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Cooperation of imperialist powers, particularly  
West Germany, with South Africa, Rhodesia and  
Portugal: facts, motives and causes and effects



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1) Southern Africa - an economic and military bloc  
for imperialism

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The southern part of Africa is, for the time being, the greatest colonial territory of the world and therefore attracts the political, economic and military interest of all imperialist states. The governments of the principal imperialist powers still make formal declarations condemning racism and colonialism, but at the same time they tolerate and promote a large-scale financial and trade offensive of their monopolies in southern Africa. The results of this offensive are much more important than the development aid of the imperialist countries for the independent states of Africa, for it halted the wave of the African liberation revolutions at the Zambesi river, which is an anachronism in the history of the world; it has also led to extremely dark prospects for a final liberation of the African continent from imperialist colonial rule in the near future.

The main interest of world imperialism in the territories of southern Africa is undoubtedly economic. Southern Africa is, for the time being, the most important raw material reservoir of world imperialism, not only because it has the main strategic raw material resources for the world capitalist economy in large and exploitable quantities, but also because social and political conditions have wilfully been preserved there which appear to keep these sources open, for years and decades to come it is hoped.

These resources include South Africa's deposits of gold, chromium, diamonds, asbestos, manganese, vanadium, nickel, magnesite, coal, copper, silver, tin, sulphur, iron ore and recently detected mineral oil and gas; Angola's and Mozambique's iron ore and oil; Rhodesia's asbestos, chromium, nickel and other ore; South-West Africa's diamonds; and enormous resources of hydro-electric power in all southern Africa.



Another point of economic interest to world imperialism is the increasing economic strength of much of southern Africa. This increase became obvious after World War II and has become ever greater since. It attracts foreign investment. This explains why South Africa alone, whose population accounts for mere 7 per cent of the continent's, produces more than 30 per cent of Africa's durables, more than 40 per cent of its minerals (more than 80 per cent in the case of coal) and 57 per cent of power.<sup>(1)</sup> This enormous economic potential came about only because imperialist powers have made a lot of investments, the African community is most terrifically exploited and, according to official figures, over 1 million workers come for work from neighbouring countries. The capitalist press has therefore praised southern Africa for years describing it as an investment outlet returning highest profits, of up to 30 per cent of the capital invested. Foreign capital has gained an increasing foothold in southern Africa. While foreign investment was 42 per cent of all investment in South Africa in 1945 and 1946 and 63 per cent in 1948 and 1949<sup>(2)</sup> there is today not one economic branch without major foreign investments. South African capitalists forge ahead with the economic integration of the South, with the aid and support of international monopoly capital.

#### Southern military pact

This economic position of the white régimes accounts for their greatest military potential in Africa. Investigations in London have brought this to light:

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- (1) see Dr. Hendrik von Eck, President of the South African society of industrial development: International Cooperation in Southern Africa, Industriekurier, special South African edition, of 14 March 1967.
- (2) South Africa, Economic and Other News (Wirtschaftliche und andere Mitteilungen), published by the South African Association, Zurich, edition 4/1960, p. 5.



- over 80,000 colonial mercenaries are employed in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, and Mozambique; they are equipped with the latest weapons to suppress the liberation movement;
- South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonial troops have air forces of nearly 20,000 equipped with more than 500 fighter aircraft and mobile helicopter special task forces;
- South Africa and Rhodesia have an over 50,000 strong regular army and police force who can be reinforced by several hundred thousands at very short notice by calling up reservists and calling in para-military units;
- all régimes have for years been constantly increasing their military expenditure; South Africa's have increased more than six-fold from 1960 to 1968; Portugal spends more than 40 per cent of its budget on maintaining its colonial rule in South Africa;<sup>(1)</sup>
- South Africa has 30 warships stationed on its shores; it set up its first rocket-launching pad in October 1968 and has built more than 160 arms factories over the last few years;<sup>(2)</sup> there is no other such military build-up on the African continent.

So the investments of international monopoly capital in southern Africa get perfect military protection. This protection is primarily a confrontation against the independent neighbouring states to the North.

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(1) Africa Contemporary Record, Annual Survey and Documents, 1968 - 1969, London 1969, p. 716 ff.

(2) Münchner Merkur, of 3 December 1968.



This strategic line-up of the military potential of the southern African countries against the North is nothing new. South Africa's leader Vorster has it in mind whenever he threatens independent neighbouring states. Everybody knows, at least since 1968, that there are secret military agreements among the white régimes.

The Times wrote on 12 March 1968 that "officers of the Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African armies, air forces and police ... had been meeting regularly for many months, if not years." The same paper says that three matters were agreed upon:

- all three countries can be overflowed by each other's military aircraft to fight the liberation movement;
- experience shall be exchanged regularly in combatting the liberation movement; and
- freedom-fighters arrested shall be extradited to one another.

This pact is part and parcel of the strategy which the main imperialist powers and the white régimes thought up for their offensive on independent Africa.

#### New strategy

The new strategy is a whole array of measures to make southern Africa still stronger politically, militarily and economically and encourage the expansionism of the white régimes and international monopoly capital towards the independent African states. One of its aspects is the military efforts to suppress the liberation movement and to threaten other states relentlessly.



Another aspect is what is called the Northern Policy. Under it, the white régime in southern Africa keeps friends and cooperates with the other African states. This policy is not as selfless as its architects claim it to be. Its ends are clear and unambiguous. They have been reaffirmed several times since the policy was proclaimed about two years ago. What the international monopoly capital expects to get from Vorster's new policy is mainly that he "may lead South Africa from its terrible isolationism to a full share in world developments", (retranslated from German)<sup>(1)</sup> the Financial Times wrote speaking in support of foreign capital interests.

The strategy was to arrange a "political break-through and gain in authority"<sup>(2)</sup> among independent African states. The régimes in southern Africa were to be given an air of respectability. All imperialist states hold up this strategy for it opens up new outlets and new markets. All Africa is to be rolled back from the South by international monopoly capital.

## 2) Southern Africa's part in imperialist global strategy

The facts, motives and causes and effects set forth so far have shown that southern Africa has today gained an importance for world imperialism "which it did not have ever since World War II".<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) The Financial Times, London, 11 July 1969

(2) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 30 June 1969

(3) Die Welt, Berlin, 22 May 1969

This conclusion was also drawn by the West German politicalologist Prof. Klaus Mehnert known for evolving the concept of global strategy for use by West Germany's foreign policy.

See also: Christ und Welt; Stuttgart, 18 October 1968.



In the first few years after this war imperialists still hoped to keep all of Africa as one of their economic bases and military strongholds of great strategic importance. Yet these plans miscarried because of the struggle for political liberation which was successful in many parts of the continent.

Since the Suez Canal was closed southern Africa has indeed a new role to play in imperialist global strategy, which is aimed at all parts of the world.

One of the early proponents of this strategy described today's enormous importance of southern Africa for imperialist influence on the continent early in the 1960's. He wrote: "In case of a crisis, the West could get backing only in the South of the continent, and only there it could have air bases and ports to fall back on ... and this because of the Zambesi-line which would separate the black-dominated northern continent from the white-dominated southern one. This, however, would give South Africa a key position." (1)

In imperialist strategy the key position of the so-called White Bloc régimes in Africa is undoubtedly like that of Israel in the Middle East. This similarity lies in more than just the aggressiveness toward independent African or Arab states respectively.

Israel's aggressive policies blocked one of the world's most important waterways in 1967. The ships of the world have to go round the Cape, moving close by white régimes for several thousand miles. This route is therefore comparatively safe for the main imperialist powers - compara-

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(1) Wilhelm Röpke: Südafrika in der Weltwirtschaft und Welt-politik (South Africa in world economy and policies), in: Afrika und seine Probleme (Africa and its problems), Eugen Rentsch Verlag publishing house, Erlenbach-Zürich and Stuttgart, 1965, page 153.



tively because the Suez Canal route passes through anti-imperialist Arab states. The imperialist states of Europe, mainly the NATO powers, are rather happy about the new strategic position for they - including the United States (with its troops in Europe and its 6th Mediterranean Fleet) - have to rely heavily on oil carried round southern Africa by sea.

So the route round the Cape has become NATO's main supply route for oil after the Suez Canal was blocked. Western experts say that up to 2 million tons of oil are now carried daily from the Middle East round the Cape although the route's 11,000 sea miles are double the one through the Suez Canal.

Finally, there is the aspect of military strategy.

The imperialist powers, and above all the US and West Germany, but also the White Bloc régimes, consider southern Africa as very important, primarily because it lies on one of the now most important international sea routes that are also under their military control. This control is even sanctioned in a way by the conclusion of a treaty between Great Britain and South Africa in 1955. The treaty laid down how the South African port of Simonstown should be used. Under the treaty, ships of all NATO countries - i.e. also West Germany - may use this port in case of need. So the port will be exactly what imperialist military bases are under US global strategy.

### 3) Alliance with South Africa

The West German Federal Republic is one of those states in the world which view themselves as closest allies of the South African régime. This is on the whole still true in spite of the recent change in the West German government.







- Heinrich Lübke, Minister of Agriculture and Federal President;
- Eugen Gerstenmeier, Vice-President of the Bundestag (Lower House);
- Ludwig Erhard, head of government and Economics Minister;
- Franz Josef Strauss, Minister of Defence and Finances;
- Richard Jäger, Vice-President of the Bundestag;
- Paul Lücke, Interior Minister;
- Walter Scheel, Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor of the new government under Brandt;
- J. Abs, leading West German banker;
- A. Krupp, boss of the greatest West German arms trust; and
- F. Berg, President of the Federal Board of the (West) German Industries.

None of them has spoken of possible controversies. Quite the reverse. All of them have more or less favoured the racist policies and the close West German-South African alliance. Heinrich Lübke said: "South Africa is an inspiration for all Africa". Ludwig Erhard said: "There is a similar spirit at work in (West) Germany and South Africa". And Franz Josef Strauss commented: "South Africa is the cornerstone of the Western world". So there are no controversies but rather a close alliance. This is also revealed by the following study of economic relations between the two countries.

The economic expansion by West German imperialism went through several stages. They differ in quality rather than in timing. The expansion began when the commercial relations were resumed after they had been interrupted by World War II.

Here are figures to describe it:



West Germany's foreign trade with South Africa  
(also compared to that of all Africa)<sup>(1)</sup>

in million Deutschmarks

	South Africa		Africa as a whole	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
1950	128.6	83.8	-	-
1959	324.8	622.6	-	-
1960	342.2	647.5	2455.4	2533.0
1961	359.6	551.8	2463.8	2239.6
1962	413.4	576.8	2687.5	2130.5
1963	465.1	732.6	3257.7	2608.0
1964	506.5	905.8	4423.7	2999.7
1965	572.8	1021.3	5134.1	3248.2
1966	831.6	981.1	5771.1	3263.8
1967	1045.2	1251.4	5768.9	3648.4
1968	982.4	1418.6	6882.1	4063.4

These statistics show conclusively that:

- 1) West Germany's trade with South Africa has expanded several times more rapidly than that with Africa's independent states;
- 2) West Germany chose the South African racist state for its principal trading partner on that continent, a fact that has been viewed with satisfaction by West German industrial circles for years; and
- 3) trade had a particularly steep rise from 1962 to 1965 when the racist régime was getting more sinister.

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(1) The figures were taken from: Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Statistical Yearbook of the Federal Republic of Germany), W. Kohlhammer GmbH/ Stuttgart and Mainz publishing house, volumes of 1963, 1966, 1969; and Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 22 March 1966 (Special Edition on South Africa).



A new stage of expansion began with an increased inflow of West German investments. It was particularly apparent in 1962; for in May that year the investments by German imperialism requisitioned during World War II were released by decision of the South African government.

This provided the framework for the boosted investments of West German monopoly capital in South Africa in the following years.

According to official South African figures, these investments were:

11	million	Rand	(	60	million	Deutschmark	)	in	1956;
28	"	"		154	"	"		in	1964
57	"	"		313	"	"		in	1965
115	"	"		630	"	"		in	1968 <sup>(1)</sup>

These figures are quite informative. Yet they are not a full representation of West Germany's capital expansion; for they are "officially collected figures only". Even West German authorities point out that "actual (West) German investments" might have been "much higher".<sup>(2)</sup> Only part of the investments were known. They also say that "in reality, it may be much more because some have invested through third parties".<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Cited from reports by the President of the Johannesburg money exchange, Mr. J. A. Hyman, and the head of the (West) German-African Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg, Gert E. Fischer in: *Industriekurier*, 22 March 1966 and 8 June 1968.

(2) Rolf Howald, of the Federal Ministry of Economy, Bonn: *Zwei gute Handelspartner* (Two Good Partners in Trade) in: *Industriekurier*, 22 March 1966.

(3) *Industriekurier*, 12 October 1965.



The export of capital had two trends. For one thing, it increased the amount of West German capital at South African or other foreign industrial companies in South Africa; and, for another, more and more West German industrial companies set up affiliated enterprises in South Africa.

At first, mostly those West German monopolies were represented in South Africa which may look back on years or decades of tradition. That is why South Africa's economics minister Mr. Diederichs said in 1965: "As to German enterprises, we have only those here which have already had economic interests here, which they are expanding or to which they are adding new ones".

Yet he told West Germany's monopolies:

"Here you can build up industries with much less capital expenditure, of course, because we have still a very large auxiliary labour force cheaper than in Germany. This has made many foreign investors set up enterprises in South Africa".<sup>(1)</sup>

This shows the main motive for international and West German capital expansion in South Africa: Maximum profits attainable with very low capital expenditure.

And West German investors bluntly speak of this motive as the root-cause for their expansionism in South Africa.

"There is a number of manufacturing enterprises in (West) Germany that are very near the point of no profitability. This is because of high costs of labour and

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<sup>(1)</sup> Handelsblatt, 16 December 1968.



social welfare. So it is them that are interested in setting up branch enterprises in South Africa".<sup>(1)</sup>

So West German monopolies shifting production potential to South Africa take an unconcealed and immediate part in exploiting the people of South Africa and other African countries from which migrating workers come to South Africa. Brutal exploitation and suppression by the apartheid régime guarantee West German monopolies maximum profits.

South Africa's slogan is: "We wish every (West) German enterprise a branch in South Africa in its own interest".<sup>(2)</sup> So West German monopolies are urged toward still greater involvement in South Africa.

The major monopolies of West Germany have responded to this call for years. Numerous other industrial enterprises entered the South Africa business later. 1962 saw about forty West German enterprises represented there. According to the head of the (West) German-South African Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Johannesburg, Dr. Fischer, "roughly 300 West German firms "had established "branches" until mid-1968."<sup>(3)</sup>

This is not the time and place to analyse each and every of these West German enterprises and what they do in South Africa's economy. It might suffice to mention the most important trusts and monopolies. Their very presence in South

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(1) Industriekurier, 22 March 1966

(2) Industriekurier, 25 March 1965

(3) Industriekurier, 8 June 1968



Africa alone has an immediate effect on various political and economic processes in the country.

These trusts are:

- the greatest arms trusts: Krupp, Bölkow AG (missile research), and Quandt;
- the largest chemical trusts, successors to IG Farben, known from World War II: Bayer Leverkusen, Farbwerke Hoechst and Badische Anilin- und Sodafabriken;
- the largest electrical trusts: AEG/Telefunken, and Siemens;
- the largest banks: Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank; and
- most influential monopolies in basic and heavy industries: Krupp, Klöckner, Degussa, Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerke AG, Otavi Mining and Railway Company, DEMAG etc.

The true effect of the economic expansion by these monopolies can be seen clearly only if one knows that they are among the largest, richest and, of course, best equipped enterprises in Western Europe and in their branches of economy.

So they helped the racist South African régime to grow economically, scientifically and technologically to the point of an increased superiority over the independent states of Africa and of enabling it to perform economic blackmail under the cover of economic and technological aid.

Finally, West German arms trusts use their manufacturing potential in South Africa to step up the armament of the racist régime without any arms supplies from West Germany.



This is how West German trusts use seemingly economic means to pave the way for the racists "into the community of Western industrial nations". This process is not at all over. It is rather being stepped up more than ever. A team of West German industrialists, led by the President of the Federal Association of (West) German Industries, Fritz Berg, went to South Africa early this year. They were the first team of its kind since 1938, a fact they did not hide, and included representatives of the most important West German trusts and monopolist groups. Herr Berg thought of capital expansion when he said in Johannesburg:

"South Africa is the southernmost arm of Europe. We are entering into immediate business here."<sup>(1)</sup> West German trusts, along with South African ones, are now trying to advance northward into independent Africa. A report from Capetown said on this visit - and not by chance so - :

"Who participates there in South Africa today will do so in other countries tomorrow. And who offers good value in South Africa today will establish himself tomorrow in other countries".<sup>(2)</sup>

The report says that the most important outcome of the visit was that future "new ways of economic cooperation will be heavier direct (West) German investments in South Africa".<sup>(3)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup> Christ und Welt, Stuttgart, 25 April 1969

<sup>(2)</sup> ibid.

<sup>(3)</sup> Handelsblatt, 25 March 1969.



West German monopoly aid is making South Africa an ever greater economic, scientific and technological challenge to the independent states of Africa.

The so-called development aid given by imperialist states to Africa can obviously never blot out this glaring and constantly growing difference between the level of development in South Africa and independent Africa. Incidentally, West German monopoly capital wants to retain this difference; for it undoubtedly offers best conditions for future imperialist capital expansion.

The West German ex-Minister of Finance and Chairman of the West German Christian Social Union, Herr Strauss, set forth his plan in an interview on plans for the 1970's quite unambiguously. He said: "We ought to help poorer countries to produce present-day technological items and start manufacturing items of future technology - this also is a policy deliberately encouraged by the government - or at least start researching into and developing them. So we should make the developing countries able to produce TV sets, radios, kitchen equipment, simple office machinery, cars etc. not in our place but together with us because we want to sell them computers tomorrow, whose manufacture will by then be much more important in our country than it is today".<sup>(1)</sup>

These words imply that imperialist states claim the "future technology" of the coming decade while they allow development countries to be in charge of "present-day technology" outdated by then and are retained imperialism's markets, better markets even.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Franz Josef Strauss: Konzept für die 70er Jahre, Interview with the Der Volkswirt magazine, 3 April 1969, No. 14, p. 16.



#### 4. Military and nuclear aspects of cooperation

It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that major West German arms trusts, Bölkow AG, Krupp and Quandt, set up affiliated enterprises in South Africa, whose manufacturing potential is used to increase the arms potential of the South African racist régime. Military and especially nuclear cooperation is generally kept secret, of course. And therefore we do not forget that only a minor part of this cooperation must be publicly known. So we have to view published or known facts with a particularly critical and attentive eye and in the perspective of the situation in South Africa in general.

According to West German newspapers, South Africa has not only 160 arms factories but also 800 supply factories<sup>(1)</sup> of no less importance. One of the latter is the "International Batteries Corp." at Rosslyn near Pretoria, founded in November 1968. 52 per cent of its capital is in the hands of Quandt through their VARTA AG branch in Frankfurt-on-Maine. According to the VARTA AG Board the newly founded company spends 5.6 million marks on building a battery-manufacturing factory. This, practically, makes Quandt the main supplier of batteries for all vehicles of South Africa's troops. There is also West German commitment in the field of rocket research and manufacture. Since Bölkow AG, which carries on rocket research, has settled down in South Africa more and more has become known of South African plans to build missiles and launching pads. South Africa's defence minister Botha said in October 1968 that South Africa will build a rocket base in a strategic area near Cape Vidal, 90 miles from the Mozambique border. An unnamed overseas firm won

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(1) Münchner Merkur, 3 December 1968.







What makes the alliance between West Germany and South Africa so very dangerous is, however, their mutual nuclear interests. West Germany is known to have the so-called know-how, while South Africa has raw material resources to last for decades. There is a detailed expertise on the scientific and military nuclear research potential of West Germany. It was worked out by nuclear researchers of international repute and says at one point:

"The West German government particularly tries to buy uranium ore from states like South Africa which do not demand guarantees for an exclusively peaceful use of the uranium supplied. So uranium ore has passed from South Africa to the West German Federal Republic since 1967".<sup>(1)</sup>

The expertise reveals a number of economic processes that have gone on between West Germany and South Africa particularly since 1967. And, in the final analysis, these processes have been based on a 1961 secret military agreement between the two.

Under the agreement, which was arranged by nazi general Von Mellenthin, who lives in South Africa, the two countries have long since prepared for the manufacture of nuclear arms. While West Germany provides uranium ore dressing techniques, South Africa provides the ore itself.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Scientific and technological expertises on how to create prerequisites for the manufacture of nuclear arms in the West German Federal Republic, by a group of nuclear researchers of the German Democratic Republic printed in Dokumentation der Zeit, Berlin 1968, volume XI, edition 417, p. 14 ff.



The West German newspaper Die Tat wrote after West Germany had received first supplies of uranium ore, 1,000 tons: "The Federal Republic's nuclear industry ... is eagerly opening up new sources of uranium ore, particularly in South Africa. As far back as 1958 South Africa's Economic Minister, Dr. I. A. Roux, saw Degussa in France to offer them uranium ore concentrate. Degussa processed dressed uranium ore to feed reactors with. When the dressing in Karlsruhe (West Germany) will be good enough for production, uranium can be had directly from South Africa."<sup>(1)</sup>

Early in April 1968 it leaked out<sup>(2)</sup> that Klöckner and Co. in West Germany were providing themselves with a raw material basis of their own in South-West Africa to develop nuclear arms. Klöckner and Co. had bought most of the shares of the South-West African Lithium Mines Pty. Ltd. This gave them the right to exploit ore of importance for nuclear and missile engineering. Industriekurier wrote on 29 July 1968 that it was mainly Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerke AG and Degussa in Frankfurt-on-Maine that had concluded agreements with South Africa under which they were to supply uranium. These agreements secured safe future uranium supplies. According to the same source, South Africa was able to increase its uranium output to an annual 7,000 tons in a very short time.

Both West Germany and South Africa are interested to continue this cooperation in the nuclear field, especially so because the foundation in South Africa of a governmental institution called Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM)

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(1) Die Tat, Frankfurt-on-Maine, 20 May 1967

(2) Industriekurier, 4 April 1968



created preconditions for implementing their joint nuclear research programme. West Germany's joining the nuclear non-proliferation treaty would at least put major obstacles in the way of these plans. Deutsche Nachrichten, the newspaper of the West German neo-fascist party, has already outlined the future trend for West Germany's nuclear policies when it wrote on 17 May 1968:

"The important uranium suppliers of the West, the United States and Canada, will, once they have signed the treaty (the nuclear non-proliferation treaty), no longer be allowed to supply uranium to non-signatories ... so there is one nuclear supplier left, perhaps the world's greatest future one, South Africa, which is already today preparing for a shift to nuclear reactors in its power generation". The newspaper said on West German-South African cooperation in nuclear weapons: "(West) German nuclear know-how in exchange for South African uranium - the way the French do it- would be profitable for both."

When disregarding this, we may say of the alliance between West Germany's and South Africa's imperialism in general that West German aid and support strengthens the racist apartheid régime economically, politically and militarily in every respect and that therefore the centre of reactionaries - of racism and neo-colonialism- in southern Africa has become the most important stronghold of world imperialism in Africa.

##### 5. Alliance with Portugal

Aid and support of West German imperialism for Portugal's colonialists varies in many respects from this alliance. The reason is that the centre of Portuguese colonialism is



its European mother country and relations of imperialist states with it must no doubt be given closer attention than so far. It can be taken for granted that West German monopolies have in recent years directed their expansionism also to Angola and Mozambique.

Krupp for instance have created their own small colonial area in Angola in the form of the iron ore mines of Cassinga, where they invested several hundred of million marks. West Germany's Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks AG tries to do the same in mineral oil drillings in Mozambique.

Also Siemens, AEG, Telefunken and Degussa have tried to exploit the mineral deposits of Angola and Mozambique. The most important economic groundwork for West Germany's neo-colonialist expansionism in Portugal's colonies is, however, direct economic and political transaction between Portugal and West Germany.

Let us look at the relations between West Germany and Portugal, because they may explain the seemingly anachronistic fact that one of the poorest and economically least developed countries of Europe, Portugal, is by far one of the world's greatest colonial powers today, even by geographical standards.

Trade between the two countries developed like this:

West German imports and exports (in million marks)<sup>(1)</sup>

1960	155.2	449.5
1961	134.5	436.0
1962	154.8	381.3

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(1) Statistical Yearbook of the Federal Republic of Germany, Verlag W. Kohlhammer GmbH publishing house, Stuttgart and Mainz 1963, 1966 and 1969



1963	189.9	424.7
1964	199.4	501.2
1965	236.2	616.5
1966	208.1	663.3
1967	187.0	623.8
1968	198.0	736.7

So, Portugal has always had a trade gap. The West Germans have said for years that it should be closed by West German tourists going to Portugal and West German payments made for Portuguese workers employed in West Germany.

West German sources say that the balance of payment should also be off-set by means of "overseas provinces"<sup>(1)</sup>, that is colonial profits, and "capital inflow".<sup>(2)</sup>

Striking is West Germany's share in Portuguese imports. West Germany has become by far the greatest exporter to Portugal. Here are figures to demonstrate:<sup>(3)</sup>

	Portugal's total imports in million Escudos	West Germany's share	Percentage of Portuguese exports				
			WG	GB	US	France	Italy
1964	21.88	3.33	15.2	13.6	10.5	7.1	4.4
1965	25.76	4.20	16.3	13.0	8.0	7.5	5.2
1966	29.10	4.46	15.3	13.7	7.8	7.5	5.6
1967	29.14	4.38	15.0	13.8	7.0	6.8	5.8
1968	29.88	4.77	16.0	13.4	6.4	7.1	6.1

West Germany's great share in exports has made her Portugal's main trade pillar.

(1) See Handelsblatt, 4/5 August 1967

(2) See Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 April 1968

(3) Handelsblatt, 29 April 1969



West German investments in Portugal make this still clearer. Although nothing is made public on the total amount of these investments there are clues. About a hundred of the 600 enterprises with foreign participation were found to have a high percentage of West German capital.<sup>(1)</sup> West German capital flow to Portugal has particularly increased in 1966 and 1967. Handelsblatt commented: "General (West) German private capital investment abroad went up by a little under 36 per cent in 1966 and 1967; in EEC countries by 61 per cent and in EFTA countries by nearly 31 per cent. Portugal leads with 96 per cent if one considers the growth rate of (West) German investment abroad."<sup>(2)</sup> So West German imperialism is one of the main financiers of Portugal's colonialists. While West German capital was attracted mostly by cheap labour in the mother country in the early 1960's it is now attracted more and more by raw material resources and "cheap" African labour in its colonies.

It is not accidental but inherent in general imperialist strategy for Southern Africa that the principal imperialist powers render Portugal, which was weakened in colonial wars, political and military support.

That is why Portugal opened her colonies to international monopoly capital with its "policy of open investments" at the very time when Vorster proclaimed his "new northern policy". The Gabora Bassee project, in which several West German trusts are involved, is a clear case in point. The nature of this policy is to make lucrative offers so as to lure foreign capital into Portugal's colonies to establish

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Handelsblatt, 19/20 April 1968



itself there and so as to persuade imperialist governments to give Portugal's colonial policies still greater support.

A West German newspaper wrote: "Portuguese authorities in Lisbon want to persuade mainly those non-Portuguese enterprises to make investments which are ready to use the abundance of cheap labour to process for themselves the first-stage raw material discovered."

It has been proved further above that West German monopolies appreciated such advantages in the case of South Africa. Portugal therefore hopes for still stronger West German commitment in its African colonies.

Expansion in colonies is something to be primarily carried on by West German trusts which have branches in Portugal. Such trusts are the Grundig radio trust, DEMAG AG, Rheinische Stahlwerke, Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz, Farbwerke Hoechst, Siemens, AEG/Telefunken, Seidensticker and other monopolies.

This gives a clear picture of the economic support which West German imperialism lends to Portugal's colonialists.

There is also a close military alliance. Facts have for years been coming to light about West German arms supplies for the Portuguese colonial army. Supplies cover everything from rifles and automatic pistols via radio equipment and motor vehicles to aircraft. West German military even help train Portugal's colonial army. Early in 1969 a West German newspaper compiled a list of West German military supplies to Portugal. It wrote:



"The Federal Republic has supplied to Portugal 40 Fiat G 91 jet fighters (including technical personnel), 60 F 86 Sabre-Jets (despite Canadian government protests), an ammunition factory, 1 million Deutschmarks worth of mines, armoured Mercedes-Benz lorries and 10,000 Israeli automatic pistols.

"In exchange, Lisbon gave preferential licences to Federal German monopolies, prospecting licences to Krupp and orders and licences to large West German enterprises."<sup>(1)</sup>

Finally, West Germany will build several airfields in Portugal. It built Portugal's largest foreign military base near Beja spending 200 million Deutschmarks. Leading West German politicians thought it important to demonstrate their political alliance with the Portuguese colonialists for all the world to see by spectacular visits to Lisbon. Among the visitors were:

Ludwig Erhard, Prime Minister and Economics Minister; Franz Joseph Strauss, Defence and Finance Minister; Gerhard Schröder, Defence Minister; Richard Jäger, Vice-President of the Bundestag; Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Prime Minister; and last but not least, today's Chancellor Willy Brandt, ex-foreign minister of the Kiesinger government. They went there although politicians of other European states have avoided such spectacular visits to Portugal since the colonial war broke out.

Some of these West German politicians, for instance Richard Jäger, even praised Portuguese colonial rule as a "contribution to the civilizing mission of the Free World".

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(1) Das Andere Deutschland, Hanover, 2nd edition, February 1969.



This may give sufficient enlightenment on the nature of the economic, military and political alliance of West German imperialism with the Portuguese colonialists. The effects from this alliance have, it is true, made themselves felt primarily in Europe. But now the expansionist drive of West German and international monopoly capital aims more and more at Portugal's colonies. So it has become an important part of imperialist strategy in strengthening the white bloc of colonialists and racists.

#### 6. Alliance with the Rhodesian coup régime

To investigate the motives and facts of the West German-Rhodesian alliance is no doubt more difficult than to investigate those of the preceding two alliances. This is because the Rhodesian régime has after the coup kept its most important economic and political links with imperialist states in the dark, where possible.

It is however beyond doubt that West Germany, defying a United Nations appeal, maintains wide relations with the régime. It even refuses to break them off forever. This is clear from this quotation:

"The Federal Government has always taken the stand of the Federal Republic not being legally bound by United Nations recommendations."<sup>(1)</sup>

In line with this attitude, West Germany has a Consulate in Salisbury, and West German politicians go to

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(1) Industriekurier, 14 November 1968



Rhodesia - via South Africa - from time to time. Such visitors were Franz Josef Strauss, Finance and Defence Minister; Paul Lücke, Interior Minister; and Richard Jäger, Vice-President of the Bundestag. Nothing whatsoever becomes known about the outcome of such visits. But subsequent events hint at the subjects under negotiation on such visits, particularly after Strauss's visit to Rhodesia. After this visit Rhodesia received banknotes printed in West Germany, and a lively trade exchange began for which a fake firm was used.

West German and Rhodesian figures on their trade are very conflicting. Their only interest is that they show the continuity of trade. Here are some of the figures: <sup>(1)</sup>

West German imports from Rhodesia			West German exports	
in million D-marks				
	West German figures	Rhodesian figures	West German figures	Rhodesian figures
1965	140.5	143.4	45.1	54.4
1966	122.1	75.4	45.8	51.5
1967	63.9	51.1	50.4	75.3

There are no more recent figures available. If they were their information on the volume of trade would only be limited, because true figures are not published in their mutual interest. This is borne out by West German newspapers; here a quotation to illustrate:

"Most Rhodesian trade passes through neighbouring South Africa. Codified three-party transactions make it

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(1) Handelsblatt, 4 June 1968