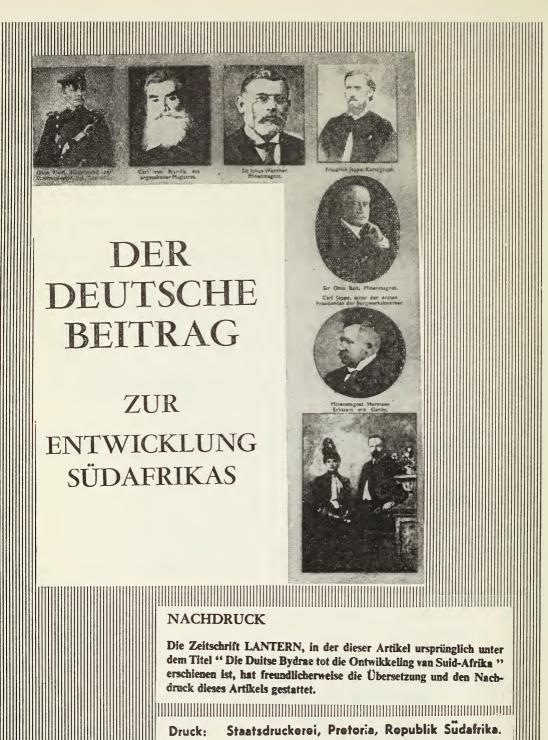
"The relations of South Africa to (West) Germany and of (West) Germany to South Africa rest upon a very good foundation. Apart from our trade relations it is a fact that we are related and allied through our ancestry." He praised the many West German scientists at South African universities and above all the many South Africans "who have received their intellectual inspiration in Germany".

He made quite clear what he meant by "intellectual inspiration" when he said: "We are happy that the German people have been able to rise again and again to become a powerful force, so as to play a great role again, not only in Europe but throughout the world." ("Afrika Post", Pretoria, No. 11, February 1965)

It is clear that Diederichs meant the white racists when he spoke of South Atrica. When he spoke of the "German people", he meant the handful of monopoly capitalists around Abs, Krupp and Winnacker, who are preparing " to play a great role again, not only in Europe but throughout the world", and who have found a firm point of departure in South Atrica for a considerable part of their expansionist plans.

55 He comes from Hanover.

19 10 Addis Abeba, den 10. April Deutiches Generalkonfulat All sales 1 inta paris -r Sehr vershrier Harr Dr. Weigelt! Sie hatten ile Fraunlichheit, mir ien ersten Bani ier "Mitteilungen ler Grunge isutschar kolonialwirtschaftlicher Unterretrungen " übersenlen zu lassen. Seien Sie herslichst Hier sin! lie Eingeborenen in Brei Jahren unter Ban Segnungen einer suroräisierenien Verwaltung in einer Weise verlulert unt verdunmelt, lick . dumn, faul und wilerspensio genacht vorien, iass man gans vehnütig verlen könnte, vern nicht ler frost lahinter stürle, lass in liesen Lonis in 100 Sahren Ebensovenig Schwarze Eshr herupturgnenverlen als heute Initaner auf ien Strassen Chikagos Büffel jagen. Bas ist wirklich eine tröetliche Gewissheit. 208aaasnfagesni lisgt auch hier las gentralproblea ing ter Frage, wie kriege ich ien Singeborenen zur Arbeit?" Das voiss auch hier hein Nensch. -as heisst, man weiss es schon, aber vie sellen vir hämanitäslus eligen Europäer tie Nilpferlpeitsche hanthaben, oler Mänle abhacken oler Brabinals verpassen? Uni worn man uns len Asbrauch ier Peitscha gastatten vürle, so würlen wir uns, seis sir seit Senerationen lieser fenhnik entwöhnt sind, sofort als vuste Salisten gebärlen, anstatt Prügelphilosorhen zu sein. inscheineni muss man las auch gelernt haben. Fishe fritter stud Heil Hitler! Her H J. STVATIL Originals im Deutschen Wirtschaf Fotokopie des



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A PECULIAR RENUNCIATION...

In May 1956 Adenauer, at that time head of the (West) German government, announced to the South African government his government's renunciation of all (West) German claims to the former German colonies in South West Africa. ("Die Welt", Hamburg, 23 May 1956)

The curious thing about this statement was that there had been no such "claims" since the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 at the latest.

But under the Weimar Republic the German imperialists had semi-officially put forward claims to South West Africa, and under Hitler they did so quite officially. This question remained open⁵⁶ even in the secret agreements between Hitler's fifth-column in South Africa and the Hitlerite government, a circumstance which led at that time to serious differences of opinion which the German fascists hoped to settle in their favour after victory.

Adenauer's "renunciation" of South West Africa was the result of drawing conclusions from the changed situation and an attempt to take up the old and well-tried co-operation once more in this field.

Czaya, who makes a thorough study of these matters, writes: "The German imperialists always regarded South Africa as an important base for the infiltration and later conquest of the more northerly African countries at which they aimed." (p. 40)

The German imperialists therefore orientated their activities towards "a partnership with the Boer big bourgeoisie", and in particular supported their efforts to build up a "greater white South Africa". The Boer nationalists in their turn supported both the plans of the old German Empire and those of Hitlerite Germany to set up a big German colonial empire in Central Africa. (Czaya, pp. 38–50)

... AND WHAT LIES BEHIND IT

H. van Rensburg, a leading Boer (Afrikaner) nationalist, published a book on this co-operation which appeared in West Germany in 1964. He describes how the joint conquest of Africa, which was planned to follow victory over the Soviet Union, was discussed in detail as far back as 1936 with the Hitlerite "Shadow Minister for the Colonies", Ritter von Epp; and how he, van Rensburg, along with many others who now control South Africa, then worked actively and in co-ordination with the Nazi Afrika Corps for the conquest of Africa by the Nazis. Van Rensburg proudly reports on how many troops who would otherwise have fought against Hitler were retained in South Africa to deal with explosions, acts of sabotage and preparations for civil war organized by his group. (H. van Rensburg: "Der weiße Sündenbock", Verlag K. W. Schütz, Göttingen, 1964 edited version; original titel in South Africa: Their Paths Crossed Mine, 1956.)

The renewed co-operation ushered in by Adenauer's "renunciation" was concentrated, at first, despite the overwhelming superiority of Anglo-American capital and in accordance with the temporarily weakened position of West German imperialism itself after the military defeat, on political, economic and military strengthening of South Africa-which was now entirely controlled by the Boer big bourgeoisie-and on cautiously building up West German positions in that country.

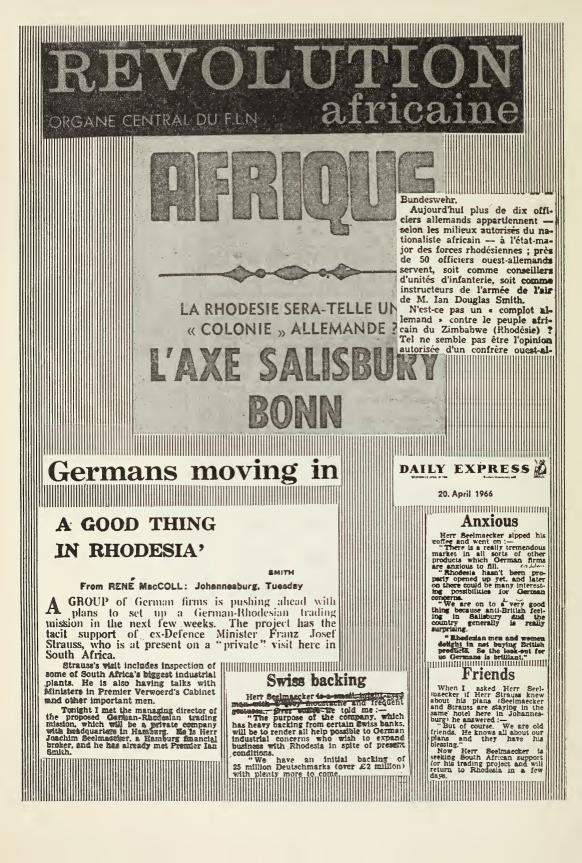
But as both "partners" increased in strength and gained greater freedom of

V. "Greater South Africa" – a new America

56 See Part I of this Memorandum.

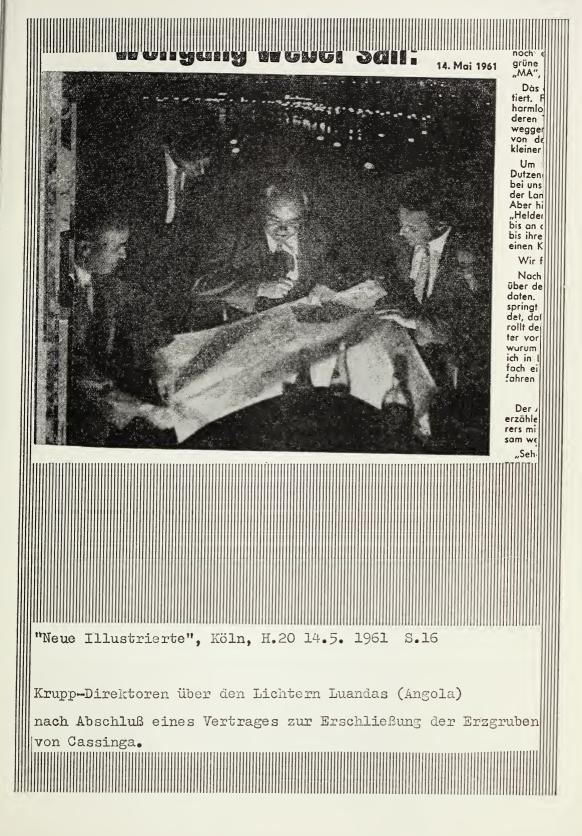












57 The assassination of Verwoerd opened up the way for Vorster and his closest triends. The assassin was sent without trial to a lunatic asylum. movement both economically and militarily, the old ambitions connected with setting up a "greater white South Africa" again came to the fore.

Prime Minister Verwoerd, who in the meantime has been killed under peculiar circumstances⁵⁷, for many years propagated a "Common Market" in Southern Africa ("Südafrika von Woche zu Woche", Cologne, 11 September 1964, 21 November 1964, etc. etc.)

These plans were at once strongly supported by West Germany. In connection with the signing of the 1965 trade agreement between South Africa and Rhodesia, the "Handelsblatt" wrote on 21 December 1964:

"Dr. Verwoerd has for many years proclaimed the idea of an economic community of Southern Africa and membership not only of its white, but also of its black neighbours ... The first step towards a South African economic community has in any case been taken.

"It is even to be expected that other applications for membership will follow. Zambia needs the Republic of South Africa as an economic partner. Malawi is an economic abortion ... The neighbouring Mozambique also depends to a great extent upon South African transit traffic and tourism."

STRAUSS ORGANISES TRADE WITH RHODESIA

Rhodesia's role as pace-maker for plans of this kind has increased in importance since the unilateral declaration of independence by the white settlers (4 per cent of the population, and many of this 4 per cent only settled there after 1945) for the purpose of maintaining their rule over four million Africans (heirs of the ancient Zimbabwe culture). The same is true of West German aid.

Here again, as in all fields of co-operation with South Africa, undercover methods are used.

Officially, West Germany adheres to the UN boycott of Rhodesia; but it permits so many exceptions to the boycott that even the open direct trade between West Germany and Rhodesia is on the increase, not to mention the undercover trade, especially via South Africa.

"Economic measures by the Federal Republic against Rhodesia would not only seriously affect (West) German foreign trade, as the "Africa Association in Hamburg" stresses, but would also be bound to damage good relations with South Africa, to which no less weight should be attached than to relations with the African and Asian countries," commented Springer's "Hamburger Abendblatt" (12 November 1965) on the UN boycott resolution against Rhodesia.

During his South African tour, the object of which was to help in building up "a big economic co-operative" in Southern Africa⁵⁸, Finance Minister Strauf; therefore also visited Rhodesia. He spoke not only to Prime Minister Smith and many ministers but also with the Hamburg broker Seelmaeker, who "happened" to be staying at the same hotel. As Seelmaeker frankly admitted in an interview with the London "Daily Express" (20 April 1966), he talked with Strauf; on the setting up of a "West German-Rhodesian Trading Company" with an initial capital of 25 million marks and half-a-dozen of the biggest industrial and trading concerns in West Germany, with the object of opening up the many interesting possibilities arising for West German big business as a result of the UN boycott.

Business was so flourishing that the British government solemnly protested in Bonn and demanded that the UN boycott be adhered to and not taken advantage of. (West German and British press, 23 April 1966.)

58 See Part I of this Memorandum. The West German government expressed its willingness, but West German trade with Rhodesia continued to expand; in the first half of 1966 it was about 18 per cent more than in 1965. ("Star", Johannesburg, 20 August 1966)

As a result of this double-dealing, West Germany moved up to third place in Rhodesian exports in 1965 and to first place in 1966, and from fifth place in Rhodesian imporst in 1965 to first place in 1966. (Report of the UN Secretary-General on fulfilment of Security Council Resolution 232/1966, 16 December 1966.)

When the UN stepped up boycott measures against Rhodesia, the West German government again expressed its agreement, and this produced an organised storm of protest in the West German monopoly press. "Let's not play the model boy" wrote Springer's "Hamburger Abendblatt" on 7 January 1967. "Bonn the model boy" wrote the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" on 8 January. "Dangerous Rhodesia boycott" said the "Industriekurier" on 7 January. "Let's not play the model-boy again" stated the "Stuttgarter Zeitung" on the same date; and so on and so on: a clearly organised campaign, even down to the language used, which continued for weeks. And then followed a short announcement:

"The Federal government will participate in the sanctions against Rhodesia decided upon by the UN, but will not interfere with existing agreements. This was announced by the deputy government spokesman in Bonn." ("Die Welt", 3 February 1967)

SMITH EXPRESSES HIS THANKS

On the same day, Rhodesian government head Smith stated in reply to a question by the Salisbury correspondent of "Die Welt":

"This decision is very welcome to us. It was the logical attitude. Even if other governments have lost their heads, this is no reason for the (West) German government to lose its head ... We are very happy to hear this news from (West) Germany." ("Die Welt", 4 February 1967)

And a day later the Johannesburg "Star" wrote: "West Germany has decisively breached the sanctions barrier". Few businessmen were expected willingly to observe the trade barrier when they knew that others were profiting from breaching it. The West German agreements were for five years and were concluded shortly before Rhodesia's declaration of independence. The West German government had thus opened up "a most valuable pipe-line . . . through the sanctions ring". ("Star", 4 February 1967)

Such five-year contracts were signed, among other things, for copper, asbestos (one of Rhodesia's most important exports) and especially for tobacco-far beyond West Germany's own requirements. "One big German cigarette firm has bought more than double its normal requirements in Rhodesian tobacco." (Rupert-Reemtsma-Rothmans) ("Vorwärts", Cologne, 14 December 1966)

After all this Willi Brandt, the new West German Foreign Minister, informed UN Secretary-General U Thant that the Federal Government had directed, "on the grounds of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council", that "no further import licences for the goods of Rhodesian origin listed in the Security Council resolution would be granted". ("Süddeutsche Zeitung", 23 February 1967)

Brandt made no mention of the five-year contracts already running.

The West German government also concealed by means of pseudo-legal arguments another big aid campaign for Smith's regime arranged by Finance Minister Strauß during his visit to Rhodesia-the printing of new bank-notes for the Rhodesian State Bank, which is now cut off from its former British sources. When this was detected at the last moment by the British secret service (the first consignment was already on the way by air but was stopped at an intermediate landing), Strauß shifted the entire matter to the West German courts. These then placed the matter before a civil court which then decided that the bank-notes should be delivered to Rhodesia. All that the British plaintiffs have so far achieved is a delay in these deliveries. (See the entire West German, British, South African, Rhodesian and other press, late December 1966 and early January 1967.)

News has in the meantime leaked out that the West German printing house involved intends to deliver the plates and bank note paper to a South African printing house, which would then be in a position to undertake the printing of Rhodesian bank-notes with West German material and West German experts.

As a small gesture of thanks for this long-prepared and underhanded aid, Smith and his ministers had already replaced their British cars by West German cars. ("Star", 31 July 1965)

Smith is now negotiating for the substitution of West German firms for the British automobile fitting works in Rhodesia. ("Morgenpost", West Berlin, 7 February 1967)

A NEW TRADING COMPANY

The two countries mainly concerned, South Africa and West Germany, do not hesitate to involve big international consortiums in their efforts to build up a "greater white South Africa"; on the contrary, they are eager for participation of this kind, since it makes it easier to carry out their farreaching plans and does not endanger their aims so long as the political and military control remains firmly in their hands.

A model example of these tactics is the setting up early in 1967 of the IMEX company in Johannesburg, with an initial capital of $1^{1/2}$ thousand million marks and big international participation; it aims at getting the entire economic development of Southern Africa into its hands, somewhat along the lines of the colonial trading companies of the 17th and 18th centuries⁵⁹, a parallel which the foundation reports expressly point out.

One of the first agreements made by the new trading company was with Malawi (formerly Nyasaland). IMEX is taking over the entire foreign trade of this young African state and is building for it a new capital called Lilongwe-an undertaking which will put Malawi in debt to IMEX to the tune of 120 million marks. ("Industriekurier", 7 January 1967)

Economic advisers are another special feature of IMEX. Four such South African "experts" are already acting as advisers in the African and enclave neighbour states of South Africa (Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi). ("Industriekurier", 7 January 1967)

One of these advisers is Dr. Anton Rupert, head of the Rembrandt-Reemtsma-Rothmans concern. He is advising Lesotho, the former British protectorate Basutoland, quite openly to develop voluntarily into a "Bantustan", as the South African racists have christened their African "reserves". Rupert is here more "progressive" than Verwoerd was, for his idea is not only to plunder the "Bantustans" through their "border" industries, but

59 It should be recalled that the Cape Colony was founded in the 17th century by a colonial company of this kind-the "East India Company".

to plunder the African "reserves" themselves through setting up industries in them; here he is in agreement with Vorster. ("Handelsblatt", 10 November 1966, etc.)

For this purpose Rupert has adopted a new philosophy, which he advertises es energetically as he does his cigarettes: the philosophy of "partnership"

"PARTNERSHIP" ON SS LINES

Like the money for it, this philosophy derives directly from Hitler's SS. Wahrhold Drascher, already mentioned as one of the experts of Strohm, the West German Ambassador in South Africa, published a new edition of his book "Die Vorherrschaft der weißen Rasse" ("The Dominance of the White Race") in 1960. It is now called "Schuld der Weißen?" ("The Whites to Blame?"). He suggests that "predominance" should definitely be defended, but that it should now be called "partnership with the developing countries" (p. 12) although a relationship between the races on the principle of "to all the same" should on no account be permitted; "to each his own" should be the principle adhered to.

This was the SS principle which was placed, for example, above the entrance to the notorious Buchenwald concentration camp⁶⁰.

The main propagandist of this "partnership with the developing countries" is, as we have said, South African multi-millionaire Dr. Anton Rupert, head of the Rembrandt-Reemtsma-Rothmans trust.

The "Handelsblatt" of Düsseldorf reported on 28 November 1966 that Rupert has built up his entire "global, multi-national concern" on these lines, and he appealed for support for this "partnership" in a speech which he delivered in September 1966 at the CIOS congress in Rotterdam, in which he referred to his successes in Malawi, Lesotho and Kenya⁶¹.

Vorster is also beginning to speak more and more frequently of "partnership". Rupert has in the meantime developed it into a sort of Christian neighbourly love for the much-too-independent states of Africa, who would do far better to become "partners" of South Africa, ("Star", Johannesburg, 4 January 1967)

The people who consent to be "partners" to this-Chief Jonathan in the case of Lesotho-are assisted into power by every possible means. West German help has played an important role in Lesotho. ("Die Welt", 2 September 1965; "Star", 19 March 1966)

Those who are not prepared to join in this new form of plundering of their own people-Paramount Chief Moshoeshoe in the case of Lesotho and the leaders of the opposition parties, who have the majority of the people behind them-are kept out of action by means of defamation, house-arrest, imprisonment, banning and terrorism, until the "partnership" regime has gained a firm footing. ("Financial Times", "Guardian", 29 December 1966)

How far these plans, already being put into practice in Lesotho, actually extend can be seen from developments in Kenya, where South African influence is being systematically built up, here again with powerful West German economic ("Financial Times", 29. December 1966 etc.) and political help (cf. Lübke's visit to Kenya)⁶².

Efforts are being directed more and more openly towards achieving a kind of "partnership relationship" here. The fact that Vice-President Joseph Murumbi, one of Kenya's leading politicians, resigned his post at the end 60 Today there stands in the German Democratic Republic a huge and (from an artistic point of view) extremely moving memorial to the victims of fascism from many countries who were tortured to death in Buchenwald.

61 Erhard, for many years Economics Minister and thereafter Federal Chancellor, who said during his visit to South Africa: "The same spirit is at work in South Africa and in (West) Germany", is also a supporter of the partnership idea, which he applies to the relationship between capital and labour.

62 Heinrich Lübke, President of the West German Federal Republic, has been exposed on the basis of documentary evidence for the part he played in building Hiller's concentration camps and for having been in the contidence of the Gestapo. He denies the genuineness of the documents but refuses to take court action. of December 1966 to become director of the Rupert concern in Kenya shows that political conditions make this possible and that personnel is available. ("Times", 6 January 1967)

Although Rupert had this played up in the press as a victory for his partnership idea, there was hardly any protest in Murumbi's party, the dominant KANU, against the transformation of a leading member of KANU into a "partner" of Rupert.

THE CABORA BASSA PROJECT

The most important pillars of the joint South African-West German policy of expansion in Southern Africa (of which Kenya is at present only a northern outpost) are the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. The South Africans are in the forefront in Mozambique and the West Germans themselves in Angola.

Economically considered, Mozambique is very largely dependent on South Africa and is the main supplier of cheap forced labour for the Witwatersrand gold mines.

A huge project has been under way in Mozambique since mid-1966-the Zambesi dam on the Cabora-Bassa rapids.

The "Stuttgarter Zeitung' writes enthusiastically (3 September 1966) about the setting up of an "African Ruhr area" and transformation of "more than 100,000 square kilometres of jungle, swamps and bush into fertile land for hundreds of thousands of peasant families".

Of course, as the paper hints, the idea is to have white settlers there. The incorporation of the project into the plans for a greater South Africa is expressed even more plainly in an article by Dr. van Eck, chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)⁶³, which heads the international consortium financing the project. He includes the project as a matter of course in the network now being built up for all of Southern Africa. He stresses especially that the giant Zambesi will in this way be navigable right across the continent as far as Angola and will form a link which will in addition bind Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique even more closely to South Africa from an economic point of view. ("Perspective", London, December 1966)

KRUPP IN ANGOLA

Angola is one of the biggest and richest countries in Africa. It is becoming to an ever-increasing extent a domain of the West German imperialists. Cassinga, the iron ore centre, built up by the West German armaments firm of Krupp at the head of an international consortium at a cost of over 500 million marks, is to export over 5 million tons of high-quality iron ore in 1967.

For this purpose the harbour of Mocamedes is also "with the help of Krupp... to be built up into the biggest ore-shipping harbour in Africa", which calls for further investments of 560 million marks. "The expansion planned includes a quay for ships up to 100,000 tons, ore-loading equipment with a capacity of 10,000 tons an hour, a modern rail network and storage space."

Cassinga reserves are "estimated at over 3 thousand million tons, including at least 80 million tons of high-quality ore. A 70 km long branch railway

63 See Part II of this Memorandum. line-also built with the help of Krupp-links Cassinga with the Mocamedes railway, along which the ore reaches the coast." ("Handelsblatt", Düsseldorf, 22 April 1967)

Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach made this statement himself at a press conference in Luanda, the capital of Angola, during his tour of Angola and South Africa⁶⁴. He carefully stressed, and repeated more than once at this press conference, that the owner of the Cassinga Mines, the Companhia Mineiro do Lobito, was a completely independent Portuguese company. The Krupp firm had taken over only the financing of long and short-term investments; it delivered equipment for mining plant and attended to the general orientation and carrying-out of the project which, he added, far exceeded the intial conception. ("Agence Nationale de Information e. Lusitania" (ANI e.L.), 9 November 1965.)

Krupp evaded journalists' questions about the opening up of the considerable gold deposits and especially of the oil which has been discovered in the huge concession of the Companhia Mineiro do Lobito.

In the meantime the oil rights have been relinquished to "Petrangol", a daughter company of the Belgian "Petrofina" in which the Deutsche Bank has a share. Krupp himself, of course, is a prominent member of the consortium which is financing the opening up of mines in Lobito and Lombigo. ("Les Intérêts impérialistes contre l'indépendence des peuples coloniaux", January 1966, published by the "Front Patriotique de Libération Nationale", Portugal.)

Krupp also stressed at the above press conference that such projects in Angola were completely sovereign and worked "within the framework of Portuguese prerogatives". (ANI e.L., 9 November 1965)

BEHIND PORTUGAL – WEST GERMANY

There is deliberate intention underlying this. The more that "Portuguese sovereignty" is stressed, the less obvious will be the fact that Portugal's role has changed in recent years. In order to hold their colonial "overseas provinces" against the struggles for freedom of the national liberation movements, Salazar and his regime have delivered themselves into colonial dependence. Portuguese liberation fighters wrote about this as far back as 1962:

"West Germany is now, even more than the USA and Great Britain, the country from which Salazar is trying to get economic support for his barbarous policy in Portugal and the colonies. This support, as usual, is acquired in exchange for important concessions—which are placing Portugal more and more in the absurd position of having to be a colony in order to keep on being a colonialist country." ("Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin", London, April–May 1962, p. 77.)

This process has in the meantime continued through the past five years. West Germany has long since ousted Great Britain and the USA from first place in trade with Portugal and has penetrated deeply into the Portuguese economy through its tactic of quiet export of capital in the form of deliveries of investment goods which are then transformed into shares in the business; but also through the open activities of Krupp enterprises. The Portuguese FPLN commented on this in its November 1966 Bulletin. Twenty-one years after the defeat of Hitler, dangerous West German imperialism had risen to first place in foreign domination of Portugal and had far outrun the Americans, the British, the French and the Belgians. 64 These huge investments in Angola contributed considerably to Krupps' financial difficulties in the spring of 1967. The Federal Republic now takes first place in the Portuguese trade balance. In 1965 it exported goods to the value of 4,200 million escudos to Portugal and imported goods to the value of 1,308 million escudos from Portugal.

By 1965 West Germany had, in addition to Krupp's dominant position in the Portuguese metal industry and in the Angolan mines, won an important position for itself in the Portuguese glass, surgical instruments, photographic and electrical apparatus industries, with its capital introduced in this way. West German capital finances the irrigation and afforestation plan of Allentejo province and the construction of the new airports in Lisbon, Porto, Faro and on the island of Madeira. West Germans have also penetrated with their capital into the Cape Verde Islands, especially in the fish processing industry. Even the exploitation of Portuguese emigrants (there are 19,000 Portuguese "guest" workers in West Germany) has become an object of business dealings between the two governments. For every Portuguese worker who goes to the Federal Republic the Bonn government subtracts 80,000 escudoes from the debts of the Portuguese government⁶⁵. (FPLN Bulletin, November 1966)

The "Mixed Commission for German-Portuguese Economic Co-operation" has been in charge of all this economic penetration since 1960. ("Handelsblatt", 1 September 1960; "Industriekurier", 28 February 1961)

Representatives of Abs, Krupp, Siemens etc., are members of this Commission. It is supplemented by the "Permanent German Military Mission" in Portugal headed by General Becker. ("Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin", London, 1, 1965.) It has an important voice in the use of the military budget, which in 1967 constituted 45 per cent of planned government expenditure. (AP, 22, November 1966)

ARMSFORPORTUGAL'S "OVERSEAS PROVINCES"

4,040 million escudos were spent in 1966 for the "defence of overseas possessions", where between 100,000 and 120,000 Portuguese soldiers are now stationed; this sum is to be considerably increased in 1967 because of the "increasing fighting strength of the national resistance groups". Despite four-year service for soldiers, introduction of military service for women, constant increases in taxation, introduction of a defence tax fixed at 10 per cent of income, inflation and other economic measures, Portugal cannot carry this burden alone either financially or from the point of view of personnel. ("Industriekurier", 1 June 1966; "Volksstimme", Vienna, 11 December 1966; AP, 22 November 1966; "Frankfurter Allgemeine", 28 December 1966)

Here West Germany "helps" and also books this money under the heading of "development aid". West German Foreign Minister Schröder negotiated on this in Lisbon in March 1966, agreed on further "bi-lateral co-operation in the military field", and promised that "measures to strengthen the Portuguese economy would be stepped up". (Communiqué on the negotiations, DPA, 27 March 1966)⁶⁶

A few months later Portuguese Foreign Minister Dr. Franco Nogueira negotiated in Bonn on "mutual support within Nato, further West German military and economic support, and more investments in the Portuguese overseas territories". ("Primeiro de Janeiro", Lisbon, 15 October 1966) This "military and economic support" is being given more and more

65 In a similar way the South African Government pays £1 to £1½ for each African forced labourer sent by the Mozambique authorities to work in the Witwatersrand gold mines.

66 Official West German press agency.

openly. Here, too, pseudo-juridical reasons are used to justify it. Portugal claims that its colonies are "overseas territories", provinces of the motherland.

West Germany accepts this "juridical" claim and delivers to its Nato partner Portugal, arms which it naturally uses in the "provinces". The same applies to military trainers, advisers and so on from West Germany, who are being sent in increasing numbers both to Portugal itself and to its "overseas territories".

10,000 modern machine-pistols are known to have been delivered as early as 1962; these were bought by the Bundeswehr in Israel (within the framework of larger arms purchases) and delivered to Mozambique and Angola. ("Spiegel", June 1962, p. 21.)

Sixty F 86 fighter-planes bought in Canada were also re-sold to Portugal, despite the protest of the Canadian government, and used in Angola and Mozambique. The protest, which refered to UN resolutions against supporting colonialism, was brushed aside with the "juridical" argument that Portugal was "just as much a member of Nato as Canada and the Federal Republic", and that "Angola is not a colony but a part of Portugal". ("Tagesspiegel", West Berlin, 17 February 1965; "Kurier", West Berlin, 18 February 1965.)

Meanwhile West German papers have been reporting quite openly on the use not only of F 86 machines but also of F 91 jet fighters from West German Nato stocks, and on "heavy Mercedes-Benz trucks" in the attacks against FRELIMO liberation fighters in Mozambique. ("Stuttgarter Zeitung", 3 September 1966)

After the open participation of West German bombers in the strafing of Djagali village in "Portuguese" Guinea (report by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Isles to the UN 24-Nation Special Committee, 5 June 1966), the Berlin trade-union paper "Tribüne" wrote:

"The manoeuvre ground for training the Federal German Luftwaffe under wartime conditions is obviously to be 'Portuguese' Guinea, Angola and Mozambique." ("Tribüne", 1 July 1966)

Summing up the immediate aims of West Germany in these territories, the Portuguese FPLN wrote that the Federal Republic, free of obligations to the UN, intended at all costs to increase its influence in Angola and Mozambique, two of the richest countries in Africa, and to use as a shield and then take under its own control the strategic, military and economic positions now in the hands of Portugal. (FPLN Bulletin, November 1966)

"EAST ELBIA" 67 IN ANGOLA

The fact that Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach was not only received by Governor-General Coronel Silverio Marques, but was also accompanied by him on his tour of Central and Southern Angola (ANI e. L., 9 November 1965) shows how far this influence extends. The other person accompanying Krupp was Kai von Ahlefeld, Krupp's representative in Angola and a big landowner in Nova Lisboa.

Here, especially in the highlands of Southern Angola, there are no fewer than 1,100 big German landowners, many of whom were expropriated after the war in the course of the democratic land reform which was carried out in East Germany, the present German Democratic Republic, and fled because they feared punishment for their war crimes and brutal treat67 German nickname for the former German territories east of the Elbe river, which were dominated by feudal land-owners. ment of Soviet, Polish and other forced labourers. Today they are making huge profits through the use of forced labour in Angola.

Here, in huge haciendas, sit former German feudal aristocrats like von Richthofen, von Rochow, von Krosigk, von Alvensleben and so forth, notorious representatives of the most sinister reaction against the German people.

In immediately neighbouring South West Africa and South Africa itself, names like von Moltke, von Oertzen and so on, and names like Georg von Opel, owner of big plantations, processing factories, manganese ore mines, building companies, etc., and last but not least Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach himself, link up with families which combine the old feudal aristocracy with aggressive finance and arms capital: representatives of militarism and the "master-race" who twice plunged Germany and the world into war.

They have now got together and are building up a Reich after their own hearts.

The FPLN very rightly warns "that Portugal and the Portuguese colonies are on the way, under Salazar's government, to becoming fiefs of West Germany. This is a problem which must concern not only the Portuguese and the African people, but also all democrats and peace-loving people throughout the world". ("FPLN Bulletin", November 1966)

THE SECRET PACT

This Southern African Reich, the main pillars of which are South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, is also becoming increasingly dangerous from a military point of view to the peoples of Africa and to the peace of the world.

The treaty basis for military co-operation between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa was provided by a secret agreement concluded in Bonn in July 1961.

From 11 July to 14 July 1961, J. J. Fouché, then Defence Minister of South Africa, Mr. de Villiers, his Secretary of State, and Commandant-General P. H. Grobbelaar, then Commander-in-Chief of the South African Armed Forces, negotiated in Bonn with Volkmar Hopf, State Secretary in the West German Ministry of Defence, and the closest associate of Franz-Josef Strauß, at that time Minister of Defence. (At the same time there were parallel talks at Nato HQ in Paris.)

In the final talks with Heinrich von Brentano, West German Foreign Minister, it was decided to keep the agreement secret in order to prevent dangerous reactions both in the independent African states and also in Britain, France and the USA. ("Die Welt", 12 and 15 July 1961; AP, 7 July; "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", 21 July; "Afrika-Post", No. 5, August 1961.)

The task of implementing the secret agreement in South Africa was entrusted by the West German Defence Ministry to Major-General Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin, a military expert on Africa and former member of the General Staff of Hitler's Wehrmacht. He was already living in Johannesburg in South Africa and had done important preliminary work.

Mellenthin is an internationally known military theoritician. His book "Panzer Battles" has been published in a number of languages and is used as a training manual for experts. During the entire North African campaign he served as general staff officer of the Afrika Corps, responsible for intelligence and counter-espionage.

HIS OLD CONNECTIONS

Mellenthin's close contacts with the present rulers of South Africa, who were then working for Nazi intelligence, dates from that period. The files of the Nazi Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Akten betr. "Afrika", Vol. 1., London P.R.O., Washington D.C., Bonn Ser. No. 540, S. 240, 539 ff) contain a top-secret report dated 6 August 1940, stating that the "Ossewa Brandwag" had reported via Lourenco Marques (Mozambique) that it was ready to rise against the Smuts government, which was at war with Nazi Germany, with its 160,000 members and 15,000 soldiers. The Ossewa Brandwag requested active German support, particularly supplies of weapons, and gave details of its plans for a rising. The leadership of the Ossewa Brandwag reported that it awaited "the further dispositions of the German military leadership", and gave detailed espionage information about the strength, stationing and armament of the South African army.

After the war the old Nazi agents of the National Party came to power in South Africa, and in 1950 Mellenthin was sent there on a special mission. Using a traditional method of the German General Staff to conceal his intelligence activities, he founded an air transport company, "Trek Airways", which became the biggest private air company in the country. ("Industriekurier", Düsseldorf, 25 May 1961, special "South Africa" supplement.)

For helpers, Mellenthin could draw on the reservoir of over 2,000 Wehrmacht officers and SS officers who, with the help of Skorzeny's organization, had found refuge in South Africa after 1945 and made careers there mostly under false names. In the years 1949–52 many of these men became officers and instructors in the South African Armed Forces, and others were placed in key positions in the state and the economy.

THE MILITARY CONCEPTION

In 1959–60 leading military figures in NATO, acting in collaboration with South African military circles, demanded that South Africa should be more closely linked with NATO, which should be supplemented by a closelyconnected SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organization). (See the theoretical NATO organ "Revue Militaire Generale", Paris, No. 9, 1959, p. 457.)

Mellenthin, nominally a private citizen, entered the public discussion with well-informed technical arguments and detailed suggestions. In September 1960 Mellenthin published an article in "Afrika-Post" entitled "The military-political position of the countries and territories in the South African area". (Editor of the "Afrika-Post" is H. G. Thormeyer, Nazi journalist who formerly worked in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry.) In this article Mellenthin stressed that SATO was necessary mainly because of the "unreliability" of the newly-formed independent African states and their leaders.

Mellenthin writes: "The first conclusion which the South African countries should draw from the unreliability of the young African states in the military field, is the formation of a SATO, consisting of the Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Angola, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa...

"This SATO area is geographically a favourable defence unit, with the two flank points Mozambique and Angola... "There must be a united leadership provided by a commander-in-chief with a mixed staff, similar to NATO. In addition it must dispose over already-existing mobilised mechanised units consisting of a few brigades; a professional army consisting only of cadres, which only mobilises its forces in an emergency, comes too late. These units must be fully trained and very flexible in close co-operation with available air transport.

"The political leadership of SATO must ensure that the budgets can meet the unavoidable extra costs connected with raising a 'permanent striking power in existence', and that a generous immigration policy increases the reservoir of soldiers for the SATO forces . . . "

"The formation of new independent states in Africa has changed the military situation not only for the South African area, but for the whole world. The West must realise that the military vacuum which has now been created, particularly in Central Africa, and the factor of uncertainty presented by the new native states, means that the Southern African states and territories are the only reliable allies upon whom the West can reckon in a crisis."

Mellenthin concluded his military and political survey with the demand that South Africa should be given "full moral and material support... as long as there is still peace".

After the conclusion of the secret agreement, Mellenthin returned to Johannesburg on 1 November 1961 as "General Director of Lufthansa for the African Continent" ("Afrika-Post", April 1962, No. 1). But his "side-line" was, and remains, the position of military advisor to the government of the Republic of South Africa.

THE "PERMANENT STRIKING FORCE IN EXISTENCE"...

In accordance with one of Mellenthin's theories, a very modern military organization has been developed inside the South African armed forces. Mellenthin demanded that the "military vacuum" in Africa should be filled by the creation of a "permanent striking force in existence". Just such

an aggressive and flexible striking force, directed a gainst the security of the independent states of Africa and the national liberation movements, has been in existence for some time both in the framework of the South African Armed Forces and on a private level, following Mellenthin's proposals. For this purpose units of the "Commandos" were adapted to a new purpose. These are military units of Boers, formed at the time of the Great Trek and the Boer War, and which had the purpose of exterminating, driving out and oppressing the original African population; they have been maintained for these purposes until the present. Some of these were now switched over to suppression of the national liberation movements.

The "State of South Africa Year Book 1963", in the course of a long statement on the modernization of the South African army, has this short passage about these troops: "The Commandos too have been re-organized for more effective action." (Ch. 8, pp. 52–53)

The same source reports that in this connection the number of immediately available professional soldiers has been considerably increased, an effective command structure has been created, that four independent fighting groups and a joint supreme command with the necessary liaison and chain of command installations have been established: in short that all the recommendations made by Mellenthin in 1960 have been put into effect. The "permanent striking force in existence" demanded by Mellenthin has been set up in the form of "mobile air-transportable permanent force combatant units" which, with all their special training installations, are directly under the Army Supreme Command. (ibid. p. 54)

... AND IN ACTION

"Commandos" organised along the lines of Mellenthin's directives, as a part of a permanent striking force in existence for the whole of the South of Africa, were used for the first time in a campaign against the liberation fighters of the Congo.

His superiors took strong exception when Major Mike Hoare, one of the leaders of these marauders, reported on this in the "Sunday Times" of Johannesburg with direct reference to the military methods developed by Mellenthin. ("Sunday Times", 13, 20, 27 December 1964; "Rand Daily Mail", 15 December 1964.)

One of Hoare's colleagues, Major Müller of West Germany, an unscrupulous murderer now notorious as "Congo Müller", was more careful in this respect in a television interview which, as a film entitled "The Laughing Man", has since become widely known. Asked whether he knew about the military regional plans and about General Mellenthin's role in Southern Africa, he replied: "Yes, I do not wish to speak about this here. These are matters which are not quite suitable for the public just now." (Walter Heynowski/Gerhard Scheumann: "Der Lachende Mann", Berlin 1966, pp. 52–54.)

The same interview disclosed that Mellenthin has a nephew, the Junker von Blottnitz, trained in the West German Bundeswehr, who was adjutant to "Congo Müller". Mellenthin thus had someone to report at first hand on how his military theories worked out in practice in Africa.

After these successful tests, the experience gained was also applied-with the help of West German military advisers-to the organization of Rhodesia's army and Portugal's colonial army, in an exchange of military missions and in joint military manoeuvres.

"UNHOLY ALLIANCE"

The "Unholy Alliance⁶⁸ in Southern Africa is spoken about more and more openly.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith told a Portuguese journalist early in May 1965 that it was, after all, an open secret that South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal had for years been exchanging military missions and conducting joint military manoeuvres. ("Southern Africa News Features", London, 16 May 1965)

A few months later Smith stressed in an interview with the US weekly "US News and World Report", that an alliance between Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese possessions Angola and Mozambique was natural and reasonable, not only from an economic but also from a strategic point of view. (AFP, 1 November 1965)

This "Natural" alliance was finally signed in Lisbon in the summer of 1965, in the form of a West German-South African and a West German-Portuguese military agreement. Commenting on this, US news agency UPI remarked that the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia had 68 Title of a pamphlet by Rosalynde Ainslie, published in London in 1962, on the military block being set up in South Africa; it dealt mainly with British support for this bloc, which has since been largely superseded by West German support. reached a military understanding on joint defence of the southern part of Africa governed by whites, according to foreign diplomatic circles in Lisbon. (UPI, report from Lisbon, 13 September 1965)

The negotiations included discussions on how to transfer as unobtrusively as possible the traditional training of officers of the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese armies, from Great Britain to West Germany. The "Rand Daily Mail", which has contacts with British interests, therefore sounded the alarm. In an editorial on the military budget, headed "Too Much Secrecy", it remarked: "We are told that officers are getting the latest training overseas, but we are not allowed to know where." (RDM, 1 June 1965)

But there is something much more important underlying this secrecy. In the above-mentioned report, UPI wrote that according to foreign diplomats, the three governments were doing their utmost to avoid anything which might look like a formal agreement, so as to avoid attacks from African countries.

HERR SCHRÖDER CAUTIOUS... BECAUSE OF HALLSTEIN DOCTRINE

This regard for their reputation on the part of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal especially, appears peculiar. The reason is apparent only when the secret fourth partner, West Germany, is taken into account. A significant incident during the West German-Portuguese negotiations on increased co-operation, especially in the military field, throws further light on this. The Portuguese side asked Schröder (former West German Foreign Minister and present Defence Minister) whether it would not be possible to support Portugal's policy in Africa more openly, from a political point of view as well.

"Schröder replied cautiously to this question. He pointed out that the Federal Republic was primarily interested in two problems in Africa: how to keep the African countries on the side of the West, and especially how to retain the broadest circle of friends for (West) Germany who will support our re-unification policy." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 28 March 1966)

Stripped of its careful evasion, this means that West Germany cannot announce openly what aims it pursues in Africa and with whom it is cooperating towards these ends, because this would seriously endanger or even render impossible both West Germany's neo-colonialist policy in Africa and its annexation policy in connection with the GDR and the Hallstein Doctrine⁶⁹ linked with it.

THE NETWORK OVER AFRICA

In an article: "Is Rhodesia becoming a German Colony?", the Algerian weekly "Revolution Africaine" investigates the economic and military advance of West Germany in Rhodesia, and writes:

"There are now over ten West German officers on the General Staff of the Rhodesian armed forces: about fifty West German officers are working as advisors to infantry units or as instructors in Ian Douglas Smith's Air Force." ("Revolution Africaine", No. 212, 6–13 March 1967)

69 Through its "Hallstein Doctrine", the government of the West German Federal Republic takes upon itself the authority to prescribe to other countries whether or not they are to maintain diplomatic relations with the GDR. It now "permits" the socialist countries of South-East Europe to have such relations, since the West German revanchists believe that this will further their expansionist plans in Europe, the first step in which is intended to be the conquest of the sovereign socialist GDR. The West German Federal government thinks it can still forbid the African countries to have diplomatic relations with the GDR and uses all the financial, diplomatic and other means at its disposal to maintain this neo-colonialist tutelage.

West German military advisers, instructors and so on, are not only active under camouflage in South Africa, but also in the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, particularly Angola. ("Ghanian Times", 30 July 1964)

In addition the West German Federal Republic has already concluded agreements with seven different African states, at all strategic points on the African continent, for the supply of military advisers, instructors, and other military aid. ("Daily Mail", London, 5 June 1964, and other sources.)

More than a year ago the West German M.P. Hans Merten, member of the Bundestag Committee for Advice on Military Aid, revealed in an interview with the "Neue Rheinzeitung" how the young African national states were being hoodwinked. He said:

"These countries wish to have nothing more to do with the former colonial powers, and nothing to do with the world powers, because they fear they will thereby become dependent. For this reason some of them come to us... We always act in agreement with the relevant former colonial power and with the USA." ("Neue Rheinzeitung", 15 June 1963)

ALLIED THROUGH "ADVISERS"?

The "Handelsblatt" (22 December 1966) describes the first aim as "a 'cordon sanitaire' to be set up round militant Black Africa".

It expressly refers to Rupert's activities as "adviser" in Lesotho and to others of this kind in Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland. "If this is successful" the paper adds, "South Africa will suddenly have in the Organization for African Unity and in UNO the votes of four (African) states."

Vorster himself ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 3 September 1965) regards as the weakest link the Republic of Zambia, which adjoins South West Africa through the Caprivi Strip⁷⁰ and whose government, headed by President Kaunda, makes no secret of its sympathy with the liberation fighters in the neighbouring countries of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Angola, Mozambique and even Malawi. Direct pressure is being brought to bear on Zambia. As early as 1965 President Kaunda complained that the South African government had opened a special fund of 10 million rand (five million pounds) to finance activities disruptive of Zambia's economy. ("Star", Johannesburg, 4 September 1965)

This so-called opposition paper did not protest against such practices by the South African government; on the contrary, it supported them and accused Kaunda of confusing cause and effect. If he changed his policy and entered into friendly relations with Rhodesia and South Africa, not only economic but also military pressure against Zambia would stop. ("Star", 4 September 1965)

AIR FIELDS

These military measures include construction of a big "civil" airfield in the Caprivi Strip-with West German help- directly on the Zambian frontier, which "could without doubt also be used in defence against threatened action (by Zambia)". ("Star", 4 September 1965)

It is supplemented by a whole network of sixteen main and 31 smaller airfields which are being built under the supervision of South African Air Force officers trained in West Germany, and are to be used "for more purposes than economic development". (DPA, Hamburg, 23 August 1965)

70 Caprivi was Reich Chancellor (Prime Minister) of the German Empire at the end of the 19th century. He saw to it that the German colony of South-West Africa was linked up with the Zambesi by a narrow strip of land. This strip was already thought of as the first step towards conquering the surrounding territory and setting up a chain of German colonies running right across Africa. These plans came to nothing, as a result of British colonial competition and the defeat of Germany in the First World War. The Caprivi Strip is today thought of as a starting-point for "new" plans of a similar kind.

AGAINST THE "BLACK FLOOD"

All these measures serve not only to bring pressure to bear on Zambia but are also connected with more far-reaching plans. The "Industriekurier" (13 November 1965), organ of the West German monopolies, wrote:

"The courageous rebellion of the white Rhodesians will go down in history as the first milestone after twenty years of overhasty retreat by the white man out of his responsibility towards Africa."

Writing about Rhodesia a month earlier, the same paper said: "Here at last is a white leadership which is determined not to retire and not to strike its colours before the black flood, nor to permit threats by black neighbour states and paper UN resolutions to intimidate it." ("Industriekurier", 16 October 1965)

Propaganda for a "Greater South Africa" in West Germany is by no means limited to racist applause of Rhodesia's white settlers. For years a big South African mobile exhibition has been touring West German cities. Here a glowing picture is painted of the splendid life provided under white rule for the master race in South Africa. The final exhibit is a huge map: "The Future: South African Commonwealth".

The map includes the whole of Southern Africa up to the Congo, and in banking leaflets distributed free the territory to be taken over reaches as far as Kenya, whose favourable high plateau climate is recommended to Europeans. The exhibition is arranged by the "German–South African Cultural Community" and the "South African Foundation", the big South African propaganda organization⁷¹.

The South African exhibition was shown in Marburg in the framework of the West German–South African cultural agreement in January–February 1967, and has since moved on to other places. (AP, 7 February 1967)

SPONSOR WILLI BRANDT

The exhibition was shown in West Berlin in March 1965 "under the auspices of Willi Brandt". ("Deutsche Volkszeitung", Düsseldorf, 26 March 1965)

When West Berlin students protested outside the exhibition against propaganda for the South African racists Willi Brandt, then (acting) Mayor of West Berlin and now West German Foreign Minister, ordered the police out against them. He also directed that senior classes in West Berlin schools be conducted through the exhibition.

In recognition of this, the South African racists presented Brandt's wife Rut with an ostrich-feather stole and an ostrichleather bag. ("Die Welt", West Berlin, 2 March 1965)

His press conferences during an African tour in 1963 indicate that this was not an isolated "faux pas" on the part of present Foreign Minister Brandt. Both in Lagos and in Algiers Brandt objected openly to the boycott of South Africa which had been decided upon by the United Nations and by the OAU countries. (AP, 7 December 1963; "Le Peuple", Algiers, 21 November 1963; "Evening News", Accra, 9 December 1963.)

A "NEW" POLICY⁷²

This propaganda for a Greater South Africa under white rule is being systematically carried on in the entire monopoly press in West Germany. A

71 See Part IV of this Memorandum.

72 See Part I of this Memorandum. significant aspect is the direct parallel which is now being drawn with the expansionist policy towards the GDR and its neighbours pursued by the new Kiesinger/Strauß/Brandt government. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine" for example (16 February 1967), writes under the headline "Vorster Continues Verwoerd's Policy":

"South Africa is sometimes in a similar position to us Germans. Its neighbours are not willing; but this is probably only a matter of time. A sort of common market is developing between South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, the new states Lesotho and Botswana, Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) and Rhodesia. Time heals many wounds; Congo and Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) will join one day . . . and a well-known South African industrialist is even building in Kenya."

In the latest Yearbook of the South Africa Foundation, "South Africa Today 1967", there is also a display of optimism about a "free trade pact of Southern Africa", which is to be built up on the lines of the European Common Market. But there is also "a genuine danger of economic colonialism by the strongest partner". The weaker partners would have to secure their position through assurances in the treaty texts. ("Rand Daily Mail", 16 March 1967)

Vorster himself explained South Africa's "new" policy in a long speech to the white students of Bloemfontein University. "African states need leadership," he said. "We are not settlers –we are part of Africa and we are the most developed state in Africa. We therefore have a duty to Africa and we have to share the fruits of our experience with them. You students are here to develop leadership and to gain knowledge." ("Rand Daily Mail", 20 March 1967)

To the great surprise of the whole of Africa, Vorster took up in the same speech a proposal made by the so-called Progressive Party of South Africa⁷³ which the Nationalist Party under Verwoerd had always categorically rejected. Vorster called for the setting up of a "South African Peace Corps" on the American model. Young South Africans should be encouraged to go as development helpers to the black African countries to assist them by offering their skills and knowledge.

"This is yet another facet-and a highly significant one-of Mr. Vorster's new foreign policy." ("Rand Daily Mail", 20 March 1967)

Commenting on all these new methods, friendly words and offers of help, the African National Congress, the South African liberation movement, wrote:

"The objective of this (new) political line followed by the fascist White minority South African regime in its foreign relations assumes a two-fold character: on the one hand South Africa aims at pacifying international protest and world opinion on apartheid; on the other hand she hopes to gain sympathetic consideration in the OAU and the UN whenever her racist oppression of millions of indigenous people in South Africa is discussed. Thus she would stem the tide of international anti-apartheid pressure and weaken the national liberation movement in Africa, as well as subvert the national independence of those African states who go into the fascist parlour." ("Spotlight on South Africa", Dar es Salaam, 19 April 1967.)

In fact, what Rainer Barzel, leader of the Christian Democratic Party fraction said in the West German Federal Parliament about the very similar policy of the coalition government under Kiesinger in Bonn, applies also to Vorster's new, flexible foreign policy: "Our methods can and must change; our legal, moral and historical positions remain unchanged." (Debate in the Bonn Parliament, 1 February 1967.) 73 Harry Oppenheimer, present head of the Oppenheimer trust, sometimes lays stress on being known as a supporter of this party.



GENOCIDE

But as in the case of Kiesinger in Europe, the old ruthless aims and facts lie behind Vorster's soft words. "A Devilish Plan of Genocide" wrote "Spotlight on South Africa" on 3 February 1967, and described the introduction of a number of measures under Vorster in South Africa aimed at increasing the birth-rate among the whites, including the payment of high maintenance allowances for big families; at the same time, "family planning" measures are recommended for the "non-Europeans"; hundreds of thousands of married couples are separated as a result of pass laws and the enforced year-long absence of the men in the notorious compounds; the "Bantus" are huddled together on 13 per cent of the land, while the white minority (less than 20 per cent of the population) own 87 per cent of the land; and so on and so forth.

All this is hypocritically claimed to be a part of the efforts to combat a "population explosion". Its real aim, however, emerges from the simple fact that "the number of (white) immigrants to South Africa is exactly the same as the natural increase in the existing white population". ("Monatsbericht aus Südafrika", Cologne, September 1966.)

The extreme right wing of the Nationalist Party, which Vorster encourages in every way, wants to speed up these developments and guide them in a definite direction. In March 1967 these people issued a 16-page pamphlet in Johannesburg in which Immigration Minister Trollip (who went over from the United Party to the Nationalists and was formerly an opponent of Vorster) is strongly criticised because of his lax immigration policy. The pamphlet also demands that immigration from Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and South America be stopped, because these immigrants are assimilated into the English-speaking population groups. Instead, immigrants who join the Afrikaans group (such as Germans, Dutch and Flemish and people from the northern countries) should be encouraged. ("Sunday Express", Johannesburg, 12 March 1967)

During the visit of West German Minister of Interior Lücke to South Africa, Trollip then hastened to continue the negotiations on increasing West German immigration which the two had begun during Trollip's visit to West Germany, and which contributed to making 1966 the record year of West German immigration into South Africa. ("Rand Daily Mail", 14 March 1967)

According to all the figures so far available, West German immigration into South Africa, which is being strongly advocated, will in 1967 far exceed the 1966 record.

THE NEW AMERICA

Here the dream of West German Ambassador Strohm inevitably comes to mind, that "in a hundred years fewer blacks will play around than there are Indians chasing buffaloes in the streets of Chicago today⁷⁴", in the high African plateaux whose climate is so favourable for Europeans.

This comparison with the development of a white North America which dominates the rest of the continent is also deliberately used today, especially by the "Industriekurier", the influential monopoly paper which is close to those who received Strohm's letter-Abs and Weigelt, the directors of the Deutsche Bank.

The supplement "Trade Partner South Africa" wrote on 14 March 1967,

74 See Part IV of this Memorandum. under the heading "South Africa-leading industrial country on the continent. It is fully aware of its all-Africa tasks":-"It is interesting to compare how much South Africa and the United States have in common in historical development, social background and original individualism of their people. Both states, each in its own sphere, bear a comparable responsibility."

The pioneers of this policy of aspiring to follow the example of the USA are perfectly aware of the consequences for the peoples of Africa.

When Goldberg, US delegate to UNO, raised in autumn 1966 some demagogic objections to South Africa's racial policy, the "Industriekurier" defended that policy angrily with an attack denouncing Goldberg:

"He (Goldberg) appeared to have forgotten for the moment that 500,000 American Indians–all that the white Americans had permitted to survive since they took possession of the continent–live in reservations without election rights; that civil rights were introduced for American Negroes only after a bloody civil war, and that they are aften only respected today when force is exerted; that in seventeen American states marriage and sexual relations between white and coloured Americans are forbidden." ("Industriekurier", 20 December 1966)

It might be added that the policy of switching from promises of economic co-operation and aid to brutal suppression through military putsches and if necessary through military intervention, played and are still playing a not insignificant role in the history of suppression of the peoples of the American continent under the rule of the North American monopolies.

To achieve this ideal of setting up a "new America" in South Africa which will dominate Africa as a whole, as the USA dominates the American continent, and to do this with the help of the alliance between the racists in South Africa and West German monopoly capital-that is the far-reaching plan concealed behind fine-sounding phrases about a "South African Commonwealth", a "Common Market in Southern Africa", "Independent development of the Bantus", "Economic Co-operative in Southern Africa", etc. ect. In a campaign to recruit West German emigrants to South Africa, the "Industriekurier" wrote:

"South Africa stands where America stood before the First World War, at the stage of an advanced pioneer country. Today, like America at that time, it is the land of unlimited opportunities." (Supplement on "Five years of the Republic of South Africa", 22 March 1966)

CONCLUSION

We have let the facts-almost all quoted from West German and South African sources-speak for themselves.

These prove that

the main enemy of peace and security in Europe-the Federal Republic of (West) Germany-is closely allied in politics, economy, military matters, science and technology with the

main enemy of peace, liberty, national independence and unity in Africathe racist regime in the Republic of South Africa.

These declared enemies of European security and African liberty have together set up an atomic arms pool and are working together on the development of other modern means of mass destruction and the appropriate military organisational forms.

The special Bonn-Pretoria alliance which exists outside NATO increases

West German potentialities and claims to leadership within NATO in Europe. It also strengthens the South African white racists' claim to leadership of the entire continent of Africa. This conspiracy threatens both the peoples of Europe and Africa and the peace of the world.

West Germany is today the main ally of US imperialism, the main pillar of its global anti-peace strategy. Bonn is also trying to enhance the role and the importance of West German imperialism within the framework of this alliance, in order to promote its own imperialist expansion plans.

Not only the alliance with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, which takes first place in this Memorandum, serves this double purpose; there is not a single reactionary, anti-democratic, colonialist or neo-colonialist regime on any continent which is not supported by Bonn-side by side with US imperialism-politically, economically and often militarily as well.

West Germany openly supports the US war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and also assists the puppet regime in Saigon wherever it can.

West Germany is largely responsible for the building up of Israel into an instrument of imperialism which threatens the independence and progress of the Arab countries.

West Germany maintains close friendly relations with Japanese imperialism; Foreign Minister Brandt's visit to Tokyo linked up directly with the traditions of Hitler's Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

West Germany sent its President on a visit to the reactionary Pak regime in South Korea and granted the oppressors of the South Korean people credits running into hundreds of millions of marks.

West Germany works with Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, with Stroessner in Paraguay and with Franco in Spain-to mention only three especially crass examples from three continents.

And in view of all this it is almost a matter of course that the Bonn government was the first to recognise the monarcho-fascist putsch regime in Greece.

All these are telling facts which cannot be concealed by even the cleverest diplomatic double-dealing. So long as Hitler was preparing his plans for a re-distribution of the world, including detailed plans to rule Africa as a colony, he also camouflaged his activities by means of talk about peace, just as the West German imperialists camouflage their activities by means of talk about peace, the right to self-determination and international friendship.

When Hitler considered himself strong enough, he said openly, on 10 November 1938:

"Circumstances have forced me for decades to talk of almost nothing but peace. Only by constantly stressing the German will to peace and our peaceful intentions have I been able to give the German people, piece by piece, the equipment needed again and again as the condition for the next step forward."

(Documents of the Auschwitz Trial, p. 83)

Hitler's plans for a re-distribution of the world in the interests of the German monopolies failed because of the strength and unity of the peoples –under-estimated by Hitler, Abs and Krupp–and especially because of the heroic resistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The expansionist plans of Hitler's successors in America, Europe and Africa will also fail, because these gentlemen again under-estimate the strength and vigilance of the peoples.

West German imperialism, to

spread the knowledge amongst the peoples of all continents that, after the USA and in alliance with US imperialism, West Germany has become the second centre of aggressive imperialism, will help strengthen peace and freedom amongst the nations.

This Memorandum is also intended as a contribution to this end.

In Europe the German Democratic Republic-closely allied with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries in Europe-permanently blocks the West German imperialists' road to the east.

The united front of all anti-imperialist peoples and countries, especially the united front of the national liberation movements and independent countries of Africa with the peace-loving, anti-imperialist German Democratic Republic can and will destroy the Bonn-Pretoria conspiracy and prevent any expansion by the West German imperialists and their South African allies both in Europe and in Africa.

The German Democratic Republic arose in the struggle against the German imperialists and colonialists who twice, because of their predatory aims, set the world in flames and plunged the German people into catastrophe.

We citizens of the German Democratic Republic, guided by our socialist convictions and our national interests, are unshakable allies of the African peoples who are fighting against the African racists and their West German partners.

We regard it as a national task to safeguard peace in Europe and to prevent war and suppression of other peoples from ever again starting from German soil.

Berlin, May 1967

Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR

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