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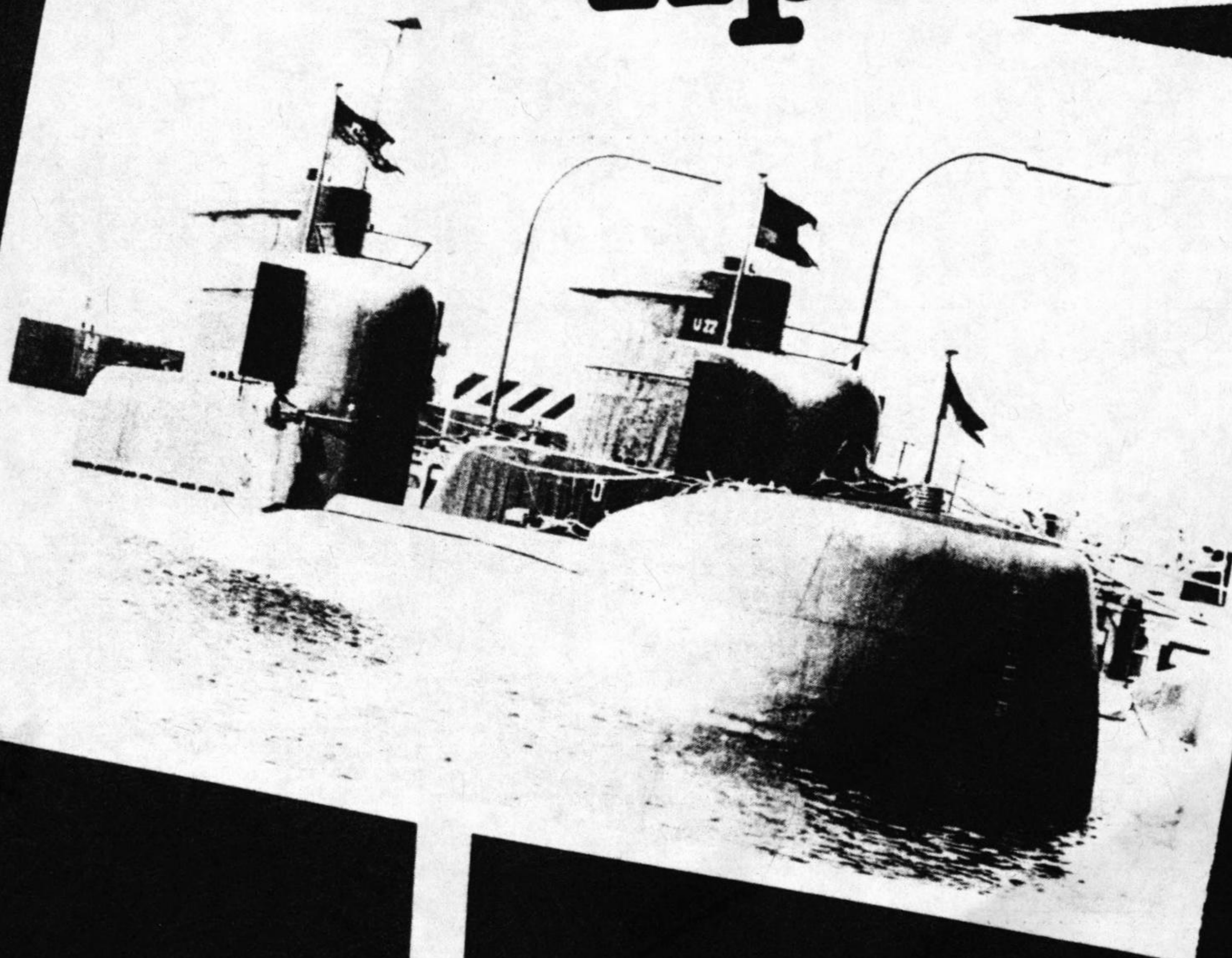
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DIE DRITTE-WELT-ZEITSCHRIFT



U-Boote für Apartheid



W 936



Sonderteil Nicaragua ● Afghanistan ● Philippinen ● Haiti ● China

10th 1986. This committee was able to reveal many facts, but much of the crucial information is still unknown, and evidence in several vital areas is contradictory. The committee ceased functioning in February 1987, when the old Parliament was dissolved, but both the opposition parties gave public assurances that they would re-establish it in the new session, since its work is not yet finished.

The government's own investigation has been conducted by its taxation office in Kiel, which, in an interim report of November 1986, recommended a penalty of DM50 000 for each of the companies. Presumably it does not consider the offence to be serious, since the maximum penalty available under this provision is DM500 000.

The Federal Government has informed both the World Campaign and the United Nations that it never granted official permission to HDW/IKL to export the submarine blueprints to South Africa and that the companies acted illegally. It maintains that for this offence the companies can be fined through administrative action, or they can be prosecuted if it is established that the offence resulted in "damage to the external relations of the FRG."

Until the end of March 1987, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs was still maintaining that there was no "severe damage." The matter has therefore not been referred to the State Prosecutor. However, the legal position is clear, from an earlier case when Rheinmetal was convicted in May 1986 for providing South Africa with plant to manufacture ammunition — the Prosecutor can act without waiting for the government to certify "severe damage" to its external relations.

Attempted Cover-up

The danger is that, if the relevant authorities in the FRG proceed simply to impose an administrative penalty, it may become difficult later to secure a prosecution. Meanwhile, the offenders have had all the time they need to destroy all the relevant documents and other information, and to rush through all the transactions.

Since it is impossible for South Africa to make its own submarines, the deal must inevitably involve direct or indirect arrangements to secure components and plant from abroad. Early action can stop these transfers, but there appears to be no concern on the part of the authorities even to

consider this aspect — indeed, there is every indication that those involved in the deal are attempting a major cover-up with help from friends and allies.

It is well known in the FRG that the apartheid regime is a danger to peace, yet it continues to arm the South African military and naval forces, whilst publicly proclaiming that it believes in "peaceful change." At the same time, it is also opposed to anyone's using the one peaceful measure available to the international community — economic sanctions.

The submarine deal cannot be seen in isolation from the supply of Unimogs and other military vehicles, or the MBB helicopters sold directly to the South African police two years ago and which are now being used extensively over the African townships for reconnaissance and transport, and as gunships. All these deals are able to take place as "normal trade," and are not prohibited by the Federal Government.

Even according to the weak regulations in the FRG, however, the supply of the submarine blueprints to South Africa is **illegal**, so the need to secure a prosecution of those who have supplied them is of immediate importance. In delivering the plans by diplomatic pouch, the South African Embassy in Bonn has participated in and assisted the performance of a criminal offence, and this should result in its closure. Australia, Saudi Arabia and others who are negotiating with HDW for major contracts need to be informed of all the facts about the South African deal, so that they do not reward a state-owned company which is so committed to the apartheid regime that it refuses to disclose, even now, all the details of the illegal deal.

The FRG, in many respects, is even more aggressive than the USA and Britain in defending the apartheid regime from sanctions and providing its military machine with vital resources which are often not available from other sources. That is why it is so important for the international community to take effective action at all levels to end collaboration between the FRG and the racist regime in Pretoria.

Note: The World Campaign asks that individuals and organisations who have protested to the FRG government should keep the office of the World Campaign informed of their actions. The address is: PO Box 2, 1007 Oslo 10, Norway.

ILLEGAL ARMS TRADE

THE FRG SUBMARINE

By Abdul Minty

The writer of this article is the Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

The western media have so far given very little publicity to the scandal in the Federal Republic of Germany surrounding the illegal deal to provide the apartheid regime with construction plans for the HDW 209 submarine.

The plans for this submarine were originally sold to India, and were subsequently modified for South Africa without India's knowledge or permission. The modifications include extending the length to provide space for releasing frogmen and sabotage units, even at considerable depths. The submarine will also be able to fire short-range missiles, and this makes it a highly effective weapon for Pretoria's attacks against neighbouring continental and island states. With this capability, it would not be too difficult for the racist regime to equip the vessel with nuclear weapons as well.

The negotiations for this deal were initiated in 1982. Two FRG companies were involved: the Howaldswerke Deutsche Werft AG (HDW), which is owned by the state, and Ingenierkontor Lubeck (IKL). Both seem to have been fully aware of the fact that the sale of the submarine blueprints to the apartheid regime (unlike that of most other military supplies) was expressly prohibited by law. Thus, in a confidential memo prepared on behalf of the companies and sent to several government ministers in Bonn in October 1983, the following points were made:

- The customer would use components made in his own country or imported from other countries, and was "willing to buy steel construction parts" and "possibly some naked sections" to help "the bad employment situation of the German shipyards."

- The blueprints would go "as microfilm in a diplomatic pouch."

- In the construction, IKL would "change visible parts" to avoid its being identified as "German design."

- Reference was then made to an earlier deal with Israel, where permission was given "in non-written form" and where the FRG Government "had assured the necessary back-up in case of trouble." The same type of approval was sought for South Africa, where the customer was "willing to wait for several months for a final decision."

Early in June, 1984, during P W Botha's visit to Bonn, Chancellor Kohl gave him a personal undertaking that he would look into the matter of export permission being granted for the blueprints. Ten days later, on June 15th, HDW and IKL signed the contract for the deal.

Call for Prosecution

When this case was first reported in a newspaper at the end of November 1986, the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa confirmed some of the facts, and reported the matter to the Arms Embargo Committee of the United Nations Security Council and to the Special Committee Against Apartheid. It cabled Foreign Minister Genscher of the FRG and called for criminal investigations to be instituted and the offenders prosecuted. The Federal Government told the UN and the World Campaign that thorough investigations were being conducted.

As a result of efforts by the opposition parties, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Greens, the Federal Parliament established a special investigation committee on December

"Windhoek Advertiser", 7th August 1985

W German choppers used by SA Police

BONN: Equipment including helicopters sold to South Africa by West German companies is being used by the military and the Police, a television documentary charged today.

"A significant part of South Africa's military and police equipment comes from the Federal Republic of Germany," the programme, Monitor, alleged.

It said the Munich-based aerospace giant, Messerschmitt, Böhm and Bolkow (MBB), had recently delivered four BO-105 and one BK-117 helicopters to South Africa, which it said were being used by Police to put down riots.

The exports were approved by the Bonn Finance Ministry on the grounds that the aircraft were for civilian use, it said.

The programme quoted a Finance Ministry spokesman as saying West Germany had approved these exports because "end-use cannot be controlled and should not determine whether a product is classed as military or civilian." — Sapa-Reuter

∴ M-Bölkow-Blohm

Wirtschaft

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Airshow Paris '83, hall 1A/C,
stand of the West German
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The military helicopter BO 105.

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Phone: (215) 431-4150

Hoffe. C.D.U.

Friedrich Wege.

~~was~~ No support for those using
arms.

What about Botswana

→ Why support Botswana.

all ~~other~~ Botswana supports Genset.

Emotional.
Theory exists in the.

Democracy in SA

In

average

in = whites & 48% of our country
are dying.
Apartheid to let

48% unemployed.

70% - Blacks.

50% of our country

are dying.

48% of our people

are dying.

Democratic rules:

Sanctions set.

leben.

FDP

Apartheid is Emotional subject.

Why not
~~life is~~ in Berlin what

No Repoms.

against sanctions one person one vote.
Coal from SA.

CDU

Question - how to get rid of Apartheid

Both sides must stop ~~apart~~ force.

→ why supply arms.

T. Sender/frent rich

Botswana put

have no problems

→ Unch.

we are for all
the reps of our people
not those paid & put there

by Botswana.

zu Forschungsschiffen umdefiniert wurden.³ Es kann überhaupt kein Zweifel bestehen, daß durch diese Lieferungen der Repressionsapparat des weißen Minderheitsregimes gestärkt wird. Die Fernsehbilder von den Konflikten in Südafrika bringen uns bewaffnete Soldaten auf Unimogs von *Daimler Benz* und die Hubschrauber von MBB (*Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm*) bis in unsere Wohnstuben. Schwarze sterben in Südafrika nicht nur, weil auf sie geschossen wird, sondern auch, weil – dank ausländischer Hilfe – die Logistik von Militär und Polizei funktioniert.

Die Argumentation der Bundesregierung ist in diesen Fällen extrem legalistisch. Salopp formuliert: *Was nicht schießt und knallt, ist keine Waffe*. Wenn ein Hubschrauber nicht über spezielle Waffenträger und militärische Zusatzausrüstung verfügt, gilt er als zivil und darf ohne Genehmigung exportiert werden. Radaranlagen dienen angeblich nur der Überwachung der Handelsschifffahrt und fallen damit nicht unter die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen. Deutlich wird, daß sich an dieser Argumentation von der sozial-liberalen zur konservativ-liberalen Regierung wenig geändert hat (siehe Kasten auf S. 62). Formaljuristisch verhält sich die Bundesregierung konform zu den bestehenden Gesetzen und zum UNO-Embargo, weil sie die einschränkend gedachten Gesetze sehr großzügig auslegt und wegdefiniert, was gesetzwidrig sein könnte. Objektiv aber werden die militärischen und paramilitärischen Verbände in der Republik Südafrika gestärkt. Rüstungs- und rüstungsnahe Güter sind in den gewaltsamen Konflikten im südlichen Afrika tagtäglich im Einsatz. Mit den gelieferten Waren werden somit die Absichten des UNO-Embargos und die Rüstungskontrollgesetze unterlaufen. Eine strengere Handhabe der Kriegswaffenliste und der Außenwirtschaftsverordnung im Sinne des Grundgesetzes ist deshalb dringend gefordert.

Drittens: rüstungrelevante Technologie

Seit Verhängung des ersten UNO-Embargos 1963 hat sich die Regierung der Republik Südafrika (R.S.A.) intensiv und zum Teil erfolgreich um die inländische Entwicklung und Produktion von Waffen bemüht.⁴ Voraussetzung für die Herstellung von Waffen und anderen militärischen Gerätes in Südafrika war die Liefere-



Rüstungsgut oder nicht? Minensicheres Fahrzeug der südafrikanischen Armee auf dem Fahrgestell des Unimog U 416.

rung entsprechender Technologie aus dem Ausland bzw. durch ausländische Unternehmen in Südafrika. Importierte Maschinen, Konstruktionspläne und das Know-how ausländischer Experten sind integrale Teile der Rüstungsindustrie und der Waffen »made in R.S.A.«. In diesem Bereich hat sich die Bundesrepublik besonders hervorgetan. Mindestens ein Viertel aller Maschinen- und Technologieimporte Südafrikas in den achtziger Jahren stammt aus der Bundesrepublik.⁵

Die Deutsch-Südafrikanische Handelskammer schätzt, daß 300 Firmen aus der Bundesrepublik rund 65 000 Arbeiter in Südafrika beschäftigen. Die Spitze der westdeutschen Industrie ist ausnahmslos in Südafrika tätig: von *Daimler* bis *VW*, von *AEG* bis *Siemens*, von *BASF* bis *Bayer*, von *Thyssen* bis *Salzgitter*.⁶ Besonders bedeutsam für den Rüstungsbereich sind die Investitionen westdeutscher Firmen im Fahrzeugbau (die Fahrzeuge dienen als Waffenplattformen und Transportmittel), in der Motorenproduktion (Motoren werden als Antriebsaggregate für Waffensysteme verwendet), im Werkzeugmaschinenbau (der eine Voraussetzung für die eigene Produktion von Kleinwaffen und Kanonen ist) sowie in der Elektronik (Produkte, die heute Bestandteil sämtlicher moderner Waffensysteme und zur Aufrechterhaltung militärischer Befehlsstrukturen unerlässlich sind). Und schließ-

lich gab es die offiziell immer bestrittene Beteiligung in der Kerntechnologie, auf deren Basis Südafrika vermutlich in den Besitz der Atombombe gelangen konnte.⁷

In einer Studie für das *UN Special Committee Against Apartheid* heißt es unmißverständlich: »Die permanente Belieferung der südafrikanischen militär-strategischen Industrien ist funktional bei weitem die schwerwiegendste Umgehung des Embargos. Nach der Auffassung des Autors kommt dieser Effekt einer Annullierung des Embargos gleich, zumindest für den Landkrieg.«⁸

Nicht nur illegale Waffentransfers und als zivil deklarierte rüstungsnahe Güter gelangen in die Hände des Militärs. Es sind vor allem Technologielieferungen, die das UNO-Embargo praktisch außer Kraft setzen. Würden die sogenannten *CoCom*-Bestimmungen, mit der die Exporte sensibler Technologien in die UdSSR und zu deren Verbündeten reguliert werden, auf Südafrika angewendet, hätte die Rüstungsindustrie Südafrikas ihre technologische Basis verloren.

Als zusätzliche wichtige Ebene ist das Engagement westdeutscher Banken zu erwähnen, die den Rückzug anderer ausländischer Banken aus Südafrika kompensieren. Sie finanzieren unter anderem die für die Wirtschaft und damit auch die für die Rüstungsindustrie notwendigen Technologieimporte.

- CSU - hot facing

① Why are we discussing this question
Econ. +

② Answer in May 6th
" " June 16th

③ The people do not believe that apartheid
can be reformed. Apartheid must
be destroyed.

④ What is Botma's reply
Emergency.

28 000 arrested.

for the

Union in prison.

⑤ Reply is military budget 30 6
the people police 50 6

⑥ ~~to say~~ Foundation with 200 000 000 DM.

Aufgabe

Apartheid is a polit. + economic system.

~~the~~ the system proved the west.

it does not serve you anymore.

~~The Apartheid problem has been~~

you are forced to

* De tsche Wirtschaft. pay Botma's
wahl Kosten.