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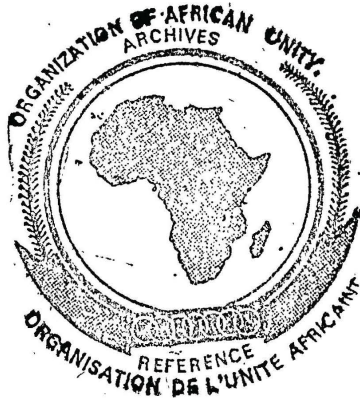
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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON SANCTIONS

AGAINST THE RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH

AFRICA



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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON SANCTIONS AGAINST
THE RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA

Since its inception in 1963, the Organization of African Unity has been confronted with many problems particularly as regards the de-colonization of the African continent and its liberation from all forms of racial discrimination including apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid is, in fact, the most despicable and most ignominious form of racism. This is why it is condemned by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, in short by the entire International Community as an aberration, a crime against humanity and a permanent threat to world peace and security. There is no need to expatiate on the odious nature of apartheid because the whole world is now aware of the atrocities and humiliation that this reactionary and immoral regime inflicts upon the non-white population simply on grounds of colour. The cruelty of apartheid is felt by the world community and especially by all the peace-loving and law-abiding peoples of all continents who have undertaken to eliminate it entirely by every possible means.

It is for this reason that the United Nations Organization has, for many years, adopted innumerable decisions calling on the South African regime to put an end, through peaceful means, to the inhuman and vile practices of apartheid. The Organization of African Unity acted likewise. All these appeals proved ineffectual and fruitless. Boycott measures decided upon against the apartheid regime have been the pretext that the sanctions against South Africa were not mandatory. The Organization of African Unity regards the total and general embargo against the abominable regime of apartheid as mandatory and whoever maintains diplomatic, economic, trade, cultural, sporting or other links with the South African regime is an enemy of Africa and violates its laws. This is obvious and there should be no mistake about. In any case, those who break the sanctions against South Africa by invoking unfounded motives are the very ones who, at the United Nations, have twice blocked by a triple veto, the Security Council's decision to impose mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime under the terms of Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

This triple veto from a group of states on whom devolves, according to the Charter itself, the responsibility to ensure world peace and security shows once again the anachronistic and unjust nature of the right of veto. The excessive use of the right of veto will merely increase the disappointment and indignation of the Namibian and South African people as Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania declared before the Security Council during its meeting of Tuesday 19 October, 1976. In fact, if the Western Powers, led by the United States of America, Great Britain and France systematically adopt a favourable attitude towards the South African regime, it is because they maintain close relations with the latter, based on substantial economic interests.

1. Diplomatic Relations and Political Contacts.

The South African regime should be isolated because of its apartheid policy until it comes to reason and decides to put an end to the said policy. It is forbidden for any country to have diplomatic relations at any level with that regime. Unfortunately, there are countries which continue to have diplomatic relations with the Pretoria regime.

1) Countries which have relations with the apartheid regime at diplomatic or consular level

EUROPE:

Austria

Belgium

Federal Republic of Germany

Spain

Finland

France: This country reportedly decided in May, 1976 to strengthen its diplomatic mission in South Africa owing to the scope of relations between Paris and Pretoria (Commission of Enquiry on Apartheid, Paris).

Greece

Italy

Netherlands

Portugal

Sweden

Switzerland

Great Britain

Northern Ireland

Inter-Governmental Committee for European migration.

NORTH AMERICA

United States of America

Canada

OCEANIA

Australia

MIDDLE EAST

Israel

AFRICA

Malawi

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina^a

Brazil

Chile (since 1975)

Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia are reportedly about to establish diplomatic relations. The Ethiopian Herald of 4/9/76 announced that Bolivia intended to open an embassy in South Africa because of the close

ties between these two countries in the field of mining technology.

2. Political Contacts

Despite the violation of sanctions, the South African regime has seriously felt the effect of the isolation measures taken against it by the International Community. "The South African regime", writes "Objective Justice" of October-November-December 1975, "has launched a vigorous campaign for diplomatic and propaganda purposes to develop high level contacts! The importance accorded to propaganda", the magazine adds "has been reflected by an increase in the budget of the information department which exceeded 10 million rands in 1975/1976 i.e. an increase of approximately one-third as compared to the previous year! It would also appear that in 1975 the Ministry of Information launched a "a large scale and costly propaganda campaign" by publishing a questionnaire which featured in May 1975 in the British, French, American and Australian newspapers costing a total of 132,927.92 rands.

That questionnaire which was very significant and whose contents we need not comment upon, ran as follows:

1. Can an Organization such as NATO have a base in Simonstown (South Africa)?
2. Can the next Olympic Games be held in Pretoria (South Africa)?
3. Can the Economic Commission for Africa have its Headquarters in Johannesburg (South Africa)?

It is obvious that this questionnaire was intended to conceal the real problem of South Africa and divert the attention of international public opinion from the misdeeds of apartheid.

A good deal of this propaganda campaign is devoted to invitations and trips of important personalities. In 1974, for example, 664 influential persons were guests of the South African Government. According to the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, his Department invited 100 personalities to South Africa in 1975. Among the guests, according to Objective Justice of October-November-December 1975 "were the President of Paraguay and high or former dignitaries of the Government of the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Argentina".

During that year, the Ministry of Information invited 164 persons from South America, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Western Europe, United States, Canada and Japan. As Asians, the Japanese who logically ought to suffer the same fate as their brothers of colour in South Africa are given a special status and assimilated with the whites.

charm"

Under the heading "Pretoria's paying" / the weekly Jeune Afrique No. 840 of 11 February 1977 announced that "For one year now, the South African Government has been intensifying its efforts to improve its image in the United States". To this end, a group of South African businessmen called "South Africa Foundation" was established, and invited, at its own expense, a large number of prominent persons to visit their country.

According to the same issue of Jeune Afrique, the producer, Bernard Beame, son of the Major of New York received from two South African associations approximately 1.2 million French francs to do two films on South Africa. Another tourist organization "SATOUR" ordered a propaganda film, the background music of which will be done by the French singer AZNAVOUR (Sunday Times of Johannesburg, 5 September 1976).

According to Objective Justice of October, November, December 1975, six members of the American Congress and six members of the British Parliament visited South Africa in January 1975 at the invitation of a Pretoria businessman.

Finally, according to the Burundi daily "Flash Infor" of 11/2/76 "On Wednesday, the Association of Journalists accredited to the American State Department expelled from its ranks, Reverend Les Kinsolving for campaigning for the South African cause in the United States in return for payment. It rightly concluded that "the Kinsolving affair" was indicative of the intensity of the South African propaganda in the United States, through films, television, radio and the press" and that "the Pretoria Government spent thousands of millions of dollars in America to protect its interests". This is also the opinion which emerged from the seminar on apartheid and racial discrimination organized jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in May 1976 in Havana, Cuba. Regarding the promotion of political relations with the outside world, the Havana seminar pointed out, not without justification that "faced by growing opposition to its policies both internally and externally, the South African regime has intensified its propaganda campaign directly mainly at Western countries and their populations.

Besides the official agencies, private organizations such as the South Africa Foundation, the Club of Ten, the Committee for Fairness in Sport and the Foreign Policy Association are being used in order to propagate apartheid".

II. Economic Relations

The South African regime is, no doubt, the leading economic power in Africa. Admittedly the South African power rests on the immense natural resources of the South African territory but it is also and above all, the result of relations between the Western powers and the apartheid regime.

1. Trade Relations

Trade with South Africa is very intensive despite the international sanctions against it. The South African regime maintains flourishing trade relations mainly with the capitalist world, namely the countries of Western Europe in particular the Nine Members of the Common Market and Switzerland, the countries of North America, Israel and Japan. Thanks to such relations and also to the shameless exploitation of African workers who are paid salaries which are far below the services rendered, the South African regime is actually the first economic power in Africa.

In many areas, "Right and Freedom" No. 352 of October, 1976 ironically states "South Africa can claim to be the leading state in Africa. It is the highest industrialized country of the Continent, also the first "Christian" country of Africa, the chief military power and so on. But its economic development is matched by a moral on political backwardness such that it appears the most retrogressive and monstrous fossil of colonialism and slavery". This is all the more true as the main supporters of this regime are recruited for the most part, from among the old colonial powers who are nostalgic over the past. According to statistics published in 1975, in South Africa there are 630 British, 1449 Americans, 132 West German, 85 French and 150 other companies belonging to capitalist states.

According to apartheid No.4 of May 1978, trade between South Africa and France represents 9% of South Africa's total trade with Europe. France holds third position after West Germany (37%) and Great Britain 36%. A recent survey carried out by Mr. Dave Stot, a militant of the New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement, places Great Britain in second position in South Africa's trade, with about 25% of its foreign trade. The South African Sunday Times of 29 August 1976 reckoned that "Great Britain is South Africa's main trading partner".

The United States has also become one of South Africa's main trading partners. Indeed, between 1965 and 1975, trade between the United States and the Pretoria regime has tripled, reaching 2,200 million dollars which represents approximately 14% of its trade with the whole of Africa. The United States obtain from South Africa 58% of its uranium, 44% of its manganese and 36% of its cobalt requirements.

In 1973, the share of the Federal Republic of Germany represented 12% of its trade with the entire African continent; this share has since increased rapidly to nearly 40%. The Federal Republic of Germany purchases 54% of its manganese, 46% of its copper, 40% of its uranium and 29% of its chrome from the South African regime. In return, the racist South African regime obtains arms, ammunition, heavy equipment, technology and so forth.

However, it is trade between South Africa and Japan which has intensified at extraordinary rate. It has risen by more than 500% since the 1960's, from 100 million dollars to nearly 600 million. Japan now has nearly 100 firms established in South Africa. All these economic activities explain, as was mentioned earlier, the fact that the Japanese have a special status in South Africa which is not granted to other Asians.

Among South Africa's trading partners, France occupies a special position. This country, which represented for centuries, the ideals of equality, freedom and fraternity is today indulging in the most sordid form of mercantilism. It has sacrificed its age-old moral grandeur for sordid immediate interests. France knows better than any other country the importance of freedom and the value of human dignity. It is aware of the horrible and humiliating conditions in which the non-white population of South Africa lives. Despite this, France has set itself up as the staunch defender, both in word and in deed, of apartheid because of the material gains it derives from the latter. "Apartheid No. 4 of May 1976 indicates that trade between South Africa and France represents 8% of South Africa's total trade with Europe.

This percentage may appear insignificant to notices but one should not be deceived by this because trade between South Africa and France is transacted in products of very great strategic importance (see Chapter on military relations) and is increasing at a scandalous rate. It should be mentioned here that most arms sales which, for France, is by far the most important is not recorded. In 1974, France was the sixth largest supplier of South Africa after the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, United States of America and Japan (Le Monde of 1 June 1976).

"Apartheid No. " of June 1976, referring to South African sources, said that "French exports during the last quarter of 1975 increased by 71.6% as compared to the corresponding period of 1974".

For its part, "Africa" No. 65 of January 1977, writes that Franco - South African trade totalled 700 million dollars in 1975, or increase of 28% between 1968 and 1975. In the very near future these figure could exceed the record sum of

one million dollars if not more, when one considers that France will gain 1,000 million dollars from the nuclear contract alone.

Development of Trade between France and South Africa
(in Frs. million) 1 US \$ = 4.95 FFrs

<u>Year</u>	<u>French Imports</u>	<u>French Exports</u>
1975	980	1,070
1974	1,209	1,678
1975	1,234	1,815
1976	1,406	2,021

Jan/November

Some of the main contracts concluded recently supply show the volume of such trade and the sectors in which it is most intensive.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Type of Contract</u>	<u>Price in million FFrs</u>
1975	- 4 AIRBUS planes	176
	- 1 cement plant	13
	- water pipes	66
	- water for Pietermaritzburg	11
	- underground tunnel for Hydraulic plant	18
	- rails and other equipment for railroad	21
	- electrogenous units for ships	16
1976	- oxygen plant	560
	- nuclear plant (2 reactors)	6,000
	- equipment for thermal plant	100
	- 10 locomotives	10

NB. Sources: Commission of Enquiry on Apartheid - Paris

Another of South Africa's main trading partners is Israel which falls under a special category. Relations between Israel and the Apartheid regime deserves special mention because these relations are deep-rooted owing to the very essence and nature of the two regimes. Is there any need to recall that the Zionist State of Israel and the Apartheid regime were created out of nothing by international imperialism and are the imaginary bastard offsprings whom it must constantly protect against the International Community? It is therefore not surprising that these two regimes maintain substantial trade relations.

Between 1971 and 1975, the volume of trade between the regimes tripled. In 1975 it totalled about 1.0 billion dollars. Israel imports many products including steel, sugar and industrial semi-finished products and raw materials for its nuclear plants. South buys the following products from Israel:

- Textiles,
- Clothing,
- Fertilisers,
- electronic and military equipment,
- "Kefir" aircraft and "Gabriel" missiles.

The New York Times of 18 April 1976 reports that South African products are not subject to discriminatory measures on the Israeli market which even serves, when necessary, as cover-up for the South Africa label. For instance, South Africa textiles intended for sale in black African countries are dispatched to Israel, processed in that country and then sold with the label "made in Israel". Apart from these trade relations, the whole world should know and understand that those two bastard regimes represent a serious threat to Africa and the Arab world because the one in the North and the other in the South of the Continent are the faithful watchdogs of international imperialist interests.

New Zealand also plays an important role in the economic support of the Apartheid regime. In 1974 and 1975, New Zealand imports from South Africa totalled 11, 961, 970 dollars and its exports totalled 15, 730, 792 dollars for the same period. Trade between New Zealand and the South African regime covers many products, mainly:

- Alcoholic beverages (wines, Brandy, etc.)
- Nuts,
- Fertilisers,
- Petroleum products,
- Chemical products,
- Timber,
- Bricks, metal, sheets, nails etc.
- Metal products (steel, iron, iron rods etc.)

The volume of such trade and other economic activities which procure fabulous interest for the capitalist world explains the attitude of certain States towards the problem of Apartheid. At the UN, as in other international bodies, it is always the same countries that oppose the application of sanctions thus giving their moral and political support to the Apartheid regime. The last UN General Assembly condemned those countries in unequivocal terms, referring to them by name. They are: the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, France, Israel and Japan. These countries are the main trading partners of the South African regime. It is also these countries which co-operate closely with that regime in the nuclear and military fields (see Chapter on military and nuclear co-operation).

Investments and their Financing

Owing to its nature and to the operational structures it has set up, the South African racist regime has attracted considerable investments.

The international capitalist monopolies, solely motivated by the desire to amass as much profit as possible, are placing enormous sums in the search for labour and conditions which guarantee higher returns. These investments are mostly from capitalist countries mainly those of Western Europe, North America and Oceania as well as Japan and Israel. The South African Reserve Bank (National Bank of South Africa) states that for the 1974/1975 fiscal year, 2,110 million dollars was invested in South Africa. This is an understatement intended to deceive public opinion because, according to information contained in a document prepared by a seminar on investments in South Africa organized in Busseldorf (Federal Republic of Germany), on 4 November 1976, foreign investments in South Africa represent 18,000 million dollars. The main sources of these investments are:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Amount (in US\$ million)</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
(The Nine) Common Market countries	9,750	55%
Other European countries	1,200	3%
North and South America	2,550	17%
African countries	450	3%
Asia	250	2%
Others	800	5%
TOTAL	18,000	100%

The UN/CIU seminar organized in Havana (Cuba) in May 1978 on Apartheid, noted that "South Africa has been the recipient of vast increases in investment by foreign interests, in particular, the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, and Iran".

The Federal Republic of Germany alone provides the South African regime with a total of 23 million dollars in direct investments and 1,332 million dollars in indirect investments, i.e., 12% of all foreign investments. In future, the flow of West German investments in South Africa will reach 1,200 dollars per annum.

A number of German firms have established branches in South Africa in order to facilitate their investments. A few years ago, there were only about a hundred but today there are more than 400 without including those operating in Namibia. For historical and racial reasons, Great Britain still provides the largest share of foreign investments in South Africa despite a very marked drop in volume as a result of the economic recession which has hit that country in recent years. British firms finance more than 80% of the foreign investments in South Africa. (Study carried out by the Wellington Anti-Apartheid Committee).

International Oil Companies of British origin are investing enormous sums in mining since the Arab States' decision of 1973 to impose an oil embargo against the South African regime. Shell and B.P. recently announced their plan to invest 200 million dollars in the mining sector. Shell apparently intends to invest, if it has not yet done so, the sum of 200 million dollars for a pipe-line linking the coal mines of Rand and Richard-Bay. Shell is also building a "polypropylene" plant in Durban worth 48 million dollars with 2% of the funds being provided by B.P. These two Companies invest about 100 million dollars each year.

The five main international Companies namely: Shell, B.P., Mobil, Caltex and Total have invested more than 6.0 million dollars (Africa No.88 of January 1977).

The share of American investments in South Africa is considerable especially as they are going at a rapid rate. Twenty years ago, American investments in South Africa hardly exceeded 500 million dollars. In 1970 they stood at 1 billion and have today reached nearly 2 billion. The "Monde Diplomatique" of September, 1975 reported that nearly half of American investments in Africa were in South Africa, i.e. 1.5 billion dollars in 1974 with a rapid growth of 20%. "Le Monde" of 4 April 1974 even went further by saying that out of the 3000 million dollars invested by the United States in sub-Saharan Africa, 50% was for South Africa.

In its July 1976 issue, the bulletin of the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Committee confirmed these figures by stating that "the United States invested more than 1500 million dollars in South Africa". This is also the opinion of the French daily "Le Monde" of 4/9/76 which revealed that although the arms embargo against Pretoria has been observed by the United States since 1964 (no companion is possible in this respect with France's attitude), American capital is still being invested in South Africa (reaching a total of 1.8 billion dollars today)

A major American firm "Tsumeb Corporation alone invested nearly 30 million dollars and, approximately 90% of the returns on minerals comes from this firm and from the "De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mine. According to a report submitted in 1975 by Reverend SCOTT to the United Nations " in 1972, three major mining Companies in Namibia had made 92 million dollars profit of which 9 million went to U.S. citizens.. It appears that more than half of the total profits made in Namibia in 1972 went to investors from the United States, United Kingdom, and South Africa. Fifteen big American Companies operate in Namibia and are mercilessly bleeding that country by systematically looting its natural resources and pitilessly exploiting the Namibian workers. The foreign firms invested in Namibia more than 100 million dollars which represents about 53% of the total investments in that country, the rest being reserved for the South African regime. There are too many interests linking the United States and South Africa; so much so that according to "Le Monde of 14/9/76" "Washington's main objective, regardless of what the officials say, cannot be to fight actively against Apartheid or even against the white racist regimes in the region. First,, because the United States and other Western powers have been well paid for their support so far and, secondly, because they will never be able to apply themselves to this task as vigorously as the black Africa or Socialist countries. There are too many economic interests militating against this and there is also a sort of unexpressed solidarity of race and civilization.

The American banks given below are the main suppliers of large loans for investments in South Africa.

BANK	AMOUNT IN U.S\$	RECIPIENT
Citibank	200,000,000	ESCOR
	80,000,000	ISCOR
	130,000,000	Richards Bay Minerals
	20,000,000	South African Broadcasting Corporation
	110,000,000	South African Government
First National Chicago	110,000,000	South African Government
Manufactures Hanover	200,000,000	ESCOR
	30,000,000	POSCOR (phosphate Corporation)
Morgan Guaranty	200,000,000	ESCOR
	75,000,000	South African Railways
	110,000,000	South African Government

Source: Press Release of 24 January 1977,
Council of Churches, New York.

France is one of the major investors in South Africa. French investments are among the most dangerous since they are mostly in strategic areas which proves that the aim is not profit alone. According to "Apartheid No." of May 1976 "Le Societe Generale and the Financetrade company recently merged to form a new Company called FIMEXTRA, for the promotion of Franco-South African trade through investment. The aim of FIMEXTRA is apparently to introduce into South Africa French technology and know-how and then to export patents and mechanical equipment. A French Committee called "Justice and Peace" urgently appealed to the French Government in these terms; "the role played by France very often constitutes an obstacle to the initiatives launched in several countries for European withdrawal from South Africa". For instance, the Netherlands decides not to supply submarines to South Africa and immediately the French industrial circles make a deal. The British Government decides to take into consideration the UN embargo on arms supplies to South Africa and immediately French sales of arms to that country is stepped up". The most recent example is France's supply of a nuclear plant to the South Africa regime for one billion U.S dollars.

All in all, nearly 100 made French firms have made direct investments in South Africa. Since 1970, French investments have doubled. According to estimates from the "Centre Francais du Commerce Exterieur" and "Marches Tropicaux", French investments in South Africa rose from 442 million rands in 1970 to 818 million rands in 1976.

French investment policy in South Africa is extending more and more to the Bantustans. This explains to a large extent, the presence of 8 French deputies at the ceremony of the so-called independence of Transkei which is part and parcel of the South African Territory. The January-March 1976 of Apartheid No. reported that among the tasks assigned to the newly established French-South African FIMEXTRA referred to earlier, ^{that} there is also the implementation of turn-key projects for the Bantu national homelands. Under pressure from the Western countries,

which live in constant fear of communism which they see everywhere, certain Latin American countries are establishing political and economic relations with the South African regime thus breaching the moral contract linking the Third World Family against all forms of exploitation and foreign domination. In August 1976, Paraguay and Uruguay officially received Prime Minister Vorster.

By receiving the biggest hangman of the South African people, these two countries have given considerable support to Apartheid. Regarding economic relations the Latin American Newsletter of 17 December 1976 quoted by "Le Monde Diplomatique" of March 1977 observed that "the economic and technical relations between South Africa and Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay are still on the increase". At the end of October 1976, 4 different groups of South African financiers and industrialists undertook an exploratory mission to these countries to discuss loan, mining and ship and aircraft building projects. Most Latin American countries are attracted by South African gold. An Agence France Presse cable dated 4/9/76 reported for instance that, "Bolivia intended to open an Embassy in South Africa, despite its rejection of apartheid, as it is interested in South African mining technology."

Bolivia like all other Latin American states, has its eye on South African gold and diamonds.

The South African regime and the Zionist state of Israel have important relations, due to special reasons already pointed out. These relations are ^{manifestations,} among other things, in the enormous mutual investments. South African investments in Israel which already existed for a long time have rapidly increased since 1971, with the South African decision to relax and control and regulation of direct investments of South African companies in Israel, today, South African companies may invest up to 32 million rande in Israel, and all facilities have been granted since the South African Prime Minister's visit to Israel in April 1976.

relations between the two regimes were consolidated by a series of agreements, some of which are already being implemented.

Israeli investments in South Africa however, are relatively modest. In 1976 Israel invested 2.5 million rands in South Africa, mainly in the sectors of agriculture and chemical industry.

For further information on the subject, the United Nations sub-Apartheid Committee published document No. 5/77 of February 1977, containing very detailed and useful information.

The information on the economic ties between certain countries and South Africa, reveal that the latter owes its survival to the continued moral and political support, and economic aid received from the outside world.

All over the world, this state of affair is being condemned. Anti-Apartheid movements scattered throughout the world, are taking dynamic action to break the economic alliance between the Apartheid regime and their respective countries. In France, movements fighting racism, racial discrimination and Apartheid constantly threaten South African interests. Groups for action against Apartheid have sprung up in numerous French cities to wage a vigorous campaign, using slogans, such as: No to French investment in South Africa, No to White immigration to South Africa, No to South African propaganda in France, No to sport, cultural or tourist links between France and South Africa. (According to Apartheid No: of May 1976).

The Anti-Apartheid movement in the Netherlands keeps public opinion there, regularly informed of the true situation in South Africa, and discourages all Dutch businessmen who would like to invest in South Africa.

It is thanks to the dynamic action of this movement, that certain Dutch Companies have been condemned by national courts for violating sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

The New Zealand "Anti-Apartheid Committee" is particularly active. It is waging a vigorous campaign against South African propaganda and interests in New Zealand; and there are a few of the thousands of slogans used "Do not buy Apartheid, boycott South African products." "Boycott South African tobacco, cigars and cigarettes". "Boycott South African Mines," "Mine for New Zealand = African blood". etc... Other Anti-Apartheid movements, Irish, British, German, Belgian, Italian and American, are taking remarkable action in their respective countries. In Africa, the African Committee for Trade Union Co-ordination and Action against Apartheid and Colonialism, whose headquarters is in Kinshasa, is constantly mobilising and alerting African opinion to the need for concrete and direct action against South African interests, and particularly against international airlines and shipping companies which have activities both in Independent Africa and South Africa. (see chapter on air-links).

Though it may be true that such actions are minimal if compared to the immense means deployed to perpetuate the apartheid regime, it is nonetheless true that these actions affect the South African economy. They should be encouraged to develop, so that South African interests, wherever they may be, will feel threatened. Racist Prime Minister John Vorster, in 1972 (Johannesburg Star of 23/9/1972) said that, "everytime a South African product is bought, another brick is added to the wall of our existence," A boycotted South African product will inversely contribute, however little, to the elimination of Apartheid.

III Cooperation in the Military and Nuclear fields

1. Arms Supply to the South African Regime

There is no doubt that the South African Regime is the leading Military power on the African Continent. It has acquired a force for internal regression and external aggression and the consequences are liable to impair peace in Africa, especially in the Southern part of the Continent.

The reason for this frantic arms race is well known to the whole world. A regime which is as unjust as apartheid and condemned everywhere in the world can only maintain power by imposing its laws and silence by force. Without this force, it would be impossible for it to resist the popular rage and face the liberation struggle which is being escalated in both the bush and the big cities where serious upsurges of violence of ill conceal the existence of a threatening and organised urban guerilla.

In an article entitled "the dynamics of conflicts in Southern Africa" published in "Le Monde Diplomatique" of November 1976, Rene LEFORT very rightly remarked that "the explosion which has hit the urban areas, the very seat of power and affluence of the World of the whites, has swept away the false and unfounded beliefs and dogmas."

This observation is very relevant because prior to the Soweto events and despite the Sharpeville warning which was founded fifteen years earlier, white supremacy was presented as "an unalterable fact against which the most careful analysis allowing for the possibility of a confrontation within the South-Africa Society could not stand"

Who then is responsible for the defence of the apartheid regime by supplying it with arms and strengthening its repressive force and defence against attacks by the oppressed and exploited people?

The western powers and israel which have immense economic interests in South Africa contribute actively to the supply of arms to the South African regime. A large number of various types of arms are shamelessly being flooded on the South African market despite the United Nations embargo on the supply of arms and military equipment to the barbarian Pretoria regime. Indeed the United States of America and western countries in general continue to tighten their links with Pretoria in spite of the intensification of apartheid within the South African territory as evidenced by the 42% increase in the defence budget of 1976, 25% of 1977 and the adoption, immediately before the Soweto uprising, of the law on "internal Security."

A simple analysis of the budget of the South African regime, its development in recent years and, especially, the arms supply suffices to help assess better the extent of the problem and the serious nature of the threat it poses to the World because of the involvement of certain powers and the inevitable intervention of other opposing powers on the side of the oppressed people.

Between 1974 and 1975, the South African defence budget increased by 100%. It rose to 948 Million rands during the 1975/76 financial year, or 36% more than the previous year, 18% of the total budget and 3,7% of the GNP, (objective: Justice of October, November and December 1975). For 1976, the South African defence budget went up by 42%, or a total of 1,352 Million rands, which represented 1/6 of the national budget. The total military budget for the 1977 financial year will increase to 1,800 million rands, or an increase of 448 million rands more than the current financial year. The Pro-Government daily of Johannesburg "The Citizen" which published this information further emphasised that the rise was meant for building up "sophisticated military equipment" to forestall any possible United Nations embargo.

Such a rapid increase in the defence budget of the South African regime meets a priority need of the Pretoria authorities to carry out in five years, a defence programme which should normally be implemented over a period of 10 years, beginning from 1974. The South African racists are seriously deceiving themselves because this budget does not in any way discourage the freedom fighters who, on the contrary, are more than ever determined to liberate their father land at all costs.

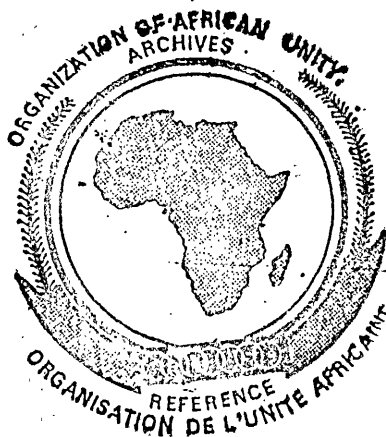
Everyone knows the source of the arms which are flooding South Africa. The Seminar held in Havana, Cuba, in May 1976 under the auspices of the United Nations and the OAU recognized that "South Africa allies, in this (military) field, and especially France, the United Kingdom the United States of America, Federal Republic of Germany and Italy have helped this regime to manufacture several arms locally". This Seminar whose international importance is well known condemned the predominant role played by "the major the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) powers which are increasing their military collaboration with South Africa."

Apart from the western powers which are NATO members, it should be emphasised that the latter, as an organization, bears responsibility, before history, for granting the apartheid regime technical facilities and revealing the secret of its code system of its military equipment. Under increased pressure from NATO and some of its members the South African regime very actively took steps to tighten its military and other relations with some Latin American States. It also maintains military relations with the zionist regime of Israel and this is well known. These relations have increased further since the 1973 war and especially, since the visit last year by the South African Prime Minister to Israel. The chairman of the Special Committee against apartheid H.E. Ambassador Harriman, in a statement on 10 September 1976 in New York, expressed "the greatest concern of his committee over the development of the apartheid regime's military build-up thanks to the collaboration of certain Western countries and Israel."

Today, France is the main arms supplier to the South African regime. Since the Great Britain's reduction in its sale of arms to South Africa following the United Nations embargo, France has gradually come to occupy the first place. The June 1976 "Apartheid: No" emphasised the ^{fact} that "France is the number one arms and military equipment supplier to South Africa". However, the French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing had announced in 1975 that his country "will reduce its arms sale to South Africa" His predecessor, the French Head of State, George Pompidou, had made similar promises a few years earlier. All these promises which, as was observed later, were only pure and simple deceit, had never been respected and France continues today, as in the past, to pour arms into South Africa.

Franco-South-African Military Cooperation dates several years back but took a special turn since 1960 with the signing of several agreements on arms supply and manufacture in South Africa itself of tanks and automatic machine-guns under French licence. These agreements enabled South Africa "to acquire the most sophisticated arms, train its own technicians and to set up an arms manufacturing industry which is one of the most advanced in the world." (Right and Freedom of September 1975). Despite the assurances made by the French President Mr. Valery Giscard d'Estaing during his visit to Kinshasa, Republic of Zaire, several French arms and military equipment were delivered to South Africa. They included four air-buses for military use, 3 daphné sub-marines and 169 corvettes for anti-sub marine combat.

Added to this, is the manufacture under licence, of helicopters, mirages, AMX tanks and 75 mm guns. A document prepared by one the French movements against racism and apartheid, "MRAA" and published on 29 January, 1977 made mention of certain current deliveries.



These included:

- F.1 Marcel-Bassault Mirage fighter bombers assembled under licence in South Africa. The first samples out of the 48 ordered were recently delivered to the Pretoria Air Force.
- Four air buses which can be used not only to convey troops quickly to distant operation areas but also, when properly converted to refuel Mirages in flight.
- Two Agosta sub-marines in addition to the LAFNE.
- EXOCET sea to sea missiles. They will be mounted on Vedettes delivered by Spain.
- Two AVISOR of 1,200 tons to combat enemy sub-marines equipped with EXOCET missiles.

The South African Minister of Defence Mr. Botha was therefore perfectly right in asking pathetically: "What would South Africa be today without France?" (Le Monde diplomatique of April 1976). This feeling is fully shared by the French authorities who believe that "South Africa is an asset which must be kept running." (Statement by Mr. Rene SERVOICE, a Senior Official of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

According to "Right and Freedom" of September 1975 "The Bank of France has for a long time been granting annual loans of 180 million dollars at 6.5% interest to South Africa for the purchase of arms."

By so doing, France strengthens considerably the repressive capacity of the apartheid regime. It therefore bears full responsibility for the situation of injustice and exploitation prevailing in South Africa and especially for the continued massacre of innocent people.

"Right and Freedom" of July and August 1976 explained in the following terms France's responsibility: "A child is running, the police comes to position, aims and shoots and kills under the humming of "ALCANTER" helicopter. French made tanks and helicopters are used to kill children who are in forceful demonstrations" This is not a simple invented story to move sympathetic hear it is a fact, yet, a daily occurrence which requires serious consideration.

France is and remains admittedly the number one arms supplier of South Africa but it would be wrong to suggest that France is the only one involved. Other countries also supply military equipment to South Africa. Although Great Britain has reduced considerably its arms supply to the apartheid regime, it continues to play a role in this area. The Anti-apartheid Movement of Great Britain had conducted an investigation into Britain's involvement in the violation of arms embargo against South Africa. A few cases of violation of arms sanctions against Pretoria were mentioned in a memorandum submitted by Mr. Abdul S. MINTY, The honorary Secretary of the said movement. These violations involve "Rolls Royce" engines sold to South Africa through Italy, "Rocket Motors" manufactured by Martin-Baker Ltd. and exported to South Africa through France and finally, several spare parts and various spare parts and equipment for tanks and other military machinery.

The South African Air Force has British fighter planes such as "Buccaneer, Vampire and Cambarra whose spare parts are abundantly supplied or locally manufactured under licence.

As regards the United States of America, it officially supports United Nations embargo on arms supply to South Africa but continues to use unofficial or dubious means to send arms, especially electronic equipment, radars and so on, to the apartheid regime.

Early 1976, United States of America supplied 6 light planes (Hercules type) to a South African Government Company called SAMPIL. Other planes had already been sold to South Africa under the pretext that they were to be used for civilian purposes rather than military purposes: but it was subsequently revealed that the South African

authorities used the said planes for purposes other than civilian or commercial, to convey troops to Namibia to massacre the people of that territory and to facilitate the barbarous aggression against the People's Republic of Angola early last year. Finally, it was reported in "Le Monde Diplomatique" of March 1977 that America was very seriously considering the signing of an Atlantic Military Pact with the South African regime and South American countries won over to Washington's policy.

The Federal Republic of Germany offered substantial military assistance to the South African regime. It sells arms to the South African regime to which it provides its technology because it is not allowed to manufacture certain types of arms on its territory. The Ethiopian Herald of 13 November 1976 wrote that "a large number of war vehicles including those used during the aggression against Angola, had been supplied by a firm known as "ZILBOCHNER-BUREAU DEUTZ". The South African army was also provided with Franco-German made helicopters and anti-tank missiles. The role of the Federal Republic of Germany is most pronounced in the field of nuclear cooperation.

While supporting the arms embargo against the apartheid regime, Italy does not only supply arms to South Africa but also, provides aid for their local manufacture. In 1975, Italy sold 40MB 326K AERMACCHI type of planes to South Africa. South Africa also manufactured under Italian licence IMPALA planes on the basis of MB 324K AERMACCHI model. It also produces light "KALCU" planes for the transport of troops.

As for Israeli-South African military ties, they are much more dangerous as they have repercussions both on the explosive situation in South Africa and the Middle East. The Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis which was consolidated by the presence of South African planes at the operation areas during the 1973 Zionist war of aggression, was further strengthened with the recent visit of Vorster to Israel. "Objective: Justice" No. 2 of 1976 Summer confirmed that "The South African Prime Minister's visit to Israel early this year (1976) resulted in

the establishment of close military ties between Israel and South Africa: this contains serious implications for peace and security of the African continent and the Middle East. This view was shared by the "News Week" which observed that "relations between Israel and South Africa have been given a considerable boost and that trade had increased after the recent visits to Jerusalem of Prime Minister John Vorster and his Minister of Labour and Pines. According to this same magazine quoted by the Ethiopian Herald of 17.3.1976 "South Africa has purchased two "ICEBERG" type missiles and is expecting four others".

A group of South Africans have been trained at Haifa in the use of the said missiles. Furthermore, South Africa will be supplied with KEEF fighter planes manufactured by Israel as well as "Gabriel" missiles. "AFRICA No.57 of May 1976 also reports that a licence for the manufacture of Israeli Corvettes had been granted to South Africa. Such a military arsenal being acquired by the South African regime through the help of the above-mentioned countries can only alarm the world and Africa in particular, because the racist government of Pretoria has already on several occasions, indicated its intention to intervene **any** where in Africa South of the Equator.

"Right and Freedom" No.348 of May 1976 recalled that "the South African Government had announced the promulgation of an amendment to the Defence Law" which defined, as defence zone of the Republic, the whole of Africa South of the Equator. The said amendment according to the same review "explicitly authorizes the government to send South African armed forces to any area within this zone if it deems it necessary". The example of the aggression against the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist forces and that of the air borne operation against Entebbe air port (Uganda) by a commando of the Zionist Israeli regime are ample evidence that Pretoria's intention to attack any where in Africa and at any time, is not a mere threat. The countries which are supplying these two war-mongering regimes the means of aggression should come to reason by applying scrupulously the United Nations' arms embargo.

Collaboration in the Nuclear Field

The question of nuclear collaboration with South Africa has been much discussed particularly since last year's French and American sales of nuclear reactors. Long before this notorious deal, which has been called "the contract of the Century" the racist South African Regime had already launched nuclear industry, thanks to the substantial co-operation of certain industrial and technological powers. The report submitted last year, to the 27th Session of the Council of Ministers gave a detailed historical account of this co-operation. It would be superfluous then to include this aspect in this report. Nonetheless, the importance of this problem, and the grave threat it poses to peace in Africa and in the world, makes it imperative that this question should constantly receive special consideration.

In this critical field as in others, the apartheid regime is strongly backed by certain western countries, which provide it with the necessary nuclear material to develop its nuclear industry, and with know-how and technology, thereby allowing it to be self-sufficient in this field in the near future. In the past, the Organization of African Unity had to condemn the Federal Republic of Germany for its close collusion with the South African regime in the establishment of a nuclear industry. Bonn refuted this with insubstantial arguments, that were only meant to mislead international opinion, which fortunately, is familiar with this form of prevarication. The collusion of the Federal Republic of Germany in the establishment of a South African nuclear industry has been sufficiently and conclusively proved by documents, including the correspondence between both countries. These documents were widely publicized by the South African ANC and the world press. The substance of these documents was also included in the Report on Sanctions against South Africa, submitted to the Twenty Seventh Session of the Council of Ministers. It was on the basis of this report that resolution CI/Res.490 (XXVII) condemning the Federal Republic of Germany "for continued and increasing co-operation with the racist South African Regime and particularly in the military and nuclear fields", was adopted.

Instead of turning over a new leaf and giving up once and for all, this frendish co-operation, the Federal Republic of Germany persists in this policy, and seeks to vindicate itself by all means.

To be objective, and so that each viewpoint can be formed on the basis of facts, the official position of the Federal Republic of Germany published in the form of a memorandum on 17th January 1977 will form Annex I. This position which includes patent falsehoods, provoked the vigilant reaction of the "Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin", which on 18th March 1977 published a press communique, the text of which will be included in Annex II.

It is common knowledge today, that the ultimate aim of the South African nuclear industry, to whose growth the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United States have largely contributed, is the fabrication of the nuclear bomb. This is a fact that can no longer be concealed. The Havana Anti-Apartheid Seminar already referred to, did not conceal its censure of nuclear collaboration with South Africa. It "noted with alarm, the extent of collaboration of Western States with South Africa in the nuclear field, and particularly the central role played by the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United States of America, which supply the Pretoria regime with the equipment and technology needed to increase its nuclear capacity. South Africa, continues the Seminar, is now on the way to becoming a nuclear power, and all countries collaborating in this field, should be asked to put an end to all such collaboration".

The Senegalese writer CHEIK ANTA DIOP shares this apprehension. In his introduction to Mario De Souza Clington's "Free Angola", he made the following warning. "American nuclear experts from Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology predict that a nuclear war will break out before the year 2,000, and the ultimate paradox is that it will start in South Africa. The detente declared, will allow Pretoria to accelerate its military preparations and to put the last touch to its nuclear panoply in ten years at the utmost".

The recent conclusion of a contract between South Africa, France and the United States for the construction of an important nuclear power station in Koeberg near the Cape, and for the supply of nuclear reactors as well as the delivery of enriched uranium, is very much part of ^{this} perspective.

In fact, the former American Administration in 1976, allowed General Electric to supply the racist South African Regime with two nuclear reactors, and a substantial amount of enriched uranium for the approximate value of 2 billion dollars. The same year, France authorized the Consortium "FRANAFOME-ALBERTOM SPIE BARIGNOLLES" to deliver the first nuclear power station to the South African regime, following the so-called "contract of the century" which won over from the German, Swiss, Dutch and American Consortiums.

It goes without saying that the decisions of these two countries are the source of grave concern for Africa, the Organization of African Unity and the world. Even observers who are uninformed of South African problems, will not fail to notice the close connection between this accelerated of South African Military and nuclear potential, and repeated South African threats to use all means including the atomic weapon to defend itself and to continue its policy of apartheid. This negative and dangerous attitude of France, the United States of America, other Western States and Israel, beyond the least shadow of doubt, indicated the will of, these countries to make South Africa a nuclear power, which in the very words of Prime Minister John Vorster, would be capable of intervention "anywhere in Africa, up to the Equator".

As soon as the conclusion of the French and American contracts with the Pretoria regime were announced, the General Secretariat protested vigorously to the Ambassadors of the United States and France in Addis Ababa, requesting them to convey to their respective governments, "on behalf of all African countries, the energetic condemnation of such agreements, which not only constitute a flagrant violation of sanctions against the apartheid regime, but also the adoption of a position, which to say the least is hostile to Africa".

The United States and France have unsuccessfully tried to convince world opinion, that the sale of nuclear stations and enriched uranium was merely an economic and commercial deal without any political or military implications. They claim that these are pressurized water nuclear reactors, and that they can in no way be considered sensitive, and that at any rate, they would be subjected to guarantees for peaceful and non-explosive use, controlled by the International Agency of Atomic Energy which has its Seat in Vienna, Austria. According

to the French government, this type of installation only supplies a current for industrial and domestic use, functioning with slightly enriched uranium, and rejecting highly irradiated fuel. In consequence, they could not be used for the production of high quality plutonium that could be used in the fabrication of the nuclear bomb. They further confirm these assertions by affirming that the supply of nuclear material will not only be subjected to the guarantee of the Vienna Agency but also to the control of the supplying States.

Such arguments are obviously simplistic and hardly convincing as "Law and Freedom" No. 381 of September 1976 puts it so well, for these controls "deal in particular with the fuel used, that is the enriched uranium. However, the journal continues, "South Africa has its own factor for enrichment in Valindaba, thanks to the friendly co-operation of the Federal Republic of Germany".

Moreover, South Africa has on several occasions and in many situations, revealed that it was incapable of honouring its international commitments, by refusing to implement the United Nations resolutions, concerning the evacuation of Namibia which is illegally occupied, and the abandonment of the barbarous policy of apartheid. In view of its past, it is unthinkable that South Africa should suddenly turn the vest to conform to the regulations of the International Agency for Atomic Energy. It has also made it clear that the contract for the sale of nuclear material should also include a clause so-called on "political non-intervention".

In technical terms, the French and American claims that the nuclear reactors supplied to South Africa are not "sensitive", are not in the least consistent. An American nuclear expert has proved that the French nuclear power stations are capable in a short time, of producing fissionable material. On the other hand, experiments have proved that this type of nuclear reactor could, after appropriate transformations, produce high quality plutonium and other fissionable material. The example of the nuclear stations in the Negev in Israel, are in this respect revealing. These stations which were also supplied by France to Israel, and were officially destined for industrial use, have provided this country with the possibility of making its own nuclear armament, if it has not already done so. Israel also gives the benefit of this experience to its South African partner in this field. It provides it with nuclear experts and trains its technicians.

In collaborating with South Africa in its programme of nuclear developments the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, other Western Countries and Israel are contributing to the perpetuation of apartheid, and are posing a nuclear threat to Africa, for which they will be held responsible by history and posterity.

It is the duty of Africa to intensify its "revolutionary action that will leave no respite to Prateria, and would avoid a nuclear confrontation in Africa with its incalculable consequences." (Cheik ANEA BICF).

IV BANTUSTAN POLICY AND ATTEMPTS TO GAIN CURSIVE RECOGNITION FOR THESE BANTUSTANS.

In the past three years, the South African regime laid particular stress on the bantustan policy. This policy was concretely expressed in the acceleration of the bogus independence of the Transkei on October 26th 1976, one of the nine South African bantustans. Such a policy aimed at the balkanisation of South African territory to better exploit the indigenous populations, has been condemned several times, by the OAU, numerous states and other widely representative international institutions. During its 27th Session in Mauritius, June 1976, the Council of Ministers adopted Resolution CM/492(XVII), in addressing "an appeal to all states and urged the Member States to refrain from recognizing all bantustans, and particularly the Transkei, the pseudo-independence of which was set for 26th October 1976."

On the political level, no state in the whole world has so far recognized this so-called independent territory. This is a great victory for the South African people who are waging a constant struggle for unity and territorial integrity. It is also a great victory for the organization of African Unity and for Member States, who have succeeded in convincing the world at large, to refrain from supporting the criminal puppet policy for the balkanisation of South Africa. In spite of this success there are unfortunately some countries who are collaborating with the puppet authorities of Transkei. France was represented by five members of parliament at the Umtata celebrations on 26th October 1976, marking the pseudo-independence of the Transkei. Several western firms, French and American may have the intention to establish themselves in Transkei. An AFP cable dated 22nd November 1976,

that is 4 days before the sham independence of the Transkei, reported that "several American firms were going to finance agricultural development projects worth 18 million rands (22 million dollars) in Transkei. This news was announced after a three week visit to the United States by the puppet Prime Minister of the Transkei. The international chain of hotels, Holiday Inn, belonging to an American group is in a process of building a hotel in Umtata. According to the "International Herald Tribune" in the U.S. dated 15th March 1977, Swiss capital made a headlong rush for the Transkei market, immediately after the sham independence. This is the case of "BANCHEAN", which has already built a 500,000 rand factory in Transkei. The Federal Republic of Germany has already completed the construction of a 700 thousand rand saw milling factor.

These examples and many others that can be cited reveal that unfortunately, the absence of political recognition on the puppet regime did not entail its economic isolation. This is a very important problem, and should be carefully considered by the African states, for if the economic contacts with the South African territory of the Transkei continue to develop, the wish of political recognition by certain states will become greater and in fact, inevitable.

AVIATION RELATIONS AND WORLD WIDE ACTION

Since its establishment in 1963 the Organization of African Unity has always recommended an aviation boycott of the apartheid regime. A number of relevant resolutions were adopted, and the first OAU resolution urged all member states to prohibit South African planes from entering their air space and using their airports. This measure was also intended to include all planes coming from or going to South Africa. In short not a single meeting, on whatever level has passed, without the Organization of African Unity reminding member states of their duty and commitment to boycott the South African regime in all sectors and particularly in the domain of aviation. It goes without saying that had all these resolutions been strictly implemented both in the spirit and the letter of the law, the apartheid regime would have been seriously weakened. The African continent represents a great political force which the world has to reckon with. It should know how to use this force with tact, to obtain the optimum benefit in the

interests of good causes. As regards the implementation of sanctions in aviation, the African states have unfortunately been unable to prohibit certain international airlines from overflying their territory and using their airports and other facilities.

In its 27th Session, the Council of Ministers was concerned by the fact that "foreign airlines serving South Africa, with ports of call in or overflying independent African States, were to operate henceforth, in a pool with 'South African Airways', and that "this situation placed the independent African states in an illogical and ridiculous position. The Council then decided on the immediate convening of a Conference of Aeronatic Experts from Independent African States to study this problem and to report to the next meeting of the Council of Ministers. The General Secretariat called for the meeting in the first fortnight of February, and then in March, but owing to lack of quorum the meeting was not convened in spite of the appeal made to Member States during the 26th Session in Lome.

Other steps however were taken to condemn aviation relations with the South African regime, and concrete action was taken. It is particularly on the level of trade unions that these actions were most strongly felt and bore fruit. In fact the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions decided to organize a week of protest against the apartheid regime from 17th to 22nd January 1977. The Organisation of African Trade Unions Unity co-ordinated this action in Africa. It informed the CAU General Secretariat that the workers of the world, in the East, the West and in Africa, had decided that the week from 17th to 22nd January 1977 would be a week of solidarity with the people of South Africa and that ships, planes, mail and cargo going to South Africa would be paralysed on this occasion. The message of CATUU was then relayed to CAU Member States so that they would participate fully within the framework of the resolutions, that they themselves had adopted.

This campaign was greeted with delirious enthusiasm in Africa and in the world. To cite only a few examples the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions, (CELU) expressed its support for the decision to observe, a week of solidarity with the oppressed people of Africa. It made an important declaration that was the subject of an editorial in the Moral Tribune of 17th January 1977. In a letter dated 4th February 1977 the Secretary General of the National Congress for Egelese Workers (CNET) informed the CAU that

the Zogelose workers had organised several demonstrations during the week, 15th to 23rd January 1977. A very long declaration, put in the strongest terms, was also published on 20th January. Other central African trade unions undertook similar actions, which gravely disturbed air and maritime traffic to South Africa.

Elsewhere, the New Zealand dockers refused to unload a Dutch cargo ship that was carrying South African goods. The most important Dutch trade union called on its members to boycott all South African cargo. British, Italian, Norwegian, French and other trade unions also joined this campaign.

The African Committee for Trade Union Co-ordination and Action Against Apartheid and Colonialism is exerting considerable efforts against apartheid. In addition to its normal activities referred to in former reports, this Committee organised a "Seminar for Action for the Elimination of Apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa" in Lomé from 14th to 19th February 1977. Officials from aviation, sea-port, and post and telecommunications trade unions in West Africa participated in this Seminar along with the CAU and the CATUU. The seminar adopted an important declaration and a courageous plan of action.

Through this plan of action the participants deemed it necessary to take concrete and effective action, which could severely destabilise the economy of racist regimes in Southern Africa. They recommended the following steps:

of

- Blockade /ships coming from or going to South Africa in sea and river ports. This blockade should be not only carried out in African countries but also in all countries, and particularly the Western countries supporting the racist regimes in Southern Africa.
- The refusal to offload and fuel planes, and to distribute mail coming from, or going to South Africa and Rhodesia.
- Disconnecting all telephone and telegraphic links with South Africa and Rhodesia.
- The permanent Secretary General of the anti-apartheid Committee should draw a complete list of African airports providing transit stops for South Africa

and foreign planes coming from or going to South Africa; and also of all foreign airlines which overfly Africa on routes to South Africa and Rhodesia.

- Pressure should be exerted by trade unions anti-apartheid national committees and CAPEU on governments of independent African countries, to bar South African planes and other foreign airlines proceeding to or coming from South Africa and Rhodesia from overflying their territories. Should they fail to do so, the African workers and their organisations should be called on to take the initiative in boycotting these planes.
- National trade unions should also urge their foreign ministries to give favourable replies to the CAU in its attempt to convene the impending meeting of African experts in civil aviation to study the means for a more effective boycott.

VI IMMIGRATION AND TOURISM

Immigration and Tourism are two important sectors in the political and economic life of South Africa. It is through the immigration movement that the South African regime can gauge its strength inside the country and its credibility abroad.

Unfortunately for this regime, during the past few years, there has been a great exodus of whites, escaping the insecurity caused by their own regime, which the oppressed people of Africa can no longer tolerate. This exodus had already started a few years ago, and reached its peak with the revolt of non-whites in Africa in June 1976, followed by the infamous massacres in Soweto, Johannesburg, Pretoria, and other non-white townships. Tass News Agency in January 1977 commenting on the subject, wrote that thousands of white South Africans, who had lost hope in their future after the June 1976 events, were seriously contemplating leaving the country, following the example of hundreds of their brothers who had already left. Other observers described this exodus as a drain of the white South African population.

The gravity of the situation is such that the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. Kruger was obliged to admit this in clear cut terms, publicly expressing his concern that so many whites had decided to leave South Africa en masse.

According to an APE cable from Pretoria dated 1st February 1977 South African statistics reveals a big drop in immigrants to the apartheid regime. At the end of November 1976 there were only 1679 immigrants, that is a drop of 1521 immigrants if compared with the figures of the corresponding period in 1975. In 1976, 1483 emigrants left South Africa, as compared to only 828 in 1975.

In the sector of tourism, the racist regime benefits from the support of certain countries. The role of France is particularly important here, as in the other sectors. "Law and Freedom", No. 352, 1976 reported on a South African Tourism Congress in Paris. This Congress was held at the Paris Hilton and was attended by South African, French and other businessmen. The South African representatives could then make the official propaganda of their regime in the following words.

"We are not idealists but businessmen, willing to do everything to gain clients, by presenting South Africa as the last "Colonial Paradise" where the tropical splendors can be enjoyed, with nothing to mar it". This is the policy supported by France. The Mayor of Nice, Mr. Medeion, who was also Secretary of State for Tourism did not hesitate to couple this city with the white township in the Cape.

VII CO-OPERATION IN SPORTS

Having lost credibility on the political level, the South African regime is using sport for thinly veiled political ends. This is why all sports competitions with the South African regime are considered as an act of support for the apartheid system, as all African sportsmen are exclusively selected on the unacceptable and reprehensible bases of racial discrimination. In spite of the repeated appeals to the OAU and the international community, many countries continue to have sporting relations with the apartheid regime. The Havana anti-apartheid Seminar energetically condemned the states and sportsmen who participated in the so-called multi-national games of South Africa, or who made tours, with all expenses paid by the South African regime.

On the basis of information indicating the special support given by the New Zealand authorities to the racist South African sports, the Heads of State and Government adopted CM/Res. 488 (XXVII) in Mauritius, calling on "all OAU Member States to reconsider their participation in the olympic games", of

Montreal if New Zealand, the most valued and active sporting ally of South Africa is allowed to participate. The International Olympic Committee refused to respond to this appeal, and did not wish to ban New Zealand from the Games. Confronted with such a situation the African countries had no alternative but to withdraw. The African countries, followed by certain friends outside the continent, withdrew en masse, thereby preferring to sacrifice their chances of winning matches and medals to human dignity. This mass withdrawal can all together be considered a success. This would undoubtedly have been greater had it not been for the extremely short periods that did not allow for better concentration. This lack of unanimity gave rise to a number of misunderstandings that were soon dispelled by the extraordinary meeting of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa in January 1977. This meeting in which the OAU General Secretariat participated, carefully considered the problems created by the Montreal boycott, it came to the conclusion that it should bypass the various attitudes of African countries in October 21st Olympic Games, and that the general intention of the majority of states should be inferred, and only what was positive should be retained, to serve as a future inspiration. "Having observed that developments in New Zealand merited the drawing of a new strategy; the Executive Committee recommended that the OAU impose a sports boycott of New Zealand. This recommendation was submitted to the 28th Session of the Council of Ministers, which called on "all OAU Member States to refrain from participating in all sports activities in 1977 and 1978, in which New Zealand or any other country maintaining sports relations with South Africa, would participate."

This decision had very positive effects, not only did New Zealand make a series of declarations, affirming that they had no sports engagements with South Africa, but a number of other countries fearing they would meet the same fate as New Zealand cancelled en masse their sports engagements with the racist South African regimes, including those which had been planned a long time before. It is therefore fortunate that the Council of Ministers had decided that the boycott of all sports activities in 1977 and 1978, should not only include New Zealand but should be extended to all other countries who maintained sports relations with the inhuman Pretoria regime. If it is true that the South African regime continues to benefit from the collusion of certain countries in the field of sports, its also true that it is isolated in most large international competitions.

According to Mr. Jean Claude Ganga, Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Sports in Africa, the DAVID Cup is the last big competition in which the South Africans can play, without being condemned by the world at large."

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Supreme Council for Sports, the racist South African regime has been banned from the very important fields, such as athletics, swimming and boxing, and its likely to be excluded from all others including tennis.

Copy of the memorandum as it has been sent to African
Ambassadors in Bonn

The Federal Republic of Germany has for some time been exposed to repeated allegations that it is co-operating closely with the Republic of South Africa in the nuclear and the military fields. Among other things, the accusations include the assertion that a "nuclear conspiracy" exists between the two countries for the purpose of enabling the Republic of South Africa to acquire nuclear weapons with German Scientific and technological assistance. The Federal Republic of Germany is also, according to the charges, helping to build up South Africa's conventional armaments by means of direct or indirect supplies of weapons and other war materials.

Where these allegations have been made by interested circles with the obvious intention of discrediting the Federal Republic of Germany and its Government, the Federal Government has deemed it sufficient to expose these motives and categorically reject the false charges.

However, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is aware that these accusations have of late also been adopted by international organizations such as the OAU. It has no doubt that in such instances the charges stem from a genuine feeling of concern, however unfounded it may be.

The Federal Government has already made it clear through its Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York during the thirtieth and the thirty-first General Assembly of the United Nations that the allegations are unfounded (Doc A/31/PV 58, pp.13-15).

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has drawn up this Memorandum in order to refute the specific accusations made by the OAU on account of the Federal Republic's "continuing and increasing co-operation with the racist regime of South Africa, particularly in the military and nuclear fields", as contained in paragraph 3 of Resolution

490 adopted by the OAU summit conference in Mauritius (1976). The Federal Government's aim is to ease the strain on relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the OAU and its member States which is felt by both sides, so as to facilitate co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and Africa in the spirit of shared aspirations and objectives.

It has no doubt that this aim will be achieved by means of the following list of facts, which unequivocally and conclusively prove the baselessness of the assertion that the Federal Republic is engaged in nuclear and military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa.

To begin with, the Federal Government would point out that long ago it created the statutory basis for a total embargo on deliveries of weapons to South Africa. In pursuance of the provision of the Constitution (Article 26 (2), Basic Law) which stipulates that weapons intended for purposes of war may only be manufactured, transported and sold with the permission of the Federal Government, the latter introduced on 20 April 1961 the Law on the Control of Weapons of War (Federal Law Gazette 1961, part I, p. 444 et seq.). In its Article 6 that law provides, i.a., that licences must be refused if there is a danger of the weapons being used in actions disturbing the peace. A similar provision with regard to other military equipment and materials (e.g. electronic systems, ammunition, firearms) is contained in the Foreign Trade and Payments Law of 28 April 1961 (Federal Law Gazette, Part I, p. 84 et seq.). On the basis of these statutory provisions, the Federal Government has since that time strictly prohibited the export of military equipment (weapons of war, ammunition, machinery for the manufacture of weapons or ammunition, military vehicles, electronic systems for military purposes) to South Africa.

In 1963, ten years prior to the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, the Federal Government, in response to two resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council on 7 August and 4 December 1963 calling for a weapons embargo, reaffirmed its embargo with regard to South Africa by means of an internationally binding declaration. That declaration was transmitted to all Members and, on 19 December 1963 to the Secretary General of the United Nations (circulated as UN Doc. S/5658/AND.1 of 21 April 1964).

In the meantime the Federal Government has strictly adhered to that policy; it has always pursued by far the most restrictive arms export policy of all States who produce armaments material and in spite of constant checks it has no evidence that German firms have broken the law. The Federal Government is therefore all the more astonished that it should repeatedly be singled out for charges of alleged nuclear and military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa.

The Federal Government therefore replies as follows to these charges which, though they come from different quarters, are evidently from the same source:

Alleged Nuclear Co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa.

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1. One accusation is that the state-controlled firm of STEAG has issued the Government in Pretoria with a licence to apply the separation nozzle process for uranium enrichment operations in South Africa that are intended for military purposes.

The Federal Government submits the following facts to refute this:

- (a) (a) The Republic of South Africa has received no licence to apply the German separation nozzle process for uranium enrichment. Nor has it at any time sought such a licence. The truth is that the firm of STEAG, which has undertaken the industrial development and commercial exploitation of the separation nozzle process for uranium enrichment developed by the Nuclear Research Corporation (GFK), carried out with the South African firm of UCOR in 1973 a comparison of the South African enrichment process and the German separation nozzle process with regard to their technical feasibility and economic efficiency. As a result of that comparison, the Republic of South Africa felt that its own process was more economical and therefore showed no interest in acquiring a licence for the German process. Since then there has been no further co-operation between STEAG and UCOR.
- (b) The German separation nozzle process for uranium enrichment is not suitable for the manufacture of material usable for weapons. Hence it is not covered by secrecy regulations. It does not involve any risk of proliferation.
- (c) Moreover, a licence for the German separation nozzle process is not expected to be granted to the Republic of South Africa in the future either. The export of enrichment technology is subject to approval under the German Foreign Trade and Payments Law. Thus, such technology may only be exported if the Federal Government issues an export permit. South an application to that effect be made, there is no intention to grant an export permit.
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2. Another accusation that has repeatedly been levelled at the Federal Government is that Kraftwerksunion submitted a tender for a nuclear power station for the South African national energy supply corporation ESCOM.

It is a well known fact that this was an international invitation to tender. The German Kraftwerksunion responded to the invitation like other non-German groups. ESCOM announced on 29 May 1976 that the contract had been awarded to another foreign group.

Under German law, the export of nuclear power stations is, of course, subject to a permit. There exists no contract between Kraftwerksunion and ESCOM for the supply of a nuclear power station. The Federal Government has not received any application for permission to export a nuclear power station to South Africa.

3. With regard to the assertion that German scientists have been active in the South African CSIR with the knowledge and support of the German Federal Foreign Office, it is pointed out that no government-level agreement on scientific and technological co-operation exists between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa. Nor are any German scientists working in South Africa on behalf of or with the knowledge and support of the Federal Government. However, if German scientists or technicians undertake assignments abroad on the basis of private contracts the Federal Government cannot stop them. The Federal Republic of Germany is a free society and the Federal Government can exercise no influence on the private, economic or scientific activities of Germans abroad.

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Alleged Military Co-operation between the Federal Republic of
Germany and the Republic of South Africa

I. Direct Supplies

1. Tank Construction

The assertion that the firm of Thyssen-Rheinstahl are currently building a tank for the Republic of South Africa has no foundation whatsoever. The firm have explicitly assured the Federal Government that no such project exists and none is planned. This assurance is credible, if only because of the fact that there would be absolutely no point in any German company contracting to do such work, for under the applicable laws of the Federal Republic of Germany (Law on the Control of Weapons of War and Foreign Trade and Payments Law) even the export of construction plans is forbidden, so the export of complete vehicles or component parts of tanks would be bound to be prohibited by the Federal Government.

2. The Advocaat Project

It is maintained that the "Advocaat" radar surveillance system in South Africa has been built mainly by the German firms of AEG, Siemens and MAN. This is basically true, but the conclusion that these firms have thereby engaged in co-operation with the South African authorities in the military field is wrong. The radar surveillance system helps to maintain the safety of shipping around the Cape, which has increased to about 25,000 vessels a year.

The firms concerned have only supplied transmitting and receiving installations built exclusively for civilian, not military, purposes, as well as a data-processing system of a type available on the market. The Federal Government had no reason to prohibit the export of such non-military equipment. The mere possibility that civilian telecommunication installations may be used

for military purposes, which is also possible in the case of civilian motor-vehicles, for instance, would not have been sufficient ground for preventing their export.

3. NATO Codification System

The so-called "NATO Codification System" used in the Advocaat project is a non-classified system of material categorization used in the Federal Republic, but also in many non-NATO countries, and covering both civilian goods and military equipment. It is used to catalogue materials for computerization. It does not as such have any specific military significance and has its origin in the American Federal Catalogue System which is generally accessible.

4. Electronic Equipment for the Airport at "Drumpel/Namibia"

The firm of AEG, who are supposed to have delivered electronic equipment for the above-mentioned airport, has informed the Federal Government that none of its branches have even offered to supply such equipment for this airport, let alone actually delivered it.

Under the Foreign Trade and Payments Law, the export of electronic equipment for airports is subject to approval. Neither this nor any other German firm has up to now applied for a permit to export electronic equipment for this airport.

5. Alleged Supply of Military Vehicles

(a) "137 heavy military lorries"

The quality and credibility of the constant allegations that the Federal Government is engaged in military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa are exemplified by the assertion that 137 heavy Daimler-Benz, Klockner-Humboldt-Deuty and MAN military lorries were delivered to South Africa in 1974. Given as proof of this assertion is the German periodical "Wehrdienst", Issue No. 461, 1974, however, the passage quoted says exactly the opposite.

Issue No. 461/1974 of "Wehrdienst", dated 29 April 1974, first mentions that the South African Armed Forces ^{were} interested in obtaining 137 heavy transporters for tanks, but then goes on to say on page 2: "One who refuses to play ball is the Federal Government: The Federal Office for Trade and Industry in Frankfurt refused in mid-April to grant permission for the export of the transporter to South Africa on the ground that it was a vehicle that could be used for military purposes and that, furthermore, it was to be delivered to an area of tension". The article also says that "if only in deference to UN resolutions (arms embargo), the Federal Government takes the ban on exports to South Africa very, very seriously."

It is thus clear that the charge of supplying military vehicles to South Africa has been construed by quoting the very opposite of what the source given as evidence actually says. This method represents a deliberate attempt to mislead all those to whom such allegations of German-South African Co-operation in the military sector are of interest and importance. But this is doing a disservice to the African countries in particular.

(b) Daimler-Benz UNIMOG Military Vehicles for the South African Army

In this case, too, the facts have obviously been deliberately twisted to suit the allegation. There is no specific UNIMOG military vehicle. The UNIMOG, like the landrover, is a cross-country vehicle constructed for civilian purposes (transport in impassable country, for use on building-sites, etc.). Quite generally, the fact is that the use of a civilian vehicle by military units does not make it a military vehicle within the meaning of the German Law on Weapons of War, the export of which would be covered by the aforementioned embargo provisions.

6. "Military" Helicopter BO 105

The charge that the German firm of MBB and the South African Government signed a contract in 1972 for the supply of BO 105 military helicopters is no more true than the alleged supply of military vehicles. Again, the authors of such accusations are not loath to operate with erroneous quotations. An issue dated 13 February 1972 of the American periodical

"Aviation Week and Space Technology", which was quoted in support of the allegation does not exist. Page 32 of the edition of 14 February 1972 does not contain the passage quoted.

With regard to the charge itself, there exists no military version of the BO 105 helicopter and the firm of MBB has at no time delivered helicopters to South Africa.

7. Plant for the Construction of Armoured Vehicles

The charge that the Federal Republic has supplied South Africa with a complete plant for the construction of armoured vehicles is absurd, if only because the Federal Republic itself cannot make such deliveries. And since no alleged German supplier has been mentioned, it is not even possible to have the matter checked.

In any case, the export of such plant to South Africa would be prohibited because of the embargo provisions. An export permit has neither been applied for nor issued, nor would one be granted in the future.

II. Deliveries with the Alleged Indirect Participation of the Federal Government

1. Four corvettes built in Spain for South Africa according to German blueprints and with German equipment supplied by the firm of Blohm & Voss

Once again the charge is supported by a misquote. The periodical "Forces Armées Françaises", No. 23, July/August 1974, quoted in evidence mentions neither the alleged supply of corvettes to South Africa nor the alleged participation of the firm of MBB in the construction of the French Exorcet missile with which these vessels are supposed to be equipped. It says no more than that France has developed a new type of Exorcet missile.

As regards the question of the corvettes itself, Blohm & Voss have never supplied Spain with German blueprints for the construction of corvettes intended for South Africa, nor have they supplied equipment and materials for this purpose.

The only element of truth is that about four years ago Blohm & Voss delivered corvettes to Cattagna, Spain, for the Spanish navy. For the rest, Blohm & Voss provide civilian equipment normally used on merchant vessels and not subject to an export permit for vessels and not subject to an export permit for vessels built in Cartagena under full Spanish sovereignty and used under full Spanish sovereignty.

2. Alleged construction of speedboats in Israel according to blueprints of the firm of Lurssen and using special engines supplied by the firm of MTU.

Neither the Federal Government nor the firms of Lurssen, Bremen, and MTU, Friedrichshafen, know anything about such an Israeli project. Nor have these firms ever provided Israel with construction plans for speedboats or supplied special engines.

3. Alleged German involvement in the delivery of minestuhds ammunition from Protugal to South Africa

This assertion is a distortion of crucial facts. The only genuine fact is that a German firm issued licences to a Portuguese company about 15 years ago for the manufacture of ammunition. The German firm obtained a contractual assurance that the ammunition was intended solely for Portugal's own use. It is thus conceivable that ammunition is still being manufactured in Portugal under those licences. However, no German companies are involved. Neither the Federal Government nor that German firm can exercise any influence whatsoever on the production of ammunition under full Portuguese sovereignty.

III. Alleged supply within the framework of co-operation with European partners of the Federal Republic of Germany

First of all it should be explained that, like all other countries, the Federal Republic of Germany finds itself confronted with mounting international and national financial commitments. This means, inter alia, that optimum use has to be made of money spent on national defence.

One way of reducing the unit cost of arms and equipment is to produce them in co-operation with partner States because this makes it possible to share the necessary development costs and production work. By these means more can be manufactured at a lower cost per unit. In addition, closer technological, co-operation within NATO is necessary on political grounds.

Consequently, the Federal Republic of Germany began many years ago producing military equipment in co-operation with its European partners. Whether or not a partner country exports goods that have been manufactured jointly to third country is a matter for its own decision on its own political responsibility.

As to the charges in detail:

1. Alleged export of four "Airbus" transport aircraft (military version) from France to South Africa

There is no such thing as a military version of the Airbus, that is, one that is intended for the transport of troops, for instance. The Airbus is a purely civilian aircraft produced on the basis of European co-operation.

2. Alleged export of Transall military transport aircraft and Milan anti-tank missiles to South Africa

On account of their military character, both of these items fall under the existing provisions in the Federal Republic of Germany regarding the embargo on the supply of such equipment to South Africa. Their export from the Federal Republic of Germany is therefore prohibited and so such export has taken place.



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اديس ابابا * Addis Ababa

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Twenty-Ninth Ordinary Session

Libreville, Gabon

23-30 July, 1977

CM/826 (XXIX) Annex III

MEMORANDUM

Embassy of the Federal
Republic of Germany
Addis Ababa

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and, with reference to Resolutions 450(XXVII) and 485(XXVII) adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at their Twenty-Seventh Ordinary Session held in Port Louis, Mauritius, as well as to the Embassy's Note of January 20, 1977, by which a Memorandum by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, dated January 17, 1977, and concerning these Resolutions, was transmitted to the General Secretariat, has the honour to transmit the following:

The Embassy's attention has been drawn to recent public statements having regard to the aforementioned Memorandum and having been addressed to the African Governments as well as to the General Secretariat of the OAU. The Embassy, subsequently, felt that further clarification of points raised by the Memorandum might be of value for the "detailed report on collaboration by various States with South Africa" to be submitted by the Administrative Secretary-General to the 29th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers. The Embassy, therefore, would like - after consultation with and by instruction of its Government - to convey the following remarks to the General Secretariat.

To the General Secretariat
of the Organization of African Unity
Addis Ababa.

General Remarks

1. The Memorandum by the Federal Government was prompted by the condemnation contained specifically in operative paragraph 3 of Resolution CM/Res.490(XXVII) for its "continuing and increasing cooperation with the racist regime of South Africa, particularly in the military and nuclear fields".
2. The Federal Government, nevertheless, attaches great importance to a repetition of the fact that it has - on the basis of German laws of April 1961 and of a reaffirming, internationally binding response of December 1963 to specific resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council - prohibited since 16 years the export of military equipment of all kinds to South Africa. The Member States of OAU, therefore, should take note that "as far as exports from the Federal Republic of Germany to South Africa have been mentioned, they exclusively represent goods that do not fall under the armament embargo of the South Africa Resolution of the UN Security Council".
3. Publications which - for whatever motive and purpose - are trying to prove the contrary refer, since years, to each other as evidence and, at best, to speculations in newspapers and magazines or quotations out of context. They trust that hardly anybody can check and cross-check their often contradictory and complicated allegations and that "something will stick". The Member States of OAU should, moreover, judge by themselves what credit is to be given to publications which simply refer to "informed sources" in order to accuse the Federal Government, or base their charge on irresponsible conjectures as "it is likely", "it is unlikely", "allegedly", "it is to be assumed" or on "the similarity in looks etc. as a clear indicator",

or even come out with completely unsupported but detailed statements about persons, meetings, places and dates which nobody can verify, publications which lightly try to destroy confidence between Governments by asserting bluntly and in detail that such and such a weapon "is under construction for South Africa" - and later have to admit, though halfheartedly and under cover of the abstrusest argumentation, that they had been lying.

4. To evaluate correctly the accusations of the Federal Republic for "continuing and increasing cooperation with South Africa" it has, furthermore, to be clearly understood that Germany is producing, since many years, military and non-military equipment in cooperation with its European partners. Whether or not a partner country exports goods that have been manufactured jointly to third countries (in their original or an adapted version) is a matter for its own sovereign decision on its own political responsibility (Memorandum page 12). As far as jointly manufactured military equipment is concerned it falls in the Federal Republic of Germany automatically under the existing provisions and can, therefore, not be exported from Germany to South Africa, neither directly nor indirectly.

Special Remarks

1. Uranium Enrichment in South Africa

As the Memorandum of the Federal Government states clearly, there has been - since a comparison of the then already existing South African enrichment process and the German separation nozzle process in 1973 - no further cooperation between STEAG and UCOR. This remains a fact even if unsupported charters are repeated again and again that STEAG participated in the construction of the enrichment plant at Valindaba.

But even if the comparative study in 1973 would have led to an application by South Africa for a licence of the separation nozzle process and such application had been granted by the Federal Government, there would have been - as the Memorandum points out unequivocally - no risk of proliferation involved. As in all other cases, with Signatories and Non-Signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) alike, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, Signatory of the NPT, would have made the export of enrichment technology automatically subject to a control-agreement between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the International Atomic Energy Agency (Vienna). The Agency's director, Mr. Rometsch, explained with regard to the delivery of nuclear installations from the Federal Republic of Germany to Brazil (full quotation from the interview on "Der Spiegel" of December 20th, 1976):

"There is no question of delivery of centrifugal enrichment plants which would make it possible to reach rather high degrees of enrichment, but of the separation nozzle process". Spiegel: "What does that mean?" Rometsch: "If you build a plant according to the separation nozzle process which is made for enrichment up to three percent as needed for the rods (burning elements) in light-water-reactors; I only see a single possibility for an abuse of the plant: that would be a recycling, a circulation, by which the entire material after one passage is sent again into the plant in order to reach high degrees of enrichment. And now, it is relatively simple, from the controlling agency(s) side, to find this out. Because the recycling needs a very long time".

As to the unsupported allegation that the German company MAN supplies the important compressors for the enrichment plant at Valindaba, it should be made clear that MAN export, since decades, compressors for the mining, chemical and metallurgical industries a.o. also to South Africa. However, an export of compressors for the enrichment of uranium in South Africa has not taken place, and MAN categorically rejected the allegation. The Federal Government, on the basis of its permanent controls, had at no time reason to doubt the statements by MAN.

The necessary has been said in the Memorandum (pages 7 and 5) to explain the NATO codification system and the alleged cooperation of scientists with official knowledge and support. It should be added that also no training of South African nuclear scientists is carried out under the existing Cultural Agreement. But it might still be useful to compare more closely the different statements concerning "Bonn's nuclear co-operation with South Africa as the most crucial item of assistance for the armament of the Apartheid government":

The most recent public statement of this kind asserts "that the state controlled STEAG company, on the basis of a contract with South Africa, participated in the construction of the enrichment plant at Valindaba from April 1st, 1974, to March 31st, 1976". In an earlier statement from the same source to the same point one reads "from April 1st, 1973, to March 31st, 1976". Obviously this "correction" is a futile attempt to save credibility in view of a "Documentation" of September 1975 to which the more recent statement refers to as only evidence and which, for its part, informed the reader of "agreements for the construction of a uranium enrichment plant in South Africa recently concluded in the Federal Republic of Germany", so that this long wanted-for plant could now be erected, and that "this monstrous project" should be stopped by the peace loving forces throughout the world. Furthermore, for this "most crucial" information, contained in the Introduction, no evidence whatsoever is given in the "Documentation" throughout its 23 pages, including 6 pages of footnotes, time-table and other explanations. But the reader who has no time to study the whole complicated text has been impressed! In open contrast, finally, to the most recent public statement, submitted to the African Governments, the time-table of the "Documentation" indicates under April 7, 1975, that "construction of SA's prototype enrichment plant would begin in 1976".

It is significant that in spite of all such "evidence" not one of the Signatory Powers of the Non-Proliferation-Treaty has accused the Federal Republic of Germany of breaking its obligations under this world-wide Treaty, i.e. not to contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

2. Heavy Military Lorries

As to be seen from the Memorandum, the export of the military vehicles in question, i.e. the heavy-duty transporters for tanks as introduced by the Federal Army and as desired by South Africa, was prohibited by the Federal Government. Therefore, no such deliveries took place neither by Daimler-Benz, Kloeckner, MAN nor by any other German firm. All other assertions are pure speculation and have nothing to do with reality.

As to the non-military tractor-engine the export of which needs no permit from the Federal Government, besides one single specimen for tests no other tractor-engines have been delivered by Daimler-Benz to South Africa so far, let alone 137. In this respect, it should perhaps be noted that the magazine "Wehrdienst" is by no means a semi-official publication. It is purely private undertaking and in no way whatsoever supported by the Federal Government.

3. UNIMOG

As stated in the Memorandum, a specific military version of the UNIMOG does not exist. This fact cannot be altered by descriptions in magazines or by publicity-slogans. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that it is possible to transport by UNIMOG soldiers as well as workmen into difficult ground. By this, however, the UNIMOG does not become a military vehicle which would fall under the embargo provisions.

4. Helicopter BO-105

As stated in the Memorandum, a military version of the BO-105 helicopter does not exist. The firm of MBB has, furthermore, at no time delivered helicopters to South Africa, neither before, nor in, nor since 1972.

The production-line of MBB comprises, as far as helicopters are concerned, only the type BO-105. It once had been planned to build a military helicopter as type BO-115. However, this project, of which already prospectus for a future sale had been issued, was abandoned.

For the time being, MBB are working instead to adapt the BO-105 for military purposes, *i.e.* by equipping it with anti-tank-weapons. This development not yet being accomplished, not a single specimen of the adapted version has been sold. The fact, that MBB are already making propāganda for this version is simply to be explained by the necessity to take care of their potential prospects on the market if the development-efforts lead to a successful result. Such publicity methods are customary, especially in the case of innovations of products with a long period of development.

Whereas there have been not even negotiations concerning the sale of the helicopter BO-105 to South Africa, it might be of interest that several BO-105 have been delivered to independent states of Black Africa.

5. Plant for Construction of Armoured Vehicles

The Memorandum says unequivocally that no export of such a plant has taken place from the Federal Republic of Germany in the past and that no export permit would be granted in the future. This fact cannot be altered by a report in the "Observer" nor any other publication.

As regards the other points raised by the Memorandum, the Federal Government has nothing to add. They are, however, covered by General Remarks No. 2, 3 and 4 of the present Note.

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany trusts that these remarks will contribute to the purpose of the Report on the matter to be submitted to the 29th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and avails itself of the opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

Addis Ababa, May 2nd, 1977

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