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Bonn, November 25th 1987

" THE FRG SANCTIONS MOVEMENT AGAINST APARTHEID "

Paper presented by Ingeborg Wick, Executive Secretary and Board Member
of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany and
West-Berlin (AAB) to the

ANC International Solidarity Conference,

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December 1-4, 1987

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The FRG sanctions' movement against apartheid

The "Gang of Three"

Since 1985 even the most diehard supporters of the apartheid regime like the USA, the UK and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) have no longer been in a position to evade debates and decision on sanctions against the apartheid regime. Since 1984 resistance in South Africa and Namibia has grown stronger and stronger. Pressure by the international community on the minority regime increased considerably. The governments in Bonn, London and Washington had to change their position on sanctions. In September 1985 and in September 1986 the EEC Foreign Ministers adopted a series of partial sanctions, and in October 1986 the US-Congress, overriding President Reagan's veto, adopted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Although these measures are still relatively moderate and in practise largely being ignored and undermined, their effects have begun to be felt by Pretoria. Withdrawals mainly of US-companies from South Africa, decreasing trade (especially coal export) figures and a deep financial crisis made Pretoria launch an extraordinary lobbying campaign in government and industry circles of the western countries and a propaganda war against sanctions which included opinion polls and extraordinary activities by its embassies in the western world. Much more pressure must be brought to bear on the governments of these three countries, the USA, the UK and the FRG, with the aim of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions to be adopted and implemented. Without the collaboration of this "Gang of Three" the apartheid system, its illegal occupation of Namibia and destabilisation and aggression policy towards the frontline states would soon crumble. Ever more pressure must be exerted through increased concerted efforts inside these three countries and internationally.

The role of the FRG

Unlike even up to the recent past the role of the FRG in the maintenance of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa and Namibia nowadays is growingly being recognized and condemned by the international community as comparable to that of the USA and the UK. For years the FRG has been considered to follow an "enlightened" and "moderate" third-world and development aid policy in general and a "liberal" policy towards apartheid in special. As from the beginning of the seventies the movement against apartheid in the FRG grew slowly, but steadily. It gained much more momentum as from the beginning of the 80ies against the background of the rising peace, ecologist and anti-fascist movement with which it formed an integral part, and against the background of the upswing in the anti-apartheid struggle world-wide.

FRG collaboration

Thus, the extent and quality of the collaboration between the FRG and the apartheid regime became ever more known to and fought against by a wider public in- and outside the FRG. The FRG is the supplier No 1 to South Africa, the 3. most important investor, and next to Switzerland the most reliable banking partner.

More than 6000 companies of the FRG trade with South Africa, about 450 companies invest there, enjoying Bonn government support through Hermes credit guarantees and an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation. Mainly the FRG enabled Pretoria to develop its nuclear technology and to construct the uranium enrichment plant Pelindaba through which the apartheid regime produced nuclear bombs, the first of which was exploded in September 1979. The FRG is the country which can boast of most of the violations of the mandatory UNSC Arms Embargo dated 4/11/87. Between 1983-86 the Bonn government agreed to arms exports to South Africa amounting to 815 Mio DM, not counting the goods which flow to South Africa without licence like pistols and rifles, helicopters and military trucks. On 27/5/86 four managers of the company Rheinmetall were sentenced because of illegal arms deals, amongst others to South Africa. In 1985 the state-owned shipyard Howaldtswerke/Deutsche Werft AG (HDW) delivered submarine blueprints to South Africa - a fact which after public disclosure in November 86 led to the institution of a Parliamentary Investigation Committee in December 1986 and again in the newly-elected Parliament in March 1987. The three major banks of the FRG, Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank, all of them members of the Technical Committee in the rescheduling process with South Africa worked out an extraordinarily favourable agreement for the racist regime in March 1987. The FRG heads the international movement which gives development aid to the illegal administration in Namibia. Although the Bonn government recognizes the UN-Council for Namibia it considers Decree No. 1 by the UNCN not to be legally binding. The FRG imports more than 30 % of all its uranium from Namibia. The FRG government allows MNR and UNITA activities to take place and to be coordinated in the FRG. Up to now it has refused to give bilateral aid to war-stricken Angola. In 1984 Federal Chancellor Kohl invited racist P.W. Botha to the FRG and thereby offered him the chance to sell his PAX PRETORIANA to 7 European countries. In 1985 Kohl declared the principle of "One person - One vote" "not to be practicable" and "irresponsible". (For detailed examples of FRG collaboration with the apartheid regime: see annexes!).

Signs of Policy shift

Nowadays, however, the Kohl government, in desperate search for international and national credibility, undertakes new efforts as far as the Southern Africa policy is concerned. The visits of Foreign Minister Genscher to Angola, of Chancellor Kohl to Mozambique in November 87 and the forthcoming visits of Franz Josef Strauß, leader of the ruling CSU, to Mozambique at the end of 1987 and of Federal President Weizsäcker to Zimbabwe in early 1988 underline the need felt by the Bonn government to counter the rising sanctions' demand by embarking on positive measures in Southern Africa - a strategy also followed by the Thatcher government in view of the Commonwealth summit in October 87 in Vancouver. At a press conference in Maputo on 18/11/87 Kohl condemned the apartheid system. Later he called on the South African government to open a dialogue including the ANC. In October 1987 high-ranking politicians of the ruling Liberal Party, Mr. Baum and Mr. Hirsch, came back from a visit to Southern Africa and called for selective sanctions against apartheid. This summer Labour Minister Blum openly voiced his intention to go to South Africa and juxtaposed it to the system in Chile which he severely

criticized after a visit there in July 87. Only some weeks ago FRG companies in South Africa openly rejected anti-apartheid advices given to them by a representative of the FRG embassy in Pretoria.

Economic reality

The companies of the FRG in South Africa show no sign of wanting to withdraw, although there is rising concern with respect to the continued crisis in South Africa. No FRG company, no FRG bank so far withdrew from South Africa. They still feel secure enough under the current FRG legislation and policy and confident enough to overcome the current crisis in South Africa. As the report of MEP Barbara Simons for the Commission of the EEC on the implementation of the EEC Foreign Ministers' sanctions' packages dated 1985 and 1986 shows governments like the Kohl government don't bother much about these provisions which anyhow are more symbolic than effective if implemented. The EEC sanctions' call against new investments was not introduced into FRG legislation, for example, and FRG companies like VW did in fact operate new investments. However, as far as trade is concerned, there are decreasing figures. Coal imports, in the first half of 1987, dropped by about 21 % as compared to last year.

Pro Sanctions' Positions in the FRG

There is a recent report produced in the FRG which clearly shows the effectiveness of sanctions against apartheid. The report of the Starnberger Institut, financed by the Protestant Church in the FRG (EKD), dated July 1987, says that effective sanctions will bring the apartheid system down to its knees, and that a small group of 6 countries ((USA, UK, FRG, France, Japan and Switzerland) would play a decisive role in this. This report unfortunately could not yet get the open support by the EKD-Council at its meeting in Hannover on September 19/20 1987. In June 1986 the highest body of the Protestant Church had adopted a resolution calling on the public to apply a series of selective sanctions, but refusing to implement them in its own organisation. That is why the EKD-Council, in March 1987, rejected the decision taken by the lay church institution "Protestant Church Convention" (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag - DEKT) earlier in March 1987 to cancel its Deutsche Bank account because of its continued business with apartheid. This decision mainly was the product of the efforts of the "Campaign against Apartheid", an alliance of about 30 church and solidarity groups of the FRG, amongst others the AAB. The DEKT decision caused and still causes an uproar in the FRG churches and public and has to be considered a major breakthrough in the boycott movement against apartheid in the FRG (see encl.!), Some smaller church institutions like for instance the Protestant Mission based in Hamburg already beforehand had cancelled its accounts at banks collaborating with apartheid. In November 1987 in West-Berlin the Synod of the EKD decided to cancel all contracts with racist churches in South Africa and Namibia.

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The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) and its 17 single unions have adopted a series of selective sanctions against apartheid in South Africa. They started to do so after the ICFTU conference in April 1985 in Washington. In September 1986, for instance, the DGB called for an inclusion of the coal boycott into the EEC sanctions package. In August and September 1987 DGB, the Mineworkers' Union and others materially supported the NUM and NUMSA strikers in South Africa and MUN in Namibia. On October 6th 1987 the DGB called on all consumers of the FRG to boycott products from South Africa and appealed to the government to adopt and to implement effective sanctions like for instance the coal boycott. The youth of the FRG Mineworkers' Union has supported NUM now for two years with publicity and material aid. The Chairman of the Banking and Commerce Union, Dr. Günther Volkmar, voted in favour of a withdrawal of FRG banks from South Africa at the huge anti-apartheid rally organised by the "Campaign against Apartheid" at the DEKT in June 1987 in Frankfurt/Main. The Printers' Union supports the tour of Radio Freedom Representative Patrick Mafuna through the FRG which started on 9/11/87 and is meant to propagate the solidarity project "Freedom for Nelson Mandela Broadcasting station" as major contribution of the solidarity movement in the FRG to the 75th anniversary of the ANC.

After the coalition government change and shift to the right in 1982 the anti-apartheid position in the Federal Parliament in Bonn were held by the WW

Party (SPD) and the new-comer The Greens; the latter one launching manifold initiatives against all forms of collaboration with apartheid and in favour of a total isolation of the apartheid regime. The SPD as from its Party Congress in August 1986 shifted its policy of rejection of sanctions into one of a wide range of partial sanctions and to an obvious preference for the ANC amongst the liberation forces in South Africa. This led, as a culmination point, up to now, to the invitation of ANC President O.R. Tambo to the FRG in April 1986 by Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Socialist International and then Chairman of the SPD. During this visit meetings took place with DGB Chairman Mr. Breit, EKD-Vice-Chairman Mr. Held, and Foreign Minister Genscher. The German Communist Party has always opted for a complete boycott of Pretoria and has actively participated in the boycott actions of the movement against apartheid in the FRG. Considerable lobby functions are being carried out by the numerous foundations close to the political parties like the Hanns-Seidel Foundation (Christian Social Union : CSU), which operates projects inside Namibia and openly supports racist policy as well as UNITA and MNR in the FRG; the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation (KAS), close to the CDU, which favours Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and has time and again channelled him through leading government, political business and church circles in the FRG up to meetings with Chancellor Kohl; the Friedrich-Naumann Foundation (Liberal Party FDP) has now recently also come out to be seen supporting the ANC, and the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (close to the SPD) has been known already for a longer time to give support to ANC and SWAPO.

The change of the FRG policy on sanctions against apartheid is a result of increased resistance in South Africa and Namibia, the successes of the world-wide anti-apartheid struggle and of the solidarity movement in the FRG. The AAB, together with large numbers of other solidarity groups, peace, church, trade union, women and ecologist groups, has promoted campaigns especially against military-nuclear collaboration and the bank business with

apartheid. Over the last few years focuses were massive anti-apartheid demonstrations, nation-wide bank action days on occasion of the Shareholder Meetings of Dresdner Bank, Solidarity Conferences and tours through the FRG. Closely linked to these boycott campaigns were forums for high-ranking representatives of ANC and SWAPO.

In 1987 the focus of Southern Africa solidarity groups in the FRG was the bank boycott and the campaign against the submarine scandal HDW and the military collaboration of Daimler-Benz with South Africa. Actions were taken against the holding of the "Special Conference 1987" by the International Association of Big Power Plants Operators (9. - 11.11. 1987 Johannesburg). Special emphasis was given against the FRG support to the illegal occupation of Namibia above all through government aid for projects inside Namibia and against uranium imports. The campaign for the increased support to the frontline states is gaining momentum: The largest third-world and anti-apartheid demonstration in the FRG took place in Frankfurt/Main on 20/6/87 where ANC-NEC member Francis Meli and Moses Omeb from the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) spoke at the rally. The Radio-Freedom tour for the project "Freedom for Nelson Mandela Broadcasting Station" from 9/11/87 until 6/12/87 comprised about 100 different events organised by and reaching out to all cross-sections of the population of the FRG.

Plans for 1988

Plans for 1988 include above all an intensified bank boycott which will be integrated into the nationwide campaign against the debt crisis in the Third World. This campaign gains an extraordinary importance in view of the IMF/World Bank Conference in September 1988 in West-Berlin and of the Central Committee Meeting of the World Council of Churches in August 1988 in Hannover. The campaign against the HDW scandal and the military collaboration of Daimler-Benz will be intensified. Actions against the illegal import of Namibian uranium into the FRG and a third conversion project of a military UNIMOG into a mobile clinic for SWAPO will take place. Increased political and material support will be given to ANC and SWAPO. Special attention will also be drawn to the destabilisation policy against Mozambique and to the support of SADCC. Without any doubt the 70th anniversary of Nelson Mandela on 18/7/87 will be a special challenge to all anti-apartheid forces not only in the FRG but world-wide.

Annexes: - Press Release military-nuclear cooperation FRG - South Africa, 30/10/87

- Press Release submarine scandal 9/2/87

- International Circular on anti-apartheid actions in Frankfurt 24/6/87 (Bank boycott)

- FRG banks involvement in financing apartheid in South Africa and Namibia

- Press Release dangerous "development aid" for Namibia 27/5/87

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P R E S S . R E L E A S E Tc1.:02281211355
Bonn, .February 9th 1987
Ref.: Military-nuclear collaboration Federal Republic of
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Germany- South Africa
After years of official denials the scandaloussoases Rheinmetall and
HDW also in the FRG conscientised a broader public on the the
military-nuclear collaboration between Federal Republic of Germany
(FRG) and racist South Africa. On May 27th 1986 four managers of
the company Rheinmetall were sentenced because of illegal arms
deliveries to the apartheid state between 1978 and 1980. Due to
legal procedures by the Anti-Aprtheid Movement and others the
Prosecutor in Kiel started investigations against the Kiel based
shipping company HDW because of the illegal delivery of submarine
blpe prints to Pretoria in the summer 1985. Contrary to
numerous denials these illegal deliveries took place with the
knowledge and consensus of the federal government.
These two cases are only the tip of an iceberg. For years the FRG
has been one of the most powerful arms supplier nations to Pre-
toria . She has systematically violated her own arms export
legislation and the mandatory United Nations Security Council Arms
Embargo dated 4.11.1977. Since 1977 the FRG has repeatetly been
condemned in international forums because of the militaryenuclear
collaboration with the apartheid system. The court case started
by the Anti-Apartheid Movement on March 1St . 1979 against
the federal government concerning the military-nuclear collaboration
with South Africa nowadays is pending at the Federal Constitutional
Court in Karlsruhe. Military trucks by the company Daimler-Benz and
Magirus Deutz today are the standardtrucks of the South African
military. The former marine head quater Simonstown near Capetown
has been equipped with NATO codificated electronic supplies by the
companies AEC and MAN up to 1973. The transfer of the jet-nozzle
system for the enrichment of natural uranium by the state-controlled
company Steag to the South African state company UCOR has enabled
the racist white minority regime in South Africa to Etoduce nuclear
bombs. In September 1979 it has carried out its first nuclear bomb
test. Today South Africa prepares a nuclear bomb test range in the
Antarctis.
Deliveries of pistols and rif les to South Africa from the port of
Hamburg dated ecember 1986, deliveries of helicopters by the
company Messerschmidt-Bblkowalohm to the South African police dated
June 1985, a trip to South Africa by federal German policemen dated
ebruary 1986_all thls-,according"to the official version in Bonn,
is declared to be"purely civilian.
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The consequence drawn by an ever growing anti-apartheid public in the
FRG: These illegal arms deliveries to the criminal apartheid regime
which is leading war against the peoples in South Africa, Namibia and
the Frontline States are meant to be continued. ,
In order to prevent these exports from taking place in the future
increased pressure is necessary exerted against the officials in
politics, military and the economy in the FRG.
The Anti-Apartheid movement in the Federal Republic of Germany and
West Berlin demands the reinstitution of the Parliamentary
Investigation Committee on HDW and on '
and other violations of the UN Security Council Resolution 418
arms deliveries to South Africa in the new Parliament, too. AAB assures
_that it will do all in its power for an increased cooperation of
all third world, peace and ecologist groups for a stop of the military-
nuclear collaboration with racist South Africa.

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organisations, governments,
non-governmental organisations,
liberation movements, jour-
nalists

Bonn; June 24th 1987

REF.: Anti- Apartheid topic prominant at huge church gathering
in Frankfurt/Main 17. -21. /6. /87

Excellency,

dear comrades and friends,

this year's Protestant Church Convention (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag : DEKT) which took place on 17-21/6/87 in Frankfurt/Main, Federal Republic of Germany, and which attracted more than 150000 people from in- and outside the country, was characterized by a striking number and variety of anti-apartheid activities including panel discussions, vigils, picket lines, bank boycott actions, blockades, human carpets, political evensongs, biblical studies and a mass demonstration on 20/6/87 with more than 40000 participants. Contrary to efforts from interested parties in the church, especially the Council of the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD), and some media, and in spite of a huge anti- boycott and anti- ANC propaganda campaign by right- wing circles, especially around the "International Sggiety for Human Rights" the struggle against apartheid became o? the dominant features widely publicized of this church gathering. An alliance of almost 200 church and 3011- darti y organisations, amongst them the Anti-Apartheid Movement, had mainly initiated these anti-apartheid activities following the months-long hot debates about the Deutsche-Bank account of DEKT which on 14/3/87 resulted in the cancellation of this account. This cancellation considered to be a breakthrough for the boycott movement against apartheid in thexFederal Republic of Germany, was supposed to be taken as a signal to churches, church institutions, organisations and individuals for further bank and other boycott actions against apartheid in this country. Visible expression of sympathizers of the boycott against apartheid at the DEKT were thousands of yellow scarves with symbols of Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank collaborating with apartheid. The most prominent personality wearing this yellow scarf was Dr. Allan Boesak during the final holy service on 21/6/87 with 100000 participants.

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The South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Namibia : Council of Churches (CCN), the liberation movements ANC (South Africa) and SWAPO of Namibia were officially invited to this DEKT and represented at high level.

On 18/6/87, at the "Forum Southern Africa", Reverend Ananias Iita from Northern Namibia and Steve Tshwete, ANC Lusaka, spoke about their personal experiences with the repressive apartheid regime. Later. the representatives of SWAPO and ANC in the Federal Republic of Germany, Crd. Nghidimondjila Shoombe and Crd. Tony Seedat. questioned representatives of all Hmajor political parties about their stand on the total boycott against the apartheid system. The resolution adopted by several thousands of participants in that "Forum Southern Africa" calls on the EKD-Council to revise its position on the bank boycott and to unequivocally work for the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime. Speakers at the anti-apartheid rally on 20/6/87 in front of the two giant towers of the Deutsche Bank headquarters in Frankfurt/Main included Dr. Jan Niembller. member of the EKD- Council and of the Synod of Hessen- Nassau (son of the famous Dr. Martin Niembller, church leader and peace fighter), Mr. Gunter Volkmar, chairman of the banking and commerce union, Dr. Francis Meli, member of . the National Executive Committee of the ANC, and Mr. Moses Omeb, Chairman of the English Study Unit of the CCN. Windhoek. This demonstration was widely publicized on TV and radio general news services, broadcasts, newspapers etc.

On Friday, 19/6/87, 18 subsidiaries of Deutsche Bank. Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank were targets of bank boycott actions including blockades by several hundred members of church and solidarity groups.

The alliance of these groups will continue its work for a bank boycott as an important step towards comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against apartheid and colonialism in South Africa and Namibia.

With our kind regards

Yssm in solidarity

(Ingeborg Wick,
Executive Secretary)

-Encl.s

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P R E S S R E L E A S E

Bonn, May 27th 1987

REF.: Dangerous "Development Aid" for Namibia

The new Minister for Economic Co-operation, Mr. Hans Klein, wants to embark on official development aid for Namibia before independence. Namibia is illegally occupied by the apartheid regime in South Africa. An "Interim Government" installed by South Africa has been in power since 17/6/85 without being recognized by any .state of the world. In June 1985 the UN-Security Council condemned the institution of this puppet government as "null and void". Any direct or indirect recognition or atypolitical, economic or military support of this "Interim Government" represents a violation of international law, since the UN resolutions on Namibia, especialiy UN-Security Council Res. 435, are binding according to international law.

In the Programme of Action of the NAMIBIA-WORKSHOP (organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movemnt in co-operation with the UN-Council for Namibia, 28-30/4/87 Bonn), the participants, amongst them high-ranking representatives of SWAPO as well as representatives of the UN, of 8 diplomatic missions to Bonn, of representatives from 17 organistions of the Federal Republic of Germany (German Trade Union Fede ration, Metal Workers' Union, amnesty international, church) called for the cancellation of all contacts with the illegal occupationist regime in Namibia and its peppet administration. They furthermore called for an end to "development aid" for Namibia financed, co-finaneed or covertly financetthrough "private" channels by the governmeht of the Federal Republic of Germany.

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This would especially apply to the support of the vocational training center of the government-owned Otto-Bennecke Foundation in Windhoek.

The direct or indirect "development aid" by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany flows into a country which is comparable to a military garrison. More than 100 000 occupationist troops terrorise the civilian population. They put arson to schools, hospital and churches. In large parts of the country there is martial law including dusk-to-dawn curfews. Thousands of Namibians lost their lives due to the brutal colonial and occupationist domination. South Africa uses Namibia as a springboard for acts of aggression against the frontline states, above all Angola.

In such a country there cannot be development aid projects which are independent of or even contrary to the declared racial policy of the regime in power. "Development Aid" for Namibia supports the illegal South African occupation. It delays the process of liberation from colonialism and apartheid in Namibia and prolongs the suffering of the Namibian population.

The liberation struggle of SWAPO which is being led non-violently and militarily enjoys recognition and support the world over. In 1973 the UN recognised SWAPO as the only authentic, legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

If the government of the Federal Republic of Germany plans and practises an intensified aid for the "development" of Namibia as long as this country is still under colonial rule of South Africa it consciously violates international law. It also endangers the lives of all those persons involved in "development aid projects" inside Namibia. For these projects are integrated into the colonial administrative and military machinery and thereby constitute targets of the political and military liberation struggle of SWAPO.

For this reason the solidarity with the Namibian struggle for independence and self-determination led by SWAPO is also in the self-interest of the population of the Federal Republic of Germany. The support of colonialism and apartheid in Namibia and South Africa by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany must finally be stopped.

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Press Release

October 30th, 1987

BE: Military-Nuclear Cooperation Federal Republic of Germany -
South Africa:

Rejection of AAB constitutional complaint

Government permitted to uphold libel

After eight and a half years of legal proceedings the Federal Constitutional Court, Karlsruhe/Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), has now decided not to admit the complaint lodged with them by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany and West-Berlin (AAB) on June 1'st 1984 for ruling "because the complaint does not bear sufficient prospects for success". The Court reaches this conclusion without examination of the substance of the complaint - as it happened previously with the Administrative Courts appealed to during the years 1979 to 1984.

Against a background of overwhelming evidence of the military-nuclear cooperation with Pretoria and respective condemnations of the FRG by the international community, this rejection to examine the case places the West-German judiciary in a light of sympathy with apartheid. According to the mandatory arms embargo pronounced by the UN Security Council on Nov. 7.th, 1977, armament deliveries to the apartheid state constitute a violation of international law. With its refusal to take the case the Federal Constitutional Court refuses to carry out its duty to prosecute established violations of international law and of the FRG Constitution. Furthermore, the fact that the Federal Constitutional Court places the defamation of citizens undertaken by the state in the realm of the "normal" political contest of opinions means that rights put down in the FRG's Constitution have been flagrantly violated such as the right for the free development of the personality and the right of the free expression of opinion. The judges of the Federal Court thus give licence to arbitrary action by the state against well-founded criticism voiced by citizens.

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Annex

Background information on the legal case, including examples of the armament cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa.

Ever since 1975 the South African liberation movement African National Congress (ANC) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany and WestsBerlin (AAB) have presented to the public in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and abroad evidence for the military-nuclear cooperation between the FRG and South Africa's apartheid regime. This led to repeated criticism and numerous condemnations on the international level, so, for instance, on the part of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the World Council of Churches. After a series of denials the government of the FRG, in 1978, reacted by issuing a publication in which it claims, among other things, that the AAB, "against their own better knowledge, is foisting a military and nuclear cooperation on the German side" and that AAB's "prime concern is not the struggle against apartheid".

The AAB lodged a case against these defamatory allegations which were spread around the world in thousands of German, English and French copies of the brochure, and demanded a revocation and injunction. In December 1982, the Higher Administrative Court of Münster rejected the complaint lodged by AAB by saying that the statements of the Federal Government were "admissible statements of opinion". It is true, the Court ruled, that the Government's statements were defamatory, but the Government was considered to be allowed to "hit back" and to dispose of an extraordinary scope of action due to the foreign interests at stake. As far as the underlying facts were concerned, i.e. the military-nuclear collaboration, the Court considered it to be irrelevant if the evidence presented by AAB was correct or not. An appeal against this ruling was not admitted, and a corresponding complaint of non-admission lodged by AAB with the Federal Administrative Court in West_Berlin had no success.

The decision of the Federal Constitutional Court dated 25/9/87 says, amongst others, "that the statements of the Federal Government objected to were judgements of opinion to which the Federal Government was entitled in view of the reproaches launched against it by the complainant". The Federal Constitutional Court would only recognize a violation of the FRG Constitution "if the judgement of opinion of the Government would no more be based on factual considerations and if it would exceed the obligatory objective framework".

If the Courts had examined these very objective conditions, they would have had to examine, amongst others, the following:

1. The transfer of the method to enrich uranium by the state-owned Society for Nuclear Research, Karlsruhe, via the company STEAG, Essen, to South Africa,
2. The visit of a delegation of the Federal Ministry for Research to the South African Nuclear Research Center Pelindaba (uranium enrichment plant) under the leadership of State Secretary Haunschild,
3. The visit of the former NATO-Representative of the Federal Government, General Rall, to Pelindaba,

4. The delivery of jet-nozzles for the uranium enrichment plant by the companies Siemens and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm,
 5. The delivery of special compressors for the uranium enrichment plant by the company Gutehoffnungshütte, Oberhausen-Sterkrade.
 6. The delivery of special isotope analysis and control systems for the uranium enrichment plant by the company Varian MAT, Bremen.
 7. The delivery of an electron beam perforating machine for the uranium enrichment plant by the company Steigerwald, München,
 8. Military trucks of the company Magirus-Deutz are standard trucks of the South African army,
 9. For years thousands of UNIMOG military trucks have been delivered by the company Daimler-Benz to the South African army which has used them in South Africa, Namibia and Angola,
 10. At the Atlantis Diesel Engines plant near Cape-Town there are also engines for South African tanks being produced under licence and with deliveries of the company Daimler-Benz,
 11. For its aggressions against Angola the South African army uses up-to-date West-German explosives (to blow up bridges) and G-3-rifles produced under licence of the company Heckler & Koch,
 12. The South African 155 mm grenades exhibited amongst others by the racist regime at the international military fair in Athens in October 1982. were produced at the ammunition filling plant constructed by the companies Rheinmetall, Otto Junker, Süddeutsche Baubeschläge and Wasag in 1978/80. The 155 mm grenades are part and parcel of the NATO artillery system FH 70. Through this system, Pretoria, according to its own statements, can explode nuclear devices.
 13. In June 1985 the company Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm delivered five helicopters to the South African Police,
 14. In Summer 1985 the Shipyard Howaldtswerke/Deutsche Werft AG and the company Ingenieurkonto Lübeck (IKL) delivered submarine blueprints to Pretoria.
- The Federal Constitutional Court, through its ruling dated 25/9/87, turns a blind eye not only to the evidence of the military-nuclear collaboration of the FRG with the apartheid regime as it has been presented by AAB and others, but also to a Court's sentence in the PEG: on 27/5/86 four managers of the company Rheinmetall were sentenced amongst others because of their illegal arms deliveries to South Africa. This, however, can only be considered to be an encouraging beginning for further prosecution of illegal arms deals with Pretoria. Further rulings based on the facts are still to come.
- (translated AAB 20/11/87)

IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

FRG banks have been leading in organising loans for the apartheid regime since 1978, -when funds from other countries like the US were no longer so easily accessible. They were especially involved in managing loans.

To give some figures:

FRG banks participated in managing loans in

1979 4 loans with the amount of 140 million DM

1980 4 " 1 billion DM

1981 3 " 290 million DM

1982 8 " 1,2 billion DM

1983 9 " 1,1 billion DM

1984 9 "

1,85 billion DM

1985 12 " 1,95 billion DM

(1985 only in the time January - July, because Of South Africa's debt moratorium)

48 FRG banks are involved in financing apartheid. However, there are some major lending banks:

DRESDNER BANK

DEUTSCHE BANK

(IhttEEZBANK

Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank

Bayerische Vereinsbank

Westdeutsche Landesbank-Girozentrale

The first three banks are now on the "Technical Committee" for the rescheduling negotiations on South Africa's outstanding 14 billion US \$ debt, which were due end of 1985.

On top of this, DRESDNER BANK purchased in 1980 51 % of the shares of SWABANK in Namibia. Since then it is sending the director and other managing personell for the bank. SWABANK is involved in export financing, which means it is involved in financing violations of UN Council for Namibia Decree No. 1 for the Protection of Namibian Natural Resources.

According to South African law, DRESDNER BANK has to invest 8 % of its capital in SWABANK in South Africa in 1986. DRESDNER BANK admitted in its shareholder meeting in 1986 that these amount to 2 million Rand, of which 1,5 million Rand are invested in South African government loans, 0,025 million in loans of the Council for water supplies and 0,45 million Rand in loans of the "administration" of "South West Africa/Namibia" (Quote from spokesperson of the DRESDNER BANK board).

None of the FRG banks has yet taken an anti-apartheid policy and committed itself to no future loans to the apartheid regime. They do neither demand a political change before rescheduling of debts can take place, in fact, they have accepted quite favourable conditions for the apartheid regime, releasing it from stronger pressure. There are speculations about the involvement in gold swaps which took place end of last year and beginning of this year, but details are not yet available.

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